

Of Iron and Ozone: The History of the American Summer Colony in Cobourg, Ontario

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In the decades following the U.S. Civil War, a group of industrialists from Huntingdon County, Pennsylvania, and its environs played a central role in transforming Cobourg, Ontario, a community nestled on Lake Ontario's northern shore, into a renowned North American resort. Cobourg's historical importance, however, is not only owed to the number of summer vacationers it attracted from throughout the United States during the late 1800s and early 1900s, but also to their unique character. For example, counted among Cobourg's seasonal residents were, among others: (a) the wives of Ulysses S. Grant and Jefferson Davis; (b) countless veterans of the Union and Confederate Armies; (c) high-ranking federal and state government officials, including cabinet officers, U.S. Senators, and Supreme Court Justices; (d) wealthy businesspeople; (e) actors and musicians; as well as (f) working-class families. Based upon a decade-long research project, "Of Iron and Ozone" traces the development of Cobourg as a resort community, with an emphasis upon the multifaceted socioeconomic relationships that evolved among the varied individuals who summured there.

SETTING THE STAGE

Cobourg, located on Lake Ontario's northern shore across from Rochester, New York, possesses unpretentious beginnings. Although naturally endowed with moderate summer temperatures, refreshing breezes, and a spacious beach, Cobourg's natural assets were not fully appreciated until the later decades of the nineteenth century. Indeed, early settlers to Upper Canada initially considered the area to be nothing more than a "cedar swamp" and therefore largely avoided settling there.¹ Once a permanent settlement was ultimately established some years later, the area's residents predominantly consisted of Loyalists who fled the United States in the aftermath of the Revolutionary War.² Thereafter, as local Cobourg historian Edwin C. Guillet recounts, the American settlers "were joined by emigrants from England and Scotland, most of them discharged half-pay army and navy officers whose services were no longer required after Waterloo."³

During the 1830s, Cobourg's harbor was refurbished to improve the handling of passengers and freight, as well as to facilitate exportation of the region's lumber and grain reserves.⁴ Over the next few decades, two other key facets of the town's transportation infrastructure were also refined. First, a Lake

Ontario ferry route linking Cobourg with Rochester, New York, was established in the 1840s. Then, in 1856, the Grand Trunk Railway division linking Toronto with Montreal opened. Fortuitously for Cobourg, the rail line ran through its town limits.⁵

By the mid-1860s, however, Cobourg's seemingly good fortune swiftly turned to despair as the community teetered on the brink of financial ruin. The town's fiscal woes were largely attributable to its substantial investment, over one million dollars, in the failed Cobourg and Peterborough Railway, combined with escalating costs associated with the construction of a new town hall.⁶

The most notable feature of the twenty-eight and one-half mile Cobourg and Peterborough Railway, which opened on December 29, 1854, was a two-and-one-half-mile-long bridge spanning Rice Lake, a body of water lying between the railroad's namesake towns. Samuel Zimmerman, a Huntingdon County native who emigrated to Upper Canada in the early 1840s, was hired to construct the Rice Lake Bridge. Zimmerman previously served as a contractor for the reconstruction of the Welland Canal and later also built and promoted the Niagara Falls Suspension Bridge, designed by John Augustus Roebling, in 1855. Zimmerman boasted a personal portfolio that included hotels, foundries, mills, utilities, assorted real estate, and a bank. Prior to his death in a railway accident near Hamilton, Ontario, in March 1857, the Niagara Falls-based entrepreneur was considered "the richest, or, if not, the second richest man in the province."⁷ Unfortunately, the Rice Lake Bridge would later garner widespread notoriety owing to a "great engineering blunder," that is, Zimmerman's reliance upon a "pile and truss" design that proved woefully "unsuited for the locality." As a result, the bridge met its demise shortly after construction.⁸

THE QUEST FOR IRON

While Cobourg's town leaders struggled with ever-mounting debt, their U.S. neighbors faced an even direr situation, as the United States plunged into what would become a bitterly fought, four year civil war. Following the outbreak of the U.S. Civil War in 1861, Pennsylvania's iron and steel industries scrambled to meet the wartime demand for armaments, rails, and similar supplies.

Numerous furnaces and forges scattered throughout the Juniata Valley of central Pennsylvania—a vital iron producing center within Union territory—were owned or co-owned by Dr. Peter Shoenberger (1782–1854), the son of a German businessman who immigrated to the United States in the late 1700s. Dubbed the "Iron King," Dr. Shoenberger was generally regarded by contemporaries as one of the wealthiest men in Pennsylvania. In addition to possessing sundry furnaces and forges, Dr. Shoenberger also owned well over 100,000 acres of timber, ore, and limestone within the state. Likewise, he co-founded and served as president of the Cambria Iron Company (also known as the Cambria Iron Works), a pioneering U.S. rail producer, in Johnstown, Pennsylvania. After Dr. Shoenberger's death in 1854, his children assumed control of his varied enterprises.⁹

