

GROWING UP IN MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY RURAL ONTARIO

GROWING UP IN MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY RURAL ONTARIO:

A MICROSTUDY

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INTRODUCTION

Canadian historians have recently begun to approach the country's past with a new purpose: to discover the historical experience of those 'ordinary and unexceptional' people whom traditional accounts of Canadian history have ignored. The 'new social history' turns to the social, economic and demographic 'events', characteristic of each man and his family in a particular community of families, through time, in order to glimpse a world that perhaps has not been preserved in either contemporary or secondary accounts of life in past time.

The history of these past generations of ordinary men is related, not to sweeping accounts of politics, economic institutions or intellectual movements, but to the organization of life within the family and community. The family, then, is the basic unit of analysis. By examining the demographic, social, economic, and cultural patterns of each family, generation by generation, within a carefully selected community, the historian hopes to document both the nature and the pace of societal development, to discover what Lawrence Stone terms 'social reality' ¹, within a narrow segment

¹ Lawrence Stone, 'Prosopography', Daedalus, 100 (Winter, 1971), 46-79.

of society. From this information it is possible to generalize about the probable experience of a much larger population.

What is particularly remarkable is the discovery that ordinary men left records marking the significant events in their lives. In gathering the evidence provided by parish birth records, apprenticeship indentures, school records, marriage registers, land records, business transactions, census reports, or wills, the historical demographer finds it possible, with the assistance of a few simple quantitative techniques, to reconstruct two distinct aspects of human existence. The first is centred on an ability to follow individuals or groups of individuals through the stages of life - from birth to childhood or youth, marriage, parenthood, old age and death, or any time in between - in order to generalize about the social experience common to an entire generation of men. The second aspect is an ability to trace changes in the characteristics of particular families as they pass from one generation through a second and into a third or beyond.² Underlying these new approaches to the social past is a tremendously complex set of questions. What did it mean to be a man, woman, or child, to be part of a family or household, to be literate or illiterate, to be rich or poor, to be skilled or unskilled, in a society no longer

² D.P. Gagan and H.J. Mays, 'Historical Demography and Canadian Social History: Families and Land in Peel County, Ontario', Canadian Historical Review (March 1973), 29-30.

familiar to us today? And what does the structure, the functions and the behaviour of families tell us about man and his social ecology in past time? From these broader questions several lines of enquiry have emerged to form the basis for recent research projects.

This thesis is concerned with the question of childhood, the experience of growing up, in mid-nineteenth century rural Ontario. What was the life of a child in such a society? What was expected of a child by his family, and what, in return, might he have expected of them? What influences dominated the child? What was his social and economic role within the family and within the larger community? What were his aspirations, both vocational and educational as well as social, and to what extent were they fulfilled? One question underlies all others: What was the experience of these children in the mid-nineteenth century that separated them from the youth of their parents in earlier times and from the childhood of their own children in the generation following?

The American historian Bernard Bailyn has cautioned that too often the social past is regarded as "simply the present writ small".³ Twentieth century North American society is so completely dominated by youth and the distinct

³ B. Bailyn, Education in the Forming of American Society (Chapel Hill, 1960), vii.

culture created by it that the temptation might be all the more great to approach the child of a century ago in the same terms as modern society views its young people. Yet there already exists compelling historical evidence that this should not be so. For example, authors who have surveyed the literary sources written prior to the late nineteenth century are reasonably united in finding the concept of 'adolescence' to be a late-nineteenth century North American phenomenon.⁴ Philippe Aries' work, Centuries of Childhood, demonstrates amply that the notion of 'childhood' (much less one of prolonged 'adolescence') scarcely existed before the seventeenth century and except for occasional references in literature, as in Rousseau's Emile, the idea of 'adolescence' very clearly emerged only after the midpoint of the nineteenth century in America.⁵ Despite frequent scientific and medical references to adolescence or youth in earlier literature, it was largely due to the pioneering work of an American psychologist, G. Stanley Hall, that the concept of adolescence became current in wider circles.⁶ Only in the last decades of the century was adolescence viewed

⁴ Most informative is J.F. Kett, 'Adolescence and Youth in Nineteenth-Century America', The Family in History, eds. T.K. Robb, R.I. Rotberg (New York, 1973).

⁵ D. Bakan, 'Adolescence in America: From Idea to Social Fact', Daedalus, 100 (Fall, 1971), 979.

⁶ G. Stanley Hall, major figure in the early history of American psychology, whose basic views on adolescence appeared in 'The Moral and Religious Training of Children', Princeton Review, 1882.

as "profoundly related to certain fundamental changes affecting the internal structure of many American homes".⁷

The concept of an adolescence that "was added to childhood as a second childhood" was seen in large measure as emerging in response to the needs of a rapidly industrializing society.⁸ No such distinct phase between childhood and adulthood had been recognized in pre-industrial America, a society in which "one generation passed quietly into the next".⁹ Pointing to the work of John Demos, Kett explains that in a stable agrarian society, young people had so little opportunity for choice, whether in choosing an occupation, religion, or whatever, that they did not experience a period of uncertainty between the time of being a child and being an adult. The years of childhood often were spent in labour on the family's land, both in an effort to ensure the family's immediate economic well-being and also in preparation for assuming the adult responsibilities of a life rooted on the land. Kett notes, however, that the disruption caused by families leaving the land "meant that the plans laid by youth

⁷ John and Virginia Demos, 'Adolescence in Historical Perspective', Journal of Marriage and the Family, 31 (November 1969), 632.

