

THE
SCARBOROUGH
PUBLIC LIBRARY
BOARD

THE PEOPLE OF SCARBOROUGH

A History

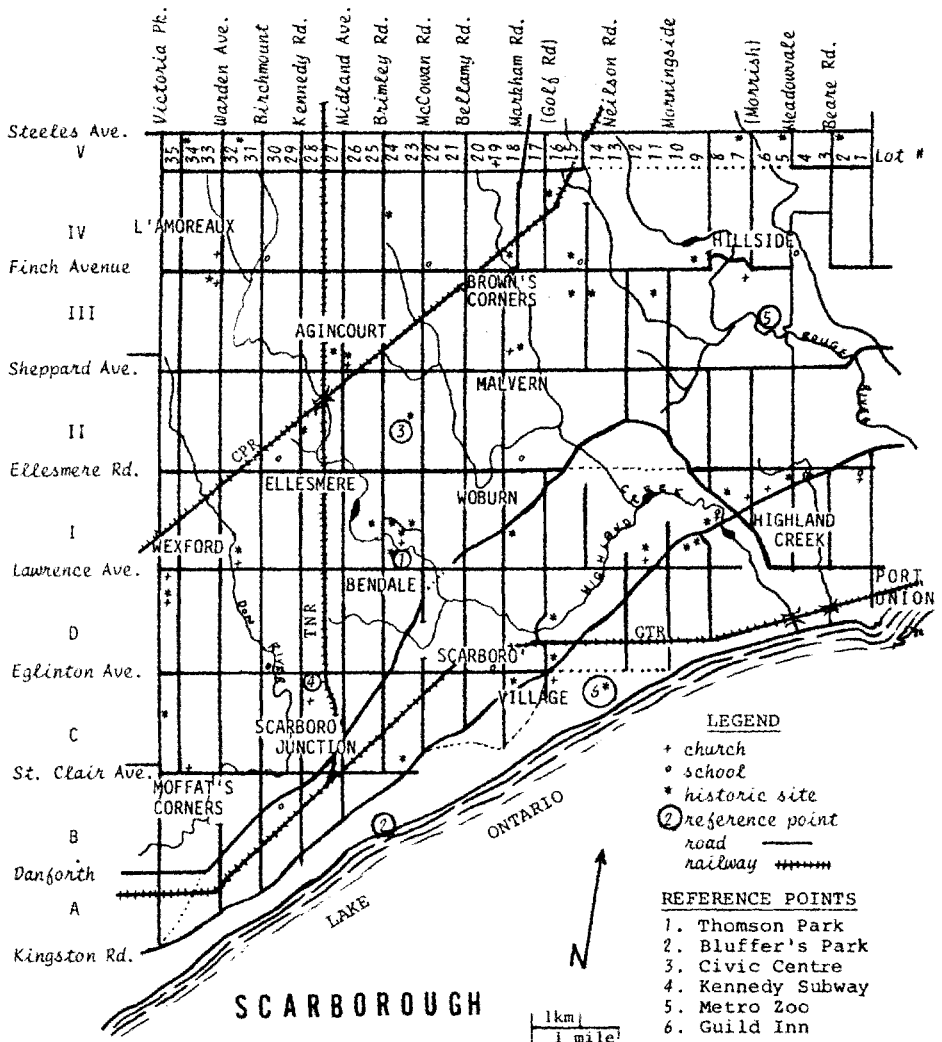
Barbara Myrvold



THE PEOPLE OF SCARBOROUGH

A History

Map of Scarborough



Map of Scarborough courtesy of Rick Schofield, Heritage Scarborough

THE PEOPLE OF SCARBOROUGH

A History

Barbara Myrvold

Curtis Fahey
Editor

Susan Rickwood
Additional Research



The City of Scarborough Public Library Board



Copyright© The City of Scarborough Public Library Board 1997

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, by photocopying, recording or otherwise for purposes of resale.

Published by The City of Scarborough Public Library Board

Grenville Printing
25 Scarsdale Rd.
Don Mills, Ontario
M3B 2R2

Raku ceramic Bicentennial Collector Plate and cover photo by Tom McMaken, 1996. Courtesy of The City of Scarborough.

Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data

Myrvold, Barbara
The People of Scarborough: a history

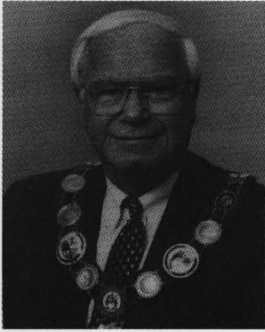
Includes index.
ISBN 0-9683086-0-0

1. Scarborough (Ont.) — History. I. Fahey, Curtis, 1951- . II Scarborough Public Library Board. III. Title.

FC3099.S33M97 1997
F1059.5.T686S35 1997

971.3'541

C97-932612-5



Acknowledgements **Greetings from the Mayor**

As Mayor of the City of Scarborough, and on behalf of Members of Council, I am pleased that *The People of Scarborough: A History*, has been produced. This book provides a chronological overview of the many diverse peoples and cultures that have contributed to the city's economic, cultural and social fabric. It traces the 10,000 year period from the Aboriginal groups in 9000 B.C. to the current decade in which Scarborough has emerged as a vibrant multicultural city.

This publication has been made possible because of the efforts of the Scarborough Public Library Board staff and Scarborough residents and I wish to take this opportunity to acknowledge and thank them for the work they have done.

As the City of Scarborough looks forward to a new century as part of a new city, there is no doubt that *The People of Scarborough: A History*, will serve as a glowing tribute to Scarborough's development into a cosmopolitan and exciting city in the twentieth century.

Yours sincerely

Frank Faubert
MAYOR

Acknowledgments

The City of Scarborough Public Library Board gratefully acknowledges the following individuals, groups, agencies, organizations and departments of government for their contributions to this book.

The City of Scarborough Bicentennial Committee for their financial support.

The members of the Advisory Group: Lionel Purcell and Meredyth Miller, (Scarborough Historical Society), Ron Rock (City of Scarborough, Coordinator of Community and Race Relations, Alexandra Semeniuk (Director, Arts & Heritage Services Division of the City of Scarborough Recreation, Parks & Culture Department), Dave Fuller (Editor-in-Chief, *Scarborough Mirror*), who reviewed and provided feedback on the manuscript and provided invaluable referrals.

The many community members — present and past, both long-time residents and newcomers — who shared their experiences as members of the cultural groups which make up the city, and provided a variety of unique perspectives on the city, through their photographs and written reminiscences.

The staff of many local and regional organizations and services, including several departments of the City of Scarborough, The University of Toronto at Scarborough, the Scarborough Board of Education and the Metropolitan Separate School Board, the Scarborough Historical Society, Information Scarborough, the Metropolitan Toronto Region Conservation Authority, the Multicultural History Society of Ontario, and the Cross Cultural Communication Centre.

Members of local religious and cultural groups from all parts of the city.

The membership and staff of the many groups and agencies working with and representing the broad spectrum of cultural communities in the city.

The *Scarborough Mirror* which published the feature articles about the plans for the publication of this book that resulted in many community residents coming forward to contribute personal information, written reminiscences as well as photographs and other archival materials which were invaluable in the preparation of the book.

The experts in a variety of fields who directed staff to useful resources and publications in their respective areas of expertise, and who read individual chapters of the book and provided indispensable advice about research and feedback on content.

Staff in several of the libraries of Metropolitan Toronto, especially those at the branches of the City of Scarborough Public Library Board who provided information and research support for the preparation of the book.

Michele Topa for project coordination.

Chryss Mylopoulos for developing the concept of publishing this history to celebrate the diversity of Scarborough's peoples.

Barbara Myrvold for her development of this unique history.

Susan Rickwood for extensive research and editorial support.

Cathy Izawa for the cover art and book design.

The City of Scarborough Public Library Board

Foreword

The People of Scarborough: A History, was developed as a Bicentennial publication in 1996, and now appears in December 1997 at an even more auspicious time, as Scarborough is poised to become part of a new city and to enter a new century. But this is not a political history, this is the history of Scarborough's people both natives and newcomers. The history provides a chronological overview of the period from about 9000 BC to the current decade and focuses on the courage, ingenuity and hard work of Scarborough's people in building the cosmopolitan and successful city that residents now enjoy.

The enthusiastic support of an editorial advisory group and the expertise of members of various historical and archaeological communities has contributed greatly both to the broad scope and detailed approach that the publication is able to provide. Scarborough's early settlers and those who came after them, have contributed through the written works they left behind, while today's residents have shared their reminiscences through interviews, written remarks and photographs, ensuring that the significant contribution of Scarborough's most important asset — its people — are fully documented.

The result is a rich and remarkable story. Above all, it is a story of change — population growth, cultural diversity and social and economic development. It is also a story that will serve to reassure the reader that the *community* of Scarborough will continue to flourish and remain distinct and vital in the newly formed city of Toronto, because it was that sense of Scarborough as a community that pre-dated by many years, the emergence of Scarborough as a political entity — first as a township, and later as a city.

The People of Scarborough: A History complements and extends the Library Board's ongoing commitment to both multiculturalism and local history. The Library Board has a longstanding commitment to collecting, preserving and documenting the history of Scarborough. The Board has also encouraged, through its services and programs a knowledge of and respect for the heritage and contribution of all the citizens of Scarborough's diverse population to the growth of the city.

The Library Board is pleased to continue its tradition of service by publishing this book as a way of providing the community with a unique opportunity to learn more about the richness and diversity of its own history.

Sandy Douglas
Chairman, The City of Scarborough Public Library Board

Contents

Greetings from the Mayor	v
Acknowledgments	vii
Foreword	ix
Chapter 1: Scarborough's First Peoples	1
Before European Contact	2
The Paleo-Indian Period (9000 B.C. - 8000/7500 B.C.)	2
The Archaic Period (8000 B.C. - 1000 B.C.)	4
The Woodland Period (1000 B.C. to European Contact):	6
The Age of the Iroquoians	6
Post-European Contact: the Historic Period	
1615-1787	12
The Huron and the Iroquois of the Five Nations Confederacy to 1650	12
Ganatsekwyagon: The Seneca Settlement on the Rouge River, 1665-87	14
The Bead Hill Site	19
The Mississauga, 1700-87	21
The European Presence, 1700-87	23
Land Cessions, 1787-1923	24
The "Gunshot Treaties" of 1787-88	24
The Toronto Purchase Treaty of 1805	25
The Williams Treaties of 1923	26

Chapter 2: Early European Settlement, 1796-1815	29
The Birth of Upper Canada	30
First Land Surveys and Naming of Scarborough	31
Government Land Grants in Scarborough	32
Population Growth	34
Immigration	36
United States	36
Scotland	40
Ethnic Origin	42
Beginnings of Community	48
 Chapter 3: Immigration and Settlement, 1815-1861	 50
Population Growth	52
Immigration	52
Ethnic Origin	55
English	55
Scottish	58
Irish	65
Black	70
French	71
German	72
Native	73
Mormon and Jewish	74
Growth and Development	75

Chapter 4: The Rural Township: Population Decline, 1861-1910 77

Population Decline	78
Immigration	79
Out-migration	82
Ethnic Origin	85
Religion	88
Visitors to Scarborough	90

Chapter 5: Suburban Development and Population Growth, 1911-1945 93

Population Growth	94
Immigration	96
Ethnic Origin	98
British	98
European and Asian	100
Religion	104
War and Depression	105
Holiday Spot, Farm Community, and Suburb	110

Chapter 6: Suburban Explosion, 1945-1971 117

Population Growth:	118
Baby Boomers and Immigrants	118
Ethnic Origin	120
British	121
German	122
Dutch	123
Italian	125

The People of Scarborough: A History

Ukrainian	126
Czech and Slovak	127
Macedonian	128
Greek	129
Black	130
Asian	133

Religion	134
-----------------	------------

Suburban Life	135
----------------------	------------

Chapter 7: Multicultural City, 1971—96

Population Growth	144
--------------------------	------------

Immigration	144
--------------------	------------

Ethnic Origins	149
-----------------------	------------

Greek	153
--------------	------------

Population Size and Settlement	153
--------------------------------	-----

Activities and Organizations	154
------------------------------	-----

Italian	157
----------------	------------

Population Size and Settlement	157
--------------------------------	-----

Activities and Organizations	158
------------------------------	-----

Macedonian	159
-------------------	------------

Population Size and Settlement	159
--------------------------------	-----

Activities and Organizations	160
------------------------------	-----

Polish	162
---------------	------------

Population Size and Settlement	162
--------------------------------	-----

Activities and Organizations	162
------------------------------	-----

Portuguese	163
-------------------	------------

Chinese	163
----------------	------------

Population Size	163
-----------------	-----

Settlement	166
------------	-----

Economic Life	169
---------------	-----

Activities and Organizations	173
------------------------------	-----

Filipino	178
Population Size and Settlement	178
Activities and Organizations	179
South Asian (East Indian/Indo-Pakistani)	181
Population Size and Settlement	181
Activities and Organizations	184
Japanese	186
Population Size and Settlement	186
Activities and Organizations	186
Korean	188
Population Size and Settlement	188
Activities and Organizations	189
Black	190
Population Size and Settlement	190
Activities and Organizations	192
Arab	196
Iranian	197
Armenian	198
Latin American	199
Population Size and Settlement	199
Activities and Organizations	200
Religion	201
Christian	201
Protestant	201
Roman Catholic	202
Orthodox	203
Non-Christian	203
Hindu	204
Sikh	205
Muslim	206
Buddhist	207
Jewish	208
No Religious Affiliation or Preference	208

The People of Scarborough: *A History*

Yesterday and Today	208
Tables	212
Notes	225

Chapter I

Scarborough's First Peoples

"There were pieces of broken pottery, broken guns, and flint heads of some very handsome tobacco pipes which the men brought away . . . I persuaded them to allow the dead to rest in peace, going, however, to view the place myself; and I found that about 40 acres had been appropriated as a place of sepulchre . . ."

-William Brown, sawmill operator, Rouge River, 1849

For over 10,000 years, humans have occupied the area that is now Scarborough. And for more than 97 percent of that time, the First Nations¹ were in sole possession of the region, with a long succession of different Aboriginal groups living there. Only in the last 400 hundred years or so (known as the post-European contact period) has there been a non-Native presence. European explorers, traders, and missionaries first penetrated the Scarborough area by the mid-1600s, and settlers arrived at the end of the 1700s.

Archaeologists separate the time of human occupation in North America before the Europeans arrived into three distinct periods: the Paleo-Indian (9000 B.C. to 8000 / 7500 B.C.), the Archaic (Early, 8000 B.C. to 6000 B.C.; Middle, 6000 B.C. to 5000 B.C.; and Late, 5000 B.C. to 1000 B.C.), and the Woodland (1000 B.C. to European contact).² No Aboriginal oral tradition on the early Native presence in Scarborough was located by the author. However, there are two other types of evidence. The first consists of archaeological remains. Despite the destruction caused by farmers' ploughs and developers' bulldozers, a wide range of archaeological remains exists in Scarborough, especially in the Rouge River valley and Highland Creek watersheds of the Lake Ontario drainage basin. These vary from

The People of Scarborough: A History

prehistoric camp sites to Iroquoian and Mississauga settlements, with associated artifacts and burial places, and together reveal many layers of human habitation and wide cultural diversity. A wealth of Native artifacts has been collected over the past 150 years or so by both accidental discoveries and deliberate archaeological research. Generally, only a fraction of archaeological sites can be attributed to a specific time period or culture; archaeologists classify these as “diagnostic” and the rest as “indeterminate.”

The second type of evidence is written materials. Writing as we know it did not exist in North America before the Europeans arrived, although some Native groups used pictographs to record historical events. To date, pictographs have not been found in Scarborough. The earliest writings by Europeans about Indians in this area begin in the 1660s. Over the years, these records have been one-sided, from the perspective of European rather than Native writers.

Before European Contact

The Paleo-Indian Period (9000 B.C. - 8000/7500 B.C.)

The Paleo-Indians were the first human inhabitants of North America. Most archaeologists believe that they were also the continent’s first immigrants: small bands of hunters crossed the land bridge that spanned what is now the Bering Sea from Siberia to Alaska. Over the centuries, they gradually moved south and east over an enormous area, eventually living in what are now Canada, the United States, Central and South America, and the Caribbean. Many Canadian Indian elders, however, relying on their sacred stories, dreams, and visions, believe that their distant ancestors in fact originated in North America.

Paleo-Indians would not have occupied southern Ontario until well after the Wisconsin glacier, the last of the ice advances to cover this area (and well south of it), began its northward retreat about 14,000 years ago. As the climate of Canada steadily warmed and the Wisconsin ice sheet melted, water filled the basins left by the moving ice. Huge glacial lakes were formed — the forerunners of the modern Great Lakes. Between 13,000 and 11,000 years ago, Lake Iroquois filled what is now the Lake Ontario basin. At its highest level, it extended many kilometres inland from the present lake shore. In Scarborough, the old Lake Iroquois shoreline lies close to the present shoreline of Lake Ontario but angles to the northeast. Here are the

famous Scarborough Bluffs, standing about 100 metres above the lake at their highest point. Between the top of the cliff and the old shoreline is a wave-cut terrace floored by a couple of metres of sand laid down in Lake Iroquois.³ Along the beaches left by Lake Iroquois, evidence of early humans has been recovered.

Paleo-Indian hunters and gatherers were the first people to occupy the province. They were a nomadic people who probably entered this area from the south and west between 11,000 and 10,500 years ago following the last glacial retreat. They obtained food partly by gathering wild plants: the predominant vegetation in the Scarborough area would have resembled that of the modern tree-line, a parkland of grasses with scattered spruce trees. They also subsisted on a mix of both large and small animals: caribou, hare, and arctic fox, according to recent evidence.⁴ They possibly also hunted the now extinct mammoth and mastodon, animals that roamed through this region during the late ice age. They chipped stone into distinctive fluted spear or dart points for killing game, as well as into knives for butchering and scrapers for preparing hides. When the animals the Paleo-Indians hunted or the wild plants they gathered became scarce, they simply moved on to a new territory. For most of the year, they travelled and hunted in small family groups but would periodically gather together in larger bands for hunting.

It is possible that the Toronto area was at most used intermittently either by peoples in transit or by resident peoples as part of vastly greater hunting territories. Although remains of Paleo-Indian hunting and gathering camps have been found all over North America and scattered across southern Ontario (largely in southwestern Ontario), only a few artifacts from the Paleo-Indian period have been uncovered in the Toronto region. One of the earliest finds was a fluted projectile point of the Clovis culture found by the Young brothers in 1930 at the upper Rouge River in Markham.⁵ The latest are eight Paleo-Indian sites found by archaeologists of the Metropolitan Toronto and Region Conservation Authority in the Humber watershed in the mid-1990s.⁶

In 1989 Dr. H. Bruce Schroeder, an associate professor of anthropology at Scarborough College, University of Toronto, reported new and exciting evidence of early human presence in Scarborough. In collections of artifacts gathered by R.A. and W. H. McCowan from atop the Scarborough Bluffs in the early 1900s were two stone points from the late Paleo-Indian or early Archaic periods, dated between 8900 and 10,500 years ago.⁷ The points were found close to the old Lake Iroquois shoreline; Paleo-Indian sites are

The People of Scarborough: A History

frequently located adjacent to the strandlines of large post-glacial lakes.

The Highland Creek drainage has been a source for other artifacts believed to be from this early time. Schroeder tells about the “very distinctive, lanceolate and side notched point” that two young girls found in the 1980s in southeastern Scarborough, south of Lawrence Avenue, on a sandbar in Danzig Creek, a tributary of Highland Creek. “The only things like it have been found to the east on the St. Lawrence and to the southwest in Missouri,” Schroeder notes. “In every context it is believed to be very old — late Paleo-Indian or very early Archaic.”⁷⁸ Archaeologist Dana Poulton postulates that one artifact in the William J. Helliwell Collection, comprised mostly of Laurentian Archaic artifacts found along Highland Creek near Old Kingston Road and Military Trail, “could even be a Late Paleo-Indian point of the Hi-Lo type (ca. 8500-8000 B.C.), like the one in the McCowan collections.”⁷⁹

The Archaic Period (8000 B.C. - 1000 B.C.)

Gradually the Paleo-Indian peoples developed into a number of cultures that archaeologists have assigned to the Archaic period. Between 8000 B.C. and 7000 B.C., temperatures abruptly rose in North America, vastly changing the environment and causing variations in local conditions. By 4000 B.C., plant and animal life in southern Ontario had reached something like its present state. Over many generations, people adapted to the changes within the local environment. They continued to be nomadic hunters and gatherers, but groups developed their own habits and tools that were best suited to the local region and to the now-different food sources. As the population on the North American continent increased, groups learned to live within smaller areas and some cultural differences became apparent.

Archaeologists commonly divide the Archaic period into three subperiods called Early Archaic, Middle Archaic, and Late Archaic. They have named the group who occupied the hardwood forests of southern Ontario during the Late Archaic period, from c. 5000 B.C. to 1000 B.C., the “Laurentian Archaic.” Since the big-game animals were generally extinct in the area by 8000 B.C., the Natives hunted deer, elk, bear, and beaver with the aid of dogs and also supplemented their diet with smaller game, fish, shellfish, berries, and other wild-plant foods. In addition to chipped-stone dart heads, knives, and scrapers, they manufactured polished stone axes and adzes for

woodworking and ground-slate darts, lances, and knives. They also produced a wide variety of bone items such as barbed fish harpoons, chisels, fish-hooks, awls, beads, and combs. They traded widely with other Archaic peoples, obtaining, for example, shells from the Atlantic coast, copper from Lake Superior, which they fashioned into utilitarian or ornamental objects, and exotic cherts¹⁰ from a wide area.

Archaic sites in the Toronto area are far more numerous and richer than those of the Paleo-Indian period, reflecting a larger, denser population and a more abundant environment. Archaeologists have identified several major sites in Scarborough dating from the Archaic period; only the Terminal Woodland period has a comparable number of local sites.¹¹ Several Archaic sites have been found in the Rouge River watershed. Victor Konrad's and William A. Ross's *North Pickering Archaeology* (1974) includes nine archaeological sites within northeast Scarborough.¹² Two are known to be Laurentian Archaic sites. One is a campsite, also used later by the Ontario Iroquoians, and the other is an isolated find. Mayer, Phil, Poulton and Associates prepared the archaeological master-plan study of northeast Scarborough in 1986-89, considerably expanding the Konrad-Ross inventory. They identified a total of sixty-three sites and sixty-six cultural components in the tablelands north of Finch Avenue. The Archaic was one of two main periods found and was represented by a dozen isolated finds and briefly occupied camps.¹³ Meyer, Poulton and Associates included another large inventory of archaeological sites in the management plan for phase I of the Rouge Valley Park: south of Steeles Avenue to Lake Ontario, containing the lowermost parts of the Rouge River and Little Rouge Creek (1991-93). Of the fifty-six registered sites and fifty-eight cultural components in and adjacent to the park (two of the sites were occupied during more than one period), Archaic period sites were found to be "particularly common."¹⁴ The report identified twelve Archaic habitation sites within the park, a number that represented 37.5 percent of those that could be attributed to a specific time period or culture.

Scarborough's richest Laurentian Archaic site was found near Highland Creek, on the Helliwell property at the northwest corner of Old Kingston Road and Military Trail (lot 8, concession 1). The site of the discoveries was a ploughed area which spilled from the bluff down onto the north bank of Highland Creek. During the 1950s, archaeologist Peter P. Pratt examined and recorded about seventy items in the William J. Helliwell Collection, including axes, knives, scrapers, blades, and projectile points as well as a chisel and thirty-

The People of Scarborough: A History

one side-notched spear points. He concluded that almost all of the artifacts were from the Laurentian Archaic period.¹⁵

Other scattered Archaic sites have been found in Scarborough. The McCowan brothers, for example, picked up several points and stone axes from the Middle and Late Archaic periods, as well as artifacts from the Early Archaic, near the lip of the prehistoric Lake Iroquois bluff, close to the stream that originated at the McCowan/Kingston Road intersection. An archaeological assessment of the Malvern remedial project (an 11-acre, or 4.5-hectare, area bounded by Passmore Avenue, the CPR tracks, and Tapscott and Neilson roads) located one isolated reworked projectile point from the Middle and Late Archaic periods.¹⁶ David Boyle, the father of Ontario archaeology, reported in his 1896 history of Scarborough that “on lot 25, concession 4 . . . old camping grounds have been recognized.”¹⁷ This is now referred to as the Macklin site (northwest of today’s McNicoll Avenue and Brimley Road); ceramics, pipes, and bone found there have been attributed to both the Archaic and Iroquoian periods by later archaeologists.¹⁸ Also, from the Laurentian Archaic period is the Brimley site, northeast of Brimley Road and Sheppard Avenue (lot 24, concession 3).

It is unclear if the peoples who produced these artifacts were simply passing through or regularly stopped in the area. Like all Archaic hunting and gathering sites, those in Scarborough were probably occupied for short periods during one or two seasons of the year by one or more families. These families may have returned to the region year after year but not necessarily to the same campsites. This resulted in a scattering of Archaic sites and artifacts around Scarborough.

Archaic period foragers in the Toronto area often located adjacent to a reliable water source. Water was not only necessary for daily intake but also provided abundant and accessible sources of food, notably fish and marsh plants. Local Archaic discoveries have been either campsites or individual finds of artifacts located near the springs and streams that drain southward through Scarborough into Lake Ontario.

The Woodland Period (1000 B.C. to European Contact): The Age of the Iroquoians

The Woodland Period begins with the first appearance of pottery vessels in southern Ontario sites by about 1000 B.C. Archaeologists have divided the Woodland period into the Initial Woodland and the Terminal Woodland periods, and further subdivided them by a variety of cultures.

Relatively few sites from the Initial Woodland period (1000 B.C.-1000 A.D.) have been found in the Toronto area. In 1973 Victor A.

Konrad of York University identified 191 archaeological sites in the Metropolitan Toronto planning area from the Humber River east through Vaughan and Markham to Duffin Creek* in Pickering. He found that only a handful (5.6 percent) of habitation sites in the region were from the Initial Woodland period, and he identified only one such site in Scarborough. He concluded that their scarcity in the Toronto area may suggest that it was “a frontier area during the little understood Initial Woodland Period.”¹⁹ Neither of the surveys of the Rouge area conducted in the 1980s and 1990s uncovered any Initial Woodland sites, although three of the fifty-eight archaeological sites in the Rouge Park were classified as “Indeterminate Woodland.”

By contrast, there is a rich archaeological history from the Terminal Woodland period (1000 A.D. - European contact) in Scarborough. For example, 11, or 34.4 percent, of the sites attributable to a specific time period or culture in the Rouge Valley Park study are from the Terminal or Late Woodland period. Two major cultural groups living in Ontario during this time eventually evolved into groups of the post-contact era. The Iroquoians from southern Ontario gave rise to the historic Huron, Petun, Neutral, and Erie. The Algonquians of northern Ontario became the Algonquian-speaking people of historic times: the Cree, Ojibwa (also called Ojibway and Chippewa, and including the Mississauga), Algonkin, Nipissing, and Ottawa.

The Ontario Iroquoians were the predominant group in southern Ontario during the Terminal Woodland period. One of the distinguishing characteristics of their culture was its dependence on agriculture. The rise of agriculture in southern Ontario had a profound effect on the local Aboriginal population. People who relied on hunting, fishing, and gathering wild foods tended to live in small bands that moved frequently. But when care was taken to plant a crop, a group would often stay in one place to reap the harvest. Gradually, sedentary farmers living in small, more stationary villages evolved, replacing nomadic hunters and gatherers. Social change must have been dramatic, for women became the main food producers. Technology also changed to meet agricultural needs. Tools for grinding corn into meal became widespread. The pottery-making skills developed in the Initial Woodland period were used to create

* Over the years, the name of this creek has been spelled as Duffin's, Duffins, and Duffin. Surveyor Augustus Jones is said to have named the creek in 1791 for one “Duffin, an Irishman . . . an early pioneer who disappeared under mysterious circumstances. [Nick and Helma Mika, comp. *Places in Ontario; Their Name Origin and History* (Belleville: Mika, 1983), 3: 213]. We have used Duffin Creek, the form used by the Town of Pickering [*Draft Pickering Official Plan: Introduction* (Pickering: Town of Pickering, June 1995), 3 *passim*.].

The People of Scarborough: A History

ceramic vessels for the preparation and storage of food and other resources.

Some time prior to 900 A.D. and until 1300 A.D., Ontario Iroquois were regularly growing corn for food, supplementing this activity with hunting and fishing. Some archaeologists divide sites from this early Ontario Iroquoian period into two branches: western Glen Meyer around Lake Erie, and eastern Pickering around Lake Ontario. (The Pickering culture derives its name from the Miller site, located along Duffin Creek in Pickering Township, where in the late 1950s archaeologist Walter Kenyon of the Royal Ontario Museum did an excavation of a village occupied around 1125 A.D.) Other researchers suggest that this simple regional division may be arbitrary and misleading, and that the two groups may simply represent two ends of a cultural continuum spread across southern Ontario.²⁰ Archaeologists can describe these early Ontario Iroquoian peoples in some detail. They often lived in palisaded villages located on easily defended hillocks. Some groups lived in longhouses, as opposed to small, one-family houses, and some buried their dead in ossuaries, large pits containing the remains of many people.

By approximately 1300 A.D., there was a fairly uniform culture among the agricultural groups in southern Ontario. Some archaeologists contend that the homogeneity of the Middle and Late Ontario Iroquoian periods came after a portion of the Pickering population expanded to the west and conquered the Glen Meyer people. Others reject this “conquest theory” and offer explanations such as alliance formation for trade and warfare.²¹ The Middle Iroquoian period extended from 1300 to 1400 A.D., and the Late Iroquoian period extended from 1400 to European contact. After 1300, crops such as sunflowers, beans, and squash were grown in addition to corn, as was tobacco, which was smoked in pipes; village sites became larger and more abundant, and ossuary burial continued. By 1500, Ontario Iroquoian culture contained most of the elements (for example, the elaboration of tribes and tribal confederacies) that would characterize the Huron, Petun, Neutral, and Erie groups of the historic period. All these groups spoke the Iroquoian language.

Some artifacts from the Early Ontario Iroquoian stage (1000 to 1280 A.D.) have been found in Scarborough. For instance, ceramics from this stage, dating to approximately 1100 A.D., were identified among the artifacts collected on the Scarborough Bluffs in 1912 by the McCowan brothers. Dana Poulton comments: “The material in the McCowan collections and one or two other sites demonstrates that there was at least one Pickering Culture community evolving through time on

the Highland Creek drainage in Scarborough. Unfortunately, the spread of urban development through the area predated any formal archaeological investigations, so we are left trying to reconstruct the past with a few bits and pieces that happen to survive.”

Scarborough has several important sites from the Middle and Late Ontario Iroquoian stages. In 1956 two particularly significant sites were found in the Highland Creek area, one possibly and the other definitely from the early portion of the Middle Ontario Iroquoian stage (known as the Uren substage, c. 1250-1330 A.D.). In August of that year, two ossuaries or communal burial pits, 24 feet (7 metres) apart and containing an estimated 523 individuals, were uncovered at Tabor Hill²³, on the east side of Bellamy Avenue, north of Lawrence Avenue. From an examination of the bones, Walter Kenyon made these observations about the people and their burial customs:

All ages are present; but the percentage of children's bones suggests an extremely high infant mortality rate. And the incidence of dental caries and periodontal disease would justify the most evil disposition ever attributed to an Indian. Distribution of the bones showed that not cadavers, but disarticulated skeletons had been interred. Most of these were thrown in randomly, with no attempt to keep the bones of one particular individual together. Scattered throughout this maze of bone, however, was the occasional bundle burial; and two or three small pockets of burned bone suggest that cremation was also practised. In a few of the skulls, the nasal passages and sinuses were packed with sand — evidence of an earlier burial, prior to their final internment in the heavy clay of Taber's Hill.²⁴

Kenyon concluded that the bones were those of the Ontario Iroquois, for, he stated, “the Iroquois were the only people of this region to practice this form of burial.”²⁵ The Huron and Neutral of the historic period continued the custom of keeping the bodies of dead relatives in village cemeteries until they relocated their villages, when they reburied their bones in a common ossuary. The Feast of the Dead was an important and increasingly elaborate Iroquoian ritual associated with this reburial.

The Ontario Iroquoians and their successors usually located ossuaries within a short distance of their villages. In the Toronto area, habitation sites were near a reliable water source; burial places were not. Shortly after the Tabor Hill ossuaries were uncovered in 1956, evidence of a village dating from approximately 1250 A.D.

The People of Scarborough: A History

was found about one and a quarter miles (two and a quarter kilometres) to the west of the ossuary, the normal radius for such sites. The village was situated on the north bank of Highland Creek, northwest of today's Lawrence Avenue and Brimley Road (lot 25, concession 1). Students from the University of Toronto's department of anthropology did an excavation at the village site in October 1956 under the supervision of J. Norman Emerson. They recovered projectile points, scrapers, pipe fragments, bone tools, and ceramic remnants of globular-bodied vessels with simple horizontal, geometric-line decorations. However, they found no remains of longhouses.²⁶

Emerson and Kenyon inferred that the site was the village related to the Tabor Hill ossuaries, although no diagnostic artifacts were recovered during the latter excavation. "This inference is based on the absence of any known village site within a radius of several miles," noted the authors of a 1990 paper on the Middle Ontario Iroquoian stage. "It must be stressed however, that the association between the two sites and the concomitant placement of Tabor Hill in the Uren substage both remain speculative, and it is possible that one or more other undocumented candidate villages existed but were destroyed by subdivision development(s) then rampant in the area . . . However, Tabor Hill does constitute what has been hypothesized to be the earliest well-documented example of a large ossuary."²⁷

Evidently Emerson was unaware of earlier documentation of the village site, where burials also had been found. On 30 May 1889 the *Markham Economist* reported: "The relics of by gone ages still turn up. As W. Blakey was digging post holes on the farm of D.W. Thomson, Lot 25, Concession 1, Scarboro, he dug up bones and skulls supposed to be remains of some Indian tribe, as other relics have been found near the place."²⁸ David Boyle recorded this information in his 1896 Scarborough history: "On lot 25, concession I, a number of graves have been found."²⁹ Arthur J. Clarke, a gifted amateur archaeologist, mapped the Thomson site in 1913, excavating a spot on the north bank of Highland Creek, in what is now Birkdale Park opposite St. Andrew's Drive. He included this disquieting note on the map: "Marks spot where digging was done disclosing evidence of cannibalism."³⁰ "In any event, Thomson is the first Middle Ontario Iroquoian site ever recorded in the region," claims Poulton.³¹

Boyle identified several other archaeological sites in Scarborough, most of them concentrated in the northwest part of the township in the Highland Creek watershed. Subsequent generations of archaeologists have dated some of these to the Middle Iroquoian

stage, Uren substage.³² These include the Birchmount site on the west side of Birchmount Road at McNicoll Avenue (Boyle noted, "Relics of various kinds have been found on lot 31, concession 4 where there seems to have been a camping ground"³³); the Brookes site on the west side of Staines Road, south of Sheppard ("large ash beds, half an acre in extent, may yet be seen on the farm of Martin Willis, lot 13, concession 2"³⁴); and the Brookwood or Miles site on the east side of McCowan, south of Steeles ("another camping ground was seen on lot 22, concession 5"³⁵).

Boyle also reported that on "lot 23, concession 3, old camping grounds have been recognized."³⁶ In the autumn of 1960 William Donaldson and Dr. C. H. Clarke of the Ontario Archaeological Society excavated there and found evidence of a Middle Iroquoian (Uren) settlement. The site had been uncovered that spring on the farm of Hugh Elliot. It was located near small feeder streams of Highland Creek, on the west side of McCowan Road, about a kilometre (0.6 miles) northeast of Agincourt village. The excavation revealed that hunting and fishing as well as the cultivation of corn and tobacco had occurred there. The large number of "toy" pots and lumps of fired clay confirmed the presence of children and the manufacture of pottery. The Elliot site had been occupied for a short period of time, including part of a summer; it was apparently undefended and without a palisade. A representative sample of the artifacts uncovered there, including all the fully restored clay pots, was placed on permanent display at Agincourt Collegiate.³⁷

A dense concentration of habitation sites from the Middle and Late Iroquoian periods has also been uncovered in northeast Scarborough in the vicinity of the Rouge River and the Little Rouge River, between Finch and Steeles avenues. These include prehistoric villages as well as smaller settlements, possibly single-cabin sites. The archaeological master-plan study of northeast Scarborough (1986-89) identified 14 sites dating from *c.* 1350 to 1450 A.D. which represented "what was probably the first year-round occupation of the area."³⁸ The most important is the Hamlin site, a large Middle Ontario Iroquoian village in excellent condition. It has been ranked as "extremely significant," the highest category for archaeological sites, owing to its large size and good state of preservation. Close by is the Sewell site, occupied first in the Archaic period and also a village during the Late Ontario Iroquoian period. In 1973 C.S. Reid carried out excavations of both the Hamlin and Sewell sites for Centennial College, and in the course of his work pottery fragments and other objects were collected. Several other sites, including a

The People of Scarborough: A History

village with an associated ossuary, have been uncovered immediately to the north, just inside Markham.

Archaeologists contend that some of the Ontario Iroquoian villages on the Rouge and its tributaries were occupied simultaneously while others were probably inhabited successively, with intervals when there was no occupation. Every 10 to 30 years, as the fertility of their fields was exhausted and the firewood nearby became scarce, Iroquoian groups relocated their villages. Often they did not have to go far to find a suitable place for a new village; hence the proliferation of Terminal Woodland village sites in the Rouge watershed.

Post-European Contact: the Historic Period, 1615-1787

The Huron and the Iroquois of the Five Nations Confederacy to 1650

In the mid-1500s, when European goods first arrived in the Great Lakes area, an estimated 65,000 Iroquoian-speaking people — Huron, Petun, and Neutral — inhabited southern Ontario. About half belonged to the first two groups and were scattered in many villages near the north shore of Lake Ontario, in the Trent valley, and in modern Simcoe County. The rest were the ancestors of the Neutral Confederacy and lived in the present-day Hamilton area and the Niagara peninsula. However, by the early part of the seventeenth century, when direct contact had been made with the French, the north shore of Lake Ontario was uninhabited hunting territory. (The historic period in Ontario usually dates from 1615, when Samuel de Champlain made his first trip down the Trent River system.) The five clans of the Huron or Wendat Confederacy — Bear, Cord, Rock, Deer, and Swamp — were concentrated near the southeastern corner of Georgian Bay.

Historians have advanced several theories to explain why the Ontario Iroquois deserted the Lake Ontario area. The *Historical Atlas of Canada* comments: "With the introduction of protein-rich beans by the mid-14th century, there appears to have been a rapid increase in population, and a shift of village sites from sandy soils to richer loams."³⁹ It has also been suggested that pressure from the Five Nations Iroquois from south of Lake Ontario may have forced those living near the north shore gradually to move north and northwest up the major river systems. Bruce Trigger postulates that "the desire

to be in a favourable location to receive European trade goods by way of Lake Nipissing and Georgian Bay appears to have led two southern Ontario Iroquoian tribes, the Arendaronon ('rock people') in 1590 and the Tahontaenrat ('deer people') in about 1610, to join the Huron confederacy and move north into today's Simcoe County."⁴⁰ Whatever the causes, by 1615, with migrations of some clans from earlier settlements in southern and eastern Ontario, Huronia had a population of 20,000 to 25,000 people living in about twenty villages.

The Huron Confederacy was a loose defensive alliance against their common enemy, the Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy: the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca. (The Tuscarora joined the Iroquois Confederacy in 1722 or 1723, from which point it became known as the Six Nations Confederacy, or the League of Six Nations.) Both the Huron and the Iroquois were Iroquoian speaking and shared many common cultural practices. The Iroquois homeland was south of Lake Ontario, in the region from the Mohawk River west to the Genesee River in what is now New York State. At the time of European contact, there were roughly 10,000 to 15,000 Iroquois.

The Huron and the Iroquois competed fiercely to provide furs to French, Dutch, and English traders and thereby to satisfy their growing dependence on European goods, especially iron and steel tools, considered superior to Native implements made of stone and bone. In 1615 the Huron formed alliances with the French and became their major fur suppliers; the Iroquois traded with the Dutch, who had established a fur trading post at Albany (New York State) in 1614, and sometimes with the English. The Algonquian peoples (whose languages were not related in any way to that of the former two groups) were also enemies of the Iroquois; they, too, were allied with the French, their goal being to act as middlemen between the French and the inland nations around the Great Lakes.

Possession of hunting territories and control of crucial trade routes figured in the warfare between the Huron and the Iroquois. The Toronto Trail or Carrying Place, a Native overland trail and canoe route, provided a short cut between Lake Ontario and the rich beaver hunting grounds on the upper Great Lakes. The western arm ran up the valley of the Humber, across to the Holland River, which flows into Lake Simcoe, and from there by other water links to Georgian Bay. In 1615 French explorer Étienne Brûlé became the first European to use the "passage de Toronto" and to live among the Indians of Ontario. Natives also

The People of Scarborough: A History

used an eastern arm of the Toronto Carrying Place at the Rouge River, but there is no record of any French visiting that area before the 1660s.

By the 1640s, the Huron population had been reduced to about 9000 by a series of epidemic diseases and was unable to withstand increasing Iroquois attacks. In 1649 the Iroquois crushed the Huron, and the survivors dispersed. Shortly afterwards, the Iroquois defeated the Petun and then the Neutral.

Ganatsekwyagon: The Seneca Settlement on the Rouge River, 1665-87

With the destruction of their enemies, small bands of Iroquois began migrating to the north shore of Lake Ontario, the district once so thickly populated by the Huron, the Petun, and the Neutral. Between 1665 and 1670, these “Iroquois du Nord,” as the French called them, established a series of seven villages across an area from today’s Napanee in the east to modern-day Hamilton in the west. They were located on strategic points on the fur-trade network, at the base of trails which led off into the interior and to the richer hunting grounds on the upper Great Lakes. The Iroquois aggressively sought the beaver, the most prized pelt in the fur trade. (Felt hats made from the underfur were symbols of prestige in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe.)

Victor Konrad views the north shore villages as “an extension of the homeland” and states that they fulfilled a variety of different functions: as outposts of the fur trade; as refuges from attacks by the powerful Susquehannock, who harried the Seneca, Cayuga, and Oneida from the south; as bases for extensive winter hunting; and as stopovers for travelling Iroquois. In addition, they functioned as autonomous villages, serving as residences for local populations and as a centre for agricultural and other subsistence activities.⁴¹

The Seneca, the largest, most powerful, and farthest-west nation of the Iroquois Confederacy, established the three westernmost villages on the north side, two in the Toronto region. (Ganatsekwyagon on the lower Rouge and Teiaiagon at the mouth of the Humber). Both were directly across Lake Ontario from the Seneca homelands in the vicinity of present-day Rochester, New York.

The settlements were at the foot of the two branches of the Toronto Carrying Place, giving the Seneca command of the traffic from Lake Ontario and across the peninsula to Lake Simcoe, Georgian Bay, and the upper Great Lakes. The eastern trail at Ganatsekwyagon,

as indicated on maps created by Louis Jolliet (1674) and Father Pierre Raffeix (1688), connected the forks of the Rouge with the northern lakes. The Jolliet map, the first to show the Rouge Trail, is of such a scale as to be insufficient for determining precise present-day locations. The clearest representation is provided by Raffeix's *Le Lac Ontario avec les Lieux Circonvoisins et Particulièrement les Cinq Nations Iroquoises*. This map has led some historians to contend that the famous Rouge trail did not follow the valley of the Rouge. Rather, it ran in a northerly direction along the watershed to the end of the Little Rouge Creek towards today's Stouffville, passing east of Vandorf (where archaeologists have discovered the remains of a fortified village), then east of Newmarket, and on to the Holland Landing. Evidently, another trail used later by the Mississauga followed the valley of the Rouge itself, and yet another was parallel with Yonge Street from Bond Lake to the eastern branch of the Holland River.⁴²

At first, the Iroquois on Lake Ontario gathered fur pelts and sold them to their traditional trading partners, the Dutch and English on the Hudson River. "In the years between the fall of Huronia and the return of the French to the lake region, these Dutch traders must have frequented Ganatsekwyagon and Teiaiagon and the shore between these two villages where Toronto now stands," theorized Percy J. Robinson in his authoritative history *Toronto during the French Regime*.⁴³ In 1667 the Five Nations entered into a seventeen-year period of peace with the French. The peace made it easier for the French not only to trade in the area but also to extend their trade routes through the lower Great Lakes to the Mississippi River. This peace also made possible the establishment of French missions and forts in the Lake Ontario area as well as increased exploration from its trails. In the summer of 1669, the French explorers and traders Jean Peré and Louis Jolliet became the first Europeans to visit Ganatsekwyagon. They are supposed to have followed the Rouge-Holland trail on their way north to search for copper near Lake Superior.

Later that year, François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon, a Sulpician priest, passed the winter of 1669-70 at Ganatsekwyagon. "This is the first recorded residence of white men in the neighbourhood of Toronto," claimed Percy J. Robinson.⁴⁴ Fénelon was one of two priests (the other was Claude Trouvé) to be first stationed at the mission that the Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice of Montreal established in 1668 among the Cayuga on the Bay of Kente (now Quinte). In the spring of 1668, Fénelon went down to Montreal

The People of Scarborough: A History

and Quebec to raise money to reimburse the Cayuga, who had maintained the two missionaries over the winter. He brought back to Quinte another Sulpician, his cousin, François-Saturnin Lascaris d'Urfé. However, Fénelon did not stay long with his two companions. "After his arrival," Trouvé later recorded, "he [Fénelon] went to winter in the village of Gandasiteiagon, inhabited by a separate branch of the Senecas who had come to the north shore of which we were in charge. These people begged us to go and teach them, were delighted when their boon was granted so soon after being asked."⁴⁵

Fénelon's efforts to teach the Seneca at Ganatsekwyagon were quickly curtailed. A shortage of food forced the missionary into the woods with the Indians, who "maintained life only by means of some porcupines which they killed and ate."⁴⁶ When Fénelon came upon "a poor Iroquois woman who had given birth to two infants," now half-frozen with the cold, he "could afford her no assistance, for we were at least as destitute as they were." But he took some comfort in being allowed to baptize them both, and "shortly afterwards one of these new-made Christians departed to dwell in glory."⁴⁷ Fénelon returned in the spring to the Kente mission, where he continued to serve until 1673. His experiences, no doubt, influenced the superior at the Paris Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice to issue a directive in 1675 expressly forbidding the missionaries to wander to villages like Ganatsekwyagon. They were to stay at Kente, where they could do more good with less suffering than roving with the Indians and enduring their hardships.

Ganatsekwyagon and the trail from it was included on a new map of Canada that François Dollier de Casson and René Bréhant de Galinée, also Sulpician missionaries, compiled in 1670. This was the earliest mention of the name of the village, spelled Ganatsekiagouns and marked prominently, with the following note below: "It was here that M. Perray [Jean Peré] and his party camped to enter Lake Huron — when I have seen the passage I will give it; however, it is said the road is very fine, and it is here the missionaries of St. Sulpice will establish themselves."⁴⁸ Ganatsekwyagon signified "among the birches" in Iroquoian.⁴⁹

Subsequently, the Ganatsekwyagon portage was indicated on several maps of the period. In the early years of their existence, Ganatsekwyagon was the preferred route over Teaiagon; the fortunes of these north shore villages ebbed and flowed with the political events of the seventeenth century. Ganatsekwyagon was 23 miles (37 kilometres) nearer to the east end of Lake Ontario; the better harbour at the mouth of the Humber was irrelevant for those

travelling by canoe. However, in 1678 the French sent the first sailing vessel to patrol the waters from Cataraqui (Kingston) to Niagara. The barque was forced to seek shelter at Teiaiagon, and from that time the French favoured the Humber route. As well, according to Raffeix's map of 1688, the distance to Lake Simcoe (Lac Toronto) by the Humber trail was somewhat shorter, being 12 leagues (29 miles or 46 kilometres), compared to 15 leagues (36 miles or 57 kilometres) by the Rouge trail.

The trade at the Ganatsekwyagon settlement also declined once the French established Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario at the mouth of the Cataraqui River in 1674. Despite the tenuous peace with the French, the Seneca of Ganatsekwyagon had continued to trade with the Dutch and the English. However, their European partners wanted the Seneca to be middlemen between them and the Ottawa, traditionally fur suppliers to the French, and to make Ganatsekwyagon the centre of their operations. This, of course, would have totally cut off the French from fur supplies. On 13 November 1673 Governor Frontenac of New France expressed his concerns in a letter to the minister of the navy in Paris (the official responsible for the colonies), Jean-Baptiste Colbert: "You will remember, my Lord, that several years ago you were informed that the English and the Dutch were doing all they could to prevent the Ottawas, the tribes from which we draw our peltries, from bringing them to us, and that they wanted to get them to come to Ganacheskiagon, on the shores of Lake Ontario, where they offered to bring for them all the goods that they needed. The apprehensions of my predecessors that this would utterly ruin our trade, and their desire to deprive our neighbours of their profitable trade with the Ottawas through the Iroquois, made them think of establishing some post on Lake Ontario which would give them control."⁵⁰ Thus, Fort Frontenac was founded by the French in 1674 as a rival to the trade at Ganatsekwyagon. It was designed to keep the Dutch and English out of Lake Ontario and to be a trading post for the Ottawa when they came down with their beaver skins.

While the fort was still in the planning stages, Frontenac met at Cataraqui on two separate occasions in 1673 with Iroquois delegations, once with those from south of the lake and once with envoys from Ganatsekwyagon and most of the other settlements on the north shore. At the latter meeting, Frontenac exhorted the Iroquois to become Christians, to keep the peace, and to maintain a good understanding with the French, all of which they promised to do. He reported on 12 November 1674 to Colbert: "They have given

The People of Scarborough: A History

their word not to continue the trade, which, as I informed you last year, they had commenced to establish at Gandaschekiagon with the Ottawas, which would have absolutely ruined ours by the transfer of the furs to the Dutch.”⁵¹ Historian Percy Robinson contended that “the English and the Iroquois, foiled by Fort Frontenac in their trade at Ganatsekwyagon, which they had reached along the north shore of Lake Ontario, now began to trade at Teiaiaagon, which they reached by following the south shore round the western end of the lake.”⁵² After 1678, much less is heard of Ganatsekwyagon than of Teiaiaagon on the Humber, but there are enough references to show that it was still used.

By the mid-1670s, the Iroquois League had defeated the Susquehannock, thereby removing one of the principal reasons for settling in Canada. The north shore villages were slowly depopulated as inhabitants moved back to New York. Events in the summer of 1687 were to seal the fate of the villages of the Iroquois du Nord. French-Iroquois relations were increasingly strained in the 1680s and eventually warfare broke out. Fighting was particularly fierce between the French and the Seneca, the Iroquois nation known as “keepers of the western door,” and was most prevalent in the west where the French wanted to extend their control of the fur trade. In June 1687 Governor Jacques-René de Brisay de Denonville led a force of several hundred Frenchmen and up to 2000 Indian allies from the upper Great Lakes on a punitive campaign against the Seneca. At the outset of the campaign, men, women, and children from two north shore villages were taken captive. The French and allied forces then struck at the heart of the Seneca tribal areas south of the lake, systematically destroying their villages and crops. After several days, the force withdrew and returned north. Denonville stopped at Ganatsekwyagon on the night of 5 July 1687. There, he and his army collected a “good share” of 200 deer, killed by the Native allies (called our “christian Indians” by the French) sent ahead to hunt on the north shore.⁵³

Unfortunately, the accounts do not contain any hint of the fate or condition of either Ganatsekwyagon or Teiaiaagon; however, it is assumed that, since both villages were no longer secure, they had been abandoned some weeks earlier and the inhabitants had fled to the south shore of Lake Ontario. Certainly there is no record of Seneca being on the north shore after 1687. After Denonville’s expeditions, the Seneca apparently did not resettle their destroyed villages south of the lake, instead drifting east to Canandaigua Lake and west to the Genesee River in today’s upper New York State.

Those living in frontier outposts such as Ganatsekwyagon were probably needed back home to help establish the new villages. It was not until the American revolution that Seneca Loyalists would return to Ontario, settling in the Brantford area.

The Bead Hill Site

Considerable attention has been focused on two Native sites on the Rouge, a burial ground and a village, which together form what is called the Bead Hill site. Archaeologists have attributed it to the Seneca occupation of the north shore of Lake Ontario in the late seventeenth century and tentatively identified it as Ganatsekwyagon. One of the first modern references to the site was made in 1849, when William Brown described a large Native burial ground that his men had found near a saw mill he was renting on the banks of the Rouge River. Brown concluded that it dated back to the time of early French exploration in Canada. He wrote: "There were pieces of broken pottery, broken guns, and flint heads of some very handsome tobacco pipes which the men brought away. They intended to go again . . . But I persuaded them to allow the dead to rest in peace, going, however, to view the place myself; and I found that about 40 acres had been appropriated as a place of sepulture, and that no grave had been deeper than about two feet from the surface. The whole of the steep bank of the river had been used, and the graves being one above another in the hillside, they looked like steps from the top to the bottom."⁵⁴

In 1885 a history of Scarborough published by C. Blackett Robinson described artifacts found "near the mouth of the Rouge River, where the site of what was once a considerable Indian village was indicated by the remains of the logs which formed a wooden palisade surrounding their habitations." Some of these artifacts, the account continued, "have all the characteristics of the stone age, and mixed with the rude weapons and implements of 'native industry' are those of copper and iron, and also glass beads, which were probably obtained by intercourse with the early French *voyageurs* and traders . . . A few yards from the site of the village a number of graves containing aboriginal remains were discovered."⁵⁵

David Boyle's 1896 history of Scarborough also referred to an historic Native site called Bead Hill, which had yielded abundant trade goods "consisting of 'Queen Anne' gun-barrels with copper sights, hunting knives, copper kettles, and other articles of European manufacture. Along the hill, formerly known as Hog's Back, an Indian

The People of Scarborough: A History

trail runs toward the west.”⁵⁶ Arthur J. Clark unearthed further information about the Bead Hill site over the course of two days in 1916 and 1918. Walter Kenyon carried out the first professional archaeological investigations of the site in 1964, when he excavated a single burial. This yielded a small but rich collection of artifacts attributed to the historic Seneca, including an effigy bone or antler hair comb depicting three figures in European clothing.⁵⁷ Konrad and Ross registered this burial in 1973. In 1985 research by Dana Poulton led to the rediscovery of the village itself. More recently, in the early 1990s, the Canadian Parks Service of Environment Canada undertook limited studies of the Bead Hill site, leading the National Historic Sites and Monuments Board in November 1991 to designate it as a site of national historical significance, the only such site in Scarborough. One assessment noted that it was “of international importance by virtue of the fact that it includes burials and that it is the only one of the seven historic Iroquois villages on the north shore known to have escaped destruction by urban development.”⁵⁸ Indeed, Bead Hill became one of only seventeen Native archaeological sites so designated in the province of Ontario, the others including Sheguindah, Parkhill, and Manitou Mounds.

Recent archaeological investigations suggest that the Seneca village operated for about twenty-two years, from 1665 to 1687. It has some features of a traditional large northern Iroquois village, which is described by one historian as “a cluster of 30 to 150 longhouses, surrounded by a palisade, and situated on a height of land accessible to drinking water and not too far removed from a navigable waterway.”⁵⁹ It is estimated that about 500 to 800 Seneca lived at the Rouge site. (Scarborough would not have as many people again until the 1820s.) This made it a middle-sized village by Iroquois standards; their settlements ranged from a hamlet of 50 people to a large village of 1000 or more. The houses appear to be “short” rather than earlier “longhouse” versions, although hearths and pits are still centrally located within the houses. Somewhat surprisingly, the limited archaeological investigation found “no convincing evidence of a defensive pallisade,”⁶⁰ even though this Seneca village was a frontier post, cut off from assistance in case of raids. When the settlement data was combined with the mapped artifact distribution, however, it was evident that there was an “inside” and “outside” to the data set. Researchers have suggested that “perhaps, at Bead Hill, defence was not a high priority after the defeat of the Huron and the establishment of reasonably peaceful trade with northern groups and with the French.”⁶¹ Clay pipes of Native manufacture were found

(including two with wolf or bear effigies), indicating that tobacco was smoked and probably grown. Bead Hill occupies an area of soil suitable for Native agriculture; the triad of maize (corn), beans, and squash, the “three sisters” of Iroquois ceremonial, was cultivated by all northern Iroquoians in territories with 120 frost-free days. In addition, Poulton notes, the site “was well situated for the exploitation of natural food and other resources . . . [being] in close proximity to the rich biomass of the Rouge Marsh.”⁶² In keeping with Iroquois customs, the burial ground was close to the village and consisted of individual graves. This was quite different from the practice of the Huron, who every generation or so reburied their dead in ossuaries some distance from their villages. Bead Hill was primarily a fur-trading outlet, not a military or an agricultural site. It commanded, Poulton notes, “a nexus of major trade and transportation routes, including the lakeshore trail later followed by Kingston Road, and the historic Rouge trail.”⁶³ European trade goods comprise approximately 10 percent of the 3500 artifacts recovered. True to the site’s “Bead Hill” name, there are some 278 glass trade beads, valued merchandise from the earliest days of the fur trade. Also included are armaments (a modified musket barrel, gunflints, and lead shot), copper alloy artifacts (kettle scraps, staples, a tinkling cone or bangle), and a French coin dated 1655, inscribed “Laird de France” on one side and “Louis XIII—Roy de France et Navarre” on the other. Although the Dutch and the English were the Seneca’s primary trading partners, almost all of the recovered European artifacts are of French origin. Apparently, the efforts of Christian missionaries bore some results. One brass Christianizing ring ornamented with a *pietà*, tokens given by Jesuit and Sulpician priests to Natives upon conversion, has been found.⁶⁴

The Mississauga, 1700-87

During the 1690s, some Mississauga began moving south into extreme southern Ontario, and they soon replaced, often it appears by force, the Iroquois who had settled after 1650 along the north shore of Lake Ontario. The Mississauga were a band of Ojibwa who, until the last decade of the seventeenth century, had occupied only the area near the Mississauga River (“river with several outlets”) on the northern end of Lake Huron. The term Mississauga later came to be used for most of the southeastern Ojibwa. In the twentieth century, the name Mississauga in its broadest sense has been replaced by Eastern Ojibwa and Southeastern Ojibwa.⁶⁵

The People of Scarborough: A History

The arrival of the Mississauga as settlers in the Rouge area evidently took place early in 1700. On 30 June of that year, envoys of the Five Nations presented a series of “Propositions for Ye Commissioners of Trade” to the British at Albany. The previous winter, they had met with some of the Dowaganae (Ottawa) who stated their intention to settle at the former Seneca villages near the mouth of the Humber and the Rouge and transfer their trade to the English. In the words of the “Propositions,” “some of the Dowaganaes having had a conference with our Indians at their hunting last winter, conclude to desert their habitations and to come and settle upon Ye Lake Of Cadarackqui near the Sinnekes’ country at a place called Kanatiochtiage [Ganatsekwyagon], and accordingly they are come and settled there and have sent five of their people to Onondaga.” The “Dowaganaes” were likely the Mississauga, who had also planted a “tree of peace” near “Tchojachiage” (Teiaiagon).⁶⁶ Thus, the Mississauga established themselves in the Toronto region and became allies of the Iroquois. With the general peace of 1701, Iroquois control over the north shore was formally relinquished.

These Algonquian speakers were primarily roving hunters and gatherers, not village dwellers. Generally, their settlements consisted of groups of birch-bark lodges which were frequently shifted to new sites. Ganatsekwyagon continued to appear on maps from 1700 to 1777, but this may have been due to the common practice of map copying rather than to it being used by the Mississauga, except perhaps for temporary encampments. However, Boyle did report in 1896 that “at the place known as Bead Hill, specimens connected with the Mississauga have been unearthed, consisting of ‘Queen Anne’ gun barrels with copper sights.”⁶⁷ Poulton points out that “Queen Anne died in 1712, so that any arms manufactured during her reign would date to the first generation of Mississauga to occupy south-central Ontario . . . Granting that Boyle could have been in error in his identification of the gun barrels, more extensive excavations [could] confirm that an early Mississauga component was present . . . The 1991 test excavation for the Canadian Parks Service only uncovered a mere 0.5% of the Bead Hill site.”⁶⁸

The Mississauga continued to use the Rouge trail and to have scattered camp sites in what is now Scarborough, but there was no concentrated, major settlement as there had been by the Seneca. In 1873 historian Henry Scadding related in *Toronto of Old* that the Mississauga set much store by a trail along the valley of the Rouge: “The Mississaga [*sic*] Indians attached great importance to the Rouge and its valley as a link in one of their ancient trails between Huron and Ontario; and they seem to have imparted to the first white men their

own notions on the subject.”⁶⁹ As of 1997, four historic Mississauga sites in Scarborough had been registered with the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship, Culture and Recreation; all date from the post-European settlement period.

Generally, the Mississauga located their settlements at or near the mouths of the major rivers draining into Lake Ontario. In the 1790s Augustus Jones and other surveyors and mapmakers recorded Algonquian-language names for local rivers. The Rouge was “Keitchee Sepee” (Great River) or “Che Sippe” (Large Creek). Highland Creek was named “Yat.qui.I.be.no.nick,” meaning “1st Creek below high lands,” and so the English name is almost a translation.

Like their counterparts living near Lake Huron, the Mississauga who inhabited the north shore of Lake Ontario were probably migratory except for certain seasons of the year when they remained in those localities most productive of fish or when they planted and harvested their crops. The longer growing season in the south would have made corn yields higher, but it is unlikely that they were dependent upon their crops. No doubt, they subsisted by hunting and fishing (the Rouge was well stocked with salmon) and by gathering wild rice and maple sap.

The Mississauga also would have trapped fur-bearing animals to exchange for European trade goods, on which they had come to rely. The French operated a small government store (*magasin royal*) at the mouth of Humber from 1720 to 1729, located to intercept the Ojibwa and secure their furs. They established a larger fort in 1750-51, on the site of what is now Toronto's Exhibition Park; this Fort Rouillé was burned in 1759 by a French garrison retreating from British forces. No outpost was at the Rouge, a fact which suggests that the eastern arm of the Toronto Carrying Place had declined significantly in importance by the early 1700s.

The European Presence, 1700-87

For almost all of the 1700s, there is only the occasional written reference to Europeans being at or near what, in the century's final decade, would become Scarborough. On the afternoon of 29 June 1749, a party of traders and settlers under the command of Captain Charles de Sabrevois, on his way to assume command of the fort at Detroit, came to shore at the mouth of the Rouge. A few years later, in 1755, Anne-Joseph-Hippolyte de Maurès de Malartic, an officer of the Regiment de Béarn newly stationed at Fort Frontenac, recorded passing by the Bluffs during a stormy trip between Cataraqui and

The People of Scarborough: A History

Niagara. On 20 June he wrote: “The moon was bright and we could see the Rivière au Boeuf to the south, and to the north the Great Bluffs [Scarborough Heights] and lands of Toronto.”⁷⁰ The following day he remarked, “The wind veered to the south-south-west; we saw land often. We came in sight again of the Great Bluffs and their river [the Rouge].” After noon we kept to the north to gain the anchorage at Toronto, but night kept us from making it.⁷¹ (The French referred to the Bluffs as “Les Grandes Ecores,” meaning a large steep bank going down into deep water.)

After the French left Fort Rouillé in 1759, the only white men frequenting the north shore of Lake Ontario were illegal traders, mostly from Montreal. The French had restricted trading to the king’s posts, and the British tried to continue this policy. Soldiers were sometimes sent to arrest traders at the Humber, and this probably led the latter to prefer other rivers, less well supervised. Before long, the authorities changed their policy and began to issue licences to a limited number of traders. In September 1770 Jean-Bonaventure Rousseau of Montreal, an interpreter with the Indian Department, was licensed to trade at Toronto with the local Indians. He made the Humber his headquarters but could trade at any of the rivers or harbours he passed on his way there, including the Rouge and Highland Creek.

Land Cessions, 1787-1923

In October 1763 King George III of Britain issued a royal proclamation officially recognizing the Great Lakes Indians’ title to their lands. Before any settlement could legally proceed, Indian land had first to be surrendered by the Indians to the crown; henceforth, only the crown could purchase lands in the Indian territory. Having acquired the desired lands through formal purchase, the crown could then redistribute them, by sale or grant, to settlers. Britain’s need to acquire Native land became more pressing in the 1780s when more than 5000 Loyalists flooded into the upper country west of Montreal, following the British defeat in the American Revolutionary War.

The “Gunshot Treaties” of 1787-88

The Ojibwa first began to cede the land they occupied in southern Ontario to the British in 1781, and more purchases quickly followed. In 1787 and 1788 senior officials of the Indian Department, including Sir John Johnson and Colonel John Butler, met with Indian bands

both at the Carrying Place on the Bay of Quinte and at the site of present-day Toronto. At that time, the Mississauga surrendered all of the central portion of their remaining lands from the north shore of Lake Ontario to the body of water soon to be renamed Lake Simcoe, between the Etobicoke Creek (just west of Toronto) to the Trent River at the head of the Bay of Quinte. This, of course, included the land where Scarborough soon would be.

Historian Donald B. Smith records that “these purchases, both very improperly prepared, opened up the land behind the lake, in the words of one white witness, ‘as far back as a man could walk, or go on foot in a day.’ The Indians later believed that the area involved extended as far back as a gun-shot fired on the lakeshore could be heard in the interior, hence their description of the agreements as the ‘Gunshot Treaties.’”⁷² Another historian, Robert Surtees, notes that “the document which supposedly formalized the transaction, however, omitted a description of the area surrendered. Instead it contained a blank section into which the descriptions were apparently, after the fact, to have been inserted.”⁷³

Once John Graves Simcoe arrived in Upper Canada (now Ontario) to take up his position as the province’s first lieutenant governor, he brought the irregularities of the Gunshot Treaties to the attention of his supervisor, Lord Dorchester, governor of British North America. Dorchester declared the document invalid. Concerns about a claim were temporarily allayed when the Ojibwa of Lake Simcoe assured the British that they considered the lands south of that lake to have been sold. “Yet,” Robert Surtees asserts, “according to the procedures outlined in the proclamation [of 1763], the lands legally remained unsurrendered.”⁷⁴

The Toronto Purchase Treaty of 1805

In the late 1790s, government officials reiterated their concerns about the Johnson-Butler agreements, especially with respect to the land on which the town of York (Toronto) stood. York was the province’s capital, and the government wanted a deed for that land. William Claus, the deputy superintendent of Indian affairs, met with the Mississauga at the mouth of the Credit River on 31 July 1805, and the following day a new agreement was signed.

Under this agreement, the Mississauga acknowledged that land in the region of York had been conveyed to the crown on 23 September 1787, although the “said Instrument did not ascertain or describe the parcel or tract of land meant . . . and was in other

The People of Scarborough: A History

respects defective and imperfective.”⁷⁵ The legal description and the map attached to the 1805 treaty showed that the Indians had surrendered title to a tract of land stretching approximately fourteen miles (twenty-two kilometres) along Lake Ontario from the Etobicoke Creek eastward to today’s Ashbridge’s Bay and reaching inland about 28 miles (50 kilometres). In all, the tract consisted of more than 258,888 acres (100,000 hectares) in and around the town of York.

The Williams Treaties of 1923

Much of the land that had been covered under the Gunshot Treaties of 1787-88, including Scarborough, was not included in the Toronto Purchase Treaty of 1805 and remained unsettled for more than a century. An exhaustive search during Scarborough’s centennial in 1896 failed to turn up any documents ceding this tract to the crown. In that year, Duncan Campbell Scott, an official with the Indian Department, wrote David Boyle (then compiling a history of Scarborough) “to the effect that this matter had frequently been under the consideration of the Indian Department, and that while there is what may called a tradition in the office confirming the belief that a cession has been made, there are no documents so testifying.”⁷⁶ Edward Rogers recorded in a 1994 history that “for over fifty years some Ojibwa had contended that their ancestors had never ceded a large portion of Southern Ontario. The territory in question extended between Lake Ontario and Lake Nipissing, and included many square kilometers of rich farm and forested land . . . Since the 1860s, individuals from these reserves had repeatedly petitioned the government to rectify this oversight.”⁷⁷

In 1916 an inquiry revealed that the land between the north shore of Lake Ontario and Lake Simcoe remained uncaded. Subsequently, the governments of Canada and Ontario quickly arranged for a set of three cessions — known as the Williams Treaties (so named for Angus Seymour Williams, the man who negotiated them). They formally acquired for the crown the region that Sir John Johnson had first attempted to secure in 1787-88, along with other territories stretching north to Lake Nipissing. In 1923 the government finally made a settlement with seven Ojibwa communities — the Chippewa of Christian Island, Georgina Island, and Rama, and the Mississauga of Rice Lake, Mud (Curve) Lake, Scugog Lake, and Alderville (Alnwick). For \$500,000 (to be divided among the bands) and a per-capita payment of \$25, Ontario believed that it had obtained title to

these lands, over 20,000 square miles (5 million hectares) in all, including Scarborough Township.

But certain issues from the Williams Treaties remained outstanding as of 1997. The Mississauga of the (New) Credit did not sign the treaty and hence were not bound by its conditions; the 1991 planning study for the Rouge Valley Park noted that the “phase 1 area forms part of an existing land claim initiated by the Mississaugas of the New Credit First Nation.”⁷⁸ Evidently, as well, the compensation was not carried out fully, and the validity of the basket clause whereby the Indians gave up their rights to all other lands in the province of Ontario was also under scrutiny.⁷⁹

Chapter 2

Early European Settlement, 1796-1815

"After rowing a mile we came within site of what is named in the Map the high lands of Toronto — the shore is extremely bold & has the appearance of Chalk Cliffs but I believe they are only white sand — they appeared so well, that we talked of building a Summer Residence there & calling it Scarborough."

-Elizabeth Simcoe, 4 August 1793

In Scarborough's first two decades of European settlement, until the end of the War of 1812, the fundamental character of its population for the next 150 years was established. This population was small, but it did increase dramatically in percentage terms. Though the people themselves were mainly from the United States or Scotland, the population was not homogeneous. It was comprised primarily of Scottish, Irish, and English groups, each with distinct cultural characteristics. There were also small numbers of people of French, German, and Dutch origin, as well as Natives from the Mississauga nation. In religion, Scarborough's pioneers were mostly Protestant and divided among a number of denominations, the largest being the Methodists, Presbyterians, and the Church of England.

The township these people inhabited was still a primitive place, but there were clear signs of progress by 1815 in the form of road building, the emergence of a local economy revolving around agriculture, timber cutting, and milling, and the tentative development of community life. By 1815 the foundations of Scarborough's future growth had been laid.

The Birth of Upper Canada

Britain's final defeat in the American Revolutionary War in 1783 forced approximately 100,000 colonists who had remained loyal to the crown to flee persecution and seek their fortunes elsewhere, with most going to Canada or the mother country. About 6000 Loyalists flooded into what is now Ontario, and changes in government structures were soon made to deal with the influx of population. This mainly English-speaking group wanted English laws, rights to land ownership, and elective government — all of which they had known in the former British colonies — rather than the laws, customs, and practices currently in place in the predominantly French-speaking province of Quebec.

In 1788 Lord Dorchester, governor of British North America, established four districts in that part of Quebec west of the Ottawa River. The third, Nassau, included today's Scarborough; it was renamed the Home District in 1792. The Constitutional Act of 1791 (often called the Canada Act) divided the colony of Quebec into two provinces, Lower Canada in the east and Upper Canada in the west, the latter being created from the earlier four districts and the predecessor of modern Ontario. In that year, John Graves Simcoe was appointed as the first lieutenant governor of Upper Canada. Envisioning Upper Canada as a model British province, with what he called "the very image and transcript of the British Constitution," Simcoe stated emphatically that "British Customs, Manners & Principles in the most trivial as well as serious matters should be promoted and inculcated to obtain their due Ascendency to assimilate the Colony with the parent state."¹ He immediately began to organize the new province along British lines.