The burgeoning demand for iron and steel products necessitated an ongoing quest for new and readily accessible sources of iron ore. Two promising iron ore deposits that had attracted the Pennsylvania ironmasters' attention even prior to the Civil War were situated in Upper Canada (modern-day Ontario). One deposit was situated in an area known as Marmora, the other in nearby Blairton, a town named in honor of the "largest stockholder" in the Pennsylvanians' northern venture, Thomas S. Blair of Pittsburgh.¹⁰

THE ORIGINS OF COBOURG AS A SUMMER RESORT

Despite the eventual cessation of the U.S. Civil War in 1865, the Pennsylvania entrepreneurs continued their efforts to mine the Ontario ore and convey it to Pennsylvania. In the late 1860s, George K. Shoenberger, a son of Dr. Peter Shoenberger, together with several Pittsburgh associates, assumed control of the Mamora mines, along with the ill-fated Cobourg and Peterborough Railway, and thereby formed the Cobourg, Peterborough, and Mamora Railway and Mining Company.¹¹

Using Cobourg as their base of operations, Shoenberger and his partners visited Marmora on a number of occasions as they readied mining and shipping operations at the site. However, over time, the Pennsylvania industrialists' Canadian commercial forays took an unusual turn as family members and friends began joining the businessmen on their northern journeys.¹²

In 1873, buoyed by their kith and kin's fondness for Cobourg, Shoenberger and his brother-in-law William Chambliss, a Civil War veteran and first managing director of the Cobourg, Peterborough, and Mamora Railway and Mining Company, spearheaded construction of the Arlington Hotel, the first of many Cobourg hotels designed specifically to cater to affluent Americans. The *Cobourg World* expressed confidence that the flurry of hotel construction, in concert with sundry other revitalization efforts, portended a promising future for Cobourg.¹³

It must be a matter of congratulation to our citizens, after so many years of depression in business and apparent inactivity that the good town of Cobourg is at last taking an evident turn for the better . . . The Cobourg Hotel [subsequently renamed the Arlington Hotel]—this work, as most of our readers know, has been undertaken by a Company, with the intention of building up an extensive and comfortable hotel, which shall furnish accommodations to the many visitors to the town, especially during the summer months . . . This fine hotel will be built of red brick; will be three stories high, with a Mansard roof, and two towers and cupolas, it will present a very imposing appearance, and will be a credit to the town . . . Mr. Flanigan's Hotel—This will be a new Hotel, three stories high, of white brick, situated on King Street, next to Mr. Waldie's store. . . Extensive alterations and improvements are being made upon the premises of Col. Chambliss. The Colonel is also about to erect a new and beautiful iron fence around the north and west sides of his extensive property, at a cost of \$1000.¹⁴

As anticipated, this flurry of activity marked Cobourg's first major step in its transformation into a major North American resort community.

Of course, the Shoenberger family and their business partners epitomized an exclusive group of

American *nouveau riche* who profited from the production and sale of goods and services during the Civil War and thereafter. Needless to say, the Arlington Hotel's developers were confident that Cobourg's fresh air and unspoiled surroundings would prove as beguiling to their well-to-do counterparts, who were accustomed to living amid the smoke and soot of Pittsburgh and other industrialized areas, as it had to the developers' family and friends.¹⁵

The Shoenberger family, although primarily associated with Pennsylvania's iron and steel industries, was no stranger to the lodging and resort business. Two decades earlier, in 1853, George Shoenberger's brother, John, joined fellow western Pennsylvanians Colonel Chambers McKibben, General Simon Cameron, George M. Lauman, and Colonel J. W. Geary in a effort to purchase the Bedford Springs, a renowned southern Pennsylvania resort that served as the summer residence of President James Buchanan and other famous personages. According to an August 2, 1853, *New York Daily News* description of the purported Bedford Springs sale, the Pittsburgh-based partnership reportedly paid \$170,000 for the springs, hotel, and 1,500 acres of adjoining land.¹⁶ Ultimately, however, the sale fell through for unknown reasons.

THE PROMOTION OF COBOURG AS A SUMMER RESORT

During the initial phase of Cobourg's development as a summer resort, it seemingly attracted most visitors through word-of-mouth advertising. However, in a quest to publicize Cobourg as a summer resort to a broader population, George Shoenberger and William Chambliss launched a marketing campaign in Pittsburgh and other U.S. cities. The campaign featured, among other things, the distribution of brochures and publications extolling Cobourg's varied natural amenities.¹⁷ One publication, *Souvenir of Cobourg, Ontario, Canada*, exemplifies those promotional materials' obsequious yet enduring depiction of Cobourg:

Cobourg is situated on a broad level valley, having Lake Ontario on its front, with green hills and fruitful orchards in the background. The summer climate of this region is unexcelled for its evenness of temperature and cool, bracing air, and is famous for the ozone, the quantity of sunshine, and freedom from fog, dampness or winds. The Lake affords good boating and bathing, and the surrounding country is unsurpassed for driving, riding and motoring. Maskinoge, bass and trout fishing can be had within easy driving distance. This is the best summer resort, and the healthiest and prettiest spot in Canada Splendid parks, churches and schools. Good train service on the main line of the G.T.R. [Grand Trunk Railway], and a Daily Ferry, winter and summer, between Rochester, N.Y., and Cobourg, makes it very accessible to New York and Pittsburgh. About twelve miles north of Cobourg is the far-famed Rice Lake, the sportsman's paradise, considered the finest fishing ground in Ontario, containing all kinds of fish and lots of duck and wild fowl.¹⁸

Interestingly, ozone served as an important device for drawing American visitors to Cobourg. During the mid-to-late nineteenth century, ozone was commonly believed to possess therapeutic properties, with numerous scientific and popular works devoted to the topic.¹⁹ Some physicians, for

example, believed that a combination of cold temperatures and ozone found in mountain and sea air helped relieve hay fever symptoms. A few doctors even proffered that ozone influenced “the intellectual and social development of races.” Moreover, delegates attending the twenty-sixth meeting of the American Medical Association formally asked the chief of the United States Signal Service that “if it is within his power, to note in his daily weather reports the quantity of ozone in the atmosphere in different sections of the country.”²⁰

Cobourg’s promoters, eager to capitalize upon ozone’s allure, emphasized the area’s reputedly large amount and superior quality of ozone in their marketing campaign. “There is an abnormal amount of ozone in the air second only to the Alps in Switzerland,” proclaimed one undated Cedarmere hotel brochure.²¹ Although scientific evidence did not necessarily substantiate the lofty claims regarding the quantity and quality of Cobourg’s ozone, it remained an enduring selling point for the resort community.

Beyond promotion and marketing, several practical factors also afforded Cobourg valuable strategic advantages over its many resort rivals. These factors included, among others: (a) easy rail and water access to and from the rapidly expanding U.S. metropolises of Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Buffalo, and Rochester; and likewise, (b) easy rail access to and from the expanding Canadian metropolis of Toronto approximately seventy-five miles to the west. The region’s rail and water transportation system, originally constructed to convey coal, coke, lumber, and other goods between Canada and the United States, was easily adaptable to passenger traffic. For example, in 1907, the first of two car ferries designed to accommodate both freight and passengers significantly improved access to Cobourg. The ferries were operated by the Ontario Car Ferry Company, a firm formed via a partnership between the U.S.-based Buffalo, Rochester, and Pittsburgh Railway (BR&P) and the Canadian-based Grand Trunk Railway. The new enterprise’s aims were twofold: (1) to convey western Pennsylvania coal to Ontario, and (2) to provide passenger service between Rochester and Cobourg.²² The boats could carry up to 1,200 and 1,000 passengers, respectively.²³ Moreover, as Canadian historian Ted Rafuse notes, the BR&P Railroad also “operated a train” to the Genesee Dock for the convenience of car ferry passengers, allowing western Pennsylvania travelers to book passage overnight from Pittsburgh to West Rochester. From there, passengers traveled by rail to the Genesee Dock, where they boarded the Cobourg-bound car ferry.²⁴

Cobourg engaged in a longstanding port rivalry with Port Hope, its slightly smaller neighbor seven miles to the west; both communities vied for Lake Ontario shipping, and to a lesser extent, the summer tourist trade. Jacob Dutcher, U.S. Commercial Agent at Port Hope from 1880 to 1887, noted that although Cobourg’s “exportations” were “limited compared with Port Hope . . . its location being immediately on Lake Ontario, renders its facilities for shipping either by rail or water . . . excellent.”²⁵

Cobourg’s growing stature as a summer resort inevitably bolstered the town’s economic well-being. By the mid-1870s, Cobourg’s permanent population was increasing by approximately 500

individuals per year, with real estate prices correspondingly rising. On May 2, 1874, a *Cobourg Sentinel* correspondent observed, “[N]o good lots [in Cobourg] can now be had under \$1,000 per acre.”²⁶

COBOURG’S SUMMER VISITORS

Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, a burgeoning array of wealthy western Pennsylvanians and their families began venturing to Cobourg each summer. Selected members of this group included current and former associates of Andrew Carnegie, along with many other notable Pittsburgh area personages, including William Latham Abbott (chairman of the Board of Directors of the Carnegie Steel Company until his retirement in 1892); James O’Hara Denny (socially prominent businessman); Charles Donnelly (businessman who owned or co-owned a number of prime properties in downtown Pittsburgh, as well as in “the hump,” East End, North Side, and manufacturing districts); Frederick G. Kay (lawyer; founding member of the Pittsburgh Club); George Tener Oliver (U.S. Senator); Wallace Rowe (president, Pittsburgh Steel Company); Charles Speer (member of a “very old and influential” western Pennsylvania family); and John Walker (chairman of Carnegie, Phipps & Co., a forerunner of the Carnegie Steel Company, until his retirement in 1888; Walker also served as a director of the H. C. Frick Coke Company).²⁷