⁸ Bakan, 'Adolescence in America', p. 979.

⁹ Kett, 'Adolescence and Youth in Nineteenth Century America', p. 97.

were subject to drastic shattering by chance".¹⁰

As they moved with their families to the American urban centres that mushroomed in the decades after the civil war, children became far more visible than they had been previously.¹¹ Perhaps the most obvious explanation for this was the changing economic structure of the family. On the farm, no member of a family who was able to feed the animals, gather the firewood, pick berries, or sew plain, sturdy clothing was ever idle. Life in the country was a co-operative venture, each member of the family contributing to the success of the farm. Here the entire household shared the labours, rewards, failures, and frustrations, the amusements, visitors, aspirations, indeed, every aspect of its existence. In such a setting, Demos points out that "the child appears not so much as a child per se but as himself a potential farmer; he is then, a miniature model of his father".¹²

In an urban setting, however, the children either were left at home while the adults earned the family's wages or, not infrequently, were also sent out to supplement the family income by their own labours. In either case, the

¹⁰ J.F. Kett, 'Growing Up in Rural New England', Anonymous Americans, ed. T. Hareven (Englewood Cliffs, 1971), 2.

¹¹ Stephan Thernstrom, 'Urbanization, Migration, and Social Mobility in Late Nineteenth-Century America', in American Urban History, edited by A.B. Callow, Jr. (Toronto, 1969), 263.

¹² John and Virginia Demos, 'Adolescence in Historical Perspective', p. 637.

family no longer worked together as a unit since their activities were likely to branch in several divergent paths. Moreover, for the first time, each young member of the family was able to enjoy the influence of his peers to an extent unknown in the isolated adult-dominated farm life. Both this decline of the family as a working unit and these newly formed social contacts gave rise to what the Demoses have called an important "discontinuity of age groups" ¹³ where children and adults "more quickly become strangers to each other than in the past". ¹⁴

These revolutionary changes in family structure, changes mirrored in our youth-centred society today, were further intensified by the prevailing social-political ideas of individualism and democracy that accompanied the transformation of America from a rural, agrarian past to an urban industrial future. ¹⁵ Reflecting society's new emphasis on democratic procedure and the rights of the individual, the American child came to occupy a dominant place in American domestic life. ¹⁶ "The family which had

¹³ Ibid, p. 637. See also K. Keniston, 'Social Change and Youth in America', Daedalus, 91 (1962), 145-171.

¹⁴ M. Mead, Culture and Commitment: A Study of the Generation Gap, (New York, 1970), cited in J.F. Kett, 'Adolescence and Youth in Nineteenth-Century America', p. 102.

¹⁵ D.J. Rothman, 'Documents in Search of a Historian: Toward a History of Childhood and Youth in America', Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 2 (Autumn 1971), 372.

once treated him as a servant now made his welfare its pre-eminent goal." ¹⁷ Where in earlier times he had been expected to imitate the adults around him, the American child was now encouraged into behaviour directed toward preserving his innocence.

This survey of children and youth in nineteenth century America provides a background against which to consider young people in mid-nineteenth century Canada. From the American example, it is possible to hypothesize that, at some time in the past, the experience of young Canadians must have undergone a similar transformation. In the period dealt with by this study, the middle of the nineteenth century, Canadian society was a predominantly rural one. The influx of farmers and, more particularly, of farmers' sons, into urban work situations had not gained the momentum it would in the years ahead. ¹⁸ If we are to accept the correlation that has been made so strongly between the emergence of America's industry and the new visibility of her children, it is reasonable to think that, at Confederation, the young people of Canada had not developed that separate

¹⁶ Lawrence Stone, 'The Massacre of the Innocents', The New York Review of Books, November 14, 1974, p. 30.

¹⁷ R.H. Bremner, Children and Youth in America, vol. 1 (3 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1970), 343-346.

¹⁸ A.R.M. Lower, Canadians in the Making (Toronto, 1958), 341.

status they would enjoy in the generations following.

The geographic focus of this study is the Township of Chinguacousy in Peel County; the time span involved is roughly the decade 1861-1871. Peel County was selected for this examination in order that the nature of growing up could be studied under the wider frame of inquiry and assistance established by the Peel County History Project, a quantitative microstudy along the lines described earlier in this paper.¹⁹ Important considerations in the project's adoption of Peel County were, first, the selection of a county where biases held through a priori knowledge and assumptions could be held to a minimum. For this reason, potential communities in York, Niagara, and Eastern Ontario were rejected. The project found Peel County to be within the influence of a metropolitan centre, and yet not dominated by it; to be neither the earliest nor the last county to be settled in Southern Ontario; and to contain both "commercially and agriculturally well-developed townships (fronting on Lake Ontario) as well as a 'backwoods' in the Caledon Hills".²⁰ A second pre-condition of the project's selection of Peel County was the availability of adequate source materials.

¹⁹ See the Annual Report, Peel County History Project, Department of History, McMaster University.

²⁰ Gagan, Mays, 'Historical Demography', p. 32.

Here the project team was interested, not in evidence of a few prominent families, but rather in compiling and assessing data of the type discussed earlier in this introduction. Unquestionably, the availability of decennial censuses comprised the most important element of all source material since the censuses are, by far, the most comprehensive record of each family's demographic history.