Simcoe soon determined to relocate the capital from Newark (Niagara-on-the-Lake) to a site away from the American border. On 30 July 1793 he travelled across Lake Ontario and landed at Toronto bay with his wife, Elizabeth, a number of officials, and the Queen's Rangers to supervise the establishment of a garrison and the new capital town. Toronto (a Huron word possibly meaning "place of meeting") was renamed York by Simcoe on 27 August 1793, in keeping with his general practice of anglicizing place names. With the selection of York as the seat of government (the actual move did not occur until 1796 when new brick parliament buildings were constructed), the surrounding townships became an important focus of settlement.

First Land Surveys and Naming of Scarborough

After the government had acquired lands from the Natives (but not necessarily by formal signed treaties) and had established an administrative structure, the next step in preparing the area for settlement was to lay out the townships and survey the lots and concessions.

Augustus Jones, the provincial land surveyor, was instructed on 22 February 1791 “to survey and mark the front lines of a row of townships from the eastern boundary of the [Home] District to Toronto, and to carry the said lines of each township back one mile.”² By mid-September, Jones had surveyed and laid out eleven townships fronting the north shore of Lake Ontario beginning at the Trent River and extending westward to Toronto.³ In this row of townships, Scarborough was tenth. All the townships were given names which were later changed. Thus, Pickering, Scarborough, and York, the three western-most townships, were called, respectively, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dublin. (Simcoe’s attempt to rename the Rouge River the Nen, for the river in central England, was not successful.)

Subsequently, more of Scarborough was surveyed and resurveyed, notably in 1811 and 1817 (by Thomas Ridout), 1833 (by John Galbraith), 1844 (by Thomas Parke), and 1864 (by F.F. Passmore). Scarborough was bounded on the east by the Pickering town line, on the north by the Markham town line (Steeles Avenue), on the west by the York town line (Victoria Park Avenue), and on the south by Lake Ontario. The present Lawrence Avenue formed the base line for surveys. Concessions were run parallel to the base line, for a distance of one and a quarter miles (two kilometres). The land between the base line and the lake shore was divided into “broken fronts,” and, where the broken front was deeper than one and a quarter miles, further concessions were laid out. Concessions above the base line were numbered from 1 to 5, and concessions in the broken front were assigned the letters A, B, C, and D. Each concession, except for the fifth which was smaller, was divided into 200-acre (80 hectare) lots, numbering from lot 1 at the eastern boundary at Pickering to lot 35 at today’s Victoria Park.

Surveyors were under strict instructions to carry out the provisions of the Canada Act that one-seventh of the land in each township was to be set aside “for the support of a Protestant clergy” (generally interpreted to mean the Church of England) and that another one-seventh was to be reserved for the “future disposition of the Crown.” It was hoped that, as settlement occurred and land values rose, these

The People of Scarborough: A History

latter reserves could be leased for government revenue, thereby removing or at least limiting the need for general taxation. It was Surveyor General David William Smith who evolved the “chequered plan” for the location of clergy and crown reserves, according to which the reserves were to be interspersed throughout a township rather than lumped together.

On 3 January 1828, 384 acres (150 hectares) of crown reserves in Scarborough intended for the support of grammar schools, and an additional 2000 acres (800 hectares) were turned over to King’s College (predecessor of the University of Toronto); eventually, these lands were sold. Across Upper Canada as a whole, the disposition of the clergy reserves generated great controversy and was a contributing factor to the rebellion of 1837. They were finally secularized in 1854, with the proceeds going to the various Protestant denominations.

It was Elizabeth Simcoe, the wife of the lieutenant governor of the province, who suggested the name of Scarborough. In 1793 Mrs. Simcoe and her party took an outing on horseback and by foot to the peninsula opposite Toronto (now Toronto Island) and to the beach along Lake Ontario. There, they “met with Mr. Grant’s [the surveyor’s] boat” and continued eastward by water to the Bluffs, as she recorded in her diary on Sunday 4 August 1793: “After rowing a mile we came within sight of what is named in the Map the high lands of Toronto — the shore is extremely bold & has the appearance of Chalk Cliffs but I believe they are only white sand — they appeared so well, that we talked of building a Summer Residence there & calling it Scarborough.”⁴ The area must have reminded her of Scarborough in Yorkshire, England, a resort town and fishing centre on the North Sea, where a hammer-shaped peninsula of high land (crowned by a ruined castle) separates the north and south bays. Evidently the name of Scarborough was not used immediately. In a diary probably kept by Captain William Mayne of the Queen’s Rangers, John Simcoe and his entourage were recorded as being “Encamped below the Highlands” on 20 November 1794, during a blustery lake trip between York and Kingston.⁵

Government Land Grants in Scarborough

In the 1780s and 1790s, the government introduced several land-granting programs as rewards and inducements for people settling in Upper Canada. Between 1796 and 1826, the crown granted free land in Scarborough Township to two different kinds of petitioners — officials and non-officials — although one settler might have claims

in both categories. The “official” grantees received their lands because of statutory rights. These included Loyalists, in recognition of the hardships and losses they had suffered in the Revolutionary War, and military officials and veterans, in compensation for service. Loyalist and military claimants were privileged: they received their land patents practically automatically, paid no fees, and performed no settlement duties (clearing and cultivation of land, and the building of a house). Officials and friends of the government formed a subsection within this group. Although not mentioned specifically as a category in the land-grant lists, many received large parcels of land, especially in the townships around York, as compensation for having to relocate from the old capital at Newark to the new post in the wilderness. Attached to the kind of class-structured society he had known in Britain, Simcoe deliberately made extensive land grants to members of his council and other favourites as a way of creating a landed gentry in Upper Canada.

The “unofficial” grantees included everyone else; they had to pay fees and perform settlement duties to gain the final ownership title (the patent) of their grants. Because of these requirements, many pioneers in the latter category did not bother to receive their patents until long after settlement.

To a military claimant goes the distinction of being the first person to patent lands in Scarborough Township. On 6 May 1796 Captain William Mayne of the Queen’s Rangers received all of lots 29 and 30, concessions A and B, consisting of about 500 acres (200 hectares) along Lake Ontario, on the east side of today’s Birchmount Road, south of the present St. Clair Avenue. A frequent companion of both John and Elizabeth Simcoe, Mayne commanded the garrison of Amherstburg on the Detroit River in 1796 and 1797. He returned to England in the autumn of 1797 and neither lived on nor showed any interest in his Scarborough properties. The *Upper Canada Gazette* of 1794 makes reference to a land grant in Scarborough to Capt. Mayne “lying in the Secretary’s Office.”⁶ On 21 December 1796 the newspaper reported that Mayne had not yet picked up his grant.

In the early years, far more land in Scarborough was granted to military and government officials, along with a few Loyalists, than was received by settlers intending to make their home in the township. After Captain Mayne’s military grant in 1796, there followed a series of grants to officials (of high and low ranks) and their relatives, none of whom ever settled in the area. By 1800 about ninety land grants (exclusive of reserves) had been made in Scarborough; the peak year was 1799 with 41 grants. Several grants consisted of 1000 acres

The People of Scarborough: A History

(400 hectares) or more. One of the largest single grants — 2400 acres (960 hectares) — was made to Captain William Demont (d. 1810), who had served with the British army during the American revolution.

Population Growth

For the first few years after the initial land grants were made in Scarborough in 1796, the township had no permanent European settlers, although there may have been a few temporary residents. It was once thought that William Osterhout (also spelled Osterhaut) may have arrived in Scarborough and briefly lived in a log cabin that either he or surveyor Augustus Jones constructed on the lakefront, on crown grant lands Osterhout patented in 1799 (now the site of the Guild Inn), but there are no contemporary documents supporting either theory.⁷ In addition, there are persistent stories that, before 1800, two sons of Charles Annis were squatting on the lakefront Scarborough lands acquired by the family c. 1808, and that William Cornell and his family were living on a boat south of today's Markham Road.

Permanent European settlement dates from 1799, when the Scottish immigrants David and Mary Thomson and their six children moved to Scarborough.⁸ The Thomsons followed “the Indian trail which was subsequently opened up as highway and known as the Danforth Road”⁹ and settled on a tributary of Highland Creek (lot 24, concession 1). On 3 March 1800, it was reported at the annual town meeting at York that 11 people were living in Scarborough. Eight of them were members of the David Thomson family; a seventh child, Jennet Thomson, was born on 18 May 1800, the first documented birth in Scarborough. The other three were unmarried men: James Elliot and Andrew Johnson (also spelled Johnston and Johnstone), friends of the Thomsons from Scotland, and Joseph Ketchum, from Columbia County in the Catskills of New York State. All had been living at York before moving to Scarborough. Elliot and Johnston located close to the Thomsons, and Ketchum began to construct a log shanty on his lot near the Pickering Township border.

Thereafter, until about 1807, Scarborough's population steadily grew; indeed, between 1800 and 1807, the number of people in the township grew by 1172 percent, the most dramatic increase for a single period in its history. Most of its settlers came via York and took up land in its vicinity because it could offer them a market for produce as well as providing store supplies and a range of services.

Historian J.M.S. Careless notes, "In short, town and country were starting to function in the essentially complementary, or symbiotic, relationship of service centre with the hinterland."¹⁰

In March 1801, when the next list of inhabitants was recorded at the annual town meeting at York, Scarborough's population had quadrupled to 43 residents. The additions included two of David Thomson's brothers, Archibald Thomson (with 10 people in his household) and Andrew Thomson, Jr., and William Cornell with his family of four. The population almost doubled by 1802 to 90 inhabitants. In that year, the first official marriage took place in Scarborough, when James Elliot married Janet Thomson, a daughter of Archibald Thomson. In March 1805 there were 23 householders in Scarborough, with a total population of 103 people. Thirty of these residents were Thomsons.

By 1807 there were 140 inhabitants in Scarborough. William Cornell had the largest household, with a total of 12 people that year; eventually Cornell was father to 37 children and stepchildren, the largest family in Scarborough. By that time, in addition to the Thomson settlement in the centre of the township near Highland Creek, another group of early settlers had formed near the York town line, others along the Kingston Road close to Lake Ontario, and a few along Danforth Road: James Palmer at the 10th mile post and William Jones at the 12th.

Despite the rapid spread of land ownership in Scarborough, settlement progressed very slowly in the next few years. In 1809 the population remained at 140 people, owing mostly to the substantial number of absentee holdings. Few of those who received land grants were interested in farming them or settling in the area, with the result that large tracts of vacant lands discouraged those who might have settled near them. Although some grantees began advertising Scarborough land sales in the *Upper Canada Gazette* from the early 1800s, most potential settlers preferred to go to areas where land was free rather than purchase land already patented. Other owners leased their properties in Scarborough: the Thomsons, Elliots, and Johnstons, for example, all used leases to enlarge their holdings.

With the outbreak of the War of 1812 and the ending of immigration from the United States, both land patenting and settlement came to an abrupt halt. After 1815, with peace declared and overseas immigration under way, Scarborough's population began to grow again, but the swing was to large-scale immigration from the British Isles rather than North America.

Immigration

Immigration from other countries was the single most important reason for Scarborough's population growth before 1815. While there were still some Native residents, and while some migrants arrived from other settled parts of British North America (notably Upper Canada and the present-day Maritime provinces), most of Scarborough's early settlers were immigrants from the United States or Scotland. These immigrants arrived for a variety of political, economic, and personal reasons.

United States

With their pioneer skills and familiarity with British institutions, American emigrants were, in Simcoe's view, "Superior to the Europeans."¹¹ Indeed, Americans were a large and most welcome group of settlers to Upper Canada from the 1780s (when the Loyalists began arriving) until 1812. Scarborough's American immigrants were almost all from the northern part of the United States, predominantly nearby New York but also Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Vermont, Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Connecticut. These Americans included Loyalists and post-Loyalists (often called "late Loyalists"), both of whom received free land, as well as those who came later and generally bought property rather than receiving it by grant.

The Loyalists were those American colonists who had supported the British cause during the American revolution of 1775-83. Many had been in North America a short time when the conflict broke out. Historian Roger Daniels notes in his history of immigration and ethnicity in American life that Loyalists who fled the country "came from many ethnic groups, and non-English or [non-]English-descended persons may well have been over-represented among them. Very recent — post 1763 — immigrants certainly were."¹² Either because they did not wish to be citizens of the new American republic or because they feared retribution for their public support of the British, many of the Loyalists became exiles at war's end. Scarborough's Loyalists included those of English, Scottish, Dutch, German, and French Huguenot origin, while Loyalists to other areas of Upper Canada also included Swedes, Swiss, Danes, Spaniards, Indians, and Irish. Some came from military and government backgrounds, but the greater part were farmers and tradespeople. Loyalists to Upper Canada were described in 1787 as "mostly farmers from the back part of New York province"¹³; they were of humbler

origin than those who went to New Brunswick.

"The 2-century-old Loyalist myth has these sturdy people overcoming hardship and deprivation," says historian Roger Hall, "but, in fact, few refugees anywhere have been so privileged."¹⁴ Loyalists were given direct assistance by the British government in the form of land grants which varied in extent according to the nature of their service to the crown. This was to compensate the settlers, who, in choosing British allegiance, had lost their homes and livelihood. In 1784 Governor Sir Frederick Haldimand set up a scale of grants for the Loyalists which allowed the head of a family 100 acres (40 hectares), with an additional 50 acres (20 hectares) for each member of the family. A single, non-military man was to get 50 acres; privates, 100 acres; noncommissioned officers, 200 acres (80 hectares); and field officers, up to 1000 acres (400 hectares) depending on rank.¹⁵ All these grants were soon increased.

The main Loyalist areas in Upper Canada were along the St. Lawrence River, around Kingston and the Bay of Quinte, and in the Niagara peninsula. By the time Scarborough was established in the 1790s, the Loyalist movement was all but over, the main waves of Loyalists having come to British North America in the 1780s. Nevertheless, some Loyalists did come to Scarborough (usually via York) from the early Loyalist settlements in Upper Canada, or the Maritime provinces, especially New Brunswick. Some did not settle here until after the War of 1812.

One of Scarborough's most important Loyalists was Archibald Thomson (1749-1819). A carpenter, Thomson emigrated from Dumfriesshire, Scotland, to North America in 1773, settling at Johnstown on the Mohawk River in Tryon County, New York. Two years later he left there and "entered into his majesties service," repairing forts at Oswegatche (Ogdensburg, New York), Niagara (Youngstown, New York), and Vincennes (on the site of present-day Vincennes, Indiana). In 1778 Thomson volunteered for the Detroit militia, and, he claimed later, "at the first raising of the Militia in this Province had a Lieut.'s Commission from his Excellency Lord Dorchester."¹⁶ Thomson came to British North America in 1785, living at places such as Quebec, Newark, and York before permanently settling in Scarborough in 1800-01. His Scarborough holdings included 700 acres (280 hectares) granted in 1799.¹⁷ Many Scots in America were Loyalists, especially the large number of recent arrivals like Thomson, who had not had time to develop local political loyalties. Roger Daniels notes, "Scots are the only ethnic group likely to have a Tory [Loyalist] majority."¹⁸

The People of Scarborough: A History

George Washington Post (1779-1828) was the youngest son of Jordan Post, a Loyalist who came to York with his family from Hebron, Connecticut.¹⁹ He was living in Scarborough by 1802 and in 1811 received a licence for an inn at Highland Creek, the first inn recorded in Scarborough. He later moved to Pickering Township and kept a tavern about three and a quarter miles (five kilometres) west of Whitby. But the Post family maintained its Scarborough connections. In 1834 George Post's older brother, watchmaker Jordan Post, Jr. (1767-1845), moved to Scarborough and built a mill on Highland Creek.²⁰

Another Loyalist was Norman Milliken, who came to the area via New Brunswick and for whose family the Milliken settlement was named. This border community stretched across the townships of Scarborough and Markham. Milliken settled on the Markham side (lot 1, concession 5) in 1807 and operated a lumber business in the area as well as the local hotel.²¹

Technically, anyone resident in the province of Upper Canada by 28 July 1798 was considered to be a Loyalist.²² However, many American settlers who came in the 1790s, after the original Loyalist movement, were attracted less by the prospect of living under the crown than by Simcoe's offer of free land. Most of these settlers who were termed late Loyalists had not fought for the British during the American Revolutionary War.

On 7 February 1792 Simcoe issued a proclamation addressed "to such as are desirous to settle on the Lands of the Crown in the Province of Upper Canada."²³ It stated that the government of Upper Canada would provide free land to all who would cultivate it and would sign an oath of loyalty to the king. The only charge entailed would be the various clerks' fees for processing the grant, which would be kept at low level by a published fee list. Farms were to be granted in 200-acre lots (80 hectares), but grants up to an additional 1000 acres (400 hectares) could be made at the discretion of the Executive Council.

Simcoe's proclamation, which was part of an aggressive and successful advertising campaign, was smuggled into the western frontier territory of the United States and immediately attracted thousands of American settlers northward. Confident that these Americans would become loyal settlers, Simcoe was also aware that they offered the main hope for rapid economic growth. Some of the late Loyalists who received land in Scarborough did not take up their holdings for another generation; others quickly sold their grants and moved elsewhere.

Joseph Ketchum patented lots 1, 3, and 4, concession D, on 23 March 1798.²⁴ He and his brother, James, and a nephew, Seneca, were the first members of the family to come from New York State to Upper Canada, arriving in 1796. By March 1800 Joseph had moved from York to Scarborough, where he lived until about 1802. Joseph Ketchum was one of only about 100 people in Upper Canada to receive the maximum grant of 1200 acres (480 hectares), awarded by Simcoe to a few Americans for their good character and known loyalty or for their services in bringing in settlers.²⁵

Sarah Ashbridge, a widow from the Susquehanna valley, Pennsylvania, came to Upper Canada in 1793 with a large family of grown children and their spouses. The Ashbridges were not Loyalists — Jonathan Ashbridge had fought on the American side during the revolution — but had many other compelling reasons for leaving Pennsylvania: “dilution of the family estate and settlements to Ashbridge siblings; dissatisfaction with the strict Quaker rules, regulations and political dogma; overcrowding of available farmland; quarrels with neighbours over land and, possibly, political viewpoints; widowhood and mounting debts.”²⁶ Sarah Ashbridge and some of her extended family (for example, a son, Jonathan Ashbridge, and a son-in-law, Parker Mills) received several crown grant lots in Scarborough. Another Ashbridge son-in-law, Paul Wilcott, also acquired land in Scarborough. Wilcott Creek, a tributary of the Rouge River in northern Scarborough, is named for the family. The Ashbridges initially settled in York Township, along the bay east of the Don River (subsequently named Ashbridge’s Bay), and did not move to Scarborough until the 1840s.

Another late Loyalist was Charles Annis, who, attracted by Simcoe’s offer of free land, first settled in Whitby Township but moved in 1808 to Scarborough, where he acquired lots 16, concessions C and D, originally granted to William and Elizabeth Osterhout.

Free crown lands continued to be made until 1826, but many American settlers who came to Scarborough after 1800 had to purchase their land from original grantees. The land was cheaply priced (and could sometimes be paid for in kind), and there were virtually no settlement duties before 1804. William Cornell acquired lots 18 and 19, concession C, from Nicholas Smith and Submission Gallaway, respectively. William Knowles bought one of Joseph Ketchum’s properties (lot 3, concession 1) in the east end of the township in October 1802, allegedly paying for it with “a span of horses, a set of harness, and waggon”²⁷ but in fact spending £15

The People of Scarborough: A History

pounds, 10 shillings for the 200 acres (80 hectares) and a half-completed shanty.²⁸ Thomas Adams, who came to Canada from Vermont in 1808, acquired another of Ketchum's original grants (lot 1, concession D), near the mouth of Highland Creek, building a log house on the bank overlooking the lake.

During the War of 1812, when Britain and its North American colonies fought against the United States (and Upper Canada survived by the skin of its teeth), Scarborough's residents of American origin were, in the main, loyal to their new homeland. Some, such as Stephen Pherrill, Thomas Adams, and Peter and Isaac Secor, served in the local militia. Others, including William Pherrill, kept watch on Scarborough Heights for enemy ships on Lake Ontario.

Among their other contributions, American immigrants to Upper Canada played a key role in the development of the colony's religious life. Indeed, of all the Christian denominations that eventually located in Scarborough during the nineteenth century, American Methodism was especially successful at being what some historians have called "a forum for ethnic fusion."²⁴ The New York Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States sent Nathan Bangs to the Bay of Quinte and Home District circuit in 1802, and in 1803 he became the first "saddlebag preacher" to minister in Scarborough.³⁰ Thereafter, a succession of Methodist circuit riders (including John Carroll and Egerton Ryerson) preached at local farmhouses and inns in the township. The War of 1812, and the anti-Americanism it fostered, led to a severing of the close relationship between Upper Canadian Methodists and their co-religionists in the United States. However, it was not until 1828 that the Methodist Episcopal Church formally broke its connection with its mother church south of the border.

Of course, not all Americans in Scarborough were Methodists. The Pennsylvania Germans were almost all Mennonites, some early American settlers were Anglicans, and William Cornell was a Quaker who, it was later recalled, "never had any place of worship" since there was "no other family professing the same religion."³¹

Scotland

Unlike most of the rural townships around York, which were overwhelmingly American at first, Scarborough also had a large group of recent Scottish immigrants. It was unusual for a community in the hinterlands of Upper Canada to have recent immigrants from Britain constituting such a significant proportion of its early settlers. There

was no mass British migration overseas during this period because of the wars with revolutionary and Napoleonic France. The relatively few people who came to Upper Canada from Britain were from the upper or middle classes, and they were attracted more to incipient urban centres than to backwoods farms, despite Simcoe's prediction in 1791 that "Emigration of hardy, industrious & virtuous Men may be reasonably expected from the Northern parts of Great Britain."³²

Almost all of the early Scots in Scarborough were connected by blood or friendship with Archibald Thomson. As a Loyalist of officer rank, Thomson had considerable influence in the fledgling province of Upper Canada: he could command land grants not only for himself but also for his family and even friends. Moreover, as a carpenter, Thomson would have had connections in the building trades and been in a position to help new immigrants find employment to tide them over until farms could be established. Archibald Thomson encouraged his brothers, David and Andrew (both men were masons), their families, and a number of friends to emigrate to Upper Canada, and he greatly assisted them in getting jobs and land in the province.

On 11 May 1796 Archibald Thomson sent a petition to Lieutenant Governor Simcoe requesting not only additional land for himself but also "that your excellency will grant him such a further portion of land as you may see meet to make a permanent settlement for his family and friends."³³ Six of the ten people named in the petition quickly received land grants in the same vicinity of Scarborough, along the banks of Highland Creek in the geographic centre of township, totalling some 1800 acres (720 hectares): the three Thomson brothers (Archibald, Andrew, and David), Ebenezer Cavers, James Elliot, and Andrew Johnstone. A seventh person listed on the petition, Robert Johnstone, seems to have rented land in Scarborough before petitioning for a land grant in 1819.

The David Thomson family was the first of the group to move to Scarborough. After emigrating from Scotland in 1796, David Thomson found work as a mason first at Newark and then at York constructing the new government buildings, while Mary Glendinning Thomson took in sewing. However, the Thomsons decided to leave the dampness and malarial flats of York (Mary claimed the miasma caused her fevers) and to move to drier land in Scarborough. In 1799 they followed the Indian trail (soon laid out as Danforth Road) northeast from York and took a well-drained site some three and a quarter miles (five kilometres) away from the lake, with unlimited water power and an abundance of valuable pine.

The People of Scarborough: A History

Andrew Thomson (1752-1823) arrived in Upper Canada on 23 June 1796 with his brother, David, and, like him, worked at Newark and York before moving to Scarborough in 1802. There he patented parts of lots 25 and 26, concession 2, on 16 May 1799 and lot 23, concession 2, on 17 May 1802. James Elliot is said to have moved to Scarborough with David and Mary Thomson in 1799. He patented lot 22, concession D, on 8 July 1799, but since he was unmarried until 1804 he may have lived for some time with the Thomsons. Andrew Johnston (Johnstone), another friend of the Thomsons, patented lot 21, concession 2, on 8 July 1799 and was living in Scarborough by 1800. Ebenezer Cavers, who had arrived in Upper Canada with the Thomson brothers on 23 June 1796, patented lot 22, concession 2, on 17 May 1802. He stayed but a few years in Scarborough, moving to Thorold Township in 1804. Robert Johnstone arrived in Scarborough in 1809.

These early Scottish settlers were all from the Lowlands area in the south of Scotland. The Thomsons were from Bonese, Westerkirk parish, Dumfriesshire, on the border between Scotland and England. James Elliot was also “a native of Dumfriesshire,” the inscription on his tombstone in St. Andrew’s cemetery records, as were many members of the Johnston family also buried there.³⁴ Aside from the obvious benefits of free land, Andrew Thomson had personal reasons for leaving Scotland, claiming, “It was either real or I fancied that I was not respected as formerly on account of my second Marriage.” He found life in Upper Canada to his liking, and he encouraged other members of his family to emigrate, as he wrote to his daughter on 28 October 1811: “I should be happy to see you in this Country if it would be any advantage to you. Land is at Present a very easy Purchase and is of great advantage to a Rising Family. The Publick burdens in this Country is very Moderate but must Increase in Proportion to the Increase of People & stock I don’t Pay more than 10s [10 shillings] a year for Taxes. this cuntry [country] is increasing very Fast, you may form some Idea when I inform you that 14 years ago when we first came to York . . . their [*sic*] was not more than 20 Families within 70 or 80 miles & at this time their [*sic*] is at least 500 Families in that distance and Increasing every day.”³⁵

Ethnic Origin

While the United States and Scotland were the two main geographic source areas for Scarborough’s early population, there was somewhat more variety in the township’s ethnic composition. The settlers were

all of European stock, but the specific ethnic origin of many of those who emigrated from the United States, other than American, is often difficult to discern. For example, it is known that William Cornell was the descendant of a Rhode Island colonist who had come to North America around 1636, but the family's origin before that is not known. Similarly, the North American founder of the Annis family arrived in Newburyport, New England, about 1662 from Enniskillen, Ireland, but their earlier whereabouts is vague. A family history records that "the origin of the name is mysterious, the first bearer seems to have come from the east coast of England or Scotland and was probably a Norseman."³⁶ Using family names as a guide to ethnic origin can be misleading. John Kennedy, who came from Schenectady, New York, and had settled on lot 28, concession 5, in northern Scarborough by 1806, could have been of Scottish, English, or Irish origin. One might assume that Thomas Adams was of English origin, yet Boyle referred to him as "an American Dutchman."³⁷

Many of Scarborough's early residents were of English origin. Some had been born in England, but most had already lived for shorter or longer periods in other parts of British North America or the United States. (Historian Roger Daniels notes that over three-fifths of the white people in the colonies that became the United States were of English stock.) In Upper Canada's early years, there was almost no direct immigration from England. William Knowles was born in England and lived in New Jersey before emigrating to Upper Canada and buying Joseph Ketchum's 200-acre (80 hectare) lot in October 1802. Similarly, William Devenish was a Londoner by birth who had emigrated first to New York and then moved to Niagara, Upper Canada, in the early 1790s before moving to Scarborough. John Richardson, who lived on the lake shore near the mouth of Highland Creek, was from Yorkshire. (A different John Richardson emigrated from Ireland to Scarborough in the 1820s.)

Most people of English origin who came to Scarborough became farmers; some had other trades as well. William Knowles was a blacksmith. William Devenish (1772-1856) was a carpenter who constructed the first frame barn in Scarborough on his crown grant farm (lot 35, concession C) in 1807, the first year his name appeared in the list of inhabitants.³⁸ The first school classes in Scarborough were taught in 1805 by a Mr. Pocock, an Englishman. Scarborough's residents of English origin did not settle in any particular area.

Since most immigration from France to the New World had ceased by 1763, when New France and its inhabitants were ceded to Britain, Scarborough's few residents of French origin belonged to families

The People of Scarborough: A History

that had lived in North America for generations. However, some emigrés during the French revolution did make their way to Upper Canada, where by 1800 Gwillimbury, Whitchurch, and other areas had been set aside for them in an unsuccessful colonization venture.

Both the Secors and the L'Amoreaux, two early Scarborough families of French origin, were Huguenots (French Protestants) and Loyalists. Beginning in 1540, about 250,000 Huguenots emigrated from France to the New World, founding early settlements in Canada, Brazil, and the Carolinas. In 1685 King Louis XIV, in his ongoing crusade to destroy Protestantism in France, revoked the Edict of Nantes (1598), which had guaranteed Protestants limited tolerance. About 2000 Huguenots fled France for the American colonies in the decade of the 1680s in the face of severe and vicious persecution. One was Amboise De Secor (1631-1712), who helped establish the Huguenot settlement at New Rochelle, New York, in 1689 and was the founder of the Secor family in North America. Most Huguenots came with skills and some with capital, and they achieved significant economic, political, and social success in their new home. Yet, as an ethnic group, according to Jon Butler, in his *The Huguenots in America*, they "began very quickly to assimilate within this newly evolving society . . . aside from their surnames they were indistinguishable from all other settlers."³⁹

Several prominent Huguenots were Loyalists who came to Canada after the American revolution. Isaac Secor and his family left the Saratoga area of New York and settled first at Kingston and then at Napanee, but in 1804 he, his wife, and three of their children were recorded as living in Scarborough. Three of their oldest sons, all more than sixteen years old, were also listed as Scarborough residents: Isaac Jr. (who himself had a family of five), Joshua, and Peter Secor. The last was to become Scarborough's first postmaster, a job from which he was eventually dismissed on account of his support for the rebellion of 1837.

Josue (Joshua) L'Amoreaux⁴⁰ came to Scarborough in 1816. Following the American revolution, the family moved first to New Brunswick and then to Scarborough, where they settled and farmed (lots 33 and 34, concession 4, and lot 33, concession 3). A border community bearing the family's name was eventually established along today's Finch Avenue, in the vicinity of the Scarborough-York town line. Isaac L'Amoreaux gave a portion of his land for an Anglican church at L'Amoreaux in 1840.

Evidently both the Secor and the L'Amoreux families had assimilated into the main culture by the time they arrived in

Scarborough. There is no evidence of their using the French language here, and both families, the Secors in particular, were active participants in community life over several generations.

Scarborough had some settlers of German origin but not the large number that settled in adjacent Markham Township. There was, of course, no Germany as a nation-state until 1871. Ethnic Germans — persons of German-speaking origin — eventually came to Scarborough from Germany (*Reichsdeutsche*) as well as from other lands (*Auslandsdeutsche*). But, in this early period, they were almost all immigrants from the United States, especially from the German settlements in New York State and Pennsylvania. Simcoe was especially anxious to attract German settlers, who were known to be excellent farmers and artisans, and to this end he advertised in Pennsylvania his offer of free land.

Some of Scarborough's Germans were Loyalists; in fact, as many as one-third of the Loyalists in Upper Canada were German speaking. John Huff or Hough (both forms of the name were used in contemporary sources) was born in Germany in 1737 and emigrated to North America, settling in Albany County, New York. During the revolution, he and his brother, Hendrich (b. 1732), served in a force composed of white Loyalists and Indian warriors led by Thayendanegea, or Joseph Brant, the Mohawk war chief. After the war, the two brothers and their families moved to Upper Canada. One of John Huff's sons, William Huff (b. 1777), is said to have acquired 200 acres (80 hectares) in Scarborough (lot 30, concession B) in the late 1790s. Another son, Joseph Huff (1794-1872) "bought land at the north west corner and built a house of mud and straw (Birchmount and Eglinton) . . ." ⁴¹ In 1816, he established a sawmill on the small stream that ran through the property. Joseph Huff married Elizabeth Devenish, a member of another early Scarborough family.

The couple's nine children evidently lost touch with the family's German origin. They used the English "Hough" rather than the German "Huff" for their surname: the crossroads at today's Birchmount and Eglinton, where two generations of the family operated blacksmith and carriage-making shops, became known as Hough's Corners. They also started the myth that the family was descended from the Houghs of Cheshire, England.

The largest number of German settlers to move into Upper Canada in the aftermath of the revolution were pacifists from Pennsylvania. Often known as Pennsylvania Dutch (from "Deutsch" or "Deitsch," that is, German), they were generally members of dissenting religious

The People of Scarborough: A History

sects such as the Quakers and the Anabaptist groups of Amish, Dunkers (or Tunkers), and, most prominently, Mennonites. Descended from the early immigrants from the Palatinate area or from the German Swiss who had migrated to Pennsylvania to join William Penn's Quaker settlement, they were attracted to Upper Canada by the prospect of uncleared, free or inexpensive land and the opportunity to practise their religion freely while retaining their traditional exemption from bearing arms. "Americans regarded Mennonites and other 'plain folk' Germans with great suspicion," historian R. A. Helling notes, "because they had been conscientious objectors and had not been involved in the Revolutionary War."⁴²

About 2000 Swiss Mennonites, all of whom spoke Germanic dialects, migrated first, acquiring land from private owners in the Niagara peninsula (1786), Waterloo County (1800-1801), and York County (1803). "The Mennonites' relative isolation and self-sufficiency within closed communities, combined with their conviction that religion was a way of life, produced a unique socio-religious culture," Mennonite historians Frank H. Epp and Rodney J. Sawatsky have observed.⁴³

The Reesors were one of Scarborough's earliest and most prominent Mennonite families. Peter Reesor (1775-1854) left Franklin County, Pennsylvania, in 1804 and travelled to Upper Canada in four Conestoga wagons with his entire family including his own wife and children, his parents, Christian Reesor and Fanny Reiff, two sisters and three brothers with their families, and a cousin. Peter handled the business affairs for the family and shouldered even more responsibilities after his father was accidentally killed in 1806. He had first come to Upper Canada in the late 1790s to scout for suitable property, and in the early 1800s he acquired as much as 4000 acres (1600 hectares) for his relatives. All the deeds in the first few years were drawn up in his name. Most of the property was in the eastern part of Markham Township. Peter Reesor chose lot 4, concession 9, Markham, for his own home, in the valley of the Little Rouge River at Cedar Grove north of Scarborough. Land was also acquired in the adjoining townships, including the northeastern part of Scarborough. Peter Reesor patented crown land lots 1 and 2, concession 5 (125 acres, or 50 hectares), on 4 February 1812 and purchased lot 3, concession 5 (64 acres, or 25 hectares) in 1819.

Scarborough had a few property owners and residents of Dutch origin. They came from the United States, where the Dutch were already considerably anglicized, and were quickly assimilated in Upper Canada. An early resident of Dutch origin was the wife of

William Knowles. According to Boyle, she used homegrown flax and “carded, spun and wove all the blankets, linen and cloth required for the family.”⁴⁴ Another property owner of Dutch origin was William Osterhout, as noted earlier. Originally from the Netherlands,⁴⁵ Osterhout apparently emigrated to Upper Canada from the Mohawk valley, New York State, in the early 1780s. He was a Loyalist and served in John Butler’s Rangers during the American revolution. From 1784 until 1791, Osterhout lived in various areas in the Niagara District, and from there he petitioned John Graves Simcoe for a land grant for himself and his wife, Elizabeth, on 21 May 1796. It was not until 8 July 1799 that Osterhout received a patent for two land grants in Scarborough: lots 14 and 16, concession C. In addition, Elizabeth Osterhout was granted 200 acres (80 hectares), lot 16, concession D, patented on 6 April 1805. For years, Osterhout has been reputed to be one of the possible builders of the log cabin at the Guild Inn, where it is said he settled in 1796 in order to fulfil his settlement duties. However, historical and archaeological research conducted on the cabin in 1996 determined that “William Osterhout never settled in Scarborough, but rather lived as a farmer in Lincoln County. Particularly because of his privileged status as a United Empire Loyalist, it is possible that his settlement duties for the property in Scarborough were waived, and it is likely that he never set foot on lot 14, concession C, Scarborough Township, nor built the log cabin there.”⁴⁶

The Classis of Albany (New York), the local organization of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, sent missionaries to Upper Canada, and a few of them preached in Scarborough: the Reverend Robert McDowall in 1805 and the Reverend John Beattie in 1810. Evidently, they came in response to petitions from local Presbyterians, and people of all denominations attended the services.

Aboriginals did not vanish from the area once Europeans began to arrive. Although no Natives are included in any published list of Scarborough’s inhabitants during this period, a few encounters between local Natives and Europeans have been documented. An account recorded in 1861 stated that, in her first year here (about 1799), Mary Thomson “was seven months and five days in Scarboro before she saw a woman and the first one she saw was a Mohawk Squaw.”⁴⁷ Another meeting was recorded on 25 June 1819 by John Goldie (1793-1886), a Scottish naturalist who was in the area conducting botanical field work: “For a number of miles to-day I passed through barren, sandy, pine woods, which it is probable will never be cleared. In the morning I met a number of Indians and

The People of Scarborough: A History

squaws. One of them was very drunk. He told me he was crazy with taking too much bitters this morning. One of them had no clothing upon him, except a piece of cloth about a foot in length and breadth, which hung before him.”⁴⁸

One can only imagine the horror that local Natives must have felt about the activities of the white settlers who arrived on their land, coming first in a trickle and then by the thousands. The Ojibwa had a reverence for the land, for it furnished them with the plants and animals that allowed them to survive. They seldom cut down living trees. The newcomers viewed the primeval forest as an enemy to be exterminated as quickly as possible, and they spent most of their early years here clearing their bush lots, felling trees, burning the stumps, and then harrowing and sowing the ground.

Beginnings of Community

This era saw the beginnings of an infrastructure. In 1799 Asa Danforth, an American contractor, built the first road through Scarborough. Danforth Road, as it came to be known, went in a northeasterly direction along “a pine ridge,” an old Indian trail, and connected York with the eastern settlements. It was intended to be part of “Dundas Street,” which Lieutenant Governor Simcoe conceived in 1793 as a single province-wide road joining the Thames River with Kingston. In 1801 William Cornell and Levi Annis, two of Scarborough’s earliest residents, cleared a second trail along the heights close to Lake Ontario. Between 1815 and 1817, this “Front Road” was straightened, improved, and became part of the Kingston Road, replacing Asa Danforth’s road as the township’s main highway.

Apart from innkeeping along the township’s two main roads, Scarborough’s earliest settlers mostly farmed, cut and burned wood, and milled. William Cornell laid out the first orchard in Scarborough in 1802, and two years later he constructed the first of many gristmills and sawmills in the township on Highland Creek. Clearing timber from the land for agriculture became a productive activity in itself. The hardwood ashes and crude potash derived from burning wood, David Boyle observed in 1896, were “among the first of industries to yield the settler any income.”⁴⁹ Before long, enterprising Scarborough residents were carrying wheat, flour, potatoes, and other produce by schooners across the lake to New York State, and cordwood and other forest products during the winter by road to York. The discovery of medicinal springs in Scarborough in 1806

Early European Settlement, 1796-1815

had no particular economic benefit, although land speculators later used it to promote sales.

Although, by necessity, most of the energies of these early settlers were devoted to clearing the land and basic survival, there were some community gatherings, the tentative beginnings of local organizations. In 1805 the first school classes began in the home of James Elliot on lot 22, concession D. And, as we have seen, travelling ministers for the Methodist and Dutch Reformed churches visited Scarborough from the early 1800s, holding services that members of all denominations attended.

In sum, while Scarborough's population was still small in 1815, a community of sorts was starting to develop. Much had changed since those early days when David and Mary Thomson had built their homestead on Highland Creek.

Chapter 3

Immigration and Settlement, 1815-1861

“Mr. Craig . . . showed me all such kindness as is wont to be shown to ministers in Scotland. On my way called at the house of Mr. Brownlee . . . who also served us a Scotch hospitality. Intended to lodge this evening with Mr. David Thomson, but . . . found them all tipsy . . . Scarborough folks are noted drinkers.”

-Reverend William Proudfoot, 1 December 1832

The time between 1815 and 1861 was one of tremendous growth and community consolidation in Upper Canada. Scarborough was no exception, and the character it acquired in these years was destined to survive a long time. Patterns of immigration would remain unchanged until at least the Second World War — most immigrants were from England, Ireland, and Scotland — and the same was true of Scarborough’s religious complexion, with the overwhelming majority being Protestant (most either Anglican, Methodist, or Presbyterian). Simultaneously, the community developed rapidly in a myriad of ways: local government was established, churches and schools were built, transportation was improved. All this development was spurred by a level of economic prosperity almost unimaginable to an earlier generation. In 1847, at the death of Mary Thomson, it could be reported that “Scarborough now possesses between three and four thousand inhabitants; has ten schools that receive Government allowances; has ten Taverns, ten Blacksmith’s shops, three Grist Mills, eighteen Saw Mills, one Carding and Fulling Mill, one English, one Scotch Church, and three Meeting-houses or chapels — besides a Subscription Library, and a Fair or cattle show annually.”¹

Population Growth

During this era, Scarborough embarked on its first era of substantial population growth; the second would be after 1945. Between 1809 and 1819, the growth rate was 149 percent, with most of the increase probably occurring after 1815. Then, in a single year from 1819 to 1820, the population grew 36 percent, with 128 people added (bringing the total population to 477). The 1820s and 1830s saw Scarborough's greatest growth for the period, about 140 percent in each decade, mainly because of immigration from Britain and Ireland. By 1835 Scarborough's population had reached 2047 people and the township was well settled. There were still some unimproved lots but few vacant crown lands and almost no unoccupied reserves.

Despite a huge influx of Irish immigrants to Canada in the 1840s, Scarborough's growth slowed down to a 54 percent increase between 1842 and 1851, with 4244 residents in the latter year. (By comparison, Toronto's population more than doubled during that decade and by 1851 had reached 30,775.) During the 1850s, Scarborough's population increased by a modest 14 percent, the township's slowest growth rate for the entire period. Immigration from Britain and Ireland was more or less over by then. And some Scarborough residents were beginning to move elsewhere in search of a better life. In 1852, for example, several families went to Bosanquet Township, Lambton County, attracted by the prospect of cheap land from the Canada Company, which owned large tracts of unsettled and fertile land in the western part of the province. After 1850, there was an increase in the number of families who held little land. Among this group, some were to be found in the hamlets that were growing steadily, others were farm labourers, and some were engaged in industry or commerce. In 1861 Scarborough recorded its largest population thus far in its history — 4854. This figure would not be surpassed until 1911.

Immigration

Immigration was the major reason for Scarborough's spectacular increase in population during this period. From 1815 onwards, immigrants began coming again to Upper Canada. More of the newcomers were now from across the Atlantic rather than from North America: henceforth the township and the province were to be

occupied increasingly by settlers from Britain and Ireland rather than the United States.

Transatlantic migration to Upper Canada began slowly in 1815, reaching its first great peak in the late 1820s and early 1830s. During 1831, over 30,000 Irish, 16,000 English, and 5,000 Scots arrived at the main port of entry at Quebec. Immigration from Britain and Ireland to Canada continued to be high until 1838, when it declined because of an economic depression and political uncertainty following the rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada. The number remained low until 1840.

The period following the Napoleonic Wars saw one of the great movements of population in world history, with millions leaving Europe for the New World. At first, immigrants came because the end of the wars in 1815 not only brought immediate economic depression to Britain but opened the oceans to peacetime shipping. Simultaneously, the economy of the mainland colonies of British North America expanded, offering better opportunities for immigrants. Propaganda, both government and private, also encouraged immigration, as did free land, which remained available in Upper Canada until 1826. Finally, just as difficult economic circumstances in Britain prompted substantial emigration by members of the British working class, so did political upheavals in continental Europe cause many to leave their homelands in search of a brighter future in the New World.

Four types of immigrants to Upper Canada have been identified for this period: military officers and men who, after serving in Upper Canada, decided to settle there; retired soldiers from Britain and its other colonies; immigrants sponsored and organized by promoters and land companies; and individual migrants who settled in Upper Canada for any number of personal reasons. Some of these early immigrants had the means not only to pay for their Atlantic crossing but also to buy improved land from original owners (although many settlers who came to Scarborough in the 1820s and 1830s were only able to rent initially), to build houses, and to set up businesses. "The myth of the destitute, the poor, the homeless was just that," claims in a recent history of Ontario.² Later immigrants were often less well off. One young girl who emigrated from Scotland with her family in about 1855 recalled later, "I have heard father tell that on reaching Scarboro all his worldly wealth was one shilling, but he had his fine black suit and white 'sark,' as he called it, for kirk wear."³

The immigrants had many choices of location but often settled

The People of Scarborough: A History

beside others of the same national, linguistic, or religious background; thus, Scottish Lowlanders were attracted to Scarborough, where their compatriots had started a community in the late eighteenth century. The size and composition of Scarborough's immigrant population can be seen in the 1842 census for Upper Canada. *Smith's Canadian Gazetteer* noted that "the population of Scarborough is 2750,⁴ principally English, Irish, and Scotch emigrants."⁵ In that year, more than 47 percent of Scarborough's total population were immigrants. Almost 93 percent of the immigrant population had been born in Britain: 39 percent in England, 35 percent in Scotland, and almost 19 percent in Ireland. Only 7 percent had been born in the United States. No Scarborough residents had been born in the "Continent of Europe, or otherwise," to use the language of the census. The Canadian-born population comprised 53 percent of Scarborough's total population in 1842. According to the census, they were almost all of British origin: only 11 Canadian-born people were of French origin.

Immigration from the British Isles to Canada increased again during the 1840s, peaking in 1847, when 90,000 immigrants landed at Quebec. The overwhelming majority were impoverished, disease-stricken refugees from Ireland who were fleeing the potato famine of 1845. The 1851 census of the Canadas — Upper Canada had been joined with Lower Canada in 1840 to form the United Province of Canada — reflected the increased immigration and the huge influx from Ireland. The count for Scarborough showed that the township's population was now almost equally balanced between Canadian-born and foreign-born. Only four Canadian-born people were of French origin.

Immigrants born in the British Isles continued to be the overwhelming majority in Scarborough, constituting 95 percent of the total immigrant population in 1851. But the dominant country of origin had shifted dramatically. Ireland now accounted for 36 percent of the immigrant total, almost twice as many as it had in 1842. The proportion of Scarborough immigrants born in England was now 34 percent, a 5 percent decline from 1842, and the share born in Scotland was 25 percent, a 10 percent drop. The rest of the immigrants were almost all from North America: 84 were from the United States and 18 from New Brunswick. There were also two people who had been born in the East Indies, possibly colonial military types of British origin. A few new birthplaces appeared in the 1861 census; in that year, nine people were born in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, twelve in "Prussia, German states and Holland," and

one each in France and the West Indies.

Ethnic Origin

While the censuses of 1842, 1851, and 1861 give detailed information on the birthplaces of Scarborough's population, they do not include statistics on ethnic origin. Yet the Canadian-born were almost certainly like the immigrant groups in being primarily of English, Irish, and Scottish origin. These three main groups, although sharing the same language, had unique cultural backgrounds, and immigrants belonging to each brought with them their own distinctive outlook and traditions. By this time as well, the English, Irish, and Scottish populations of Scarborough were large enough to form community organizations and conduct various activities. People of Native, French, German, Dutch, and African origin provided some slight further diversity.

English

A considerable influx of English immigrants came to Upper Canada after the Napoleonic Wars. Many were suffering the effects of high unemployment and depressed wages in England, and so their motives for emigration were largely economic. Emigration was also encouraged by speculative companies such as the Canada Company, which acquired large tracts of land on the condition that it bring in suitable settlers from England. (The Canada Company bought the remaining crown reserves in Scarborough in 1828 but there is no evidence that it undertook to colonize the township.) By 1819, one-half of the British subjects who sailed for British North America were English from the British Isles. Scarborough consistently had more immigrants from England than any other place. The only exception was 1851, when, in the wake of the Irish famine, the Irish-born were fractionally larger.

No part of England, except perhaps Devonshire, can be singled out as having contributed particularly to Scarborough's population. Immigrants came from all parts of the country, some arriving directly from England (often staying first in York), and others by way of the United States or other parts of British North America. Immigrants from the north of England included the families of Isaac Chester, who came to Scarborough from Northumberland in 1820, John Bell from Durham (c. 1820 via New York),⁶ James Ionson from

The People of Scarborough: A History

Westmoreland (1827), Cumberlanders John Walton (1823) and Thomas Jacques (1834, via the United States, York, and Whitby), and John Tingle and Robert Jackson, both from Yorkshire. Among the settlers in Scarborough from the south of England were the families of William Loveless (1828, via the United States),⁷ John Perryman Wheler (1830), Simon Beare (1853), and John Morrish (1855, via Ohio), all originally from Devonshire, and William Oliver from Norfolk (by 1836).

Just as there was no predominant source region in England, so no area of Scarborough had a particularly English element; immigrants of English origin settled all over the township. However, some of the hamlets that started to grow within Scarborough at this time did adopt English place names. Ellesmere was formally named in 1853 when it received a post office; it took its name from Ellesmere, situated near the border of Wales, just south of Liverpool.⁸ Malvern, located about two miles (3.2 kilometres) from “the much celebrated Scarborough Springs,”⁹ was laid out in building lots in 1857; it was named for a spa and resort town in Worcestershire, which also boasted medicinal springs. Woburn became the name of a Scarborough post office, located on Markham Road (near the present intersection of Painted Post Road), in 1856. Thomas Dowswell (d. 1857), who operated both the post office and the hotel in which it was housed, may have suggested replacing the post office’s original name — the Scottish “Elderslie” — with Woburn. He had grown up a few miles from Woburn, a market town in Bedfordshire, and had emigrated to Canada in 1831.¹⁰

By 1861 this wave of English immigration had subsided. Though some of the early migrants had moved on to the United States, 717 people, 15 percent of the total population, who had been born in England remained in Scarborough. Province-wide, the English-born accounted for only 10 percent of the population.

Most of those of English origin who came to Scarborough were farmers. A few of the more successful of them, led by J. P. Wheler, became involved in thoroughbred livestock breeding and importing and as early as the 1840s were making buying trips to Britain. Thoroughbred livestock imported from England and used by Scarborough farmers included Berkshire pigs, Durham cattle, and Cotswold and Leicester sheep.

Residents of English origin set up other businesses. Wheler established a sawmill along the banks of Highland Creek in the 1830s, and later a grist mill. William Helliwell (1811-97), a native of Thouthstone, Yorkshire, who had lived in York Township since 1818,

built a hotel and a grist mill at Highland Creek in 1847. Early shopkeepers were often English: Paul Sheppard, for example, ran a small store near the York town line from 1843 to 1846.

Some professionals from England were also in Scarborough by this time, including teachers, physicians, and clergy. One was the Reverend Charles Winstanley, a retired Church of England cleric from Oxford, who in 1844 established a country retreat, "Falling Brook," along the lakefront near the York town line (lot 34, concession A). His son, Orlando Salathiel Winstanley, practised medicine in the area for a few years in the 1840s and was "the first of his profession in Scarboro to keep a handsome turn-out, which consisted of an English dogcart and a fine horse in English harness."¹¹

The writer George Woodcock commented in 1988 that "the English, perhaps because they are so widely and evenly spread across Canada and because they consider themselves a founding race, have tended to be less self-defensively clannish than other groups . . . The Anglican Church, formerly the Church of England in Canada, is perhaps the largest of the distinctively English institutions, transplanted almost unchanged from the homeland."¹² Four Anglican churches were built in Scarborough during this time. St. Margaret's was established in the southeast section of the township in 1833, but by 1853 it was being used only for funerals.¹³ Three other Anglican churches opened during the 1840s: St. Paul's, serving the L'Amoreaux settlement in the northwest (1841), Christ Church on Kingston Road near Markham Road (1846), and St. Jude's on the Scarborough-York town line, south of today's Lawrence Avenue (1848). In 1851, about 32 percent of Scarborough's population, or 1362 people, claimed to belong to the Church of England. Actual church attendance was much lower. In 1853 the Reverend William Belt reported to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that, at Sunday services in Scarborough, "the average congregation of Christ's Church is 120, of St. Paul's 80, and of St. Jude's 50."¹⁴

Methodism continued to be the church attended by people from a variety of ethnic origins. During this period, however, it became more English and less American in its institutional affiliations. In 1833 Methodists of American and Canadian origin formed a union with the more conservative English Methodists, the resulting structure being called the Wesleyan Methodist Church. About half of the Methodists in Scarborough belonged to this body and they opened the first Methodist church in Scarborough in 1838. The log-and-frame building was situated along Kingston Road (lot 16, concession C) and was soon known as Washington Church,¹⁵ named for local Methodist Stephen

The People of Scarborough: A History

Washington.¹⁶

Methodists who rejected the union formed a church with the old name of Methodist Episcopal and attempted to maintain close ties with their American counterparts. English immigration brought more evangelical groups to Upper Canada: Primitive Methodists (1829), Bible Christian Church (1831), and New Connexion Methodists (1837).¹⁷ All these branches of Methodism had adherents in Scarborough and most established local churches, with the Primitive Methodists being the most active. In 1842 Methodists accounted for almost 30 percent of Scarborough's total population, although their share had declined to 23 percent by 1861.

Other English recreational and cultural activities have permeated Scarborough over the years. The first Scarboro Cricket Club was organized in the 1850s, and it played matches against teams from the surrounding area at a cricket ground in the township.¹⁸ In the 1850s, huge bonfires were lit each 5 November at Guy Fawkes Hill in Highland Creek to commemorate the Gunpowder Plot, and, one spectator recalled, "to burn in effigy the traitor Fawkes."¹⁹ As far as literature is concerned, the influence of the English in Scarborough, as in all of Canada, was profound. All the Church of England clergy posted in Scarborough in the 1840s — William Henry Norris (the first incumbent), William Stewart Darling, and John Hutchinson — were published authors.²⁰ The most prolific was W. S. Darling (1818-88), a native of Edinburgh and the son of a British army officer, who served in Scarborough for ten years from 1843. He wrote articles for church publications, essays, and poetry. His most famous work was *Sketches of Canadian Life, Lay and Ecclesiastical; illustrative of Canada and the Canadian Church* (London: 1849).²¹ Darling wrote this "portraiture of Canadian life," he explained in the preface, "into the form of a narrative . . . because he thought, that to trace the fortunes of an imaginary individual would afford an opportunity of describing more correctly the numerous minute details of a settler's experience."²²

Scottish

Scottish immigration to Canada increased after 1815. Scarborough's Scottish settlers continued to be mostly Lowlanders, with Dumfriesshire, Lanarkshire, and Peebleshire the most common birthplaces mentioned on early gravestones at the cemetery of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church.²³ Some Lowland groups were encouraged and even assisted by the British government to emigrate.

However, most of Scarborough's Scottish immigrants arrived, as historian D. B. McCowan notes, because of "a simple word-of-mouth process involving the immigrants and friends and relatives in the native parish."²⁴ Most emigrants came directly to Scarborough from Scotland rather than from other places in North America.

Some of the new immigrants from Dumfriesshire continued to have a connection to the Thomson family, whose favourable reports no doubt encouraged emigration. In 1817 Simon and Christopher Thomson, sons of William Thomson (a brother of Archibald, David, and Andrew Thomson who had remained in Scotland), emigrated to Canada and settled in Scarborough. Archibald Glendinning, a nephew of Mary Thomson, came out from Dumfriesshire in 1820. Other Scottish counties (mostly in the Lowlands) also contributed settlers to Scarborough, including Forfarshire, Roxburghshire, Ayrshire, Peebleshire, and Renfrewshire. For about a quarter-century, beginning in the mid-1820s, many immigrants came to Scarborough from Lanarkshire County, especially from the parishes of Strathaven and Lesmahagow, just south of Glasgow.

John Torrance was a key player in both emigration from Lanarkshire and settlement in Scarborough. A land surveyor from Hamilton, Lanarkshire, and a prominent landowner in Scarborough, Torrance maintained residences in both places for over a decade, ultimately settling permanently in Scarborough. The first families to arrive from Lanarkshire, however, were apparently those of Robert Stobo, a prominent timber merchant from Lesmahagow, and Alexander Neilson, Sr, a widower with a large family from the town of Wishaw, southeast of Glasgow.²⁵ Both came to Scarborough in 1824 and soon acquired land along the front of the township, close to the old "Front Road." The Lanarkshire group initially settled primarily along Kingston Road near the Stobo farm between today's Brimley and Bellamy roads.²⁶ The early 1830s, especially 1833, saw particularly heavy emigration from Lesmahagow. Altogether, upwards of 200 people came out to Scarborough from Lanarkshire between 1824 and 1850, including many families that would play an important role in the life of the township in succeeding years.²⁷ By 1842, more than 16 percent of Scarborough's residents had been born in Scotland, a record high.

Immigrants from Scotland in this period represented a cross-section of the Scottish population. Most of those who came to Scarborough were farmers. While some worked as farm labourers for a time, most eventually purchased land. Several of the more prosperous farmers, such as James Lawrie, John Torrance, and James Weir, established businesses as breeders and importers of livestock,

The People of Scarborough: A History

often bringing stock such as Ayrshire cattle and Clydesdale horses from Scotland.

Other Scottish imports played an important role in Scarborough's agricultural economy. Local farmers frequently used implements originating from Scotland, with blacksmiths here sometimes making copies of them. Boyle noted: "When oxen became despised as aids on the farm, and horses came into general use, iron ploughs were imported from Scotland, and counterparts of them produced here."²⁸ Evidently, the Scottish origin of the iron plough was anathema to at least one Scarborough resident, as a correspondent to the *Markham Economist* related in 1863: "We are personally acquainted with a man in this township, who maintains an avowed antipathy to iron ploughs because they are so extensively used by Scotchmen and not used in Yorkshire, his native place."²⁹

Some of Scarborough's Scots were artisans (the decline of the hand-loom weaving industry in the Lowlands contributed to emigration) and several maintained their old trades. Some established businesses. Archibald Glendinning, for example, opened one of Scarborough's first stores in front of his house at the southwest corner of today's Ellesmere Avenue and Kennedy Road. Across the road, at the northeast corner, Thomas Forfar operated a butcher shop, a blacksmith, and a waggon shop. William Milne established a sawmill on the Rouge River, which continued to operate into the twentieth century.

A few were professional people, especially clergymen, physicians, and teachers. Early ministers at Scarborough's Presbyterian churches were born and trained in Scotland. Scarborough's first two resident physicians were both from Lanarkshire: Dr. Robert Douglas Hamilton (1783-1857), who settled here in 1829, and Dr. David Graham (1807-47), who came in 1834. So was John Muir (1802-65), whose gravestone in St. Andrew's churchyard reads in part, "For 32 years a teacher in this township . . . erected by a number of his gratified pupils 1868."³⁰

These immigrants from Scotland tended to live and fraternize together, forming a tight-knit community in the backwoods of Scarborough. They brought with them many of their customs and values and were strongly committed to the creation of Scottish institutions within the community.

Scots acquired a reputation for "clannishness." In Scarborough many farming tasks, such as raising buildings, clearing land, or harvesting food, were done cooperatively in "bees," as they had been in Scotland (where parties after completion of the united labours

were called “frolics”). Heavy drinking often accompanied these bees and frolics, as the Reverend William Proudfoot discovered in December 1832 while visiting Scarborough to preach at the local Presbyterian church: “Mr. Craig came into York to-day to take me out on horse back to Scarborough, and showed me all such kindness as is wont to be shown to ministers in Scotland. On my way called at the house of Mr. Brownlee, a Scotchman from Lesmahago, to warm our feet, who also served us a Scotch hospitality. Intended to lodge this evening with Mr. David Thomson, but when we got to his house we found them all tipsy. Mr. Thomson had a bee on Wednesday, and they had been drinking ever since. Scarborough folks are noted drinkers.”³¹

Though the Scots were known as heavy drinkers, many of them were prominent in the temperance movement in Canada. Boyle recorded that “Robert Hamilton, a Scottish weaver, who came here in 1825, was the pioneer total abstinence advocate in the township”³² and the first person to refuse to serve whisky at a local barn raising. (By the turn of the twentieth century, this was standard practice in Scarborough. Clark Secor, the grandson of the first reeve of Scarborough, recalled in his turn-of-the-century recollections that: “No liquor was allowed at the raisings.”³³) The first temperance society in Scarborough was established in 1834 by the Scots of St. Andrew’s Church.

Scarborough’s Scottish immigrants, like their counterparts elsewhere, placed a high priority on education and learning. A notable number of Scarborough’s children of Scottish origin and farming stock went on to higher education in the nineteenth century. Scottish settlers were instrumental in establishing the Scarborough Subscription Library, which began in 1834 with forty-six members and was located near St. Andrew’s Presbyterian Church. Dr. Robert Hamilton was the first president and James H. Thomson the first librarian. However, local enumerator William J. Mitchell commented in the census of 1861 that “the farmers are more famed for honesty than for literary knowledge. They are chiefly English and Scotch with a few Irish.”³⁴

St. Andrew’s Day, the feast for the patron saint of Scotland (and Russia) celebrated on 30 November, was observed at local churches and was a favourite social occasion of Scottish people in Scarborough.³⁵ The birthday on 25 January of Robbie Burns (1759-96), the Scottish poet, was also celebrated in Scarborough. A Burns festival in 1861 at Secor’s Hall, Malvern, was attended by “about 130 ladies and gentlemen.”³⁶ There was both tea and supper

The People of Scarborough: A History

(including haggis) served, old Scottish songs sung, Burns poems read and sung, and several toasts and speeches made.

Public life for Scottish immigrants centred around the Presbyterian church. Considering the strong Scottish component of Scarborough's early population, it is not surprising that the township's first church building was Presbyterian. St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, or the Scotch Church as it was often known, opened in 1819 on land donated by David Thomson. The congregation had been organized in 1818, with an itinerant minister, William Jenkins, conducting the services. James George (1800-70), a Perthshire native, became the first permanent minister in 1833.

Approximately one-third of Scarborough residents were Presbyterians in the 1840s and 1850s. By the late 1840s, local Presbyterians became divided into two more or less equal-sized factions. Some colonial members of the Church of Scotland started "Free" churches in Canada in 1844 in sympathy with the Free Church Disruption in Scotland, which stemmed from a dispute over the proper relationship between church and state.³⁷ Knox Church in northern Scarborough (1848) and Melville Church³⁸ at Highland Creek (1851) were both established as "Free" Presbyterian churches. St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church remained part of the Church of Scotland, and in 1849 its congregation constructed a new, larger building of brick (still standing in 1996) to replace the original frame structure. Several organizations operated out of the church. A Ladies' Missionary Association was started in 1856 to raise money for the education and support of female orphans in India. The first girl it assisted was audaciously renamed Mary Thomson Scarboro by the group. A fourth Presbyterian church, Chalmer's, operated from 1850 to 1890 near the York town line on lot 34, concession C.

Games and sports originating in Scotland, particularly quoiting and curling, enjoyed great popularity in Scarborough. The Lanarkshire immigrants of the 1830s apparently brought the sport of curling (and their curling stones) directly to Scarborough. Friendly matches began to take place here in about 1832 and 1833,³⁹ and by the middle of the decade Scarborough curlers had started a tradition of an annual bonspiel with the Toronto Curling Club. The Scarborough Curling Club was established in 1839, with curlers playing outdoors on the frozen waters of Lake Ontario and on local ponds, marshes, and creeks.⁴⁰

Quoiting, a game somewhat like horseshoes, was being played by Scarborough residents by 1840. In that year, John Torrance won a championship silver medal in a quoiting competition at athletic games

in Toronto. The first Scarboro Quoiting Club was formed in 1858 and was one of the earliest quoiting clubs in Canada. Scarborough quoiters continued to distinguish themselves in national and international competitions. Walter Glendinning was the “great quoit player of the Dominion” in 1880 and 1881, the first two-time winner, and again in 1884. His birthplace in Ellesmere was “pointed to the traveller with great pride by the villagers.”⁴¹ John Callender of Malvern was the Canadian quoiting champion for 16 of the first 25 years of the twentieth century.

Scarborough’s Scottish immigrants were also competitive in their farming skills. One of the first ploughing matches in the township was held on 1 May 1833 on the farm of Robert Stobo. The *Patriot and Farmer’s Monitor* newspaper reported that “all the competitors were Scotchmen.”⁴² Drinking figured prominently at early ploughing matches at Scarborough, and Boyle recorded that it was “quite common to see three or four liquorbars in the field in full blast.”⁴³ Scarborough farmers went on to win many provincial and national championships for their ploughing.

Checkers (or draughts) was very popular with Scarborough’s Scottish (and English) settlers, possibly because of the influence of James Wylie, the Scottish “Herd Laddie” who was the outstanding draughts player of the times.⁴⁴ The first public match in Scarborough took place at Malvern in 1853 between east and west Scarborough. In the 1860s, teams from Scarborough played rivals from Toronto. Some of the better players at that time were Scarborough’s John Muir and his son, Alexander, and Edmund R. Jacques. The outstanding Canadian performer of the day was also from Scarborough and of Scottish origin. William Fleming toured the country in 1867 and held the Canadian championship from 1868 until 1890 when he resigned the title.

Entertainment in Scarborough often had a Scottish flavour. In 1857 at Malvern, for example, H. A. Telfer read the poetry of Robbie Burns “in genuine Scottish dialect, and was vociferously cheered at the conclusion of each piece by a highly delighted audience.”⁴⁵ Other works from Scotland were staged as well. In 1861 *The Gentle Shepherd*, a highly popular Scottish pastoral, was performed by a company of amateurs from Scarborough. The *Markham Economist* reported that “the performers were all responsible young men, mechanics and farmers, and were cheered throughout by a highly delighted audience.”⁴⁶

Several of Scarborough’s early writers were Scottish immigrants. James George of St. Andrew’s Church was one of the finest sermon

The People of Scarborough: A History

writers of the day. By 1853, when he left the township to become a professor at Queen's College, Kingston, George was said to have preached 1700 sermons, each one written out in full and some printed at the time in Toronto newspapers. After his death, a selection was made from these and later sermons and published as a book.⁴⁷ The people of George's Scarborough congregation, his obituary noted, "were shrewd intelligent emigrants, mostly from the south of Scotland, quite capable of appreciating the best productions of his gifted mind, so that he had a constant stimulus to study."⁴⁸

Dr. Robert Douglas Hamilton was an accomplished writer on both medical and political topics, and he also wrote a wide variety of literary works (a novel, poetry, and essays), often under the pseudonym of Guy Pollock, the name of a Scarborough blacksmith.⁴⁹ Alexander Muir (1830-1906) is arguably Scarborough's most famous author of Scottish origin. He came to Scarborough from Lesmahagow, Lanarkshire, in 1833 with his parents (his father was John Muir, the much-loved teacher) and attended school here. As a child, Alexander loved music and by the age of fifteen was composing his own songs. Muir gained most of his musical training at St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, where he served as precentor. Between 1855 and 1862 Muir taught school in Scarborough, and he maintained a connection with the township even after moving away. A writer of poetry and songs, the patriotic Muir composed the words and music of the national song *The Maple Leaf Forever* in 1867.⁵⁰

All of the above authors had the benefit of a university education. Several other Scarborough residents with less education were also writers of considerable talent. Alexander (Sandy) Glendinning emigrated about 1844 from Dumfriesshire to Scarborough, where he lived until around 1848. The "ploughman poet," as he was called — "our own Burns" — wrote the famous "Scarborough Settler's Lament" and several other poems with Scarborough references. A slim volume of his verse, *Rhymes*, was published in 1871.⁵¹ Glendinning often described the immigrant experience in his poetry: "Away wi' Scarboro's muddy creeks, And Scarboro's field o' pine; Your lan o' wheat's a goodly land, But yet it isna mine."⁵²

Immigration was a theme that would be visited by other Scarborough writers of Scottish origin. William Clark, Jr. (1814-88) is known primarily for his diaries, which, covering the period between 1855 and 1888, provide an invaluable record of everyday life in Scarborough. He also wrote the occasional poem. In "The Canadian Backwoodsman" (1840), Clark acknowledged his longing for "the green haunts o' my childhood" (he had emigrated from

Beith, Renfrewshire, in 1838) but rejoiced in what he no longer had to endure there: rent day, high taxes, and “rebellion, distress and commotion.”⁵³

Another, briefer journal was kept by John Lockie Paterson during a trip to Scotland in 1859, when he visited the Lowland areas from which many of Scarborough’s earliest settlers came. His parents, William Paterson and Sarah Lockie, had emigrated from Roxburghshire in 1818, and John Lockie Paterson was born in Scarborough in 1829. While the spelling in his journal shows him to be barely literate, the journal itself is a rare record of the impressions of “the old country” by a traveller from rural Canada. It also demonstrates the growing understanding of a second-generation Canadian of the immigrant experience. The magnificent scenery atop the Westerkirk hills prompted this passionate response: “I gased long and earnestly upon these sceans and recaled not without emotion the raptures with which old men could cling to them after long years of volantly exile and my simplisity thought I could read the seccret of their love to land of thare birth as well as their truth to the land of their adoption. I sudenly became gidey to an extrondanary degree my eyes seemed to loose their powr. I threw myself down flat and roled tumbled over hether and whens in glorious confusion till I reached the bottom a little the worse for the ware but in other respects unharmed.”⁵⁴

Irish

The principal phase of Irish immigration to Canada lasted four decades, from 1815 to 1855, and was caused by Ireland’s growing population and deteriorating economy. But, in contrast to the situation in both Ireland and the United States, the majority (about two-thirds) of Canada West’s Irish were Protestants rather than Roman Catholics.

Upper Canada, with its supply of available good land, had the greatest attraction for Irish emigrants to British North America. Most settled in rural areas, and by the 1830s virtually the whole of Upper Canada east of Toronto and north of the older Loyalist settlements notably Irish in character. In 1842 almost 9 percent of Scarborough’s total population had been born in Ireland.

The Great Famine of the mid-1840s drove one and a half to two million destitute Irish out of Ireland, and hundreds of thousands came to British North America. This wave was so

The People of Scarborough: A History

dramatic that most Canadians erroneously think of 1847 (the peak year of Irish immigration) as the time “when the Irish came.” In fact, the vast majority of Canada’s Irish arrived before the famine, and not as exiles but as voluntary immigrants.⁵⁵

Many of the impoverished famine Irish immigrants made their way to Toronto. The city could not support their numbers and redirected as many as it could to the surrounding countryside, as one observer wrote in June 1847: “Means of conveyance are provided by the Corporation to take them off at once to the country, and they are accordingly carried off ‘willy nilly’ some 16 or 17 miles, North, South, East & West and quickly put down, leaving the country to support them by giving them employment.”⁵⁶

Some of the famine Irish, no doubt, were relocated to Scarborough; others probably made their way there to join friends and relatives. In 1851 Scarborough’s Irish-born population had tripled in size from 1842; it had doubled its share of the total population, bringing it to 18 percent. However, most famine immigrants tended to remain in urban areas; by 1871 the Irish were the largest ethnic group in every large town and city of English-speaking Canada.⁵⁷ Many moved on to the United States. A decline in Scarborough’s Irish population was already evident by 1861, when the number born in Ireland had dropped to about 12 percent of the total population.

“The most important single feature of the Irish, both in Ireland and in Canada,” historian Peter Toner has observed, “is that they have been divided into 2 different and mutually hostile groups. This division is so fundamental that the Irish might be considered 2 ethnic groups.”⁵⁸ About 55 percent of Irish settlers in Canada during the nineteenth century were Protestants, and predominantly Anglican rather than Presbyterian.⁵⁹ Protestants began emigrating from Ireland to Scarborough in significant numbers in the 1820s. Most were farmers, and the majority came from the Protestant counties in Ulster in the northern third of Ireland (notably Londonderry, Tyrone, and Antrim) as well as from the scattered Protestant districts in southern Irish counties, such as Wexford in the extreme southeast. Many were of Scottish and English origin, whose families had arrived in Ireland when it was under British rule. Hence, they felt a greater affinity with British civilization and institutions, than with Irish, and also had a stronger tradition of emigration.