Joining the Pittsburgh contingent were an eclectic mix of individuals. For example, scores of veterans from the Union and Confederate armies, representing every military rank from private to general (e.g., Generals Orlando Metcalf Poe, Charles Lane Fitzhugh, and Benjamin Cozzens Card) vacationed in Cobourg. This coming together of former adversaries in Cobourg was embodied in the presence of Mrs. Ulysses S. Grant, wife of the former Civil War general and U.S. president, and Mrs. Jefferson Davis, wife of the former president of the Confederate States of America. These two remarkable women not only resided in adjoining summer cottages in Cobourg but also reportedly formed a friendly rapport. Nellie Grant Sartoris, daughter of President and Mrs. Grant, established a permanent residence in Cobourg.²⁸

In addition, Cobourg’s growing ranks of summer visitors included U.S. Supreme Court Justice Edward D. White, together with various other high-ranking federal and state officials (e.g., U.S. Senators and governors), in addition to musicians and performers such as stage star Katherine Cornell.²⁹

Families from Pennsylvania and other parts of the northern United States journeyed to Cobourg principally owing to its climatic conditions and accessibility. In contrast, many visitors who ventured from the former Confederate states to Cobourg were attracted to the resort simply because it was situated outside of their former Union foe’s territory.³⁰

Needless to say, the perennial influx of American visitors fostered a budding service industry in Cobourg. Understandably, many cooks, maids, handymen, and other similar employees were needed to build and maintain Cobourg’s large summer estates, to cater banquets and parties, and more. While a

number of these domestic staff members were full-time employees who accompanied their employers back and forth to Cobourg each summer, others were strictly employed on a seasonal basis.³¹ Although various Canadian and U.S. newspapers regularly detailed the goings-on of Cobourg's affluent American visitors, the press rarely mentioned their domestic employees, with the exception of occasionally noting "and maid(s)" and/or "and nurse" in published lists of hotel guests.³²

During the 1890s and early 1900s, a number of new hotels were constructed and existing ones refurbished in order to accommodate the ever-growing number of American visitors.³³ For example, in July 1899, "a grand ball . . . largely attended by resident tourists" was held to celebrate the opening of "the new 'Baltimore'" hotel.³⁴

At the same time, wealthy Americans also began renting, buying, or building private residences in downtown Cobourg and the surrounding countryside. Soon, stately estates with names like Sidbrook (William Latham Abbott), Ravensworth (Fitzhugh family), Balmuto (Shoenberger family), and Cottesmore Hall (Wallace Rowe) appeared throughout the district.³⁵ A *Cobourg World* article discussing Willis McCook's summer home, constructed in 1909-1910 on property he purchased from fellow Pittsburghers William L. Abbott and Wallace Rowe, demonstrates the considerable time and labor invested in building the seasonal residences. "About 25 men are employed this week excavating for foundation, sewer, etc. for Mr. McCook's new residence. A landscape gardener will lay out the grounds and there is a probability that a large number of men will find employment for a year or more."³⁶

COBOURG'S SUMMER SOCIAL SCENE

During the 1870s and 1880s, Cobourg's social life largely centered upon the Arlington and several other nearby hotels, with activities generally consisting of "hops" (dances), soirees, and other events hosted and/or attended by both the town's seasonal and permanent residents.³⁷ However, as Cobourg's summer homes grew in size and grandeur, society life gradually shifted from hotels to private estates where progressively more lavish events frequently attracted 100 or more guests. A *Cobourg World* correspondent who attended a summer 1894 book party at the Arlington Hotel apologetically informed readers, "We are sorry we could not obtain a complete list of those who attended, this being an entirely new department for Cobourg in the way of entertainment."³⁸

Although dances and dinners remained popular leisure time activities throughout the 1890s and into the early 1900s, these long-standing pastimes were increasingly supplemented by extravagant outdoor parties and sporting events. The Cobourg Horse Show, inaugurated in 1905, exemplified Cobourg's new high-profile, open-air activities. The show, which quickly garnered a reputation as one of North America's foremost equine events, attracted competitors and spectators from across Canada and the United States.³⁹ One notable feat at the 1912 show—a world-record jump by a bay gelding named

Confidence—garnered coverage in newspapers throughout North America.⁴⁰

By the early 1900s, golf also emerged as one of Cobourg's most popular summertime pastimes. An August 1900 New Orleans *Daily Picayune* exposé about Cobourg society noted, "Golf—here as well as elsewhere, holds sway, and every day the well-kept grounds are dotted with the enthusiastic lovers of the sport."⁴¹ Not surprisingly, the Cobourg Golf Club's major shareholders included summer residents from Pittsburgh and vicinity, including William L. Abbott, Charles Donnelley, George M. Howe, George S. Oliver, and Wallace H. Rowe.⁴²