Within the County, the Township of Chinguacousy was chosen for this study for several basic reasons. The entire County was too large to be incorporated in this study. Handling the quantities of information that such a population would generate would have been completely unmanageable in an undertaking of this scale. It was important that the entire population of a designated group be employed rather than adopting any type of sampling technique. In this way, generalizations that resulted from this study would be tempered by every deviation, every variance that might possibly occur in the population. (Of course, the total number of children recorded did not represent the total number of children who lived in or passed through Chinguacousy during the decade. The census, and hence this study, cuts into the population at ten-year intervals.) Another prime factor in selecting the Township was the quality of data available. The census records of Chinguacousy were judged to equal, if not to surpass in quality, those of several of the five other townships in Peel. One final

consideration was the geographic 'balance' of Chinguacousy in terms of development, transportation facilities, and regional influences. In the third quarter of the last century, Chinguacousy witnessed the appearance of railways which linked Toronto with the Township's expanding commercial centres and agricultural hinterlands.

The chronological boundaries of this examination were selected for several reasons. Perhaps foremost again was the availability of census material. Naturally the later the census dates, the greater (at least theoretically) was the probability of dealing with accurate information. Since the latest census available in other than aggregate form is 1871, the decade chosen for examination was that period between the nominal censuses of 1861 and 1871. By using this time period, the study encompasses not only the years immediately preceding and following the emergence of Canada in Confederation, but also the era surrounding the establishment of compulsory free education in 1870.

Having decided to examine the population of Chinguacousy in 1861 and 1871, the next task was to delineate categories of whom to include in this study of childhood and adolescence. The following guidelines were established:

- (1) All children under the age of five would be omitted from the study. Although their inclusion would offer some further relevant information in terms of fertility rates, the assumption was made that a child under five years of age could not play any meaningful part in the family's

economic endeavors, its decisions and attitudes.

Nor at that age would there be much evidence of the child's educational or vocational future.

- (2) The decision was made to exclude all young people above twenty-five years of age. This limit, though purely arbitrary, was thought to be a necessary cut-off. Although there were numerous cases where an unmarried person beyond that age was living with his parents, or his relatives, or boarding elsewhere with another family in the community, it seemed not unreasonable to suggest that a person above this age could no longer be considered a 'child', however imprecise or elastic that term might be.
- (3) All young people, regardless of age, were excluded if they were married, since marriage ought to imply the adoption of adult life-styles and attitudes.
- (4) All other young people between the ages of five and twenty-five were included whether they lived with parents, relatives, or in a household where they worked or boarded; whether in a small family or a large extended household.

Although it perhaps may seem somewhat incongruous, all young people included in this study will be identified by the generic term 'children'. The application of this word, then, will avoid the confusion and imprecision arising from the alternating useage of vaguely defined terms such as 'child', 'youth',

'adolescent', etc.

It is perhaps appropriate to mention one or two further guidelines that have been employed in the preparation and presentation of this quantitative material. The most important point is that, in all cases, the data are meant to amplify general trends that seem apparent and are not to be interpreted in any more specific manner. This is the case for two reasons. The historical data are subject to a margin of error both at the time they were recorded a century ago and again when they were interpreted for purposes of this study. Secondly, there are, in some cases, missing data and thus comparisons often cannot be made on precisely the same group of children. However, in a large population of approximately three thousand children in 1861 and another group that size a decade later, a handful of children who cannot be evaluated does not affect the validity of general trends that emerge under careful scrutiny.

The second point to be emphasized is the distinction between 'household' and 'family'. The former includes all individuals living in the same unit, whether or not they are biologically related. The term 'family' applies only to the head of household, his or her spouse, and their offspring. The households under discussion are all those but only those in which there is a single person, age five through twenty-five, whether or not he is an offspring of the head of household. However, the term 'total number of children in the

family' refers only to offspring of the head of household but does include all offspring living in that household, regardless of age.

The following information was taken from the nominal census of 1861 and 1871 and recorded on a standard computer coding form. Obviously, it was impossible to deal with this quantity of data by hand. The census, alone, generated well in excess of a hundred thousand separate pieces of information. Therefore, the material was keypunched, along with necessary identification information, onto eighty-column hollerith punch cards, one for each child.

INFORMATION RECORDED FOR EACH CHILD

1. Surname and given name of child
2. Country of origin of child
3. Religion of child
4. Occupation of child
5. Sex of child
6. Age of child
7. Is this child the offspring of the head of household?
(a family member)
8. School attendance of child
9. Sex of head of household
10. Origin of head of household
11. Religion of head of household
12. Age of head of household
13. Marital status of head of household

14. Age of wife of head of household
15. Total number of members in household (family and non-family members)
16. Total number of offspring (regardless of age)
17. Total number of employees in household*
18. Total number of relatives in household*
19. Total number of boarders in household*

* Where a member of the household occupied more than one status in the family, i.e. he might be both a relative and an employee, the status was calculated in this order of precedence:

1. relative
2. employee
3. boarder

20. Occupation of head of household

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION RECORDED FROM THE 1861 CENSUS ONLY

21. Literacy of head of household -rarely filled in on census
22. Literacy of wife of head of household - rarely filled in on census
23. Total number of males in household attending school
24. Total number of females in household attending school

