THE CRERARS OF HAMILTON: A STUDY OF TWO SCOTTISH EMIGRANTS

Scottish emigration to Canada and Scottish immigrants in Canada are subjects that have received an enviable degree of attention from historians. Recent studies in these areas are among the most innovative and exhaustive in the field of Scottish history. Their strength stems from the integration of broad examinations of the social, political and economic causes of emigration from the perspective of those emigrating with insightful assessments of the emigrant in their adopted homelands. Marianne Mclean's examination of Scottish immigrants in Glengarry is an example of the latter type of study; Michael Vance's assessment of the political, social and economic roots of Scottish emigration societies illustrates the potential of the former.

Traditionally, the construction of historical events and interpretive theories of causation grow, of necessity, from the particular to the general. This was, and is, the case in studies of Scottish emigration and immigration. Individuals, however, rarely fit completely the mold established by theories; nor is their full story told through such methods. As one example, the circumstances of the Crerar brother's emigration to Canada provide glimpses into both the root of general interpretations of emigration and the particulars of the immigrant's story in Canada.

John Crerar and Peter Crerar, brothers from Crieff, Perthshire, emigrated to Canada West in the mid-19th Century, drawn by the economic opportunity proffered by the New World. Two young urban males, they left Scotland for economic reasons; John, after flirting with a business career left Scotland to better his opportunities. Peter, the younger, was drawn by his brother's success and settled in the same area. The brother's maintained strong ties with those back home and prospered in Canada. The
Crerar's also became prominent members of Hamilton's elite, following established patterns of ethnic settlement and economic success for men of their socio-economic class. Here, however, their story diverges from the norm. Religion, specifically the Free Church of Scotland, informed the nature of their success. They were men of strong conviction, imbued by political and religious beliefs that were not mainstream. The paths they followed to success in their adopted land wound around these personal choices and preferences. They were, in the last estimation, individuals whose lives were shaped by time and place but not predetermined by them.

I

Legend has it that the Crerar family, the acknowledged "kith and kin" of the Clan Chattan, sprang from the Mackintosh sept in circumstances that would not be described as portentous. The first of the line, so the tradition goes, sought to conceal himself from the "pursuit of mortal enemies" after the '45 and found refuge in a mill near Kenmore. The miller, sympathetic to the plight of his new charge, disguised him by covering the hapless Jacobin with flour from head to toe. The ingenious miller then set the man to work on the piece of machinery discharging the most flour. This fakery proved successful as the pursuers came and went, leaving empty handed. In remembrance of his narrow escape, the grateful Mackintosh adopted the name of Criathrar (Crerar), or the sifter.¹ Whatever the truth of the tale, it aptly reflected the two predominant characteristics of the brother's Crerar: strength of conviction and a wall of reserve that hid the inner man from the outside world.

One century later, the sifter’s descendants had come to terms with their country's fate and were well established in Crieff, Perthshire. John and Peter's parents were Alexander and Margaret Crerar, farmers of above average means. The parish statistical account does not list them among the top land owners but comments that agriculture in general was of a high quality and very productive throughout the area. In addition to the proceeds of their successful farm, Alexander supplemented the family income working as a mechanic, or local handyman.²
Alexander Crerar was also a locally renowned literary talent, described as "well read" and "possessed of great natural ability." A frequent contributor to local journals, he was widely respected and quoted in the area's newspapers, even after his death. This was not extraordinary; rural Scotland in general had a high literacy rate, following the "emergence of a cultural premium on literacy at the end of the seventeenth century." Perthshire is a good example of this trend; it was characterized as "much alive to the benefit[s] of education," and appears, from the local availability and use of reading material, to have placed a premium on education. In addition to a small Church library, a subscription library of some 900 volumes existed in Crieff from 1818 and a local bookseller ran a circulating library. These were supplemented by two public reading rooms, again run by subscription, which provided local access to numerous Scottish and English newspapers.