Weddings were among the highlights of Cobourg's summer social scene. These often ostentatious nuptials commonly took place at St. Peter's Anglican Church in downtown Cobourg. The brides and/or grooms usually came from American summer colony families, while their spouses often came from prominent Cobourg or other Canadian families. The wedding guests, sometimes numbering up to several hundred, included a mix of local and seasonal residents, as well as individuals and families who journeyed from the U.S. to attend the proceedings. Following the ceremonies, the newlyweds and guests normally proceeded to lavish receptions at nearby estates wherein everyone enjoyed copious amounts of food, drink, and dancing. Cobourg newspapers routinely published gift lists, often including objects fashioned from silver or gold, with the names of the respective givers.⁴³

Two of Cobourg's most notable weddings involved members of the Grant family, namely, Ulysses S. Grant's granddaughter, Vivian May Sartoris, and later, Grant's daughter, Nellie Grant Sartoris. In fact, the August 23, 1902, marriage of Vivian Sartoris and Frederick Roosevelt Scovel, a cousin of Theodore Roosevelt, was considered one of the most elaborate weddings in the town's history.⁴⁴ A decade later, on July 4, 1912, Vivian's mother, Nellie Grant Sartoris, married Frank H. Jones, of Chicago, at the bride's summer home in Cobourg. Guests included many well-known personages from Pittsburgh and elsewhere, including Senator and Mrs. Oliver, Mr. and Mrs. Willis McCook, and an array of U.S. and foreign diplomats.⁴⁵

As the summers passed, Cobourg's seasonal and permanent residents developed a sophisticated and select social circle. Beyond forging familial bonds via marriage, Cobourg's Canadian-American elite engaged in joint business ventures, recreational pastimes, and community improvement projects.⁴⁶

Although wealthy Americans certainly constituted the core component of Cobourg's summertime visitors, many middle and working class families from the United States also visited Cobourg each summer thanks to excursions organized by fraternal organizations, railroad companies, or various other groups. Although the less affluent families' visits to Cobourg sometimes lasted only a few fleeting hours, they made the most of their brief respites by partaking in picnics on the beach or strolling downtown.⁴⁷

THE WANING DECADES

Until the outbreak of World War I, Cobourg's summer colony seemed largely undisturbed by either national or international political events. Nonetheless, the four-year-long global conflict ultimately marked the beginning of the resort's gradual decline. By fall 1914, at least ten percent of the men of Cobourg and the surrounding area had enlisted for military service. Meanwhile, Cobourg's permanent and seasonal residents united in support of the war effort, in part by organizing various fundraising events. A garden party jointly organized by Mrs. Charles Speer of Pittsburgh and Mrs. Frank Hess of Philadelphia reportedly raised C\$900, with another C\$480 collected via "a subscription list opened in connection" with the gathering.⁴⁸

Although vacationers continued coming to Cobourg throughout World War I, the community faced increasing labor shortages, rationing, the shifting of industries from domestic to military production, and other challenges.⁴⁹ Moreover, despite the cessation of hostilities in 1918, Cobourg never again attained its pre-War renown as a resort destination.⁵⁰ Although American families continued to summer in Cobourg following World War I, the lavish social events of past years gradually faded away.⁵¹ In the early 1920s, the Arlington Hotel, formerly the heart of Cobourg's social life, permanently closed. However, "the Newport of Ontario" was not the only North American resort experiencing problems during the postwar era. For example, in August 1921, the *New York Times* reported that the fabled Newport, Rhode Island, itself was losing wealthy visitors to the somewhat less ostentatious, upstart seaside resort of Southampton, Long Island. In truth, Southampton may have also been siphoning some of Cobourg's summer clientele during this period. The *Times* article also noted that during the "last two or three seasons," a growing number of "wealthy families of Pittsburgh" were coming to Southampton.⁵²

By the early 1930s, a number of the Cobourg's long-standing American summer residents had lost significant portions of their accumulated wealth due to a combination of the 1929 stock market crash, family disputes, and sundry other causes. At the same time, these individuals faced increasing tax burdens, thanks to newly implemented income and/or property levies. Owing to these combined financial pressures, many American families were forced to sell or abandon their ostentatious Cobourg summer homes. In 1913, Charles Donnelly's residence was one of the first to compulsorily change hands owing to its owner's financial downfall. The Donnelly property was "assumed by the Trust and Guarantee Company of Pennsylvania" and eventually sold to a Toronto buyer.⁵³