This research produced a study group of approximately three thousand children from each census (1861 census - 3286 children, 1871 census - 2875 children). Once the census information had been transposed onto computer cards, the data was readily adaptable to computer analysis. With the use of SPSS,²¹ a simplified statistical programme package designed for use by social scientists, frequency distributions and cross-tabulations were performed on the different

²¹ Norman Nie, et al., SPSS(Statistical Package for the Social Sciences)(Toronto, 1970).

variables. The resulting material has been organized to focus on three broad aspects of the basic question of growing up in mid-nineteenth century rural Ontario that underlie this thesis. Each particular current of investigation will be dealt with separately in the next three chapters. The first is concerned with examining children, both offspring and non-family members, within the environment of the family and household. A second aspect of the analysis focuses on the social and cultural question of a child's formal education, and the extent to which the needs of educational training were compatible with responsibilities of home and work. Thirdly, this thesis is concerned with the occupational opportunities available to, and the work responsibilities demanded of, children in nineteenth century rural Ontario.

Although quantitative information generated from census material forms the central core of this research project, it alone is insufficient in formulating any theories on the nature of growing up in mid-nineteenth century rural Ontario. Similarly, the literary documentation for this period in Canadian history is equally incomplete, and, taken on its own, might well be a misleading base upon which to build any generalizations about everyday life for the ordinary man, woman, or child. However, these two sources, the quantitative and the qualitative, can each be used to reinforce the other.²² The literary evidence available includes contem-

porary accounts of early settlers and mid-century observers, the tracts of social and educational reformers (none more prolific than Egerton Ryerson), superintendent's school reports, nineteenth century domestic advice books dealing with rural life, travellers' accounts, personal correspondence, and modern historical sketches of life a century ago. The bibliography compiled in this research, though selective in nature, is intended to offer evidence of such a broad range of primary and secondary source materials.²³

²² See T. Hareven, ed., Anonymous Americans (Englewood Cliffs, 1971), ix. She cites as examples the work of Demos, Greven, Lockridge.

Also:

The work of Peter Laslett and the Cambridge Study Group has been criticized for just such a refusal to use what Laslett terms 'attitudinal evidence'. For further discussion see a review of Laslett, Times Literary Supplement, May 4, 1973, pp. 485-487.

²³ Bremner, op. cit., p. 343. It is interesting, as Bremner notes, that there is a paucity of records for all classes of children simply because children are incapable of generating records until they reach a certain age.

CHAPTER I

CHILDREN IN THE ENVIRONMENT OF THE FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD

This first chapter is concerned with examining offspring and non-family children in the environment of the family and household. To consider the familial and household structure in which children grew up in mid-nineteenth century rural Ontario, several fundamental questions must be asked of the qualitative and, more particularly, the quantitative evidence available. In what kind of family structure did offspring live? In what kind of household structure did they grow up? How did the structure of family and household influence family offspring? The same questions concerning household structure can be asked for non-family children; that is, for children growing up in households where the head was not the child's parent. In nineteenth century rural Ontario, what was the likelihood of children remaining in their own families? What was the likelihood of sharing their home with outsiders? Additional questions might be raised about non-family children. Why were they living in households other than those of their parent? Who were these children? What possible influence did the surrogate household have on them? For all children, offspring and non-family youths

alike, the question arises of how long did they remain dependent on their own families or on surrogate families?

Of course, this chapter, like the rest of the thesis, can deal with only those children who were present in their own or surrogate families in Chinguacousy during the census taking of 1861 and 1871. (See Table 1.1) Children who chose to leave the area and to seek opportunities or training elsewhere, as well as those children whose parents decided to pull up stakes in Chinguacousy and to take their young families with them, perhaps were excluded from the census calculations. On the other hand, some of the children who were recorded within a Chinguacousy household in 1861 or a decade later did not remain there in the years following. In light of this, the population under study is that total of individual children who were present in their own or surrogate households in either 1861 or 1871, or perhaps in both periods. During the decade, particular children frequently drifted beyond the scope of this study, either because of their age, or marriage, or transiency. Nevertheless, from this changing population, there are a number of general patterns about children within the family and household environment in a mid-nineteenth century rural Ontario township that do emerge.

Perhaps the most straightforward way of discussing children within the environment of family and household is to start with the question 'how many children grew up in their family?' Evidence marshalled from the 1861 and 1871 census

returns weighs heavily against any hypothesis that children in mid-nineteenth century rural Ontario left home at an early age to fend for themselves. (See Table 1.2) Throughout the decade, the returns indicated that at least nine out of ten children under the age of seventeen were members of families in which they lived. In other words, they lived at home as they grew up. Not surprisingly, as a child grew older he was less likely to live with his own parents. Yet even in the group of young people ages twenty-one to twenty-five years of age, more than three-fifths of them were still in their family homes in 1861. A decade later that proportion had exceeded four-fifths. At the extreme upper limit of our study, more than one-half of the twenty-five year olds in 1861 and almost three-quarters of this same group in 1871 were still living in a family where their parent was the head of household. Since the actual numbers of children living with their parents remained largely stable across the decade, however, the increasing ratio of offspring to non-family children in the study must be explained in terms of a sharp decline in the number of non-family 'additions' living in Chinguacousy households, rather than as a rising trend toward children remaining at home. What we are seeing, then, would appear to be a crucial development in this society at least; a fairly profound change in household structure related to the disappearance of a specific demographic group from the households of Chinguacousy.