Nevertheless, Alexander's economic status was not typical of the local population. Some measure of the difference and the importance of the Crerar's literary interest is revealed by Alexander's desire and ability to secure solid educations for his children. In an area where many were unable to keep their children in school for any significant time, the five Crerar children all received substantial education. John, born in 1836, was educated at the Madras College of St. Andrews University in Glasgow. His other brothers followed suit. Thomas completed his education, on a prestigious Cunningham scholarship, at Edinburgh University. He became a prominent minister of the Free Church of Scotland as well as a respected linguistic and theological scholar, translating a number of German theological tracts into English. Alexander, named for his father, became a successful West Indian merchant in London while Graham was a prominent manufacturer in Glasgow. Peter was the youngest of the family, born in February 1859. He was another scholarship student at Glasgow University.

John's decision to emigrate came after a series of career changes in his native land. The shifts which finally found him in Canada suggest a talented, if impatient, opportunist with a flair for the dramatic. He first "emigrated" to Glasgow, a move from the rural Highlands to a large urban centre common among
young Scottish males, although Perth held its population better than similar areas. By the 1850s, nevertheless, there was "an unprecedented level of mobility" within Scotland, with "no less than a third of the Scottish population" having crossed a county boundary.

Law was his first calling, but he gave it up after three years, sensing better opportunities in commerce. Unfortunately, John Crerar worked for the Edinburgh branch of the "ill-fated" City of Glasgow Bank, on the verge of its collapse. Thus in 1857, when John was approached by a Canadian relative by marriage, T.M. Daly, the Member of Parliament for Perth, Canada West in the United Province of Canada, he was easily persuaded to embark on a new career in North America. John would become part of a larger, centuries-old, movement of professionals who sought the greater economic opportunities provided by urban centres of the New World. Like over 100,000 males in the decade 1851-60, the twenty-one year old Scot decided to emigrate, becoming the first of his branch to make their home in Canada.

Ethnic and family ties dictated Crerar's destination. Daly obtained for him, soon after his arrival in Canada West, an appointment with the Bank of Montreal. He remained with the bank for nearly ten years but his advancement was slow and uneven. He transferred between various branches, working successively in Guelph, Montreal, London, Peterborough and Hamilton. In London, John met his wife - Jessie Anne Hope, the daughter of the Honourable Senator Adam Hope. This was fortuitous both personally and professionally. Two years after the couple was married in 1864, John's father-in-law convinced him to again rethink his career choice and begin afresh as a law student. Displaying the determination and ambition that characterized his family, John began in 1866 to study law at the office of E.J. Parke, a prominent London barrister. He proved an exceptionally capable law student, winning the first law scholarship in each of his years at Osgoode Hall. After studying at law offices in London, Hamilton and Toronto, John began his own practice in Hamilton in 1871.

Hamilton was a promising choice. This commercial turned industrial centre was in the midst of a recovery from a period of depression that had ravaged its population. It was also a commu-
nity that, in its culture and social organization, provided a microcosm of urban Ontario society in the latter half of the nineteenth century. During this period, Hamilton grew into a confident and prosperous town, fancying itself a rival to Toronto for the title of the province’s chief metropolitan centre. The self titled “Ambitious city” had, in 1875, a population of 32,000; twenty-five years later it would grow to over 52,000, a growth that moved it from the 6th to the 5th largest Canadian city. The majority of the population was Canadian-born but of British stock, a demographic trend that continued into the 1880s as it continued to attract immigrants from the United Kingdom. The population growth reflected the increased economic opportunity for Hamiltonians of all classes in a decade characterized as “an exceptional period of confidence”. The late nineteenth century was also, however, a tumultuous political period, as the newly constituted nation’s elite contemplated the conflicting pulls of imperialism, continentalism and nationalism.