Despite the ongoing exodus of wealthy Americans from Cobourg throughout the post-World War I era, the resort community enjoyed a brief revival during Prohibition thanks to Americans of varied economic statuses seeking libations. In 1929, Cobourg attempted to curb the flourishing cross-border shipping of liquor during the July 4th weekend by enacting a municipal rule to "prevent thirsty visitors from crossing on boats and laying in a stock of liquor to consume or take back with them."⁵⁴ Even

following the repeal of Prohibition, Cobourg continued to enjoy an influx of American excursionists who kept coming until Ontario car ferries ceased in the early 1950s.⁵⁵

A number of other factors also contributed to Cobourg's decline as a premier resort destination. First and foremost, automobiles and airplanes were quickly supplanting older forms of transportation such as ferries and passenger trains. Auto and air travel not only offered travelers expedient and relatively inexpensive alternatives to water and rail transportation, they also afforded a ready means of reaching new and more far-flung locales, often within a comparatively short amount of time. Second, public tastes and preferences vis-à-vis leisure activities changed markedly over the course of the twentieth century. Southern locales such as Palm Beach, Florida, or Havana, Cuba, offered visitors a tropical ambiance whereas locales that merely offered temperate climates and abundant ozone were losing favor, especially with well-to-do vacationers. On a practical note, most modern businessmen, unlike their nineteenth-century predecessors, could ill-afford to spend months away from their workplaces.⁵⁶

VESTIGES OF THE PAST

Almost a century and a half after Pennsylvania's wealthy denizens first ventured to Cobourg for summer sojourns, many of their large summer residences regrettably no longer exist since they either met a fiery demise or were torn down after falling into disrepair. Nonetheless, vestiges of the once-illustrious northern resort still remain. St. Peter's Anglican Church still stands at the corner of College and King streets. Several homes of Pittsburgh industrialists grace King Street, including Sidbrook, the former residence of William Latham Abbott, at 411 King Street East; Strathmore, the former residence of Charles Donnelly, at 390 King Street East; and Midfield, the former residence of George Howe, at 427 King Street East.⁵⁷

The histories of Pennsylvania's Juniata Valley and Cobourg are indelibly intertwined. More importantly, the result of their unique relationship—the development of a premier North American summer resort—affords unique insights into the leisure activities of prominent western Pennsylvanians and other Americans in the post-Civil War years. More importantly, the Pennsylvanians and their contemporaries' summer sojourns to Cobourg illustrate the significant yet oft-overlooked role this Ontario resort played in the economic and social lives of its permanent and seasonal residents.

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NOTES

1. Frederick H. Armstrong, *Handbook of Upper Canadian Chronology*, revised ed., Dundurn Canadian Historical Document Series 3 (Toronto, Ontario: Dundurn Press, 1985); Edwin C. Guillet, "The Town of Cobourg, 1798–1945," *Canadian Geographical Journal* 30 (June 1945): 288. See also Percy Lloyd Climo, *Early Cobourg: Featuring Settlement, Local Government, and a Variety of Other Events and Records* (Cobourg: P. L. Climo, 1985).
2. The community of Cobourg, initially known as Amherst and later Hamilton, was first settled in 1798. In 1819, the community's name was again changed, this time to its present-day designation of Cobourg. "Cobourg," in *Industries of Canada: Historical and Descriptive Review* (Montreal: Historical Publishing Company, 1886), 80.
3. Guillet, "The Town of Cobourg," 289.
4. The Cobourg Harbor Company was formed in 1830 for the purpose of improving the town's harbor facilities. John R. Spilsbury, ed., *Cobourg, Early Days and Modern Times* (Cobourg: The Cobourg Book Committee, 1981), 3.
5. Ibid; "Dominion of Canada," in *Industries of Canada: Historical and Descriptive Review* (Montreal: Historical Publishing Company, 1886), 59.
6. Victoria Hall (the town hall) was built in 1857 at a reported cost of \$1,000,000. Meanwhile, the initial cost of construction of the Cobourg and Peterborough Railway was \$1,100,112. "Cobourg," 80; "Prospectus: Cobourg & Peterborough and Marmora Railways" (Cobourg: World Office, 1865), 2; Spilsbury, *Cobourg*, 6.
7. The "Prospectus: Cobourg & Peterborough and Marmora Railways" also identifies a Mr. Balsh as partnering with Samuel Zimmerman to construct the ill-fated Rice Lake Bridge. "Prospectus: Cobourg & Peterborough and Marmora Railways," 1-3; "Dr. Edwin C. Guillet Fonds," Trent University Archives, 1632–1970; "The Bridge of Sighs," *Horizon Canada (English edition)*, January 2001; J. K. Johnson, "ZIMMERMAN, SAMUEL," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 8, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, accessed October 14, 2008, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/zimmerman_samuel_8E.html; "Zimmerman's Fast Moves," *Horizon Canada*, January 2001; J. K. Johnson, "'One Bold Operator: Samuel Zimmerman, Niagara Entrepreneur, 1843–1857,'" *Ontario History* 74 (1982): 26–44; "Dreadful Railroad Accident," *National Era*, March 19, 1857, p. 47; "Terrible Railroad Disaster," *Liberator*, March 20, 1857, p. 47. For more details about the history of the Cobourg and Peterborough Railway, see Edwin C. Guillet, "The Cobourg and Peterborough Railway," in *Cobourg, 1798–1948* (Oshawa, Ontario: Goodfellow Printing, 1948), 71 and P. Satterly, "The Cobourg–Peterborough Railway: Destiny Denied," in