The central theme of this discussion, a consideration of offspring and non-family children in the environment of the family and household, gives rise to a second question dealing with the size and structure of the family unit in which these offspring were reared. About eighty-five percent of the heads of household were married; a fact which suggests that it was highly probable children would be raised by both father and mother alike. In another ten percent of the households, the head of the household had been widowed and, in the majority of these cases, management of the family and household had been left to the wife and mother of the family. (See Table 1.3) The very real implications of growing up in a family where one parent was absent are more clearly recognized in subsequent chapters that deal with the household and economic responsibilities thrust upon such children and the resulting sacrifices yielded in terms of educational and social opportunities.

Social historians who have relied on contemporary accounts of mid-nineteenth century family life in rural Ontario tend to assume that many of these children who grew up in their parents' homes were also surrounded by large families of brothers and sisters. In contemporary literary sources, references to the practical advantages of and the ready ability to provide for a large family abound. "Children are in Canada no encumbrance to parents, being soon able to obtain for themselves", advised one author.¹ According to another

guide, written forty years later in 1871, children, "the burden of our poor man in England...are in Canada his greatest blessing, and happy is that man who has a quiver full of them...." ² Nevertheless, one of the most obvious features of the mid-Victorian home in Peel County was the relatively small number of children in each family. It is true that some households in 1861 and 1871 contained as many as thirteen children, but in both periods, it was most common for the rural householders included in this study to have three children and throughout the decade, well over half of these householders had four or less. Fewer than ten percent of the families surveyed had more than eight children. In short, very large families were rare. Families of moderate size, with an average (mean) of four children, were the rule. See Table 1.4.

Careful study of these families indicates, however, that children of particular parents were more likely to grow up in the company of siblings than were children whose parents claimed a different origin, religion, or occupation. In 1861 there was a sizeable variance, according to the origin of the head of household, in the proportion of parents having small families (one to three children). (See Table 1.5).

¹ I. Fidler, Observations on Professions, Literature, Manners, and Emigration in the United States and Canada...1832 (New York, 1833), 229.

² H.J. Philpot, Guide Book to the Canadian Dominion Containing Full Information for the Emigrant, the Tourist, the Sportsman, and the Small Capitalist (London, 1871), 119.

Of the four principal countries of origin, England, Ireland, Scotland, and Upper Canada, more than half of the parents born in Upper Canada had families of this size, whereas parents from Ireland were least likely to have a small family. In the middle range of families with four to six children, very little difference emerged on the basis of origin. Approximately two out of every five families in each ethnic group had children whose numbers fell in this range. Parent's birthplace did, however, become much more noticeable for families with seven to nine children, where the likelihood of families having this number of children was approximately twice as great if heads of household came from Ireland or Scotland than from England or Upper Canada. In the category for the largest number of children, ten or more, parents of Irish descent were predominant. A decade later, the contrasts in the number of children a family produced were less noticeable on the basis of parent's origin. One trend did remain constant, however: parents of Upper Canadian origin clearly had the smallest families, that is, the fewest number of offspring.

Why were there fewer offspring in families of native-born parents? The reasons are no doubt complex but one possible interpretation is perhaps somewhat more credible than others, the difference in economic status between the native born and very recent immigrants. The newly arrived immigrant, faced with the task of earning enough either to buy a farm or

to develop a homestead, undoubtedly may have understood the economic value of children as an inexpensive labour force. Certainly that is what contemporary observers believed.³ Moreover, in Canada, work was readily found outside the home for children whose parents could not support them but who needed the income they provided. One example of the very real demand for young helpers is seen in the journals of Anne Langton: "We are just now enjoying the Canadian luxury of being without servant - the article servant is scarce at present. Our neighbours are suffering in the same way."⁴ Second generation Upper Canadians, on the other hand, who were already established, not only did not require compensation from their own children's outside labour but also, if they were intent on guaranteeing their children's future, might have had strong incentive for limiting the size of their family and of course, as we shall see, they could always hire the children of immigrants.

While origin has been demonstrated as a relevant factor influencing family size, the link between parents' religious affiliations and the number of offspring they produced remains far more tenuous. Table 1.6 indicates a relatively consistent ratio from one religion to another for families of varying size. The particular case of parents with

³ Louis Tivy, ed., Your Loving Anna (Toronto, 1972). A wife's letters record the struggle of her family to acquire farm land and then to realize a living from it.

Roman Catholic background is somewhat of an anomaly. The table reveals that in 1861 Roman Catholics clearly tended to have smaller families than parents of other religious affiliations and yet, a decade later, quite the reverse was true. This turnabout in the family size of Catholics suggests strongly that, while the number of offspring they produced may well have been related to economic considerations, the origin of the parents, or other explanations, any specific social dictates of their church concerning family size met with variable response. In other words, religion was not a consistently dominant factor in determining family size, if in fact it played any substantial role at all.

Another factor that did influence the number of offspring in a family was the occupation of the head of household. In the Hamilton project,⁵ family size reflected quite clearly different occupational groups. Smaller families were not differentiated by the economic rank of particular occupations, but rather by the fact that those heads of household in entrepreneurial white collar groups had fewer children than those who worked with their hands. Katz found further that there were important distinctions between the family size of men in commerce and those in other non-manual

⁴ H.H. Langton, ed., A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada, the Journals of Anne Langton, 1834-1836 (Toronto, 1950), 195.