Scarborough’s early Irish Protestant settlers were relatively well-off, with means not only for their passage overseas but also to acquire land and re-establish themselves as farmers. Many came with links

between Ireland and Canada already established. When James Humphrey, from Coagh, County Tyrone, arrived in Quebec City on 29 July 1824, just as the mass immigration was getting under way, he already had a wide network of friends and relatives in Canada. In a letter home, James noted 11 people he had met en route to Scarborough, spread from Quebec City to Fort George at Niagara.⁶⁰

James Humphrey came to Canada with a large family group, as did other many Irish immigrants. He emigrated with his wife, Margaret Richardson Humphrey, and their young son. Margaret's two parents, James and Mary (Port) Richardson, and her three brothers, Samuel, Ezekiel, and William Richardson, all from Ballinderry, County Londonderry, accompanied them. They were joining a fourth brother, John Richardson, who had started a farm in Scarborough a few years earlier; the Humphreys and Richardsons all settled close to the original Richardson farm in Highland Creek.⁶¹

Highland Creek, as the area was known when Humphrey sent his letter home in 1824, retained a strong Irish component for some time. It then extended from today's Galloway Road (named for the Galloway family, another early Irish Protestant family in the area) east to the Pickering border. But Irish Protestants settled all over Scarborough. For example, Marshall Macklin bought 200 acres (80 hectares) in the L'Amoreaux area in 1827. Richard and William Sylvester were part of an Irish group who lived in the western part of Scarborough in the vicinity of today's Lawrence and Pharmacy avenues by the mid-1840s; the community was officially named Wexford, for their home county in Ireland, when a post office opened there in 1865.

Peter Toner has also noted that "the Protestant Irish became one of the most agrarian of groups in nineteenth century Canada."⁶² Most of Scarborough's Irish were farmers, and some owned extensive and prosperous farms. Some ran businesses, such as stores and hotels. Richard Sylvester, for example, opened the Rising Sun Tavern at the northeast corner of the present Lawrence and Pharmacy avenues.

The Protestant Irish in Canada tended to stress the importance of the British connection in order to distance themselves from their Catholic compatriots. The Orange Order, whose original purpose in Ireland was to preserve British rule (at least in Ulster), was transplanted to Canada and was an essential vehicle by which Protestant Irish immigrants, largely Ulster-born, gained acceptance from their Scots and English neighbours. A branch of the

The People of Scarborough: A History

Loyal Orange Lodge was incorporated in the Rouge/Highland Creek area on 6 December 1850, when James Hewitt obtained the original warrant for Lodge no. 64.⁶³ By 1861 Frank Helliwell could report in the census for Scarborough that “a Brick Orange Hall of a large size”⁶⁴ was located at Highland Creek.

Irish Protestants in Canada were predominantly Anglicans (having belonged to the Church of Ireland back home), but many were also Presbyterians and Methodists. Those in Scarborough often were key members of their congregations. For example, James Humphrey donated land on Kingston Road for an Anglican church (Christ Church) which opened in 1846. Samuel Richardson was an exhorter in the Wesleyan Methodist Church, and his house, located close to the Kingston Road, was regularly used by Methodist ministers travelling to meetings. Marshall Macklin was a precentor and Sabbath schoolteacher at Knox Presbyterian Church.⁶⁵

In their illuminating work on Irish emigration to Canada between 1815 and 1855, Cecil Houston and William Smyth have claimed that the “the Catholic church in English-speaking Canada was virtually synonymous with Irish Catholicism and as such stood as a focus and defence of a distinctive Irish identity.”⁶⁶ About 45 percent of the Irish who settled in Canada during the nineteenth century were Roman Catholics.

Irish Catholics had settled in Scarborough by the early 1840s. The census of 1842 listed 95 residents as belonging to the “Church of Rome,” comprising about 3 percent of the total population and 38 percent of the Irish-born. Scarborough’s Catholic population more than doubled between 1842 and 1851, as more Irish Catholics, fleeing Ireland and the potato famine, arrived. By the 1851 census, the first after the famine, Scarborough was home to 364 Catholics, who now were 8.5 percent of the total population and 48 percent of the Irish-born population. About one-third of Irish Catholics in Canada were from Ulster; the remainder came from throughout Ireland, with a preponderance, especially during the famine, from County Cork in the south. It is thought that most of Scarborough’s Irish originated in County Cork.

Irish Catholics perceived themselves to be the representatives of the original inhabitants of Ireland. In the early years, they were less likely to emigrate. Not only were they generally less well off than their Protestant counterparts, but they were also more attached to Ireland since it was the only land they had ever known. Toner notes, “Because Catholics, even before the famine, were socially and politically disadvantaged in Ireland, they arrived in Canada with few advantages . . . They lacked the means to establish themselves economically.”⁶⁷ Their Catholicism

set them apart in the predominantly Protestant Upper Canada, as historian Harold Troper observes: "In many respects the Irish were Canada's first enormous wave of foreign immigrants. Although they spoke English, they did not mirror the social, cultural or religious majority."⁶⁸ Some Irish congregated in the Highland Creek area, where a Catholic church was started in 1850 and where employment could be found. A number of Irish immigrants built small, two-room cottages along what is now Morningside Avenue, and the area eventually became known as "Corktown."⁶⁹

Highland Creek was chosen as the site for Scarborough's first Roman Catholic church (and only the fourth Catholic church in what is now Metropolitan Toronto) for it not only was the main area of Irish Catholic settlement but also was at the approximate mid-point between St. Paul's Church (established in 1822) in downtown Toronto and the church (established *c.* 1850) in Pickering (then known as Duffin Creek), being about seventeen kilometres from each. Mass was said at Highland Creek in the homes of local Catholics (notably the Walsh family) from around 1850. In 1854 the Reverend Jean-Baptiste Proulx, the parish priest from Oshawa, determined to erect a church, completed two years later. St. Joseph's, in Highland Creek, was a mission church of St. Gregory's, Oshawa, from 1854 until 1860, and of St. Frances de Sales, Pickering, from 1860 to 1914.⁷⁰

Irish Catholic immigrants who came because of the famine provided a labour force ready and able to work seasonally in a newly expanded canal system, the lumber industry, and the burgeoning railway network. Some of the itinerant Irish found employment as labourers building the Grand Trunk Railway when it was extended through southern Scarborough in 1856. Local children were cautioned to keep their distance from the navvies, as a member of the Neilson family recollected: "With whiskey cheap and easy to get, there was heavy drinking and much fighting among the men of the work crews. Jane and her brothers, Sandy and Johnny, were told to 'keep awa frae thae rough lads.'"⁷¹ Others would have found work in Scarborough's flourishing lumber industry; there were fifteen sawmills here in 1851. Eventually, some Irish Catholics in the area moved into jobs of higher status. For example, in 1860 Patrick O'Sullivan, a native of County Cork, and his wife, Ann O'Reilly, established a hotel on her father's farm on the northwest corner of today's Victoria Park and Sheppard avenues. By 1892, when their son, Michael, established the first post office there, the border community was known as O'Sullivan's Corners.⁷²

Black

Between 1800 and 1860, some 30,000 to 40,000 American Blacks made their way from the United States to Canada, using a network of secret routes known as the Underground Railroad. The society they encountered on their arrival was certainly no utopia, but it did represent an improvement over what they had left behind. The first parliament of Upper Canada in 1793 had forbidden the introduction of slaves into the province, and slavery was abolished throughout the British empire forty years later.

Two “Coloured persons,” one male and one female, were listed as Scarborough residents in the census of 1842. They could have been escaped slaves from the United States, or they could have been freed slaves. According to the family folklore of the Scarborough branch of the Ashbridge family, the family had a Black servant, “Old Pegg.” She had been purchased as a slave by the family while they were living in Pennsylvania, and although she had been given her freedom when slavery was abolished there in 1780, she continued to work for the Ashbridges and emigrated with them to York, Upper Canada, in 1793.⁷³ The Ashbridges received crown grant lands in Scarborough in the 1790s; some of the family had settled on their Scarborough land by the 1840s.⁷⁴

The two “Coloured” people listed in the 1842 census were not Scarborough’s only Black residents, however. Oral testimony indicates that, by the 1840s, a small Black settlement was on the lower level of the banks of the Big Rouge River, on the flats just north of today’s Twyn Rivers Drive.⁷⁵ The settlers may have been attracted to the area because of its seclusion and because work could be found in the various mills then operating along the river. Another group may have been living near the Scarborough-York town line, north of today’s Eglinton Avenue. According to a story recorded by the Wexford Women’s Institute, at Edward Johnson’s farm in that area (lot 1, concession 4, York), where he settled in the early 1830s, “as many as 16 negroes at one time helped to cut trees and clear the land for farming.”⁷⁶

Although there is evidence of some local insensitivity towards Blacks,⁷⁷ Scarborough residents also displayed support and sympathy for the plight of those from the United States. In 1858 the Scarborough branch of the Young Men’s Christian Association (inaugurated two years earlier at Knox Presbyterian Church) refused to have any connection with the YMCA’s Central Confederation of

the United States and British Provinces because “they excluded Coloured People from having a part with them.”⁷⁸

Local residents were also keenly aware of the injustice to John Anderson. In 1861 the former slave was brought to trial in Toronto for a crime he had committed in the United States eight years before: killing a friend of his Missouri master, who was beating Anderson and trying to prevent his escape. The verdict of the judges was for Anderson’s extradition.⁷⁹ The controversial decision in the spectacular case was attacked in many quarters and invoked two impassioned speeches during a Robbie Burns supper in Scarborough in January 1861. On that occasion, the singing of “Rule Britannia . . . Britons never shall be slaves” brought Alexander Muir, chairman of the event, to his feet. In a feeling speech, Muir “alluded to the case of the slave Anderson, now so unjustly immured within the walls of our Canadian jails.” The mention of Anderson’s case “went like an electric shock to the heart of everyone present . . . and the words of Burns were keenly felt, ‘Man’s inhumanity to man, makes countless thousands mourn.’” The vice-chairman, John Gibson, then took the floor and, “in a speech which will be long remembered for its eloquence, for its manly and christian sentiments, pleaded the case of his poor dark skinned brother, Anderson.”⁸⁰

French

Scarborough had a few people of French origin. A handful had been born in Canada (eleven in 1842, four in 1851, and three in 1861) and one in France (in 1861) while others were from the United States. Biographies of Scarborough families of French origin indicate that they continued to be assimilated into the main English-speaking culture.

Pierre LePelletier was born in Trois Rivières, Quebec, about 1775 and arrived by 1808 in York, where he worked at the fort. He settled in Scarborough in 1826 on lot 33, concession 1, with his family of nine sons, one (Joseph) being the township’s first tanner. He was known locally as Peter Pilkey, causing Boyle to comment in 1896: “But *Pilkey*, from *Pelletier*, is a clear case of corrupting a French word to make it easy for English pronunciation . . . The celebration of the centennial of Scarborough settlement might be a favourable date on which to restore the name to its original form.”⁸¹ The Pilkeys were one of the early Methodist families in Scarborough.

Martin Badgerow moved to Scarborough in 1837. In 1840 he

The People of Scarborough: A History

bought part of lot 16, concessions 2 and 3, where he built a woollen mill. His grandfather, Henri Bagereau (Badgereau), had come over from France with the Marquis de Lafayette to fight against the British in the American revolution. After the war, he remained in the United States, and Martin was born in New York State in 1808. In 1810 the extended family moved to Upper Canada; the change in the name's spelling likely occurred at this time. Martin named two of his sons to commemorate their great-grandfather's connections with the American Revolutionary War. Lafayette Badgerow remained in Scarborough as a successful farmer.⁸² George Washington Badgerow became well known as a lawyer and as East York's representative in the provincial legislature for three successive terms (1879-87).

One of Scarborough's new post offices, opened in June 1858, was named Agincourt, after a town in northern France. The French name was intended to please French Canadians, but Agincourt is best known for the battle there in 1415 when the English army under King Henry V defeated the more numerous, better-armed French.

German

It is estimated that 50,000 people emigrated from the German states in Europe to Upper Canada between 1830 and 1870 (as noted earlier, the 1861 census listed twelve Scarborough residents having "Prussia, German states and Holland" as their birthplace). The German element in Markham and northeast Scarborough was not much increased by immigration after 1815 (as it was in Waterloo County, where 73 percent of Ontario's Germans lived by the time of confederation), but it was increased by the expansion of families already in the area. They were now in a position to buy more land and the younger generation often preferred to settle in the district.

The Reesor family, in particular, added to their holdings in Scarborough. Lots 4, 5, and 7, concession 5, were purchased in 1849 and 1862. By the 1850s, several of Peter Reesor's grandchildren (by his son John Eby Reesor) had settled on the six Scarborough lots, totalling 384 acres (155 hectares), that the family now owned in northeast Scarborough, along the south side of today's Steeles Avenue. Two Reesor farms from this era were standing in 1996 and considered heritage properties: the Simeon Reesor Farm (1857) at 18 Reesor Road (the only Reesor farm in Scarborough still occupied by Reesor descendents) and the Noah Reesor Farm (1865) at 7501 Steeles Avenue East.⁸³ David Reesor (1823-1902), a grandson from another branch of the family, was active in real-estate promotions. In 1857

he established a subdivision, Malvern, on 50 acres (20 hectares) he owned on Markham Road at the present Sheppard Avenue. The cultural focus of the German community was north of the Scarborough town line in Cedar Grove, Markham, where a Mennonite church, stores, and a postal station were located.

Native

Mississauga continued to live in Scarborough. Four Mississauga sites in Scarborough dating from this period (and later) are registered archaeological sites. Perhaps the best known is the Tam O'Shanter Golf Course site. It is situated on west Highland Creek, on the west side of Kennedy Road, between Sheppard Avenue and Huntingdon Drive. William Paterson, whose farm was then located on the adjacent lot to the east, recounted this vivid story about the camp to his son, James Lockie Paterson, who passed it on to historian David Boyle in 1896: "A Mississauga camp, consisting of bark lodges affording shelter to forty persons, is reported to have existed on lot 29, concession 3, as recently as 1835. In connection with this encampment, perhaps the last of its kind in these parts, Mr. J. L. Paterson relates that his father saw one of the Indians seize a red-hot brand from the fire, and apply it to staunch the bleeding from one of his wrists, from which the hand had just been cut off in an encounter with another member of the band."⁸⁴ Another camp, known as the Squaw Village site (lot 27, concession 2), was situated on the same creek just one concession to the south — west of today's Midland and north of Ellesmere avenues, about the point where the CNR railway line now crosses Progress Avenue.⁸⁵ Archaeologist Dana Poulton surmises: "The fact that these two sites were located only two kilometres apart suggests that they may have been populated by the same group at different times in the nineteenth century."⁸⁶

The other two Mississauga sites are located in the Rouge River valley. Both were single family camps probably occupied seasonally. They were found and registered during the North Pickering Archaeology project of 1973-74, conducted by Victor Konrad and William Ross, who commented: "Since the occupation of the area by European settlers had already begun when these camps were occupied, the way of life of these Indians would certainly have been altered by European contact."⁸⁷ One of the sites was a habitation camp and a single burial that landowner Albert Reesor uncovered on his farm (lot 5, concession 5) c. 1860-80. His daughter, Sara Smith, pointed out the location to the researchers. The other was

The People of Scarborough: A History

occupied within living memory, around 1913, at what is now the Cedarbrae Golf Course (lot 11, concession 5). Camped there was a family of Natives who made part of their livelihood weaving and selling or trading woven baskets. A woman of this family also made thumb-sized miniature baskets to give as presents to the children of her customers, one of whom was Russell Reesor. This site was less than a quarter-mile (half a kilometre) south of a roughly contemporary site in lot 2, concession 8, Markham, where an Indian family wintered in a hardwood lot c. 1915. The Natives made baskets, Mervyn Rainey recalled in 1986, which they sold to his father, who operated a store in Box Grove.⁸⁸ They may well have been the last generation in almost 12,000 years of Native settlement to follow their traditional way of life in the area. In many southern Ontario communities, the Ojibwa also sold the settlers venison and small game, deerskins and other furs, maple syrup, and wild rice; they also farmed on an extensive scale.

Despite this oral testimony, no “Indians” were reported as living in Scarborough in the 1851 census or, for that matter, in any succeeding published census for the municipality until 1921 when three were included, followed by 22 in both 1931 and 1941. However, many settlers of European origin were aware that Natives had a long-standing connection with the Scarborough area. There are several contemporary accounts of Native artifacts and remains being uncovered in the course of clearing land and constructing buildings; in his 1896 history, Boyle identified a number of “specific localities showing proof of aboriginal residence”⁸⁹ scattered around Scarborough.

Mormon and Jewish

Several Scarborough residents joined the Mormon Church after missionaries of that denomination visited the township in 1836. (Both Joseph Smith, Jr., who founded the church in upstate New York in 1830, and Brigham Young, his successor, did missionary work in British North America.) One notable convert was John Taylor, a Highland Creek miller, who eventually became president of the Mormon Church.⁹⁰ But all the Scarborough converts (including some members of the L'Amoreaux family) had gone by the time of the 1842 census, joining fellow Mormons first in Illinois and then on the arduous trek to Utah in 1844.

The only non-Christian residents recorded in Scarborough were Jews: six in 1851 and one in 1861.

Growth and Development

One of the major political events of the period was the Upper Canada rebellion of 1837. About 100 men from Scarborough, under Colonel A. H. McLean, went to Toronto on 5 December 1837 to defend the government against the insurrection led by William Lyon Mackenzie, and in fact they were the first loyal regiment to reach the city.⁹¹ According to historian Robert Bonis, "Mackenzie and the Reform cause was not without friends in Scarborough, especially those of American birth or descent . . . Though they were unwilling to go so far as to support Mackenzie in armed rebellion, some of them suffered in the hunt for rebel sympathizers which was launched by the zealous loyalists after their victory."⁹² As we have seen, one of the rebel sympathizers, Peter Secor, was dismissed as Scarborough's first postmaster because of his support for the rebellion. He was replaced by the loyal McLean.

Systems of local government and education had become firmly established by mid-century. Scarborough was divided into eleven public school sections in 1847, with each section required to provide centrally located, publicly funded elementary schools. In 1850 the Township of Scarborough was incorporated as a self-governing municipality.

There was a gradual improvement in Scarborough's transportation connections with York (incorporated as the city of Toronto in 1834) and with the areas beyond. Although there was stagecoach service along Kingston Road from York to Kingston in 1817, the roads were in such deplorable condition that, in December 1832, a visitor to Scarborough recorded that the trip from York was "five and a quarter hours . . . on horseback" and the return journey by foot "took six and a half hours — twelve miles, the roads were so bad . . . muddy to excess."⁹³ Complaints stirred the provincial legislature to action. By 1839 Kingston Road between York and the Rouge River had been planked, and the portion through Scarborough had been straightened to its present alignment. Markham Road and Danforth Road, the township's other two main thoroughfares, were planked in the 1850s; they, too, operated as privately operated toll roads.⁹⁴

The railway era began in Scarborough in 1856 when the Grand Trunk Railway commenced services between Montreal and Toronto; the line ran through the southern edge of the township, and a station opened that year on the west side of Markham Road, north of today's Eglinton Avenue. Communications also improved with the establishment of the first post office in 1832. Six more post offices

The People of Scarborough: A History

were opened in the 1850s, and another four were started close to the township's boundaries.⁹⁵

With the increased population stimulating demand, land prices in Scarborough escalated. In 1832 one potential buyer recorded, "It is very high priced at \$8 per acre, and 100 at \$7. Perhaps its nearness to the market, where all kinds of farm produce can be disposed of, might after all render it not a bad bargain."⁹⁶ An account of settlement in Scarborough written in 1847 noted: "From 1805 till 1814 good land in the township could have been bought for seven shillings and sixpence per acre — and from 1814-1824 for fifteen shillings — but after that there was a great immigration for several years and land rose rapidly."⁹⁷

Chapter 4

The Rural Township: Population Decline, 1861-1910

“Charmed with the glowing accounts of the prairie provinces . . . our people are preparing for a great exodus in spring. Only today we heard a long list of those who are anxious to be gone, and who will shortly be advertising their farms for sale. Who will be left in Scarboro?”

-Markham Economist, 29 December 1881

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Scarborough had gradually grown into a well-established, prosperous farming community. As it turned out, however, the next 50 years would tell a much different tale. The ethnic and religious composition of the township did not change dramatically, but what did change was the population's rate of growth: in fact, Scarborough was more densely populated in 1861 than it would be again until 1911. The reasons for the population decline were not unique to Scarborough but rather reflected trends that were evident in Canada as a whole. In Scarborough as elsewhere, immigrants did not arrive in the numbers they once had, and, in the midst of economic recession, people migrated to other parts — to the cities, the prairies, the United States — in search of better prospects. The impact on Scarborough was profound. A motorman for the Toronto and Scarboro Electric Railway Light and Power Company (which first operated the municipality's streetcar system) recalled in later years that “Scarboro, towards the end of the nineteenth century, was a land of wide open spaces . . . dotted here and there with houses and farms and an occasional store . . . The radial cars often travelled for considerable distances without picking up a single passenger.”¹

Population Decline

In 1861 Scarborough, with a population of 4854, appeared to be a community with a bright future. There were some 980 students registered in its 11 school sections. Four of the schoolhouses were brick structures, another “superior building” was of stone, and the rest were frame. While it had “no villages worthy of notice,” William Henry Norris, one of the local enumerators, reported to the Canadian census authorities in 1861, there were three hamlets on Markham Road: Scarborough, Woburn, and Malvern. Each had “twelve or fifteen buildings . . . containing one or two taverns, blacksmith’s and waggon maker’s shops, Post office, merchants’ shops.”² Some 830 houses were scattered throughout the township. Only 199 log houses of pioneer days remained. On most farms, they had been replaced by larger, more substantial homes of brick (102), stone (33), and wood frame (496).

Yet, in the half-century that followed, Scarborough’s population dropped by almost 30 percent. The decline was gradual but steady: 4854 people in 1861, 4615 in 1871, 4208 in 1891, 3845 in 1901, and 3426 in 1910 (a twentieth-century low). Even modest suburban growth in southwestern Scarborough in the early 1900s had no effect. Several schoolhouses were built, but these were mostly replacements for earlier structures rather than additional buildings to serve new communities. The only schools not in this category were two industrial schools, one for boys and the other for girls, established in southwest Scarborough near Blantyre Avenue: the Alexandra Industrial School for Girls (1892-1934) and St. John’s Industrial School (1893-1957).

Few new houses were built. By 1891, although no log dwellings were listed in the census, Scarborough now had only 808 inhabited houses, three-quarters being of wood, two storeys high, and with five to ten rooms. Five post offices opened in the 1860s and 1870s (and another two close by), but after that only two new ones appeared, one in 1888 at Brown’s Corners and another in 1908 at Birch Cliff. The major improvement in local communications was the beginning of telephone service in 1903.

Three new railways joined the Grand Trunk in providing service through Scarborough, and small villages grew around the railroad stations. The Toronto and Nipissing Railway commenced service between Toronto and Uxbridge in 1871. It joined the Grand Trunk Railway line near the present intersection of Kennedy Road and

The Rural Township: Population Decline, 1861-1910

Danforth Road. Before long a small hamlet, appropriately called Scarboro' Junction, began to grow in the vicinity. The Ontario and Quebec Railway extended its line to Toronto from Ottawa and Hull in 1883, and the Canadian Pacific Railway (which leased the service) established stations at Wexford, Ellesmere, and Agincourt. The short-lived Canadian Northern Railway (1910-17) had a station at Malvern. Farmers found the railways a boon for their weekly trips to the Toronto market. But mostly the trains travelled through sparsely populated areas of the township, as did the street railway to Toronto that was located along Kingston Road in the 1890s, with service extended to West Hill by 1906.

Scarborough's population decrease between 1861 and 1910 can be attributed to a decline in immigration and to an increase in emigration to other parts of the Canada and to the United States. Only a relatively low death rate, a high birth rate, and a small inflow of immigrants, largely from the British Isles, kept the population decline in Scarborough (and other rural areas nearby) from being even more dramatic.

From 1861 to 1901, these were also the trends nationally. The Canadian economy was depressed at confederation, and emigration consistently exceeded immigration during the last four decades of the nineteenth century; the growth that did occur was due to a high birthrate.³ When the Canadian economy recovered in the late 1890s, the country embarked on one of its highest rates of increase, growing 34 percent between 1901 and 1911. Scarborough's population continued to decline for most of the decade, however. Between 1901 and 1910, it decreased almost 11 percent, the greatest single period of population decline in its history.

Immigration

The mass exodus to British North America from the British Isles that had occurred in the 1820s had sharply diminished by the 1860s as the supply of fertile colonial wild lands ran out and as urbanized Britain increasingly adjusted to an industrial existence. In Scarborough, the decline of the immigrant population began as early as the 1850s. While a substantial 37 percent of its population in 1861 had been born outside Canada, this was an 13 percent drop since 1851.

In 1861 more than 94 percent of the immigrant population was from the British Isles. Three-quarters of the remaining population

The People of Scarborough: A History

were from North America, either the United States or Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick. People born in either Upper or Lower Canada had increased to 62 percent of Scarborough's total population; all but 3 of the 3015 people were "not of French origin."

By 1871 Scarborough was reflecting a national trend: not only were immigration levels dropping, but immigration to Canada's rural areas was declining generally. The 1871 census, the first conducted in Canada after confederation, showed that Scarborough's foreign-born population had dropped 11 percent since 1861 and now comprised 28 percent of the total. Conversely, Scarborough's Canadian-born population had climbed dramatically, making up 72 percent of the total population in 1871; all but 38 of them were Ontario natives. The British continued to be the largest immigrant group in Scarborough in 1871, with almost 94 percent of the total immigrant population. Of these, 45 percent had been born in England and Wales, 27 percent in Scotland, and 22 percent in Ireland. The Irish-born population was only about half of what it had been in 1861, and it would continue to fall dramatically in the succeeding decades.

Concern about Scarborough's declining population, coupled with the need for agricultural labourers, motivated "a large number of the yeomanry of the district" to meet in Woburn on 20 February 1873 "to consider the advisability of a local society to promote immigration, and by this means to provide immigration and other labour, so far as required in the district."⁴ Several government officials addressed the group, explaining Canadian immigration policy and the need for private emigrant schemes to assist people to come to Canada from Europe. A Mr. Dymont of Toronto, himself a British immigrant, noted the advantages that rural labourers from England would derive from emigration to Canada, "a land where they might become by industry and thrift the owners of the soil they tilled, and from which they were absolutely and irrevocably divorced in their own land." A local committee was formed to consider the matter and take further action. Scarborough did have some fresh immigration during this time. On the same day as the meeting at Woburn, the Scarborough reporter of the *Markham Economist* related, "We have received some very welcome additions last year in the shape of decent, stalwart Scotchmen from the hills of Perthshire."⁵

In 1881 Scarborough continued to have a predominantly Canadian- and Ontario-born population. Almost 80 percent of

Scarborough's total population had been born in Canada, with 76 percent of the total from Ontario. Those born in the British Isles continued to outnumber the other foreign-born groups, making up almost 93 percent of Scarborough's total immigrant population in 1881. In the 1880s immigration to Canada swelled, but increasingly immigrants went to the west, where large-scale settlement started in the 1870s, or to the growing cities and towns of central Canada. For example, 40 percent of Toronto's population was born outside Canada in 1881. Scarborough's immigrant population, by contrast, was 20 percent of the total population. (The national average was only 14 percent.) By the 1870s, an increasing proportion of all immigrants headed to city jobs. In particular, most of the members of non-English speaking and largely non-Protestant groups (for example, Italians and Macedonians), who began coming to Canada in the 1880s and 1890s, rejected a life of rural isolation, choosing to work in cities.

Unfortunately, since separate figures for birth places of Scarborough residents are not given in the 1891, 1901, and 1911 censuses (Scarborough was included with York East), it is not possible to determine immigrant levels or the countries of origin of the immigrant population for those years. Generally, during the 1890s, Canada was in the throes of a serious economic depression, and immigration levelled off again. Emigration during the late 1800s reduced Canada's foreign-born proportion to 13 percent of the total in 1891 and 1901.⁶ Large-scale immigration to the country resumed between 1901 and 1911, prompted by the return of economic prosperity. Railways and the government encouraged immigration to settle agricultural areas in the west and to provide labour for the industrial expansion under way in the urban areas of eastern Canada. In 1911, 37 percent of Toronto's 376,538 people were immigrants.

Scarborough, however, did not begin to share in this national growth until around 1910. Some immigrants continued to make their way to the township, but they had little impact. Often, they worked as hired hands on local farms, which, despite increased mechanization, still needed manual labour. An essay on life in the early 1900s in the rural community of Wexford noted: "Every farmer had a hired man who lived with the family. He was usually an immigrant who came from the British Isles, learned the Canadian way of life and later married and set out to farm for himself. In some ways the hired man served an apprenticeship and his labour was invaluable when there was not as much machinery as today."⁷

Out-migration

Contributing to out-migration were changes in farming and a decline in the local lumbering industry, the two mainstays of Scarborough's economy. By the 1870s, the best farm land in Scarborough had been settled and few good farm lots were left unopened. The value of local farm property had also escalated beyond the reach of many. In 1880 the Ontario Agricultural Commission found that 33,760 acres (13,662 hectares) or over three-quarters of the land in Scarborough had been cleared, and half of the total was considered first-class land, worth \$80 to \$110 per acre.⁸

At the same time, agriculture was becoming increasingly mechanized, a development that reduced the number of hands needed on the average farm. Mechanization did not proceed rapidly until after 1880, when the binder came into general use, but the conversion to machinery was accelerated by a shortage of farm labour that was already developing in the 1870s. Despite the promise of the dominion immigration agent in 1873 to "gladly co-operate with his friends in Scarboro'" and to expand the number of immigrants he sent their way, not enough agricultural labourers arrived and the use of machinery on local farms quickly increased. The Agricultural Commission of 1880 reported that about 93 percent of the farmers of York County used improved machinery for seeding and harvesting.

As for lumbering, the number of sawmills in Scarborough grew steadily through the 1830s and 1840s but declined rapidly after 1860. Railway construction and road-planking placed fewer demands on the mills, though clear-cutting of second-growth timber for cordwood increased.¹⁰ As reported by Frank Helliwell, the local enumerator for ward 2 in the 1861 census, many sawmills on Highland Creek and the Rouge River were idle: "there are seven saw mills that are in working order though there is scarcely any timber remaining, and none fit for [the] American Market with the exception of one." Eight other saw mills were "rotting down, the supply of timber having entirely failed, used up."¹¹ By century's end, with little wood to process, only two sawmills were left in the township.

There was a high degree of mobility among the population of British North America in the nineteenth century; indeed, "rootedness was the exception not the norm."¹² Like their counterparts elsewhere, most Scarborough residents who left the township were seeking better economic opportunities. The younger sons of farm families, and sometimes farmers themselves, moved to either new farming frontiers

or urban centres where alternative employment was available. Much of the migration took place over relatively short distances but there were many long-distance migrations. Some families moved to Toronto and other growing cities and towns in the province; others went farther afield. Some headed to the western part of the province, and later northward into the Canadian Shield. Many joined their fellow Ontarians, who, towards the end of the nineteenth century, had gone in large numbers to settle on the Canadian prairies. Finally, still others left Canada altogether, going to the United States or returning to Europe.¹³

The migration of Scarborough residents to Lambton County that had started in the 1850s continued for at least another thirty years. The Rae, Pherrill, Gordon, Hamilton, Thomson, Glendinning, Tudhope, Lawrie, Walden, and Ash families from Scarborough were among those who eventually settled in Bosanquet Township.¹⁴ In 1884 the *Markham Economist* noted George Herndon's return visit to Milliken from Dawn Township, Lambton County (where oil was discovered in the 1860s), commenting, "About a dozen persons have removed there from this vicinity, and there are more to follow."¹⁵

By the 1870s, the Ontario north was being opened up for natural-resource development, and in the next decade, with the arrival of the CPR, the region began receiving its first settlers. One of the Scarborough residents who headed there was a Mr. Dumond, who, according to a newspaper report, was "well known in the vicinity of Armadale a few years ago as a first class contractor and builder." In 1884 Dumond visited Scarborough after a five-year absence in Sault Sainte Marie, "where he is carrying on a successful business."¹⁶

Beginning in the 1870s and continuing into the next two decades, there was a marked movement within Canada away from the rural areas to the cities and towns. Toronto's population between 1871 and 1891 increased nearly two and one-half times, from 56,092 to 144,023, owing in part to "in-migration from the countryside" of people categorized by historian J. M. S. Careless as "those with inadequate capital or on poor land, surplus labourers, small town hopefuls, sons without property to inherit, and young single women."¹⁷ The railway town of East Toronto, on Scarborough's southwest border, also attracted many from the township, once the Grand Trunk Railway established a freight-sorting yard, a roundhouse, and a station there in the early 1880s. The extent of the migration from Scarborough to Toronto and its suburbs is illustrated in the 1866 dispersal of the Scarboro Rifle Company; in 1901 12 of the company's surviving 37 members (whose whereabouts

The People of Scarborough: A History

were known) were residing in these areas.¹⁸ Famine Irish Catholics, in particular, were generally found in urban centres, particularly the larger ones. As historian Harold Troper has noted, “after escaping a life in which farm tenancy and capricious nature made agriculture synonymous with poverty and dependency, some of the famine-stricken Irish had no enthusiasm for farm life.”¹⁹

The number of settlers in the west increased with the extension of railway service there in the late 1870s and early 1880s. A 1885 publication on the County of York noted in reference to Scarborough that “latterly there has been a falling off in the population of the township, largely owing to the considerable emigration to the North-West, which has drawn away many of the young men.”²⁰ So great was local interest in the area that, in March 1882, there was talk of establishing a colonization association in Scarborough to facilitate migration and settlement in the west, which prompted the *Markham Economist* to comment, “Can’t Scarboro buy the land as cheap and sell it as dear as the ‘Washerwoman’s Society’ of Toronto, or any other association or organization for the same laudable end?”²¹ Portage La Prairie, Manitoba, west of Winnipeg, was especially popular with Scarborough residents. After the CPR reached the town in 1880, its population grew rapidly and it was incorporated. Representatives of the McCowan, Macklin, Lawrie, Jacques, and Glendinning families relocated to the Portage La Prairie area in the 1880s. The *Markham Economist* frequently published stories about Scarborough people moving west, along with their enthusiastic testimonials about the opportunities there. An account in 1882 told of one person who “bought five lots in Portage a year ago at a cost of \$105.00 and sold them the other day . . . for \$1,000 cash.”²² Four years later, it published a letter from Portage La Prairie in which the writer described the “beautiful cultivated fields of Manitoba” and encouraged everyone to come west where one would find “both farmers and business men hopeful, cheerful, prosperous and contented.”²³ As early as December 1881, the Agincourt correspondent for the *Economist* expressed some concern over the extent of the migration west: “Charmed with the glowing accounts of the prairie provinces given everyone by Mr. Smith Thompson of Portage la Prairie, our people are preparing for a great exodus in spring. Only today we heard a long list of those who are anxious to be gone, and who will shortly be advertising their farms for sale. Who will be left in Scarboro?”²⁴

The United States, with its seemingly boundless supply of free fertile land and its growing industrial might, attracted thousands of

new immigrants. Although the vast majority of immigrants to the United States between 1860 and 1920 were Europeans, by far the largest group of non-European foreign-born reported in the U.S. census were francophone and anglophone Canadians.²⁵ Supplementing this group were thousands of the famine Irish, who, after emigrating to Canada in the 1840s, had left for the United States by the 1860s. Some Scarborough residents were part of the exodus. The *Markham Economist* published accounts of local emigration to the United States — to Michigan, New York, and California, for example — and of success stories there. These were tempered occasionally with somewhat less positive reports, such as that in 1884 of a former Armadale resident who had been living in the United States for several years: “He assures us Canada is far ahead of those states as far as morals and good farming is concerned, and like a true patriot, says there is no place like his own native land.”²⁶

Finally, there were the Scarborough residents who returned to their home countries. In 1881 the *Economist* noted one such case, reporting that “Mr. Joseph Bowden of Woburn returned last week from England where he has been on a visit for about two months. Mr. Bowden is so much taken up with his native country that he proposes disposing of his property here and going back to England to reside permanently.”²⁷

Ethnic Origin

Those of British ethnic origin — English, Scottish, and Irish — accounted for 94 percent of the total population of Scarborough in 1881 and 1901.²⁸ People of English origin formed the largest ethnic group, growing from 44 percent of the total population in 1871 to almost 54 percent in 1901.²⁹ The township continued to have a strong Scottish element during this era, with approximately one-quarter of the population. Scarborough’s English and Scottish settlers retained close ties with relatives and friends back home. Transatlantic visits (and occasionally marriages), while noteworthy, were not uncommon. By the late 1860s, there was a great increase in the number and quality of steamships, and the Atlantic crossing was shorter and more comfortable.

Given its demographic make-up, it is not surprising that Scarborough was thoroughly British in many of its customs and traditions. Victoria Day was a popular holiday for community

The People of Scarborough: A History

celebrations, partly because it usually coincided with the arrival of fine weather, but more because of the intense loyalty of the citizenry. In 1871 Scarborough Council celebrated “the natal day of our beloved Queen” by sponsoring athletic games at Malvern, with \$100 in prizes.³⁰ Victoria Park, established in 1878 along Lake Ontario in southwest Scarborough (lot 35, concession A) and named for the queen, usually opened for the season on or the near the monarch’s birthday and became a favourite resort for picnic and pleasure parties. When Scarborough held a reunion in June 1896 to celebrate its centennial, the British flag floated from a tall flagstaff on the site of David Thomson’s original house, and a 250-voice choir sang “Rule Britannia,” “lustily joined in by the audience.”³¹

The Fenians, whose objective was Irish independence from Britain, had little support among Scarborough’s loyal citizenry. In 1866 a group of the American branch of the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood crossed the border at Fort Erie into Canada, attempting to seize the country as a base for operations against Britain. The Scarboro Volunteer Rifle Company was part of the front-line defence in the Niagara peninsula, and the Fenian attacks were defeated.

A substantial proportion of Scarborough’s residents was of Irish ethnic origin at the beginning of this period, more than 20 percent of the total population in 1871, but this group gradually declined to about 14 percent in 1901. Approximately 38 percent of Scarborough’s Irish population were Catholics; they bore the brunt of the anti-Catholic sentiment then prevalent in the province. The dominant society also resented many Irish for their poverty and wretched living conditions, especially those congregated in the “Corktown” area of Highland Creek. In 1881 the *Markham Economist* commented: “‘Corktown’ has for some time been noted for its moral and social degradation . . . The respectable inhabitants of ‘The Creek’ and neighbourhood would like to see ‘Corktown’ purged of the gross characters who make that their headquarters. Cockfighting and other past-times as warlike as they are illegal flourish in that district.”³²

Other remarks made periodically by the *Economist* indicate that criticism of poor Irish Catholics easily evolved into stereotypical prejudices against the entire Irish Catholic population. For example, in 1872 the *Economist* commented on the losses suffered by a Captain McIlmurray and others following a rash of thefts in the Malvern area: “Generally speaking an Irishman’s wardrobe is not of much worth, but in this case it included some really valuable articles.”³³ In the same year, a domestic dispute between a man and his son-in-law

drew this remark: "The neighbours say the son-in-law is much the better man, which is very likely, as he comes from Somersetshire, the other from Limerick."³⁴

As immigration declined and as succeeding generations were born in Canada, a more Canadian, less British, identity began to emerge. By the 1890s, Dominion Day, celebrating the confederation of Canada on 1 July 1867, was set aside for "picnics, socials or social tea parties, or excursions by rail or steamboat."³⁵ Increasingly, there was also considerable intermingling among the three British groups, as a poem written for Scarborough's centenary (1896) indicates: "Here Scotland and England joined in friendship to-gether / An Pat from old Ireland with his queer funny yarns / But how it took place, now they are aa mixed throw ither / An fix ye wad think they are aa Jock Tamson's bairns."³⁶

By the mid-nineteenth century, historians Cecil Houston and William Smyth note, even the Orange Order in Canada "was no longer a purely ethnic association. The Canadian-born sons, not only of Ulstermen but of the English, Scots, and even Germans and Native Indians, were increasingly represented in the lodges. The organization began to assume a Canadian identity."³⁷ The Orange Order's underlying mythology remained resolutely Protestant Irish: whenever British institutions in Canada seemed to be in peril, Orangemen were fond of reminding their fellow citizens of the Protestant victory over the Catholics at the River Boyne in Ireland on 12 July 1690.³⁸ More and more, however, celebrations of the "Glorious Twelfth" became less a manifestation of Protestant triumphalism and more an occasion for social festivities. On 12 July 1880 a large Orange group gathered at Elliott's Grove, Highland Creek: "All the lodges in East York were represented, besides Whitevale Lodge from South Ontario. There must have been fully 600 on the grounds, and a very pleasant time was spent. Lubar's Quadrille Band furnished music for the dancing young people present, and this graceful exercise was kept up until a late hour."³⁹

Small numbers of people of non-British origin, mostly other Europeans, also lived in Scarborough, about 7 or 8 percent of the total population. Those of German, Dutch, and French origin were the largest non-British groups. They were long established in Scarborough and mostly assimilated into the mainstream culture.

Germans were the biggest group with, at times, over 180 people and about 4 percent of the population. The German Mennonites still maintained a separate identity, although by this time the Reesors had intermarried with several Scarborough families. Some were of

The People of Scarborough: A History

Pennsylvania German origin (for example, the Barkey, Rittenhouse, and Diller families of Hillside) and some were not (such as the Beare family).

From 1890 to 1914, many Dutch immigrants entered Canada, but most went to the Canadian west to take up homestead lands. Scarborough's small Dutch population (53 in 1871 and 32 in 1901) probably consisted mainly of farmers. There was also "Old Portwine," a "Dutch fisherman" who in the 1890s lived at a cottage fronting the beach at Port Union. "Old Portwine" was part of the commercial fishing community that had been established at Port Union in the 1840s and was profitable until the 1920s. Daily one-ton catches of whitefish and trout were common; these were marketed in Toronto. Portwine also served the leisure market, for his six-oared boat was "much in demand for picnic parties to Rosebank . . . and other camp sites."⁴⁰ He was reported in 1896 to be the major user of the Fishery Road, a remnant of an earlier road intended to link Markham Road with the mouth of Highland Creek; ". . . the road now called Colonel Danforth Trail is really all that is left of the old Fishery Road, remembering that none of our present roads follows exactly the lines of the original roads."⁴¹

One Scarborough resident of "African" origin was listed in the 1871 census, and one "Negro" in 1901. With the end of American slavery in 1865, many thousands of Blacks who had come to Canada before the Civil War returned to the United States. Three Swiss and four Finnish were also listed in 1901. By 1881 almost 2000 people of Italian origin lived in Canada, particularly in Montreal and Toronto. Scarborough had only one person of Italian origin in 1901. Francesco Glionna owned farm land in Scarborough around this time, according to historian John Zucchi. He was head of the Glionna family, described by Zucchi as "the most distinguished clan in Italian Toronto"⁴² and a patriarch of the immigrants who began arriving in Toronto from Laurenzana, Italy, in the early 1870s.

Religion

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Scarborough, like Ontario, took religion seriously. A majority of the population was affiliated with churches: only a few in Scarborough ever admitted to census takers as having "No Religion." Scarborough continued to be a predominantly Protestant community, with a considerable range of denominations. Anglicans, Methodists, and Presbyterians were the three main Protestant groups (the latter two included a number of

The Rural Township: Population Decline, 1861-1910

branches and divisions), with 85 to 90 percent of the total population. The only non-Christian was recorded in 1861: one Jew.

Presbyterians were the largest religious group in Scarborough during this period. Even before 1875, when the Presbyterian Church in Canada was established, joining the Church of Scotland and the Free Church, Presbyterians were increasing in number and by 1901 they accounted for more than 42 percent of the township's population. Obviously, the church's membership extended far beyond people of Scottish origin, then only a quarter of Scarborough's population. Scarborough was far more Presbyterian than its Toronto neighbour, which in 1901 was 20 percent Presbyterian.

The Church of England was not the main religious affiliation of Scarborough's English community, as it was elsewhere. In 1901, when over half of the population was of English ethnic origin, Church of England adherents were only 19 percent. No new Anglican churches were started in Scarborough between 1848 and 1912. Scarborough was far less Anglican than Toronto, which was 30 to 37 percent Anglican during this period.

The prevailing tone was evangelical. By 1901 Methodists were the second largest religious body in Scarborough, with almost 30 percent of the total population. The Free Methodist Church, a biblically conservative, revivalist body started in the United States in 1860, had its Canadian beginnings in Scarborough. Robert Loveless held the first Free Methodist services in Canada in 1874 in a meeting-house at the northwest corner of his family's farm at today's Ellesmere Avenue and Kennedy Road. Within six months another congregation had been started at Armadale, and in 1880 a new Free Methodist church opened on today's Passmore Avenue, about a mile west of Markham Road (lot 18, concession 5). (The board-and-batten church was still standing in 1996, a designated historic site.) Free Methodists sometimes held outdoor revival gatherings called camp meetings at Scarborough locations. One week-long event in June 1889 at Marshall Macklin's Woods near Agincourt featured preachers from Philadelphia and Buffalo. A humorous tale about the effects of one camp meeting at "Macklem's bush" has been recorded by Thomas Edward Hough (1879-1967): "One night the visiting minister was preaching against tight lacing, so a lot of the women went into the bush and took off their corsets, throwing them on the ground."⁴³

There were several other Protestant groups, most with a handful of adherents and each comprising 1 percent or less of the population. These included Adventists, Baptists (and a subgroup called Tunkers

The People of Scarborough: A History

or Dunkers), Brethren, Christian Conference, Lutherans, Congregationalists, Disciples, Unitarians, and Universalists. Sixty-one Mennonites were listed as living in Scarborough in the 1901 census. Christian Reesor (1833-1915) and his son, Thomas (1867-1954), who farmed lot 1, concession 5, were ministers at the Reesor Mennonite Church, Cedar Grove, Markham. (There was no Mennonite church in Scarborough.) Their branch of the family kept the Zurich Bible, written in German and printed in 1579, which had travelled with their forbears on all their long journeys.

Roman Catholics were never more than 10 percent of the population, peaking in 1861, and usually at least half that, being 5 percent in 1901. (Meanwhile, Toronto's Roman Catholic population was about 15 percent of the total population.) Anti-Catholic sentiment prevailed in Scarborough, as it did in the rest of Ontario at this time. Many residents of the province "saw Protestantism and Catholicism as opposing viewpoints. Wherever one flourished, the other must recede,"⁴⁴ historian Jan Noel writes. This is the reason the community supported an Orange Order lodge at Highland Creek and at a meeting at Malvern in June 1889 passed a resolution disapproving of the Jesuits' Estates Act.⁴⁵ This legislation, passed unanimously by the Quebec Legislative Assembly in July 1888, provided a monetary settlement to Jesuits for lands taken from them by Britain after the conquest in 1759; it was viewed in English Canada as a papist intrusion into Canadian affairs.

Visitors to Scarborough

Scarborough's recreational and cultural life was dominated by British activities, and, increasingly, ones with North American roots such as lacrosse and baseball. On a few rare occasions, however, entertainment of more diverse origins came to the township. In January 1863 a troupe of "Ethiopian Serenaders" performed at Burton's Hall, Malvern, with songs, instrumental music, dances, and farces.⁴⁶ Two decades later, in December 1884, two Italian musicians, a harpist and a violinist, accompanied a football team from Toronto who went to Malvern to play a match.⁴⁷ Italian street musicians such as hurdy-gurdy men and street singers were seen in Canada as early as the 1860s.

Victoria Park and the adjacent Munro Park (which were run jointly from 1896 until they were closed at the end of the 1906 season) were popular with immigrant groups from Toronto, especially those living in the downtown area around city hall known as "the Ward."

The Rural Township: Population Decline, 1861-1910

St. John's Ward was the early centre of Jewish and Italian life in Toronto. Mindful of the immigrants' use of the parks, the *Toronto Daily Star* commented that "the proposed closing of this somewhat noisy summer breathing spot is not looked upon with any noticeable amount of sorrow by the regular residents who, as rule, would sooner the 'Ward' would empty itself on summer evenings in some other direction."⁴⁸

The People of Scarborough: *A History*

Chapter 5

Suburban Development and Population Growth, 1911-1945

"A builder was to put houses in this division [Birch Cliff] but the depression struck! But what a great stroke of luck for me! On these paved streets I used to roller skate for hours, unconcerned with traffic . . . for there was none. It was like having a great outdoor arena to myself. I was as free as the breeze."

-Jocelyn Donson Ladd , 1996

After almost a half-century of decline, Scarborough's population started to climb again in 1911, embarking on a continuous, though sometimes faltering, ascent in the coming years. "The township of farms and villages," to use the words of Robert Bonis, "began to turn its back upon its rural past and to look toward its suburban residential and industrial future."¹ In the beginning, both immigration and natural increase were substantial, but these were reduced, temporarily, during the First World War, and then again for about fifteen years from the onset of the Great Depression in 1929 until the end of the Second World War. Most of the newcomers were suburbanites, not farmers (in 1931, for example, only 3109 people were on farms; 17,573 residents were not). And a noticeable number were from different countries or backgrounds than had settled in Scarborough before, adding new ingredients to the demographic mixture. Scarborough was becoming less insular in other ways, too, extending beyond its previously narrow British-Canadian focus. Not only was there a considerable influx of immigrants and a growing ethnic diversity in the community, but many local residents went overseas during both the First and Second World Wars. Scarborough was indeed changing.

Population Growth

In 1910 Scarborough's population was 3426, its lowest point since the early 1840s and for the entire twentieth century. Only one year later, there were 1287 new residents, and the population had increased by 37.5 percent to 4713 people. Scarborough was belatedly but resoundingly participating in a period of huge national and local growth. A high natural increase combined with heavy immigration to Canada from the early 1900s to 1914 boosted the average annual rate of growth for the country to a high of 3 percent. Toronto's population rise had been spectacular in the first decade of the new century, increasing almost 81 percent from 208,040 in 1901 to 376,538 people in 1911.

In the next two decades, Scarborough's development continued to grow rapidly, a trend disrupted only temporarily during the First World War when, in a pattern duplicated across the country, many went overseas to fight and immigration declined. After the war, with veterans returning and immigrants coming again, Scarborough's population reached 11,746 people in 1921, an increase of 149 percent from 1911. By that year, both Toronto and Montreal had over half a million people each, the first time any cities in Canada had reached this milestone. Toronto's burgeoning population — it added 145,355 new residents between 1911 and 1921 — was beginning to spill beyond its limits into the outlying areas. Most of Scarborough's development at this time took place in the southwestern corner of the municipality, in particular along Kingston Road to about Midland Avenue. In some cases, it was "farmer-developers" rather than professional real estate developers who made arrangements to have their farms subdivided into building lots and sold.²

Scarborough continued to boom during the 1920s. By the time of the 1931 census, there were 20,682 people in Scarborough, a 76 percent rise since 1921. In the same period, Ontario had grown only by 17 percent and Toronto by 20 percent. However, both the Depression and the Second World War significantly reduced Scarborough's growth. Between 1931 and 1941, Scarborough slowed down to a 17.5 percent increase and a net gain of 3621 new residents, bringing the population to 24,303 in 1941. Its growth rate, however, was higher than the nation's or its huge municipal neighbour to the west; during the same period, Canada's population increased by only 10.9 percent and Toronto's by 5.7 percent. This was a period not only of reduced immigration but of a long-term decline in the birth rate.

Suburban Development and Population Growth, 1911-1945

For the remaining years of the Second World War, Scarborough's population expanded only slightly to 25,482 people in 1945. Many men and women of Scarborough left to serve in the armed forces. The war also brought increasing economic activity in Canada, and thousands flocked to the Toronto area to work in war production.

The growth of Scarborough's population led to a flurry of school construction. In the seventeen years from 1911 to 1928, twelve new public elementary schools were opened, as many as the township had built during the entire nineteenth century. (No schools were opened during the Depression and Second World War.) Most of the new schools were built to serve children in the growing suburban areas: Chester Avenue (1911, renamed Courcellette Road, 1917), Oakridge (1913), Scarborough Village (1913), Agincourt (1914), Birch Cliff (1916), Highland Creek (1918), West Hill (1919), Regent's Park (1921), Birch Cliff Heights (1922), Midland Avenue (1923, renamed John A. Leslie, 1950), Kitchener Park (1924), and Blantyre (1928). Although all the new schools were given school section numbers, they were more commonly referred to by their community name, reflecting a more urban, less rural practice.

During this period, Scarborough also began to serve the educational needs of older children. Two of the four rooms in the new Agincourt school were used for high school classes, beginning in 1915 with grade 9 and going up to junior matriculation (grade 12) by 1920. Scarborough High School, going to senior matriculation (Grade 13), started in September 1922 with 116 students, mostly from the southern part of the township.

A few elementary separate schools also were established in Scarborough Township for Roman Catholic children. St. Dunstan began in 1923 with a two-room school close to the church on Danforth Avenue, just inside the border between Scarborough and Toronto. In 1940 it had five teachers and 189 registered students.³ During the Second World War, a separate school called GECHO was opened, for children whose parents worked or lived around the General Engineering Company (GECO) munitions factory.⁴ There was also St. Joseph's-on-the Lake, where the Sisters of St. Joseph had a residential novitiate and also operated a farm. As the surrounding area developed, local Catholic children were admitted as day pupils.⁵ The six O'Prey children attended school there in the late 1920s and 1930s while their father worked at the farm. "We went to school there from grade one to grade eight. It was a convent with only two classrooms, four grades in each one."⁶ Patrick Ryan and most of his seven siblings also attended this school, which he

The People of Scarborough: A History

noted “was located down near Lake Ontario at stop 19 Kingston Rd. (opp. McCowan Rd). The road down to the convent is now called Cathedral Bluffs, but at that time it was just a gravel driveway that wandered through fields of wheat for perhaps ¼ mile to the large convent building.”⁷

Immigration

In the period immediately before the First World War, immigrants began coming to Scarborough anew. Canada had a huge influx of population from about 1903 until 1914. Immigration peaked in 1913 when 400,870 people entered the country: the most ever recorded in any one year, and a huge number in a country with a total population of just over seven million. The immigrants drawn to the industrial towns and cities of Ontario included many from the United Kingdom but also many from other countries, with a variety of ethnic origins represented. Toronto had a considerable influx of immigrants; the British were by far the most numerous group but there was also a segment from continental Europe comprised mainly of, J. M. S. Careless records, “Austro-Hungarian and Italian nationals, and diverse former subjects of Imperial Russia. Many of the last were Jews, as were others drawn from Central Europe.”⁸ Many British, some Germans, Dutch, Italians, and Ukrainians, and a few Finnish and other Europeans as well as Blacks, Chinese, and Jews moved out to Scarborough.

Immigration to Canada came to a virtual standstill during the First World War. Only 36,665 people entered in 1915, three-quarters of them from the United States. Farmers and city dwellers alike prospered during the war with rising demands for food and manufactured products. But wartime hostilities created difficulties for many in Canada, especially Germans and other “enemy aliens” (such as Ukrainians) who had been part of Germany or the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

In the post-war period, people arrived in Scarborough from overseas once again. Immigration to Canada was substantial — 107,698 came in 1919, for example — although not as high as it had been before the war. Canada began to restrict immigration, supplementing prohibitive clauses of earlier years with a list of “preferred” and “non-preferred” countries from which immigrants could be selected; the new policy excluded Chinese and severely limited the entry of other Asians.⁹ Harold Troper points out in an insightful essay on Canadian immigration that, from 1896 to the

1930s, immigration policy and public opinion “may only have reflected their times” but they were “nevertheless racist.” He adds that immigration regulations “listed ideal settlers in a descending preference. British and American agriculturalists were followed by French, Belgians, Dutch, Scandinavians, Swiss, Finns, Russians, Austro-Hungarians, Germans, Ukrainians and Poles. Close to the bottom of the list came those who were, in both the public and the government’s minds, less assimilable and less desirable, e.g., Italians, South Slavs, Greeks and Syrians. At the very bottom came Jews, Asians, gypsies and blacks.”¹⁰ Despite such policies, however, the proportion of the Canadian population that was not of British, French, or native origin rose to more than 18 percent by 1931.

The influx of so many immigrants created a Scarborough with fewer Canadian-born residents than it had for some time. In 1921 the census showed that more than 37 percent of Scarborough’s 11,746 residents had been born outside Canada. Scarborough had not had such a large immigrant population since 1871, and it would not have as big a newcomer group again until 1981.

Scarborough’s influx continued to be dominated by immigrants from the British Isles, many escaping uncertain economic and political conditions. Over 91 percent of the newcomers in 1921 were of British birth. However, members of several non-British groups — some new arrivals to the country and some who had emigrated at an earlier time — also located in Scarborough. In 1921, 9 percent of immigrants to Scarborough were from places other than Britain or were “foreign born,” to use the language of the census. One was John Evanoff’s father, who had been born in Bulgaria in 1890. By 1918 he was working on a farm near Brampton, Ontario, but after getting a job with the Toronto Transportation Commission he moved to Toronto and then relocated his family to Scarborough in about 1924.

High immigration to Canada continued during the 1920s. The peak year was 1928, when 166,783 arrived; only in 1921, 1922, and 1925 did fewer than 100,000 per annum come. This inflow sustained Scarborough’s large population of newcomers. In 1931, 7326 people, or 35.4 percent of Scarborough’s total population of 20,682, had been born outside Canada, a slight decrease from 1921. (By comparison, Canada’s immigrant population was about 22 percent between 1921 and 1931.) Once again, most of Scarborough’s immigrants — 90 percent — were from the British Isles. But the British proportion of the immigrant population had decreased slightly from 1921. There were now 765 “foreign born,”

The People of Scarborough: A History

a category that had increased its proportion of the total population to 4 percent.

Immigration to Canada came to a virtual standstill as a result first of the Great Depression and then of the Second World War. An order-in-council was passed by the Canadian government in August 1930 restricting immigration to members of the immediate families of men already established in Canada and farmers with enough money to start farming at once. Deportation was resorted to rid the country of non-British immigrants who were indigent or considered to be dangerous radicals.¹¹ Not surprisingly, then, the native-born grew more rapidly as a proportion of the Canadian population during the Depression and early war years.¹²

Ethnic Origin

British

As noted, Scarborough remained British-Canadian to an overwhelming extent, with over 90 percent of the population being of British origin during this period. Between 35 and 37 percent of the people of British origin had been born in the British Isles.

The proportion of people of English and Welsh origin increased from 56 percent of the total population in 1911 to about 62 percent in 1921, a level sustained for the next two decades. There was massive emigration from England to Canada before and after the First World War. In 1906, three years after an immigration office was established in central London, 65,000 immigrants arrived in Canada and in 1913 the number peaked at 113,004.

About 240,000 Scottish immigrants arrived in Canada in the first years of the century, and 200,000 more came between 1919 and 1930. However, Scarborough's Scots gradually declined from 23 percent of the township's population in 1911 to 14.5 percent in 1941. Immigration from Ireland was consistent, and the Irish stayed at a steady 13 percent of the population for the entire period from 1911 to 1941. Generally, less than 1 percent belonged to "Other British Races."

Most of the British immigrants who arrived in Toronto from about 1897 on "came from a highly urbanized and industrialized homeland," J. M. S. Careless observes. "They moved with little noticeable disruption into factories, stores, services and dwellings across the city, although many did tend to settle in newer-developing neighbourhoods . . . or other extending districts beyond the older,

built-up core.”¹³ For some of these immigrants, the outlying areas, such as Birch Cliff and Oakridge in Scarborough, offered the possibility of home ownership, something beyond their means in most British cities. Since land was cheaper in the suburbs and building restrictions were almost non-existent, many could build their own homes. A small number of professional and amateur artists or artisans were also attracted to the Scarborough Bluffs. Frederick Coates, who emigrated to Canada from Nottingham, England, in 1913, and his wife, Louise, were part of an Arts and Crafts enclave that was formed after the First World War at the foot of Chine Drive, dubbed “At Oddities End” by a local journalist who lived farther up the winding street.¹⁴ Spencer and Rosa Clark established the Guild of All Arts in 1932.

After the First World War, Scarborough’s influx continued to be dominated by immigrants from the British Isles. Many families settled in the suburban communities along Kingston Road. Cordelia Perrott, a First World War widow with four young sons, left Cork, Ireland, in 1921 with a large extended family consisting of both parents, two sisters, two brothers, and one brother-in-law; all but two of the twelve settled in Scarborough. Robert Perrott, Cordelia’s son, recalls the move: “Trouble with the ‘Black and Tans’ and the Sinfeins caused the family concern for their safety and so they decided to leave Ireland. My uncles came to Canada first to see if they would like it. Then returned home where the family decided to immigrate to Canada together. They set sail on the ship *Minnedosa* from Liverpool, England and arrived in Nova Scotia on March 28, 1921 . . . My mother became district nurse for the Birchcliff Heights area. She purchased three cottages on South Woodrow, we lived at number 159 and she rented the other two cottages out.”¹⁵

Organizations for those of English, and especially Irish and Scottish origin, grew in Scarborough, notably in the suburban areas where large numbers of immigrants from the British Isles resided. Eight branches of the Loyal Orange Lodge were formed between 1914 and 1929, including lodges at Danforth, Birch Cliff, Oakridge, Highland Creek, Scarborough Bluffs, Malvern, and Scarborough Junction; four were still active in 1996.¹⁶ The Sons of Scotland, who had established a camp in Agincourt by the 1890s, expanded to Birchcliff Heights, and the Glen Stewart Camp built a hall on Pinegrove Avenue. The Scottish game of golf also became popular in Scarborough, with at least nine courses and several driving ranges laid out on old farm properties. Scarboro Golf Club, started in 1912, was the first eighteen-hole course.

European and Asian

Scarborough's ethnic diversity also broadened during this era, a phenomenon of long-term importance. There were a great variety of non-British groups, which accounted for about 7 to 9 percent of the total population. The non-British groups can be divided into two major categories. First., there continued to be those of European origin who had appeared in some previous counts for Scarborough and who sometimes were listed in the census during the 1911-41 period. The largest groups in this category were the Germans and Italians; the smallest groups were the Swiss (two in 1921) and "Negro" (one in 1911 and five in 1921). Secondly, many new groups appeared in the census for Scarborough for the first time, sometimes listed specifically and sometimes collectively.

Germans were the largest non-British group in 1911, with 142 people comprising 3 percent of the population. But their numbers dropped to 85 people (0.7 percent) in 1921. The First World War had a profound impact upon German Canadians. Until then, they were considered preferred immigrants, but with the outbreak of war the Canadian government restricted immigration. As a result of the war against Germany, Germans were vilified and arbitrarily interned, their properties were confiscated and never accounted for, and the use of their language was restricted or banned altogether. Some in Scarborough's German community, especially long-time residents, may have decided to mask their ethnic origin. While the number of people of German ethnicity declined, the number of Mennonites remained constant, with 68 listed in 1921.

Germany did not acquire "favoured nation" status until 1927, but between 1919 and 1935 some 97,000 German-speaking immigrants arrived in Canada from Poland, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and parts of Germany. By 1931 the German group in Scarborough had increased to 246, and it remained at about 1 percent of the population in 1941.

Italians were one of the largest and most frequently recorded of the older non-British groups in Scarborough. Between 1900 and the First World War, 119,770 Italians entered Canada (primarily from the United States), the greatest number in 1913. About 80 percent of these people were young males. The 1911 census of Italian-born in Toronto lists 2200 males and 800 females, most of them resident in the "Little Italys" around Toronto's city hall, College and Grace Streets, and Dufferin and Davenport. Despite tighter immigration restrictions following the war, more than 29,000 Italians had entered

Suburban Development and Population Growth, 1911-1945

Canada by 1930. Most settled in the growing cities of central Canada, working in construction, as food merchants, or as artisans. But many Italians worked as truck farmers on the outskirts.

Scarborough's Italian community jumped from 13 people in 1911 to 135 in 1921 and 321 in 1941 (representing 1.3 percent of the total population). According to historian John Zucchi, most Italians living in Scarborough at this time were from Sicily and worked as market gardeners. In general, because their work took them beyond the city's Little Italys, Sicilians maintained a distance from Toronto's main Italian community. Many lived on Toronto's major thoroughfares (Queen Street, Danforth Avenue, St. Clair Avenue, and so on), operating fruit and vegetable stores and, on the outskirts, growing small crops for local consumption. (Market gardens took up 735 acres in Scarborough in 1931.) John Zucchi describes Scarborough's Italian community in his history, *Italians in Toronto*: "The most popular location was Midland Avenue between Eglinton and Lawrence avenues in Scarborough. A virtual Sicilian farming village flourished there by the 1920s with gardens run by the Fasolinos (later Fassel) and Calderones from Termini, the Mannerones and Acquannos from Vita, and the Ciccinellis, Lucianos, Augieres, and Masseris (Mauderi, later Massey) from Pachino. These truck farms supplied much of the produce sold in the fruit and vegetable stores of their own townsmen or relatives. Indeed, the Ciras were able to retail their own produce."¹⁷

Scarborough's Finnish population grew to 29 in 1911 but declined to 15 in 1921, and no Finns at all were listed thereafter. The Dutch increased from 21 people in 1911 to 272 in 1941, with their proportion of the total population growing to more than 1 percent. Approximately 25,000 Dutch or Dutch-American immigrants entered Canada between 1890 and 1930. A large number arrived during the 1920s, when, historian Herman Ganzevoort records, "the demand for farm, construction and industrial labour was high . . . significant concentrations settled in southern and southwestern Ontario, especially around Toronto."¹⁸

Most of the newer non-British groups in Scarborough had only a handful of people, and each made up less than 1 percent of the total population. Ethnically varied, they included Austrians, Hungarians, Belgians, Czechs and Slovaks, Greeks, Jews, Scandinavians, Roumanians, Russians, Poles, and Ukrainians.

Ukrainians were the largest of the new European groups, growing from 8 people in 1921 to 128 in 1931 and 253 in 1941, when they were 1 percent of Scarborough's population. The Ukrainians who

The People of Scarborough: A History

settled in Scarborough at this time were farming people. Some may have relocated from western Canada, where the majority of the almost 200,000 Ukrainians who had emigrated to Canada between 1891 and 1914 had settled. They were known variously as Galicians, Bukovinians, Rusins, Ruthenians, and even Austrians. Others were in the second wave of immigrants following the First World War, when, from 1924 to 1930, approximately 70,000 Ukrainians came to Canada. Like the first wave, many of the new settlers were farmers but their numbers also included professionals and artisans.¹⁹

Early Ukrainians in Scarborough operated market gardens on McCowan Avenue and on Markham Road. The Struk family could be found at the northwest corner of Markham Road and today's Ellesmere Avenue, and another Ukrainian farmer worked the old Jackson farm, later Masaryktown, on the west side of Scarborough Golf Club Road. The Ukrainian growers usually took their produce to the Kensington Market, then known as the Jewish market. It catered mostly to Eastern Europeans and so the Ukrainians' lack of English-language skills would not have been a handicap.

Between 1900 and 1920, approximately 120,000 Jews emigrated to Canada, primarily from eastern Europe. By the 1920s, Jews made up more than 6 percent of the Toronto's population and were its largest non-British ethnic group. (Jews were listed both as a religion and as an ethnic group in the Canadian census.) They were only a tiny group in Scarborough: 11 people in 1911, 10 in 1921, and 24 in 1931.

Jewish immigrants frequently worked at "peddling, rag-picking, bottle-washing, dealing in used furniture and other salvaged goods," historian Stephen Speisman notes, in the areas surrounding Toronto and in the city itself. "As activities low on the scale of prestige, they were avoided by the non-Jewish native."²⁰ In the days before regular garbage collection, frugal Scarborough householders of the 1920s prepared for the visits of salvagers, welcoming the opportunity to get rid of unwanted items and make a bit of extra money. As one resident recalls: "Bottles were saved, newspapers were tied together and old clothing put into a bag and saved for the rag man when he came down the road with his long beard and his horse and wagon calling out what we interpreted as 'rags, bones, and bottles.' Mother would call him in and order us children to stay near her while they dickered over the price. Mother was usually pleased with her bargain and the rag man reluctant to part with his money, but always promised to come back next time."²¹

Suburban Development and Population Growth, 1911-1945

If Scarborough's Jewish population was small, over the years the township became the final resting place for thousands of Jews: three Jewish cemeteries were established there between 1898 and the late 1940s. Land for the first Jewish cemetery was purchased in 1898 near Dawes Road, on the south side of St. Clair Avenue East, extending west. from Herron Avenue to Taylor (now Nancy) Avenue. (Toronto filmmaker Harry Rasky, who grew up along St. Clair Avenue West in the vicinity of Dufferin Street, recalls in his autobiography — *Nobody Swings on Sundays; The Many Lives and Films of Harry Rasky* — a relative “buried in the distant cemetery of St. Clair Avenue East. (West for living, East for dying).” Eventually, twenty-three Jewish organizations, including mutual-benefit societies, fraternal organizations, and synagogues, owned sections of Dawes Road Cemetery.²² Holy Blossom, Toronto's oldest synagogue, opened a “memorial park” in 1929 on the west side of Brimley Avenue, north of St. Clair, to supplement its earlier cemetery on Pape Avenue in Toronto. The Machzikei B'nai Israel Congregation established the third cemetery in the late 1940s on the east side of McCowan Avenue, north of Danforth Road; that congregation was absorbed sometime between 1976 and 1982 by the Shaarei Shonayim Congregation, which now operates the cemetery.

There were also a few people from the Middle East (one Syrian in 1921) and Asia in Scarborough. In 1921 and 1931, those of Chinese and Japanese origin were listed together on the census; three people were enumerated for Scarborough in the former year and 22 in the latter. In 1941 “Japanese” did not appear in the published census, and there were 14 people of Chinese ethnic origin in Scarborough. By contrast, 2134 Chinese were living in Toronto in 1921, mostly in the vicinity of Dundas and Bay Streets, with many working in restaurants or laundries. Typically, and largely as a consequence of the “head tax” which from 1885 Chinese migrants had been obliged to pay before being admitted into Canada, men came alone and lived as bachelors. In the 1920s Lem Brothers Laundry was located at 1728 Kingston Road in Birch Cliff, advertising “goods called for and delivered.” Olive N. Graham remembers laundry being picked up at her family's house on the Scarborough Bluffs near Midland in the 1920s: “Not to be forgotten was the small sad figure of the Chinese laundryman who came regularly to the neighbourhood carrying his load in a white sack on his back. Mother would give him her best tablecloths and shirt collars which he finished beautifully in his little shop at

The People of Scarborough: A History

Birchcliff. Tickets would be in Chinese characters and this, of course, was very mysterious. What a lonely life he must have led.”²³

Religion

Scarborough’s population was still overwhelmingly Protestant, with a growing proportion of Roman Catholics as well as a small number of people belonging to other Christian groups, including seventy to ninety Mennonites. Thomas Reesor, a Scarborough native, was ordained a Mennonite minister in 1916, and in the 1920s he helped about 100 Mennonite refugees from Bolshevik Russia settle a colony near Hearst, Ontario, named “Reesor” in his honour. There were also one to two dozen Jews, about thirty people whose religion affiliation was “not specified” or “not stated,” and, in the 1921 census, one listed under “Eastern religions.”

Reflecting the large inflow from the British Isles, Anglicans in Scarborough increased dramatically, becoming more than 40 percent of the population in the 1921-41 censuses. The influx of so many Anglicans produced a flurry of church building. Seven new Anglican churches were established between 1912 and 1924,²⁴ the first in Scarborough in over sixty years; they were mostly in the new suburban areas of the township. Many of the Anglican congregations had substantial immigrant populations. For example, among the first members of the Church of St. Nicholas, Birch Cliff (established in 1912) were many recent arrivals from England and Wales.²⁵

The United Church of Canada, formed in 1925 by the union of Methodists, Congregationalists, and some Presbyterians, became the second-largest religious group in Scarborough, having 23 percent of the population in 1931 and 27 percent in 1941. Not all Presbyterians joined the United Church, but, even before church union, their proportion of the population had started to fall owing in some measure to the decline of those of Scottish ethnicity in Scarborough. Presbyterians dropped from having more than 37 percent of the population in 1911 to 23 percent in 1921 and about 10 percent in 1941. Baptists, on the other hand, grew from having 93 adherents (2 percent) in 1911 to 1455 (6 percent) in 1941. Several new churches were constructed during this time for these various Protestant denominations.