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10. G. C., “Trip to the Belmont Iron Ore Beds;” “The Iron Trade: The Pittsburg Blast Furnaces,” *New York Times*, May 7, 1874, p. 2; Spilsbury, *Cobourg*, 109. For a brief historical overview of the iron and steel industry in nineteenth century America, see “Introduction,” in *Iron and Steel in the Nineteenth Century*, xv–xxxvii. For more information about Marmora and Blairton, as well as early iron making in Ontario more generally, see Andre L. Philpot, *A Species of Adventure: The Story of the Ironmasters of Upper Canada* (Marmora, Ontario: Irontown Publications, 1990).
11. Hetrick, *The Iron King*; Heitmann, “Peter Shoenberger;” “Iron and Steel;” G. C., “Trip to the Belmont Iron Ore Beds;” “Prospectus, Cobourg, Peterborough & Marmora Railway and Mining Company;” *The Arlington Hotel*.
12. Spilsbury, *Cobourg*, 109–110; “The Arlington Hotel,” *Cobourg World*, May 5, 1899.
13. *The Arlington Hotel*; “The Arlington Hotel.” According to marriage records housed at the Cincinnati Historical Society Library, William Chambliss married Sallie Shoenberger on February 25, 1863. Both William and Sallie Chambliss died in Cobourg: William on February 22, 1887, and Sallie on June 15, 1887.
14. “Improvements in Cobourg: Building operations in town,” *Cobourg World*, July 4, 1873.
15. *The Arlington Hotel*; “The Arlington Hotel.” For a scholarly examination of Pittsburgh’s smoke problem, see John J. O’Connor, Jr., *The Economic Cost of the Smoke Nuisance to Pittsburgh* (University of Pittsburgh, 1913).
16. “Bedford Springs Purchased,” *New York Daily Times*, August 2, 1853, p. 1. The article also notes that the new owners intended to make renovations “estimated to cost not less than \$250,000” to the property, which was nicknamed “The Carlsbad of America.”
17. While a number of secondary sources report that a physician was sent to Pittsburgh and other U.S. cities to promote the health benefits of Cobourg, to date the author has not located a primary source to verify the claim.
18. *Souvenir of Cobourg, Ontario, Canada* (Cobourg: Cobourg Chamber of Commerce, 1980).
19. Examples of works about ozone and related topics from this period include Benjamin Simons Lucas, Jr., *Malaria, Its Supposed Causes, Effects, and Relation to Ozone* (Medical College of the State of South Carolina, 1855); Thomas Andrews, “On the Constitution and Properties of Ozone,”

Philosophical Transactions, part 1 (London, 1856); and E. S. Gaillard, *Ozone: Its Relation to Health and Disease*, (Boston: Rhode Island Medical Society, 1864).

20. George M. Beard, "Hay Fever, or Summer Catarrh," in "The Proceedings," *New York Times*, November 13, 1874, p. 1; "Ozone and Great Men," *New York Times*, April 14, 1881, p. 8; "Fourth Day," *Medical and Surgical Reporter*, May 15, 1875.
21. *Cedarmere Hotel Brochure* (s.l.: s.n., n.d.).
22. Ted Rafuse, *Coal to Canada: A History of the Ontario Car Ferry Company* (Port Hope, Ontario: Steampower Publishing, 2000), 1, 44.
23. *Souvenir of Cobourg, Ontario, Canada*; Rafuse, *Coal to Canada*, 1, 64-65.
24. Rafuse, *Coal to Canada*, 36.
25. Jacob C. Dutcher to John Davis, Assistant Secretary of State, 24 September 1884, United States Department of State, "Despatches from United States Consuls in Port Hope, Canada, 1882-1906 [microform]," General Records of the Department of State; National Archives at College Park-Archives II, College Park, MD.
26. "Our Population has Increased at the Rate of about 500 a Year," *Cobourg Sentinel*, May 2, 1874.
27. "William L. Abbott Will," *New York Times*, May 8, 1930, p. 53; "Speer-Denny Wedding Today: As Speer Family is in Mourning, Event to be Quiet Affair," *Pittsburgh Press*, June 28, 1906; "Test of Demand for Real Estate: All of the Donnelly Estate Properties Will Be Sold, Is Court's Order," *Gazette Times*, September 7, 1911; "John Walker is Dead, Was a Steel Pioneer: One of Leaders Who Blazed Way for Development of Industry in Pittsburgh," *New York Times*, June 25, 1932, p. 13.
28. Ibid; "Mrs. Grant and Mrs. Davis," *Kansas City Star*, September 28, 1902, p. 21.
29. Guillet, "The Town of Cobourg," 288; "Pittsburg's Millionaires: Fortunes that Have Resulted from the Protective Tariff," *New York Times*, October 20, 1888. A comprehensive list of Cobourg's summertime visitors of this era is available at Marsha Ann Tate, "The American Summer Colonies at Cobourg & Lake Muskoka, Ontario," <http://www.mtateresearch.com/CobourgONSummerColony.htm>.
30. Spilsbury, *Cobourg*, 111.
31. Interview with the son of a seasonal domestic staff member, May 2005.
32. "Arlington Guests," *Cobourg World*, June 29, 1894.
33. Spilsbury, *Cobourg*, 110-111.
34. "Cobourg's Summer Guests," *Cobourg World*, July 21, 1889.
35. "Ravensworth," *Century Home*, March-April 1983; *The Poplars* (s.l.: s.n., n.d.); Robert Washburn, "Well-known Cobourg Figures Have Owned The Poplars," *Cobourg Daily Star*, June 26, 1996.