⁵ Michael B. Katz, 'The People of a Canadian City', Canadian Historical Review, LIII (December, 1972), 418-419.

groups such as teachers, lawyers, gentlemen. One of the problems associated with drawing any similar parallels on family size in Chinguacousy is the relative lack of diversity in occupational groupings of heads of household. (See Table 1.7).

Seven out of every ten parents in Chinguacousy who listed an occupation on the census could be classified as having an agricultural occupation. With the exception of a bare handful of 'gentlemen' belonging to this category in both 1861 and 1871, everyone else in this category was a farmer. In both periods there was also a sizeable category of unskilled workers representing approximately eighteen to nineteen percent of these parents, although again within this classification, a full eighty percent of the men were labourers. A skilled class of occupations including such people as blacksmiths, butchers, coopers, masons, millers, shoemakers, tailors, wagonmakers, weavers, and half a dozen other occupations represented a further eight or nine percent of the parents' occupations. Finally there was a small group of people in commerce, primarily innkeepers and merchants, who comprised approximately three percent and another small group of professional people, including the teachers, ministers, physicians, and the like, who represented the remaining one percent of the occupational categories. Of the many variations in family size among different occupational classifications, the most prominent and undoubtedly the most significant was

the fact that farmers did indeed tend to have larger families than men in other occupational categories.

Although the fact that farmers had more children is fairly apparent, the reasons for this trend are rather less certain. Obviously, additional children on a farm were useful. In describing farm-work in Ontario a century ago, Glazebrook argued that: "the labour for these multifarious activities was supplied by the farmer with assistance from his family, by the co-operative method of the old-fashioned bee, and by the hired man". In any event, he emphasized, "it was a family affair...."⁶ The utility to a farmer of many children as a source of cheap labour is quite readily apparent. Yet it had already been hinted earlier in this discussion on family size that the mid-nineteenth century witnessed the rapid overpopulation of the Ontario countryside;⁷ a fact which weighed heavily against any farmer who sought to establish his children on their own land nearby. In short, despite the fact that the families of farmers tended to be larger than those of householders in other occupational categories, the increasing struggle for dwindling land perhaps in part explains why farm families, on the whole, were nowhere as large as it commonly has been assumed they were. In a society of which

⁶ G.P. de Glazebrook, Life in Ontario: A Social History (Toronto, 1971), 168-169.

⁷ A.R.M. Lower, Canadians in the Making (Toronto, 1958), 339.

Susannah Moodie wrote "that death is looked upon...more as... a change of property into other hands, than as a real domestic calamity"⁸, the inability to acquire and preserve land for all of his male children and provide dowries for his daughters must have severely constrained the farmer's procreative impulses, in spite of the labour value represented by many sons.

In sum, if we must generalize about the familial setting in which most rural children in this community grew up in the 1860's, we would want to cite first the relatively modest size of these families. The fact of recent immigration, of being a farmer, and, perhaps toward the end of the period, of being Roman Catholic, were responsible for slight increases in family size. But on the average, these families consisted of a mother, a father, and three or four children; larger than the modern family, but not nearly so large as popular conceptions would lead us to believe.

This discussion dealing with the structure of a child's own family has, to date, focussed exclusively on the question of parents and brothers and sisters but has not yet come to consider other members whose presence created an extended family household. Apart from mother, father, children, and other employees, servants, and boarders who will be

⁸ Susannah Moodie, Life in the Clearings Versus the Bush (New York, 1853), 138.

dealt with presently, one might expect to find grandparents, married children, and other more distant relatives in a typical nineteenth century household. However, although extended family households ⁹ were by no means uncommon, relatives were not as ubiquitous as avid readers of the Victorian novel might assume. (See Table 1.8) At the beginning of the decade, one out of every five households under study was recorded as having a relative living under its roof; at the end of the period the proportion had dropped to one in ten, again evidence of a paradigm change in household structure. These figures are nevertheless somewhat deceptive since, in a number of cases, a child was classified as a 'relative' because he (and perhaps his widowed parent) lived in the household of an older brother or sister. In fact, from Table 1.9 we know that approximately forty percent of the relatives in 1861 and about ten percent in 1871 were children between the ages of five and twenty-five. One can only speculate as to why there was such a disproportionate decline in the presence of young relatives in these households. Perhaps the acute shortage of labour in Upper Canada manifested itself most visibly in these children who could no longer be spared by their own families and were therefore kept closer to home. Or perhaps immigration had slowed down

⁹ Peter Laslett and Richard Wall, eds., Household and Family in Past Time, Cambridge Group for the Study of Population and Social Structure (Cambridge, 1972), 31.

the wave of young arrivals who entrusted to the care of their relatives already settled in Upper Canada. Certainly the proportion of all non-family children who had been born in Upper Canada was consistently much lower than that proportion for children who lived in their own parent's household. (See Table 1.10) Yet, by the end of the decade, far more non-family children could boast of Upper Canadian birth than had been the case ten years earlier.