Partially as a result of immigration from predominantly Catholic countries such as Ireland and Italy, the number of Roman Catholics in Scarborough increased almost tenfold, from 274 people in 1911

to 2518 in 1941; during the same period, their proportion of the population doubled from 6 to over 10 percent. Three new Roman Catholic churches were built between 1923 and 1933.²⁶ Some of Scarborough's fledgling Italian community attended, or at least were buried, at St. Joseph Church in Highland Creek, the only Roman Catholic church in Scarborough until 1923.²⁷

Three major training schools for the Roman Catholic Church were established during this period in Scarborough, all along the Bluffs east of Midland Avenue. St. Augustine's Seminary (1913) was the first seminary in Canada to train English-speaking priests. By the time of its golden jubilee in 1963, over 1400 priests had been trained and a world-renowned library developed. St. Joseph's on-the-Lake (1916-60) was a novitiate as well as a convalescent hospital and a retirement home for nuns. The China Missions (1918) seminary, based in Almonte, Ontario, before moving to Scarborough in the 1920s, trained young men for the priesthood so they could be sent to evangelize China. The statistics — "400 million pagans in China; 33,000 die daily unbaptized" — appeared on the front cover of each issue of the society's magazine for its first three years. The seminary relocated in 1921 to the site of what is now the Guild Inn in Scarborough, and in 1924 it moved again, this time to its present location on Kingston Road near St. Augustine's Seminary. In 1925 Father Paul Kam became the first native Chinese to be ordained as a priest in Canada. During the late 1930s, there were as many as thirty-five priests trained in Scarborough working in the Chinese mission fields. The name of the organization was changed to Scarboro Foreign Mission Society soon after the Second World War, reflecting the wider geographic area of its activities.

There were 103 people listed as "Greek Orthodox" in 1941. The census consistently used this label until 1981; the term likely referred to members of several branches of the Orthodox Church, including Eastern Orthodox (Russian, Ukrainian, Macedonian, and Serbian as well as Greek) and Oriental Orthodox (for example, Coptic). Since there was no Orthodox church in Scarborough, adherents would have had to travel to Toronto for services.

War and Depression

The First World War had a profound effect on Scarborough. "Most of the young unmarried men in our community enlisted in the army," Mary Tredway Miller recalls, with the result that "farm help was very scarce."²⁸ "A goodly number of Scarborough boys" went overseas

The People of Scarborough: A History

with the 127th Battalion of the Canadian Expeditionary Force. Before they left England for France, most of the Scarborough men were transferred to A Company of the Railway Operations Battalion, their responsibility being to work together to maintain the railway lines.²⁹ Lieutenant George B. Little was an officer with the company, and on 19 January 1917 he wrote this glowing report from dugout no. 1, France, back home to Scarborough: "It is a pleasure to be with these Scarboro boys, they're the best all round fellows I have ever seen in uniform. No trouble at all, always ready for any duty."³⁰ Captain John Barton Heron, another Scarborough resident, was also with the company. His wife, the former Ruth McCowan, worked diligently on the home front organizing local women's institutes and church groups to knit mittens for the soldiers, vowing in one letter, "We are going to make 1,100 pairs."³¹

Enlistment was especially high among the recent British immigrants. Six men living on or near Chester Avenue in southwest Scarborough died in and around the Battle of Courcellette, during the Somme campaign in France in 1916. The street was renamed Courcellette Road on 12 February 1917 in their honour (and to avoid duplication with Chester Avenue in Toronto).³² Many from Oakridge signed up, and several were at the Battle of Vimy Ridge, 9-14 April 1917. Arnold Canning was thirteen years old and living on a farm near Armadale when the war ended in 1918. He recalls both local boys being killed or injured during the war and the great local celebration at the time of the armistice (his brother, Hugh, was then in a hospital in England recovering from shrapnel injuries): "As I walked home from school there were people driving madly around the roads in Scarborough Township, honking and cheering."³³

Several veterans' clubs and halls were established in Scarborough after the First World War, including the Excelsior Veteran's Hall on South Woodrow (where silent movies were shown). Another was the Oakridge Veterans Club, which constructed Byng Memorial Hall, located on Byng Avenue. The street was named for Viscount Byng of Vimy, the British aristocrat who led the attack on Vimy and was Canada's governor general from 1921 to 1926.

A decade after the end of the First World War, the Great Depression began. For the next ten years, Scarborough, like the rest of the country, experienced tough times. Unable to meet the principal payments on its debentures, Scarborough was forced in 1932 to seek help from the Ontario Municipal Board, which appointed a committee of supervisors to take over its affairs. In 1935 the committee reported that the municipality was still defaulting on its

debenture payments, that its debt was more than 37 percent of its total assessment, and that it should write off almost \$1 million in back taxes. Its credit rating was so poor that "the township couldn't even borrow \$2500 to build a room on the West Hill School," reeve Albert Campbell later recalled,³⁴ salaries of teachers and other employees were reduced, and many services were cut back or eliminated.

Unemployment was high, and the number on relief steadily increased: 5473 Scarborough residents were on relief in 1934, or more than 25 percent of the township's total population of 21,356.³⁵ When Olive Graham's father was laid off work, he had to apply for relief: "In exchange for his relief vouchers, Dad [had to] contribute a number of hours work for the township. This took the form of clearing ditches and mending the roads with a work gang."³⁶ Similarly, Bernard Donson, an unemployed sign painter, did the lettering on the police cars and fire engines for Scarborough Township to get relief. His daughter, Jocelyn, remembers the "many humiliations you felt when you received welfare from the city . . . All the shoes for girls where the same! Everyone who glanced at your feet knew you were on welfare."³⁷ Olive Graham recalls the "degrading situation" of exchanging relief vouchers for fuel and food at local stores, "where the grocer could decide what you might or might not purchase. I was sent to buy pork chops for ourselves and a neighbour on one occasion and was given chops for the neighbour and sausages for ourselves."³⁸

Most local shopkeepers extended credit but did not always show sensitivity when customers had reached their limit. Jocelyn Donson Ladd says, "I can remember at ten years of age of going to the grocery store and told in front of all the customers that you couldn't have any groceries because you had no more credit."³⁹ Patrick Ryan's parents operated both a general store and a tinsmithing shop next door to the Half Way House, the old hotel at the northwest corner of Kingston Road and Midland Avenue.⁴⁰ He understood the difficulties faced by the merchants: "By standards of the 1930s I am sure many people thought that we were well off operating a store and sheet metal shop, but that was far from true. Both businesses gave a lot of credit and few people could afford to pay. In our family, clothes were patched and repatched then handed over to younger siblings . . . but somehow we managed through the Great Depression without going on welfare."⁴¹

The barter system was used extensively in Scarborough during the Depression. Patrick Ryan recalls his father frequently being paid

The People of Scarborough: A History

in kind for his tinsmithing services: "My father did a lot of metal work for farmers and others throughout the township and often accepted payment in barrels of apples, sacks of potatoes, carrots and onions, farm butchered meats, and many kinds of equipment. Our school tuition fees were handled to a great extent by work he performed for the school."⁴² "Farmers at least had food, if they could get a crop in," says Arnold Canning. "A bushel of apples or potatoes could be used as barter for a haircut or some other service. I was struggling just to pay the rent on the farm." Mary Tredway Miller comments, "On the farm my family was more fortunate, as there was always plenty of food, wood for heating and as today things were reused, recycled and made do."

Almost everyone had a garden, and most fruits and vegetables were home-grown; extra produce was preserved for the winter months. Non-farming residents either appropriated nearby vacant lots or were allocated plots of land for what were called relief gardens. Stanley N. Riches recalls, "On either side of our house, there were vacant lots, and my father, like many other fathers, planted a garden in our back yard and also used these lots . . . We grew our potatoes, beans, carrots, corn, even raspberry bushes."⁴³ Doris Uprichard Libby's father was lucky to find work for at least six months of the year at the Ford Motor Company's factory (now Shoppers' World) at the southwest corner of Danforth and Victoria Park avenues. "The company allowed the workers to use vacant land around the plant for gardens, and father being Irish, grew potatoes!"⁴⁴ Many kept animals. John Evanoff remembers that "during the Depression years, we raised chickens, pigs, had a cow and sold milk, and worked a large garden for extra money. "[We] grazed the cow on any open field around, mostly the north end of North Woodrow."⁴⁵

Many men wandering the roads looking for work turned up at Scarborough farms. Arnold Canning recalls that "they only wanted a place to sleep and food in return for their labour, and the odd bit of money for tobacco. I hired them when I had work for them, and then they moved on. I remember one man that we hired disappeared one Sunday . . . and the only thing he took with him was a pair of my long underwear that was hanging on the clothes line. Guess he figured that he needed it worse than I did!"⁴⁶ Others, riding the rails, travelled from one place to another in search of work and would often arrive at local homes asking for food.

Many scrounged for fuel to heat houses. Children living in the vicinity of railroads were sent to walk along the railway tracks and pick up coal that had fallen off the trains. Some enterprising residents

of Birchcliff Heights went a step further to get coal from the trains, Vic Norburn reminisced in 1992. "They greased the tracks between the Birchmount and Woodrow bridges. The train wheels would spin uselessly on the greased track, causing the train to standstill while the locals boarded the coal cars and pitched coal off the trains as fast they could."⁴⁷ John Evanoff recalls other methods used by the ingenious suburbanites to obtain fuel. "During the late 30s, CN was dismantling railway cars, taking away scrap steel and leaving the wood. This was being done by the railway just north of St. Clair on the east side of Midland Avenue. Nearly everyone in Scarborough took the scrap wood home, some for building and others to burn in the wood stoves used for heat and cooking."⁴⁸

Bernice Thurman Hunter's "Booky" novels are one of the most famous evocations of the Depression in Scarborough. *That Scatterbrain Booky* tells about a young Birch Cliff girl, twenty-two pounds underweight and hungry all the time, who lived in constant fear that the bailiff would evict her family from their home.⁴⁹ Jocelyn Donson Ladd, also a Birch Cliff girl, recalls that sometimes the Depression brought unexpected pleasures. While most streets in the neighbourhood (including Kingston Road) were oiled and sanded, one section from Red Deer Avenue to Warden Avenue north to Clonmore Drive and south to Dodge Road was paved and curbed. "A builder was to put houses in this division but the depression struck! But what a great stroke of luck for me! On these paved streets I used to roller skate for hours, unconcerned with traffic . . . for there was none. It was like having a great outdoor arena to myself. I was as free as the breeze!"⁵⁰

The Depression came to an end with the outbreak of the Second World War, and in this conflict, as in that of 1914-18, many Scarborough residents served in the armed forces: 2099 people from Scarborough were in active service in March 1944, over 8 percent of the population.⁵¹ The home front was also busy. One of Canada's largest munitions factories was located in Scarborough. The General Engineering Company (GECO) was established in February 1941 on the south side of Eglinton Avenue between Birchmount Road and today's Warden Avenue. Hundreds were employed there, mostly women.⁵² The Guild of All Arts property on Lake Ontario east of Markham Road was used by the Canadian government, initially, from 1942 to 1943, as a training base (officially known as HMCS *Bytown II*) for the first group in the Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service (WRCNS), and then as a military hospital named Scarboro Hall. Local residents raised funds and sent goods to Britain and to Canadian

The People of Scarborough: A History

troops overseas. School children welcomed British youngsters evacuated from London and other bomb targets. People of all ages bought war bonds to support the war effort. Doris Uprichard Libby, who was eight years old when war broke out in 1939, recalls: "War bonds were sold at school and I purchased one, paying 25 cents a week for a \$50.00 bond. At the end of the war I cashed my bond and bought a new Raleigh bike."⁵³ Jocelyn Donson Ladd says that "aside from wages being frozen, we had the war bonds and Canada Savings Certificates. The employer deducted from your paycheck for the compulsory portion of these. In many cases it provided a nice cushion for after the war for such things as buying a house or furniture!"⁵⁴

Local residents practised for air raids. Doris Libby remembers: "Air raid drills would be called at any time, mostly at night. Our local air raid warden walked the streets, making sure no lights appeared from any house. street lights went out, it was pitch black, and no one was allowed outside until the All Clear sounded."⁵⁵ The O'Prey children's father belonged to the civil guard and "had to patrol the streets to make sure there were no lights on, not even the flicker of a cigarette."⁵⁶

Rationing became a way of life. "Food rationing began and we were issued stamp books to buy sugar, meat, butter, and also gasoline," says Doris Libby. "However, we suffered little hardship and felt fortunate to be able to send food parcels to our relatives in Northern Ireland."⁵⁷ Jocelyn Ladd, who was married in 1943, remembers that "The essentials were strictly rationed. Most. food, including sugar, jams, meats, butter, gasoline etc. were rationed and required coupons to purchase. It took some planning to stretch them for the month . . . Of course electrical appliances and new cars were out of the question because the steel was needed for armaments."⁵⁸ Relief gardens were renamed "Victory Gardens" during the war, and on one such plot of land in Birch Cliff Bruce and Elisabeth Plain did their "bit for the war effort by growing as many of our own vegetables as we could."⁵⁹

Holiday Spot, Farm Community, and Suburb

Through war and peace, many people visited Scarborough for recreation or business, and, for some, this introduction to the community would lead to settlement later. The Scarborough Bluffs attracted large numbers of vacationers who came for the day or longer. For example, Armenians had started locating in Toronto in the 1890s, and in the 1910s and 1920s some of the well-to-do members of their community had cottages along the Bluffs.

Suburban Development and Population Growth, 1911-1945

Scarborough became “the place” for vacations according to Arsho Zakarian. “The beach, the Bluffs and the scenery were exhilarating.”⁶⁰

A variety of organized groups used Scarborough Heights Park (1912-29), a sixty-acre (twenty-four-hectare) park run by the street railway companies and located on the Bluffs just west of Bellamy. It was outfitted with a pavilion, a refreshment stand, and a few midway rides. Macedonians frequently held village-society or church-sponsored picnics at the grassy and spacious park. They also picnicked in other Scarborough areas. John Evanoff recalls, “During the summer months a picnic was held every Sunday at a bush (no longer there) at the north end of North Woodrow, and south of St. Clair. This picnic was run by the Macedonian people. They had games, dancing and a very good time was had by all.”⁶¹ Historian Lillian Petroff claims that “Canadians viewed such gatherings as something very ethnic, very outlandish.”⁶²

Scarborough reflected the xenophobia and anti-Semitism that was rampant in the 1930s and 1940s. Olive Graham recalls being warned by her mother to “stay away from the Gypsies” who “camped in their colourful wagons near the pavilion” at Scarborough Heights Park. “Later signs were posted, both at the park and in the corner stores at the Half Way [House] — ‘English-speaking Gentiles only.’”⁶³ In 1947 another Scarborough picnic spot called the Willows had “a sign that said GENTILES ONLY — possibly the last such sign in what is now Metropolitan Toronto,” Toronto writer Robert Fulford remembers.⁶⁴ However, “Another ‘Gentiles Only’ sign was found on the site of the present Metro Zoo in the 1950s, and is believed to have been on the gate of a private golf course in the 1940s. (That sign was included in the ‘Torah to Textbook’ exhibit organized by the Toronto Board of Education in 1997.)”⁶⁵

During the Second World War, pilots from Poland practised in a field in the Scarboro Junction area. John Evanoff recalls: “There was a very large field at the rear of our home, vacant land from North Woodrow to Birchmount. This field was a favourite place for the Polish flyers to practise dive bombing. The pilots came so close to the ground, you could see them in the cockpit.”⁶⁶

While farming increasingly became the occupation of a minority in Scarborough, most of the land in the township was still devoted to agricultural uses. The Canadian census continued to publish statistics on Scarborough’s farm holdings and crops until 1951, when there were still nearly 600 working farms. For most of this period, suburban and industrial development stopped at St. Clair; north of that was open country of farms and market gardens. In the 1940s

The People of Scarborough: A History

the General Engineering Company factory at Eglinton was the only industry in the area and was surrounded by farmers' fields.

In 1911 there were 41,292 "occupied acres of land" (16,238 hectares) in Scarborough and 690 people were classified as "occupiers of land," that is, farmers. Of the latter, 463 were owners, 225 were tenants, and two were owners and tenants. These farmers were quite self-sufficient. Arnold Canning, born in 1905 as the second youngest of ten children, lived with his family on several rented farms in Scarborough. He recalls that "the farm provided most of our food, but we bought 100 pound bags of sugar and flour and rolled oats at the store in Agincourt. Mother and the girls baked all the bread, and preserved the food for winter. Other things such as shoes mother bought in the city. We would have our own goose or duck for Christmas dinner."⁶⁷ Mary Tredway Miller was born in 1914 and raised on a farm in Highland Creek, on the south side of Lawrence Avenue, when six farms and the hamlet of Port Union comprised the area. "There were two general stores that sold groceries, building supplies, hardware, cooking utensils, dry goods, and boots and shoes. They provided the necessities not grown or made at home. One store had its own brand of cough remedy and liniment."⁶⁸

Life on Scarborough farms before and during the First World War seemed untouched by the technological changes that were occurring elsewhere. Electric power was introduced into Scarborough in 1912, but rural Scarborough did not begin to receive electricity until 1917. Arnold Canning relates that there were "very few telephones. The motor car had been invented, but we still travelled by horse and buggy in the country. We had no electricity, or indoor plumbing, but used coal oil lamps for light and a big cookstove to heat the house."⁶⁹ Mary Tredway Miller adds, "In winter months it was by horse and cutter, and there was a great deal more snow than we are having today . . . However in 1918 my father acquired a Model T Ford Touring Car, complete with side curtains."⁷⁰

Trips to Toronto for business and pleasure were either by train or radial car. Arnold Canning's mother raised ducks to sell in Toronto: "Someone would drive us to the . . . car lines at the Halfway House with the horse and wagon, and we would take the ducks on the street car down to the St. Lawrence Market where we sold them."⁷¹

In 1921 Scarborough was still classified as a rural area in the Canadian census. There were then 760 "occupiers of farms," with 516 owners, 198 tenants, and 46 part-owners/part-tenants. However, the land devoted to farms had decreased to 38,616 acres (15,446 hectares). Almost all of the 760 farms were under 100 acres (40

Suburban Development and Population Growth, 1911-1945

hectares) each. In 1931 Scarborough had 680 farmers working 32,838 acres (13,135 hectares). There were also 1,405 horses, 4,238 cattle, 713 sheep, 3,412 swine, and 80,487 hens and chickens. Animals were kept by both farmers and suburbanites.

Mary Tredway Miller relates that people in Scarborough's farming communities were extremely sociable during these times: "There were skating, tobogganing and sleighing parties, baseball games, hockey, lacrosse, soccer and football. There were pot luck suppers, corn roasts, wiener roasts, as well as box socials. The neighbourhood farmers took turns with sleighing or hay ride parties . . . There were euchre and court whist parties, as well as square dances . . . Whenever there was a barn raising in the countryside it was usually christened with a giant barn dance."⁷²

Agriculture was included in the curriculum of Scarborough schools for many years, and both farm and suburban children entered exhibits at school agricultural fairs, held annually in the autumn. Olive Graham studied farming at Midland Avenue School in the 1920s: "At that time Scarborough was considered mainly a farming community, so in the older grades one of our subjects was Agriculture. We learned the types and descriptions of horses, cows, pigs, sheep and chickens. We studied about soil, crop rotation and grains . . . Many students, having reached the age of 14 or more had to leave school and go to work to help their families. Those lessons on farming were soon forgotten when the young people went into the city to work, and gradually the farms too began to disappear."⁷³

Scarborough became increasingly suburbanized during this era. There were many signs of the change. From the early 1900s, events in Scarborough, along with other outlying municipalities, were regularly reported in the suburban section of several Toronto daily newspapers. The Toronto city directory began listing two Scarborough areas in its suburban section in 1918.⁷⁴ Included were both "Scarboro," defined as "a settlement in Scarboro Township 10 miles northeast of the City Hall," and "Birch Cliff," located "between Kingston Road and Danforth Avenue."⁷⁵ In 1921, though predominantly an agricultural country, Canada had reached a point where its town dwellers all but equalled the numbers on the land. By 1931, 85 percent of Scarborough residents were suburbanites rather than farmers.

Scarborough appealed to many working-class immigrants who had come to Canada with little more than high hopes, a willingness to work hard and be thrifty, and a strong desire for home ownership. The child of one English immigrant family to Scarborough wrote:

The People of Scarborough: A History

“Choosing a lot and building a house! This was the dream of most emigrants from the ‘Old Country’ — and the opportunity was available to those who struggled and worked hard.”⁷⁶ Not only was land less expensive in the areas beyond the city, but there were fewer building regulations and restrictions, and it became standard practice for many to build their own homes. Prior to 1912, most buildings south of Kingston Road in Birch Cliff were either summer cottages or self-built permanent dwellings. Self-building was also common in other early suburban areas such as Oakridge along Danforth Avenue, Birchcliff Heights (up the hill from Birch Cliff), Scarboro Junction, and Cliffside, near the Bluffs around Midland Avenue.

Robert Hutton, a native of Dundee, Scotland, bought property at 86 Wanstead Avenue in the Oakridge area shortly after his marriage in 1912. A carpenter by trade, he built his own home, starting with a tarpaper structure. His daughter, Mary (May), remembers that on cold winter nights snow would blow into the house through the cracks and be in the folds of the blankets when she woke up. Gradually, Hutton added to and improved the building, until eventually the family had a four-bedroom, solid-brick house.⁷⁷ In May 1913 Scarborough adopted its first set of subdivision regulations, but these did not end the era of the owner/builder. Olive Graham’s family purchased a quarter-acre lot on the Bluffs east of Midland Avenue when the Ashbridges subdivided their farm in the 1920s, and they commenced to live in a tent while building their house. She recalls being “thrilled with the sight of this unfinished tar-paper covered abode in the middle of an empty field, with an outhouse at the back and a tent in the front.”⁷⁸ Within a few years, the five-room frame house on Hillcrest Drive (now Cliffcrest Drive) was enlarged, decorated, and equipped with an indoor bathroom.

John Evanoff’s family moved to Scarborough around 1924, because the price of land was reasonable and it was thought to be a good place to raise children. A lot was purchased on North Woodrow Boulevard in Scarboro Junction, and his father started to build the family home there, continuing “as money became available.”⁷⁹ In 1939 artist Doris McCarthy paid \$1250 for 12 acres (five hectares) on “The Flats” along the Scarborough Bluffs at the foot of Bellamy Road, and she proceeded to design and build a house, living first in a tent.⁸⁰ Some families lived in the basement first, adding to the rest of the house as finances and time permitted, a practice that continued well after the Second World War,⁸¹ as did self-building.

Few of the new suburban areas had amenities in the beginning. “There was a mud road, no hydro, and water was obtained from a

kind neighbour,” Olive Graham recalls.⁸² Similarly, in the 1920s on North Woodrow Boulevard, there were no sewers and everyone had outdoor privies. John Evanoff’s father campaigned to get water and telephone service on the street; to get the telephone lines installed, he paid for five neighbours’ telephones for two months. “The telephone company would not install telephone poles unless there were 5 families wanting the telephone, otherwise father would have had to pay for all the poles and lines.”⁸³

There were few paved roads in the township. “Every spring we suffered the messy oiling of the roads,” says Doris Uprichard Libby. “A large tank truck came down the street spreading a film of black oil over the road to ‘keep the dust down.’ No matter what precautions were taken, it invariably appeared on verandas, rugs, floors and clothes.”⁸⁴ Transportation was important since, as a history of Birch Cliff School records, “the English-Irish-Scottish homeowners were mostly artisans and wage earners, and a good number commuted daily to Toronto.”⁸⁵ However, there were few private cars (some were used as jitneys by enterprising locals), and public transportation was erratic. Robert Perrott recalls that, in Birchcliff Heights in the 1920s, only two people had their own automobiles: “At that time there were no buses or transportation services of any kind in the Birchcliff Heights area. Kennedy Road was but a narrow two-lane dirt road. My mother [a midwife] had to buy a car to visit her patients. No driving licence or lessons were required for her to drive her Model T Ford. No one else had cars with the exception of a man named Charley Ramsey who lived on South Edgley, he had a small bus which he operated when needed; this was the first bus service in Birchcliff Heights.”⁸⁶ Beginning in about 1918, bus service began to be provided to some areas of Scarborough, supplementing the radial car line service along Kingston Road to West Hill. By the 1930s, there were three main bus companies: Danforth Bus Lines operated by Tom Shoniker, Hollinger Bus Lines, and Gray Coach Lines.⁸⁷ But, because service was often poor and extra fares were charged to change routes, many people found it faster and more economical to walk. Toronto’s movie theatres were a favourite destination for many. Scarborough did not get its first cinema until 4 July 1949, when the Roxy opened on Kingston Road in West Hill.

Medical services were sparse in the 1920s. Midwives often delivered babies, as Robert Perrott recalls: “Because there were no doctors at that time in the area, my mother (who was known as Nurse and had been a midwife in Ireland) did most of the midwifery in the Birchcliff Heights area . . . Much later, a Dr. Jewell came into

The People of Scarborough: A History

the district and he lived at the corner of Highview and Kennedy Road.”⁸⁸

The suburbanites peppered Scarborough Council with demands for sidewalks, street lighting, water mains, paved roads, electric power, police and fire protection, and regular garbage collection, to which it gradually responded. The township established a public utilities commission in 1920, opened a waterworks on Lake Ontario at the foot of Kennedy Road on 23 November 1921, and in 1925 started a fire department. Fire Hall No. 1, on Birchmount Road at the northeast corner of Highview Avenue, also housed Scarborough’s police force and jail.

Community spirit and neighbourliness abounded in the suburbs of Scarborough. Birchcliff Heights had a particularly active ratepayers association. In 1916 it built a hall at 220 South Woodrow Boulevard for community events including euchre and bingo nights, and it initiated the publication of a local newspaper, the *Advertiser*, later known as the *Scarboro News*. It also organized picnics and skating parties and lobbied for local improvements.⁸⁹ John Evanoff recalls a similar neighbourliness: “In late August 1938, we had a very bad fire in our home, and it was nearly destroyed. The neighbours all helped with sleeping arrangements and feeding of the six children in our family.”⁹⁰

All in all, the Scarborough that had emerged by 1945 was clearly in the process of leaving its farming past behind for a future as a suburban municipality. The changes it underwent in the course of this evolution were dramatic, but they were nothing compared to the changes that lay ahead.

Chapter 6

Suburban Explosion, 1945-1971

"Today the strawberry boxes have come and a grid of hardtop roads has been clamped on the area. Hardly a week goes by without there being a new road to drive on, a new bridge to cross, a new shopping plaza to visit."

-Frank Jones, Toronto Telegram, 18 June 1965

In the mid-1940s, Scarborough was on the threshold of 25 years of unprecedented growth. As Robert Bonis said in his *History of Scarborough*, "with the close of the War in 1945, the return from overseas and marriage of men of the Armed Forces, and influx into Canada of hosts of immigrants from Europe, Scarborough opened a new and amazing chapter in her history. The Township was transformed from a relatively quiet dormitory suburb of Toronto with some 25,000 residents, of whom three-quarters lived in the south western corner and the remainder were scattered in small rural communities and single farm dwellings . . . into Canada's fastest growing community. It became Ontario's fifth largest municipality and one of the great industrial and commercial centres of Canada, enriched by the skills of men of many nations."¹

The causes of this growth were many: the post-war baby boom, increased immigration, government policies designed to encourage home ownership by Second World War veterans, the nation-wide trend towards suburbanization, and an expanding economy. Moreover, all of these factors were interrelated; for example, more babies and more immigrants created a need for new housing and hence accelerated suburbanization, and a booming economy

The People of Scarborough: A History

encouraged people to have more children. Yet, while the dynamics of the process were complex, the end result was obvious to all. Though the city would continue to change in the years ahead, it can still safely be said that by the early 1970s modern Scarborough had been born.

Population Growth: Baby Boomers and Immigrants

The statistics charting Scarborough's population growth in these years tell a dramatic tale: the city's population grew from 25,482 in 1945 to 56,292 in 1951, 217,286 in 1961, and 334,485 in 1971. The greatest growth was between 1951 and 1961, when Scarborough's population increased 286 percent.

Natural increase was partly responsible for these ever-soaring numbers. The baby boom lasted in Canada from 1947 to 1966.² It began with the multitude of births that followed the return of Canadian soldiers from the war — and with births that had been postponed during the Depression — and was also affected by a larger proportion of adults marrying at a younger age and having their children during the first few years of married life. Over a period of twenty-five years, the baby boom produced 1.57 million more births than would otherwise have occurred (about 8.65 million), an increase of more than 18 percent.

The baby boom had an enormous effect on Scarborough. Not only did its population explode quickly — “in the brief time it takes an adorable baby to become a problem teenager,” as reporter Frank Jones put it in 1965 — “but most of the new inhabitants came wearing diapers.”³ In 1961 approximately 42 percent of the township's population was under 19 years of age and only 3.6 percent were over 64, while the comparative figures for the city of Toronto were 29.2 percent and 9.8 percent respectively.

The other principal cause of population growth was the arrival of large numbers of people from other countries. In the post-war years, Canadian policy was gradually revised to remove racial and ethnic barriers to immigration. These policy revisions reflected changing cultural attitudes and new economic needs. International cooperation during the war had also broadened horizons and created sympathy for thousands of “Displaced Persons” (a new term for refugees) in Europe. Canada's increased receptiveness to immigration was largely the result, however, of a booming post-war economy

which had generated a demand for labour. To satisfy this need, tens of thousands of displaced persons, as well as eastern and southern Europeans who would previously have been labelled undesirable, were admitted.

The first step in the new policy occurred on 1 May 1946 when Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King rose in the House of Commons and announced that the policy of the government was "to foster the growth of the population of Canada by the encouragement of immigration." King cautioned that immigrants would be selected carefully and admitted only in such numbers that they could be absorbed into the economy and would not "change the fundamental composition of the Canadian population."⁴ The government removed country of origin as an explicit factor in immigrant selection in 1962, when a major revision of immigration regulations came into effect. Later, in 1967, the government introduced a new "points system" which calculated the admissibility of immigrants on the basis of education levels, ability to speak English or French, work experience, and other factors. These changes had the result of eliminating discrimination on racial and ethnic grounds and of emphasizing instead education, training, and skills. Almost immediately, there was a considerable increase in the numbers of immigrants coming to Canada from India, Pakistan, and the West Indies.

Immigration to Scarborough, and Canada as a whole, had almost stopped during the Depression of the 1930s and the Second World War. But, in the post-war period, immigrants from overseas began to arrive once again, contributing to Scarborough's growth. Approximately one-quarter of Scarborough's residents after 1960 had been born outside Canada, according to the census: 50,871 people in 1961 and 89,000 in 1971.⁵ In 1961, 15 percent (33,642 people) of Scarborough's population had immigrated since the end of the Second World War. Ten years later, 21 percent of the population, or 73,285 people, had immigrated after 1945, an increase of 6 percent from 1961.

Scarborough was not the main reception area for many immigrants. In 1961, when one out of every three Metropolitan Toronto residents was born outside Canada, the highest concentration of immigrants was in the central urban area. Scarborough's immigrants usually arrived in the city of Toronto first (often in the east end), where they found housing and jobs. After a time, they moved to Scarborough, where they found their way into the suburban housing market; home ownership was a primary object of post-war

The People of Scarborough: A History

immigrants. Clearly, for most immigrants, Scarborough was not usually their first exposure to Canadian life.

Many of the immigrants to Scarborough were from the same countries and ethnic stock that had traditionally made up the area's population: British (English, Welsh, Scottish, and Irish), German, and Dutch. Some of the other groups that had been in Scarborough for some time also increased their numbers, notably Italians and Ukrainians. As well, new groups arrived, especially from eastern and southern Europe. Generally, Scarborough reflected the immigration patterns of Metropolitan Toronto. From 1946 to 1961, 98 percent of all immigrants to Metro were from European countries of origin, primarily Italy, Germany, and the British Isles.⁶ Though Scarborough's immigrant population did not usually reside in the type of ethnic enclaves found in the city of Toronto, a few ethnic churches were established.

Ethnic Origin

The British continued to be Scarborough's single largest ethnic group. However, the proportion of the population originally from the British Isles decreased steadily, from 83 percent in 1951 (down 8 percent from 1941) to 75 percent in 1961 and 69 percent in 1971, and after that their numbers dropped dramatically. Nevertheless, in 1971, Scarborough *still* had a higher percentage of people describing their origin as British than did any other Metro municipality.

Other European ethnic groups grew in size, but only one — the Germans in 1971 constituted more than 5 percent of Scarborough's total population. The next largest groups were of Italian, Dutch, French, Polish, and Ukrainian ethnic origin, each making up between 1 and 5 percent of Scarborough's population at some point during this period. Most of these groups had been in Scarborough for generations, but their numbers grew with post-war immigration and migration from other parts of Canada. Other European ethnic groups accounted for about 2 percent of the population in 1951 and almost 5 percent in 1961. There were a few Black families. A scattering of residents of Asian origin (such as Chinese, Japanese, and Indo-Pakistani) also lived in Scarborough, making up less than 1 percent of the population in both 1951 and 1961 and growing to 2 percent in 1971. The group of "other and non-declared ethnic origins" was almost 4 percent of Scarborough's population in 1961.

In 1961 languages began to be reported in the census. In 1971 the vast majority of Scarborough residents — over 85 percent —

Suburban Explosion, 1945-1971

spoke English as a first language. French, Canada's other official language, was the first language of only 1.5 percent of Scarborough's population. About 13 percent of Scarborough's population had a first language other than English or French. Italian and German were the largest of these, with 3 percent each. Greek, with 1.2 percent, was the only other non-official first language spoken by more than 1 percent of Scarborough's population. The rest of Scarborough residents, less than 1 percent for each group, had a variety of first languages, including, in order of prevalence: Ukrainian, Yugoslav,⁷ Hungarian, Polish, Chinese, Portuguese, Indo-Pakistani, and Spanish. People speaking all other non-official first languages comprised 6 percent of the total population.⁸

British

While the majority of people of British ethnic origin were Canadian-born, a significant number were post-war immigrants. The number of English immigrants to Canada began to rise significantly after the Second World War; in 1957, in the wake of the Suez Crisis, the number peaked at 75,546 and in 1967 it was 43,000. The flow of people from Scotland to Canada also continued. From 1946 to 1960, 147,000 Scots entered Canada seeking a better future, many of them skilled workers from the heavily industrialized and urbanized region around Glasgow. Immigration from Ireland to Canada was substantial, too. Between 1958 and 1973, 16,591 people came to Canada from the Republic of Ireland, and an additional 25,227 from Northern Ireland. About 17,000 from the latter settled around Toronto, maintaining the city's reputation as "the Belfast of North America."⁹

Despite the apparent similarity between life in Canada and in the British Isles, new immigrants often faced homesickness and disappointment. Lili Bargery left England in 1957 and moved to Scarborough in 1960. She recalls: "When we first arrived, I was so homesick. My husband walked up and down the Golden Mile, in the snow, looking for a job. It was March, and all he had was an overcoat and ordinary boots. I couldn't stand the heat in the summer and being bitten by mosquitos . . . We were very disappointed in the 'quality' of life. We had been shown films in London; every home had a garburator in their sink, and everyone went skiing every weekend. So, actually, I found it very distressing."¹⁰

Though it could be argued that many Scarborough organizations and activities at this time had British origins, a few catered to those

The People of Scarborough: A History

of specific ethnic origin within the British Isles or to recent immigrants from there. The Caledonia Society of Scarboro was established in 1968 to promote Scottish cultural and social activities in the borough and surrounding area, and within a few years it had between 450 and 600 members. The Society sponsored monthly dances, concerts, a pipe band, a soccer club of ten- to-twelve-year-olds (the Scarboro Caledonians), and charter air flights back to Scotland. It also wanted to establish a centre where immigrants from the United Kingdom could be oriented to life in Canada. As one member explained: "The Germans and Italians have their clubs; and most nationalities stick together to help each other when they come here. But the British have no such centre and have to make out as best they can. Immigrants all run up against the same tough spots, but there's no-one to guide them."¹¹

Scarborough's Scottish heritage was highlighted during Canada's centennial in 1967. Scottish clans from all of eastern Canada assembled at Birchmount stadium for their annual Highland Games.

German

The number and proportion of Scarborough residents claiming German ethnic origin increased dramatically, from 917 people in 1951 to 17,270 in 1971. In 1961 and 1971, Germans were Scarborough's second largest ethnic group, after the British. After that, however, their numbers declined and their proportion of the total population of Scarborough fell dramatically.

Many Scarborough people of German ethnic origin were recent immigrants. Between 1947 and 1950, a large number of German-speaking refugees from Eastern Europe (ethnic Germans or *Volksdeutsche* from Romania, Yugoslavia, and the countries of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire) arrived in Ontario. In 1950-51 a ban on immigration of German nationals was lifted, and in the next ten years about 250,000 German immigrants arrived in Canada, approximately 60 percent of whom remained in Canada permanently.

Scarborough's German population, like the majority of German Canadians, acculturated in a selective fashion, retaining some of their ethnic traits but discarding others in favour of Canadian patterns. There is no unified German culture in Canada; instead there is religious and cultural pluralism. *Torontoer Zeitung*, whose motto was "The German Newspaper with the Canadian Spirit," was first published in Toronto in 1953, but it later moved to Scarborough. Harmonie, a German-language school, opened in Scarborough in

Suburban Explosion, 1945-1971

1964, and within two years it had 400 pupils and 14 teachers at its Saturday classes held at Winston Churchill Collegiate.¹²

Most German-Canadians belong to the Protestant churches, but about a quarter are Roman Catholic and less than 10 percent are Mennonites or Hutterites. Some Scarborough churches served German-speaking people. Christus-Kirche, a Pentecostal church, began in Toronto in 1954 but moved to 2210 Warden Avenue in 1982. It became known then as the Warden Full Gospel Assembly and expanded to serve a multicultural congregation. Services in German continued to be offered, however. Epiphany Lutheran Church at 20 Old Kingston Road in West Hill also had a service each Sunday in German in 1996.

German immigrants established many businesses in Scarborough. A book published in 1994 to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the loss of the Danube Swabian homeland listed scores of German businesses in Scarborough as well as organizations such as the Society of German Heritage from Eastern Europe and the Harmonie Choir. Perhaps the most visible German business presence was in a plaza at Markham and Eglinton, where German-Canadians operated a video store, bakery, butcher shop, and travel agency.

Dutch

Scarborough's population of Dutch ethnic origin rose steadily between 1951 and 1971. In 1951 the Dutch were Scarborough's single largest non-British ethnic group; in 1961 they reached their largest proportion of the total population, with 2 percent; and in 1971 they attained their all-time population high, with 5680 people. Scarborough's Dutch population gradually decreased thereafter as immigration from the Netherlands, because of improved economic conditions in that country, declined. Between 1961 and 1971, as part of a trend evident throughout Canada, only about half of those of Dutch ancestry claimed Dutch as their first language. Even the local Dutch Reformed Church, Grace Christian, stopped holding worship services in the Dutch language in March 1967.¹³

Many of Scarborough's Dutch community were post-war immigrants. From 1945 to 1955, 101,000 immigrants came from the Netherlands to Canada, fleeing their war-devastated and economically ruined homeland. Some also came as war brides. Initially, the immigrants were agriculturalists, as they had been in the past. However, by the mid-1950s, there were also many skilled and professional workers among them. The Toronto area became a

The People of Scarborough: A History

particularly important destination for the latter group, with the majority of Dutch Canadians living in the outskirts or suburbs. Scarborough's semi-rural nature may have appealed to those from farming backgrounds; the cheaper housing in the suburbs was a major attraction.

Like many other groups, the Dutch in Scarborough did not reside in any particular location, although there were several Dutch families in the area of Kennedy Road and St. Clair Avenue in the 1950s. Janet Smith, who came to Scarborough from the Netherlands with her family in 1959, says, "The things I missed were the 'oldness' of the Netherlands and the culture. You grow up with a group there, your roots are all the same, you live on the same Street that was named after your grandfather, in a small town."¹⁴

A number of Dutch religious, cultural, and commercial organizations gradually emerged in Scarborough. Many Dutch people are either Roman Catholic or Protestant, and they have joined native Canadian churches. But some belong to the Christian Reformed Church. Janet Smith relates the importance of this church to the Dutch community: "We were sponsored to come to Canada by the Christian Reformed Church. The Dutch community centred on the Church, and was more religious than social, but it also served a social function since so many of the mothers were at home with their children. The church provided a special contact."¹⁵

Grace Christian Reformed Church was established in Scarborough in 1963 by adherents of the Dutch Reformed faith who immigrated to Canada after the Second World War. The church began with eighty-four families as an offshoot of a Christian Reformed congregation located on Taunton Road in the Mount Pleasant Road and Eglinton Avenue area of Toronto. A church building opened on 17 May 1967 at McCowan Road just north of Highway 401. Immanuel Christian School, a Christian Reformed school, operated behind the church from 1969 to 1982.

There were a few stores in Scarborough that carried products imported from the Netherlands. D Dutch Deli, on Kennedy Avenue, north of Lawrence, was started in 1961, one of the first Dutch stores in Scarborough.¹⁶ The DUCA Community Credit Union, the community's largest financial institution, located its first branch at Phillips Electronics (a Netherlands-based company) on Milner Avenue in 1976. (The main office was in North York.)¹⁷ *De Nederlandse Courant* (Dutch Canadian Weekly) was established in the 1950s; during the 1980s, it was published out of Scarborough, where the editor lived. Around the same time, Radio Netherlands, the Dutch World Broadcasting System,

had a Scarborough address; it made transcripts of radio programs available to radio stations in the Dutch, English, and French languages.¹⁸

Dutch-language classes were taught in Scarborough in the 1980s: for adults at Centennial College and for children on Saturdays at a public school on Midland Avenue north of Sheppard.¹⁹

Italian

The size and strength of Scarborough's population of Italian ethnic origin increased enormously during this period, as did the number claiming Italian as their first language. Scarborough's population of Italian origin increased sixfold between 1951 and 1961 and more than tripled in the next decade. By 1971 Italians were the second-largest non-British ethnic group in Scarborough (Germans occupied first place), with 15,485 people and 4.6 percent of the total population. In that year, 2.5 percent of Scarborough residents had Italian as their first language, making them one of the borough's largest groups speaking a non-official first language.

Italians in Scarborough were a relatively small group, however, when compared to Italian communities in other parts of Metropolitan Toronto. In 1961, for example, 12 percent of the city of Toronto's total population was of Italian ethnic origin, and an estimated 16,000 lived in the city's "Little Italy," the centre of which was then Grace and College Streets.²⁰

Many of Scarborough's Italians had immigrated to Canada after the Second World War, when the widespread shortage of labour once again made the country receptive to Italian immigration. Between 1951 and 1961, close to 90,000 Italians settled in Toronto. Another 33,000 Italians came to Toronto by 1966, and, by 1971, 38,760 more had come.²¹ By the 1960s, sponsorship was an important element in Italian immigration, with earlier immigrants sponsoring wives, children, and other relatives. Family "chain migration" from Italy was so extensive that in 1958 Italy surpassed Britain as a source of immigrants. However, Italian immigration to Canada declined in the 1970s, as economic conditions improved in Italy.

Most of the Italians who came to Toronto were from southern Italy. Some of Scarborough's Italian population migrated from the east end of Toronto, especially from around Danforth Avenue, east of Greenwood Avenue; many hailed originally from Apulia and Sicily.

Evidently there was some prejudice in Scarborough against people of Italian ethnic origin. For example, one resident reported in 1963

The People of Scarborough: A History

that, not long after his family moved to the Fallingbrook area of Scarborough, a nearby homeowner dropped over with a request, “If you ever sell your house don’t let any Italians buy it.”²² As a result, some Scarborough residents of Italian origin anglicized their names and denied their background.

Like their counterparts elsewhere in Canada, many of Scarborough’s Italian immigrants were employed in construction; others opened fruit stores, barber shops, restaurants, and other businesses. For example, Louie and Charlie Coppa immigrated from Sicily to Toronto around 1950 when they were boys. They started a grocery business in the early 1960s, with stores at two east Toronto locations. In 1968 they opened a Highland Farms supermarket in Scarborough, at Lawrence Avenue and Bennett Road, with a second, larger store opening in 1983 on Ellesmere Avenue at Kennedy Road.²³

Approximately 90 percent of Italian Canadians are Roman Catholic, and the church played an important role in the life of Scarborough’s burgeoning Italian community. St. Lawrence Martyr Roman Catholic Church (established 1959), at 2210 Lawrence Avenue East, was the first local church to give services in Italian, beginning in 1971.²⁴ Later, Epiphany of Our Lord Church, at 3200 Pharmacy Avenue, also had Italian-language services. Scarborough’s Italian population did not have a parish that was exclusively their own, however.

Ukrainian

The number of Scarborough residents of Ukrainian ethnic origin steadily increased during this period, peaking in 1971 with 5265 people, while their percentage of Scarborough’s total population remained at a steady 1 percent. Far fewer Scarborough residents claimed Ukrainian as their first language: 1517 in 1961, dropping to 815 in 1971. After 1971 the number and proportion of people of Ukrainian ethnic origin in Scarborough steadily declined.

A wave of Ukrainian immigrants (about 40,000 in all) arrived in Canada from 1945 to 1954. Representing all parts of Ukraine and almost every occupation, they included a large number of displaced persons. Most of the post-war Ukrainian immigrants gravitated to the urban centres of eastern Canada; many settled in the west end of the city of Toronto.

Not all Ukrainians in Scarborough were recent immigrants; some had migrated from farms in western Canada and industrial centres in Ontario, such as Oshawa. Generally, Ukrainians in Scarborough

were a stable group. A 1971 study classified 53 percent of those with Ukrainian as their first language as “non-movers” (that is, they had not changed their place of residence since the last census); in 1976, 68 percent of them were non-movers.²⁵ No other group had a higher percentage in this category.

The religion of many Ukrainians in Canada is either Eastern-rite Catholic or Eastern Orthodox, and churches of both faiths were established in Scarborough. St. Peter and Paul Ukrainian Catholic Church was founded in Scarborough in 1949, and the parish’s community centre was completed in 1970. An impressive \$1.25-million building on the west side of Markham Road, south of Milner, was officially opened on 16 September 1979. Designed in a modernized Kozak-Baroque style, it quickly became a Scarborough landmark, with its five traditional, copper-plated domes towering more than 130 feet (thirty metres) in the air. As well as being used for church services, the building became the home of a wide variety of Ukrainian cultural programs, including a reference library and classes in the Ukrainian language, dance, painting, and arts and crafts.

St. Anne’s Ukrainian Orthodox Church had its beginnings in 1954 when Anna Woloshonovska donated a parcel of land at the northeast corner of Ellesmere Avenue and Morrish Road for a church. The first general meeting of St. Anne’s congregation was held in December 1958. Meeting initially in an old house and then in the church basement, the congregation contracted H. Gregory (Chorosh) to design a permanent building. The cornerstone of the present church was laid in 1960, and the building was completed soon after.²⁶ Preserving the Ukrainian language, heritage, and faith was a priority of the parish priest, who by 1963 was holding weekly classes in Ukrainian language, literature, history, and geography at the church for about two dozen young people.²⁷

Czech and Slovak

Although few statistics are available for the period between 1951 and 1981, Scarborough’s population of Czech and Slovak ethnic origin was probably not large (426 people claimed Slovak as their first language in 1961); most people in these groups settled in Toronto’s west end. However, the community was highly visible because of Masaryktown, a regional cultural and recreational centre that Czechs and Slovaks from Toronto opened in Scarborough in 1948. The 65-acre (25-hectare) property was on the site of the old Robert Jackson farm on the west side of Scarborough Golf Club

The People of Scarborough: A History

Road south of Lawrence Avenue. The group named the centre after Tomas Masaryk, the first president of Czechoslovakia. Within ten years, working mainly with volunteer labour, they had developed the facility into a recreation and community centre with a holiday camp, a swimming pool, athletic fields, a chapel, a restaurant, and a park.²⁸ Scarborough had only a handful of Czechs and Slovaks around that time — five in 1931 and twenty in 1941 — yet each weekend hundreds of Czechoslovakians who lived in Toronto and the surrounding area would visit Masaryktown to relax, enjoy their national foods, and exchange news of their homeland. In 1955 the northern 35 acres (14 hectares) were sold for a housing development. A few streets in the new subdivision were named for important nineteenth-century compatriots: Palacky for Frantisek Palacky, the Czech historian; and Kollar for Jan Kollar, the Slovak poet.

Every July, Sokol Exercises (deriving from a nineteenth-century Czech athletic and patriotic organization) take place at the centre, and young people engage in calisthenics, gymnastics, and track and field events. The Masaryk Memorial Institute operates a children's summer camp, Czech-language classes for children, and a library, as well as sponsoring social events throughout the year. *Novy Domov* (New Homeland), a Czech-language newspaper, is published from Masaryktown. Two monuments have been erected on the grounds. One bears the names of the founders of the Republic of Czechoslovakia; the other, designed by Josef Randa, is dedicated to the victims of communist persecution. Slovaks are now less actively involved in Masaryktown.²⁹

Macedonian

Historian Harry V. Herman has defined contemporary Macedonians as “the South Slavic and slavified population that inhabit the territory comprising roughly the Macedonia of antiquity: that population which in its own language calls itself Makedonci.”³⁰ Today, the Macedonian Makedoniya region on the Balkan peninsula is divided among Greece, Bulgaria, and Macedonia, formerly a constituent republic of Yugoslavia. It corresponds roughly with ancient Macedon.³¹

Although Macedonians first arrived as sojourners in Toronto in 1903 and some settled in Scarborough in the 1920s and 1930s, they moved here in greater numbers in the 1950s and 1960s (no statistics are available, however). Some came from earlier settlements in Toronto (Eastern Avenue, the Niagara/Wellington area, Riverdale,

Suburban Explosion, 1945-1971

and West Toronto Junction). Others were part of the large immigration of Macedonians to Canada, especially those from Greece in the early 1950s immediately after the civil war (1946-49) and from the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in the late 1960s. Fewer Macedonians came to Canada from Bulgaria and Albania because the governments of those countries did not allow emigration.

Macedonians often settled first in Toronto and later moved to Scarborough, attracted by its growing economic opportunities and its new affordable houses. As Traian Dimitriou recounts:

I immigrated to Canada in 1954 . . . I first came to the City of Toronto, but in 1958 I found new work in Scarborough, which, at that time, was rapidly developing from a semi-rural area to an urban city. I worked at W.J. Gage Publishers and stationers on 1500 Birchmount Road for ten years, 1958-1968. Since 1968, I have worked for the Toronto Transit Commission (TTC), out of their Birchmount Division on Danforth Road. In 1965, I married Mary George. Mary is also Macedonian; she came to Canada in 1950. We purchased a home in Scarborough the year we were married (Mary's sister was already living here), and raised our family here.³²

Macedonians who settled in Scarborough at this time bought property in the southwest section, near Danforth Avenue/Road, Pharmacy Avenue, and around St. Clair and Eglinton. Many of Scarborough's pioneering Macedonians opened restaurants (for example, the Eastown Restaurant on Eglinton Avenue between Brimley and McCowan Roads, which sold to a Greek family in the early 1960s, and the White Shield Plaza Restaurant at Lawrence Avenue and Kennedy Road). Others opened grocery stores in small plazas and at least one opened a tavern (the old Scarboro House hotel on the southeast corner of Danforth Road and Midland Avenue). Still others worked in local industries. For Macedonians, Scarborough was a "business and bedroom" community, and they went to Toronto (and later to East York and other suburbs) for community organizations and churches.³³

Greek

People of Greek ethnic origin were not recorded in the census for Scarborough until 1991, but, in 1971, 4185 residents of the city claimed Greek as their first language.

A small number of Greeks from Florina, Kastoria, and Sparta settled in Scarborough in the 1950s and early 1960s. Some established hotels, restaurants, and grocery stores. Greek-operated businesses

The People of Scarborough: A History

started in the 1950s included Spring Hill Farms, a supermarket operated by the Nicolaou brothers, and two restaurants on Kingston Road, west of Midland Avenue: the Bo-Peep Restaurant, owned by the Manos family, and Andrew's Restaurant and Motel. Linda Carscadden, who moved to Scarborough from Toronto in 1955, recalls that for her and her friends Andrew's Restaurant was the "favourite place to have fun on a Saturday night . . . The food was excellent. Ron Woods' live entertainment was superb and on New Years Eve for fifteen dollars a couple you could bring in the new year with dancing, live music, hat and noisemakers and a full course dinner."³⁴ At least two other restaurants in Scarborough in the 1960s — the Golden Gate on Warden Avenue north of Ellesmere, and the Eastown on Eglinton near McCowan — were also run by Greek families.³⁵

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, more families from Greece started to live in Scarborough, drawn by the borough's larger homes and lower densities compared to Toronto's. Many came from the east end of the city, where there was a Greek community along Danforth Avenue between Broadview and Pape, in a neighbourhood that later became known as "Little Athens" or "Greektown."³⁶

Vicki and Freda Stefanidis emigrated with their family to Canada in 1956 from Florina in the northern part of Greece. They first lived in Toronto and then moved to a new house in the Danforth Road-Midland Avenue area of Scarborough in the summer of 1959. Scarborough had many attractions, the sisters recalled in 1996: "The neighbourhood was clean, quiet, and safe, there was a better standard of living and better education here, and Scarborough had lots of open space."³⁷ The uncrowded conditions probably appealed to other Greek immigrants of that time, who were mostly rural people not urban dwellers.

But the Stefanidis sisters also felt culturally isolated in Scarborough. There were only a few other Greeks families and no Greek community organizations. The girls had to travel downtown to St. George's Greek Orthodox Church at Bond and Victoria Streets to meet other Greeks and to attend meetings of the Greek-American Progress Association (GAPA), which they said was the only society of Greeks in Toronto at the time.

Black

Scarborough had only a sprinkling of Black families during this time — no statistics were included in the published census — but some of

their experiences have been well documented. Like many others, Blacks moved to Scarborough for better housing and jobs.

Most were second- and third-generation Canadians whose families had come from either the West Indies or the United States some time ago. New immigrants from the Caribbean also started to arrive. Kathy Searles, for example, was born and worked as teacher in the Barbados before emigrating to Canada in 1947 to join her fiancé, Edsworth Searles. The couple moved to Scarborough from Toronto's east end in 1964. They opened their home to early West Indian immigrants, "making their lonely days away from their families and friends a little easier."³⁸

Some of Scarborough's new Black residents faced prejudice and discrimination after their arrival. Donald Carty, a native of New Brunswick and a Second World War veteran, was "breaking new ground" when he moved to Scarborough from downtown Toronto in the late 1950s: "As far as I could see it for miles I was the only one [Black person] in the neighbourhood. At the time I came out here, one person, I later found out, had taken up a petition among the neighbours to get me out of the neighbourhood. She thought she was doing the right thing. A lot of the neighbours refused. My next door neighbour, who has been here ever since I've been here, told her flatly, 'They're my neighbours, I've got no fault to find with them, and I'm not signing your petition.'"³⁹

"'Hypocrite' is the perfect word to describe many Scarboro residents," complained Roy Heron to the *Scarborough Mirror* in 1963. After twenty-two years in Canada and six in Scarborough, the Jamaican-born electrician had experienced "local hidden segregation" which he detailed as: "petitions to keep you from buying a home; a private school for your children because they're called dirty names at the local tax-supported school; a frustrating search for the kind of job you want and know you can do well; embarrassing incidents with police who 'want to know what you're doing' in your own neighbourhood."⁴⁰ But other Blacks, like the Searles, found that while "racism is always there, there were no big problems in Scarborough." They recall, "When we moved here, all the neighbours were very friendly. There were no fences up; all the kids were in and out of each other's homes." A relative visiting from Brooklyn was amazed to be addressed as "Sir": "No one called him 'Sir' in Brooklyn!" the Searles say.⁴¹

Some Blacks in Scarborough faced discrimination at the workplace. Henry A. Braithwaite, a Montrealer of Barbadian parentage, got a job at the new Johns Manville plant, which opened at Port Union in

The People of Scarborough: A History

May 1948, shortly after he and his family moved to Scarborough. Discouraged by not being promoted, Braithwaite left after three years and started his own scrap-metal business. His wife, Rella, recalled in 1991: "When we got to Scarborough there was a new plant going up, which was the Johns Manville plant, and he was there for about three years, around 1947 . . . There weren't many Blacks that came out of the city to live, so not many Black men worked there . . . After three years, then, he was discouraged because there was no way that he could work his way up. He would see all his white friends — some of them that weren't even skilled — and they would go up the ladder. After three years, he left, and started on his own in the scrap metal business, and he's still in it today; thirty-some years afterwards."⁴²

Until the late 1960s, there were no organizations in Scarborough for the small Black community; most continued to go to Toronto to socialize with other Blacks. Many attended the historic Black churches downtown. Some people went to those churches regularly and others, while belonging to Scarborough churches, went there for special events.

Blacks living in Scarborough during this time often became involved with local schools to ensure that their children were given educational opportunities and to fight prejudice. Donald Carty made regular visits to his children's schools and found that the school system did little to instill a sense of self-worth: "I felt that the teachers just took the attitude, well here we got a Black kid, they're not going to go anywhere because of the situation, they thought they were being kind to stream them into vocational work or fields, or they just took the attitude that they weren't capable of any more. And I do feel that in the early age, teachers instill the sense of inferiority, and a lack of confidence in them. It wasn't until extracurricular work, like getting my son into drumming, and then eventually getting him into karate, that he felt that he could do anything better than anybody else, and he became an absolute perfectionist in whatever he did."⁴³

Rella Braithwaite's intense involvement with her local school probably did much to ensure her children's success::

Discrimination was one thing, but you know I think you were sort of conditioned to it. In many instances, Black children were not encouraged to excel at school, because often the teachers reminded them that they were not likely to find jobs in the various categories.

However, I have to admit, the teachers my children had did seem to show interest in them, and I kept a close eye on their education myself,

Suburban Explosion, 1945-1971

in the various schools that they went through in Scarborough. I remained active in the Home and School Association, after serving on the executive for over 25 years, they awarded me a lifetime membership, which I was very proud of. I do feel it is very important for the parents to be associated with the school, and you know, keep up with what's going on, with the children, and the teachers, and the principal.⁴⁴

When an influx of West Indians began arriving in Scarborough in the late 1960s, pioneering programs were established by several Scarborough residents to assist Black students and to incorporate Black history and achievements into the school curriculum. Kathy Searles helped start Saturday morning remedial classes for Black students in 1969, the forerunner of many Black education projects. (Several scholarships and awards for outstanding Black students have been created in her name.) Rella Braithwaite began writing a column on Black history for *Contrast* newspaper in the late 1960s, while also reporting on education for her local weekly paper, the *West Hill News*.⁴⁵ She later worked with Dr. Mavis Burke and a group of teachers developing Black history curriculum materials for the Ontario Ministry of Education, and wrote two books on the achievements of Black women in Canada. Scarborough residents also became involved in Black organizations in Toronto. The Searles, for example, helped found the Toronto Negro Credit Union, which lent money to Black families for down payments on houses, at a time when the banks would not lend to them. They were also involved with Caribana, first held in Toronto in 1967 as the local West Indian community's tribute to Canada's centennial.

Asian

The number of Scarborough residents of Asian ethnic origin increased dramatically between 1951 and 1971, growing from 160 residents to 7440 people, as did their proportion of the total population. By 1971, over 2 percent of Scarborough residents were of Asian origin. The census provides little or no information about specific groups of Asian ethnic origin living in Scarborough during this time. Some were recent immigrants who had come to Canada after the immigration laws were liberalized in the 1960s.

The Japanese were one of the smaller Asian groups in Scarborough. Before the Second World War, almost all of Canada's 21,000 Japanese had lived in British Columbia. These people spent the years between 1942 and 1945 in detention camps or work farms

The People of Scarborough: A History

in the west, and, following the war, they were forced to choose between deportation to war-ravaged Japan or dispersal east of the Rocky Mountains. By 1947, 5000 Japanese Canadians lived in Toronto. Joe Hamade, who relocated from the British Columbia interior to Toronto in August 1946, recalls that times were tough for Japanese Canadians new to the city. "Often the only available jobs were those that nobody else wanted, dishwashers, restaurant cooks, cleaners."⁴⁶ But many people returned to school and got their high school diplomas, and afterwards they gradually moved into better jobs.

In the 1950s and 1960s, more Japanese Canadians arrived from the west, settling in the city and later moving to suburbs such as Scarborough, which offered affordable home ownership. Joe Hamade moved to the Kennedy Road-St. Clair area of Scarborough in October 1957. The neighbourhood was filled with Second World War veterans, Bill Hamade (Joe's son), remembers: "Some of the neighbours later told me they felt some apprehension about a 'Jap' moving into the area."⁴⁷ Bill's parents were still living in their original house in 1996.

The dispersal of the Japanese in Canada destroyed much of their community, but, says Joe Hamade, a few Japanese churches in downtown Toronto became a focal point for many activities. It would be some time, however, before Scarborough had organizations or activities for people of Japanese ethnic origin. Bill Hamade recalls that only a few Japanese Canadians were at Norman Cook Public School when he went there in the 1960s, and most get-togethers were with family. The Hamades eventually had a large extended family in Scarborough.

Religion

In 1951 Scarborough's residents were overwhelmingly Christian, and more than 80 percent of them were Protestant. The two largest denominations, the Anglican Church of Canada and the United Church of Canada, accounted for 66 percent of the total population. Approximately 12 percent were Roman Catholics, who were still served by the four small churches established before 1933. There were small numbers of Greek Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholics — 274 of each. "Jewish," the only non-Christian religion listed in the published census, accounted for a mere 97 people.⁴⁸

In the next two decades, the most dramatic change in Scarborough's religious make-up was the increased number of Roman

Catholics. Their growth was due, in part, to post-war immigration from countries such as Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, and Ireland. In 1961, with 42,215 adherents, Roman Catholics had grown to be over 19 percent of the population. By 1971 the number of Roman Catholics had doubled to 88,580, and their proportion of the population had increased to 26.5 percent. Ten Roman Catholic churches were established in Scarborough between 1951 and 1968.⁴⁹ The number of Ukrainian Catholics doubled, from 690 in 1961 to 1325 in 1971.

Greek Orthodox adherents in Scarborough also increased substantially, growing from 2268 (1 percent) in 1961 to 9535 (3 percent) ten years later.⁵⁰ As noted earlier, in using the term "Greek Orthodox," the census may have been referring to all members of the Orthodox Church, including Eastern Orthodox.

Some mainstream Protestant denominations increased in numbers but declined in proportional terms. In the thirty years from 1951 to 1971, Anglicans dropped from 36 percent to 21 percent of the total population. The United Church, which was able to attract some Protestant immigrants, particularly those of the second generation, increased from 29.5 percent of Scarborough's population in 1951 to 30 percent in 1961, only then to drop back to 23 percent in 1971. With over 65,000 members in 1961, the United Church embarked upon an extensive building campaign; by 1970 it had more churches in Scarborough than any other major denomination.

Suburban Life

Geographer James Lemon has observed that, "with the city already filled, the suburbs added nearly 200,000 people between 1940 and 1953."⁵¹ Journalist Lex Schrag (who moved to Scarborough) attributed the suburban migration to rising affluence and expectations in the working class: "The pilgrimage of population was aided and abetted by the fact that the worker, having been considered worthy of his hire when he was needed in munitions factories, had more dollars in his pocket than he had been able to jingle since the First World War. This unusual affluence led him to believe that he, too, was entitled to an occasional breath of fresh air and a few square feet of greensward upon which his offspring could be raised."⁵²

The Veterans Land Act (VLA) played a significant role in Scarborough's suburban development. The VLA, passed on 20 July 1942, provided government loans for ex-servicemen to purchase land. It also encouraged veterans to settle suburban holdings as part-time

The People of Scarborough: A History

farmers. Lex Schrag explained the act's effect on the suburbs: "The Veterans' Land Act provided for the establishment of ex-servicemen on small holdings of half an acre or more of arable soil. Purchase and payment terms were well within the incomes of unskilled workers at a time when housing was commanding the highest prices in Canadian history. Federal officers, during the war years, had guilefully (and luckily for the veterans) acquired considerable tracts of land in the suburbs of larger cities and had erected upon them modest but comparatively weatherproof homes. Thus VLA led the hegira from the cities in which a major part of the Canadian population had coagulated during the hectic years of war production and industrial expansion."⁵³

Many ex-servicemen bought VLA lots and houses in Scarborough, for example, on the east side of Kennedy Road opposite Pine Hills Cemetery, at Highland Creek, and along Ellesmere Avenue. Olivia Gibbins, who moved to Cliffcrest in 1949, notes that while "the size of the average lot was 50' x 140'," VLA lots were larger: "One section to the north [by the CPR tracks] was comprised of ½ acre lots being developed under the Veterans Land Act."⁵⁴ Henry A. Braithwaite had gone overseas with the Canadian army in 1943. After the war, he joined his wife and baby son in Toronto, and a few years later the family bought a VLA property and moved to Highland Creek. As he recalled in a 1981 interview: "Veterans were allowed to buy land on what they called VLA, and you only had to put down 10 percent of whatever the cost of the land was. And then you could pay it off at 3½ percent over 20 years. And you had to have a minimum of a half an acre of lands. So we bought a nice little place . . . we got a plough, and a little tractor. You know, we were really happy about that . . . And we've still got it now, it's the only place we've ever lived."⁵⁵

Even non-veterans benefited indirectly from the VLA program. Some of the ex-servicemen eventually subdivided their holdings into smaller parcels and sold them. Joe Hamade, for example, bought a lot in Scarborough in the early 1950s that had been subdivided by a veteran, paying much less for it than he would have for a comparable property in the city of Toronto.⁵⁶

Most of Scarborough was still rural and without city amenities in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Reporter Frank Jones recalled: "In 1953 it was a rather pleasant, mainly rural area crisscrossed with gravel roads and dotted with some rather fine stone farmhouses."⁵⁷ Dick Singer, whose family moved to West Hill in the 1950s, remembers that "in those days gravel roads were the norm as were outhouses, space heaters, ploughed fields, livestock and tight

communities where folks knew one another. We lived on Poplar Road. It had ditches on either side, no town water or sewers and the street lights were vast distances apart. Housing was sparse and open fields were common. Almost everyone worked the land.”⁵⁸

Olivia Gibbins recalls the rural atmosphere of Cliffcrest in the late 1940s: “Prior to the building developments a typical daily walk for me was that of wheeling your carriage/pushcart to McCowan Road, sitting under a large maple tree watching cattle graze in the open fields, a scene soon to disappear.”⁵⁹ She also says that “the neighbourliness of the community members” compensated for the lack of services.

In 1949 individual telephones were very scarce, so in times of sickness or other emergency, your neighbour would make the necessary call if a family member was not available . . . There was no postal delivery — this was handled by the people on the street taking turns at picking up their neighbour’s mail at the Post Office at Midland Avenue and delivering it. There was a friendly spirit, free and easy visiting patterns, sharing of tools, advice and energies. Plants and bulbs were shared amongst fellow gardeners . . . Hairdressers were unavailable so a neighbour who was skilled in that area would come up during the evening and wash, set or perm my hair . . . Because of the lack of public/private transportation and other factors, such as the availability of babysitters, much of the social life took place in each other’s homes — card games, weekly table tennis nights, Saturday night get togethers.⁶⁰

Scarborough’s conversion from country to suburb was quick. Singer recalled witnessing the open spaces being transformed into subdivisions. “The Guild Inn was isolated, surrounded by bush. We watched as it gave way to housing, roads and population. The fields we roamed were converted into rows of bland housing lacking character and filled with strangers. Our childhood space became crowded. Familiar faces moved away.”⁶¹ The gravel pits and the old farm house and barn near the McDonald family’s new home on Clonmore Drive were gone within two years of their moving there in 1951, replaced by the Hunt Club subdivision.⁶² Jones wrote of Scarborough in 1965: “Today the strawberry boxes have come and a grid of hardtop roads has been clamped on the area. Hardly a week goes by without there being a new road to drive on, a new bridge to cross, a new shopping plaza to visit.”⁶³

Suburbs offered many attractions for Canadians of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, whether they had been in Canada for generations

The People of Scarborough: A History

or were more recent arrivals. According to a 1974 opinion poll focusing on life in suburbia, people moved to Scarborough because they wanted more space, they believed there was less noise, it was considered a good place to raise children, and the housing was cheaper. Fifty-four percent of those interviewed listed more space as their reason for living in Scarborough.⁶⁴ Rella Braithwaite recalls that “eventually we moved out here because we had one child and another on the way, and we wanted to have more space. We lived in the east end of Toronto in a flat, which was quite common at the time.”⁶⁵ *Mortgage Manor* (1955) is Lex Schrag’s humorous account of “the trials and tribulations of a (married) couple who forsook the soot and effluvia of East Trawnta for the dust and seepage of Pest Hole in the wilds of Eastern Scarborough.” He determined that the primary compulsion that drove them “from the fleshpots of the city to the paintpots of the suburbs was *furor agricola*, an urge to dabble in the dirt.”⁶⁶

Jones noted in 1965 that, with the exception of the exclusive Fallingbrook area next to the Toronto Hunt Club, “Scarboro’s image in recent years has been that of the haven for the man who wants to own his own house on a limited budget.”⁶⁷ Singer recalls that in the 1950s: “My parent had bought an acre of land with a wooden house with no plumbing or heating. But \$7500, who could complain. It was a chance to be home owners and our neighbours were worse off.”⁶⁸ In the 1960s and 1970s, however, home ownership even in Scarborough was increasingly out of reach for many. High-rise apartments began to share the Scarborough landscape with single-family bungalows and split-levels as developers realized the profitability of building vertically. Bonis noted in 1968, “Whereas single family dwellings accounted for 74.5 per cent of all housing completed in Scarborough between 1954 and 1966 inclusive, municipal planners now are encouraging a building ratio of about 30 per cent apartments, 15 per cent row housing, and only 55 per cent single family dwellings.”⁶⁹ The trend was not popular with most of Scarborough’s residents. Only 8 percent of the 250 people surveyed in 1974 said they would like to see more high-rise apartments in Scarborough.

Scarborough’s rapid growth in the period 1945-71 was reflected in the proliferation of schools. The youthfulness of Scarborough’s population during the post-war baby boom created a tremendous need for educational facilities. As Bonis noted, “Of all the challenges that had to be met by the Township’s elected representatives and administrators, as the flood of young families poured into the new-

subdivisions, perhaps the greatest was that which confronted those responsible for the development of the schools in Scarborough. The new streets everywhere swarmed with baby carriages and children.”⁷⁰

Until 1954, when the Scarborough Board of Education was formed, Scarborough still ran local rural school boards. At the end of 1953, there were 32 public schools with 13,227 pupils and 356 teachers in the township. In 1954, its first year of operation, the Scarborough Board of Education had 44 schools, 15,700 students in elementary schools, 2200 students in high schools, and 630 staff.⁷¹ To cope with “shoals of young children in the new subdivisions,” the new board built new public school classrooms at the rate of about a hundred a year. By January 1965 there were 78 public schools in Scarborough with 48,000 pupils and 1651 teachers.⁷²

Enrolment in elementary separate schools in Scarborough grew at an even greater rate than the public school system, partly in response to the new immigration. In 1950 there were only four separate schools in Scarborough Township, with a total of 19 staff and 763 registered students, in addition to the 142 boys at St. John’s Training School at Blanytre.⁷³ Most of Scarborough’s Roman Catholic children continued either to attend local public schools or to travel to separate schools in other municipalities. Then, as a result of the influx into Canada of large numbers of immigrants from continental Europe, the Roman Catholic population began to increase enormously. The Metropolitan Separate School Board (MSSB), formed in 1953 to take over from the old Toronto and Suburban Separate School Board, was hard pressed to keep pace with the rapidly growing needs of the township. During the next 11 years it built 15 new schools in Scarborough. Even these failed to keep up with demand for new classrooms, and, in December 1964, 37 portables were in use. At that time, there were 18 separate schools in Scarborough, with 9252 students and 290 teachers.⁷⁴

Generally, Scarborough’s residents were positive about living in the suburb. In the 1974 poll mentioned above, 72 percent of 250 people interviewed in Scarborough said that they were “very satisfied with that borough as a place to live . . . Only 1% of those surveyed expressed any degree of dissatisfaction with life in Scarborough . . . On a satisfaction scale of 1 to 5 (5 being ‘very satisfied’), the people of Scarborough rated 4.51.”⁷⁵ The poll also found that Scarborough residents closely identified with the municipality: 59 percent described themselves as being from Scarborough, not Toronto, when asked where they lived. For many residents in the

The People of Scarborough: A History

early 1970s, Scarborough was not just a place to live; it also was home.