36. "McCook Purchases Cobourg Property," *Cobourg World*, September 3, 1909, p. 1; "Mr. McCook Lets Contract," *Cobourg World*, November 27, 1909, p. 1.
37. Guillet, "The Town of Cobourg," 288; Spilsbury, *Cobourg*, 111.
38. "The Book Party at the Arlington," *Cobourg World*, August 3, 1894.
39. Spilsbury, *Cobourg*, 114–115; *Souvenir of Cobourg, Ontario, Canada*.
40. "Confidence Gains World's Record: Sifton Gelding Eclipses His Own Performance over High Jump: Clears 7 Feet 10 5/8 Inches," *Duluth News Tribune*, August 28, 1912, p. 11.
41. A.S.P., "Society: At Cobourg," *Daily Picayune*, August 19, 1900, p. 16.
42. Edwin C. Guillet, *Cobourg, 1798–1948* (Oshawa, Ontario: Goodfellow Printing Co., 1948), 229.
43. "Wedding at St. Peter," *Cobourg World*, July 12, 1901.
44. "Grant's Granddaughter Weds Frederick R. Scovel," *New York Times*, August 23, 1902.
45. "Nellie Grant Sartoris is Now Mrs. F. H. Jones: Daughter of Late General Married at Her Home in Canada," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 5, 1912, p. 10.
46. H. J. Snelgrove, "Cobourg," in *Encyclopedic Canada, Men of Canada*, v. 5 (s.l.: s.n., 1896), 232. The state of Cobourg's infrastructure at the end of the 19th century is reflected in comments F. J. Gasquet, one of New Orleans' prominent businessmen, made to a *Daily Picayune* reporter following a trip to Cobourg. Gasquet told the reporter he was "very much surprised to find that such a small city at Cobourg, with a population of 5000 or 6000 people, had a better water works system than the great city of New Orleans." "The Water Supply: A Prominent Citizen Makes an Interesting Suggestion," *Daily Picayune*, September 24, 1898, p. 3.
47. Ibid.
48. "Many Cobourg Volunteers," *Toronto World*, September 4, 1914. For a more detailed history of Cobourg during World War I, see Percy Lloyd Climo, *Cobourg, 1914–1919: A Magnificent Sacrifice* (Colborne, Ontario: P. L. Climo, 1986).
49. Ibid; Robert D. Mikel, "A Cobourg Remembered: The Art Gallery of Cobourg, July 24–August 30" (Cobourg: Art Gallery of Cobourg, 1981).
50. Guillet, "The Town of Cobourg," 288.
51. Spilsbury, *Cobourg*, 115. Information regarding the nature and condition of Cobourg's hotels during the late 1920s can be gleaned from inspection records and applications for the Standard Hotel License under Section 140 of The Liquor Control Act (Ontario) (File RG 36-1-0-807, et al.), Archives of Ontario.
52. "Newport has a Rival Now: Southampton Presenting Its Claims to be Considered the Summer Social Centre," *New York Times*, August 14, 1921, p. 74.

53. Ted Rafuse, "A Brief History of Brookside," <http://www2.kpr.edu.on.ca/brook/riro/page2.htm> (accessed October 18, 2004).
54. Ontario also implemented a provincial rule that prohibited "border stores" from selling more than "two bottles" of liquor "to a tourist who is not remaining in the town or city where he buys them." "Ontario Puts Drink Curb on Tourists from Here Today," *New York Times*, July 4, 1929, p. 17.
55. Rafuse, *Coal to Canada*.
56. Ibid; Spilsbury, *Cobourg*, 115–116.
57. Cobourg Local Architectural Conservation Advisory Committee, "Cobourg Sesquicentennial House Tour: Saturday, June 13, 1987," Cobourg Public Library Archival Files (Vertical files).