These children aside, who were the other relatives, numbering 177 in 1861 and 108 in 1871, who lived in the households of Chinguacousy? Some were cousins less than five years of age or older than twenty-five, and therefore excluded from more detailed consideration; some were aged parents or grandparents; some were aunts and uncles; and some were in-laws of one description or another. The identities of these relatives have not been retained in much detail and, for purposes of this study, they are not of substantial interest. We know two essential facts about this group: first, their numbers were relatively small in proportion to the population under consideration, and second, their status within the households of Chinguacousy covered a wide variety of classifications. This evidence does offer tentative confirmation to two hypotheses.

The first is that multi-generational households were not the rule in mid-nineteenth century rural Ontario. The assumption that three generations under one roof was a common-

place event in times past has come under careful and critical scrutiny. Not only has Peter Laslett and his Cambridge Study Group¹⁰ successfully demolished the myth of multi-generational families in England, but comparable studies, such as that done by Pryor on the families of mid-nineteenth century Rhode Island, have shown that the "extended and/or multigenerational household was not pervasive in the later nineteenth century [although] probably more common then than [in mid-twentieth century]." ¹¹ Thus, the evidence for Chinguacousy is very much consistent with recent historical findings elsewhere. This trend is further supported by at least one author who, in recalling life at mid-century, wrote of old parents taking a small cottage for themselves and living nearby, rather than with, their children and grandchildren.¹²

The second conclusion which is supported by the evidence is that young married couples did not live in their parent's household, but rather established their own new household. Again, although largely speculative, the trend

¹⁰ Ibid. Also, Peter Laslett, The World We Have Lost, 2nd ed. (London, 1971). In spite of the criticism of his detractors. For example, two reviews of Household and Family in the Times Literary Supplement, May 4, 1973, pp. 485-487 and also by Edward Shorter in History of Childhood Quarterly, the Journal of Psychohistory, 1, no. 2 (Fall 1973), 342-347.

¹¹ E. Pryor, 'Rhode Island Family Structure; 1875 and 1960', in Laslett and Wall, eds., Household and Family, p. 574.

¹² Thomas Conant, Upper Canada Sketches (Toronto, 1898), 241.

would suggest that dependence ended with marriage. The establishment, by newlyweds, of a new and fully independent household clearly marked the beginning of an 'adult' existence.

It is clear from this examination of relatives that the households of Chinguacousy under study were largely nuclear or simple family households in structure.¹³ But whether the household that family children lived in was nuclear or extended in terms of its composition, these children might have expected to share their home with one or more people who did not belong to their immediate family. As we have already seen, sometimes these non-family additions were relatives, but it was more likely that they would be servants, employees, or boarders. In a comparatively recent census-based study on nineteenth century family history in Southern Michigan between 1850 and 1880, the author discovered that there was between a one-in-four and a one-in-three probability that a child living in a two parent household would have an additional adult to whom he could relate. He urged historians of child rearing in nineteenth century America to concern themselves with the frequent presence of several kinds of adults, in addition to parents, living with children:

Any non-parental adult in the nineteenth-century household whether grandparent, spinster aunt, boarder, or servant, was a candidate for personal, significant relationships, and the presence of such

¹³ Laslett and Wall, eds., Household and Family, p. 28, 31.

an adult was in considerable contrast to the strict mother-father and children pattern of the twentieth century.¹⁴

The data in this study indicate that there were 953 'additions' to the households under study in 1861; 493 in 1871. (See Table 1.11) If the non-family children between five and twenty-five years of age are removed from these figures, (529 and 243 respectively), there were approximately 424 and 250 non-family adults who lived in the mid-nineteenth century households of Chinguacousy. What then was the likelihood of family children sharing their homes with one of these non-parental adults? Table 1.12 indicates that one half of the households under study in 1861 included no non-family additions of any description. A decade later the proportion of households without additions had increased to three out of every five. Since approximately one half of the additions included in Table 1.12 were children, the proportion of households having non-family adults was undoubtedly substantially lower than the Table suggests. Probably, the Southern Michigan study has parallels with the households of mid-Victorian Chinguacousy. The research done on this Township shows, when it is further broken down, that in both 1861 and 1871 approximately one household in five contained one or more boarders. The likelihood of having one or more employees also ran between twenty and twenty-five percent. (See Table

¹⁴ S.E. Bloomberg, et al., 'A Census Probe into Nineteenth-Century Family History: Southern Michigan, 1850-1880', Journal of Social History, 5, no. 1 (Fall 1971), 33.

1.13) In short, the children of perhaps one of every five households in the township grew up in the company of at least one adult other than his parents from whom he might expect discipline, affection, and instruction.

At this point, it is really only those non-family additions who were between the ages of five and twenty-five and therefore fall within the framework of this thesis, that are of further interest. Although the overwhelming majority of children grew up in their own homes, it was these non-family additions who assumed what Katz has identified as a status of 'semi-dependency' in the households of surrogate families.¹⁵ One of the most striking features of these young non-family additions was the startling rate at which their numbers decreased in the decade under study. The number of non-family children was halved from 1861 to 1871, from 531 in the first instance to 243 in the latter. They represented sixteen percent in 1861 and half that figure, eight percent, in 1871 of the respective total number of children under examination. (1861 - 3286 children, 1871 - 2875 children) This decline, however, was very much a reflection of the diminishing presence of non-family additions of any description.