The booming Scarborough of the post-war period was not particularly sensitive to its changing ethnic composition. Nevertheless, a variety of cultural groups were recognized at community festivals and celebrations held between 1945 and 1971.

One significant event took place in 1946, when Scarborough commemorated its sesquicentennial with three days of festivities at the grounds adjoining St. Andrew's Church. There was music by the band of the Queen's York Rangers (1st American Regiment), a display of antiques, a church service, the decoration of the graves of the pioneers, a parade of old-time militia, and tableaux depicting events in Scarborough dating to the time of European settlement. The afternoon's program on Dominion Day concluded with a "Parade of All Nations in National Costume." Children from two dozen countries and places around the world — England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Australia, New Zealand, India, Newfoundland, United States, France, Russia, Poland, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Ukraine, Switzerland, Lithuania, Mexico, Costa Rica, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, and African countries — proudly marched in their national dress for the assembled crowds.⁷⁶

Aboriginals were given symbolic recognition at another major event. On 20 and 21 October 1956, following the archaeological discovery (widely reported in the Canadian and American media) of the Tabor Hill site,⁷⁷ hereditary chiefs from the Six Nations Confederacy came to Scarborough and re-enacted the reburial ritual ("Feast of the Dead") that the Ontario Iroquois would have practised 700 years ago. The ceremony was conducted again in 1961 and 1966. Gus Harris, reeve of Scarborough, wanted to designate the Tabor Hill area as an historic site, and he discussed the possibility of purchasing 35 acres (14 hectares) on the east side of Bellamy Road, north of Lawrence Avenue, to recreate "an original completely Iroquois Indian Village . . . as one of the greatest tourist attractions in North America." The latter did not happen, but a memorial plaque was erected and unveiled at the site on 21 October 1961, and eventually Tabor Hill was designated under the Ontario Heritage Act.⁷⁸

The Scarborough Public Library Board was one of the first public institutions to respond to Scarborough's increasing ethnic and linguistic diversity. During the 1960s, it established collections of books and other materials in a variety of languages and also began offering programs highlighting the cultural achievements of the

Suburban Explosion, 1945-1971

different ethnic groups. By 1971 small “foreign” language collections were located at the Cedarbrae and Eglinton Square branches, where borrowers could choose books in Dutch, French, Greek, German, Hungarian, Italian, Spanish, Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian. The Cedarbrae District Library also had ethnic directories which listed services for specific nationalities.⁷⁹

These were small steps, admittedly, but they did demonstrate an incipient awareness that Scarborough was no longer a British enclave. After the mid-1970s, as Scarborough became even more culturally diverse, this awareness would continue to grow.

Chapter 7

Multicultural City, 1971-1996

“Scarborough has become one of the most exciting and cultural mixes in Metropolitan Toronto, in Canada, even in the world.”

-Allan Gould, Scarborough: An Economic Celebration (1988)

“The suburbs are no longer populated predominantly by middle class families living in single family homes with two or three children,” observed a report of the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto in 1979.¹ But shifting patterns of social class, housing, and family structure were only part of the story. Although Scarborough had always been culturally diverse, from 1971 to 1996 it was literally transformed in ethnic, linguistic, and religious terms. In this 25-year period, Scarborough, once a mainly British, English-speaking, and Protestant community, became extraordinarily international.

Such a major cultural transformation did not occur without problems and tensions. However, though it was a difficult period of adjustment for both established residents and newcomers, the city’s government, schools, libraries, and recreational and social service agencies gradually came to reflect the new multilingual and multicultural realities of the population they served. And, in turn, many newcomers had a profound impact on the city’s social, economic, and cultural life. In short, after 1971 modern Scarborough was born.

Population Growth

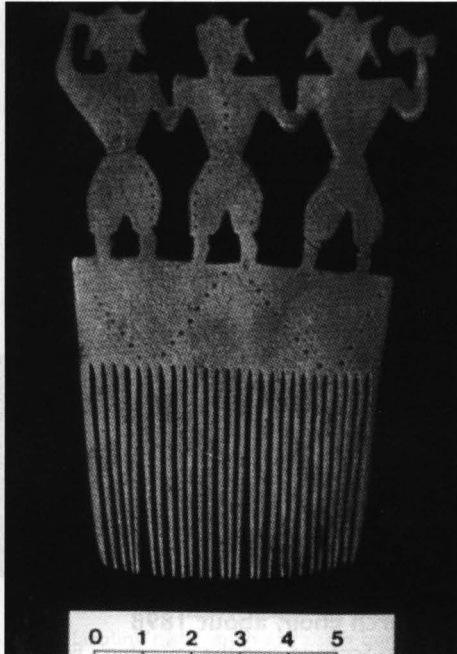
Scarborough's population continued to grow after 1971; indeed, in 1991, with a population of 524,598 people, it was the third-largest municipality in Metropolitan Toronto and the seventh-largest city in Canada.² And the rate of growth, although slower than it had been in the 1950s and 1960s, was also substantial. From 1971 to 1981, Scarborough added almost 109,000 people, increasing 32.5 percent, from 334,485 residents to 443,353. Between 1981 and 1991, there was an 18 percent increase, for a total of 81,245 new residents. In 1996 Scarborough's population was estimated to be 556,000 people, an increase of 6 percent since 1991.³

When compared to other areas in Metropolitan Toronto, Scarborough's growth was especially striking. A 1979 report noted that "the Borough of Scarborough, the only area municipality with large vacant land areas, has now become the fastest growing municipality in Metro."⁴ The most intense growth area was in northern Scarborough. The population of Ward 10 alone went from 12,000 in 1967 to 88,000 in 1973,⁵ and one census tract in the northeast corner of the city increased its population nearly twentyfold from 1986 to 1991. During this same period, when Scarborough saw its smallest five-year population increase since the Second World War (8.2 percent), its growth rate was still more than twice that of other Metro municipalities. However, Scarborough's population growth from 1986 to 1991 was generally less than that of the 23 municipalities surrounding Metropolitan Toronto, the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), which, along with Metropolitan Toronto, increased by 13.4 percent. Scarborough's share of Metropolitan Toronto's population increased steadily from 16 percent in 1971 to 23 percent in 1991.

In the year 2001, Scarborough's population is projected to be between 540,000 (an increase of 3 percent from 1991) and 565,000 (an increase of 8 percent from 1991), depending on the strength of the GTA economy and immigration policies.⁶

Immigration

An increase in immigration and a decrease in emigration were the major factors contributing to the rise in Scarborough's population; natural increase was far less important as the fertility rate in Canada steadily declined with the end of the baby boom in the mid-1960s.⁷ From the early 1970s, Canada, and Metropolitan Toronto especially,



Key to Abbreviations

MTRL	Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library
SM	Scarborough Mirror

**Seneca effigy comb of bone
or antler, possibly 1665-1687**

Archaeologist Walter Kenyon found this large comb (124 mm long by 81 mm wide, with 27 teeth) at the Bead Hill site in 1964. It depicts three standing figures wearing European clothing, including hats, pantaloons, and jackets with buttons.

Dana Poulton



MTRL 964-8-1

**Crew in Scarborough to survey the east-west concession roads,
about 1864**

Part of Scarborough was first surveyed for European settlement in 1791. Subsequently several more surveys were done. Frederick F. Passmore, the head surveyor of the 1864 survey, is seated second from the right.

The People of Scarborough: A History



St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church

St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church choir, about 1898

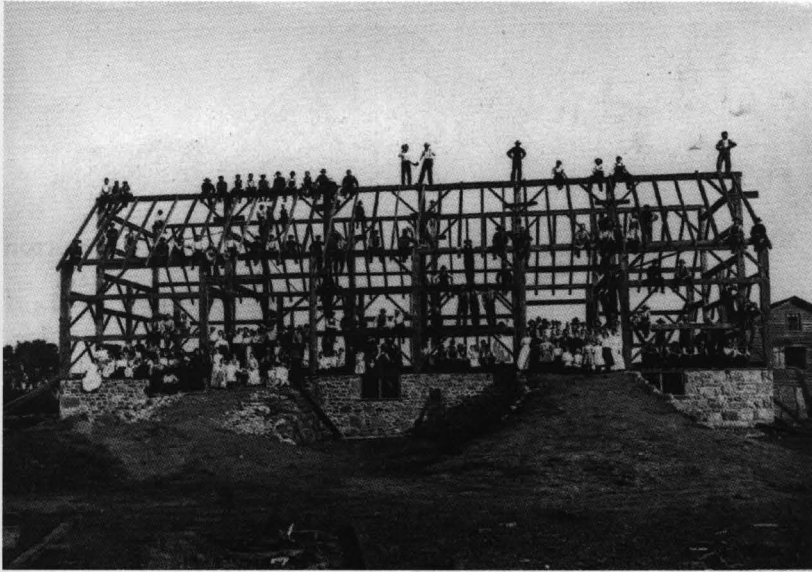
Many of Scarborough's early settlers were from Scotland, and the township's first church (1818) was Presbyterian. By 1901, Presbyterians were the largest religious group there, and membership extended far beyond those of Scottish origin.



Joseph Adamson Blakey/MTRL T14411

Children having lunch at Scarborough School Section No. 7, 1908

School Section No. 7 served children living in the Highland Creek area. Known as the Valley School, it was located in the valley near today's Old Kingston Road, in what is now the campus of Scarborough College.



Joseph Adamson Blakey/MTRL T31555

Barn Raising, Highland Creek, 1909

Many farming tasks, such as raising buildings, clearing land, or harvesting crops, were done cooperatively in "bees." Heavy drinking often accompanied these events, although by the early 1900s, no liquor was allowed at the raisings in Scarborough.



Joseph Adamson Blakey/MTRL T14414

Fruit pickers in the Highland Creek area, 1909

The People of Scarborough: A History



**Mary Hutton and Robert Hutton
with their daughters**

Cathie and May, about 1914

During the First World War enlistment was high in Scarborough, especially among recent British immigrants. Robert Hutton, originally from Dundee Scotland, was with the artillery and fought at the Battle of Vimy Ridge (1917).

Suzanne Aloisi



**Mary Hutton with daughters May and Cathie,
at 86 Wanstead Avenue, about 1917**

Many of Scarborough's early suburbanites kept vegetable gardens and built their own homes, often starting with a tarpaper dwelling. Robert Hutton's family sent him this photograph, proudly noting "the lettuce has grown as high as your verandah."

Suzanne Aloisi



Robert Perrott

Charles Greadon with his grandsons Eddie Greadon (baby in front), and Charlie, Arthur and Robert Perrott at 159 South Woodrow Boulevard, Birchcliff Heights, about 1923

Immigrants from the British Isles helped swell Scarborough's population before and after the First World War. Charles Greadon left Cork, Ireland in 1921 with his extended family of 12 people. All but two settled in Scarborough.



Dennis Phillips

Arthur and Lucy Phillips holding their children, Dennis and Deborah (seated), with their relatives at St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church cemetery, 1924

Arthur and Lucy Phillips emigrated from England in 1914, and from 1924 to 1930 were the caretakers at St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church. Digging graves was Mr. Phillip's most difficult chore.

The People of Scarborough: A History



Toronto Transit Commission Archives. TTC 6229

Kingston Road, north side, looking west from Birchmount Road, showing Lem Brothers Laundry (on right), 10 September 1928

During the 1920s most Chinese in the Toronto area worked in restaurants or laundries. Lem Brothers Laundry at 1728 Kingston Road in Birch Cliff advertised, "Goods called for and delivered."



Dennis Phillips

Sledding on Lawrence Avenue East at McCowan Road, 1935

By the 1930s the majority of Scarborough residents were not farmers, but most of the land in the township was still devoted to agriculture. North of St. Clair was open country.



Dorothy Leslie Brignall

Grade 13 students at Scarborough Collegiate Institute, 1939

A high school was started in Scarborough in September 1922. Two months later, the new building opened at the northwest corner of Kingston Road and St. Clair Avenue.



Suzanne Aloisi

Doug Hutton (Sea Cadets), May Hutton McDonald, and Bob Hutton (Royal Canadian Air Force) at 86 Wanstead Avenue, May 1943

"Scarboro Collegiate is proud of its 1,068 ex-pupils who enlisted [during the Second World War]," the school's 25th anniversary booklet noted. These included Bob Hutton (above) and his brother, George Hutton, also in the RCAF and awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross for bravery.

The People of Scarborough: A History



Suzanne Aloisi

McDonald family's second day at 64 Clonmore Drive, 21 July 1951

Scarborough's conversion from country to suburb was quick in the 1950s. The gravel pits and the old farm house and barn near the McDonalds' new home were gone within two years of their moving to Clonmore Drive.



The City of Scarborough Public Library Board

First summer of Scarborough Public Library's (SPL) bookmobile service, 1956

Established in July 1955, the Scarborough Public Library Board used a bookmobile to bring library service to all parts of the township. Helen Petersen, the librarian here, was with SPL until 1975, the last six years as chief librarian.



John Evanoff

**Canadian Line Materials Ltd. (CLM) directors and employees,
28 September 1957**

Scarborough became increasingly industrialized after the Second World War. CLM, a division of McGraw Edison located at 3593 St. Clair Avenue East, manufactured "products for the electric power industry."



SM

Full Highland gathering at Birchmount Stadium, 24 June 1967

Scarborough's Scottish heritage was highlighted during Canada's centennial in 1967. Clans from all of eastern Canada assembled at Birchmount Stadium for dancing, games and contests.

The People of Scarborough: A History



SM/30 August 1972

George and Cynthia Lewis, the first family to move into the Malvern development, 1972

Construction of the Malvern development began in the summer of 1972 with 650 houses. The federal and provincial governments assembled the 1700 acre parcel, bounded by Highway 401, Markham Road, Finch Avenue, and the Rouge Valley, in 1953-4.



SM/14 October 1974

Diners at the Stone Cottage Inn, 1974

Services became increasingly diversified in Scarborough. Serving Egyptian food in a Middle East setting, this restaurant was located in the Jeremiah Annis house (1867) at the northeast corner of Kingston Road and Scarborough Golf Club Road.



SM

Canadian citizenship ceremony at Glamorgan School, no date

"Mountie Mark Williams shows eight-year-old Alfa Hilwan how to salute while Cecilia Hilwan watches."

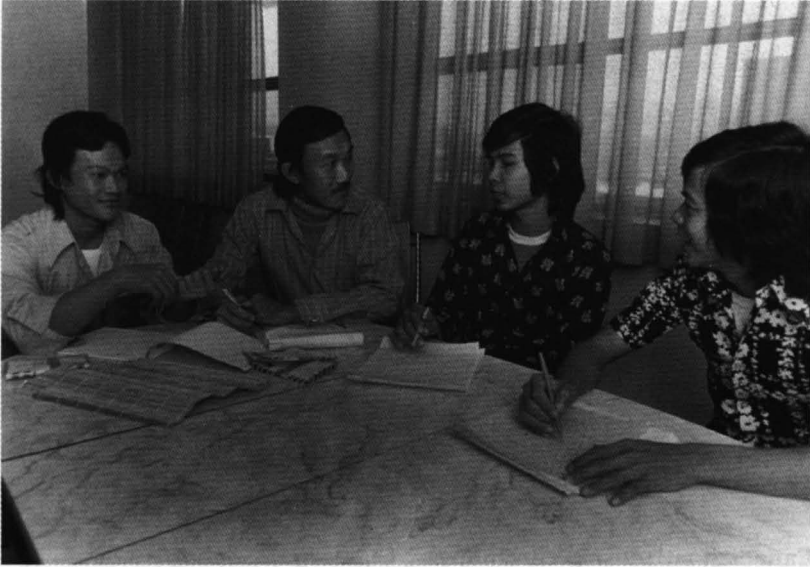


Tom Longboat Jr. accepts a gift from student Chieko Suzuki at the opening of Tom Longboat Public School, 1980

Many Scarborough schools have been named for important local and national personalities. Tom Longboat Public School honours the distance runner from the Six Nations Reserve, Oshweken, Ontario, whose most famous victory was the 1907 Boston Marathon.

SM/16 April 1980

The People of Scarborough: A History



SM/19 March 1980

Vietnamese Boat People, 1980

Several churches in Scarborough sponsored refugees from Vietnam. Washington United Church "adopted" this group, left to right, Nguyen Van Tuan, Luu Cau, Ly Vi Binh and Ly Thieu Binh.



SM/30 September 1981

Dawes Road Cemetery, south side of St. Clair Avenue between Herron and Taylor avenues, 1981

While Scarborough's Jewish population has always been small, three Jewish cemeteries were established there between 1898 and the late 1940s. Filmmaker Harry Rasky comments in his autobiography, St. Clair Avenue "West for living, East for dying."



Hellenic Festival at St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox Church, 1984

Scarborough's population of Greek ethnic origin grew greatly during the 1970s. St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox Church began in 1974 and a Hellenic Festival has been held on the church grounds each summer since 1977.

SM/4 July 1984



Reynaldo (Ray) Alix

Philippine Independence Day celebrations at Scarborough Civic Centre, 1992

Scarborough had the largest Filipino community in Metropolitan Toronto by 1991. Each 12 June, local Filipinos celebrate the independence of the Philippines at events such as the annual flag raising ceremony at the Scarborough Civic Centre.

The People of Scarborough: A History



Blaine McKenzie/The City of Scarborough
Public Library Board

Students at Birch Cliff Heights Public School, 1996



Peter Chan/Yee Hong Community Wellness Foundation

**Three generations find comfort and community at Yee Hong
Centre for Geriatric Care, November 1996**

The 1970s to 1990s saw a huge influx of Chinese people into Scarborough. The Yee Hong Centre at the southeast corner of McNicoll and Midland avenues is Canada's first geriatric care facility offering full services in Chinese.



West Scarborough Neighbourhood Community Centre

Playing bocce, 1990s

People of Italian origin have lived in Scarborough since the 1890s, and in 1981 they were its largest non-British ethnic group. There are now eight outdoor and two indoor bocce courts there.



International Tele-film Enterprises

Still from *Just a Little Red Dot*, 1996

Based on a true incident at Tam O'Shanter School, the main theme of this film is that people of all backgrounds should be respected and cultural diversity celebrated. Local children have formed "Little Red Dot" clubs along with other

The People of Scarborough: A History



Peter Mykusz/City of Scarborough Department of Parks, Recreation and Culture

Women in traditional Peruvian costume at the Scarborough Tumi Festival, September 1997

The Scarborough Peruvian Festival, now called Scarborough Tumi Festival, began in 1995 to showcase Peruvian culture through films, art, literary readings, music, and folkloric dances. The *tumi* is a ceremonial knife used by the Incas.



Peter Mykusz/City of Scarborough Department of Parks, Recreation and Culture

Kiddie Carnival Parade at Scarborough Civic Centre, Summer 1997

By 1991, 32 percent of Metropolitan Toronto's Blacks lived in Scarborough. The majority were originally from the Caribbean.

Scarborough's West Indians have been avid participants in Caribana downtown, and have also staged local Caribana celebrations such as this junior carnival parade.

became a major magnet for immigrants, including many from the Third World. "Whatever growth has occurred in Metropolitan Toronto in the past decade has been almost entirely the result of immigration," the *Globe and Mail* reported in January 1991. "And, Scarborough is attracting the lion's share of immigrants."⁸

Scarborough's immigrant population grew rapidly. In 1971, 89,050 people or 27 percent of Scarborough's 334,485 residents had been born outside Canada. More than 82 percent of the immigrants (73,285 people) had come to Canada after 1945. Immigration to Scarborough exploded in the 1970s. In 1976 one-half of all immigrants who had come to Canada from 1971 to 1976 (aged five and over) had settled in the suburban municipalities of Metropolitan Toronto. In 1976 the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto estimated that, of the 188,250 recent immigrants to Metropolitan Toronto, 28,595 people had settled in Scarborough. These recent immigrants now comprised 8 percent of Scarborough's general population. While the municipality had a lower percentage of total immigrants than the city of Toronto and North York, it had the highest percentage of school-aged immigrants: 21 percent of all recent immigrants were between the ages of five and fourteen.⁹

The Social Planning Council also identified six districts in the rapidly growing suburbs which were among the highest reception areas for recent immigrants to Metropolitan Toronto, making up at least 10 percent of the population or 10,000 people. Three of these districts included parts of Scarborough that had sustained high levels of population growth from 1971 to 1976. The entire area north of Highway 401 made up two districts; the third was in southwest Scarborough, between the CNR tracks and the 2right of way, from Warden Avenue east to the CNR line.¹⁰

The 1981 census reflected the heavy immigration to Scarborough: about 37 percent (161,580 people) of the municipality's 443,353 residents had been born outside Canada. Scarborough had not had such a large immigrant population since 1921. The proportion of Scarborough's Canadian-born residents had declined to about 63 percent (277,980 people) of the total population; most of them were Ontario-born.

Scarborough's increased immigrant population was due, in part, to the municipality becoming an immigrant reception area. Some immigrant groups continued to locate in the city of Toronto initially and later migrate to Scarborough. But, in the 1970s, the municipality, along with other Metro suburbs, became the location of first choice

The People of Scarborough: A History

for many groups; no longer was it the second or third place where newcomers lived after arriving in Canada. In 1981, about 62 percent of Scarborough's immigrant population (almost 100,000 people) were recent arrivals, having come to Canada between 1965 and 1981. The second-largest number, about 32 percent or 51,840 people, had emigrated to the country between the end of the Second World War and 1964. Only 10,125 people (6 percent) had come before 1945. A social profile of Metropolitan Toronto attributed the shift to a number of factors: "The dispersal of jobs, the availability of cheap housing in townhouse and high rise apartment complexes and the availability of vacant land have caused Metro's suburbs to take on more and more of the characteristics that used to be associated almost entirely with the older areas of Metropolitan Toronto."¹¹

The Social Planning Council delineated further reasons behind the decision of recent immigrants to settle in the suburbs rather than in downtown Toronto. The central area had not developed support networks for some of the more culturally diverse, new groups; some immigrant families with children wanted to enjoy the benefits of suburban living upon arrival; and recently developed, publicly assisted housing was often located in newer suburban districts.¹²

The 1980s were another decade of huge immigration to Scarborough. At the midpoint in 1986, 41 percent of the population in Metropolitan Toronto had been born outside Canada; in Scarborough, the proportion was 38 percent. The census data suggested that Scarborough, Toronto, and North York were "the primary reception areas for new immigrants."¹³

Immigrants to Canada were of four types. The first category was independent immigrants who came under the points system, which measured their suitability as Canadian citizens according to their job skills and education. Their proportion declined from 72.6 percent of all immigrants who entered Canada in 1971 to less than 30 percent of the total in 1983. The second (and growing) category was family-sponsored immigrants, accounting for 55 percent of all immigrants in 1983. Reuniting families continued to be a cornerstone of Canadian immigration policy. The third category was refugees, fleeing their home countries to escape persecution or danger. In 1987 it was estimated that fifteen refugee families were coming to Scarborough each month.¹⁴ The fourth category was business immigrants. Introduced in 1978, the business-immigration program relaxed immigration requirements for the self-employed and entrepreneurs who would either start a business or put a substantial investment into an existing business. It was expanded in 1986 to include wealthy

investors, who, to be accepted as immigrants, needed to make an investment of between \$500,000 and \$700,000 in Canada.

In 1991 Scarborough's immigrant population had jumped to almost 44 percent of the total population: 229,060 of the municipality's 524,598 people were immigrants. While this was roughly the same immigrant level as that of Metro (42 percent), Scarborough had not seen such high immigrant levels since the 1850s, in the wake of the Irish famine. By 1991 the municipality's Canadian-born population had declined to 52 percent (274,465) of the total population; 85.5 percent of these people had been born in Ontario.

The majority of Scarborough's immigrant population (41 percent or almost 95,000 people) were recent immigrants, having come to Canada in the 1980s. More than half of this group (55 percent) or 22.6 percent of the entire immigrant population had arrived between 1988 and 1991. The most recent immigrants had settled in the Milliken, Agincourt North, Malvern West, and Progress areas of Scarborough. The northwest corner of the city, the Steeles and L'Amoreaux neighbourhood, also had a high number of recent immigrants. Another 99,000 people had emigrated between 1961 and 1980, about one-third in the 1960s and about two-thirds in the 1970s. Some 35,190 people had been in Canada since before 1961.

In 1971, after a ninety-year hiatus, the Canadian census resumed publishing specific information about the birthplaces of Scarborough's population. More than 82 percent of Scarborough's 89,050 residents born outside Canada were from Europe, with the largest proportion coming from the United Kingdom (43.5 percent) followed by Italy (9 percent). There were, however, signs of change: the West Indies and Latin America now accounted for almost 7 percent of the immigrant population, and Asia for more than 4 percent.

The 1981 census confirmed that Scarborough's immigrants were decreasingly from the United Kingdom and Europe, and increasingly from Asia and American countries other than the United States. In that year, the traditional source regions of the United Kingdom and Europe declined to 54 percent of the 161,580 Scarborough residents born outside Canada. About one-quarter of the immigrants had been born in the United Kingdom, with another 30 percent from other European countries, mostly Italy and Greece. The United States, historically the birthplace of many immigrants to Scarborough, had dried up as a source area long ago. Only a modest 3790 people (2 percent) were American-born: Scarborough had not benefited from the exodus from the United States in the wake of the Vietnam War.

The People of Scarborough: A History

Significantly, 20 percent of Scarborough's immigrants had been born in Asia, and 6 percent were from "other American" countries.

These trends continued during the 1980s. While Europe, particularly the United Kingdom, had historically contributed the majority of immigrants to Metropolitan Toronto, only 25 percent of Metro's immigrants between 1979 and 1989 were from Europe and only 7 percent from the United Kingdom. In 1989, 71 percent of Metro's immigrants were from Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean.¹⁵ By 1986, only 17 percent of Scarborough's total population had been born in Europe, the lowest proportion in Metro. On the other hand, Scarborough had one of the highest percentages in Metro of total population born in Asia (10 percent) and the Caribbean and Guyana (8 percent).¹⁶

In 1991 the Canadian census again reported specific birthplaces of Scarborough residents. The number born in the United Kingdom and other European countries had declined by 22 percent from 1981 and now comprised 32 percent of the total immigrant population. The United Kingdom was the birthplace of 11 percent of Scarborough's immigrants and "other Europe" of 21 percent. The largest proportion of Scarborough's 229,060 immigrants were now of Asian birth. About 5 percent had been born in India and 36 percent in countries combined under the term "Other Asia" in the census. More than 20 percent of Scarborough's immigrants were originally from the Americas, 28,035 from the Caribbean (and Bermuda) and 20,640 from Central and South America; only 1 percent (3101 people) were from the United States. Ten thousand immigrants had been born in Africa; areas such as the Middle East were not mentioned specifically. An additional 16,750 immigrants were labelled as "non-permanent residents,"¹⁷ listed for the first time in the 1991 census.

The changing composition of Scarborough's immigrant groups was attributable to a number of factors, but two were of particular importance. First, by the late 1960s, there were no longer such strong reasons for people to leave Europe. The economy in Great Britain, Germany, the Netherlands, and a number of other European countries had improved. Even countries that had been less prosperous, such as Italy, Greece, and Portugal, were starting to be better off than they had been at the end of the Second World War.

Secondly, in response to slow European emigration (and to the declining Canadian birth rate, which stabilized in the 1980s at 1.7 percent, below the population's ability to replace itself), Canada began to depend increasingly on labour from the Third World. This was reflected in changes made in the 1960s to Canada's immigration

policies, under which selection was based on qualifications and occupational demand rather than country of origin. The 12-point system for calculating admissibility, introduced in 1967, removed all restrictions regarding national and ethnic origin and *de facto* racial and religious barriers to admission. The government no longer gave preference to immigrants from Europe and the United States. The new regulations were, in one historian's view, "a Magna Carta facilitating the entry of people from Third World countries into Canada."¹⁸

Immigration to Canada was also encouraged by the federal government's policy of "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework," proclaimed in 1971. Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau stated the government's position: "For although there are two official languages, there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other. No citizen or group of citizens is other than Canadian, and all should be treated fairly . . . The government will support and encourage the various culture and ethnic groups that give structure and vitality to our society. They will be encouraged to share their cultural expression and values with other Canadians and contribute to a richer life for us all."¹⁹

Several provinces subsequently introduced multiculturalism programs, for example, Ontario in 1977. The Canadian Multiculturalism Act was approved by Parliament on 12 July 1988. Official multiculturalism policy was backed by legislation to promote equality and mutual respect among the various groups. It also meant that ethnic groups were encouraged, often through government grants, to retain their distinctive characteristics. These official multiculturalism policies and programs (though sometimes under sharp domestic attack) became one of the great attractions of Canada. Newcomers came with some assurance that they would be able to maintain their cultural identity while also enjoying full equality in Canadian society.

Ethnic Origins

Beginning with the 1981 census, an individual could give a single- or a multiple-origin response when stating his or her ethnic origin. In 1991 most Scarborough residents had a single ethnic origin (80 percent); multiple origins (people of mixed ancestry) accounted for 20 percent of the population. More than one-half stated a single origin other than British or Canadian.

From 1971 to 1991, Scarborough residents of British origin

The People of Scarborough: A History

declined substantially: from 70 percent (234,770 people) in 1971 to 54 percent (238,350) in 1981 and 19 percent (101,255) in 1991.²⁰ The low proportion was due not only to the increased number of recent immigrants whose ethnic origins were not British, but also to the increase in the population reporting Canadian origin (7 percent in 1991) and to the inclusion of non-permanent residents. Nevertheless, in 1991, the leading single ethnic origin in Scarborough was still British. At that time, the heaviest concentrations of British and Canadian ethnic origin tended to occur in the older sections of the city, particularly along the shore of Lake Ontario.

Several other European groups declined as well, including people of German, Dutch, French, and Ukrainian ethnic origin. The number of people speaking many of these European languages (which were closely identified with older immigration patterns) also declined as their populations aged and were not replenished with fresh immigration. In 1986 compilers of the *Mother Tongue Atlas of Metropolitan Toronto* noted that in Scarborough the “mother tongue groups with the highest proportion of seniors are: Baltic (28%) and Ukrainian (27%),” even though the municipality had “the lowest proportion of its total population in the senior age category.”²¹ Reflecting the needs of their aging populations, several groups of European ethnic origin, including Estonians, Danube Swabians, Czechs, Hungarians, and Ukrainians, built seniors’ homes and apartments in Scarborough in the 1980s and 1990s. It should be noted, however, that in 1995 school boards in Scarborough were still offering international language classes for children in German, Czech, and Ukrainian.

Several Scarborough groups of European origin, though small in numbers, continued to have a network of cultural and social organizations in Scarborough into the mid-1990s. Finns, for example, had a social club and a newspaper, although only 935 people of Finnish ethnic origin were living in Scarborough in 1991, about one-quarter of the Metro total. The Finnish Social Club, which was established in 1932, produced four plays a year in its Scarborough hall at 127 Manville Road until the 1980s. Even with a diminishing community base, the Finnish Social Club produced at least one play per year in the mid-1990s. The repertoire contained an interesting cross-section of Canadian, British, American, and Finnish drama.²² Canada’s Finnish-language newspaper, *Vapaa Sana*, relocated from Toronto to Scarborough in the late 1980s.²³ Scarborough was also the headquarters of the Toronto Finnish Male Chorus during the 1980s.

Similarly, the municipality's oldest European ethnic group, the Scots, maintained a vital cultural life. Scottish country dancing, piping, curling, and golfing all thrived locally, as did events such as Robbie Burns suppers. Scottish heritage classes for children, sponsored by Mod Ontario, were offered at Cedarbrae Collegiate in 1990. The James McCowan Memorial Social History Society (so named for the founding member of the McCowan family in Scarborough) was established in 1990, its goal being to place "the Scottish-Canadian experience within the wider context of the multicultural Canadian experience."²⁴ Together with the Scarborough Scottish Heritage Society, it organized many activities during Scarborough's bicentennial in 1996. These included a three-day Scottish heritage festival; a stage play, *With I Hope a New Face: A Newcomer to a New Land*, based on the true experiences of Scottish immigrants to Scarborough; two publications, one on curling in Scarborough and another, *When the Ground Fails: An Economic Watershed*, examining Scarborough's roots in the agricultural revolution; a Scottish heritage symposium at Scarborough College; and a dinner at St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church to commemorate the contribution of Alexander Muir to Canadian culture and to raise funds for the Children of Dunblane Memorial Fund.²⁵

Danube Swabians, people of German ethnic origin from eastern Europe, were another active group, despite a declining population. The Blue Danube Ontario Housing Complex opened near the northeast corner of Ellesmere and McCowan roads in 1994. As well as having 140 housing units, the facility also included a restaurant, an auditorium, and meeting rooms, and it became the new location of the Danube Swabian Club (which relocated from Main Street in east Toronto) — the only German club building in Metropolitan Toronto. *Heimatbote*, a monthly bulletin of the Alliance of Danube Swabians in Canada and the United States, was also published out of Scarborough.

A few European groups did grow in Scarborough during this time, notably Greeks, Italians, and Macedonians, as well as Portuguese and Poles in smaller numbers. In the case of the former, the increase was due largely to increased migration from the city of Toronto; in the case of the latter, it was because of new immigration. Other groups came from states in the former Soviet Union. Russians, for example, were numerous enough in 1997 to warrant the Scarborough Board of Education offering a language class in Russian.

The most dramatic increases in population size recorded, however, were those of the peoples from Asia. The largest groups were of

The People of Scarborough: A History

Chinese, South Asian (East Indian/Indo-Pakistani), and Filipino ethnic origin; together, they comprised 21 percent of the total population by 1991. There were also smaller groups of Japanese, Korean, and Southeast Asian origin, each making up less than 1 percent of the total population.

Southeast Asians include people of Vietnamese, Burmese, Cambodian, Laotian, Thai, Malay and/or Indonesian ethnic origin, according to Statistics Canada. Between 1975 and 1995, about 135,000 refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos found refuge in Canada. More than half of the 60,000 Indochinese who came to Canada in 1979 and 1980 — the peak years of resettlement — were sponsored by private groups and individuals. Several churches in Scarborough sponsored these boat people, as they were known.

Only a small number of Southeast Asians settled in Scarborough, about 1000 people by 1986, only 8 percent of Metro's total of more than 13,000. In 1991, 1300 people of Vietnamese single ethnic origin lived in Scarborough; most of the 16,615 Vietnamese in Metropolitan Toronto lived in the city of Toronto, followed by North York. No other Southeast Asian ethnic groups were listed for Scarborough in the 1991 census; fewer than 65 Scarborough residents were listed as having either the Lao, Thai, or Khmer (Cambodian) languages as their first language. There were a few organizations and services for Scarborough's Vietnamese community by the 1990s: the Scarborough Vietnamese Alliance Church at 724 Brimley Road, and Vietnamese-language classes for children started in 1996 by the Scarborough Board of Education.

New Asian groups continued to arrive during the 1990s. Afghans, for example, formed a small community. Over 5 million people left Afghanistan during and after the Afghanistan War (1978-92). More than 20,000 Afghans had settled in Ontario by 1997, with the largest concentration in Scarborough.²⁶ The Afghan Association of Ontario (1982), the oldest and most important provincial organization, had a satellite office at 2100 Ellesmere Road in Scarborough from September 1993 until February 1996, when funding ceased. Almost all Afghans are Muslims; the large majority are Sunnis, the minority, Shiites. A Shiite group, the Islamic Community of Afghans in Canada, was located in Scarborough in 1990, first on Kennedy Road and later at 746 Warden Avenue. By 1997, in addition to religious services, it was offering information and referral services, heritage-language classes (in Dari, a form of Farsi), and cultural and social activities. The Scarborough Board of Education began offering international

language classes in Dari in 1997. Dari and Pashto are Afghanistan's principal languages.²⁷

Scarborough's population of Middle Eastern origin grew rapidly in the 1980s and 1990s, with the Canadian-born population being greatly augmented by more recent immigration. It included people from a variety of national and ethnic origins — Arabs, Iranians, and Armenians, for example — and religious faiths, Muslims and Christians being in the majority.

In 1981, 3745 Scarborough residents had been born in the Middle East,²⁸ about 22 percent of Metropolitan Toronto's total of 16,695 people. (The majority lived in North York.) Another 800 Scarborough residents had been born in Egypt (of 3545 in Metro). In 1986, 6080 West Asians and Arabs lived in Scarborough, about 23 percent of the total Metro Toronto population of 26,210. This group consisted of people of Lebanese, Egyptian, Palestinian, Syrian, Iranian, Turk, and Armenian origin. The 1991 census provided no exact statistics for Scarborough's Arab and West Asian population, but in Ontario this group had increased from being 0.6 percent of the population (50,510 persons) in 1986 to 1.03 percent (102,620) in 1991.

Greek

Population Size and Settlement

Scarborough's population of Greek ethnic origin and language grew during this time. The period of greatest growth was between 1971 and 1981. The population of Greek ethnic origin peaked in 1991 with almost 15,000 people based on ethnic origin.

In 1976, 5,760 people, or 1.5 percent of the population, claimed Greek as their first language, the number rising to about 10,500 in 1981. In 1991, as a reflection of increasing acculturation, only 6,755 people (1.3 percent) in Scarborough declared Greek as their home language, although 10,195 residents claimed Greek as their single mother tongue and 14,700 (2.8 percent) had knowledge of Greek.

In the beginning, many of Scarborough's Greeks were migrants from the city of Toronto, especially the Danforth Avenue area where Greek immigrants had clustered during the mass settlement of the 1950s and early 1960s, eventually establishing a network of Greek restaurants, grocery stores, and other services. Historian Peter D. Chimbos notes that, "as the years passed, and the immigrants improved their economic status, they were able to buy their own homes and move out to the better residential areas. Many of those

The People of Scarborough: A History

who bought houses in the suburban areas tended to select an area where Greeks had already established their residences.”²⁹

A 1979 map showed two major areas of Greek settlement in Scarborough, with 10 to 14 percent of students taking ESL classes in local public schools.³⁰ One cluster was in the vicinity of the then-proposed St. John’s Greek Orthodox Church and youth centre, between Lawrence and Ellesmere avenues from Victoria Park to Brimley. The other cluster was further south, close to Danforth Avenue and Road, east from the Scarborough-Toronto border at Victoria Park Avenue to about Kennedy Road. In 1991 the Scarborough Health Department reported that “the largest area with a high number of Greek mother tongue residents is in the west section of the city, including parts of Maryvale, Dorset Park, Ionview, Bendale, Eglinton, Kennedy Park & Wexford.”³¹

In 1981, 9185 Scarborough residents had been born in Greece, or perhaps as many as 50 percent of those of Greek ethnic origin. (It should be noted that those born in Greece would include people speaking both the Greek and Macedonian languages.) There was little new immigration from Greece from the early 1980s, although a small number of Greek speakers came from Greek communities in the former Soviet Union later in the decade.

In 1981 Scarborough was home to one-quarter of Metropolitan Toronto’s total population of 59,546 Greeks of single ethnic origin. By 1991, although the local Greek population had declined slightly since 1981, more Greeks lived in Scarborough than in any other municipality in Metropolitan Toronto, including the city of Toronto. Scarborough’s Greeks then made up 29 percent of Metro’s total Greek population of 48,685, while the city of Toronto had declined from having 29 percent of Metro’s Greeks in 1981 to 22.7 percent in 1991.

Activities and Organizations

In 1986 the two main occupations of Scarborough’s Greeks were service jobs (28 percent) and manufacturing (24 percent).³² Almost 9 percent were self-employed. Greeks in Scarborough have established their own small businesses in restaurants, the fur industry, fruit and grocery wholesale and retail firms, travel agencies, and so on. Through higher levels of education, Canadian-born Greeks have tended to enter professional and skilled occupations to a greater extent than their immigrant parents did. However, in 1986, only 8 percent of Greeks in Scarborough were in managerial occupations

and 5.6 percent in professional and technical jobs. The head office of Becker's Milk, founded by a Canadian of Greek origin (Frank Bazos), was located at 671 Warden Avenue in Scarborough in 1963.

"Overall, Greek immigrants," Peter D. Chimbos notes, "are not highly integrated into Canadian society, because of low academic attainment in the homeland, short length of residence in Canada, and unfavourable employment conditions for many in the early years."³³ In particular, they showed "little interest in Canadian political life, especially prior to the 1960s,"³⁴ although they remained interested and even actively involved in political and social developments in Greece.

The situation started to change, however, as the second and third generations of Greek Canadians began to take their place in Canadian society. A measure of their increased political involvement was the election to the House of Commons of Greek Canadians, two from Scarborough. Jim Karygiannis, born in Athens in 1955 and a graduate of the University of Toronto, was first elected to represent Scarborough Agincourt in the general election in 1988; he was re-elected in 1993 and 1997. John Cannis, a native of Kalynnos, Greece, was elected to represent Scarborough Centre in the 1993 and 1997 general elections. The presence of Scarborough residents of Greek origin was also felt in local politics and Greek community organizations, especially the Council of the Greek Community of Metropolitan Toronto.

With the growth of the Greek community in Scarborough, religious and cultural associations were established to provide for spiritual needs, to act as meeting places, and to preserve the Greek language and culture. The heritage of the Greek people is closely associated with the Greek Orthodox Church, to which approximately 95 percent of Greek Canadians belong. St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox Church began in 1974 on Sheppard Avenue, just east of Warden Avenue, and within a few years consisted of about 1000 families. After the building burned down in August 1979, a new church opened in 1983 at 3840 Finch Avenue East, between Birchmount and Kennedy roads. In 1996 it served a congregation of more than 2000 people from across Metropolitan Toronto. A Hellenic Festival has been held on the church grounds each summer since 1977.

After being turned down three times because of "parking deficiencies," plans to build another Greek Orthodox church in Scarborough were approved by the Scarborough Planning Board in April 1975. In 1981 St. John's Greek Orthodox Church opened at 1385 Warden Avenue, north of Ellington Avenue, in the Wexford

The People of Scarborough: A History

industrial area. The \$1.5-million facility could accommodate 3000 worshippers and was described by the *Scarborough Mirror* as “a showpiece among new churches in the borough.”³⁵ An extensive community and youth centre, named for Alexander the Great, was also included on the site. It housed choirs, dance groups, and sports teams. In 1992 the congregation held its first three-day festival honouring St. John the Baptist; about 2000 people attend this annual event.³⁶ A small minority of Greeks belong to other churches, including the Greek Evangelical Church, which had a building at 91 Morningview Trail by 1996.

Christou Greek Schools began in Scarborough in 1980 and within two years about 500 children were involved in Greek dancing, Greek language-programs, and other activities designed to “keep them in touch with the roots of their parents.”³⁷ By 1990 these schools were at three locations in Scarborough. Several other Greek organizations were then providing language classes in Scarborough, including the Greek Community of Metropolitan Toronto (the non-sectarian umbrella organization) at three local schools, the Cypriot Community of Toronto at one, and Hellenic Morfasic at another. The Scarborough Board of Education began offering Greek-heritage classes for children in 1989. In 1990 such classes were available at five Scarborough schools, but only at two locations in 1997. The majority of schools were in southwest Scarborough, where most Greeks lived.

In 1985 a Greek-language program, “The Avramis Greek Show,” began to be broadcast on Scarborough cable television. It covered events and issues in the Greek community in the Metropolitan Toronto area. There were also seven Greek-language newspapers in 1997 (including the *Greek Canadian Weekly*, in operation since 1976), although none was published in Scarborough.

Florina, the capital town of the Florina *nomos* (district) in the Macedonian province of northern Greece, is the ancestral home of many Scarborough residents of Greek and Macedonian languages. The city of Scarborough established a fraternization agreement with Florina in 1983 and has celebrated this agreement annually with entertainment and exhibits.

Social service agencies were also founded. The Greek Orthodox Family Services and Counselling Wife Assault Programme was established in 1979 at St. Nicholas Greek Orthodox Church. Its services included counselling, advocacy, and crisis intervention. In 1994 the Greek Community of Metropolitan Toronto opened a branch of its social service agency at 1331 Warden Avenue in Scarborough, near St. John’s Church. (The main social service centre

was opened in 1977 on Pape Avenue in the heart of Toronto's "Greektown.") It provided counselling services and crisis intervention; the majority of requests in 1996 were for assistance with Greek-government pensions.

Italian

Population Size and Settlement

From the late 1960s, as conditions in Italy began to improve, Italian immigration to Canada dropped significantly. Nevertheless, largely because of migration from Toronto and natural increase, Scarborough's population of Italian origin continued to grow between 1971 and 1981, as did its share of the total population. In 1981, with 23,565 people and 5.4 percent of the total population, Italians were Scarborough's largest non-British ethnic group. In that year, 12,275 Scarborough residents had been born in Italy, or slightly more than half of those of Italian ethnicity. Italian was also the largest non-official first language in Scarborough in 1976 and 1981 (replacing German), being spoken by 3 percent of the total population.

After 1981, as the population aged and was not replenished with fresh immigration, Scarborough's Italian population declined slightly and its percentage of the total population slipped. Similarly, the number of Scarborough people speaking Italian declined. In 1991 only 6365 (1.2 percent) people in Scarborough declared Italian as their home language, although 11,440 residents (2.2 percent) claimed it as their first language and 17,425 residents had some knowledge of Italian.

Scarborough was not a major Italian area in Metropolitan Toronto. In the 1970s Scarborough had the lowest percentage of its population with Italian as a first language of all the municipalities of Metropolitan Toronto. The Borough of York, for example, had more than 20 percent of its population with the Italian first language in 1976.³⁸ In 1991, approximately 11 percent of the 176,860 people of Italian ethnic origin living in Metropolitan Toronto lived in Scarborough. This was a slight increase from 1981, when the figure was 10 percent.

Scarborough's Italian community continued to have migrants from Toronto, especially the east end of the city in the vicinity of Danforth and Greenwood avenues, where, historian Robert Harney noted in 1985, there was "an outrigger community made up heavily of Sicilians and Foggians."³⁹ By the mid-1970s, the media began to notice that

The People of Scarborough: A History

Italians were moving out of that area. The *Toronto Star* commented in 1976, "The Italians have become less insular and are moving into such traditional Anglo-Saxon suburban bastions as Scarborough."⁴⁰

"While the movement out of immigrant neighbourhoods to more prosperous residential areas has been significant," historian Franc Sturino observes, "even in the suburbs it is still common to find small concentrations of Italian Canadians who have chosen to live near one another because of kinship or village ties."⁴¹ The 1981 census showed eight census tracts spread around Scarborough, where Italians were between 10 and 29 percent of the total population. The heaviest concentration (and the only Scarborough tract having Italians as 20 to 29 percent of the total) was a triangular area along Danforth Road from Birchmount Road to Kennedy Road; three other Italian areas were close by in southwest Scarborough. Four areas were north of the 401 to Finch Avenue. Three were between Kennedy and Markham Road. The area bounded roughly by Victoria Park Avenue, Birchmount Road, and Lawrence Avenue East to north of the 401 also had a substantial Italian component.⁴²

These neighbourhoods continued to have significant Italian populations ten years later. The Scarborough Health Department concluded from its analysis of the 1991 census that "the areas with a high number of residents with an Italian Mother tongue tend to spread out through the city, particularly the west side."⁴³

Activities and Organizations

A high proportion of Scarborough's Italian community worked in construction and manufacturing jobs (55 percent in 1981) and relatively low numbers were engaged in managerial, administrative, professional, and technical occupations (11 percent in 1981).⁴⁴ Compared to other non-official-language groups, Italian speakers in Scarborough had one of the lowest levels of education, with only 13 percent having a university education in 1976.⁴⁵

However, the situation was changing dramatically by the mid-1980s. "The children of immigrants have achieved a higher level of education," Franc Sturino has observed, "reflected in their increasingly important positions in professional and semiprofessional occupations."⁴⁶ In 1986 the proportion of Italians in Scarborough working in manufacturing and construction jobs had declined to 37 percent, while those employed in managerial, professional, and technical, clerical, and sales jobs had increased to 39 percent of the labour force. Scarborough's Italians also established their own

businesses; about 5 percent of the labour force was self employed in 1986. A Scarborough Italian Business Recognition Night became part of Scarborough Italfest starting in 1995.

By the 1970s, only one local community agency was supplementing the work of the Roman Catholic Church in providing services for Scarborough's Italian community. The United Neighbourhood Association, located in a plaza near the northwest corner of St. Clair and Kennedy, was identified in 1979 as "a successful multicultural centre . . . on the fringe of a large Italian area."⁴⁷ Many of the centre's social and recreational programs for youth, women, and seniors had a strong Italian following; it also produced a newsletter in Italian.

In the late 1980s and 1990s, when it was realized that Scarborough's large Italian community was virtually without services, other agencies became involved. In 1988 the Scarborough Italian Association was established at the West Scarborough Neighbourhood Community Centre (313 Pharmacy Avenue).⁴⁸ It was part of a provincial government initiative to have mainstream agencies provide programs for specific ethnic groups. In 1996, 279 men and women, mostly seniors, belonged to the association; cards, tomobola (similar to bingo), and bocce were favourite recreations. Beginning in 1991, the centre and the Scarborough Italian Association organized Scarborough Italfest, an annual celebration of the contributions made to Canadian art, culture, business, and sport by those of Italian origin. Other groups of Italians met at city recreation centres at Kennedy and Lawrence and at Victoria Park and Sheppard. By 1996 there were eight outdoor bocce courts at four Scarborough locations. The Oakridge Seniors Bocce Club at 6 Thora Road had the city's only two indoor bocce courts.⁴⁹

The Metropolitan Separate School Board (MSSB) began to offer Italian-language classes at St. Maria Goretti School at 21 Kenmark Boulevard in Scarborough in the mid-1970s. In 1990 they were available at ten local schools in a variety of locations throughout Scarborough, but at only six places in 1994.

Macedonian

Population Size and Settlement

Census data is of little use in tracking the numbers of Macedonians in Canada, partly because it did not list Macedonians or the Macedonian language until 1981, and partly because Macedonia did

The People of Scarborough: A History

not emerge as a separate country until 1991. Historian Harry V. Herman contends that “many Macedonians declare their country of origin as their ethnic origin and their language as Greek or as Yugoslav, or they declare themselves Canadians . . . Based on their membership in various churches and other associations, it is reasonable to assume that there are many more Macedonians in Canada than the census data indicates.”⁵⁰

An article published in 1979 in the *Scarborough Mirror* estimated that 75,000 Macedonians were then living in Metropolitan Toronto, “the largest such community in North America.”⁵¹ In 1981 more people with Macedonian as a first language lived in Scarborough than in any other municipality of Metropolitan Toronto. In that year, the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture stated that 8390 people speaking Macedonian as their first language lived in Metropolitan Toronto, 44 percent of them in Scarborough.⁵² With 3685 people, Scarborough had almost twice as many Macedonians as North York, the second-largest Macedonian community in Metro, followed by the city of Toronto and East York. Census statistics on mother tongue show that Scarborough’s Macedonian population increased by 19.8 percent between 1981 and 1991.

Macedonians did not live in ethnic enclaves in Scarborough. However, many bought property in the southwest section of Scarborough in the area around Danforth Road, Birchmount Avenue, and St. Clair Avenue East, as well as in Wexford (Lawrence/Warden/Victoria Park), Agincourt, Cedarbrae (Markham and Lawrence), West Hill, and Guildwood.

Activities and Organizations

The majority of Canadian-born Macedonians have been employed in the professional, clerical, and service sector of the economy. The *Macedonian-Canadian Business Directory* indicated the wide range of their activities in its 59-page 1996 edition, in which many Scarborough businesses were listed. For example, Knob Hill Farms, a grocery-store chain operated by a Canadian of Macedonian origin (Steve Stavro), had its head office and a wholesale outlet in Scarborough.

By 1996 there were 74 Macedonian organizations in the GTA, serving the cultural, spiritual, business, and political needs of the tightly knit Macedonian community. Only a few were in Scarborough.

Most Macedonians belong to the Eastern Orthodox branch of Christianity, and the Orthodox Church is the centre of their religious

and social life. The oldest church in Toronto is Sts. Cyril and Methody, a Macedono-Bulgarian Orthodox congregation established on Trinity Street in 1910. Over the years, other Macedonian or Macedono-Bulgarian churches have been founded in Toronto. Holy Trinity Macedono-Bulgarian Orthodox Church used the 60-seat chapel of St. Jude's Anglican Church on Victoria Park Avenue in Scarborough from the 1960s until the mid-1970s, when it relocated to its own building in the Danforth and Coxwell area of Toronto.

Macedonians now have their own autocephalous (independent) Macedonian Orthodox Church centred in Ohrid, Macedonia. The majority of Scarborough's Macedonians belong to St. Clement of Ohrid Macedonian Orthodox Church, established in 1962 and located on Overlea Boulevard in East York. Others have joined St. Dimitria of Solun (1992) at 210 Main Street in Markham or attend one of the older congregations, such as St. George, built on Regent Street in Toronto's Cabbagetown in 1941.

"The cultural life of Macedonians revolves around their churches, their numerous radio and television programs and their newspapers," Harry V. Herman observes.⁵³ Some of these activities have Scarborough connections. *Macedonian Nation* went on the air on Scarborough cable television in 1985, hosted by Borche Kulevski. *Macedonian Heritage*, broadcast variously on CITY-TV and CFMT-TV (channel 47), has been produced by a Scarborough resident, Bill Yancoff, since 1988. The newspaper *Macedonia* began publication at West Hill in the early 1990s. Scarborough residents have been major organizers and participants in three Canadian Macedonian recreational sports leagues: hockey (1984), soccer (1985), and softball (1995). Games are played in Scarborough or surrounding municipalities. The Scarborough Arts Council presented a "Celebration of Macedonian Culture" on 31 March 1990. The event featured music (played on unique instruments such as the gaida), folk dances, an art exhibit, and a dinner.

The United Macedonians of Canada, a political, social, cultural, and educational organization, was founded in Toronto in 1959. In the 1980s the organization had an office in Scarborough, and its newspaper, *United Macedonians*, was published from there. It also offered Macedonian language and heritage classes at Midland Collegiate, although most of its activities took place at St. Clement of Ohrid Church. The Macedonian Canadian Human Rights Committee was founded in Scarborough in 1986.

Polish

Population Size and Settlement

Over the past five decades, Scarborough's population of Polish ethnic origin has comprised about 1 percent of the total population, although the actual number of Poles has risen, fallen, and risen again. There was substantial growth in the 1980s, with an historic high reached in 1991, when 5390 people of Polish ethnic origin were living in Scarborough.

Many in Scarborough's Polish community were first-generation Canadians and recent immigrants. In 1981 slightly more than half of Scarborough residents of Polish ethnic origin had been born in Poland. Many left Poland during the 1980s, motivated by the deep economic and political crisis there. Poland did not appear as one of the top ten source countries of immigrants to Canada in 1980. In 1988 people from Poland were the third-largest immigrant group arriving in Metropolitan Toronto, and by 1991 Poland was the second country in the top ten, preceded only by Hong Kong.⁵⁴ The high proportion of people in Scarborough claiming Polish as their first language or home language was one indication of recent arrival. In 1991, almost 60 percent of Scarborough residents of Polish ethnic origin spoke Polish at home, and three-quarters declared Polish as their first language. Scarborough's population of Polish ethnic origin was comparatively small, however, when compared with other areas of Metropolitan Toronto. In 1991 they were 11 percent of Metropolitan Toronto's total of 48,835.

In the early 1980s, many Polish immigrants to Scarborough located in the Cliffside area, especially in the apartments along Kingston Road at Midland Avenue, but a decade later the population had dispersed.⁵⁵ Most Poles continued to live in the west end of Toronto, the historic settlement area, and in Etobicoke.

Activities and Organizations

Our Lady Queen of Poland Mission for the Care of Souls started in 1983 at 2661 Kingston Road, west of Brimley Avenue, using the chapel of St. Augustine's Seminary. By 1996 the Polish mission had more than 1200 members and was constructing its own building at 626 Middlefield Road in northern Scarborough. The Polish National Catholic Church (a separate entity not affiliated with the Roman

Catholic Church) had established a parish, St. Jude Thaddeaus, in Scarborough by 1980. The small congregation used St. Jude's Anglican Church's original building (1848) on Victoria Park Avenue for its services until the early part of 1993.

Polish Boy Scout and Girl Guide groups met at Cardinal Newman High School; there were also Polish-language classes for children on Saturdays there and at St. Theresa School nearby. Polish Immigrant and Community Services established a branch office at 3178 Eglinton Avenue East in Scarborough in 1992 to provide settlement services.

Portuguese

Metropolitan Toronto had 81,380 residents of Portuguese ethnic origin in 1991. With 5435 people, Scarborough's share was only 6.7 percent of the total; most Portuguese lived in the city of Toronto. Some Portuguese were recent immigrants. In 1988 people from Portugal and the Azores were the fifth-largest immigrant group to land in Metropolitan Toronto, and the eighth-largest in Canada between 1987 and 1991.

A Portuguese national Roman Catholic church, Our Lady of the Rosary, was established in Scarborough in 1986 at 2950 Midland Avenue. Ten years later, it had 450 members. The First Portuguese Community Centre was located at Lord Roberts School by 1990, where Portuguese-language classes were offered four times a week. These classes were available at one Scarborough separate school by 1994.

Chinese

Population Size

Scarborough's population of Chinese ethnic origin and language multiplied rapidly during this time. Few other groups in the municipality's history grew as swiftly and in such magnitude. In 1971, just over 1000 Scarborough residents claimed Chinese as their first language, much less than 1 percent of the total population. By 1986, with 21,565 people, Chinese had replaced Italian to become, after English, the leading first language of Scarborough residents. (About 13 percent of Scarborough's 31,850 people of Chinese ethnic origin could speak neither English nor French, somewhat less than other racial and ethnic minority groups.⁵⁶) In 1991, almost 10 percent of

The People of Scarborough: A History

the total population, or 51,290 individuals, claimed Chinese as their first language; slightly fewer Scarborough residents, 49,205 people, spoke Chinese at home.

The greatest percentage increase of Chinese-language speakers was between 1971 and 1981, when there was an astounding 990 percent rise. Chinese-speakers grew by 311 percent from 1971 to 1976 but lagged behind Indo-Pakistanis (+372 percent) as the first-language group with the largest population increase. However, in 1981 the Chinese were the group with the largest change since 1976. The largest numeric increase was between 1981 and 1991, when an influx of 39,000 new Chinese-speaking residents arrived in Scarborough, an increase of 322 percent. First-language statistics show that, in the thirty-year period between 1961 and 1991, Scarborough's Chinese population increased almost 26,000 percent.

Scarborough had an even larger population of Chinese ethnic origin, and it too grew phenomenally. Between 1971 and 1981, the Chinese population increased from 1810 people (0.5 percent of the total population) to 17,905 (4 percent). By the 1981 census, only the British and the Italian ethnic groups were more numerous in Scarborough than the Chinese. Five years later, people of Chinese ethnic origin were second only to the British as the municipality's largest single ethnic group. (At that time, there were 30,120 people of Chinese single ethnic origin living in Scarborough, compared to 31,850 people of Chinese multiple ethnic origin.) And in 1991 people of Chinese ethnic origin (with almost 66,000 people comprising 12.5 percent of the total population) were only 6.5 percent smaller than the British (with 19 percent) as the municipality's largest single ethnic group.

The majority of Scarborough's Chinese population were immigrants to Canada. In 1986, 77 percent of the municipality's population of Chinese multiple ethnic origin were immigrants (24,455 of 31,850 people). The bulk were relatively recent immigrants, having arrived in Canada since 1966: about half between 1966 and 1977, almost 17 percent from 1977 to 1980, and 29.5 percent within the preceding five years.⁵⁷

Over the years, Chinese emigration to Canada has been stimulated by Canadian government immigration policy and political upheavals in the home country. In 1947 Canada repealed discriminatory legislation that, from 1 July 1923 (called "Humiliation Day" by Canadian Chinese), had virtually suspended Chinese immigration. Chinese and East Indian Canadians also gained the vote federally and provincially in 1947. Immigration restrictions were not entirely

removed until 1967; until then only Chinese immigrants who became Canadian citizens could bring their parents to Canada.

Before 1923, the majority of Chinese immigrants to Canada came directly from China. Those who arrived after 1967 came from many places. In 1981, when almost 18,000 Scarborough residents were of Chinese ethnic origin, 5525 people (31 percent) had been born in Hong Kong, 2925 (16 percent) in Taiwan, and 2670 (14 percent) in the People's Republic of China. A study conducted in 1985 on the Chinese community in north Scarborough identified five major source areas: Hong Kong (accounting for about 70 percent of local Chinese immigrants), followed by Taiwan, the People's Republic of China, the West Indies, and southeast Asia, especially India.⁵⁸

Immigration from Hong Kong grew phenomenally from the mid-1970s to the mid-1990s. Hong Kong was the top source area of immigration to Canada between 1987 and 1993, and the fourth-highest from 1982 to 1986. In 1992 alone, 39,000 people arrived from Hong Kong. The *Toronto Star* stated in November 1996 that "the exodus from Hong Kong has brought more than 142,000 people to the Greater Toronto Area in the past 20 years."⁵⁹ In 1990 it was estimated that Scarborough was attracting 60 percent of Toronto's new Hong Kong immigrants.⁶⁰ The majority emigrated because of uncertainty over what might happen when China regained sovereignty of the crown colony on 1 July 1997.

Scarborough's Hong Kong immigrants included young professionals who had come under the "points system" and those who had arrived in the 1960s on student visas and had moved to Scarborough from downtown Toronto. These groups usually had extended families here, having brought their parents to Canada as soon as they became established. (Since 1947, immigration of families has been the rule for the Chinese. Before 1923, typically, and largely as a consequence of the head tax, which made the cost of bringing a wife or aged parents to Canada prohibitive, men came alone and lived as bachelors in Canada.) There were also more recent Hong Kong immigrants who had come as business-class immigrants with capital to invest. Hong Kong Chinese were particularly responsive to post-1978 Canadian immigration policies which relaxed requirements for foreign business immigrants who could bring capital and entrepreneurial skills to help the Canadian economy.

The 1985 study identified Taiwan as the second-largest source country of Scarborough's Chinese community. Taiwan is constantly under threat from mainland China, and many emigrated to escape uncertain political conditions. Some of Scarborough's Taiwanese

The People of Scarborough: A History

arrived in Canada in the late 1960s and early 1970s on student visas. More came later as business-class immigrants. Taiwan's ranking as a source of immigration to Canada steadily increased from 27th between 1982 and 1986 to 16th in 1987-91 and seventh in 1992-93, when an average of 8656 people arrived.

A smaller number of Scarborough's Chinese (probably less than 10 percent in 1985) were immigrants to Canada from the People's Republic of China. After the two countries established diplomatic relations in 1970, mainland Chinese were allowed entry if they had relatives in Canada. Immigration from China escalated between 1986 and 1992, when it was the second-largest source country of Chinese immigrants to Canada,⁶¹ and the fifth most important source of immigrants generally. Some came as refugees following the violent crackdown on 4 June in 1989 on the pro-democracy demonstrations at Tianemen Square in Beijing. Others arrived from rural areas seeking better economic opportunities. Generally, the majority of mainland Chinese settled in Toronto's traditional Chinese communities.

There was also a sizeable group of Chinese in Scarborough who had emigrated to Canada from the Caribbean, leaving there in the 1970s because of political unrest and continuing to arrive for the next two decades. Chinese settlements in the West Indies dated from the early 1900s, and few of the Caribbean Chinese spoke Chinese. The fifth group of Chinese immigrants in Scarborough in 1985 were from India originally, having left there in the wake of the Sino-Indian War of 1962. There was also a small group from Vietnam, some coming to Canada as refugees in the early 1980s, but most Vietnamese immigrants settled in downtown Toronto.

A new pattern emerged during the recession of the early 1990s, when many people were unable to find or keep work in Canada. Many Chinese Canadians began shuttling between their old and new homes, returning to work in Asia's booming economy but leaving the children (and sometimes their mother) here. A survey by *Ming Pao Daily News* released in 1995 revealed that one-quarter of Chinese Canadians families in the GTA had one member of the immediate family who regularly went abroad to work in Hong Kong, Taiwan, or China.⁶² In 1997 it was estimated that some 200,000 Hong Kong residents held Canadian passports.⁶³

Settlement

As dramatic as the phenomenal growth of the Chinese population was the major shift of population from the traditional Chinese settlements in downtown Toronto to the outlying suburbs. In 1986

more Chinese lived in the city of Toronto than in any other Metropolitan Toronto municipality — 38 percent of 111,095 people — while 28 percent lived in Scarborough. By that time, many Chinese were also settling in York Region, especially Markham and Richmond Hill. In 1991 Toronto's Chinese dropped to 31 percent of the Metro total and Scarborough became the top location, with more than 38 percent of Metro's 170,830 people claiming Chinese single ethnic origin.

These trends continued during the 1990s. In November 1994 the *Financial Post* reported: "A recent study by DJC Research of Toronto estimates there are now 300,150 Chinese in Metro Toronto, and over the past year, the number has grown by 12%. About 90,000 households now live in Scarborough, a jump of 25% since Statistics Canada reported 66,000 households in 1991."⁶⁴ Two years later, another study projected that by 2000 Scarborough would have the largest Chinese community in the GTA.⁶⁵

Toronto's first "Chinatown" was established in the early 1900s on Elizabeth and Chestnut streets between Queen and Dundas streets, and it gradually spread east and west along Dundas. About two-thirds of this neighbourhood was expropriated and demolished to make way for Toronto's new city hall, which opened in 1965. New Chinatowns soon sprang up in the Broadview-Gerrard (Chinatown East) neighbourhood of Toronto and, by the mid-1970s, near Dundas and Spadina (Chinatown West) in Toronto and at Agincourt in Scarborough. Historian Anthony B. Chan comments that "the influx of Chinese immigrants and the 'urban renewal' of the inner city Chinatowns by developers forced many Chinese families to move to new locations on the fringes of Toronto."⁶⁶

The early wave of Chinese who moved from downtown Toronto to Agincourt in the 1970s were, according to the *Toronto Star*, "in search of the suburban dream of open space, a backyard, a new home, a two-car garage."⁶⁷ They also preferred the new homes, which were cheaper than those downtown. The second wave, which began arriving in Scarborough in the early 1980s, was described as being "a little more complex, more diverse, equally visible."⁶⁸ Unlike most immigrant groups who came to Canada to better themselves financially, the majority of the new Chinese immigrants to Scarborough, especially those from Hong Kong and Taiwan, arrived with money. Some even made a financial sacrifice to come to Canada. The second group was also more likely to settle immediately in Scarborough. In 1984 Norman Ho, a real estate agent who was then president of the Scarborough-North York Chinese Business

The People of Scarborough: A History

Association, estimated that “half of Agincourt’s Chinese residents came directly from Hong Kong or Taiwan, while the rest had lived downtown in Toronto’s Chinatown.”⁶⁹ (It was around that time that both Chinese and non-Chinese started using “Asiancourt” as a nickname for Agincourt. At first, this was thought to be a humorous pun; soon the term had taken on racist overtones.) As with most immigrant groups, chain migration played a significant part in the Chinese settlement in north Scarborough. “They see the large number of Chinese here,” Ho said. “They like to live next to their friends and relatives.”⁷⁰

Scarborough offered other amenities. Rosa Chan, a librarian and president of the Federation of Chinese Canadians (FCCS), in Scarborough, echoed the sentiments of many in an interview for *Canadian Geographic* in 1991. She “rarely goes back to the downtown Chinatown where she lived for four years,” it was reported. “Now it feels dirty and cramped to her: she prefers the new houses, clean malls, wide streets and open spaces of suburbia. Besides, she can find all the Chinese goods she needs close to home.”⁷¹

From the time of its shift to the suburbs in the mid-1970s, the Chinese community in Scarborough settled primarily in the northern section. A 1979 report noted that the municipality’s Chinese community, then estimated to have 8,000-9,000 people, was “largely in the L’Amoreaux/Agincourt area.”⁷² Enrolments in English as a second-language classes (ESL) at local schools showed the highest concentration (15 to 19 percent) to have been around Midland Avenue above Highway 401 to north of Sheppard Avenue. A smaller, less dense cluster (5 to 9 percent) was in southwest Scarborough between Danforth and Kingston roads from Birchmount Avenue to Kennedy Road.

The 1981 census confirmed that 60 percent of Scarborough’s 12,000 people speaking Chinese as their first language lived north of Highway 401 in the Agincourt neighbourhoods. The highest concentration was in the vicinity of Sheppard and Midland avenues (Agincourt), Brimley and Steeles, McCowan and Finch, and north and south of Finch between Warden and Pharmacy avenues. Scarborough’s Chinese continued to live predominantly in the northwest part of the municipality at the time of the 1986 census. With a few exceptions, almost all of the area north of Highway 401 east to Markham/Tapscott roads was from 5 to 19.9 percent Chinese. The heaviest concentrations, where the Chinese made up more than 20 percent of the total population, were now in the most northern section, bordering Steeles Avenue between Pharmacy Avenue and

Middlefield Road, as well as south of Finch Avenue from Brimley to Middlefield. A small pocket of Chinese remained in southwest Scarborough, evidently mostly immigrants from rural areas in mainland China working at semiskilled occupations.⁷³ They were unlike the majority of Scarborough's Chinese, who had come from urban centres, were highly educated, usually worked in businesses or professions, and had the means to buy new homes. In 1991 the Scarborough Health Department noted that "the greatest concentration of the Chinese ethnic origin is in the north section of the city."⁷⁴ By this time, Scarborough's Chinese population had spilled over into northeast Scarborough, which had become developed and seen a huge increase in population since 1986.

Economic Life

As more and more Chinese moved to the suburbs, so too did the stores and businesses that catered to them. By 1996 approximately fifty Chinese shopping centres were spread across the GTA, with Toronto, Scarborough, Markham, Richmond Hill, and Mississauga each having several Chinese malls.

Scarborough's first Chinese commercial area (and one of the first to be located in Toronto's suburbs) consisted of two groups of shopping plazas along Sheppard Avenue East between Midland Avenue and Brimley Road, separated by the CPR tracks. The earlier group was clustered around Glen Watford Drive. It began in 1978, when a Chinese developer established a plaza on the south side of Sheppard and a few Chinese restaurants located there. Within the next several years, other Chinese restaurants as well as grocery stores, supermarkets, hair stylists, real estate agents, travel agencies, bakers, doctors, dentists, and even an acupuncturist set up businesses in this plaza and at two others on the north side of Sheppard at Glen Watford Drive.

"Thus," David Chuenyan Lai writes, "Glen Watford, Agincourt, and Torchin plazas were collectively referred to as Agincourt Chinatown or Scarborough's Chinatown. Business depended mainly on the Chinese living in Scarborough and Markham."⁷⁵ (The East Court Restaurant and the Ching Kee Market were the first two businesses in the Glen Watford Plaza.) Further expansion came in April 1984, when a Chinese entrepreneur opened a shopping mall in a former roller skating rink south of Glen Watford Plaza. The Dragon Centre consisted of a 350-seat restaurant and more than 20 stores selling mostly Chinese goods.

The People of Scarborough: A History

The second group of early Chinese businesses in the Agincourt area was near the intersection of Sheppard and Brimley avenues. Most establishments were located in four malls that were opened or expanded during the 1980s (two on Sheppard and two on Brimley, north to Huntingwood Drive), but there were large, free-standing restaurants as well. There was also some activity farther west. In 1984 the developer of the Torchin Plaza built a five-storey professional building at the northeast corner of Kennedy and Sheppard with stores and a restaurant on the ground floor.