John quickly became a prominent citizen in the “Ambitious City”. At first glance, it seemed that he was aided by the strong Scottish element in the city with close ties to Scottish commercial interests in the “old country”. The Scots, at mid-century, were mainly men of business, however, and not professionals. There is also evidence that there was some cleavage between the professional classes and the “entreprenurial” class, as it is termed by Hamilton social historian Michael Katz. John’s case bears this out. John Crerar’s prominence in Hamilton was gained through “memorable” cases such as his unsuccessful but renowned defence of butcher Michael McConnell, who vengefully murdered his landlord and prominent businessman Nelson Mills, which pitted him against the commercial elite.

In his support of Liberal principles, John also differed with the upper class opinion. Hamilton’s growing working class supported the Liberal continentalist commercial-union movement, a move they hoped might lower taxes and bring down the price of consumer goods. However, their endorsement of a North American free trade area was perceived as a threat by the Hamilton’s Anglo-Scottish elite, a threat to “established patterns of loyalty” and “the economic and historic foundations of the civic establishment”. In sharp contrast, John was a staunch
advocate of the Liberal party's free trade policy throughout the 1870s, and was characterized as a "free-trader of the Cobden-Bright school and an ardent supporter of unrestricted reciprocity." With a political platform that was "rigidly defined and uncompromising," he was prominent in the Liberal victory of 1872 and stood against Sir John A. MacDonald's National Policy in 1878. In that election, he toured Ontario speaking publically against the N.P.. Although his efforts were for naught, some measure of the effects of his powerful debating style may be gathered from the fact that he was appointed by the Conservatives a County Crown Attorney for Wentworth County in 1881, a position which precluded him from actively participating in politics.18

John Crerar's political leanings are partially explained by the ideological tenants of his church. The few references to religious affiliation suggest he was a member of the Free Church of Scotland, whose membership was a miniscule percentage of Hamilton's predominant social class. From the time of its split with the mainstream Presbyterian Church in Canada, the Free Church tended towards the liberal Reform Party in politics, and their post-Confederation successors, the Liberal party.19 However, he was not an ardent religious sympathizer. The Free Church also campaigned vigorously against "worldly amusements" such as the theatre, dancing and intemperance, all of which were supported, to a greater or lesser degree, by John Crerar.20 He was a patron of the arts, promoting theatre through the establishment of the prominent theatrical group the "Garrick Players" in 1875, the first "little theatre" group in Canada. Not content to simply support the arts, John was also an actor of some reknown.21

Nevertheless, Crerar's religious affiliation informed his view of society and his role in it. The Garrick Club's proceeds went to charity, acts of philanthropy that were central to the Free Church's ideology and acts that also marked John Crerar apart from the Hamilton elite's mainstream.22 While the average Anglo-Scottish businessmen dominated the social and political life of the community through their membership in various fraternal orders and their participation in municipal politics, they were, according to Katz, less active in charitable endeavours. Crerar was, on the other hand, honourary president of the
St. Andrews Benevolent Society as well as an active member in the St. John’s Chapter of the Royal Arch Masons. As in other activities, John Crerar inhabited the gray area between the neat historical categorizations of class.23

John Crerar prospered despite his disinclination to accept all of the predominant mores of Hamilton’s elite. His estate alone was valued at $12,000 in the assessment of 1890. Like his peers in the small community elite, John was also active in municipal politics as an alderman and his law practice thrived.24 He was a popular public orator and after-dinner speaker, even after his appointment as the crown attorney for Wentworth County forced him from active politics.25 Indeed, John and his family had a strong community profile in Hamilton’s high society and were particularly famed for the genial atmosphere of their huge stone residence, called “Merkworth House” after the fashion of the local elite to name their estates. (Merkworth derived its name from an old Scot’s silver coin, the “Merk.”) The Crerar family’s gatherings were events of enormous interest, reported keenly in the society sections of the local newspapers, an interest prompted by the cosmopolitan allure of their entertainment of a constant stream of British and continental guests.26