Meanwhile, other Chinese shopping areas began to emerge, “leapfrogging north to occupy widely scattered groups of stores.”⁷⁶ The earliest was on the North York side of Victoria Park Avenue between McNicoll and Tempo avenues, about four miles (six kilometres) northwest of the Agincourt Chinatown. This northward expansion began in 1975 when a large restaurant called the Mandarin Palace was established, soon followed by the another restaurant, the New World Oriental Cuisine. By 1986, 14 Chinese businesses were located there. At the same time, there were several Asian plazas on Finch Avenue in the vicinity of Kennedy and Midland avenues. Two of the largest Chinese malls in the region (and some claimed in North America) opened on the Markham side of Steeles, just east of Kennedy Road, in the 1990s. Another larger mall, with small, stall-type retail outlets and a multi-screen movie-theatre, was proposed in 1995 for the south side of Steeles Avenue near Brimley Road.

Local Chinese merchants and entrepreneurs formed the Scarborough Chinese Business Association, officially incorporated on 8 September 1982 and expanded to include North York on 5 January 1983. At first, the association mainly lobbied for Sunday shopping, but it soon expanded its activities. In November 1989 *Business and Finance* magazine called it “a force for commerce, business & finance.”⁷⁷ Chinese businesses in York Region were included in the association by 1992.

The economic clout of Scarborough’s Chinese community was evident in other ways. The Hongkong Bank of Canada, seeing many of its customers emigrate to Scarborough, opened a branch in 1984 at the new Dragon Centre on Glen Watford Drive. Later, other foreign-based and Canadian banks started “Asian-focused” branches (with multilingual employees) to capture the business of the municipality’s growing Chinese communities, considered to be a “narrow but lucrative niche market.”⁷⁸

The business skills and cultural awareness of Scarborough’s Chinese community also gave the municipality an advantage when

in the late 1980s it began to focus its attention on the Far East, as a place both to promote local products and technology and to recruit new businesses to Scarborough. Starting in 1990, Scarborough government and business leaders (and later education officials) made trade trips to China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong as well as to Japan. These activities attracted a number of retail and manufacturing businesses, notably in the garment industry, to Scarborough. Several Scarborough firms also won contracts in the Far East, and a few (for example, a cement and concrete company) established plants in China. In 1996 Mayor Frank Faubert remarked, "The Chinese community and existing Chinese businesses in Scarborough have been instrumental in helping promote the city in Hong Kong and China."⁷⁹ Scarborough and Wuxi, in Jiangshu province of China, formed an international alliance (sister cities) in April 1995, and in May 1996 Scarborough, Wuxi, and Sagamihara, Japan, signed a three-party agreement.

As large numbers of Chinese moved into north Scarborough, tensions began to mount between long-time residents, mostly white, and the newcomers. "Asian malls are often a flashpoint for opposition from the non-Asian community," the *Financial Post* commented in 1995, noting that "Scarborough, Ont., and Richmond, B.C., fought divisive battles over Asian malls in the mid-1980s."⁸⁰

The influx of Chinese businesses in the Glen Watford commercial area led to traffic congestion and parking shortages. The situation worsened after the Dragon Centre opened in April 1984. Its 130 parking spaces were not enough to handle the crowds, especially on weekends, and cars spilled over to neighbouring malls and adjacent residential streets. Partly in response to the dispute between the Chinese and non-Chinese merchants over parking spaces, Mayor Gus Harris set up a task force on multiculturalism and race relations in May 1984. Initially some white merchants and residents blamed the city for poor planning: parking spaces provided by the owners of the Dragon Mall actually exceeded the city's requirements. But before long the target of anger was the Chinese people themselves. Lan K. Sum, a founder of the Federation of Chinese Canadians in Scarborough (FCCS), recalled: "There were very few Chinese in the Glen Watford area at that time and their sudden arrival struck longtime residents as a rude wake-up call. The opening of the Dragon Mall in 1984 became a lightening rod."⁸¹ "Certainly there was some backlash," Alderman Doug Mahood admitted to a *Toronto Star* reporter in 1987. "You always have that when you set up an ethnic shopping area next to a traditional neighbourhood."⁸²

The People of Scarborough: A History

The first public display of anti-Chinese sentiments was at community meeting held on 28 May 1984 at Agincourt Collegiate and attended by more than 500 people, mostly white. While the meeting was intended to discuss the parking and traffic issues, some used it as forum to cast “Disgraceful slurs on Chinese,” to quote the headline of a scathing editorial in the *Toronto Star* two days later.⁸³ The underlying message of the meeting was that Chinese people did not fit into the neighbourhood.

In response, the Federation of Chinese Canadians in Scarborough was formed to fight the racism and to improve communication between Chinese Canadians and other Scarborough residents. It encouraged Chinese to become more involved in mainstream life, as Joseph Ng, the federation’s first president, explained in June 1984: “We’ll encourage people to take more part in voting, schools, Lions Clubs, that sort of thing.”⁸⁴

Then, in early August 1984, racist literature was distributed in Agincourt. One two-page pamphlet linked the area’s Chinese immigrants to organized crime in Hong Kong. It urged readers to lobby the federal government to change immigration policy to “prevent wealthy drug traffickers from the Orient to establish Chinese businesses as fronts of criminal activity.”⁸⁵ A few weeks later, Scarborough Council unanimously adopted a resolution condemning the anti-Chinese hate literature.

In January 1986 the Monarch Construction Group announced plans to extend the Chartland Plaza at Brimley Road and Huntingwood Drive with a 440-seat Chinese movie theatre, a 130-seat restaurant, and other businesses. After local protests about parking and traffic, and without support from the FCCS, the planned theatre was dropped. The rest of the mall went ahead, and when the 40-store complex officially opened in December 1988, it was “the first all oriental shopping centre developed by the group.”⁸⁶

Hate literature surfaced in Scarborough again in 1991, when two flyers accusing Chinese Canadians of “buying up” Canada and bringing criminal elements into the country were circulated. Scarborough Council quickly reaffirmed its “strong condemnation of racism and literature which promotes racism” and reiterated its support for racial harmony and equality.⁸⁷ However, the FCCS was critical of the city’s community and race relations committee, which had sat dormant for three of its seven years and did not have a staff or a budget. As one FCCS official explained, it wanted the committee to be ongoing and to take a “preventative, not reactive” role.⁸⁸ In time, most of these demands were met.

Activities and Organizations

As Chinese people moved in increasingly large numbers to Scarborough, social service agencies and cultural and educational organizations joined the economic services that had already been established. Initially, some agencies served only the local community while others were branches of older organizations from Toronto's historic Chinatown. As time went on, many major organizations serving the Chinese community across the GTA relocated to Scarborough and important new services for the region were established here. As well, some mainstream agencies gradually began to extend services to the Scarborough Chinese, who, in turn, became more involved in the wider community.

Although the Chinese population in Scarborough was young (82 percent were under 45 years of age in 1976), programs for seniors were among the first to be established. Some, intended for the local community, were primarily social and recreational. By 1979 the Agincourt Chinese Senior Citizens Association was operating a drop-in program at St. Paul's L'Amoreaux Centre. The Scarborough Chinese Senior Citizens Association began in 1980, and within four years provided activities (such as classes in Tai Chi and brush painting) for 400 members from its headquarters at a shopping plaza on Glen Watford Drive. The club continues to thrive at 27 Milliken Boulevard.

Other seniors' organizations serving the Chinese community across Metropolitan Toronto, or the GTA, eventually located in Scarborough because of its large Chinese population. The Chinese Seniors Support Services Association began in Toronto's Chinatown in 1976, later moving to North York and then to Victoria Park and McNicoll avenues in Scarborough in April 1997. It provided a range of community-based support services to enable Chinese seniors to live independently in their own homes.

The Yee Hong Centre for Geriatric Care, which opened in October 1994 after seven years of planning, was Canada's first geriatric care facility offering full services in Chinese. The facility was located at the southeast corner of McNicoll and Midland avenues in Scarborough. The 90-bed nursing unit was surrounded by a 130-unit, not-for-profit seniors' housing complex and 26 family townhouses. There were also several services for non-residents seniors living in the community. The Yee Hong Community Wellness Foundation raised funds to support the centre at events such as the Dragon Ball, held annually since 1990 at the Chinese New Year.

The People of Scarborough: A History

Several organizations were established to help Chinese immigrants adjust to life in Canada. Chinese Interpreter and Information Services began in downtown Toronto in 1968 as a counselling and referral agency to assist immigrants with settlement and integration. A Scarborough Outreach branch was set up in 1982 at a shopping plaza at the northwest corner of Glen Watford Drive and Sheppard Avenue, providing programs such as newcomer orientation, advocacy, ESL and citizenship classes, and translations as well as social and recreational activities. In 1988 the organization's name was changed to Chinese Information and Community Services, and the following year it relocated its head office to Scarborough (Finch Avenue East and Kennedy Road). A language and training unit for ESL instruction and citizenship classes was eventually located at 4002 Sheppard Avenue East.

The needs of Chinese youth and their parents became a concern of the Chinese Information and Community Services and other agencies such as the Living Water Counselling Centre (established in 1986), which offered counselling and mutual support groups. Many Chinese young people had to deal with the long-standing problem in immigrant communities of cultural conflict, when older family members retained homeland values and ethnic traditions and younger ones wanted to adopt more Canadian ways. Chinese children were under tremendous parental pressure to do well at school. Some also had to shoulder additional responsibilities because of absentee parents; they were sometimes called "astronauts," because they frequently flew long distances between families settled in Canada and business opportunities in Asia.

Mainstream agencies also got involved. In 1975 the Scarborough Board of Education employed a liaison officer to develop programs and contacts with the Chinese community. (Other officers worked at that time with the West Indian and East Indian populations.) East Metro Youth Services hired a community outreach worker in 1989 to help Chinese teenagers and their parents adjust to Canadian life. One result was the formation of a Chinese Parents Association at Agincourt Collegiate.

Chinese schools in Canada date from the 1890s. Generally, they have provided supplementary after-school classes in the Chinese language (primarily the Cantonese or Mandarin dialects), along with lessons on Chinese history and culture. Cantonese is spoken in southern China, mostly in Guangdong province and in Hong Kong; Mandarin is the official language of China.

The Mon Sheong Foundation Chinese School began in a church in downtown Toronto in 1964 but soon moved to Scarborough when space became available at a local school. By 1982, approximately 150 children were attending Cantonese classes at W.A. Porter Collegiate. It became known as the East School, once other branches of the Mon Sheong Foundation were opened in North York (North School) and Etobicoke (West School). The Mon Sheong Foundation East School relocated to Cedarbrae Collegiate in March 1997; at that time 800 students between three and sixteen years of age were registered.⁸⁹

The Mandarin School was established in Scarborough in 1972-73 to teach the Mandarin language to children, using space at Agincourt Collegiate. A 1982 directory commented: "Enrolment currently 70 students & teachers. Most students are local Chinese born aged 5-21."⁹⁰ By 1996 the school had 750 pupils, of whom about 250 were adults. Having a knowledge of Mandarin was considered to be an important ingredient for economic success. There was also a separate Marilake Mandarin School with classes at Agincourt Collegiate by the later 1980s.

Chinese was one of the first languages to be offered after the Metropolitan Separate School Board (MSSB) adopted its heritage-language program in September 1977. From the beginning, several Scarborough schools were sites for classes, including St. Aidan at 3521 Finch, Holy Spirit at 3530 Sheppard, and St. Sylvester at 260 Silver Springs Boulevard.

After several years of requests by individuals and lobby groups such as the Federation of Chinese Canadians in Scarborough, the Scarborough Board of Education began to provide heritage-language classes in Mandarin and Cantonese (along with five other languages) in October 1989. In 1994 the board was offering classes in Cantonese at twenty-two locations, more than any other international language (the term which, by then, had replaced heritage language), and Mandarin at three places.

The emergence of Scarborough as a focal point for the region's Chinese community was reflected in other cultural activities. Scarborough Public Library began supplying Chinese-language materials in the late 1970s, and soon these materials constituted the major portion of the library's multilingual collection. In 1991 the library introduced a Chinese catalogue which listed books in Chinese characters, thus giving bibliographic access to library customers regardless of the Chinese dialect they spoke. The unique cataloguing

The People of Scarborough: A History

system, developed by Daphne Cheng, a library staff member, won the provincial Angus Mowat Award for Innovative Librarianship.

Ming Pao Daily News, a Hong Kong-based newspaper, started publishing the Toronto region's third Chinese-language daily newspaper in 1993 from an office in Scarborough. (The other two were *Sing Tao Jih Pao*, also from Hong Kong, and the Taipei-based *World Journal Daily News*, both established in Toronto in the mid-1970s.) Within a year, the full-colour *Ming Pao* had an average daily circulation of just under 30,000. About 40 percent of its news content was local, with another 40 percent on Hong Kong and 20 percent on China.⁹¹ Although not based in Scarborough, there was also all-Chinese radio and pay-TV which served the GTA.

Some local Chinese cultural groups represented a particular geographic area of origin. A local branch of the Caribbean Chinese Association was organized by 1982, providing "seminars, sporting events, family picnics, dances, cooking classes, and cultural shows."⁹² By 1987 this Metro-wide organization was headquartered in Scarborough.

The Overseas Chinese Service Centre, sponsored by the Cathay Cultural Foundation, opened in 1989 at 1610 Midland Avenue. In 1994, with funding from the Taiwanese government, it became known as the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office Cultural Centre and relocated to its own, larger building at 888 Progress Avenue. The centre serves the overseas Chinese community living east of Manitoba by sponsoring events, providing counselling and other settlement services, holding general interest and language classes (in Mandarin, Cantonese, and Taiwanese dialects), and donating Chinese materials to schools and public libraries. It houses a large lending library, an auditorium and meeting rooms for community use, and a gymnasium where badminton, basketball, and ping pong are popular sports. While the centre is open to all, most of its users are originally from Taiwan.⁹³

Planning for a regional Chinese cultural centre began in 1988, with Scarborough City Council approving the project in 1990 as part of a massive residential, commercial, and recreational development planned for the Markham Road and Sheppard Avenue East area. It was thought that, in addition to being a showcase for Chinese culture, the Chinese cultural centre would attract business money from the Far East and stimulate construction along the entire corridor.

The recession caused most of the development to be scrapped or scaled down, but construction of the first phase of the \$15-million

Chinese Cultural Centre of Greater Toronto began on 18 November 1996, with completion scheduled for 1988. This included a 24,000 squarefoot main building with a meeting hall, an art gallery, and a Chinese history resource centre. A 600-seat theatre, with a separate rehearsal area and a courtyard for receptions, will be part of the second phase. Eventually the complex will occupy 40,000 square feet and be the largest Chinese cultural centre in North America. In January 1996 the city of Scarborough approved spending \$4.2 million to build a public library and community centre on adjacent land once the cultural centre is built.

While Christian churches have been part of the Chinese community in Canada since the turn of the century, the recent influx of immigrants brought spectacular growth to Chinese Christian churches, especially in urban areas with large Chinese populations. By 1997, more than 100 Chinese churches had sprung up across the GTA, with about 20 located in Scarborough, including an Anglican church (All Saints, 1984, the first in Canada), a United church (Toronto Chinese, 1987), several Baptist churches (for example, Scarborough Chinese Baptist, 1986),⁹⁴ and about 12 evangelical churches.

The Toronto Chinese Community Church, part of the Association of Chinese Evangelical Ministries (Canada), is one of the oldest and largest of the Protestant Chinese churches in Scarborough. Founded in Toronto in 1975 with 100 members, it moved to Agincourt in 1979, holding its Sunday services and school at Agincourt Collegiate, with some activities at Lyngate Public School.⁹⁵ Two years later, it constructed Scarborough's first permanent Chinese worship centre, a \$500,000, 325-seat church at 2240 Birchmount Road.⁹⁶ By 1996 there were 1000 members at the parent church in Agincourt, with another 1500 in spin-off congregations at Richmond Hill, Milliken, Markham, and North York.⁹⁷

In 1987 a Chinese Catholic parish, Blessed Chinese Martyrs, was founded in Scarborough with a congregation of 98 families totalling about 300 persons. Weekday services were conducted at the rectory at 7 Whiteleaf Crescent, with Divine Infant School (30 Ingleton Boulevard) being used on weekends. By 1992 the parish had grown tenfold and two high school auditoriums, at Mother Theresa (40 Sewells Road) and Mary Ward (3200 Kennedy Road), also had to be used for Sunday masses. In 1995 Blessed Martyrs Chinese Church moved to its own site at the northeast corner of Denison and Featherstone streets in Markham. It is the largest Chinese Catholic

The People of Scarborough: A History

church building and, with 8500 parishioners, the largest Chinese Catholic congregation in North America.⁹⁸

Filipino

Population Size and Settlement

Scarborough's Filipino community, although smaller than some of the other groups of Asian origin, more than doubled between 1981 and 1991. In the latter year, almost 15,000 people of Filipino ethnic origin lived in Scarborough, comprising almost 3 percent of the total population.

Most of Scarborough's Filipino community in 1991 were first-generation Canadians and recent immigrants. In 1981 almost 92 percent of Scarborough residents of Filipino ethnic origin had been born in the Philippines. In 1991 Tagalog (Pilipino) was the single first language of more than 8000 people representing 54 percent of Scarborough residents of Filipino ethnic origin, and it was used at home by 5000 (34 percent). In addition, 13,000 residents had a knowledge of Tagalog.

Filipinos originate from the Philippines, an archipelago of 7083 islands off the Asian mainland with a population of about 56 million. Overpopulation and economic and political difficulties inspired immigration from the Philippines, and by the mid-1980s more than 90,000 Filipinos, generally young (20 to 34 years), predominantly female, well-educated, Roman Catholic, and proficient in English, had entered Canada. Between 1982 and 1986, the Philippines was the seventh-largest source of immigration to Canada, and the fourth-largest from 1987 to 1993. During this time, an average of almost 9000 people arrived in Canada from the Philippines annually.

Filipinos began coming to Toronto during the 1960s. Many settled in Parkdale or the apartment buildings at St. Jamestown near Sherbourne Street. "And as they became more financially stable, saving substantial amounts of money," remarked historians Ruben J. Cusipag and Maria Corazon Buenafe, "many Filipinos moved away from downtown to live in their own homes in the suburbs. Many of them bought townhouses or single units in Scarborough, Markham, Unionville, Oshawa, Mississauga, Oakville, Brampton and Bramalea. As soon as some Filipino families occupied a new housing area, many more of their compatriots followed suit."⁹⁹ Nelia Avanzado, who emigrated from the Philippines in 1981, living in Toronto until moving to the Meadowvale and Sheppard area of Scarborough in

1987, explains: "We bought a house. It was more affordable there (far, but it was affordable). It was our first house, because we lived with my parents when we first came here."¹⁰⁰

In 1981, 22,500 Filipinos lived in Metropolitan Toronto. The largest populations were in the city of Toronto, with 28 percent, followed closely by Scarborough, with 27 percent, and then North York, with 24 percent. In 1991, 41,000 Filipinos lived in Metropolitan Toronto. Scarborough was now the main settlement area, having 36 percent of the total. Another 16,000 Filipinos resided in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). Historian Eleanor R. Laquian notes that "because of their relatively high education and good incomes, they have tended to become integrated into suburban communities."¹⁰¹ Many Filipino families moved into the Woodside and Malvern areas of Scarborough as these became developed, as well as into the new housing areas in Highland Creek. A Scarborough Health Department report on the 1991 census observed, "The greatest concentration of Tagalog (Pilipino) mother tongue residents is in the northeast quadrant of the city."¹⁰²

Activities and Organizations

The Roman Catholic Church, to which about 80 percent of Filipinos belong, has served as a centre of much Filipino interaction outside the home. While there was no Filipino national church in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto, masses in Tagalog were celebrated monthly at St. Joseph's Church in Highland Creek beginning in 1993. A Filipino chaplaincy was established at St. Basil's Church on Bay Street in downtown Toronto in 1981, and it was relocated to John XXIII Church in Don Mills in 1987. Most Filipinos speak English and have become part of regular Roman Catholic parishes in Scarborough and elsewhere. A minority of Filipinos are Muslims or Protestants. The First Filipino Alliance Church, part of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, was operating at 3250 Finch Avenue by 1996.

Scarborough residents were also active in establishing local Filipino clubs and associations. As early as 1982, the municipality was home to the Filipino Canadian Association of Scarborough, which provided assistance to Filipino families in Canada and the Philippines, English-language classes, and social activities.¹⁰³ A Toronto Filipino Lions Club was located at 432 Midland Avenue in 1982; the Toronto Filipino Club was at the same location by 1987. The Federation of Filipino Canadians, a provincial organization established in 1986,

The People of Scarborough: A History

had its headquarters in Scarborough beginning in 1992. Local Filipinos celebrated the independence of the Philippines each 12 June at Thomson Park with special foods and decorations.¹⁰⁴

"Filipinos are sports-minded," Roger Crisologo Torreno observes. "In the Philippines, sports spin in various activities and centre on basketball."¹⁰⁵ Three Filipino basketball leagues have been based in Scarborough since the 1980s, using space at local high schools for games: Phil-Can Basketball Association; Palaro (the acronym for Pilipino Athletic League Association of the Residents of Ontario), established in 1984; and the Filipino Athletic Club of Toronto (better known as Fil-Act). Palaro also runs a baseball league in Scarborough.¹⁰⁶ A small circle of Filipino Canadians plays *arnis de mano* — an ancient Filipino form of martial arts. Virgilio "Jun" de Leon established the Arnis Karate Club in Scarborough in 1981, "because he wanted to pass on this skill in self-defence to Filipino teenagers and other youth."¹⁰⁷

After the Metropolitan Separate School Board (MSSB) adopted its heritage-language program in September 1977, Pilipino was one of the first languages to be offered at two Toronto schools, albeit to a weak response. Eventually Pilipino-language classes were extended to Scarborough, with five locations in 1990: Cardinal Leger at 80 Bennett Road, Our Lady of Fatima at 3176 St. Clair Avenue, St. Barbara at 25 Janray Drive, St. Barnabas at 30 Washburn Way, and St. Marguerite Bourgeoys at 75 Alexmuir Boulevard.

Several newspapers have been published for Metro's Filipino community since 1972 when the *Philippine Tribune* went to press. Hermie and Mila Garcia, a husband-and-wife team who had been journalists in the Philippines, began publishing the *Philippine Reporter* from their Scarborough home in 1989, moving the office to Toronto the following year. By 1995, the twice-a-month, English-language paper had a circulation of 10,000 and was also available electronically on the Internet. Filipino newspapers, magazines, videos, and foods were available at several Filipino stores scattered throughout Scarborough by the mid-1990s.

In 1993 a series of incidents in Scarborough rallied Metro's Filipino community to action. Reports that more than 30 youths of Filipino origin had been banned for life from the Scarborough Town Centre led Filipinos to organize the Task Force to Stop Racism at the Scarborough Town Centre. It organized marches on the huge shopping mall, with 80 to 200 pickets on each of three summer weekends. Scarborough Council and mall owners moved quickly to deal with the problem. A review board made up of city officials and

representatives from both sides attempted to negotiate an agreement. But, on 15 November 1993, after four months of negotiations had ended in deadlock, twenty-one Filipino-Canadian families filed a joint complaint of harassment and discrimination against the centre with the Ontario Human Rights Commission, a complaint believed to be the largest class-action harassment suit ever in the province.¹⁰⁸ By 1994, with the complaint still unresolved, the mall had instituted anti-racism training for its security staff and started a drop-in centre where students could do homework, and Metro police had opened a substation inside the mall.¹⁰⁹

South Asian (East Indian/Indo-Pakistani)

Population Size and Settlement

South Asians, or East Indians or Indo-Pakistanis as they sometimes are also called, are easily the most diverse population in Canada. While they acknowledge that they share cultural and historical characteristics, the basic identification of South Asians is with more specific ethnocultural roots such as language, regional culture, religion, and historical experience. In Metropolitan Toronto, South Asians encompass more than 20 distinct ethnic groups, 10 languages, and six religions.

Canada's "South Asian" population (an inclusive descriptive term used by official statisticians but not by the people themselves)¹¹⁰ traces its origins to the South Asia region, which consists of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon), Nepal, and the Maldives. Most South Asian Canadians are immigrants or descendants of immigrants from these countries, but in 1981 about 35 percent were from South Asian communities established during British colonial times in east and south Africa, the Caribbean, Fiji, and Mauritius. Others had come from Britain, the United States, and Europe.¹¹¹

South Asian immigration to Canada mushroomed as racial and national restrictions were removed from the immigration regulations in the 1960s, and as the government began looking for highly skilled immigrants, especially beginning in 1967. In 1971, Scarborough had 1300 residents who had been born in India and Pakistan. In 1972 all South Asians were expelled from Uganda. Canada accepted 7000 of them (mostly Ismailis but also Hindu and Sunni-Muslim Gujaratis) as political refugees and initiated what became a chain of migration of their relatives and friends; many located in Scarborough. Thereafter, a steady flow of South Asians came to Canada from Kenya,

The People of Scarborough: A History

Tanzania, and Zaire, either directly or via Britain. The 1970s also marked the beginning of migration from Fiji, Guyana, Trinidad, and Mauritius. In 1981, 9275 Scarborough residents, or almost 64 percent of the municipality's 14,540 people of South Asian origin, had been born in South Asia. About half of the total were from India (7095 people), with smaller numbers from Pakistan (1415), Sri Lanka (600), and Bangladesh (50).¹¹² Most of Scarborough's South Asian population were immigrants: about 88 percent spoke Indo-Pakistani languages in 1981.¹¹³

In the 1980s and 1990s, immigration from South Asia continued. Of the 26,045 Indo-Pakistanis recorded in the 1986 census for Scarborough, 76.1 percent were immigrants to Canada. The majority (64 percent) had arrived between 1966 and 1976, although 14 percent had emigrated between 1977 and 1980 and 19.5 percent from 1981 to 1986. By 1986 Indo-Pakistanis were Scarborough's third-largest visible-minority group, after Blacks and Chinese. The large majority of Indo-Pakistani ethnic origin spoke English: 90.7 percent in 1986. In 1991, 26,960 people of East Indian single ethnic origin lived in Scarborough, a 14.5 percent increase since 1986. They comprised 5.2 percent of municipality's total population.

In 1981, 28 percent of Metropolitan Toronto's 52,390 people of Indo-Pakistani ethnic origin lived in Scarborough. The municipality's Indo-Pakistani population was second only to that of North York, which had 31.5 percent, Metro's largest concentration of Indo-Pakistanis. Five years later, Scarborough was the top location, with 32 percent of Metropolitan Toronto's 80,250 Indo-Pakistanis. In 1991, 35 percent of Metro Toronto's 77,135 East Indians (single ethnic origin) lived in Scarborough — still more, both proportionately and numerically, than the Indo-Pakistani community in any of the other Metro municipalities.

The majority of South Asian immigrants in the 1980s and 1990s continued to be from India, which was one of the top five sources of immigration to Canada from 1982 to 1993, with an average of 9730 people arriving annually. In 1987 and 1988, people whose last permanent country of residence was India were the second-largest immigrant group to land in Metropolitan Toronto. In 1991, 10,870 Scarborough residents had been born in India, more than 40 percent of the municipality's East Indian population. No other specific countries were reported.

However, based on the increase in Tamil-speaking people in Scarborough, many were likely from Sri Lanka. Civil war in Sri Lanka since 1983 has forced more than 500,000 Tamils into exile. Sri

Lanka's ranking as a source of immigrants to Canada went from twenty-third in 1982-86 to fourteenth in 1987-91 and fourth in 1992-93. Within the Tamil diaspora, the largest group, about 125,000, made their way to Canada by the mid-1990s, with Metropolitan Toronto the overwhelming destination of choice for the majority of Tamil immigrants, both refugees and economic immigrants. And within Metro, Scarborough became the home of most Tamils. In 1983, according to government and community sources, the Toronto area had fewer than 5000 Tamils.¹¹⁴ By 1991, 47 percent of Metropolitan Toronto's 16,625 people with Tamil as a first language were Scarborough residents. Sivanesan Sinniah comments that "Tamils view Scarborough as an 'ideal city.'" "They like the large number of new apartment buildings, condominiums and houses, the open spaces and greenery, and the well-planned community with easily-accessible and concentrated services."¹¹⁵

Not surprisingly, the number of Scarborough residents speaking "Indo-Pakistani" languages as their first language also increased dramatically. It grew from 645 people in 1971 to 6565 in 1981. Between 1971 and 1976, the Indo-Pakistani group had the largest increase in population of any language group in Scarborough.¹¹⁶ It also had the municipality's youngest population in both years, with over 90 percent under 45 years of age.

The 1986 census provided details on some specific Indo-Pakistani language groups in Scarborough. By 1991 Tamil was the largest, more than double the next largest Indo-Pakistani group (Gujerati) and 1.4 percent of the total population of Scarborough. Those speaking Tamil as their first language had grown from 480 people in 1986 — Sivanesan Sinniah "could hardly see any Tamils" when he came to Scarborough from Sri Lanka in 1987 — to more than 7640 people in 1991, a phenomenal increase. In addition, in the 1991 census more than 11,000 Scarborough residents reported a knowledge of the Tamil language.

Gujarati, the second-largest Indo-Pakistani first and home language in 1991, accounted for 0.7 percent of the total population, followed by Punjabi (0.4 percent), Urdu (0.4 percent), and Hindi (0.2 percent). Altogether, more than 16,000 Scarborough residents, comprising 3.1 percent of the total population, were speaking one of these languages at home, with almost 19,000 people having one as their first language and 35,000 people having a knowledge of one of them.

South Asians have settled in many parts of Scarborough, and there has been no apparent tendency to live in ethnic enclaves. In 1986 South Asians made up more than 15 percent of the population living

The People of Scarborough: A History

in a small area neighbourhood east of Markham Road, between Ellesmere Avenue and Highway 401, and 10 to 14 percent of the population of four areas north of the 401.¹¹⁷ The Scarborough Health Department reported that the 1991 census showed that “the greatest concentration of the East Indian ethnic origin population is in the northeast quadrant of the city.”¹¹⁸ Many Tamils have settled in the Malvern area.

Activities and Organizations

Starting in the 1970s, South Asians in Scarborough have set up a network of local organizations and clubs. Many of them have been religious or national, offering language classes for children and cultural activities such as music and dance. Others have attempted to provide social services within the community and to build bridges to the outside.

The Indian Immigration Aid Services was established in Toronto in 1972 and became the central community social service agency for the South Asian community. Before its activities were wound down in the early 1980s, it had relocated to the Eglinton and Victoria Park area.¹¹⁹ Some early efforts focused on the special needs of South Asian women: a day-care was established in the 1970s at 400 McCowan Road. The East Indian Society sponsored a conference in April 1979 at Cedarbrook Community Centre, attended by sixty to seventy people, which was described by one Scarborough official as a valuable first step “toward getting at mutual problems and promoting ongoing active cooperation.”¹²⁰ The Tamil-Eelam Society of Canada (established in Toronto in 1978) opened a branch on Lawrence Avenue East in Scarborough in 1991 to provide settlement services and ESL classes to newcomers, as did the Tamil Cultural Centre of Scarborough. The needs of Tamil women and their families were the focus of the Canadian Tamil Women’s Community Services, established in 1983 at two Scarborough locations (Eglinton and Kennedy, and Markham and Ellesmere). Although the agency relocated to North York in 1993, most of its work continued to be in Scarborough, with programs at several locations there. Among its many activities, it offered counselling and support for victims of wife abuse and domestic violence; it also developed Ganga Industries, which provided training and employment in food-preparation operations. The South Asian Family Support Services, which began as a voluntary organization in 1987 and was incorporated in March 1990, also counselled the victims of wife abuse and championed

their cause. It quickly expanded to provide a range of settlement and integration services for South Asian women, youth, and families in Scarborough.¹²¹ In 1996 it widened its mandate to serve all local immigrant communities.¹²²

The growth of Scarborough's South Asian community was also reflected in the production of publications, local cable-television programs, films, and plays. Several weekly newspapers were being produced in Scarborough in the 1990s, including *Messenger*, *Imroze* for the Pakistani community, and several in the Tamil language, *Uthyan*, *Senthamarai*, and *Namnaabu* being the most important. There was also a monthly magazine in Tamil, *Roja*.¹²³

Mitra Sen, who is a teacher at Tam O'Shanter Public School, wrote, produced and directed *Just A Little Red Dot* (1996) in which she depicted on film a true incident at the Scarborough school where she was teaching: a recent arrival from Sri Lanka helped other children understand the meaning of the dot, called a bindi in Hindi, she wore on her forehead. *The Lamp and The Mirror* (1996), a play created by group of students of Tamil origin at L'Amoreaux Collegiate, explored the clash of cultures often experienced by people new to Canada. Amara, one of the characters, summarized the dilemma: "Since I have come to Canada I have been forced to live in two worlds — a Sri Lankan world at home and a multicultural world at school. Both worlds have prejudice because neither really understands the other."¹²⁴ By 1996, South Asian movies were shown at two local movie theatres, Cedarbrae and Woodside Square.

Classes to teach East Indian languages were established in Scarborough. The Malvern School of Arabic and Urdu was operating by 1982 to "teach Indian children (mostly Moslems) Urdu and Arabic, to familiarize them with their cultural background."¹²⁵ Six teachers worked with 60 students at classes held three times a week year round at Lester B. Pearson Collegiate. At the same time, the Federation of Gujarati Associations was involved in providing weekly language classes at Burrows Hall School. It also offered cultural programs such as folk dancing.¹²⁶ In 1989 the Scarborough Board of Education began to provide heritage-language classes in Gujarati and Hindi. By 1994 the program was expanded to other South Asian languages. Tamil-language classes for children were offered at six Scarborough locations — three by the Metropolitan Separate School Board (MSSB) and three by the public board — more than the number of similar classes provided by any other Indo-Pakistani language group. Bengali, Gujarati, Malayalam, Punjabi, and Urdu had one children's language class each, and Hindi had two. The Tamil Cultural

The People of Scarborough: A History

Centre of Scarborough also provided Tamil language classes for children at Woburn Collegiate by 1990.

Cultural and social organizations for specific East Indian groups were located in Scarborough. The Pakistan Canadian Association began operating in Scarborough in 1976, catering to the Pakistani community locally and across Metropolitan Toronto. It sponsored immigration and counselling services, social programs, and sports such as cricket, table tennis, and bowling. In the early 1980s, the Toronto Malayalee Samajam was meeting regularly at David and Mary Thomson Collegiate. It aimed to promote the integration, general welfare, and enrichment of Malayalam-speaking immigrants in Canada; and to foster and promote South Asian art and culture in Canada. In the 1990s, several national organizations serving the East Indian community had Scarborough addresses, including the Canada Sri Lanka Association, the Canadian League of Pakistanis, and the Canadian Pakistan Association.

Japanese

Population Size and Settlement

Scarborough was home to 3160 people of Japanese multiple ethnic origin in 1986, about 27 percent of Metropolitan Toronto's total Japanese population of 11,670 people and larger than the number of Japanese in any other municipality in Metro.¹²⁷ In 1991 Metropolitan Toronto had 10,045 people of Japanese single ethnic origin. The majority of the population was distributed more or less evenly among the cities of Toronto, North York, and Scarborough, with each having about one-quarter of the total, about 2500 people.

Most of Scarborough's small Japanese community was second- (*nisei*), third- (*sansei*), or fourth-generation (*yonsei*) Canadians.¹²⁸ Scarborough also had a small group of first-generation Japanese who had come to Canada in the 1980s and 1990s when Japanese businesses were established here. Called the *Shin Issei*, they were the first new immigrants to arrive in Canada from Japan in approximately fifty years.

Activities and Organizations

A few major organizations and services for Metropolitan Toronto's Japanese-Canadian community were located in Scarborough during this period. The Momiji Seniors Centre opened on Kingston Road,

near the southeast corner of Markham Road, in December 1992. (*Momiji* is the Japanese word for maple, symbolic both of Canada and of the autumn of life.) The \$21-million project was financed with government and community support. The Japanese Canadian Redress Foundation contributed \$1.5 million from a \$400-million compensation package the federal government paid the Japanese-Canadian community in 1988 for the wrongful uprooting and internment of Canadians of Japanese origin during the Second World War.¹²⁹ The centre has 133 apartments and coordinates community support services (such as Meals on Wheels) for Japanese seniors throughout Metro. An extensive program of educational and recreational courses, many on Japanese culture, are also offered and are open to all.¹³⁰

Some religious organizations in Scarborough catered to people in Metro's Japanese community. The Japanese Gospel Church of Toronto called its first minister in 1960 and moved to 3250 Finch Avenue East in 1985. Konko Church of Toronto, a Shinto congregation, met in private homes in Toronto and Scarborough before opening its own building at the southwest corner of Kennedy and Danforth roads in 1990. Bilingual services in English and Japanese are held on the first and third Sundays of each month. The Wesley Chapel of the Free Methodist Church at 2385 Warden Avenue at Huntingwood Avenue had many Japanese in its congregation. The church was also home to the Scarborough Asian Institute, started in 1976, whose goal was "to teach English as a second language to immigrants and overseas business community people of the Asian Pacific nations."¹³¹ About sixty Japanese Catholics from the greater Toronto area met monthly at the Scarboro Foreign Mission Society. Mass was performed in Japanese by a Society priest who had been stationed in Japan.¹³²

Japanese-language classes also became available in Scarborough, despite the gradual decline of use of the language by area residents. In the 1950s most Japanese in Toronto were bilingual, speaking English and Japanese, Joe Hamade recalls.¹³³ The *Sansei*, born in Canada in the 1950s and 1960s, became highly educated and integrated into Canadian society. More than 75 percent of them have married non-Japanese; many speak little or no Japanese.¹³⁴ In 1991, only 535 Scarborough residents spoke Japanese at home, while it was the single first language for 1030 people and 1823 residents had a knowledge of Japanese. By the 1970s the Toronto Japanese Language School had a branch at Wexford Collegiate in Scarborough, where it operated for several years until it was relocated to North

The People of Scarborough: A History

York. “Families wanted children to be able to learn Japanese,” Joe Hamade states, “we paid for the classes at Wexford.” Nikki Gakven sponsored Japanese-language classes at Dr. Norman Bethune Collegiate by 1990. The Scarborough Board of Education started an international language class in Japanese for children in 1996 at J.S. Woodsworth Senior Public School; the Scarborough school was twinned with a school in Sagamihara, Japan. Most classes also had a cultural component. Japanese dancing was taught at the Sakura Kai (Cherry Blossom Club) in Scarborough by 1982.

The city of Scarborough also established direct cultural and economic links with Japan. Beginning in 1986, the municipality hosted an annual Japan week, with displays, demonstrations, and performances by Japanese artists, the purpose of which was in part to increase and strengthen ties between Japan and Scarborough. By 1990 more than twenty Japanese companies had located in Scarborough, with more than 1500 people employed.¹³⁵ For example, Japan’s three largest automobile manufacturers, Toyota, Honda, and Mazda, had their regional head offices in Scarborough. (Manufacturing was done elsewhere in Canada.) Scarborough and Sagamihara formed an international alliance (sister cities) on 31 May 1991 “to recognize their mutual interests in commerce, industry, education, culture and other areas.”¹³⁶ Primarily an economic affiliation, the twinning was to benefit both cities with exchanges of products and expertise.

Korean

Population Size and Settlement

Some 2895 Scarborough residents were of Korean ethnic origin in 1986; at that time they comprised about one-quarter of Metropolitan Toronto’s total Korean population of 11,295 people. By 1991 Scarborough’s Korean population had increased to 3045 people but had dropped to 20 percent of the Metro total of 15,455. While Koreans were relatively well distributed around Metro, the largest number (35 percent) lived in North York.

Most local Koreans were recent arrivals. In 1981, 87 percent of Scarborough’s 2505 people of Korean ethnic origin had been born in Korea. In 1991, about 65 percent of the Korean people in Scarborough spoke Korean at home and Korean was the first language of 78 percent. Almost all Korean immigration to Canada has been

from South Korea; after the Second World War the country was divided into northern (communist) and southern (American-influence) zones. Some Korean immigrants have also come to Canada via Europe, Vietnam, South America, and the United States.

Activities and Organizations

The Scarborough Korean Society was organized by 1982, when it was listed in the *Multicultural Directory of Human Resources in Scarborough*. Its main purpose was to teach the Korean culture and language. Korean-language classes were held at Lester Pearson Collegiate, and classes were also offered in Korean folk dance and music and Tae Kwon-Do (the art of self-defence). As well, the Society assisted with the adjustment process of new Korean immigrants to Canadian life. By 1990, when the Scarborough Korean Society was evidently defunct, the Scarborough Board of Education offered international language classes in Korean at one school, Bendale B.T.I., relocated to Ellesmere-Statton by 1994.

There were also several Korean churches in Scarborough in the 1980s and 1990s; some were of short duration, others moved frequently within the municipality. A few were connected with Presbyterianism, although not with the main Canadian branch thereof, the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Calvary Korean Presbyterian Church was established at Scarborough in 1974. It rented space at St. Stephens Presbyterian Church, 3817 Lawrence Avenue East, from 1976 to 1993. As well as church-related activities, it offered language classes for children.¹³⁷ On 24 February 1993 it officially opened its own church (with adjacent apartments) at the northeast corner of McCowan and Steeles avenues in Markham.¹³⁸ The *Information Scarborough Directory* of 1991 listed two other Korean Presbyterian churches: the Hanmaun Korean Presbyterian Church at 3700 Lawrence Avenue East and the Toronto So Mang Presbyterian Church at 2102 Lawrence Avenue East.

Other local Korean churches were associated with the evangelical and fundamentalist movements. The Korean Evangelical Fellowship Church has been in Scarborough since about 1988; by 1997 it had at least five local addresses. Korean Pentecostals have services in their language at Warden Full Gospel Assembly at 2210 Warden Avenue. There was also the Scarborough Korean Church, meeting at Iondale Heights United Church (115 Ionview Road) by 1990 and a Korean Group at 2501 Warden Avenue by 1991.

The People of Scarborough: A History

Some political inroads were made in November 1991, when Raymond Cho, a social worker who had immigrated from South Korea twenty-five years earlier, was elected to represent Scarborough Malvern at Metro Council.

The occupations of Scarborough's Korean community probably reflect Korean Canadians generally, who, David Bai notes, "are highly skilled workers or professionals, e.g. doctors, professors, engineers, or are engaged in business, e.g. food stores, gas bars, restaurants, printing shops, real-estate and insurance agencies. Others have entered the labour force as skilled and semi-skilled workers."¹³⁹

Black

Population Size and Settlement

Scarborough's Black population grew tremendously during this period. In 1971, the municipality was home to 1085 people of "Negro" ethnic origin. One decade later, the Black population numbered almost 15,000. The term "Black" had not appeared in the published census since 1921, and in 1981, it reappeared, replacing the word "Negro." By 1991, the Black population had increased by 92 percent; there were now 28,710 Blacks, comprising 5.5 percent of the total population.

There were even more Blacks of multiple ethnic origin, that is, people of mixed ancestry, one part being Black. In 1986 Scarborough had 40,430 (8.4 percent) Blacks of multiple ethnic origin. (The term "Black" replaced the earlier term "Negro" — which had appeared in the census only in the years 1901, 1911, and 1971. By comparison, Metropolitan Toronto had a total population of 133,035 Blacks (6.12 percent) of multiple ethnic origin. In 1986 Blacks were Scarborough's (and Metro's) single largest visible-minority group, "visible minority" being the term that the census then applied to non-whites.¹⁴⁰

The majority of Blacks living in Scarborough were immigrants: 71.2 percent of 40,430 Blacks in the 1986 census. The largest period of immigration was between 1966 and 1976, when 64.6 percent of Scarborough's Black immigrants came to Canada. Only 8.5 percent had arrived before 1965, but 27 percent had emigrated from 1977 to 1986. Female Blacks have immigrated to Canada in larger numbers than male Blacks, and Scarborough's population was also disproportionately female in 1986. Fifty-five percent of Scarborough's Blacks were then female, compared to the general population distribution of 51.5 percent female.¹⁴¹

Though Africa is the ancestral homeland of all of Canada's Black population, only a minority have arrived directly from there. During this period, some of Scarborough's Black community could trace their history in Canada for generations, but most were more recent arrivals from the Caribbean or second-generation descendants of recent Caribbean immigrants. Large-scale immigration of West Indians began in the 1960s, and by the early 1970s they accounted for almost 13 percent of all immigrants to Canada and were the third-largest group to enter Ontario. In the following years, West Indian immigration generally declined, but it still made up 10 percent of total immigration in 1975 and 6 percent in 1979. From the late 1960s until the early 1980s, about 200,000 Caribbean Blacks came to Canada.

Scarborough was a major reception area for Black West Indian immigrants. In 1981 the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture estimated that there were 12,545 Caribbean Blacks; this represented almost 84 percent of Scarborough's total Black population of 14,980 people.¹⁴² The majority came from the larger, English-speaking islands of Jamaica, Trinidad, and Barbados, as well as the South American country of Guyana, which has close ties to the West Indies. Another 2060 people in Scarborough were considered "Other Black," with the remaining listed as African Black (360) and Canadian Black (15). The vast majority of Scarborough's Blacks spoke English: 95.4 percent in 1986. Less than 1 percent spoke neither French nor English.

Immigration from the Caribbean continued in the 1980s. In 1986, almost 20 percent of Caribbeans in Scarborough had come to Canada in the previous five years. In 1988 people whose last country of residence was Jamaica were the sixth-largest immigrant group to and in Metropolitan Toronto, those from Guyana seventh, and those from Trinidad and Tobago 11th. In the late 1980s and the 1990s, immigration patterns began to shift somewhat; Scarborough's Black population become more diversified, including Somalis and Ethiopians.

By 1981, when statistics first became available, the majority of Metropolitan Toronto's 52,415 Blacks lived in the suburbs: 29 percent in North York, closely followed by Scarborough with 28.6 percent. York accounted for 9 percent, while 18 percent lived in the city of Toronto. Scarborough soon became the leading location for Metro's Blacks, with 30 percent of the Black population in 1986 and 32 percent in 1991.

Scarborough's Black population has not been concentrated in any one particular area. In 1979 several pockets of Black settlement were

The People of Scarborough: A History

south of Lawrence between Victoria Park Avenue and Markham Road. One pocket, south of Eglinton and west of Midland Avenue, was 15 to 19 percent West Indian. Other West Indian areas were north of the 401, east of Victoria Park to west of Markham Road. The heaviest concentration was in the L'Amoreaux neighbourhood, on either side of Finch Avenue around Birchmount Road, where West Indians made up from 10 to more than 20 percent of local school enrolments.¹⁴³

These patterns were still evident in a map produced from 1986 census data. In that year, Scarborough's Caribbean (and Latin American) population continued to be distributed throughout the municipality but accounted for more than 10 percent of the population in about twenty tracts.¹⁴⁴ There were a few new locations. The Malvern area, east of Markham Road between Highway 401 and Finch Avenue, attracted many Black settlers after it was subdivided and developed for housing in the late 1970s. A 1987 study for the Scarborough Public Library identified high percentages of West Indian users in the areas around three branch libraries: Albert Campbell (Victoria Park, Kennedy, Eglinton and St. Clair), Cedarbrae (Markham Road and Lawrence), and Malvern (Markham and Finch).¹⁴⁵

According to a Scarborough Health Department report based on the 1991 census, "the greatest concentration of the Black ethnic origin population is in northeast Scarborough and Malvern. There are also some pockets mixed in the areas along Kingston Road. This is similar to the pattern for the [people of] East Indian ethnic origin."¹⁴⁶

Activities and Organizations

Although the Black community in Scarborough (and in Canada) was not homogeneous — cleaved by class distinctions as well as regional, religious, and linguistic differences — it developed a number of organizations and institutions. Some associations instituted transition programs to deal with the problems experienced by young West Indians in adapting to school. These programs were also meant to give children a better knowledge of their origins and to counter prejudice in Canadian society.

Early efforts started in Scarborough in the mid-1970s were often undertaken by non-local organizations. A Black heritage group from Toronto offered programs in parent education at six Scarborough schools. The West Indian Social and Cultural Society, another Toronto-based group, jointly sponsored with the Scarborough Board

of Education a parent program and multicultural centre at Lord Roberts School.¹⁴⁷

But, by the 1980s, Black social services agencies and support programs began to be established in Scarborough. Tropicana Community Services Organization was founded in 1979 as a non-profit community organization to serve disadvantaged youth and their families, focusing particularly on the Black and Caribbean community in Scarborough. It received its first grants from the municipality of Scarborough and Metropolitan Toronto's multicultural committee. Tropicana's first major project was counselling teenage dropouts in Agincourt. This led to the formation of a youth club in the Finch and Birchmount neighbourhood. In 1984 Tropicana became the first Black member agency of the United Way of Greater Toronto.¹⁴⁸ Over the years, Tropicana has expanded its services to help new immigrants integrate into Canadian society, and in 1996, with services in English, Farsi, and Somali, it provided youth clubs, two day-care centres, tutoring, counselling, and an employment centre for youth and adults aged 15 to 30. At its summer day camp, Tropicana has offered programs on African and Caribbean history, culture, and geography.

A group of local parents formed the Scarborough Black Education Organization in the mid-1980s to resolve some school-related problems. It offered Saturday morning tutoring in English, mathematics, social studies, and reading, using space at local schools. In 1995, 130 students from Grades 1 to 12 used the tutoring program. Other community organizations and programs established in the 1980s were Caribbean Link Family Services, which operated special programs for Black teenage girls in conjunction with the Children's Aid Society; Black Youth Leadership Development; and the YWCA's Focus on Change program for West Indian women. IRIE (Intergenerational Health Education and Information) for West Indian seniors and their grandchildren was started at Warden Woods Community Centre in 1996.

The Protestant church has been a centre of spiritual and social life for Scarborough's Black community and has played an important role in welcoming new arrivals and in helping persons in difficulty. The East York/Scarborough British Methodist Episcopal (BME) Church opened at Westview Presbyterian Church in East York in 1978, when it was realized that many members of the parent Toronto church on Shaw Street, one of the city's long-established Black churches dating back to the 1830s, had moved to suburban areas.¹⁴⁹ There were also Anglican and United Church congregations that

The People of Scarborough: A History

were predominantly Black, as well as several evangelical churches, many with Black clergy. Seventh Day Adventists claim a large Black membership, and the Agincourt Adventist Church at 2 Norbert Avenue was attended by many from the Caribbean.¹⁵⁰

The Black Clergy Association had several Scarborough members from a variety of denominations. In the 1990s, its representatives, along with Black men and women from the Scarborough Church of God, the Jamaica Canadian Association, and the Tropicana Community Services Organization, began to meet with members of the Metropolitan Toronto Police to resolve some of the tensions between the police and the Black community. At its monthly meetings, the consultative committee on Black community/police relations dealt with two main issues: "investigation of complaints of alleged police misconduct, plus cross-cultural and race-relations training for officers."¹⁵¹

Other Scarborough groups were more social and cultural. Chaconia, for example, had 200 members by 1982, mainly from Trinidad and Tobago. The Canadian Negro Women Association, "dedicated to advancement of Blacks in public education, business and community service," was founded in Toronto in 1951.¹⁵² By the 1980s, several Scarborough women were on the executive and the organization was based in Scarborough.

It has been observed that "West Indian immigrants have included a minority of family entrepreneurs and highly educated and qualified professionals who form a small, separate bourgeoisie and a majority of taxi drivers, factory workers, building superintendents, domestics, etc., whose working conditions are unstable and difficult."¹⁵³ According to the 1986 census, a large majority of adult Blacks (fifteen years of age and over) in Scarborough were then working, 72 percent full-time and 18.9 percent part-time. Black women, especially from the Caribbean, had a higher participation rate in the labour force than women in other ethnic groups in Scarborough. They also had the highest ratio of women's to men's earnings of all ethnic groups. However, the male income average was the lowest among all ethnic groups in 1986.¹⁵⁴

Black entrepreneurs and professionals have established many businesses in Scarborough. The range of services was indicated in the 1995-96 *Blackpages Directory*, where more than 70 Scarborough listings (out of 500) included bakeries, beauty parlours, caterers, contractors, doctors, dentists, grocery stores, fashion stores, lawyers, and real estate agents. A small Black, predominantly Caribbean, shopping district was located along Eglinton Avenue at Kennedy Road

by the 1990s. The stores served mostly the local neighbourhood; the Eglinton West area of York was the major regional shopping district for Blacks in Metropolitan Toronto.

In the world of politics, Alvin Curling, originally from Kingston, Jamaica, in 1985 became the first Caribbean Black elected to the Ontario legislature (for the riding of Scarborough North Centre) and he afterwards became the first Black cabinet minister in the province. Blacks in Scarborough have also served on local boards and municipal councils.

Scarborough's Black communities have added their perspective to the city's cultural life. Local West Indians have been avid participants in Caribana, the huge carnival held each year in Toronto at the beginning of August. They have contributed many costumed dancers, floats, and masquerade (mas) bands to the spectacularly colourful main parade downtown which now attracts more than one million people annually. Scarborough's West Indians have also staged local Caribana celebrations, such as a children's carnival in 1994, a king and queen competition at Birchmount Stadium in 1995, and a junior carnival parade in 1996.

There have been many other local cultural activities. For example, by the early 1980s, "West Indian Showcase" was being produced on the Scarborough cable-television station. Can-Carib Theatre was started in 1991 to bring plays and dramatic literature focusing on the social history of Canada's West Indians to Scarborough's theatre scene. Folklore is an important part of African and West Indian culture. The Honourable Louise Bennett-Coverley, Jamaica's "premier folklorist and staunch defender of its native language," was living in Scarborough in 1995.¹⁵⁵

Several weekly newspapers for Metro's Black and Caribbean community have been published in Scarborough over the past several years, including *Equality News*, *Pride* (the successor of *Caribbean Life*), *Caribbean Camera*, *Toronto Express*, and *Inter-Caribbean News*.

Writers from Scarborough have made their mark in documenting the history and achievements of Blacks in Canada. Rella Braithwaite wrote her first book, *The Black Women in Canada*, in 1976. Librarian Tessa Benn-Ireland compiled and published the first *Black Business and Professional Woman's Calendar and Engagement Book* in 1983-84. She included several Scarborough women: Rella Braithwaite; Alda Arthur, founder of the Association of Black Professional Women; Gloria Munro, founder of a group that believes that negative aspects of overweight can be solved through self-acceptance; and Doris Ferguson, a community liaison counsellor with the Scarborough

The People of Scarborough: A History

Board of Education (from 1981 to 1992).¹⁵⁶ In 1993 Braithwaite and Benn Ireland co-authored *Some Black Women: Profiles of Black Women in Canada*. Their study included, among others, Dr. Inez Elliston, in 1975 first coordinator of the Multiculturalism and Race Relations Committee of the Scarborough Board of Education; Sherene Shaw, a community volunteer elected to Scarborough Council in 1988; Verda Cook, involved with Black organizations for more than fifty years; and Kathy Searles. Also mentioned was the Black journalist Mary Ann Shadd (1823-93), for whom a Scarborough school was named in 1986.

A Black and Caribbean Heritage Collection was started by Scarborough Public Library in 1988. By 1996 the collection included works by such Scarborough authors as Diana Braithwaite, a playwright, poet, screenwriter, and entertainer. The Scarborough Board of Education incorporated Black Studies into the history curriculum at several high schools. Students taking the course at Stephen Leacock Collegiate described their experiences in *Our Roots*.

Arab

The Arab world extends from the Arabian Gulf through North Africa to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. It is a region diverse in physical geography, climate, and natural resources, but its inhabitants share cultural traditions and the Arabic language.

In 1981, Scarborough's 2255 residents of Asian Arab single ethnic origin were approximately one-quarter of the 8680 people in this group then living in Metropolitan Toronto. Of about 2000 North African Arabs in Metro, 640 lived in Scarborough and almost all were of Egyptian single ethnic origin. The 1991 census showed that Arabs were one of Metropolitan Toronto's fastest growing ethnocultural communities. Some had come to Canada as refugees from the Iran/Iraq war and then the Gulf War; others emigrated for educational opportunities. Scarborough was home to almost 28 percent of the 9000 people in Metropolitan Toronto speaking Arabic at home in 1991, second only to North York.

Services for Scarborough's Arab population were gradually established. The Nasr family came to Canada from Palestine and opened one of the first Arab stores in Scarborough in 1975. By the early 1990s, a Middle East shopping district, with grocers, bakeries, pastry shops, butchers, and video stores, had grown near the store along Lawrence Avenue between Warden and Pharmacy.¹⁵⁷

The number of Christian Arabs in Canada exceeded that of

Muslims by a ratio of three to one in the 1970s and 1980s.¹⁵⁸ Reflective of that trend, a number of churches for Christian Arabs were organized in Scarborough. St. Mar Barsaumo Syrian Orthodox Church was established at 72 Birchmount Avenue, north of Kingston Road. Many Egyptian immigrants were Christians, some Presbyterians, and some Coptic Christians.¹⁵⁹ St. Mark's Coptic Orthodox Church opened at 45 Glendinning Avenue in the Pharmacy and Steeles area of Scarborough in 1979, and a community of Egyptians and Sudanese grew around the church. Other Scarborough residents attended the Coptic church in Don Mills, or an Egyptian Presbyterian church, located in Markham by 1992. An evangelical Arabic church was at 6705 Sheppard Avenue East by the 1990s. Scarborough's Arab Muslims could attend one of Scarborough's several mosques.

Several agencies in Metro were set up to help immigrants, such as the Middle East Immigrant Womens' Centre in Scarborough by the 1990s. Arabic language classes for children began to be offered by the Scarborough Board of Education in 1989. In 1994 they were available at two Scarborough schools, one public and one separate.

Iranian

In 1981 Scarborough had 255 residents of Iranian single ethnic origin (of 1345 in Metro); 185 had been born in Iran. During the 1980s, many Iranians emigrated to Canada; some were drawn by the educational and economic opportunities here, while others came because they were estranged from the Islamic regime in Iran or because they wished to escape the Iran-Iraq war. In both 1987 and 1988, over 1000 people from Iran landed in Metropolitan Toronto, making them the city's twelfth-largest immigrant group. In 1991 Scarborough's Iranian population was more than 5000, based on the number of people who had a knowledge of the Persian (Farsi) language. In that year, Scarborough was home to 28 percent of 13,450 people in Metropolitan Toronto speaking Farsi at home, second only to North York.

Farsi-language classes for children began to be offered by the Scarborough Board of Education in 1989. The Iranian Ethnic Assistance Organization was established in Scarborough by the 1990s; a newspaper, *Iranians*, was also published here.

Armenian

In 1981 Scarborough's 1815 residents of Armenian single ethnic origin were 28 percent of the 6500 Armenians in Metropolitan Toronto. (North York had the most.) Ten years later, Scarborough's Armenian population had increased, with Armenian being the first and home language of more than 2000 Scarborough residents. Scarborough was second only to North York in its share of Metro's 5575 Armenian speakers: 93 percent of Metro's Armenians lived in Scarborough and North York.

The majority of Armenians in Scarborough settled here in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s (and the adjacent areas, especially North York and Markham) because they wanted to be close to relatives and to Armenian organizations located in these suburban areas.¹⁶⁰ During this time, Metropolitan Toronto's Armenians relocated key organizations from downtown Toronto to Scarborough and other suburban areas close by. In 1981 the Alex Manoogian Cultural Centre opened at 30 Progress Road near Markham Road south of Highway 401. The centre was named for a Detroit industrialist and long-time president of the Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU), who donated \$1 million towards the project. The AGBU organizes Armenian cultural, social, charitable, and athletic activities and operates a myriad of programs from the centre: a ladies auxiliary, a youth committee with sports teams, a drama group, a musical society, a dance group, and so on. The AGBU has also produced a bimonthly newsletter (*Khosnag*) and a periodical (*Norserount*; New Generation). The Scarborough facility includes a gymnasium, the Gulbenkian Library, a large stage, banquet halls, and meeting rooms. Scarborough is also home of the Tekeyan Cultural Association and the Nor Serount Cultural Association.

Holy Trinity Armenian Church, established in 1951, relocated from Woodlawn Avenue in mid-town Toronto to a majestic, \$3-million building at 20 Progress Road, next to the Alex Manoogian Cultural Centre, in 1986.¹⁶¹ The 1000-seat church is part of the Armenian National Apostolic Church, to which about 90 percent of Armenians belong. The rest are divided between the Armenian Catholic and evangelical churches. The Armenian Brotherhood Bible Church was established at 2755 Victoria Park Avenue in Scarborough in 1986. The Armenian Community Centre (1979) and St. Mary's Armenian Church (1990) are on the North York side of Scarborough's Victoria Park Avenue border south of Sheppard, at 45 Hallcrown Place.

More than 1.5 million Armenians perished from 1915 to 1922 as a result of Turkish government's policy of genocide. A Martyrs Monument in their memory, designed by architect Dikran Kassabian and built in 1985, has been erected between Holy Trinity Church and the Alex Manoogian Cultural Centre. "The Genocide and the fear of ultimate national extinction have spurred Armenians to strenuous efforts to preserve their ethnic heritage, especially through Armenian schools," historian Isabel Kaprielian notes.¹⁶²

More than 700 children in the Toronto area attended three full-time elementary schools in 1996. Holy Cross Armenian Day School (1978) was located in Terraview Heights School at 1641 Pharmacy Avenue in Scarborough from 1979 to 1990 when it relocated to North York. The AGBU Zaroukian Day School was established in 1985. At first, classes were held in the Alex Manoogian Cultural Centre, but in 1989 a school building was constructed beside the centre.

Latin American

Population Size and Settlement

Latin Americans are one of the more recent cultural groups to arrive in Canada and their numbers in Scarborough have grown, especially over the past 15 years. In 1981, 1515 Scarborough residents had been born in South America (excluding Guyana). There were also 230 Scarborough people born in Central America.

In 1986 Scarborough had a population of 2030 Latin Americans, excluding Argentinians and Chileans,¹⁶³ about 11 percent of the total population in Metropolitan Toronto of 17,945 people. Most Latin Americans in Metro lived in North York at this time. By 1991 Scarborough had 20,640 residents born in Central and South America. Although the majority were likely from Guyana, this was nevertheless a substantial increase from 1981. Scarborough's Latin American community is primarily Spanish speaking; the number of first-language Spanish speakers has also grown steadily, from 435 people (0.1 percent) in 1971 to 4,550 (0.9 percent) in 1991.

People have emigrated from Latin America to Canada both as economic immigrants and as political refugees. "Most Latin Americans settled originally in the downtown areas of Toronto and Montreal," historian Wilson Ruiz observes. "But since industry, and above all light manufacturing requiring semiskilled workers, is located in the suburbs, the need to live near their work forced many Latin

The People of Scarborough: A History

Americans to move to some of the more isolated neighbourhoods.”¹⁶⁴

Scarborough's first significant influx of Latin Americans came in 1983 when a group of political refugees from El Salvador was admitted to Canada under a special federal government program. They and their families were housed in two high-rise apartment buildings at Lawrence Avenue and Orton Park in Scarborough. The El Salvadorians experienced considerable resentment and even open hostility from some people in the local neighbourhood.¹⁶⁵ For the next several years into the 1990s, refugees from El Salvador continued to arrive, about 1000 people in all, as well as refugees from the Central American countries of Nicaragua and Guatemala. Most of the Central Americans remained in Scarborough.

In the mid-1980s, South American immigrants also began to arrive in Scarborough. Peruvians, most of them well educated, dominated the inflow, with people from Columbia and Ecuador coming in smaller numbers. By the 1990s, probably more Peruvians lived in Scarborough than in any other Metro municipality. Latin Americans have located all over Scarborough, but evidently many of the Ecuadorians and El Salvadorians settled in the Malvern area; there was also a small pocket of Spanish speakers at Eglinton and Markham in the mid-1990s.¹⁶⁶

Activities and Organizations

Most organizations and services for Metro's Latin American community were located outside Scarborough. However, the Roman Catholic Church provided some services. The Catholic Cross Cultural Services assisted immigrants. In 1996 mass was said in Spanish every Sunday evening at St. Thomas More Roman Catholic Church at 2234 Ellesmere Road. (Most Latin Americans are baptized as Catholics.) Both the Scarborough Board of Education (from 1991) and the Metropolitan Separate School Board (MSSB) also started programs to help Hispanic students adjust to the school system here. The MSSB had heritage-language classes in Spanish at two Scarborough schools by 1990: Our Lady of Fatima at 3176 St. Clair Avenue and St. Barbara at 25 Jafray Drive.

In 1995 the Scarborough Peruvian Festival made its debut at the Civic Centre, said to be a first for Metro. The three-day event highlighted the cultural heritage of the estimated 10,000 Peruvians residing in Metro and presented a sampling of Peruvian art, music, and history.¹⁶⁷

Religion

In 1980 the *Scarborough Mirror* reported: "The church is not only alive and well in Scarboro — it's booming. More churches were built here last year than at any other time in the 70s. The borough now has 128 places of worship. In 1970, there were only 112." And that, the paper reported, did not include most of the 75 religious groups renting space from local school boards. "It's these "hidden" congregations, generally ethnic or non-mainstream denominations, that are changing the scope of religion in Scarboro: They're building, or planning to build, churches as quickly as developers can put the basements in the new homes."¹⁶⁸

A report on social programs in Scarborough commented in 1979 that "the ethnic community in Scarborough is heavily dependent for local support, social interaction and programs on churches and religious associations in the borough. They are a natural focus, and often the only focus, within the borough itself for many ethnic groups."¹⁶⁹ Some of the ethnic communities constructed large and costly buildings during this time, reflecting increasing numbers and growing affluence.

Christian

Protestant

The membership of most of the mainstream Protestant churches in Scarborough went into decline from 1971 to 1991. United Church membership plummeted from almost 76,000 in 1971 to about 43,000 in 1991, and its share of the population dropped from 22.6 to 8.2 percent. Similarly, the Anglican Church fell from 21 percent of the total population in 1971 to 9.5 percent in 1991, and the Presbyterians went from 8.3 to 3.7 percent. In 1991 the various Protestant denominations, with 189,455 individuals, represented 36.1 percent of Scarborough's total population.

A few traditional Protestant denominations established churches to serve specific ethnic communities in Scarborough. The Anglican Church, for example, located its first Chinese Anglican church in the country in Scarborough (All Saints, established in 1984). Many Protestant churches served ethnic groups within their regular congregations. The Anglican Church of the Nativity, for example, had many West Indians in its Malvern congregation, as did St.

The People of Scarborough: A History

Timothy's Anglican Church in Agincourt. Malvern Emmanuel United Church was listed in the 1996 Tamil business directory.

The *Scarborough Mirror* commented in 1980 that "it's the evangelical churches which are experiencing phenomenal growth. Seven have been built in the past few years, outpacing construction by mainstream congregations."¹⁷⁰ The trend continued well into the next decade. A directory published in March 1995 by Information Scarborough listed about 20 different evangelical and fundamentalist organizations, with anywhere from one to almost two dozen churches in each.¹⁷¹ The largest of these, in terms of number of churches, were the Baptists with 21 churches (in several Baptist groups),¹⁷² Christian and Missionary Alliance with eight churches, and Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada with six. Pentecostals saw their numbers increase from about 2500 in 1971 to more than 10,000 in 1991, when they were almost 2 percent of the total population. And, in 1991, "other Protestants" accounted for more than 7 percent, or 38,125 people.

Evangelical churches were active in ministering to ethnic communities. In 1996, about 12 Chinese evangelical churches were in Scarborough, as well as one apiece for Vietnamese, Japanese, Greek, Korean, and Arabic groups.¹⁷³ There were, in addition, a few evangelical Tamil churches, and several with largely Black congregations.

Roman Catholic

The number of Roman Catholic adherents continued to climb, from 88,850 people in 1971 to 155,250 in 1991, and its proportion of the total population increased from 26 percent in 1971 to approximately 30 percent in 1981 and 1991. In the latter year, Roman Catholic was the largest single religious category in Scarborough. Four Roman Catholic churches were built in Scarborough in the 1970s and 1980s.¹⁷⁴

Several of the new immigrant groups had large numbers of Roman Catholics. Many became part of regular Catholic congregations, but the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto also provided church services in languages other than English at several locations and opened four national churches in Scarborough for Portuguese, Polish, Chinese, and Malayalam Catholics. Membership in national churches is based on ethnicity, rather than geography, and services are conducted in the language of the people, as well as in English (at some locations). Malayalam speakers (a derivative of Tamil), from

Kerala in southwest India, attended the Mission of St. Thomas the Apostle (1982), located at Precious Blood Church at 1737 Lawrence Avenue.

In 1982 the Roman Catholic Church established a multicultural centre at St. Boniface Church (Markham Road near Kingston Road) in Scarborough to provide support for immigrants and refugees from across Metropolitan Toronto. Renamed Catholic Immigration Bureau in 1989, and known from 1996 as the Catholic Cross-Cultural Services, the organization continues to be based in Scarborough.¹⁷⁵

Orthodox

Orthodox Christians increased dramatically during this time, with 9535 Greek Orthodox listed in the 1971 census, 23,510 Eastern Orthodox in 1981, and 25,940 Eastern Orthodox in 1991.

Several Orthodox churches were established in Scarborough during this time, from both the Eastern and Oriental branches, with each congregation usually catering to a different ethnic group. A Macedono-Bulgarian Orthodox congregation used the 60-seat chapel of St. Jude's Anglican Church from the 1960s to the mid-1970s; a Syrian Orthodox and two Greek Orthodox churches were started in the 1970s.¹⁷⁶

The Coptic Orthodox Church, part of the Oriental Orthodox Church, was established in Canada in 1965 following the arrival of large numbers of Coptic immigrants from Egypt. St. Mark's Coptic Orthodox Church, opened in 1979 at 41 Glendinning Avenue in Scarborough, was the first Coptic church building in North America. At the time, it was estimated that, of more than five million Coptic Christians worldwide, 15,000 lived in Canada.¹⁷⁷ By 1996, 1300 families belonged to the congregation of St. Mark's Church, which was also providing support for new immigrant groups, especially professionals from Egypt and the Sudan who had come to Canada in the previous six years.¹⁷⁸

Non-Christian

The growth of non-Christian faiths in Scarborough during the 1980s and 1990s was dramatic and reflected changing immigration patterns. In 1981 the census recorded 17,970 people (4 percent) belonging to "Eastern Non-Christian" religions. In the 1991 census, statistics on some specific religions were provided, and they showed a dramatic growth. There were now 23,300 Hindus, 21,480 Muslims, 7395

The People of Scarborough: A History

Buddhists, and 2730 Sikhs. Taken as a whole, they composed more than 10 percent of Scarborough's total population.

In the beginning, most of these groups met in temporary quarters, in shopping malls, living rooms, and school gymnasiums and auditoriums. In 1979, for example, six religious organizations, mostly composed of South Asians representing several faiths, were holding meetings, classes, and festivals in Scarborough schools and attendance was usually in the hundreds.¹⁷⁹ In time, many of these groups constructed their own worship places, some locating them in Scarborough.

Hindu

In 1991 Hinduism was the largest non-Christian religion in Scarborough with 23,000 adherents. Around that time, there were more than 50 Hindu temples and organizations in Ontario, most in Metropolitan Toronto or nearby cities.¹⁸⁰ One of the earliest and largest is the Vishnu Mandir (Mandir is Hindi for "temple"). This congregation started in Scarborough, with a regular Sunday morning service at David and Mary Thomson Collegiate, in 1977; 95 percent of the congregation was Guyanese and most services were in English. The year before, Bhudhendra Doobay, the priest of the temple (and also a cardiovascular surgeon), had started his religious work in Ontario with "Voice of the Vedas" television program, which was broadcast in Scarborough on cable channel 10. In 1981 the Vishnu Mandir congregation relocated to Yonge Street in Richmond Hill.