II

Peter Crerar was the youngest of the family, born in February 1859, two years after John had emigrated to the United Province of Canada. Their parents died when Peter was young and he was brought up in the home of his bachelor brother Thomas.27 Thomas was in a junior clerical position in the Church at this time, an appointment that did not afford the brothers a very luxuriant lifestyle; nonetheless, Thomas’s influence on Peter was clear. Peter practiced the Free Church’s version of Presbyterianism throughout his life, with a zest undoubtedly fostered by his brother Thomas. Peter also displayed a scholarly bent that matched that of both Thomas and John.28 He received his early education at Crieff Grammer School and Dumbarton Academy, subsequently completing his formal education in Scotland with a scholarship winning tenure at the University of Glasgow, from where he graduated with Honours.29
Following his schooling, Peter resided in the house of a close family friend - William Denning, the head of a ship-building firm on the Clyde - a "second home" as he later characterized it. Ambition, combined with the lack of opportunity for an educated professional in either rural or urban Scotland, prompted Peter Crerar to become one of thousands of young males whose emigration made Scotland second only to Ireland in emigration for the decade 1871-80.\textsuperscript{30} The opportunity that presented itself with his elder brother John having established himself in Hamilton was thus readily grasped. At the age of twenty, Peter left to make his future in Canada.

Peter followed the standard set by his brother's achievements, demonstrating the ability and studious nature that would lead to his success in Hamilton's professional community. His academic aptitude won him a number of scholarships while he studied law at Osgoode Hall. In 1883, four years after his arrival in Canada, he was called to the bar in Ontario having won the silver medal on the barrister's examinations. Peter became a partner in his brother's law firm - Crerar, Muir and Crerar. Following John's death in 1904, Peter became senior partner and, joined by his nephew, T.H.Crerar, successfully continued the practice of Crerar and Crerar.\textsuperscript{31}

Quiet but firm, Peter established a prominent economic and social position in the city. Nevertheless, he shared political and religious views with his brother John that did not fit the mold cast for the Hamilton elite, a homogenous group who were generally conservative and mainstream. Peter was described as a "supporter of unrestricted reciprocity" and a free trader.\textsuperscript{32} Peter's economic stance placed him in the Liberal party camp. The extent of his endorsement of Liberal principles was revealed by his six year term as President of the Hamilton Liberal Association, 1905-11. His solid, if less impassioned, support won, it was said, the the confidence of his fellow Liberals and the respect of men of "opposite political leanings".\textsuperscript{33}

Peter also continued to maintain a religious faith that was removed from the mainstream and that, like his brother, influenced his politics. By the 1870s, Hamilton's population was composed of a number of denominations but the cities' social and economic elite supported the Anglican churches, particu-
larly Christ’s Church and the All-Saints Anglican Church, and the McNab Street and St. Paul’s Presbyterian Churches.\textsuperscript{34} Despite his prominence, Peter attended the services at the Central Presbyterian, a church in which the congregation was, in the words of one Hamilton centennial assessment, “in sympathy with those in Scotland who... resented State interference in religion.”\textsuperscript{35}

Peter Crerar’s convictions did him little harm; he eagerly entered the world of commerce, succeeding on a scale that escaped his brother, driven by an ambition borne out of the scarcity he knew as a young man. He was drawn into business interests by his specialization in commercial and corporate law. His presidency of the Hamilton Distillery Company, for example, was the result of the influence of the founders, two Hamilton lawyers one of whom was related to Peter by marriage. He also shrewdly used his law connections to become president of the Hamilton Oak Tanning Company of Woodstock, Ontario. Peter’s success, however, was due to more than simple nepotism. As his son Harry, among others, would later observe, Peter “was always at hand with wise counsel and well thought out plans for action.” Crerar’s counsel was widely sought and he subsequently became a director on the boards of numerous companies including the innovative Canadian Tungsten Lamp Company, the Ontario Lantern and Lamp Company and the Imperial Cotton Company. The first two, in particular, revealed Peter’s business acumen as they were characterized by local boosters as among the “newest and...largest industries in Hamilton.”\textsuperscript{36} Companies like the Tungsten Lamp Co. and the Ontario Lantern and Lamp Co. were part of a growing electric and gaspower industry in Hamilton which induced local boosters to promote the city as the “Electrical City of Canada.”\textsuperscript{37} Peter Crerar’s business activities soon overshadowed his legal practice to the point that in 1908 he turned down a judgeship due to his “numerous commercial interests.”