The congregation continued to have an interest in Scarborough, however. From his base in the Vishnu Mandir, Doobay was able to mobilize a large following in 1987 for a *yatra* (a journey in support of an objective), from Toronto city hall to Queen's Park, to protest remarks made about Gandhi by a member of the Scarborough Board of Education.¹⁸¹ The incident is recorded by Milton Israel in his social history of Indo-Canadians in Ontario: "In 1987, the Scarborough School Board was asked to consider naming a school after Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (known later in his life as Mahatma Ghandi), the leader of the Indian nationalist movement and prophet of nonviolence. One member of the Board attacked Gandhi as a 'crank' and suggested that Indians should assimilate to Canadian society and leave their culture and home-grown heroes behind. The remarks were perceived as a racist attack on all Indians, and a protest demonstration at Queen's Park attracted approximately 3000 people from both within and outside the community. The Board voted five

to four against naming the school for Gandhi . . . In May 1988, a statue of Gandhi was unveiled on the grounds of the Vishnu Mandir.”¹⁸²

Other Hindu organizations were located in Scarborough. Tamil Hindus had established their own congregation in Toronto, the Ganesh Mandir, in the 1970s. A breakaway group built a temple in Scarborough in the mid-1980s: Shri Param Hans Advait Mat at 260 Ingleton Boulevard in the Milliken area.¹⁸³ Later, a Hindu group meeting there was called “Shri Anandpour Holy Satsang Ashram.”¹⁸⁴ Other Tamil Hindus, mostly from Sri Lanka, started several temples in Scarborough in the 1990s. The Murugan Temple (also known as Canada Kandasamy Temple) met in rented, industrial space on Kennedy Road, south of Steeles Avenue. Sri Thurkai Amman began in rented quarters at 2691 Markham Road in the early 1990s but moved to Carnforth Road in North York a few years later. The Scarborough space was taken over by another Tamil Hindu group who established the Sri Iyyappan Temple. The Jai Durga Hindu Society (also known as Durga Madir) held daily services in another unit at 2691 Markham Road beginning in the early 1990s; worshippers there were mostly Punjabi Hindu. A Tamil Hindu society, Sri Sathya Sai Baba Centre of Scarborough, met fortnightly at Woburn Collegiate for prayers and meditation.¹⁸⁵ Worshippers at the Hindu Cultural Society (Laxmi Narayan Mandir) used an industrial building at 1940 Ellesmere Road for a few years.¹⁸⁶ By 1996, daily services were being held at 1 Morningview Trail in Scarborough.

The Arya Samaj, whose followers spread the distinctive teachings and rituals of the founder, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, had about 1000 members in Ontario and two groups in Metro Toronto.¹⁸⁷ By 1991, the Toronto Arya Samaj was in Scarborough, where it owned a house and some land. Its membership was largely Indo-Caribbean and services were conducted in English. The other group, Arya Samaj Toronto, were mostly Hindi speakers from India or East Africa; it was not based in Scarborough. By 1997, another group, Arya Samaj (Vedic Aryan Cultural Society), was holding *satsang* (devotional meetings) every week at Agincourt Collegiate.¹⁸⁸

Sikh

By 1994, 60,000-70,000 Sikhs were living in Ontario, approximately one-third of the total Indian population, and 25 permanent and temporary *gurdwaras* (temples) had been located in Ontario.¹⁸⁹ Toronto’s first permanent gurdwara, and the first outside of British

The People of Scarborough: A History

Columbia, opened in 1969 on Pape Avenue in Toronto. The gurdwara — from two Punjabi words meaning “door of the guru” — is more than a place of worship for the Sikhs. It is the centre, the focal point of their community, a place to meet and to discuss community concerns. One historian comments that “the gurdwaras have a pivotal place in the evolution of the Sikhs from a purely religious group to an ethnic one.”¹⁹⁰

Scarborough’s Sikh community, which numbered about 2700 in 1991, began meeting at Winston Churchill Collegiate in the 1970s. The first permanent gurdwara was established in the former St. Simon’s Anglican Church on the east side of Morrish Road in Highland Creek. The congregation sold the property after the building was hit by lightning and burned to the ground in 1984. Local Sikhs reverted to using high schools for meetings until 1991, when a new gurdwara, Gursikh Sabha Canada, was opened at 905 Middlefield Road. Govinder Randhawa played a leading role in its building.

The main floor of the Scarborough gurdwara holds the main hall where services are held. Downstairs are a library, meeting rooms (Punjabi-language classes are taught here), and the *langar*, or open kitchen, where communal meals are shared. The meal is open to all, Sikh or non-Sikh, in keeping with the earliest Sikh teaching that class or caste should not divide mankind. Thousands flock to the Scarborough gurdwara on special days, especially *Baisakhi* Day on 13 April.¹⁹¹

Muslim

Islam has grown dramatically in Canada and Scarborough over the past twenty years. The 1981 census showed more than 98,000 Muslims in Canada, from more than 60 countries, speaking a variety of languages and adhering to their respective ethnic cultures. In 1991 Scarborough was home to 21,480 Muslims, and Islam was the municipality’s second largest non-Christian religion. By 1994 there were some 31 separate Islamic congregations in Metropolitan Toronto.¹⁹²

Ismaili Muslims, whose present leader is the Aga Khan, were one of the earliest Islamic groups in Scarborough. By the mid-1990s, approximately 20,000 Ismailis were residents in Ontario, with 18 separate places of worship in the greater Toronto area. In the late 1970s, hundreds of Ismailis met on Saturdays at Cedarbrae Collegiate and on Sundays at the Ismailia Jamat Centre, with members coming

from outside the municipality as well.¹⁹³ Most were Gujaratis who had migrated to East Africa in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and come to Canada in the 1970s. The Scarborough congregation relocated to rented quarters at 1151 Victoria Park Avenue, just north of St. Clair, where they remained for about 20 years. For the past several years, meetings have been held in rented space at 835 Middlefield Road. The congregation owns property in Scarborough at Middlefield Road and McNichol Avenue, where it plans to build a permanent place of worship.¹⁹⁴

About 3000 Ithna Asheris, a branch of the Shi'as Muslims, immigrated to Canada in the wake of the 1972 expulsion of Ugandan Asians. They established the Islamic Shia Ithna Asheri Jamaat of Toronto. By 1994 there was a congregation in Scarborough, meeting in rental space.¹⁹⁵

The majority of Muslims in Canada are Sunnis. The Islamic Foundation of Toronto, a Sunni Muslim group, opened a landmark mosque at 441 Nugget Avenue (Markham Road and Sheppard Avenue area) in 1991. For five years, the Muslims had pursued their battle for a mosque in Scarborough, presenting their case to the city council, various city committees, the Ontario Municipal Board, and, eventually, the courts before they solved the main stumbling block — a specified number of parking spaces for the faithful.¹⁹⁶ The \$5-million facility, the largest centre of its kind in North America, includes an Islamic elementary school and a library.

Several other Islamic organizations were located in Scarborough in 1996: Islamic Centre of Wal-le-asr, Muslim Welfare Foodbank, Sunnatul Jamaat of Ontario Mosque, and the Islamic Community of Afghans in Canada, a group of Shi'ites.¹⁹⁷ The Scarborough Muslim Association has been able to attract support for larger issues and concerns that cross ethnic and sectarian boundaries. In 1995 and 1996 it raised \$260,000 to bring co-joined twins Hira and Nida Jamal from Pakistan to Toronto, in order to have them separated at the Hospital for Sick Children.¹⁹⁸ A fund-raising dinner it sponsored in 1995 to aid the destitute in Bosnia and India was attended by about 400 people from Scarborough's Muslim community.¹⁹⁹

Buddhist

A few Buddhist organizations have been located in Scarborough. The Ambedkar Mission, founded in 1979 in Scarborough, followed the religious and social philosophy of Dr. Ambedkar, who rose from among the untouchables to become one of India's most respected

The People of Scarborough: A History

Buddhist leaders. The group was originally made up mostly of people of Indian origin.²⁰⁰ The Free Daoist Communion was located at 75 Blantyre Avenue in 1991,²⁰¹ and in 1995 another Buddhist organization, Toronto Maha Vihara, was located at 3595 Kingston Road.²⁰²

Jewish

Scarborough's Jewish population remained small, with 700 listed in the 1971 census, 1700 in 1981, and 1050 in 1991. In the latter year, 670 people also listed "Jewish" as their single ethnic origin. There was no synagogue in Scarborough, although a Jewish cemetery had been established in the late 1940s on the east side of McCowan Avenue, north of Danforth Road, by the Machzikei B'nai Israel Congregation. Sometime between 1976 and 1982, it was absorbed by the Shaarei Shonayim Congregation. Some Jewish families from Scarborough went to nearby municipalities for religious services; they belonged to Markham-Unionville Hebrew Congregation,²⁰³ the Beach Hebrew Institute in Toronto, and the B'nai Shalom V'Tikvah, a Reformed temple, established in Pickering in 1993.

No Religious Affiliation or Preference

An index of change was the growth in the number and percentage of the population professing no religious affiliation or preference. At the time of the 1981 census, about 88 percent of Scarborough's population professed to be Christians. (At the same time, more than 90 percent of the Canadian population claimed they were Christians.) On the other hand, the number professing no religious connection had risen from 19,215 (5.7 percent) in 1971 to 38,005 (8.5 percent) in 1981 and 91,550 (17.45 percent) in 1991. Jean Burnet and Howard Palmer note in their history of Canada's peoples that "this rapid increase reflects the fact that it has become more respectable than in the past to list oneself as having no religion; the fact that since 1971 giving the information does not require face-to-face contact with a census taker probably also plays a part."²⁰⁴

Yesterday and Today

The period from 1971 to 1991 was clearly one of dramatic change in Scarborough. The most obvious change was the significant increase

in the size of the immigrant population, which grew from about a quarter of the total population in 1971 to about 37 percent in 1981 and almost 50 percent in 1991. At the same time, the origins of Scarborough's immigrants shifted from the British Isles and Europe to Asia, the Caribbean, Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East. By 1981, nearly one-half of Scarborough immigrants claimed ethnic origins other than British. Five years later, the census suggested a visible-minority population of approximately 27 percent in Scarborough, compared to about 20 percent in Metropolitan Toronto.²⁰⁵ While whites constituted Scarborough's largest single racial group at 73 percent (352,135), the next largest racial groups were Blacks at 8 percent, followed by Chinese at 7 percent and Indo-Pakistanis at 5 percent. And many of these groups were concentrated in Scarborough. In 1991, Scarborough was home to 38 percent of Metropolitan Toronto's Chinese population, 36 percent of its Filipinos, 35 percent of its South Asians, and 32 percent of its Blacks (a figure higher than that of any other municipality in Metro).

There were now many languages to be heard across the city. In 1971, almost 91 percent of Scarborough residents spoke English as their first language. Twenty years later, 30 percent of Scarborough's people had a first language other than English. And, in 1991, more than one-quarter of Scarborough residents did not speak English at home, indicating a significant proportion of relatively recent immigrants. One indication of the linguistic diversity was Scarborough General Hospital's 24 hour lifeline response system, which in 1995 made emergency help available in 150 languages.²⁰⁶

Scarborough's religious composition was transformed as well. Though still predominantly Christian — Roman Catholic was the largest single category in Scarborough in 1991 — the municipality changed from being overwhelmingly mainstream Protestant and Roman Catholic to having a wide variety of Christian churches along with several non-Christian denominations and increasing numbers of people professing "no religious affiliation." By 1991 there were more Muslims in Scarborough than Presbyterians, and about half as many Hindus as United Church members. Almost one-fifth of Scarborough residents, more than ever before, were not connected with any religious organization.

Cultural variations were visible in many districts and neighbourhoods but particularly northern Scarborough, where large tracts of vacant land were developed into subdivisions, high-rise apartment complexes, and industrial areas that attracted many of the new groups. So intensive was the growth there that in 1991 the

The People of Scarborough: A History

area north of Highway 401, encompassing parts of Milliken, Agincourt North, and Malvern West, was the largest high-density area in Scarborough.²⁰⁷ As the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto noted, "In the early seventies, recent immigrants to Metro had joined with other Canadians in becoming pioneer settlers in newly-developing suburban areas of Metro."²⁰⁸ Alongside this shift in geographical distribution of the population there were equally important demographic changes. A report prepared in 1996 by the Scarborough Health Department stated that "the mature part of Scarborough to the south is typically represented by an older population of original British and Canadian settlers whereas the newer sections to the north feature a higher number of younger persons and a more diverse mix of newer ethnocultural groups."²⁰⁹

In a sense, the Scarborough of the 1990s is disconnected from its past: a large, cosmopolitan city, with a population of a half-million and a range of sophisticated services to match, is worlds removed from the tiny rural settlement that numbered 11 people in 1800. Yet modern Scarborough did not emerge out of thin air. Its size, complexity, and richness is a product of more than two hundred years of history, a history marked by population growth, institutional evolution, and increasing ethnic variety. Furthermore, though nineteenth-century Scarborough was predominantly British and its modern-day counterpart is anything but, ethnic homogeneity has not been part of its story. In earlier times, Scarborough was predominantly British yet not exclusively so, and in each and every stage of its history the community has been shaped by the different peoples that have made up its population. The Scarborough of the 1890s had its own specific character, and the same is true of the Scarborough of the 1990s.

In January 1991 the *Globe and Mail*, reflecting on the changing face of Metropolitan Toronto, commented that "the new residents are of a variety of races and cultures, and most are very different from the people in the traditional white, middle-class families for whom suburban communities were designed."²¹⁰ Of no community was this more true than Scarborough. Today, almost 200 years after David and Mary Thomson and their six children settled along Highland Creek, the city's extraordinary ethnic diversity poses challenges but also is a source of great strength. As an official publication noted in 1988: "For countless reasons, ranging from reasonable housing to always-increasing employment opportunities, Scarborough has become one of the most exciting and cultural mixes

in Metropolitan Toronto, in Canada, even in the world. More important, this increased diversity has meant a richer life for everyone, socially, economically, and spiritually.”²¹¹

Tables

Terminology used is the same as the census, unless otherwise indicated.	
Legend	
N	Number
N/A	Not applicable
N/L	Not listed
%*	Percent of immigrant population
%	Percent of total population

TABLE 1
Population growth in Scarborough, 1800-1996¹

Year	Scarborough Population	Numerical Change	Percentage Change
1800	11	-	-
1801	43	32	290.9
1802	90	47	109.3
1804	118	28	31.1
1805	103	(15)	(12.7)
1806	136	33	32.0
1807	140	4	2.9
1809	140	0	0.0
1819	349	209	149.3
1820	477	128	36.7
1830	1,135	658	137.9
1842	2,750	1,614	142.2
1851	4,244	1,494	54.3
1861	4,854	610	14.4
1871	4,615	(239)	(4.9)
1881	4,208	(407)	(8.8)
1891	4,028	(180)	(4.2)
1901	3,845	(185)	(4.5)
1910	3,426	(419)	(10.8)
1911	4,713	1,287	37.5
1921	11,746	7,033	149.2
1931	20,682	8,936	76.1
1941	24,303	3,621	17.5
1945	25,482	1,179	4.8
1951	56,292	30,810	120.9
1956	139,744	83,452	148.3
1961	217,286	77,542	55.5
1966	278,377	61,091	28.1
1971	334,485	56,108	20.2
1976	387,150	52,665	15.7
1981	443,353	56,203	14.5
1986	484,657	41,304	9.3
1991	524,598	39,941	8.2
1996	556,000 (est.)	31,402	6.0

¹Sources: 1800-1807: Christine Mosser, ed., *York, Upper Canada Minutes of Town Meetings and Lists of Inhabitants 1797-1823* (Toronto: Metropolitan Toronto Library Board, 1984):[16] passim. 1809: Ontario, Dept. Of Planning and Development, *R.D.H.P. Valley Conservation Report* (Toronto, 1956): 25. 1809, 1819, 1910, 1945: Robert Bonis, ed., *A History of Scarborough*. (Scarborough, Ont.; Scarborough Public Library Board, 1968): 52, 179, 202. 1820, 1830: David Boyle, ed., *The Township of Scarboro 1796-1896* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1896), 267. 1842, 1851, 1861: Census of the Canadas. 1871-1991: Census of Canada. 1996 (estimate): City of Scarborough, Development Department.

TABLE 2
General Birthplaces of Scarborough's population, 1842-1991¹

Year	Total Population ² Number	Canada ³		British Isles ⁴		Other	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1842	2,750	1,485	54.0	1,237	45.0	90	3.3
1851	4,244	2,137	50.4	1,993	47.0	114	2.7
1861	4,854	3,018	62.2	1,736	35.8	100	2.1
1871	4,615	3,324	72.0	1,212	26.3	79	1.7
1881	4,208	3,333	79.2	906	21.5	69	1.6
1921	11,746	7,353	62.6	4,011	34.1	382	3.2
1931	20,682	13,356	64.6	6,561	31.7	765	3.7
1961	217,286	166,254	76.5	N/L	-	50,871	23.4
1971	334,485	245,440	73.4	38,730	11.6	50,330	15.0
1981	443,353	277,980	62.7	39,825	9.0	125,548	28.3
1991	524,598	274,465	52.3	26,090	5.0	202,970 ⁵	38.7

¹Sources: Census of the Canadas, 1842, 1851, 1861; Census of Canada, 1871-1991.
²In some years, the sum of the categories is not equal to the total Scarborough population, as reported in the census.
³Population residing within the boundaries of Canada at the time.
⁴Listed as "United Kingdom," 1971-1991.
⁵Does not include 16,750 "Non-permanent residents."

TABLE 3
Detailed birthplaces of Scarborough's Population, 1842-1881

Year Total population	1842 2,750			1851 4,244			1861 4,854			1871 4,615			1881 4,208		
Birthplace	Number	% *	%	Number	% *	%	Number	% *	%	Number	% *	%	Number	% *	%
Canada not of French origin ¹	1,674	N/A	60.9	2,133	N/A	50.3	3,015	N/A	62.1	N/L	-	-	N/L	-	-
Canada of French origin	11	N/A	0.4	4	N/A	0.1	3	N/A	0.1	N/L	-	-	N/L	-	-
East Indies	N/L	-	-	2	0.1	0.1	0	-	-	N/L	-	-	N/L	-	-
England and Wales ²	523	39.4	19.0	704	33.4	16.6	717	39.1	14.8	581	45.0	12.6	466	47.8	11.1
France	N/L	-	-	0	-	-	1	0.1	0.02	4	0.3	0.1	1	0.4	0.0
Germany and Holland ³	N/L	-	-	0	-	-	12	0.7	0.2	2	0.2	0.0	5	0.5	0.1
Ireland	249	18.8	9.1	756	35.8	17.8	563	30.6	11.6	282	21.8	6.1	198	20.3	4.7
New Brunswick	N/L	-	-	18	0.9	0.4	13	0.7	0.3	7	N/A	0.2	5	N/A	0.1
Nova Scotia & Prince Edward Island ⁴	N/L	-	-	0	-	-	9	0.5	0.2	1	N/A	0.0	9	N/A	0.2
Ontario	N/L	-	-	N/L	-	-	N/L	-	-	3,286	N/A	71.2	3,206	N/A	76.2
Other British Possessions	N/L	-	-	N/L	-	-	N/L	-	-	1	0.0	0.0	0	-	-
Quebec	N/L	-	-	N/L	-	-	N/L	-	-	30	N/A	0.7	12	N/A	0.3
Scotland	465	35.0	16.9	533	25.0	12.6	456	25.0	9.4	349	27.0	7.6	242	24.8	5.8
United States of America	90	6.8	3.3	84	4.0	2.0	64	3.5	1.3	49	3.8	1.1	60	6.2	1.4
Not known/not given	N/L	-	-	10	N/A	0.2	0	-	-	23	N/A	0.5	2	N/A	0.1
At Sea	N/L	-	-	0	-	-	0	-	-	0	-	-	1	0.1	0.0

¹Listed as "Canada of British Origin," 1842.

²Includes only England, 1842.

³Listed as "Germany and Holland," 1851; "Prussia, German states and Holland," 1861; "Germany," 1871 and 1881.

⁴Includes only Nova Scotia, 1871.

TABLE 4
Detailed Birthplaces of Scarborough's Population, 1971-1991¹

Year	1971			1981			1991		
Total population	334,490			443,353			524,598		
Place of Birth	Number	% of immigrant population	% of total population	Number	% of immigrant population	% of total population	Number	% of immigrant population	% of total population
Canada	245,440	N/A	73.4	277,980	N/A	62.7	274,465	N/A	52.3
Ontario ²	211,340	N/A	63.2	238,105	N/A	53.7	234,820	N/A	44.8
Other provinces	34,095	N/A	10.2	39,875	N/A	9.0	39,645	N/A	7.5
Outside Canada	89,050	N/A	26.6	161,580	N/A	36.4	229,060	N/A	43.7
Africa	1,045	1.2	0.3	5,320	3.3	1.2	9,225	4.0	1.8
Asia	4,040	4.5	1.2	32,740	20.3	7.4	N/L	-	-
Caribbean and Bermuda	N/L	-	-	N/L	-	-	28,035	12.2	5.3
Central and South America	N/L	-	-	N/L	-	-	20,640	9.0	3.9
China	645	0.7	0.2	N/L	-	-	N/L	-	-
Europe	73,800	82.9	22.1	87,780	54.3	20.0	N/L	-	-
Germany	6,320	7.1	1.9	6,070	3.7	1.4	N/L	-	-
India ³	1,330	1.5	0.4	7,095	4.4	1.6	10,870	4.7	2.1
Italy	7,995	9.0	2.4	12,275	7.6	2.7	N/L	-	-
Netherlands	2,145	2.4	0.6	1,945	1.2	0.4	N/L	-	-
Oceania and Other	N/L	-	-	N/L	-	-	890	0.4	0.2
Other America	N/L	-	-	10,205	6.3	2.3	N/L	-	-
Other Asia	N/L	-	-	N/L	-	-	83,040	36.2	15.8
Other European	N/L	-	-	47,950	29.7	10.8	47,265	20.6	9.0
Poland	1,400	1.6	0.4	1,420	0.9	0.3	N/L	-	-
Republic of Ireland ⁴	1,965	2.2	0.6	1,115	0.7	0.3	N/L	-	-
United Kingdom	38,720	43.5	11.5	39,825	24.6	9.0	26,090	11.4	5.0
USSR	2,270	2.6	0.7	2,535	1.5	0.6	N/L	-	-
United States of America	3,160	3.6	0.9	3,790	2.3	0.9	3,010	1.3	0.6
West Indies and Latin America	6,080	6.8	1.8	N/L	-	-	N/L	-	-

¹Sources: Census of Canada, 1971, 1981, 1991. Ontario, Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, 1981.

²Listed as "Born in province of residence."

³Includes India and Pakistan, 1971.

⁴Listed as "Eire," 1981.

TABLE 5
Ethnic origin of Scarborough's population, 1871-1941¹

Year	1871		1881		1901		1911		1921		1931		1941	
Total population	4,615		4,208		3,845		4,712		11,746		20,682		24,303	
Ethnic Origin	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
African	1	0.0	0	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-
Austrian	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	22	0.2	33	0.2	53	0.2
Austro-Hungarian	N/L	-	N/L	-	0	-	1	0.0	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-
Belgian	N/L	-	N/L	-	0	-	0	-	1	0.0	27	0.1	14	0.1
Chinese ²	N/L	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	3	0.0	32	0.2	14	0.1
Czech and Slovak	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	5	0.0	20	0.1
Dutch ³	53	1.1	0	-	32	0.8	21	0.4	210	1.8	128	0.6	272	1.1
English	2,035	44.1	1,980	47.1	2,066	53.7	2,621	55.6	7,305	62.2	12,847	62.1	15,002	61.7
Finnish	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	15	0.1	29	0.1	45	0.2
French	124	2.7	83	2	50	1.3	41	0.9	190	1.6	331	1.6	461	1.9
German	183	4.2	181	4.3	143	3.7	142	3	85	0.7	246	1.2	294	1.2
Greek	0	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	0	-	4	0.0	N/L	-	N/L	-
Hungarian	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	9	0.0	29	0.1
Indian ⁴	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	3	0.0	22	0.1	22	0.1
Irish	943	20.4	757	18	532	13.8	634	13.5	1,556	13.2	2,702	13.1	3,212	13.2
Italian	0	-	0	-	1	0.0	13	0.3	135	1.1	186	0.9	321	1.3
Japanese ⁵	N/L	-	N/L	-	0	-	0	-	3	0.0	32	0.2	N/L	-
Jewish ⁶	0	-	0	-	0	-	11	0.2	10	0.1	24	0.1	17	0.1
Negro	N/L	-	N/L	-	1	0.0	1	0.0	5	0.0	N/L	-	N/L	-
Other British	N/L	-	N/L	-	18	0.5	10	0.2	109	0.9	200	1.0	289	1.4
Other European	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	18	0.2	87	0.4	89	0.4
Polish	N/L	-	0	-	N/L	-	1	0.0	8	0.1	60	0.3	129	0.5
Roumanian	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	0	-	N/L	-	2	0.0	34	0.1
Russian	N/L	-	0	-	0	-	1	0.0	9	0.1	45	0.2	34	0.1
Scandinavian	0	-	0	-	0	-	5	0.1	54	0.5	68	0.3	130	0.5
Scotch ⁷	1,270	27.5	1,202	28.6	996	26	1,095	23.2	1,956	16.7	3,415	16.5	3,528	14.5
Swiss	0	-	0	-	3	0.1	2	0.0	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-
Syrian	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	1	0.0	N/L	-	N/L	-
Ukrainian	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	8	0.1	122	0.6	253	1
Not given/unspecified	6	0.13	5	0.1	3	0.1	114	2.4	39	0.3	33	0.2	40	0.2

¹Sources: Census of Canada, 1871-1941.²Includes "Chinese and Japanese," 1901, 1921, 1931.³Listed as "Netherland," 1941.⁴Includes "Indian and Eskimo," 1931, 1941.⁵Includes "Chinese and Japanese," 1901, 1921, 1931.⁶Listed as "Hebrew," 1921, 1931.⁷Listed as "Scottish," 1931, 1941.

TABLE 6
Ethnic origin¹ of Scarborough residents, 1951-1991²

Year	1951		1961		1971		1981		1986		1991	
Total	56,292		217,286		334,485		443,353		484,657		524,598	
Ethnic Origin	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Aboriginal ³	N/L	-	N/L	-	745	0.2	1,735	0.4	560	0.1	855	0.2
Arab	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	2,895 ⁴	0.7	N/L	-	N/L	-
Asiatic ⁵	160	0.3	1,809	0.8	7,440	2.2	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-
Austrian	N/L	-	N/L	-	965	0.3	1,075	0.2	N/L	-	N/L	-
Black ⁶	N/L	-	N/L	-	1,085	0.3	14,980	3.4	20,955 ⁷	4.3	28,710	5.5
British ⁸	46,873	83.3	162,254	74.7	234,770	70.2	238,350	53.8	151,025	31.2	101,255 ⁹	19.3
Canadian	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	1,145	0.3	N/L	-	38,010	7.2
Chinese	N/L	-	N/L	-	1,810	0.5	17,905	4.0	30,120 ¹⁰	6.2	65,825	12.5
Croatian	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	415	0.1	N/L	-	450	0.1
Czech	N/L	-	N/L	-	740	0.2	650 ¹¹	0.2	N/L	-	N/L	-
Dutch ¹²	972	1.7	4,777	2.2	5,680	1.7	4,345	1.0	3,205	0.7	2,355	0.4
Filipino	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	6,015	1.4	10,090 ¹³	2.1	14,895	2.8
Finnish	N/L	-	N/L	-	1,305	0.4	1,640	0.4	N/L	-	935	0.2
French	1,420	2.5	7,331	3.4	13,215	4.0	11,555	2.6	9,720	2.0	6,275	1.2
German	917	1.6	10,181	4.7	17,270	5.2	13,695	3.1	11,310	2.3	9,300	1.8
Greek	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	14,840	3.3	N/L	-	14,150	2.7
Hungarian	N/L	-	N/L	-	1,885	0.6	2,210	0.5	N/L	-	2,255	0.4
Italian	703	1.2	4,784	2.2	15,485	4.6	23,565	5.3	21,580	4.5	19,615	3.7
Japanese	N/L	-	N/L	-	2,090	0.6	2,580	0.6	3,160 ¹⁴	0.7	2,460	0.5
Jewish	49	0.1	158	0.7	1,090	0.3	1,230	0.3	990	0.2	670	0.1
Korean	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	2,505	0.6	2,895 ¹⁵	0.6	3,045	0.6
Latin Americans	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	605	0.1	2,030 ¹⁶	0.4	N/L	-
Lebanese	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	330	0.1	N/L	-	1,635	0.3
Other European	930	1.7	9,561	4.4	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-
Polish	403	0.7	2,456	1.1	3,460	1.0	2,730	0.6	3,190	0.7	5,390	1.0
Portuguese	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	4,010	0.9	N/L	-	5,435	1.0

TABLE 6 continued on following page

TABLE 6
Ethnic origin¹ of Scarborough residents, 1951-1991²

Year	1951		1961		1971		1981		1986		1991	
Total	56,292		217,286		334,485		443,353		484,657		524,598	
Ethnic Origin	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Russian	131	0.2	489	0.2	450	0.1	190	0.0	N/L	-	N/L	-
Scandinavian	387	0.7	2,053	0.9	2,375	0.7	1,550	0.3	960	0.2	710 ¹⁷	0.1
Slovak	N/L	-	N/L	-	315	0.1	300 ¹⁸	0.1	N/L	-	N/L	-
South Asian ¹⁹	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	14,540	3.3	23,545 ²⁰	4.9	26,960	5.1
Southeast Asian	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	26,521	0.1	109,022	0.2	N/L	-
Spanish	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	1,495	0.3	N/L	-	3,550	0.7
Ukrainian	694	1.2	2,881	1.3	5,265	1.6	4,030	0.9	3,265	0.7	2,790	0.5
Vietnamese	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	190	0.0	N/L	-	1,300	0.2
West Asians and Arabs	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	6,080 ²³	1.3	N/L	-
West Indian	N/L	-	N/L	-	1,665	0.5	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-
Yugoslavian	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	3,875 ²⁴	0.9	N/L	-	1,845 ²⁵	0.4
Other and not declared /not stated ²⁶	2,653	4.7	8,552	3.9	22,835	6.8	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-
Other Single Origins	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	68,730	14.2	52,090	9.9
Multiple Origins	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	30,305	6.8	131,125	27.1	107,510	20.5

¹Single ethnic origin unless otherwise indicated.

²Sources: Census of Canada (1951-1971, 1986, 1991):
 Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture (1981);
 Scarborough Planning Department (1986).

³Listed as "Native Indian," 1971; "Native Peoples," 1981.

⁴Includes 2,255 "Asian Arab" and 640 "North African Arab," 1981.

⁵Listed as "Asian," 1971.

⁶Listed as "Negro," 1971.

⁷Blacks "Visible Minority Population" was 40,430 (8.4%)
 in 1986.

⁸Listed as "British Isles," 1961.

⁹Includes 68,630 English, 18,255 Scottish, 13,735 Irish,
 and 630 Other British, 1991.

¹⁰Chinese "Visible Minority Population" was 31,850
 (6.6%) in 1986.

¹¹Does not include 355 "Czechoslovakian," 1981.

¹²Listed as "Netherlands," 1951, 1961, 1971.

¹³Listed as "Visible Minority Population," 1986.

¹⁴Listed as "Visible Minority Population," 1986.

¹⁵Listed as "Visible Minority Population," 1986.

¹⁶Listed as "Visible Minority Population," 1986.

¹⁷Includes 80 Norwegian, 210 Swedish, and 420 Danish,
 1991.

¹⁸Does not include 355 "Czechoslovakian," 1981.

¹⁹Listed as "Indo-Pakistani," 1981; "East Indian," 1991

²⁰Indo-Pakistani Visible Minority Population" was 26,040
 (5.4%) in 1986.

²¹Listed as "Indo-Chinese," 1981. Includes Burmese,
 Cambodian, Laotian, Thai, and Vietnamese.

²²Listed as "Southeast Asians Visible Minority Population,"
 1986. Includes Vietnamese, Burmese, Cambodian,
 Laotian, Thai, Malay and/or Indonesian.

²³Listed as "Visible Minority Population," 1986. Includes
 Lebanese, Egyptian, Palestinian, Syrian, Iranian, Turk and
 Armenian.

²⁴Includes 415 Croatian, 290 Serbian, 215 Slovenian, and
 2,955 Yugoslav N.O.S.

²⁵Listed as "Yugoslav, n.i.e.," 1991.

²⁶Listed as "Other and Unknown," 1971.

TABLE 7
Mother Tongue¹ of Scarborough residents, 1951-1991²

Year	1961	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991
Total population	217,286	334,485	387,150	443,353	484,657	524,598
Mother Tongue	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %	N %
Aboriginal ³	21 0.0	N/L -	145 0.0	55 0.0	235 0.1	75 0.0
African	N/L -	N/L -	N/L -	210 0.1	N/L -	N/L -
Arabic	N/L -	N/L -	N/L -	1,925 0.4	1,720 0.4	3,360 0.0
Armenian	N/L -	N/L -	N/L -	1,290 0.3	1,615 0.3	2,115 0.4
Baltic	N/L -	N/L -	1,785 0.5	2,150 ⁴ 0.5	850 ⁵ 0.2	745 0.1
Bengali ⁶	N/L -	N/L -	N/L -	210 0.1	345 0.1	545 0.1
Chinese	197 0.1	1,115 0.3	4,580 1.2	12,140 2.7	21,565 4.5	51,290 9.8
Czech & Slovak	426 ⁷ 0.2	N/L -	605 0.2	785 0.2	840 0.2	935 ⁸ 0.2
Dutch ⁹	2,099 1.0	525 0.2	1,625 0.4	1,815 0.4	1,465 0.3	1,180 0.2
English ¹⁰	195,006 89.7	292,985 87.5	314,740 81.3	347,070 78.3	357,020 73.7	343,990 65.6
Estonian	N/L -	N/L -	N/L -	1,195 0.3	1,085 0.2	1,025 0.2
Finnish	487 0.2	N/L -	N/L -	1,180 0.3	980 0.2	795 0.2
French	2,298 1.1	N/L ¹¹ -	5,320 1.4	6,425 1.4	5,730 1.2	5,445 1.0
Gaelic	51 0.0	N/L -	N/L -	N/L -	N/L -	N/L -
German	6,706 3.1	10,435 3.1	8,655 2.2	9,460 2.1	7,910 1.6	6,530 1.2
Greek	N/L -	4,185 1.2	5,755 1.5	10,545 2.4	10,540 2.2	10,195 1.9
Gujarati	N/L -	N/L -	N/L -	N/L -	N/L -	3,615 0.7
Hindi	N/L -	N/L -	N/L -	980 0.2	1,175 0.2	1,660 0.3
Hungarian (Magyar)	418 0.2	1,285 0.4	1,365 0.4	1,850 0.4	1,625 0.3	1,700 0.3
Indo-Pakistani	N/L -	645 0.1	3,045 0.8	6,565 1.5	N/L -	N/L -
Italian	2,366 1.1	10,425 3.1	2,505 3.2	15,750 3.6	13,725 2.8	11,440 2.2
Japanese	485 0.2	N/L -	675 0.2	1,030 0.2	985 0.2	1,030 0.2
Korean	N/L -	N/L -	675 0.2	1,880 0.4	1,960 0.4	2,390 0.5
Macedonian	N/L -	N/L -	N/L -	3,685 0.8	4,550 0.9	4,365 0.8
Malayalam	N/L -	N/L -	N/L -	160 0.0	265 0.1	335 0.1
Niger-Congo	N/L -	N/L -	N/L -	110 0.0	N/L -	520 0.1
Persian (Farsi) ¹²	N/L -	N/L -	N/L -	135 0.0	380 0.1	3,865 0.7
Polish	961 0.4	1,285 0.4	1,105 0.3	1,510 0.3	2,345 0.5	4,020 0.8
Portuguese	N/L -	1,045 0.3	1,715 0.4	2,650 0.6	2,575 0.5	2,805 0.5
Punjabi	N/L -	N/L -	N/L -	1,090 0.3	1,370 0.3	2,295 0.4
Romanian	N/L -	N/L -	N/L -	160 0.0	175 0.0	440 0.1
Russian	162 0.1	N/L -	165 0.0	235 0.1	165 0.0	200 0.0
Scandinavian	839 0.4	N/L -	610 0.2	760 0.2	570 0.1	475 0.1
Sinhalese ¹³	N/L -	N/L -	N/L -	115 0.0	345 0.1	380 0.1
Spanish	N/L -	435 0.1	995 0.2	1,610 -	2,260 0.5	4,875 0.9
Tagalog, Pilipino	N/L -	N/L -	N/L -	3,785 0.9	4,295 0.9	8,105 1.5
Tamil	N/L -	N/L -	N/L -	165 0.0	480 0.1	7,640 1.5
Ukrainian	1,517 0.7	1,915 0.6	1,945 0.5	2,270 0.5	1,730 0.4	1,250 0.2
Urdu	N/L -	N/L -	N/L -	1,325 0.3	1,410 0.3	2,300 0.4
Vietnamese	N/L -	N/L -	N/L -	180 0.0	460 0.1	1,050 0.2
Yiddish	60 0.0	N/L -	N/L -	45 0.0	45 0.0	30 0.0
Yugoslav ¹⁴	N/L -	1,660 0.5	4,450 1.2	1,615 0.4	2,195 0.5	1,360 ¹⁵ 0.3
Other languages	3,187 1.5	20,590 5.3				
Not stated	N/L -	N/L -	9,505 2.5	N/L -	N/L -	N/L -
Multiple responses	N/L -	N/L -	N/L -	N/L -	23,160 4.8	22,456 4.3

¹Mother tongue is defined as the first language spoken as a child and still understood. Statistics are for single responses unless noted otherwise.

²Sources: Census of Canada (1961, 1971, 1976, 1986, 1991); Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture (1971, 1976, 1981, 1986).

³Listed as "Indian and Eskimo, 1961; "Native Indian," 1976; "Amerindian languages," 1981.

⁴Includes Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian, 1981.

⁵Includes Latvian and Lithuanian, 1986.

⁶Listed as "Bengali-Sinhalese," 1986.

⁷Slovak only.

⁸Includes 630 Czech, 305 Slovak.

⁹Listed as "Netherlands," 1961. Includes "Netherlandic and Flemish," 1976; "Dutch, Frisian," 1986.

¹⁰Includes English and French, 1971.

¹¹Included with English.

¹²Listed as "Iranian," 1981.

¹³Listed as "Cingalin," 1981; "Bengali-Sinhalese," 1986.

¹⁴Includes "Croatian, Serbian, Slovenian and other Yugoslav," 1971, 1976, 1981. Listed as "Croatian, Serbian, etc.," 1986.

¹⁵Includes 450 Croatian, 435 Serbian, 180 Serbo-Croatian, 295 Slovenian.

TABLE 8
Religious Affiliations of Scarborough Residents, 1842-1901¹

Year Total population	1842 2,750 ²		1851 4,244		1861 4,854		1871 4,615		1881 4,208		1891 4,028		1901 3,845	
Religion	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Adventists ³	N/L	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	0.1	9	0.0	0	-
Baptists ⁴ : All Types	103	3.7	71	1.6	52	1.2	65 ⁵	1.4	31	0.7	36	0.8	47	1.2
Brethren	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	0	-	0	-	15	0.4	2	0.1
Christians	N/L	-	0	-	41	0.8	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-
Christian Conference	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	38	0.8	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-
Church of England ⁶	707	25.7	1,362	32.1	1,463	30.1	1,185	25.6	949	22.5	902	22.4	727	18.9
Congregationalists ⁷	12	0.4	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	0.1	3	0.1	2	0.1
Disciples	N/L	-	7	0.2	26	0.5	N/L	-	40	0.9	5	0.1	8	0.2
Jews	0	-	6	0.1	1	0.0	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
Lutherans	9	0.3	0	-	0	-	2	0.0	3	0.1	1	0.0	0	-
Mennonites ⁸	N/L	-	0	-	12	0.2	N/L	-	41	1.0	N/L	-	61	1.6
Methodists: All Types	646	23.5	844	19.8	1,121	23.1	1,232	26.7	1,245	29.6	1,228	30.5	1,121	29.2
Protestants	N/L	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	0.0	1	0.0	0	-
Presbyterians: All Types	841	30.6	1,497	35.3	1,641	33.8	1,753	38.0	1,698	40.4	1,567	38.9	1,625	42.3
Quakers ⁹	8	0.3	3	0.1	1	0.0	1	0.0	2	0.1	0	-	1	0.0
Roman Catholics ¹⁰	95	3.5	364	8.5	469	9.7	299	6.5	202	4.8	179	4.4	203	5.2
Salvation Army	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	2	0.0	4	0.1
Unitarians	N/L	-	70	1.6	3	0.1	2	0.0	2	0.1	0	-	N/L	-
Universalists	N/L	-	10	0.2	3	0.1	0	-	0	-	0	-	N/L	-
Other	90	3.3	7	0.2	11	0.2	7	0.1	0	-	70	1.7	25	0.6
No religion	N/L	-	N/L	-	3	0.1	18	0.4	0	-	N/L	-	N/L	-
Not given/not specified	244	8.8	3	0.1	7	0.1	13	0.3	10	0.2	10	0.2	19	0.5

¹Sources: Census of Upper Canada (1842); Census of the Canadas (1851, 1861), Census of Canada (1871, 1881, 1891, 1901).

²Some 2,506 people are included under "Religions" in the handwritten copy of the 1842 census. The author has placed the remaining 244 people in the "Not given/not

specified" column, and calculated percentages using the number for the total population.

³Listed as "Second Adventists": 1851, 1861.

⁴Listed as "Baptists and Anabaptists": 1842.

⁵Includes 29 Tunkers

⁶Listed as "Anglicans": 1901.

⁷Listed as "Congregationalists or Independents:" 1842.

⁸Various listed "Menonists [Menonists] and Tunkers": 1851, 1861, 1881.

⁹Listed as "Friends:" 1901.

¹⁰Various listed as "Church of Rome": 1842, 1851, 1861; "Catholics,": 1871; "Catholics, Roman;": 1881.

TABLE 9
Religious Affiliations of Scarborough's Population, 1911-1941¹

Year	1911		1921		1931		1941	
Total population	4,713		11,746		20,682		24,303 ²	
Religion	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Adventists	0	-	0	-	1	0.0	N/L	-
Anglicans	1,249	26.5	5,061	43.1	9,249	44.7	10,046	41.3
Baptists	93	2.0	393	3.3	1,073	5.2	1,455	5.9
Brethren ³	1	0.0	31	0.3	53	0.3	N/L	-
Christians	12	0.3	3	0.0	34	0.2	N/L	-
Christian Science	N/L	-	N/L	-	64	0.3	N/L	-
Congregationalists	18	0.4	205	1.7	N/L	-	N/L	-
Confucians and Buddhists	N/L	-	N/L	-	4	0.0	N/L	-
Disciples ⁴	1	0.0	5	0.0	11	0.1	N/L	-
Eastern Religions	N/L	-	1	0.0	N/L	-	N/L	-
Evangelical Association	N/L	-	0	-	12	0.1	N/L	-
Friends	13	0.3	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-
Greek Church ⁵	0	-	1	0.0	22	0.1	103	0.4
International Bible								
Students Association	N/L	-	N/L	-	19	0.1	N/L	-
Jews ⁶	11	0.2	10	0.1	24	0.1	16	0.1
Lutherans	4	0.1	17	0.1	61	0.3	166	0.7
Mennonites	66	1.4	68	0.6	57	0.3	91	0.4
Methodists	1,170	24.8	2,084	17.7	N/L	-	N/L	-
Mormons	0	-	9	0.1	16	0.1	N/L	-
Pentecostal	N/L	-	N/L	-	35	0.2	N/L	-
Presbyterians	1,754	37.2	2,711	23.1	2,815	13.6	2,598	10.7
Protestants	0	-	4	0.0	34	0.2	N/L	-
Roman Catholics	274	5.8	952	8.1	2,053	9.9	2,518	10.4
Salvation Army	2	0.0	64	0.5	117	0.6	N/L	-
United Church	N/L	-	N/L	-	4,705	22.7	6,552	26.9
Various/other sects	40	0.8	98	0.8	222	1.1	N/L	-
Unspecified/not stated	5	0.1	29	0.2	1	0.0	874	3.6

¹Source: Census of Canada (1911, 1921, 1931, 1941).

²Some 23,545 people are included under "Population by selected religious denominations" in the published copy of the 1941 census. The author has placed the remaining 874 people in the "Unspecified/not stated" column, and calculated percentages using the number for the total population.

³Listed as "Brethren and United Brethren:" 1931.

⁴Variouly listed as "Disciples of Christ": 1921; "Church of Christ, Disciples:" 1931.

⁵Listed as "Greek Orthodox:" 1931, 1941.

⁶Listed as "Jewish:" 1941.

TABLE 10
Religious affiliations of Scarborough residents, 1951-1991¹

Religion Total Population	1951 56,292		1961 217,286		1971 334,485		1981 443,353		1991 484,657	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Anglican	20,475	36.4	60,129	27.7	71,565	21.4	70,330	15.0	49,450	10.2
Baptist	3,201	5.7	9,560	4.4	11,910	3.6	N/L	-	14,015	2.9
Buddhist	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	7,395	1.5
Eastern Non-Christian	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	17,970	4.1	N/L	-
Greek/ Eastern Orthodox ²	274	0.5	2,268	1.0	9,535	2.9	23,510	5.3	25,940	5.4
Hindu	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	23,300	4.8
Islam	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	21,480	4.4
Jehovah's Witnesses	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	2,135	0.4
Jewish	97	0.2	430	0.2	700	0.2	1,700	0.4	1,050	0.2
Latter-day Saints (Mormons)	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	1,040	0.2
Lutheran	490	0.9	6,914	3.2	10,350	2.1	N/L	-	7,500	1.5
Mennonite	83	0.1	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	490	0.1
Pentecostal	N/L	-	N/L	-	2,565	0.8	N/L	-	10,345	2.1
Presbyterian	5,619	9.9	19,453	8.9	27,915	8.3	N/L	-	19,670	4.1
Reformed Bodies	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	340	0.1
Roman Catholic ³	6,947	12.3	42,215	19.4	88,580	26.5	135,540	30.6	155,250	32.0
Salvation Army	N/L	-	N/L	-	2,740	0.8	N/L	-	2,845	0.6
Sikh	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	2,730	0.6
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic ⁴	274	0.5	690	0.3	1,325	0.8	N/L	-	840	0.2
United Church	16,622	29.5	65,580	30.2	75,820	22.6	70,240	15.8	43,105	8.9
Other Protestant	N/L	-	N/L	-	N/L	-	140,570	31.7	38,125	7.9
Other Religions	2,210	3.9	10,047	4.6	N/L	-	310	0.1	1,290	0.3
No religious preference/affiliation	N/L	-	N/L	-	19,215 ⁵	5.7	38,005	8.6	91,550	18.9

¹Source: Census of Canada (1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991).

²Listed as "Greek Orthodox": 1951-1971; listed as "Eastern Orthodox:" 1981-1991.

³Listed as "Catholic:" 1981.

⁴Listed as "Ukrainian Catholic:" 1971, 1991.

⁵Listed as "No religion."

TABLE 11
Age distribution in Scarborough, 1951-1991¹

Year	0-4		5-9		10-14		15-19		20-24		25-34	
1951	8,267	14.7%	5,279	9.4%	3,685	6.5%	973	1.7%	1,089	1.9%	11,395	20.2%
1956	21,726	14.5%	16,943	12.1%	9,764	6.9%	6,100	4.4%	8,295	5.9%	30,575	21.8%
1961	32,177	14.8%	27,779	12.7%	20,426	9.4%	11,773	5.4%	10,756	4.9%	39,737	18.3%
1966	33,913	12.2%	35,865	12.8%	29,566	10.6%	22,101	7.9%	16,377	5.8%	39,156	14.1%
1971	28,470	8.5%	37,155	11.1%	37,200	11.1%	31,335	9.3%	27,875	8.3%	45,805	13.7%
1976	28,320	7.3%	31,875	8.2%	39,285	10.1%	39,745	10.2%	34,105	8.8%	59,770	15.4%
1981	30,630	6.9%	30,960	7.0%	34,730	7.3%	43,175	9.7%	43,265	9.8%	74,660	16.8%
1986	33,860	7.0%	31,555	6.5%	32,525	6.7%	37,475	7.7%	50,585	10.4%	83,190	17.2%
1991	34,365	6.5%	33,580	6.4%	32,605	6.2%	35,985	6.9%	43,185	8.2%	95,570	18.2%

Year	35-44		45-54		55-64		65-69		70+	
1951	8,636	15.3%	5,303	9.4%	3,666	6.5%	1,358	2.4%	1,751	3.1%
1956	22,473	16.1%	11,387	8.1%	6,523	4.6%	2,388	1.7%	3,570	2.5%
1961	36,534	16.8%	19,465	9.0%	9,778	4.5%	3,276	1.5%	5,585	2.6%
1966	46,902	16.8%	27,702	10.0	13,891	5.0%	4,340	1.5%	8,564	3.1%
1971	49,805	14.9%	38,765	11.6%	20,340	6.1%	5,835	1.7%	11,570	3.4%
1976	51,750	13.3%	49,415	12.8%	28,230	7.3%	8,900	2.3%	15,760	4.1%
1981	58,485	13.2%	54,160	12.2%	39,430	8.9%	12,400	2.8%	21,460	4.8%
1986	71,100	14.7%	55,560	11.5%	49,260	10.2%	26,820	5.5%	15,910	3.3%
1991	82,435	15.7%	58,820	11.2%	51,535	9.8%	34,765 ²	6.6%	19,775 ³	3.8%

¹Sources: Census of Canada, 1951-1991.

²Includes ages 65-74.

³Age 75 +

Notes

CHAPTER ONE

1. It should be noted that, in addition to specific tribal names, various words are used to designate the North American Indian population of Ontario and Canada: Amerindian, Native, and Aboriginal, as well as “nation” and “First Nation.” While no longer the preferred term, “Indian” does remain in regular use, even among the Aboriginal people themselves.
2. The nomenclature and dates of the chronological periods utilized in this chapter are taken from: J. Ellis and N. Ferris, eds., *The Archaeology of Southern Ontario to A.D. 1650* (London, Ont.: Ontario Archaeological Society, London Chapter, 1990); this work is sometimes referred to by archaeologists as “the bible of Ontario prehistory.”
3. L.J. Chapman, *The Physiography of Southern Ontario*, 3rd ed. (Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, 1984), 193.
4. Peter Storck and Arthur E. Speiss, “The Significance of New Faunal Identifications Attributed to an Early PaleoIndian (Gainey Complex) Occupation at the Udora Site, Ontario, Canada,” *American Antiquity* 59 (January 1994): 121.
5. C. Garrad, “Ontario Fluted Point Survey,” *Ontario Archaeologist* 16 (1971): 6 passim.
6. Bob Burgar, Project Archaeologist, Metropolitan Toronto Conservation Authority, telephone interview by Barbara Myrvold, Toronto, Ontario, 6 February 1997.
7. H. Bruce Schroeder, “Evidence for Early Human Presence in Scarborough,” *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 13, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 1989): 4.
8. H. Bruce Schroeder, letter to Michele Topa, Director, Service Development and Promotion, Scarborough Public Library Board, 18 May 1997. In the letter, Schroeder also writes: “The point was found by two young girls whose family took it to Peter Storck of the ROM [Royal Ontario Museum], a specialist in PaleoIndian studies . . . [The] problem is we don’t know how it got into the stream; whether it eroded out of adjacent intact deposits or possibly came from some other soil brought in from elsewhere during the development of the area. We checked the stream banks for more material with no luck. It probably came from nearby.”
9. Dana R. Poulton, President, D.R. Poulton Associates, Archaeological Resource Management, London, Ontario, letter to Barbara Myrvold, 23 May 1997.

The People of Scarborough: A History

10. Chert is a compact rock consisting essentially of microcrystalline quartz. Chert is sometimes confused with flint, but, according to archaeologist Christine Caroppo (Researcher, Metropolitan Toronto Region Conservation Authority), there is no flint in North American — it all came from Europe.
11. Although not all archaeological sites are registered, of the 77 registered archaeological sites in Scarborough in 1997, 13 were identified as Archaic and 11 as Woodland. Penny Young, Archaeological Data Coordinator, Cultural Programs Branch, Ontario Ministry of Citizenship, Culture, and Recreation, letter to Barbara Myrvold, 18 February 1997.
12. The Ontario government commissioned this report in connection with the proposed North Pickering community.
13. Mayer, Pihl, Poulton and Associates, *The Archaeological Facility Master Plan Study of the Northeast Study Area — Executive Summary*, prepared for the City of Scarborough (February, 1989); report on file at the City of Scarborough Planning Department and at the offices of Mayer, Poulton and Associates.
14. *Rouge Valley Park Planning Project Phase One Report: Background, Principles, and Options* (Scarborough: Rouge Valley Park Project and Hough Stansbury, Woodland, 5 November 1991), 41.
15. Peter P. Pratt, "Collection of William J. Helliwell, Scarboro from Lot 8, Concession I Scarboro" (Royal Ontario Museum, KO44). I am grateful to Dana Poulton for providing me with a copy of this report, as well as a photocopy of his file card on the site; I have used both in the text. During the 1960s, Peter Engelbrecht examined and wrote a paper on the Helliwell Collection for Marti Latta at Scarborough College, but this could not be located. Unfortunately, the present whereabouts of the original William J. Helliwell collection is not known, and so proper analysis is difficult.
16. Archaeological Services, *An Archaeological Assessment of the Malvern Remedial Project, City of Scarborough Ontario*; submitted to Acres International, Niagara Falls, Ontario, May 1993; prepared by Archaeological Services, [report by Beverly Garner, Eva MacDonald and Patricia Reed] (Toronto: Archaeological Services, [1993]).
17. David Boyle, *The Township of Scarboro, 1796-1896* (Toronto: Printed for the Executive Committee by W. Briggs, 1896), 23.
18. Dana Poulton letter.
19. Victor A. Konrad, *The Archaeological Resources of the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Area: Inventory and Prospect*, York University, Department of Geography, Discussion Paper 10 (North York, Ont.: York University, 1973), 36.

20. Ronald F. Williamson, "The Early Iroquoian Period of Southern Ontario," Occasional Paper 5, in *The Archaeology of Southern Ontario to A.D. 1650*, C. J. Ellis and N. Ferris, eds. (London, Ont.: Ontario Archaeological Society, London Chapter, 1990), 295.
21. *Ibid.*, 312.
22. Dana Poulton letter.
23. See chapter 6, note 78.
24. W.A. Kenyon, "A Prehistoric Cemetery," *Ontario History* 48, no. 4 (Autumn 1956): 183.
25. *History of the Tabor Hill Ossuaries in Scarborough and a Proposal for an Authentic Iroquois Indian Village* ([Scarborough]: n.p., [1956]), [6].
26. J. N. Emerson, "Village and the Cemetery," *Ontario History* 48, no. 4 (Autumn 1956): 184.
27. Christine F. Dodd, Dana R. Poulton, Paul A. Lennox, David G. Smith, and Gary A. Warrick, "The Middle Ontario Iroquoian Stage," in C.J. Ellis and N. Ferris, eds., *The Archaeology of Southern Ontario to A.D. 1650*, 353.
28. "Extracts from the *Markham Economist*, [(Bendale), 30 May] 1889," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 16 (June 1993): 20. See also, *Weekly Globe*, 31 May 1889.
29. David Boyle, *The Township of Scarboro*, 23.
30. A. J. Clarke, "Scarboro Tp. Site-Lot 25, Con. 1 [1913]." Photocopies of miscellaneous undated notes in the A.J. Clarke papers are on file at the Archaeological Survey of Canada, Museum of Civilization, Ottawa. Photocopies of these were made available for perusal by Dana Poulton.
31. Dana Poulton letter.
32. *Ibid.*
33. David Boyle, *The Township of Scarboro*, 23.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*
37. William S. Donaldson, "Iroquoian Development in the Rouge Watershed, Part 1: The Elliot Site," *Ontario Archaeology* 8 (June 1965): 37.

The People of Scarborough: A History

38. Mayer, Pihl, Poulton, and Associates, *The Archaeological Facility Master Plan Study of the Northeast Study Area — Executive Summary*, vol. 5.
39. *Historical Atlas of Canada*, cartographer/designer, Geoffrey J. Matthews, vol. 1, *From the Beginning to 1800*, R. Cole Harris, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 5.
40. Bruce G. Trigger, "Early Iroquoian Contacts with Europeans," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, gen. ed. William C. Sturtevant, vol. 15, *Northeast*, William C. Sturtevant and Bruce G. Trigger, eds. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 357.
41. Victor Konrad, "An Iroquois Frontier: The North Shore of Lake Ontario During the Late Seventeenth Century," *Journal of Historical Geography* 7, no. 2 (1981): 137-8.
42. Percy J. Robinson, *Toronto During the French Regime; A History of the Toronto Region from Brule to Simcoe, 1615-1793*, 2nd. ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), 53.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*
45. Dollier de Casson, *History of Montreal, 1640-1672*, Ralph Flenley, trans. and ed., (London & Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1928), 359-61.
46. *Ibid.*, 361.
47. *Ibid.*
48. Percy J. Robinson, *Toronto During the French Regime*, 53.
49. *Ibid.*, 243.
50. *Ibid.*, 53.
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.*
53. Robert Raynes Bonis, *A History of Scarborough*, enlarged ed. (Scarborough: Scarborough Public Library, 1968), 32.
54. "Scarborough in the 1840's; A Traveller's Tale," T.F. Nicholson, ed., *Scarborough Historical Notes & Comments* 1, no. 2 (September 1977): 7-8.
55. *History of Toronto and County of York Ontario; Containing A History of Toronto and the County of York, with the Townships, Towns, Villages, Churches, Schools; General and Local Statistics; Biographical Sketches . . .*, 2 vols. (Toronto: C. Blackett Robinson, 1885), 1: 107.

56. David Boyle, *The Township of Scarboro*, 24.
57. Mayer, Pihl, Poulton and Associates, "The Archaeological Facility Master Plan Study of the Northeast Study Area," vol. 3, Site Descriptions, Part II: AkGs & AkGt Sites," submitted to the City of Scarborough (November 1988), 131. This report is on file at the City of Scarborough Planning Department.
58. Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, "Bead Hill Site (AkGs-5 and AkGs-8), Scarborough, Ontario," report of the Cultural Pluralism Committee, and "1991-59, Supplementary Staff Report" by B.D. Ross, S.A. Smith, M.R. Watson, 745-75.
59. William N. Fenton, "Northern Iroquoian Cultural Patterns," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, 15: 306.
60. Dana R. Poulton, "The Bead Hill Site: An Historic Seneca Component on the North Shore of Lake Ontario," paper presented at the 25th annual meeting of the Canadian Archaeological Association, 8 May 1992, 5.
61. Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, "Bead Hill Site (AkGs-5 and AkGs-8), Scarborough, Ontario," report of the Cultural Pluralism Committee, and "1991-59, Supplementary Staff Report" by B.D. Ross, S.A. Smith, M.R. Watson, 745-75.
62. Dana Poulton, "The Bead Hill Site," 4.
63. *Ibid.*
64. Brian Ross, Archaeologist, Parks Canada, telephone interview by Barbara Myrvold, 4 February 1997.
65. E. S. Rogers, "Southeastern Ojibwa" in *Handbook of North American Indians*, 15: 769.
66. Percy J. Robinson, *Toronto during the French Regime*, 59.
67. David Boyle, *The Township of Scarboro*, 24.
68. Dana Poulton letter.
69. Henry Scadding, *Toronto of Old; Collections and Recollections Illustrative of the Early Settlement and Social Life of the Capital of Ontario* (Toronto: Adam, Stevenson, 1897), 473.
70. Percy J. Robinson, *Toronto During the French Regime*, 133-4.
71. *Ibid.*, 53.
72. Donald B. Smith, "The Dispossession of the Mississauga Indians: A Missing Chapter in the Early History of Upper Canada," *Ontario History* 73 (June 1981): 74.

The People of Scarborough: A History

73. Robert J. Surtees, "Land Cessions, 1763-1830," in *Aboriginal Ontario; Historical Perspectives on the First Nations* (Toronto: Dundurn Press), 107.
74. *Ibid.*
75. Canada. *Indian Treaties and Surrenders; From 1680 to 1890*, 2 vols., facsimile ed., originally printed by Brown, Chamberlin, in 1891 by the Queen's Printer, Ottawa (Toronto: Coles, 1971), 1: 34.
76. David Boyle, *The Township of Scarboro 1796-1896*, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1896), 28. In 1896 Duncan Campbell Scott, an official with the Indian Department, wrote Boyle "to the effect that this matter had frequently been under the consideration of the Indian Department, and that while there is what may be called a tradition in the office confirming the belief that a cession has been made, there are no documents so testifying." Erroneously, Boyle assumed that: "It is probably that some verbal or otherwise informal transfer of this, and a wide strip extending eastwards along Ontario and the St. Lawrence, was ceded to the British by the Iroquois, who claimed it as a happy hunting ground even after the Treaty of Paris in 1763."
77. Edward S. Rogers, "The Algonquian Farmers of Southern Ontario, 1830-1945" in *Aboriginal Ontario; Historical Perspectives on the First Nations*, 158.
78. *Rouge Valley Park Planning Project, Phase Two Report: Concept Alternatives* (Scarborough: Rouge Valley Park Project, Hough Stansbury Woodland & Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, 1992), 45.
79. Margaret Sault, member of the Mississauga of the New Credit, Hagersville, Ont., telephone interview by Barbara Myrvold, 4 March, 1997.

CHAPTER TWO

1. John Graves Simcoe, *The Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe, with Allied Documents Relating to His Administration of the Government of Upper Canada*, collected and ed. by E.A. Cruikshank for the Ontario Historical Society (5 vols.), vol 1., 1789-1793 (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1923), 27.
2. A. Walsh, "Glasgow Township; Scarborough Surveyed in 1791," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 11, no. 2 (November 1987): 20.
3. Joan Winearls, *Mapping Upper Canada, 1780-1867; An Annotated Bibliography of Manuscripts and Printed Maps* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto, 1991), 97-8.
4. Edith G. Firth, *The Town of York; A Collection of Documents of Early Toronto*, 2 vols., vol. 1, 1793-1815 ([Toronto]: Champlain Society for the Government of Ontario, 1962-1966), 214.
5. John Graves Simcoe, *The Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe*, vol. 3, 1794-1795 (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1925), 203. The name of Scarborough is sometimes abbreviated to Scarboro' or Scarboro. According to local historian Richard Schofield, Scarborough is the correct spelling. "The earliest 19th century deeds, land grants, and other official documents clearly indicated that the spelling SCARBOROUGH was used almost exclusively . . . Over the years, especially when the name Scarborough was required to be written or printed several times on the same page, it was shortened to Scarboro with an apostrophe indicating a short form [Scarboro']. The apostrophe eventually disappeared, and we were left with the incorrect spelling Scarboro." [Richard Schofield, "Scarborough is Scarboro is Scarboro," *Scarborough Mirror*, 16-17 March 1996, 20.] Historian David Boyle popularized the short form, using it (without the apostrophe) in the title of his 1896 history, *The Township of Scarboro, 1796-1896* (Toronto: Printed for the Executive by W. Briggs, 1896).
6. "Old Scarborough in the News; Extracts from the *Upper Canada Gazette* [1874]," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 8, no. 4 (November 1984): 25.
7. Rick Schofield, *Home Sweet Scarborough* ([Scarborough]: Scarborough Local Architectural Conservation Advisory Committee, 1966).
8. Richard Schofield, Meredyth Schofield, and Karen Whynot, *Scarborough Then and Now* (Scarborough: Scarborough Board of Education and Scarborough Historical Society, [1966]), 112-13.
9. David Boyle, ed., *The Township of Scarboro, 1796 - 1896*, printed for the Executive Committee (Toronto: William Briggs, 1896), 28.

The People of Scarborough: A History

10. J.M.S. Careless, *Toronto to 1918; An Illustrated History* (Toronto: J. Lorimer; [Ottawa]: National Museum of Man, 1984), 24.
11. John Graves Simcoe, *The Correspondence*, 1: 264.
12. Roger Daniels, *Coming to America; A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life* (New York, N.Y.: Harper Perennial, 1991), 111.
13. J.J. Talman, "The United Empire Loyalists" in *Profiles of a Province: Studies in the History of Ontario, A Collection of Essays to Commemorate the Centennial of Ontario*, ed. Edith G. Firth [Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1967], 4.
14. Roger Hall, "Upper Canada" in *The 1995 Canadian Encyclopedia Plus* [CD-ROM] (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1995).
15. Gerald M. Craig, *Upper Canada; The Formative Years, 1784-1841* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1963), 5.
16. T.F. Nicholson, "Archibald Thomson; His Role in the Early Settlement of Scarborough," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 8, no. 3 (September 1984): 22-3.
17. "Old Scarborough in the News; Extracts from the *Upper Canada Gazette* [25 May 1799]," 8, no. 4 (November 1984): 26.
18. Roger Daniels, *Coming to America*, 85.
19. Edith G. Firth, *The Town of York*, 1: 291
20. Edith G. Firth, *The Town of York*, 2: 149. See also Robert Raynes Bonis, *A History of Scarborough*, enlarged ed. (Scarborough: Scarborough Public Library, 1968), 67-8.
21. Richard Schofield, "Bordertowns Have Legacy All their Own," *Scarborough Mirror*, 11-13 March 1992, 14.
22. J.J. Talman in *Profiles of a Province*, 4.
23. John Graves Simcoe, *The Correspondence*, 1: 108-9.
24. The *Upper Canada Gazette* of 30 November 1796 lists "Jof. Ketchum" as receiving a grant of 1000 acres in Scarborough. "Old Scarboro' in the News; Extracts from the *Upper Canada Gazette* [30 November 1796]," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 8, no. 4 (November 1984): 25. See also, Robert R. Bonis, *A History of Scarborough*, 292.
25. John Graves Simcoe, *The Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves*, vol. 5, 1792-1976 (*Supplementary*) (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1931), 192.

26. D.B. McCowan, "Jonathan and Sarah Ashbridge; Pennsylvania Quakers," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 12, nos. 1 & 2 (1988): 41.
27. David Boyle, *The Township of Scarboro*, 46.
28. Richard Schofield, Meredyth Schofield and Karen Whynot, *Scarborough Then and Now*, 113.
29. Cecil Houston and William J. Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links and Letters* (Toronto: University of Toronto; Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 1990), 169.
30. Anne Marie Ellis, *A History of Washington United Church and Its Community from 1803* (Scarborough: [Washington United Church], 1983), 7. See also G.S. French, "Nathan Bangs" in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9, 1861-1870, Frances Halpenny, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1976), 26-7.
31. "Old Scarborough in the News from the *Markham Economist*, ['First Settlers in Scarboro — Jottings by One of Them for the *Markham Economist*, 15 December 1881]," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 5, no. 1 (February 1981): 22.
32. John Graves Simcoe, *The Correspondence of Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe*, vol. 2, 1702-1740 (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1924), 27.
33. T.F. Nicholson, "Archibald Thomson; His Role in the Early Settlement of Scarborough," 23.
34. *St. Andrew's Church Cemetery, Bendale Ontario* (Toronto: Ontario Geneological Society, Toronto Branch, 1988), 73 *passim*.
35. D.B. McCowan, "Immigration from Lanarkshire and Dumfriesshire, 1797-1850; An Introduction," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 12, nos. 1 & 2 (1988): 58.
36. *Annis Annals, 1638-1931*, [Alin Foster Annis, ed.], introduction by Edward S. Caswell, ([Pickering, Ont.: Printer's Guild, 1931]), 6.
37. David Boyle, *The Township of Scarboro*, 130.
38. Don S. Hough, "Last Will and Testament of William Devenish," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 13, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 1989): 17.
39. Jon Butler, *The Huguenots in America; A Refugee People in New World Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1983) quoting Roger Daniels, *Coming to America*, 94.
40. Patricia Hart notes: "The spelling of this name has always been a problem. In 1776 the family spelled their name Lamoreaux; the church on Finch

The People of Scarborough: A History

Avenue in Scarborough is St. Paul's L'Amoreaux; Martha, the wife of James L'Amoreaux, is shown on the gravestone as Lamoraux; the Anglican Church at York had a missionary station . . . at L'Amoureux settlement in Scarborough; in 1840 Isaac Lamoureux gave land for this Scarborough Anglican Church; and the post office and Tremaine's Map of the County of York 1860, list L'Amaroux." Patricia W. Hart, *Pioneering in North York; A History of the Borough*, Frederick H. Armstrong, consulting ed. (Toronto: General, 1968), 249.

41. Donald Hough, "Letters to the Editor, Hough Family," *Scarborough Historical Notes & Comments* 3, no. 3 (September 1979): 8-10.
42. R.A. Helling, "Germans" in *The 1995 Canadian Encyclopedia Plus* [CD-ROM].
43. Frank H. Epp and Rodney Sawatsky, "Mennonites" in *The 1995 Canadian Encyclopedia Plus* [CD-ROM].
44. David Boyle, ed., *The Township of Scarboro*, 46.
45. Carol Chuhay, *Heritage: A Guide for the Study and Appreciation of Architecture in the Borough of Scarborough*, prepared for the Scarborough Board of Education ([Scarborough] : [The Scarborough Board of Education], 1978), 30.
46. Alexandra Avdichick, Harold W. Goodwin, and Michelle A. McDonnell, *The Log Cabin at the Guild Scarborough: Historical and Archaeological Research* (Toronto: The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, 1996), 20.
47. "Scarborough in 1861; Ward 2 (Mr. Frank Helliwell, Enumerator)," *Scarborough Historical Notes & Comments* 1, no. 1 (November 1976): 7.
48. David Boyle (*The Township of Scarboro*, 262) quotes from John Goldie, *Diary of a Journey Through Upper Canada and Some of the New York States, 1819* (Toronto: William Tyrrell & Co., 1897).
49. David Boyle, *The Township of Scarboro*, 262.

CHAPTER THREE

1. This quotation is from the obituary of Mary Thomson, which appeared in *The Church* on 3 December 1847; it was reprinted in T.B. Higginson, "David and Mary Thomson; Some Notable Scottish Connections (Thomas Telford and the Ettrick Shepherd)," *Scarborough Historical Notes & Comments* 3, no. 3 (September 1979): 10-11.
2. Gary Toffoli, "Allegiance Secured" in *Allegiance: The Ontario Story*, vol. 3, *Canada Heirloom Series*, Charles J. Humber, ed. (Mississauga, Ont.: Heirloom, 1991), 155.
3. "Recollections of '83 Years Young," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 10, no. 3 (September 1986): 34.
4. The population of 2812 people was taken from the original, handwritten census of 1842. Not all parts of the title of this census are legible, but that portion which is legible reads: "Return of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants of Scarborough . . . with the other Statistical Information obtained in such . . . by an Act Entitled: 'An Act to Repeal Certain parts of an Act Therein Mentioned, And To Provide for Taking a Periodical Census of the Inhabitants of this Province, and For Obtaining other Statistical Information Therein Mentioned.'" NB: In this title the words "of the Enumeration" were crossed out and replaced with the words "in aggregate," and those parts of the text which were not legible have been indicated here by the insertion of ellipsis points. *Smith's Canadian Gazetteer* (see note 5, below) gives Scarborough's population in 1842 as being 2750, a discrepancy of 62 people.
5. William Henry Smith, *Smith's Canadian Gazetteer: Comprising Statistical and General Information Respecting all Parts of the Upper Province, or Canada West . . .*, originally published in 1846 by H. & W. Rowsell, Toronto, facsimile ed., Coles Canadiana Collection [Toronto: Coles, 1970], 167.
6. "Letters to the Editor; From Mr. A. Gordon Keys, Scarboro, May 1, 1985, re: Blue Bell Inn," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 9, no. 4 (November 1985): 17.
7. [Dudley Loveless], "Recollections & Memories of Dudley Loveless," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 5, nos. 2 & 3 (May 1981, September 1981): 10-11.
8. Richard Schofield, "Forfar Clan Became Famous for 'Waggons,'" *Scarborough Mirror*, 10 May 1995, 10.
9. "Old Scarboro' in the News: Extracts from the *Upper Canada Gazette*, [29 July 1819]," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 10, no. 3 (September 1986): 34.
10. Richard Schofield, "Elderslie: The Township that Time Forgot?" *Scarborough Mirror*, 16-17 September 1995, 14.

The People of Scarborough: A History

11. David Boyle, *The Township of Scarboro, 1796-1896*, 267. See also T.F. Nicholson, "Fallingbrook," *Scarborough Historical Notes & Comments* 2, no. 3 (September 1978): 10.
12. George Woodcock, "English" in *The 1995 Canadian Encyclopedia Plus* [CD-ROM].
13. [William Belt], "The Church of England Parish of Scarborough in 1853; The First Report of the Rev. Wm. Belt to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel," from a paper by T.B. Higginson, *Scarborough Historical Notes & Comments* 2, no. 2 (May 1978): 10. St. Margaret's was soon revitalized and continues to operate today as St. Margaret's-in-the-Pines, on its original site at the present address of 4130 Lawrence Avenue East in West Hill.
14. *Ibid.*, 10.
15. "Old Scarboro' in the News; From the *Markham Economist* [3 July 1861]," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 6, no. 4 (November 1982): 17.
16. Evidently, the Reverend Egerton Ryerson dedicated the new chapel on 17 January 1841. See Harold W. Goodwin, "The Humphreys and Richardsons of Scarborough," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 9, no. 3 (September 1985): 30, and footnote 23. See also Robert Raynes Bonis, *A History of Scarborough*, enlarged ed. (Scarborough: Scarborough Public Library, 1968), 85.
17. Margaret E. Prang, "Methodism" in *The 1995 Canadian Encyclopedia Plus* [CD-ROM].
18. David Boyle, *The Township of Scarboro*, 252.
19. Jean C. Little, "The 'Neilsons' Of Scarborough," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 5, nos. 2 & 3 (May 1981-September 1981), 24. The Gunpowder Plot refers to a plan to murder King James I in 1605. The plot was foiled when Guy Fawkes, who had undertaken to fire the gunpowder for the explosion, was arrested, an event that is still celebrated on November 5th as Guy Fawkes Day.
20. T.B. Higginson, "Scarborough's Literary History," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments*, 6, no. 4 (November 1982): 12-13.
21. T.B. Higginson, "The Reverend William Stewart Darling 'Of Blessed Memory,'" *Scarborough Historical Notes & Comments* 3, no. 2 (May 1979): 10-12.
22. William Stewart Darling, *Sketches of a Canadian Life, Lay and Ecclesiastical. Illustrative of Canada and the Canadian Church. By a Presbyterian of the Diocese of Toronto* (London: D. Bogue, 1849), [iii].

23. Valerie Alexander, "Impressions of Our Past Population: Cemetery Studies," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 13, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 1989): 14.
24. D.B. McCowan, "Immigration from Lanarkshire and Dumfriesshire, 1797-1850; An Introduction," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 12, nos.1 & 2 (1988): 58.
25. Jean C. Little, "The 'Neilsons' Of Scarborough," 21-8.
26. D.B. McCowan, "Immigration from Lanarkshire and Dumfriesshire, 1779-1850," 59.
27. Scarborough families from Lesmahagow and Strathaven "included Bowes, Brownlie, Clelland, Dickson, Fleming, Frame, Findlay, Gibb, Gibson, Hamilton, Lawrie, McCowan, Muir, Neilson, Paton, Porteous, Rae, Reid, Scott, Tacket, Tudhope, Weir, Wilson, and Young. Emigrant families from neighbouring Parishes include Core, Brown, Tweedie, and Purdie." D.B. McCowan, "John Torrance of Lanarkshire," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 11, no. 2 (November 1987): 3.
28. David Boyle, *The Township of Scarboro*, 88.
29. "Old Scarboro' in the News; from the *Markham Economist* [30 July 1863]," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 7, no.1 (February 1983): 16.
30. Valerie Alexander "Impressions of our Past Population: Cemetery Studies," 15.
31. "Diary of Rev. William Proudfoot," *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Historical Society*, 4 (1915): 68, as quoted by D.B. McCowan in *Fairs and Frolics; Scottish Communities at Work and Play* (Don Mills, Ont.: James McCowan Memorial Social History Society, 1993): 19. See also "St. Andrew's Church, 1832; [Excerpts from the Diaries of Rev. Wm. Proudfoot]," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 8, no. 3 (September 1984): 24. David Thomson is not mentioned by name in the latter.
32. David Boyle, *The Township of Scarboro*, 269.
33. Clark Secor, "'Barn Raisings'; Personal Recollections," *Scarborough Historical Notes & Comments* 1, no. 2 (September 1977): 4.
34. "1861 Personal Census of Scarborough; (Enumeration Districts 4 and 5); District/Ward # 5, William J. Mitchell, Enumerator," Richard Schofield, ed., *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 15, no. 2 (December 1991): 5.
35. "The Diaries of Frances (Tweedie) Milne, 1867-1882 [28, 30 November, 3 December 1868]," Margaret Milne Haist and Fred Nicholson, eds., *Scarborough Historical Notes & Comments* 2, no. 2 (May 1978): 8. See

The People of Scarborough: A History

- also "The Diaries of Frances (Tweedie) Milne, 1867-1882 [30 November, 1871]," *Scarborough Historical Notes & Comments* 3, no. 1 (February 1979): 9.
36. "Old Scarboro' in the News; from the *Markham Economist*, [7 February 1867]," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 6, no. 3 (September 1982): 23.
37. John S. Moir, "Presbyterians and Reformed Churches" in *The 1995 Canadian Encyclopedia Plus* [CD-ROM].
38. Jean C. Little, "The 'Neilsons' of Scarborough," 23.
39. David Boyle, *The Township of Scarboro*, 242.
40. D.B. McCowan, "Early Curling in Scarborough," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 13, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 1989): 29.
41. "Old Scarboro' in the News; Extracts from the *Markham Economist*, ['Ellesmere,' 28 January 1886]," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 10, no. 3 (September 1986): 15.
42. D.B. McCowan, *Fairs and Frolics*, 23.
43. David Boyle, *The Township of Scarboro*, 80-1.
44. Henry H. Roxborough, *One Hundred-Not Out; The Story of Nineteenth Century Canadian Sport* (Toronto: Ryerson, [1966]), 91.
45. "Old Scarboro' in the News; From the *Markham Economist* [31 December 1857 (cont'd.)]," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 6, no. 2 (May 1982): 14.
46. "Old Scarboro' in the News; From the *Markham Economist* [23 January 1862]," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 6, no. 4 (November 1982): 16.
47. H.P. Gundy, "George, James" in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9, 1861-1870, ed. Frances Halpenny (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1976): 306-308.
48. T.B. Higginson, "The Reverend Doctor James George," *Scarborough Historical Notes & Comments* 2, no.1 (February 1978): 7.
49. Charles G. Roland, "Hamilton, Robert Douglas," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Frances Halpenny, ed., vol. 8, 1836 - 1850 (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1985), 357-8.
50. J. Paul Green, "Muir, Alexander " in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Ramsay Cook, ed., vol. 13, 1901-1910 (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1994), 745-6.

51. T. B. Higginson, "Alexander Glendinning — 'The Scarborough Settler,'" *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 2, no. 4 (November 1978): 1-4; T. B. Higginson, "Alexander Glendinning — 'The Scarborough Settler,'" *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 3, no. 1 (February 1979): 1-3.
52. Alexander Glendinning *Rhymes* (London, Ont.: Free Press Printing, 1871), 39.
53. The Diaries of William Clark, Jr., with extensive notes by T.F. (Fred) Nicholson were published in *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments*, in volumes 5 through 10, published between February 1981 and November 1986. See also David Boyle, *The Township of Scarboro*, 99.
54. "A Visit to Scotland, 1859; The Journal of John Lockie Paterson," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 6, no. 1 (February 1982): 11.
55. Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement; Patterns, Links, and Letters* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990): 4.
56. Larratt William Violet Smith, *Young Mr. Smith in Upper Canada*, Mary Larrat Smith, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1980), 11-12.
57. Peter Toner, "Irish" in *The 1995 Canadian Encyclopedia Plus* [CD-ROM].
58. *Ibid.*
59. Cecil J. Houston and William Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement*, 8.
60. Harold W. Goodwin, "The Humphreys and Richardsons of Scarborough," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 8, no. 4 (November 1984): 18-19.
61. *Ibid.*
62. Peter Toner, "Irish."
63. Joe Kennedy, County Secretary for the Loyal Orange Lodge, telephone interview by Tanya Ellacott, 27 June 1996, Scarborough, Ontario. Information was taken mainly from Leslie Saunders, *The Story of Orangism; The Highlights in Its Origin and A Century and a Quarter of Service to the Christian Church Canada and the Empire with a Record of the Orange Lodges Operating in Ontario West Since 1830* (Toronto: n.p., 1941). Orange lodges were authorized by warrants obtained from the Grand Master. A warrant was numbered according to its place on the central register. Thus, lodges with lower numbers had received warrants earlier than had those with higher numbers.

The People of Scarborough: A History

64. "1861 Census Records, Enumeration Records, Scarborough, District/Ward # 2, Frank Helliwell, Enumerator," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 15, no. 1 (June 1991): 6.
65. "Old Scarboro' in the News; Extracts from the *Markham Economist* ['Obituary: Marshall Macklin,' 6 May 1886]," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 10, no. 3 (September, 1986): 22.
66. Cecil J. Houston and William Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement*, 169.
67. Peter Toner, "Irish."
68. Harold Troper, "Immigration" in *The 1995 Canadian Encyclopedia Plus* [CD-ROM].
69. Richard Schofield, "Corktown Was Settled by Irish, but the Name West Hill Stuck," *Scarborough Mirror*, 28-9 October 1995, North Edition 13.
70. Edward J.R. Jackman, "The History of Saint Joseph's Parish, Highland Creek, Scarborough" in *125th Anniversary History of the Parish of St. Joseph's, Highland Creek, 1853-1979*, ([Scarborough]: n.p., [1979]).
71. Jean C. Little, "The 'Neilsons' Of Scarborough," 24.
72. Patricia W. Hart, *Pioneering in North York*, 248-9.
73. D.B. McCowan, "Jonathan and Sarah Ashbridge: Pennsylvania Quakers," intro. by D.B. McCowan, *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 12, nos. 1 & 22 (1988): 41-2.
74. Wellington Thomas Ashbridge notes in *The Ashbridge Book* [1912] that Sarah Ashbridge bequeathed her land to two of her grandsons, Andrew Heron and James McClure. In 1844 her son Jonathon gave his grant (the front part of lot 26, concession B) to his son Isaac (d. 1894). The 1861 census shows Isaac Ashbridge (age 50) and his wife Ruth living in Scarborough, as well as James McClure (age 70) but not Andrew Heron. Wellington Thomas Ashbridge, *The Ashbridge Book; Relating to the Past and Present Ashbridge Families in America* (Toronto: Copp Clark [1912]). See also *Scarborough Census Indexes 1861-1891*, Louise I. Hope, comp., (Toronto: Ontario Genealogical Society, Toronto Branch, 1990).
75. The area was then known as "Nigger Flats." Lionell Purcell, personal interview by Barbara Myrvold, Scarborough, 23 August 1996.
76. "Lot 1, Con. 4, North York" in *Tweedsmuir History* ([Scarborough]: Wexford W.I. [Women's Insitute], [1963]), [12].
77. J.C. Clark, "School Days in L'Amoreaux; An Account by J.C. Clark," intro. and notes by Richard Schofield, *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 5, nos. 2 & 3 (May/September 1981): 19.

78. [T.F. Nicholson], "Scarboro's First Y.M.C.A.," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 5, nos. 2 & 3 (May 1981/September 1981): 17.
79. Dan Hill, "The Blacks in Toronto" in *Gathering Place: People and Neighbourhoods of Toronto, 1834-1945*, Robert F. Harney, ed., *Studies in Ethnic and Immigration History* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1985), 91.
80. "Old Scarboro' in the News; From the *Markham Economist*; ['Report of Scarboro Council Meeting,' 7 February 1861]," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 6, no. 3 (September 1982): 23.
81. David Boyle, *The Township of Scarboro*, 51, 265.
82. T.B. Higginson, "Sir George Washington Badgerow: Noted Scarboro-Born Surgeon," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 6, no. 2 (May 1982): 10.
83. Scarborough Local Architectural Conservation Advisory Committee, *Home Sweet Scarborough* (Scarborough: LACAC, 1996), 29-32.
84. *The Reesor Family in Canada; Genealogical and Historical Records, 1804-1980* (n.p.:n.p. 1980), 14-15.
85. The Squaw Village site was "observed in the 1950s by A. Secor of 61 Fallingbrook Road, and was recorded by Victor Konrad in 1971." Dana Poulton letter to Barbara Myrvold, 23 May 1997. David Boyle also mentions a "Squaw Village" in *The Township of Scarboro* (269), but it had no apparent connection with the Native site.
86. Dana Poulton letter.
87. Victor Konrad and William A Ross, *An Archaeological Survey for the North Pickering Project*, Ministry of Natural Resources, Historic Sites Branch, Research Report No. 4 (n.p.: n.p, June 1974), 28.
88. Mayer, Pihl, Poulton and Associates, "The Archaeological Facility Master Plan Study of the Northeast Study Area," vol. 3, *Site Descriptions*, submitted to the City of Scarborough (November, 1988), 23. This report is on file at the City of Scarborough Planning Department.
89. David Boyle, *The Township of Scarborough*, 23.
90. Robert R. Bonis, *A History of Scarborough*, 92
91. "1837 and the 'Men of Scarborough,'" intro. by T.B. Higginson, *Scarborough Historical Notes & Comments* 1, no. 3 (November 1977): 4-5.
92. Robert R. Bonis, *A History of Scarborough*, 70-1.
93. "St. Andrew's Church, 1832," 24.

The People of Scarborough: A History

94. Barbara Myrvold, *The Danforth in Pictures: A Brief History of the Danforth* (Toronto: Toronto Public Library Board, 1979), 3.
95. Richard Schofield, "Nineteenth Century Post Offices Serving Scarborough," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 1, no. 2 (September 1977): [1]-2.
96. "St. Andrew's Church, 1832," 24.
97. *Rouge, Duffin, Highland, Petticoat Conservation Report, 1956* (Toronto: Department of Planning and Development, Conservation Branch, Toronto, 1956), 79.

CHAPTER FOUR

1. "Scarboro: Served Thirty-five Years on the Scarboro Radial," *Toronto Star*, 25 April 1928.
2. William Henry Norris, "Scarborough in 1861," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 15, no. 1 (June 1991): 4.
3. Warren E. Kalbach, "Population" in *The 1995 Canadian Encyclopedia Plus* [CD-ROM] (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1995).
4. "Old Scarboro' in the News; From the *Markham Economist*, ['Immigration Aid Society,' 20 February 1873]," *Scarborough Historical Notes & Comments* 3, no. 3 (September 1979): 12.
5. "Old Scarboro' in the News; From the *Markham Economist*, ['Scarboro Removal,' 20 February 1873]," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 3, no. 3 (September 1979): 12.
6. Warren E. Kalbach, "Population."
7. Helen Minaker, "Life in a Rural Community," in *Tweedsmuir History* ([Scarborough]: Wexford W.I. [Women's Institute], [1963]), [58].
8. Robert Raynes Bonis, *A History of Scarborough*, enlarged ed. (Scarborough: Scarbrough Public Library Board, 1968), 156.
9. "Old Scarboro' in the News; From the *Markham Economist*, ['Immigration Aid Society,' 20 February 1873]."
10. "1861 Census Records, Enumeration Records, Scarborough, District/Ward 2, Frank Helliwell, Enumerator, *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 15, no. 1 [June 1991]: 6, 7.
11. *Ibid.*, 6.
12. Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, *The Sash Canada Wore: A Historical Geography of the Orange Order in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 89.
13. *Ibid.*
14. D. Bruce McCowan, "The 'Raes' in Bosanquet," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 7, no. 3 (September 1983): 14-18.
15. "Old Scarboro' in the News; Extracts from the *Markham Economist*, ['Milliken,' 6 March 1884]," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 10, no. 1 (February 1986): 18.
16. "Old Scarboro' in the News; Extracts from the *Markham Economist*, ['Agincourt,' 10 April 1884]," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 10, no. 1 (February 1986): 20.

The People of Scarborough: A History

17. J.M.S. Careless, *Toronto to 1918; An Illustrated History* (Toronto: J. Lorimer; [Ottawa]: National Museum of Man, 1984), 122.
18. A. R. Walsh, "Scarboro Rifle Company," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 11, no. 1 (February 1987): 16.
19. Harold Troper, "Immigration" in *The 1995 Canadian Encyclopedia Plus* [CD-ROM].
20. *History of Toronto and County of York Ontario; Containing A History of Toronto and the County of York, with the Townships, Towns, Villages, Churches, Schools; General and Local Statistics; Biographical Sketches, . . .*, 2 vols. (Toronto: C. Blackett Robinson, 1885)1: 109.
21. "Old Scarboro' in the News; From the *Markham Economist*, ['Agincourt,' 16 March 1882 (cont'd.)], " *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 5, no. 4 (November 1981): 13.
22. "Old Scarboro' in the News; From the *Markham Economist*, ['Ellesmere,' 16 March 1882], " *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 5, no. 4 (November 1981): 14.
23. "Old Scarboro' in the News; Extracts from the *Markham Economist*, [29 July 1886], " *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 10, no. 3 (September 1986): 25.
24. "Old Scarborough in the News: From the *Markham Economist*, ['Agincourt,' 29 December 1881 (cont'd.)], " *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 5, no. 1 (February 1981): 22.
25. Roger Daniels, *Coming to America; A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1990), 25.
26. "Old Scarboro' in the News; Extracts from the *Markham Economist*, [25 September 1884], " *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 10, no. 1 (February 1986): 26.
27. "Old Scarboro' in the News; From the *Markham Economist*, ['Malvern,' 1 September 1881], " *Scarborough Historical Notes & Comments* 4, no. 4 (November 1980): 19.
28. In the *Census of 1871*, the listings included "Origins of the People" as well as "Birth Places of the People;" Statistics Canada has collected this information, in varying levels of detail, ever since. Data on Scarborough's ethnic composition is available separately for most census years, although in 1891 figures for the "Ethnic Origins" of the people in Scarborough were lumped together with those for the whole of York [County] East, and no separate statistics for Scarborough were published.
29. Separate statistics for Scarborough residents of Welsh origin were not published, although in 1901 Scarborough had 18 residents (0.5%) whose origins were listed under the heading "British — Others."

30. "Old Scarboro' in the News; From the *Markham Economist*, ['Report of Scarboro Council — 24 May at Malvern,' 18 May 1871]," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 8, no. 2 (May 1984): 22.
31. John Ross Robertson, *Robertson's Landmarks of Toronto* (Toronto: J. Ross Robertson, 1894), 116.
32. "Old Scarboro' in the News; From the *Markham Economist*, ['Highland Creek,' 9 June 1881]," *Scarborough Historical Notes & Comments* 4, no. 4 (November 1980): 17.
33. "Old Scarboro' in the News; From the *Markham Economist*, ['Scarboro' Doings,' 14 November 1872]," *Scarborough Historical Notes & Comments* 3, no. 2 (May 1979): 15.
34. "Old Scarboro' in the News; From the *Markham Economist*, ['Dangerous Encounter,' 26 September 1872]," *Scarborough Historical Notes & Comments* 3, no. 2 (May 1979): 15.
35. David Boyle, *The Township of Scarboro, 1796-1896*, (Toronto: Printed for the Executive Committee by W. Briggs, 1896), 107.
36. James M. Gordon, "Scarborough's Centenary," with comment by Richard Schofield, *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 8, no. 3 (September 1984): 21.
37. Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, *The Sash Canada Wore*, [vii].
38. Peter Toner, "Irish" in *The 1995 Canadian Encyclopedia Plus* [CD-ROM].
39. "Old Scarboro' in the News: From the *Markham Economist*, ['Twelfth of July,' 15 July 1880 (cont'd.)]," *Scarborough Historical Notes & Comments* 4, no. 3 (September 1980): 13.
40. This was quoted in: Wayne Reeves, *Regional Heritage Features on the Metropolitan Toronto Waterfront; A Report to the Metropolitan Toronto Planning Department by Wayne Reeves, June 1992 Toronto* (Toronto: Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Planning Dept., 1992), 164.
41. T.F. Nicholson, "Scarborough's 'Fishery Road,'" *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 9, no. 2 (May 1984 [i.e., 1985]): 24. See also David Boyle, *The Township of Scarboro*, 271.
42. John E. Zucchi, *Italians in Toronto; Development of a National Identity, 1875-1935* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), 149.
43. Thomas Edward Hough, "Walking Down Memory Lane," in *Memories of Scarborough; A Bicentennial Celebration* (Scarborough: Scarborough Public Library Board, 1996), 35.

The People of Scarborough: A History

44. Jan Noel, "The Union Years (1841-1897)" in *Allegiance: The Ontario Story*, Charles J. Humber, ed.-in-chief, vol. 3, *Canada Heirloom Series* (Mississauga: Heirloom, 1991), 178.
45. "Extracts from the *Markham Economist*, ['The Jesuit Bill, Discussed at Malvern,' 6 June 1889]," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 16 (June 1993): 20.
46. "Old Scarboro' in the News; From the *Markham Economist*, ['Concert at Malvern,' 22 January 1863]," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 7, no. 1 (February 1983): 14.
47. "Old Scarboro' in the News; Extracts from the *Markham Economist*, ['Malvern — Football,' 11 December 1884]," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 10, no. 1 (February 1986): 29.
48. "The Beaches Become a Populous Suburb," *Toronto Daily Star*, 21 April 1906, reprinted as "The Way We Were; The Beaches Become a Populous Suburb," in *Beach Metro News*, 1 August 1993.

CHAPTER FIVE

1. Robert Raynes Bonis, *A History of Scarborough*, enlarged ed. (Scarborough: Scarborough Public Library, 1968), 179.
2. D.B. McCowan, "A Lakefront Estate Residential Development, 1890-1940; An Introduction," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 13, no. 2 (Summer/Fall 1989): 25-32.
3. Toronto Separate School Board Minutes, 8 October 1940.
4. There was also a public school called "GECO," part of school section 8, according to Richard Schofield, archivist for the Scarborough Board of Education.
5. Richard Schofield, "Remember When: Catholic Sisters Played Key Role in Scarborough," *Scarborough Mirror*, 7 June 1978, 31. See also Richard Schofield, "Scarborough's Heritage: Long Record of Service — St. Joseph Nuns Have Worked to Heal and Help," *Toronto Star*, 2 February 1982, East edition 8.
6. Phil O'Prey, Mary O'Prey, Theresa O'Prey and Basil O'Prey, "Memories of Scarborough" in *Memories of Scarborough; A Bicentennial Celebration* (Scarborough: The Scarborough Public Library Board, 1997), 65.
7. Patrick Ryan, "Memories of Scarborough; September 30th, 1996" in *Memories of Scarborough*, 129.
8. J.M.S. Careless, *Toronto to 1918; An Illustrated History* (Toronto: J. Lorimer; [Ottawa]: National Museum of Man, 1984), 157.
9. Jean R. Burnet with Harold Palmer, *Coming Canadians: An Introduction to a History of Canada's Peoples* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988), 34.
10. Harold Troper, "Immigration" in *The 1995 Canadian Encyclopedia Plus* [CD-ROM] (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1995).
11. Jean R. Burnet with Harold Palmer, *Coming Canadians*, 38.
12. Warren E. Kalbach, "Population" in *The 1995 Canadian Encyclopedia Plus* [CD-ROM].
13. J.M.S. Careless, *Toronto to 1918*, 158.
14. Hrag Vartanian, "Chine Drive; An Arts and Crafts Suburb and Its Context" in *The Stuff Dreams are Made Of; The Arts and Design of Frederick and Louise Coates* (Toronto: University of Toronto Library, 1997), 69.
15. Robert Perrott, unpublished reminiscences, 1996, [1]. These were written in response to an article entitled "Do You Remember Scarborough Past?"

The People of Scarborough: A History

which was published in the *Scarborough Mirror* (30-31 March 1996, [1]). In the article Scarborough residents were invited to submit their reminiscences to The City of Scarborough Public Library Board for use in the preparation of this book.

16. Joe Kennedy, County Secretary for the Loyal Orange Lodge, telephone interview by Tanya Ellacott, Scarborough, 27 June 1996. See also Leslie Saunders, *The Story of Orangism; The Highlights in Its Origin and A Century and a Quarter of Service to the Christian Church Canada and the Empire with a Record of the Orange Lodges Operating in Ontario West Since 1830* (Toronto: n.p., 1941). See also D. Crawford Smith, "A Short History of Birchcliffe L.O.L. no. 2856," unpublished paper submitted to Scarborough Public Library for this book, 1996, [1].
17. John E. Zucchi, *Italians in Toronto; Development of a National Identity, 1875-1935* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), 89.
18. Herman Ganzevoort, "Dutch" in *The 1995 Canadian Encyclopedia Plus* [CD-ROM].
19. *The Centennial of Ukrainians in Canada 1881-1991* (Scarborough: Ukrainian-Canadian Community Council of Scarborough, 1991), [7].
20. Stephen A. Speisman, *The Jews of Toronto; A History to 1937* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979), 72.
21. Olive N. Graham and Jennie Bella Graham, *A Family Portrait: Pioneering in Scarborough of the 1920's* (Scarborough: n.p., 1985), 29-30.
22. This information is from *The Amalgamated Dawes Road Trustees Historical Background*, a paper on file at the Dawes Road cemetery office.
23. Olive N. Graham and Jennie Bella Graham, *A Family Portrait*, 81.
24. Robert R. Bonis documents that in Scarborough "between 1910 and 1933 [there] were seven new Anglican congregations — the Church of the Epiphany, Scarboro Junction; St. Nicholas', Birch Cliff in 1912; St. Timothy Agincourt in 1919; St. Crispin's, Scarboro Bluffs in 1922; Church of the Incarnation in 1922 at Victoria Park and Danforth Avenues in 1922; St. Simon's Highland Creek in 1923; St. Bede's in Regent Heights in 1924." Robert R. Bonis, *A History of Scarborough*, 200.
25. [Edgar J. Wadham and Geri Parliament], *The Church of St. Nicholas; A Family Church in Birch Cliff* (Scarborough: Anglican Church of St. Nicholas Birch Cliff), 19-21.
26. The three Roman Catholic churches established in Scarborough during this time were St. Dunstan on Danforth Avenue (1923), Church of the Precious Blood, Wexford (1932), and St. Theresa's Shrine of the Little Flower (1933) on Kingston Road at the southeast corner of Midland Avenue. Robert R. Bonis, *A History of Scarborough*, 200.

27. *St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Cemetery, Scarborough, Ontario; 200 Morrish Road, City of Scarborough, Ontario; A Geneological Reference Listing* (Toronto: Ontario Genealogical Society, Toronto Branch, 1989).
28. Mary Florence Tredway Miller, "Memories of Scarborough" in *Memories of Scarborough; A Bicentennial Celebration* (Scarborough: The Scarborough Public Library Board, 1997), 57.
29. "Extracts from the Letters of Ruth McCowan and John Heron, 1916-1919," transcribed and introduced by Margaret J. Carr, *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 13, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 1989): 19.
30. G.B. Little, "Thoughts of Curling from Dugout No. 1, 1917," *Scarborough Historical Notes and Comments* 13, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 1989): 28.
31. "Extracts from the Letters of Ruth McCowan and John Heron, 1916-1919," 23.
32. *Courcelette Public School; The First Seventy-five Years, 1911-1986*, Ray F. Corley and Tim Clarke, eds., (Scarborough: n.p., [1986]), 5; and, Ray F. Corley, Scarborough resident and transportation historian, telephone interview by Barbara Myrvold, Scarborough, 4 September 1997.
33. Arnold Canning, "Memories of Scarborough 1905-1939," written by Barbara Canning Weiler for Arnold Canning in *Memories of Scarborough*, 5-6.
34. This information was taken from letters and newspaper clippings supplied to the Scarborough Public Library Board by Dorothy K. (Leslie) Brignall; she was born in Scarborough, the daughter of Arthur O. Leslie (d. 1966), who both worked and volunteered for the Township of Scarborough beginning in the 1920s until 1958. He served in a number of capacities, including public school trustee (1930-35), public utilities commissioner (1946-58), and member of the volunteer fire department and the welfare and relief boards.
35. Robert R. Bonis, *A History of Scarborough*, 202.
36. Olive N. Graham and Jennie Bella Graham, *A Family Portrait*, 87-8.
37. Jocelyn Ladd, "My Scarborough Years" in *Memories of Scarborough*, 49.
38. Olive N. Graham and Jennie Bella Graham, *A Family Portrait*, 87.
39. Jocelyn Ladd, "My Scarborough Years," 49-50.
40. The "Half Way House," so named because it was located halfway between the St. Lawrence Market in Toronto and the settlement at Dunbarton in Pickering Township, stood at the northwest corner of Kingston Road and Midland Avenue from the 1830s until the mid-1960s, when it was moved to Black Creek Pioneer Village; it is still known as the "Half Way House."

The People of Scarborough: A History

41. Patrick Ryan, "Memories of Scarborough," 130.
42. *Ibid.*, 129.
43. Stanley N. Riches, "Remember When (Part I)" in *Memories of Scarborough*, 81.
44. Doris Libby (*née* Uprichard), "My Early Life in Scarborough" in *Memories of Scarborough*, 59.
45. John Evanoff, "My Recollections of Scarborough," unpublished paper submitted to the Scarborough Public Library Board in response to the *Scarborough Mirror* article mentioned in note number 15, above (1996).
46. Arnold Canning, "Memories of Scarborough 1905-1939," 7-8.
47. Victoria Kennedy, *A View of the Heights; A Retrospective of the Birchcliff Heights Community* (Scarborough: Victoria Kennedy, [1933]), 55.
48. John Evanoff, "My Recollections of Scarborough," [2].
49. Bernice Thurman Hunter, *That Scatterbrain Booky* (Richmond Hill, Ont.: Scholastic-TAB, 1981).
50. Arnold Canning, "Memories of Scarborough 1905-1939," 7-8.
51. Robert R. Bonis, *A History of Scarborough*, 202.
52. Richard Schofield, Meredyth Schofield and Karen Whynot, *Scarborough Then and Now* (Scarborough: Scarborough Board of Education and Scarborough Historical Society, 1966), 58-9.
53. Doris Libby (*née* Uprichard), "My Early Life in Scarborough," 62.
54. Jocelyn Ladd, "My Scarborough Years," 50.
55. Doris Libby (*née* Uprichard), "My Early Life in Scarborough," 62.
56. Phil O'Prey, Mary O'Prey, Theresa O'Prey and Basil O'Prey, "Memories of Scarborough," 66.
57. Doris Libby (*née* Uprichard), "My Early Life in Scarborough," 62.
58. Jocelyn Ladd, "My Scarborough Years," 50.
59. Bruce and Elisabeth Plain, "Scarbermory — June 3, 1996," in *Memories of Scarborough*, 69.
60. Arsho Zakarian provided this information on Armenians in Scarborough to the Scarborough Public Library Board as part of the Scarborough Public Library Board Bicentennial Project (1996).

61. John Evanoff, "My Recollection of Scarborough," [2].
62. Lillian Petroff, *Sojourners and Settlers: The Macedonian Community in Toronto to 1940* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario and University of Toronto Press, 1995), 119.
63. Olive N. Graham and Jennie Bella Graham, *A Family Portrait*, 33.
64. Robert Fulford, "Going to Scarborough Fairest," *Toronto Life*, November 1991, 124.
65. Al Sokol, "Toronto Exhibit Represents Trip into Past of Jewish Community," *Toronto Star*, 23 August 1997, M17.
66. John Evanoff, "My Recollection of Scarborough,"[2].
67. Arnold Canning, "Memories of Scarborough 1905-1939," 4.
68. Mary Florence Tredway Miller, "Memories of Scarborough," 55.
69. Arnold Canning, "Memories of Scarborough 1905-1939," 4.
70. Mary Florence Tredway Miller, "Memories of Scarborough," 55.
71. Arnold Canning, "Memories of Scarborough 1905-1939," 4.
72. Mary Florence Tredway Miller, "Memories of Scarborough," 56.
73. Olive N. Graham and Jennie Bella Graham, *A Family Portrait*, 47-8.
74. Mary E. Bond, *Canadian Directories, 1790-1987: A Bibliography and Place-name Index*, vol. 3, *Place-name Index* (Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 1989), 626 and 911.
75. *Toronto City Directory*, 1918, 23 and 57.
76. Olive N. Graham and Jennie Bella Graham, *A Family Portrait*, 19.
77. Suzanne Aloisi, Granddaughter of Robert and Mary Hutton of Scarborough, personal interview conducted by Barbara Myrvold, Toronto, 23 June 1996,.
78. Olive N. Graham and Jennie Bella Graham, *A Family Portrait*, 20.
79. John Evanoff, "My Recollections of Scarborough," [1].
80. Doris McCarthy, *A Fool in Paradise: An Artist's Early Life* (Toronto: Macfarlane Walter & Ross, 1990), 217-18.
81. Suzanne Aloisi interview.

The People of Scarborough: A History

82. Olive N. Graham and Jennie Bella Graham, *A Family Portrait*, 20.
83. John Evanoff, "My Recollections of Scarborough," [2].
84. Doris Libby (*née* Uprichard), "My Early Life in Scarborough," 112.
85. Virginia Sullivan, *50th Anniversary: Birch Cliff Public School 1916-1966* [Scarborough: n.p., 1966].
86. Robert Perrott, unpublished reminiscences, 1996, [1].
87. Richard Schofield, "Looking Back: Buses had a Major Impact on Development," *Scarborough Mirror*, 18-19 May 1996, 22.
88. Robert Perrott, unpublished reminiscences, 1996, [1-2].
89. Victoria Kennedy, *A View of the Heights*, 6.
90. John Evanoff, "My Recollections of Scarborough," [2].

CHAPTER SIX

1. Robert Raynes Bonis, *A History of Scarborough*, enlarged ed. (Scarborough: Scarborough Public Library, 1968), 206.
2. David K. Foot with Daniel Stoffman, *Boom, Bust & Echo; How to Profit from the Coming Demographic Shift* (Toronto: Macfarlane Walter & Ross, 1996), 18.
3. Frank Jones, *Toronto Telegram*, 18 June 1965.
4. Norman Buchignani and Joan Engel, *Cultures in Canada; Strength in Diversity* (Edmonton: Weigl Educational Publishers, 1984), 60-1.
5. The published census for 1951 did not include statistics on place of birth.
6. Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, *Metro's Suburbs in Transition; Part 1: Evolution and Overview: Background Report, A Review of Trends in the Social Development of New Suburban Communities in Metropolitan Toronto* (Toronto: Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, April 1979), 175.
7. In the published census, the "Croatian, Serbian, Slovenian and other Yugoslav" languages were included under "Yugoslav languages." *Mother Tongue Atlas of Metropolitan Toronto, vol. 1, 1971 and 1976* ([Toronto]: Ministry of Citizenship and Culture Multicultural Program, Ethnocultural Data Base, 1982).
8. *Ibid.*, 95 passim.
9. *Ontario Ethnocultural Profiles: Irish* ([Toronto]: Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Citizenship Division, [1979]).
10. Liliás Bargery, Scarborough resident of British ethnic origin, personal interview by Susan Rickwood, Scarborough, Ontario, 17 April 1996.
11. *Scarborough Mirror*, 29 April 1970.
12. *Scarborough Mirror*, 6 September 1967.
13. Robert E. VanderVennen, *Grace in Scarborough: Grace Christian Reformed Church 1963-1988* (Toronto: Morning Star Press, 1989), 56.
14. Janet Smith, Scarborough resident of Dutch ethnic origin, telephone interview by Susan Rickwood, Scarborough, Ontario, 4 June 1996.
15. *Ibid.*
16. Ria Uffels, of Scarborough's D Dutch Deli, telephone interview by Barbara Myrvold, Scarborough, November 1996.

The People of Scarborough: A History

17. Maie Kulcsar, DUCA Credit Union, telephone interview by Barbara Myrvold, Scarborough, 5 November 1996.
18. *Multicultural Directory of Human Resources in Scarborough* (Scarborough: West Indian Social and Cultural Society, Multicultural Centre and Human Services of Scarborough, 1982), 15.
19. Willemina Seywerd, Scarborough resident of Dutch ethnic origin, telephone interview by Barbara Myrvold, Scarborough, 5 November 1996.
20. Franca Iacovetta, *Such Hardworking People: Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto*, no. 12, *McGill-Queen's Studies in Ethnic History* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 56.
21. *Ibid.*, xxi.
22. *Scarborough Mirror*, 24 July 1963.
23. "Scarborough's Highland Farms: Louie and Charlie Coppa's Newest Store is City's Largest Supermarket," *Scarborough Mirror*, 12 October 1983, [27].
24. Ezio Marchetto, "The Catholic Church and Italian Immigration to Toronto: An Overview." *Polyphony; The Bulletin of the Multicultural History Society of Ontario* 7 (Fall/Winter 1985): 107-10.
25. Ontario Multicultural Program Ethnocultural Data Base. *Mother Tongue Atlas of Metropolitan Toronto*, vol. 1, 1971 and 1976, p. 97.
26. *The Centennial of Ukrainians in Canada 1881-1991* (Scarborough: Ukrainian-Canadian Community Council of Scarborough, 1991), [3].
27. *Scarborough Mirror*, 27 November 1963.
28. "Masaryk Town: A Memorial to the Past, A Tribute to Canada," *Toronto Telegram*, 21 August 1957, [1E]- 2E.
29. Jan Travinicek, President of Masaryk Memorial Institute, personal interview by Barbara Myrvold, Scarborough, 4 June 1966.
30. Harry V. Herman, "Macedonians" in *The 1995 Canadian Encyclopedia Plus* [CD-ROM].
31. *Columbia Encyclopedia*. 5th ed., s.v. "Macedonians" in *The 1996 Canadian Encyclopedia Plus* [CD-ROM].
32. Triain Dimitriou, "Personal" in "The History of Macedonians in Scarborough," unpublished paper submitted to Scarborough Public Library Board for this book, 11.
33. Mary and Triaian Dimitriou, Scarborough residents of Macedonian ethnic origin, personal interview by Barbara Myrvold, Scarborough, 26 June 1996.

34. Linda Carscadden, "My Memories of Scarborough" in *Memories of Scarborough; A Bicentennial Celebration* (Scarborough: Scarborough Public Library Board, 1996), 13.
35. Vicki Schultz and Freda Koutroubis, unpublished paper written for Scarborough Public Library, submitted to Scarborough Public Library Board for this book, April 1996.
36. Ian MacLachlan and Deborah Young, "Toronto's Danforth Speaks with Many Tongues," *Canadian Geographic* (December 1982): 22.
37. Vicki Schultz and Freda Koutroubis, unpublished paper.
38. Rella Braithwaite and Tessa Benn-Ireland, *Some Black Women; Profiles of Black Women in Canada* (Toronto: Sister Vision, 1993), 82.
39. Donald Carty, taped interviews [transcripts] by Diana Braithewaite, 25 May and 28 June 1982, from the Collection of the Multicultural History Society of Ontario.
40. *Scarborough Mirror*, 24 July 1963.
41. Kathy Searles and Edsworth Searles, Long-standing members of Scarborough's Black community, personal interview by Susan Rickwood, Scarborough, 4 June 1996.
42. Rella Braithewaite, Long-standing member of Scarborough's Black community, telephone interview by Barbara Myrvold, Scarborough, 1996. See also Dionne Brand, *No Burden to Carry; Narratives of Black Working Women in Ontario, 1920s to 1950s*, with the assistance of Lois De Shield and the Immigrant Women's Job Placement Centre (Toronto: Women's Press, 1991), 236.
43. Donald Carty, taped interviews by Diana Braithewaite.
44. Lorraine Hunter, "Author Writing Book on the Arrival of First Blacks in Canada," *Toronto Star*, 6 May 1974.
45. *Ibid.*
46. Joe Hamade, Scarborough resident of Japanese ethnic origin, personal interview by Michele Topa, Scarborough, Ontario, 23 April 1996.
47. Bill Hamade, Scarborough Public Library employee of Japanese ethnic origin, personal interview by Barbara Myrvold, Scarborough, 9 November 1996.
48. Scarborough's Jewish population was even smaller according to the numbers which appear under the category "Ethnic Origins" in Statistics Canada's published *Census of Canada 1951*; there were only 49 people listed as Jewish in that year.

The People of Scarborough: A History

49. The ten Roman Catholic Churches established in Scarborough between 1951 and 1968 are: Immaculate Heart of Mary (1951), Our Lady of Fatima (1951), St. Boniface (1955), St. Maria Goretti (1955), Holy Spirit (1956), St. Lawrence (1959), St. Rose of Lima (1959), St. Thomas More (1964), St. Martin de Porres (1968), and St. Bartholomew (1968). This information was provided to the author in April 1996 by Susanne Lout of the Archdiocese of Toronto Archives.
50. Statistics Canada used the more specific term “Greek Orthodox” in the tables that appeared in the published census for 1961 and 1971, although it is likely that this term was being used to refer to all members of the “Eastern Orthodox Church,” a term not found in the census tables until 1981 (it also appeared in 1991). Thus, Russian, Ukrainian, Macedonian, and Serbian Orthodox adherents are ignored.
51. James Lemon, *Toronto Since 1918; An Illustrated History* (Toronto: Lorimer; Ottawa: National Museum of Man and National Museums of Canada, 1985), 92.
52. Lex Schrag, *Mortgage Manor* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1955), viii-ix.
53. *Ibid.*, viii.
54. Olivia Gibbins, “Memories of Scarborough, 1949-1996,” in *Memories of Scarborough*, 22.
55. Henry A. Braithwaite, taped interviews [transcripts] by Diana Braithewaite, 17 November, 2 and 23 December, 1981 from the collection of the Multicultural History Society of Ontario.
56. Joe Hamade, personal interview.
57. Frank Jones, *Toronto Telegram*, 18 June 1965.
58. Dick Singer, “Rekindling My ‘Yesteryears,’” *Scarborough Mirror*, 3 April 1996.
59. Olivia Gibbins, “Memories of Scarborough, 1949-1996,” 22.
60. *Ibid.*, 22-3.
61. Dick Singer, “Rekindling My ‘Yesteryears.’”
62. Suzanne McDonald Aloisi, personal interview by Barbara Myrvold, Toronto, 23 June 1996.
63. Frank Jones, *Toronto Telegram*, 18 June 1965.
64. Malcolm Johnson, “Scarborough Citizens Like the Open Spaces,” *Toronto Star*, 9 March 1974.
65. Dionne Brand, *No Burden to Carry*, 229.

66. Lex Schrag, *Mortgage Manor*, 52.
67. Frank Jones, *Toronto Telegram*, 18 June 1965.
68. Dick Singer, "Rekindling My 'Yesteryears.'"
69. Robert R. Bonis, *A History of Scarborough*, 341.
70. *Ibid.*, 225.
71. Richard Schofield, Archivist, Scarborough Board of Education, telephone interview by Barbara Myrvold, Scarborough, 28 April 1996.
72. Robert R. Bonis, *A History of Scarborough*, 228.
73. Toronto and Suburban Separate School Board, minutes of 10 October 1950 meeting.
74. Robert R. Bonis, *A History of Scarborough*, 235.
75. Malcolm Johnson, "Frank, Ruth Love Living in Scarborough," *Toronto Star*, 9 March 1974.
76. Richard Schofield, Meredyth Schofield and Karen Whynot, *Scarborough Then and Now* (Scarborough: Scarborough Board of Education, Scarborough Historical Society, 1996), 3, based on the report by Florence M. Reesor, "Scarborough, Sesquicentennial Anniversary, June 19, 1946 - July 1, 1946," (Scarboro [sic], October 1946).
77. There is some confusion about the spelling of Tabor Hill, the site of the Indian ossuary. Some Scarborough bylaws refer to it as Taber Hill; other documents include reference to Tabor's Hill. According to Scarborough's historian, Robert R. Bonis, it was named after the old Tabor family on whose farmland the hill was situated. *Scarborough Mirror*, 2 November 1966.
78. *History of the Tabor Hill Ossuaries in Scarborough and a Proposal for an Authentic Iroquois Indian Village* ([Scarborough]: n.p., [1956]), [3].
79. "Greek Collection Grows," *Scarborough Mirror*, 23 June 1971.

The People of Scarborough: A History

CHAPTER 7

1. Metropolitan Social Profile; A Guide To Social Planning Facts In Metropolitan Toronto (Toronto: Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, 1979), 7.
2. Arie Ashkenazy, Community Profile (Scarborough: City of Scarborough Economic Development Department, January 1992), 24.
3. This population estimate is from the City of Scarborough Development Department, 1996.
4. Metropolitan Social Profile, 6.
5. Ron Watson, City of Scarborough Councillor, personal interview by Barbara Myrvold and Michele Topa, Scarborough, June, 1996.
6. Sherri Ennis and Paul Fleiszer, Community Health Status Information, Bulletin #1: 1991 Demographic Bulletin (Scarborough: Scarborough Health Department, 1996), 11.
7. "Immigrants Called Vital to Canada's Growth," Toronto Star, 25 September 1996, A10.
8. Jane Coutts, "No Room for Nostalgia," Globe and Mail, 4 January 1991, A11.
9. Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, Metro's Suburbs In Transition, Part One, Evolution and Overview: Background Report, A Review of Trends in the Social Development of New Suburban Communities in Metropolitan Toronto (Toronto: Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, April 1979), 178.
10. Ibid., Enclosure 37, 177.
11. Metropolitan Social Profile, 7.
12. Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, Part One: Evolution and Overview, 178-80.
13. The Composition and Implications of Metropolitan Toronto's Ethnic, Racial and Linguistic Populations, report commissioned by the Multicultural and Race Relations Division, Chief Administrative Officer's Department (Toronto: Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, March 1990), v.
14. "Chilean Family Flees to Canadian Safety," Scarborough Mirror, 4 April 1987, quoted by Allan Gould in Scarborough -- An Economic Celebration (Burlington, Ont.: Windsor Publications, 1988), 93.

15. Tana Turner, *The Composition and Implications of Metropolitan Toronto's Ethnic, Racial and Linguistic Populations: Report* (Toronto: The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, 1990), 4.
16. *Ibid.*, 34.
17. Non-permanent residents were persons who held student or employment authorizations, minister's permits or who were refugee claimants.
18. George M. John, "The Kerala Christian Community in Metropolitan Toronto, Polyphony; *The Bulletin of the Multicultural History Society of Ontario* 12 (1990): 114.
19. Pierre Trudeau, quoted in Norman Buchignani and Joan Engel, *Cultures in Canada: Strength in Diversity* (Weigl Educational Publishers: Edmonton, Alta., 1984), 78.
20. The statistics are somewhat deceiving, because after 1971 only those claiming "Single British Origins" were included in this category. Census takers began counting a variety of "Multiple Origins" in the ethnic origin categories beginning in 1981, some of which included "British." As well, "Canadian" began to be included as a category of ethnic origin, accounting for 38,010 (7.9%) Scarborough residents in 1986 and about the same number in 1991.
21. *Mother Tongue Atlas of Metropolitan Toronto*, vol. 3 1986 Census (Toronto: Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, Ethnocultural Data Base, 1986).
22. Jeniva Berger and Jean Yoon, "Theatre, Multicultural" in *The 1995 Canadian Encyclopedia Plus [CD-ROM]* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1995).
23. Nancy Seppanen, Scarborough Public Library Board employee of Finnish origin, personal interview by Barbara Myrvold, Scarborough, 10 October 1996.
24. *Curling: A Scottish Sport in Scarborough*, supplement to *From Croft to Clearing*, vol. 4, 1996 (Don Mills, Ont.: James McCowan Memorial Social History Society, 1996), 1.
25. Bruce McCowan, founding member of the James McCowan Memorial Social History Society, and the Scottish Heritage Society, telephone interview by Barbara Myrvold, Don Mills, Ont., 21 March 1997.
26. Jamal Kakar, Afghan Association of Ontario, telephone interview by Barbara Myrvold, North York, Ont., 8 May 1997.
27. Shinkay Gardizi, Scarborough Board of Education employee of Afghan origin, telephone interview by Barbara Myrvold, Scarborough, 18 May 1997.

The People of Scarborough: A History

28. For the purposes of the census, Statistics Canada included the following countries under the term “Middle East”: Israel, Lebanon, Turkey, Cyprus, Iran, Syria, Iraq, Jordan and Kuwait.
29. Peter D Chimbos, *The Canadian Odyssey; the Greek Experience in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1980), 36.
30. Scarborough Community Services Project; Report of the Special Committee of Scarborough Council on “Metro Suburbs in Transition” (Scarborough: The Committee, December 1979), 78.
31. Sherri and Paul Fleiszer, Community Health Status Information, Bulletin #1: 1991 Demographic Report, 66.
32. This information is from Statistics Canada’s “Demographic and Ethnocultural Profile, 1986 — Mother Tongue: Greek” which is derived from 1986 census data.
33. Peter D. Chimbos, “Greeks” in *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1988) 2: 936.
34. Peter D. Chimbos, *The Canadian Odyssey*, 128.
35. *Scarborough Mirror*, 16 April 1980.
36. Donovan Vincent, “Noise Bylaw Exemption Sought; Greek Church Plans 3-day Festival,” *Toronto Star*, Scarborough, 13 June 1996, Scarborough edition, 1.
37. “Greek Schools Keep Culture Alive for Youngster,” *Scarborough Mirror*, 7 April 1982.
38. *Metropolitan Social Profile*, 40-4.
39. Robert F. Harney, “How to Write a History of Postwar Toronto Italia,” *Polyphony* 7(Fall/Winter 1985): 61-5.
40. Warren Gerrard, “The Danforth — It’s Little Athens Now,” *Toronto Star*, 24 February 1976, E1.
41. Franc Sturino, “Italians” in *The 1995 Canadian Encyclopedia Plus* [CD-ROM].
42. Clifford J. Jansen, *Fact-book on Italians in Canada*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: York University, Department of Sociology, December 1987), 55.
43. Sherri Ennis and Paul Fleiszer, Community Health Status Information, Bulletin #1: 1991 Demographic Report, 65.
44. *Mother Tongue Atlas of Metropolitan Toronto*, vol. 2, 1981 Census (Toronto: Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, Ethnocultural Data Base, 1982).

45. Mother Tongue Atlas of Metropolitan Toronto, vol. 1, 1971 and 1976 Census (Toronto: Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, Ethnocultural Data Base, 1982).
46. Franc Sturino, "Italians."
47. Scarborough Community Services Project; Report of the Special Committee of Scarborough Council on "Metro Suburbs in Transition," 83.
48. The West Scarborough Neighbourhood Centre started as a boy's club at 313 Pharmacy Avenue in 1956.
49. Jolanta Styla, West Scarborough Neighbourhood Community Centre, telephone interview by Barbara Myrvold, Scarborough, 28 October 1996.
50. Harry V. Herman, "Macedonians" in The 1995 Canadian Encyclopedia Plus [CD-ROM].
51. "Macedonians — 75 Years in Toronto," Scarborough Mirror, 13 June 1979; reprinted in Brief History of the Canadian Macedonian Immigrants and Their Background (Toronto: Macedonian Canadian Senior Citizens Club, 1980), 18.
52. Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, 1981. The Macedonian community would argue that the actual numbers were much higher; see the previous chapter for an explanation. In "A History of the Macedonians in Scarborough" (1996), Traian Dimitriou noted that: "It is estimated that outside Macedonia, the largest population of Macedonians, approximately 130,000 is in the greater Toronto area, 35,000 (27%) of whom live in Scarborough."
53. Harry V. Herman, "Macedonians."
54. Effie Ginzberg, City of Scarborough Ethno-Racial Study, (n.p.:n.p., August 1992).
55. Anna Wojdera, Scarborough Public Library Board employee of Polish origin, personal interview by Barbara Myrvold, Scarborough, 10 October 1996.
56. Effie Ginzberg, City of Scarborough Ethno-Racial Study, 10.
57. Ibid., Table 10.
58. J. Rawkins and R. Rawkins, The Chinese in North Scarborough (n.p.: n.p., 1985), 8 passim.
59. Vanessa Lu, "Hong Kong Canada," Toronto Star, 10 November 1996, B1.
60. Jade Hemeon, "Bank Follows Chinese to Scarborough," Toronto Star, 20 September 1990, G7.

The People of Scarborough: A History

61. Paul Yee, *Struggle and Hope; The Story of Chinese Canadians* (Toronto: Umbrella Press, 1996), 61.
62. *Ibid.*, 60.
63. The National [television broadcast], Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1 April 1997.
64. Gayle McDonald, "Focus On The Chinese In Canada; Immigrants Finding Security with Real Estate," *Financial Post*, 18 November 1994, C21.
65. Vanessa Lu, "Hong Kong Canada," B4.
66. Anthony B. Chan, *Gold Mountain: The Chinese in the New World* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1983), 163.
67. Royson James, "Scarborough Still Mecca for Chinese," *Toronto Star*, 3 February 1987, East edition, 1.
68. *Ibid.*
69. Mark Stewart, "An Oriental Star is Rising Over Agincourt; New, Young, Affluent Chinese Generation Creating Their Own Suburban Community," *Toronto Star*, 8 May 1984, East edition, 17.
70. Brian McAndrew, "Chinese are Moving to Suburban 'Asiancourt,'" *Toronto Star*, 14 May 1984, A6.
71. Peter Gorrie, "Farewell to Chinatown; An Era of Isolation Ends with the Transition to Toronto's Suburbs," *Canadian Geographic* (August/September, 1991), 18.
72. Scarborough Community Services Project, 85-6.
73. J. Rawkins and R. Rawkins, "The Chinese in North Scarborough, 8.
74. Sherri Ennis and Paul Fleiszer, *Community Health Status Information, Bulletin #1: 1991 Demographic Report*, 59.
75. David Chuenyan Lai, *Chinatowns; Towns Within Cities in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988), 171.
76. Peter Gorrie, "Farewell to Chinatown," 26.
77. *Business & Finance*, November, 1989.
78. David Thomas, "Asian Bank Follows Stream of Customers: Hong Kong Base Provides an Advantage," *Financial Post*, 24 November 1995.
79. Steven Curzon, "Business Buys into Community; Scarborough Looks To Its Own Backyard For Economic Success," *Toronto Sun*, 29 September 1995, Y16.

80. David Thomas, "Asian Bank Follows Stream of Customers."
81. Mae Chun, "Growing Pains," *The Liberal*, 16 February 1994, 3.
82. Royson James, "Scarborough Still Mecca for Chinese."
83. "Disgraceful Slurs on Chinese," Editorial, *Toronto Star*, 30 March 1984, A16.
84. Jim Byers, "Chinese Ask City to Head Off Racism," *Toronto Star*, 26 June 1984.
85. David Chuenyan Lai, *Chinatowns*, 172.
86. Stuart Green, "Monarch Opens Chartwell Plaza," *Scarborough Mirror*, December 1988, [1].
87. Sterling Taylor, "Victims of Hate Literature Need Police Help, Trimmer Says," *Toronto Star*, 2 May 1991, E2.
88. Bob Brent, "Scarborough Struggles with Racism as Hate Literature Targets Chinese," *Toronto Star*, 29 April 1991, A7.
89. Lap Cheung Lee, President of Mon Sheong Foundation, telephone interview by Barbara Myrvold, *Scarborough*, 11 April 1997.
90. *Multicultural Directory of Human Resources in Scarborough* (Scarborough: West Indian Social and Cultural Society, the Multicultural Centre, and Human Services of Scarborough, 1982), 13.
91. Andrew Trimble, "Metro's Other Paper War; Three Big Chains From the Far East are Fighting for Ad Dollars and Readers in Metro's Chinese-speaking Community," *Toronto Star*, 22 May 1994, D1.
92. *Multicultural Directory of Human Resources in Scarborough*, 8.
93. William Giang, Director of Taipei Economic and Cultural Office Cultural Centre, *Scarborough*, telephone interview by Barbara Myrvold, *Scarborough*, 9 May 1997.
94. One of the earliest Christian Baptist congregations was Agincourt Chinese Baptist Church. It was established in 1979 and, initially utilized space at Agincourt Baptist Church, 37 Glen Watford Drive. In 1991, the congregation opened its own building in Unionville; it was named Bridle Trail Baptist Church.
95. *Multicultural Directory of Human Resources in Scarborough*, 19.
96. *Scarborough Mirror*, 4 February 1981.
97. Association of Chinese Evangelical Ministries (Canada), *Commemorating ACEM's Twentieth Anniversary*, (Scarborough: n.p.,[1995]), 136 passim.

The People of Scarborough: A History

98. Philip Chao, Blessed Chinese Martyrs Church, telephone interview conducted by Barbara Myrvold, Scarborough, 9 May 1997. See also The Blessed Chinese Martyrs Catholic Church Dedication of the New Church, October 15, 1994 (Markham, Ont.: [Blessed Martyrs' Church], 1994).
99. Rubgen J. Cusipag and Maria Corazon Buenafe, *Portrait of Filipino Canadians in Ontario (1960-1900)*, (Etobicoke, Ont.: Kalayaan Media, 1993), 45.
100. Nelia Avanzado, Scarborough resident of Filipino origin, personal interview by Susan Rickwood, Toronto, 23 May 1996.
101. Eleanor R. Laquian, "Filipinos" in *The 1995 Canadian Encyclopedia Plus* [CD-R.
102. Sherri Ennis and Paul Fleiszer, *Community Health Status Information, Bulletin #1: 1991 Demographic Report*, 67.
103. *Multicultural Directory of Human Resources in Scarborough* (Scarborough: West Indian Social and Cultural Society, The Multiculturalism Centre, and Human Services of Scarborough, 1982), 11.
104. Minette Delay, Scarborough Public Library Board employee of Filipino background, personal interview by Barbara Myrvold, Scarborough, 22 October 1996.
105. Roger Crosologo Torreno, "Players, Spectators" in Rubgen J. Cusipag and Maria Corazon Buenafe, *Portrait of Filipino Canadians in Ontario*, 90.
106. Elimar Lorico, Scarborough Public Library Board employee of Filipino origin, personal interview, Scarborough, 24 October 1996.
107. Rubgen J. Cusipag and Maria Corazon Buenafe, *Portrait of Filipino Canadians in Ontario*, 96.
108. Philip Mascoll, "Filipino Teens' Families File Rights Complaint," *Toronto Star*, 16 November 1993, A3.
109. Ron Rock, Coordinator, Community and Race Relations, City of Scarborough, telephone interview by Barbara Myrvold, Scarborough, 23 October 1996.
110. Milton Israel, *In the Further Soil; A Social History of Indo-Canadians in Ontario* (Toronto: The Organization for the Promotion of Indian Culture, 1994), [xxi].
111. Norman Buchignani, "South Asians" in *The 1995 Canadian Encyclopedia Plus* [CD-ROM].

112. Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture,. Multicultural Program, "Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto; Distribution and Percent of Population by Place of Birth, 1981."
113. Mother Tongue Atlas of Metro Toronto, vol. 2, 1981, 110.
114. "A Divided Community: Violent Gangs and Politics Threaten Canada's Tamils," *Macleans*, 29 April 1996, 22.
115. Sivanesan Sinniah, Selector of Tamil materials for the Scarborough Public Library Board, telephone interview by Barbara Myrvold, Scarborough, Ontario 24 October 1996.
116. Mother Tongue Atlas of Metro Toronto, vol. 1, 1971, 1976, 95.
117. Scarborough Planning Department, "Scarborough's South Asian Population, 1986; Percentage of the Population of East Indian, Pakistani, or Sri Lankan Ethnic Origin (Reference W88053)." This document is on file at the City of Scarborough Planning Department.
118. Sherri Ennis and Paul Fleiszer, Community Health Status Information, Bulletin #1: 1991 Demographic Report, 61.
119. Milton Israel, *In the Further Soil*, 6.
120. Scarborough Community Services Project; Report of the Special Committee of Scarborough Council on "Metro Suburbs in Transition."
121. Julie Littlechild, "South Asians Add to Scarborough's Cultural Mosaic," *Scarborough Mirror*, 31 October, 1 November 1992.
122. Jyoti Bhakta, South Asian Family Support Services, telephone interview by Barbara Myrvold, 28 April 1997.
123. Sivanesan Sinniah interview. See also *Tamils Guide Commercial and Residential*, (Scarborough: Athavan Publications, 1996), 21, 141.
124. "Cultures Collide in a New Country," *Toronto Star*, 1 July 1996, D7.
125. *Multicultural Directory of Human Resources in Scarborough*, 13.
126. *Ibid.*, 26.
127. This number combines those included in Statistics Canada's census category "Visible Minority Population;" it is not the number of people in the category "Japanese - Single Ethnic Origin."
128. Ann Sunahara, "Japanese" in *The 1995 Canadian Encyclopedia Plus* [CD-ROM].

The People of Scarborough: A History

129. Joe Serge, "Japanese Canadian Centre Will Pay Tribute to Elderly," *Toronto Star*, 18 June 1990, C6.
130. Douglas Shinobu, Momijii Seniors' Centre, telephone interview by Barbara Myrvold, Scarborough, 29 October 1996.
131. Multicultural Directory of Human Resources in Scarborough, 16.
132. Thomas O'Toole, Scarboro Foreign Mission Society, telephone interview by Barbara Myrvold, Scarborough, 30 October 1996.
133. Joe Hamade, Scarborough resident of Japanese ethnic origin, personal interview by Michele Topa, Scarborough, 23 April 1996.
134. Ann Sunahara, "Japanese."
135. Paul Irish, "Scarborough Remembers War Heroes," *Toronto Star*, 8 November 1990, Neighbors East Section, 5.
136. Vicki Fung, Scarborough Economic Development Office, telephone interview by Barbara Myrvold, Scarborough, 4 November 1996.
137. Multicultural Directory of Human Resources in Scarborough, 12.
138. Byoung Han Ahn, Minister, Calvary Korean Presbyterian Church, Markham, Ont., telephone interview by Barbara Myrvold, Markham, Ont., 8 May 1997.
139. David Bai, "Koreans" in *The 1995 Canadian Encyclopedia Plus* [CD-ROM].
140. "Population by Visible Minority Population, 1986," 1986 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada, File P3462. This included "Haitian, Jamaican, other Caribbean, other West Indian and African Black."
141. Effie Ginzberg, *City of Scarborough Ethno-Racial Study*, 9.
142. Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, "Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, 1981, Distribution and Percent of Ethnic Origins Groups, Area Municipalities." As previously mentioned, 10,350 Scarborough residents born in American countries, other than the United States were listed in the published 1981 census.
143. Scarborough Community Services Project.
144. Scarborough Planning Department, "Scarborough's Caribbean and Latin American Population, 1986."
145. Chrysostom Louis, "An Analysis of the Pros and Cons of Establishing a Library Collection for the Black and Caribbean Community in the City of Scarborough," paper prepared, under the supervision of Chrissy Mylopoulos, Coordinator of Multicultural Services, Scarborough Public

Library, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of a Directed Field Work course for the University of Toronto Faculty of Library and Information Science, May 1987, 6-7.

146. Sherri Ennis and Paul Fleiszer, Community Health Status Information, Bulletin #1: 1991 Demographic Report, 60.
147. Scarborough Community Services Project; Report of the Special Committee of Scarborough Council on "Metro Suburbs in Transition," 71.
148. Tropicana Community Services Organization, "History" (Scarborough: Tropicana Community Services Organization, [1993]), [1].
149. Rella Braithwaite, and Tess Benn-Ireland, Some Black Women; Profiles of Black Women in Canada (Toronto: Sister Vision, 1993), 63.
150. Tony Ruprecht, Toronto's Many Faces (Toronto: Whitecap Books, 1990), 64.
151. Shadonna Richards, "Opinion; Positive Police-Black Dialogue Media Tend to Ignore Efforts to Kill Virus of Racial Tensions," Toronto Star, 14 February 1995, A19.
152. Rella Braithwaite and Tess Benn-Ireland, Some Black Women, 57.
153. M. Labelle, S. Larose and V. Piche, "West Indians" in The 1995 Canadian Encyclopedia Plus [CD-ROM].
154. Effie Ginzberg, City of Scarborough Ethno-Racial Study, 19-20.
155. Ashante Infantry, "Jamaican 'Royal' Reigns Here by Fostering Joy of Language," Toronto Star, 3 February 1996, A2.
156. Lorraine Hunter, "Calendar Pays Tribute to Black Women in Key Positions," Toronto Star, 18 October 1983, East 6.
157. Roula El-Rifai, "Arab Shopping Area Thrives in Scarborough," Toronto Star, 4 July 1993, H3.
158. Baba Abuf-Laban, "Arabs" in The 1995 Canadian Encyclopedia Plus [CD-ROM].
159. Venice Maassarany, Community Liaison Officer, Scarborough Board of Education, telephone interview by Barbara Myrvold, Scarborough, 28 October 1996.
160. Arsho Zakarian, "Armenians in Scarborough," paper prepared for City of Scarborough Public Library, as part of the Scarborough Bicentennial History Project, 12 June 1996.
161. Real Estate News, 25 September 1987, C1.

The People of Scarborough: A History

162. Isabel Kaprielian, "Armenians" in *The Canadian Encyclopedia 1995 Plus* [CD-ROM].
163. These were Latin/Central or South Americans included in the population figures in the Statistics Canada census category "Visible Minority."
164. Wilson Ruiz, "Latin Americans" in *The 1995 Canadian Encyclopedia Plus* [CD-ROM].
165. Miranda Pinto, Catholic Cross Cultural Services, telephone interview by Barbara Myrvold, Scarborough, 31 October 1996.
166. Edith Masuella, Scarborough Board of Education Community Liaison Officer, telephone interview by Barbara Myrvold, Scarborough, 2 November 1996.
167. Donna Jean MacKinnon, "Peruvian Festival a First for Metro," *Toronto Star*, 8 September 1995, SC4.
168. *Scarborough Mirror*, 9 April 1980.
169. Scarborough Community Services Project; Report of the Special Committee of Scarborough Council on "Metro Suburbs in Transition," 85.
170. *Scarborough Mirror*, 9 April 1980.
171. Evangelical and fundamentalist churches listed include: Apostolic (1 church), Associated Gospel Churches (4), Baptist (4 Convention, 6 Fellowship and 11 other), Bible Chapels (1), Brethren in Christ (1), Christian (3), Christian and Missionary Alliance (8), Christian Reformed Church (1), Church of God (4), Church of the Nazarene (3), Evangelical (4), Free Methodist (1), Gospel (1), Inter-Denominational (2), Jehovah's Witnesses (4), Missionary Churches (3), Non-Denominational (2), Pentecostal (1), Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (6), Salvationary Army (4), Seventh Day Adventist (2). *Information Scarborough Directory* (Scarborough: Information Scarborough, March 1995).
172. Baptist groups included: four Convention, six Fellowship and 11 other Baptist churches. *1995 Information Scarborough Directory* (Scarborough: Information Scarborough, March 1995).
173. *Tamils Guide Commercial and Residential*, 143.
174. The four Roman Catholic churches opened at this time were: Epiphany of Our Lord (1974), St. Barnabas (1976), Prince of Peace (1983), and St. Aidan (1988).
175. Miranda Pinto interview.
176. Scarborough Planning Board, Statistics, 1980 (Scarborough: [Scarborough Planning Board], n.d.), 71.

177. Scarborough Mirror, 27 April 1977.
178. Audette Awadalla, St. Mark's Coptic Orthodox Church (Scarborough), telephone interview by Barbara Myrvold, Scarborough, 21 October 1996. See also, Sterling Taylor, "15 Thrown Out of Work as Province Axes Project; Now Tougher for 69 Needy Families to Find a Home," Toronto Star, 20 October 1995, SC 2.
179. Scarborough Community Services Project; Report of the Special Committee of Scarborough Council on "Metro Suburbs in Transition," 78.
180. Milton Israel, *In the Further Soil*, 51.
181. *Ibid.*, 54.
182. *Ibid.*
183. *Ibid.*, 58.
184. Bhaaskar Panchaang / Hindu Almanac (Oakville, Ont., 1977), 61.
185. Siva Sinniah interview. See also Tamil Directory, 143.
186. 1996 Information Scarborough Directory (Scarborough: Information Scarborough, March 1995), 89; 1997 Information Scarborough Directory (Scarborough: Information Scarborough, August 1996), 92.
187. Milton Israel, *In the Further Soil*.
188. East West Connections Business Directory, 1997 ([Toronto]: Onkar Publishing, 1997), 361.
189. Milton Israel, *In the Further Soil*, 64.
190. Pashaura Singh, "Sikh Traditions in Ontario," *Polyphony* 12 (1990): 131.
191. Bhagat Taggar, Gursikh Sabha Gudwara, telephone interviews by Barbara Myrvold, Scarborough, 24, 28 October 1996.
192. Milton Israel, *In The Further Soil*, 72-3.
193. Scarborough Community Services Project; Report of the Special Committee of Scarborough Council on "Metro Suburbs in Transition", 78.
194. Karudin Rashid, Ismaili Council of Ontario, telephone interview by Barbara Myrvold, Scarborough, 5 November 1996.
195. Milton Israel, *In the Further Soil*, 74
196. Maureen Murray, "Religious Wars; Opposition to Sunni Muslims Building a Mosque in East York is About a Lack of Parking. Or is it the Darker Side of Red Tape?" Toronto Star, 8 October 1995, F1.

197. 1996 Information Scarborough Directory, 21.
198. Janice Mawhinney and Nicolass Van Rijn, "Siamese Twin Back in Toronto for More Surgery," Toronto Star, 11 November 1996, A4.
199. Maureen Murray, "India's Ex-Leader Appeals for Unity," Toronto Star, 20 October 1995, SC3.
200. Leslie S. Kawamura, "Buddhism" in The 1995 Canadian Encyclopedia Plus [CD-ROM].
201. 1991 Information Scarborough Directory, 72.
202. 1995 Information Scarborough Directory, 89.
203. Scarborough Mirror, 7 April 1982.
204. Jean R Burnet with Harold Palmer, Coming Canadians; An Introduction to a History of Canada's Peoples (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, in Association with the Multiculturalism Program, Department of the Secretary of State, 1988), 148-9.
205. Statistics Canada, "Population by Visible Minority Population, 1986," File P3462. See also Community Profile of the City of Scarborough; A Social Report for Metro (Scarborough: Human Services of Scarborough, 1992), 7. The 1986 Census included the following groups (defined by the Employment Equity Branch of Employment and Immigration Canada) in the category "Visible Minority Population": Blacks, Chinese, Indo-Pakistanis, Filipinos, West Asians and Arabs, Latin Americans (excluding Argentineans and Chileans), Southeast Asians, West Asians and Arabs.
206. "Medical Response Line Speaks 150 Languages," Toronto Star, 6 October, 1995, Scarborough edition, 3.
207. Sherri Ennis and Paul Fleiszer, Community Health Status Information, Bulletin #1: 1991 Demographic Report, 12.
208. Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, Metro's Suburbs in Transition, Part One, 177.
209. Sherri and Paul Fleiszer, Community Health Status Information, Bulletin #1: 1991 Demographic Bulletin, 6.
210. Jane Coutts, "No Room for Nostalgia."
211. Allan Gould, Scarborough -- An Economic Celebration (Burlington, Ont.: Windsor Publications, 1988), 93.

"It was, perhaps, a fortunate circumstance, that from the earliest years, those who took up land were not all, or even mainly, from any particular place. . . . The social friction proved beneficial all round, and manifested its good effects . . . "

David Boyle, *The Township of Scarboro, 1796-1896*

Barbara Myrvold is a reference librarian at the Scarborough Public Library, where she assists with the Scarborough Historical Collection. She has also coordinated local history collections and services for the Toronto Public Library since 1982, including writing or supervising the publication of 13 books on Toronto neighbourhoods and libraries. Myrvold holds a BA from McMaster University, and a BLS and an MLS from the University of Toronto.