Peter also mirrored his brother in his philanthropic and cultural endeavours, acts which distinguished him from the mainstream of men of commerce; again, his singleminded determination pushed him past John in his achievements. Peter’s success, however, was also a product of his marriage in 1884 to Marion Elizabeth Stinson, a recently widowed scion of one of
Hamilton's wealthiest families. Marion had deep Irish-Dutch roots in Hamilton, a combination which contemporaries felt produced her best qualities—"an admirable blend of enthusiasm and practical perseverance." Her grandfather was Thomas Stinson, a Scot-Irish immigrant who had been a prominent early member of frontier Hamilton's social and economic elite, a wealthy merchant and landlord when he founded Stinson's Bank in 1847 to provide financing for the capital starved settlements in Canada West. Described as one of the "three wealthiest men in Hamilton", his position in the community was such that the Board of Trade called on him to help eliminate the city's debt. The Stinson's social position was solidified by Thomas's marriage to Margaret Zimmerman, the granddaughter of Pennsylvania Dutch United Empire Loyalists.

Marion Stinson Crerar's character and position proved an immeasurable boon to Peter's success. Educated in Hamilton's private schools, and completing her schooling in London, England, she was "a thorough woman of the world, cultured, broadminded and possessed of all the social graces", skills which gave her a charm and appeal that contributed greatly to her later leadership endeavours. Her step brother Harold Buchanan, born in August 1870, went on to become a prominent lawyer and a Liberal Member of Parliament. He served under Sir Wilfrid Laurier, a personal friend of both Peter and Marion, and was Minister without Portfolio in Mackenzie King's government in 1924, sitting as member for Ottawa East. Stinson family tragedy - Thomas Stinson suffered the premature deaths of six of their nine children and Marion lost her first husband after one year of marriage - served to strengthen her character and resolve. These tragedies, as much as Marion Crerar's position, influenced her, and subsequently Peter's, view of social philanthropy. Although an ardent social reformer of the type so typical of her class and gender, her social concerns and religious convictions were also a product of her own life experiences. Marion was subsequently a leader in many of her social crusades, albeit a more effective one given the encouraging societal environment of late Victorian English Canada.

Peter and Marion Crerar were brought together through their shared membership in the Hamilton elite. They were both described by various contemporary authors as adherents of
the "older school of life and manners" and it was reflected in their lives, both professional and personal. They led exemplary public lives, even among a society and social class that placed great emphasis on philanthropy and reforming endeavors. Strong-willed Marion took the lead, providing public leadership and financial support in the fight against tuberculosis, a leading killer in Hamilton and other industrial cities throughout this period. Marion was an original member of the Ladies’ Auxiliary Board, organized in early 1906, as the women’s contribution to the organization set up for the study and prevention of tuberculosis, the Hamilton Health Association. The women were paramount as the executive in the establishment and operation of Hamilton’s Mountain Sanatorium, a new instrument in the growing international anti-tuberculosis movement that was assuming crusade proportions in Canada, where the disease was the single most frequent cause of death. Peter was a strong supporter of Marion’s work with the Hamilton Health Association, serving as an original member of the Men’s Board and giving generously of his time and money. In 1906, he donated a recreation hall, valued at $1600, for patients at the Sanatorium. Peter’s role in the Sanatorium was largely advisory, as was that of the Men’s Board in general, but, as his son noted, Peter was "always at hand with wise counsel." He added of his parents, "They made a fine team". Their devotion to this cause – she was president until her death in 1919 – must be placed in the context of the social and medical trends of the period but their crusade carried more than a strong hint of personal travails and beliefs.

Marion and Peter’s work extended beyond their battle with tuberculosis. Like much of the social reform of the day, their efforts in one area were linked with goals in another. Peter also contributed his time to the St. Andrews Benevolent Society. Marion Crerar’s involvement in the Imperial Order of the Daughter’s of the Empire (IODE), established in 1900 as the imperial sentiment generated by the Boer War swept over English Canada, began with the founding of the Hamilton Municipal Chapter in 1900. Marion was successively Vice-Regent and Regent, effectively setting the course for the Municipal Chapter for the next decade as the IODE directed its energies towards combatting tuberculosis in Hamilton, equipping and directing the Mountain Sanatorium.
It is clear that the Crerar's enjoyed a standard of living that would have escaped them in Scotland. Both Crerar families were alive to the benefits of high culture in the area. Peter and Marion Crerar joined John and Jessie Crerar as prominent figures in Hamilton's high society. Peter was a member as well as a promoter of his brother's Garrick Dramatic Society. The family's support of theatre was extensive and they often entertained visiting theatrical guests in their luxurious home "Dunedin." Marion trained as a singer, and while she never applied her talent professionally, her interest guaranteed a fairly regular attendance at the opera. Travel, at home and abroad, was also a distinct aspect of the family life. The family visited the Crerar's ancestral home in Scotland on occasion and toured the continent. Closer to home, the family maintained a summer getaway in the Muskoka region, a popular turn of the century vacation area for Ontario's upper classes. "Loon Island" was the spot for many enjoyable summers filled with fishing, boating and hunting. Peter, in particular, loved the sporting life and was a member of the Royal Golf Society of Canada and the Canadian Association of Amateur Oarsmen.

In sharp contrast to their origins, John and Peter Crerar provided their families with all the social amenities that upper class life in southwestern Ontario at the end of the Nineteenth Century could provide. They lived in the most fashionable districts of Hamilton, close to the commercial centre, a privilege in a period before flight from the inner-city was fashionable. Among the lavish furnishings and well-kept grounds of their family homes, the Crerar families enjoyed the service of domestics, leisure activities such as billiards, available only to the upper classes, as well as luxuriant gatherings of white-gloved women and brandy sipping men. Their children benefitted from the connections provided by the upper class background. The best example was Henry Duncan Graham "Harry" Crerar, Peter and Marion's eldest child, who would command First Canadian Army during the Second World War. Lillian, a child of Marion's first marriage, married Adam Beck, later Sir Adam the founder of Ontario Hydro. The immigrant brothers succeeded beyond their dreams.
III

John Crerar died in 1904; Peter died abruptly of a brain aneurysm in 1911. They left a commendable legacy. To write that John and Peter Crerar prospered in Canada would be to dramatically understate the case. To observe that they were typical Scottish immigrants would simply be wrong. They came for many of the same reasons as others who emigrated from Scotland and were part of larger demographic trends. Young, well-educated males from a small rural community, they migrated within Scotland seeking opportunity in nearby urban centres before making the decision to emigrate to North America. If they were not cast from the same mold as the majority of Scottish emigrants, neither were they atypical. They used kinship and ethnic ties to their advantage and worked hard to raise themselves above their “station.” Nevertheless, the Crerar’s education, social positions and marriages gave them distinct advantages over many immigrants, advantages which substantially influenced their success. They did not become, however, stereotypical members of the Hamilton elite, despite the fact that they shared many characteristics and strove to become part of that stratum of society, even marrying into it as Peter did. Their paths suggest that neither the emigrant experience nor the patterns of immigrant settlement should be viewed as homogeneous. Religious beliefs, in this case, tempered the degree to which the Crerar’s participated in elite society suggesting that religion remains an important division as class, ethnicity and profession. Their success, however, precludes to great an emphasis on categorization despite its historical utility. As studies in emigration, they conform to many generalizations; as individuals, they have their story to tell.

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NOTES

1 Alexander Mackintosh Shaw, *Historical Memoirs of the House and Clan of Mackintosh and of the Clan Chattan* (London, 1880), 519-520; Charles Fraser Mackintosh, *An Account of the Confederation of Clan Chattan: Its Kith and Kin* (Glasgow, 1898), 173; Also see Margaret Makintosh, *The Clan Mackintosh and the Clan Chattan*, revised edition (Midlothian, 1982); The accounts recorded by the historians of the Clan Chattan make no mention of the date for this ruse but the members of the sept who made their way to the New World were convinced that it had happened during “Bonnie” Prince Charlies’ rebellion. This was the origin of the name as recounted by General H.D.G. Crerar in 1941, “Crerar to Gunner A.C. May, 6 October 1941,” Personal Correspondence, 958C.009(D333), Volume 19, H.D.G. Crerar Papers (CP), MG30E157, National Archives of Canada (NA).


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Marjorie Freeman Campbell, A Mountain and a City: The Story of Hamilton (Toronto, 1966), 159; John Weaver, Hamilton: An Illustrated History (Toronto, 1982), 92.

See the statistics in Table VII, “Birthplace of Hamilton’s Population,” in Weaver, Hamilton, 198. Information also available on pages 92-93.

Weaver, Hamilton, 109.


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Weaver, Hamilton: An Illustrated History (Toronto, 1982), 15 and 74; Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West, 180-81; For more information on the case of McConnell see Campbell, A Mountain and a City, 156-158.

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18 Rose, A Cyclopaedia, 46; "Personal Correspondence to 1964, C/6-9/P," 958C.009(D317), Volume 20, CP, NA; Jack Pickersgill sent Harry a letter written by John Crerar in the 1870s, in which John political sympathies are apparent; Thomas M. Bailey and C.A. Carter, Hamilton Firsts (Hamilton, 1973), n.p.; Weaver, Hamilton, 118-119; Bailey, Dictionary of Hamilton Biography, 55; "John Crerar," Prominent Men of Canada, 298.


20 Ibid., 71-73.


23 Katz, Hamilton West, 183.

24 Hamilton Public Library Special Collections, Hamilton Assessment Rolls: 1890.


27 Ibid.; "Crerar to Grattan O'Leary (of the Ottawa Journal)", Personal Papers, 958C.009(D338), Volume 19, CP, NA.

28 Ibid.; "P.D. Crerar Dead," Hamilton Herald, 10 June 1912, 3521 HAM, Herald Scrapbook, Volume 01: Obituaries, Hamilton Public Library Special Collections; The Dissenters in the Crerar's hometown of Crief were a relatively small minority -727 to 3427 Establishment Church members. N.A., The New Statistical Account, 520.

29 "Peter D.Crerar, K.C., Dies at Hamilton," Globe and Mail, 10 June 1912, Metropolitan Toronto Central Library Biographical Scrapbook Microfilm, Volume 1, 212; "P.D.Crerar Dead,"


52 “John Crerar,” Prominent Men of Canada, 298; “Personal Correspondence to 1964, C/6-9/P,” Volume 20, CP, NA.

53 Ibid.; “P.D. Crerar Dead,” Hamilton Herald, 10 June 1912.

54 Weaver, Hamilton: An Illustrated History, 64-65; Campbell, A Mountain and a City, 159-160.


59 Campbell, A Mountain and a City, 136 and 144; Weaver, Hamilton, 60; Katz, The People of Hamilton, 91; Stinson is used by Katz to illustrate a particular pattern of landowning but at the same time it reveals the extent of his holdings; Shaw, “Two


“Thomas Henry Stinson,” in Adam (Editor), Prominent Men of Canada, 82-84; “Crerar-Ottaway,” Hamilton Daily Spectator, 10 June 1884, HPL.


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