Earlier in this discussion emphasis was directed to

¹⁵ Michael B. Katz, 'Growing Up in the Nineteenth Century: Relations Between Home, Work, School and Marriage, Hamilton, Ontario, 1851 and 1861', Interim Report Number 4, The Canadian Social History Project (December, 1972), 52.

the inverse relationship between a child's age and the likelihood of him living in his own home. It was demonstrated that as the age of offspring rose, the probability of living under the family roof declined. Conversely, of course, these non-family children were found in Chinguacousy households more frequently as their age increased. (See Table 1.2) If nine of every ten children below the age of seventeen lived in their parents' homes in 1861, then obviously there was only one in ten who lived in adopted or surrogate family settings. This proportion was halved for non-family children under nine years of age where only one in twenty was not raised under his parent's hand. As children in the Township passed their mid-teen years, they were far more likely to be found in other households. Approximately one quarter of the children between seventeen and twenty years were classified as non-family additions in the households of Chinguacousy. This tendency reached a maximum at age twenty-five where young people were almost as likely to live apart from their parents in another adopted household as they were to live with their own parents. As Table 1.2 indicates, a decade later children of all ages were more likely to live under their parents' roofs. Even at age twenty-five, three out of every four children lived in their parents' households rather than in an adopted one. As we shall see in the next chapter, this decline is perhaps best explained as the result of the formalizing and institutionalizing of education as

part of the experience of childhood.

One of the difficulties in dealing with these additions is identifying them in terms of their status within the household. In at least one other study on family structure in 1875,¹⁶ the census provided information on the 'relationship to family head' of each member of the family; pertinent information had it also been employed on Canadian census pages of the period. A related difficulty in assessing the role of an addition within the household was the need to assign, in some cases, rather arbitrarily, every non-family member to one of the following categories: relative, employee, or boarder, in that order of priority. Thus, for example, if an eighteen year old cousin was living in the household and listed his occupation as a labourer, he was identified as a relative rather than an employee. His participation in the family economy was assumed by virtue of his status as a relative of the family.

The young additions in this study can be broken down into these three categories as seen in Table 1.14. This Table does indeed show that these non-family children were not only halved in total numbers within the decade, but their composition, in terms of status, changed fairly dramatically, two points of significance which will be discussed later in the thesis. However, young girls, as well as boys, were

¹⁶ Pryor, 'Rhode Island Family Structure', p. 571.

found living in surrogate households. The likelihood of growing up in one's own home was not affected by differences of sex. A little more than half of the young additions in both periods were males, a reflection of the total population under study. (See Table 1.15)

Contemporary literature offers a number of possible explanations for the presence of these children in households other than those of their parents. In a society where farm labour was at a premium, children from neighbouring farms or elsewhere provided a readily available labour supply at minimum expense and inconvenience for the farmer.¹⁷ Children from nearby could be retained on a casual basis at a fraction of the cost of hiring adult labour, at a time when labour was in very short supply. Furthermore, by employing the services of neighbouring young people, a farmer was relieved of the burden of providing for a large number of his own children. Obviously, the demands imposed upon a farmer by his own children would be much greater, in terms of long-term provision, than those arising from an additional non-family child or two living and working within the household for a short time. And if a family did not require the labour of all its own children, the system of putting a child to work on a neighbouring farm similarly lightened a parent's obligations. In

¹⁷ Fidler, Observations on Professions, p. 229. Also, W. Catermole, Emigration. The Advantages of Emigration to Canada (London, 1831), 96.

short, the benefits of a child living in an adopted household were often reciprocal. Writing home to England in 1883, one mother mentioned her two daughters, ages ten and twelve, who were living away from home:

My young ones are all getting so big that when they are all at home the shanty is not big enough. So we are glad to have them away where we know they are well treated. They do not get any money, but are treated as one of the family, fed well, and have nice bedrooms to themselves, besides having more new clothes bought for them than they could have at home. It is a help to us to have two such hearty girls away, though I had rather have them at home, and when we have cows and more to do, I shall have them at home again, they are very young yet.¹⁸

Let us examine further the relationship of these non-family children to the families with which they lived. There is an interesting correlation between the number of offspring in a family and the likelihood of there being one of these non-family additions within the household. As Table 1.16 indicates, in both 1861 and 1871, the presence of a young person between five and twenty-five who was not a member of the family decreased as the number of offspring in a family increased. This trend is reinforced by a similar inverse relationship between the rising numbers of offspring in a family and the diminishing likelihood of any non-family additions within the household. Just as families with a larger number of offspring were less likely to have young non-family members in their midst, so too were they equally unlikely to

¹⁸ Tivy, Your Loving Anna, p. 85.

have non-family members of any description in their household. (See Table 1.17)

An important conclusion can be drawn from this inverse relationship between the numbers of children who were family members and those children who were not. The more offspring a family had of its own, the more able it was to perform the duties of farm life without outside assistance. A family with fewer offspring was less equipped to handle among its own members the substantial labours imposed by rural life, and thus, the family was more likely to supplement its own productive forces with young additions.

Farmers might well require the labour of outside children if their own families living at home were relatively small. However, farmers did not represent the complete spectrum of occupations in mid-nineteenth century Chinguacousy, although they did, of course, form a substantial portion of it. Who in the community other than farmers took the non-family children into their homes and what role were these children assigned in their surrogate families? By and large, it was men of commercial and professional occupations as well as a handful of gentlemen in the Township who were more prone than other occupational groups to seek the services of young non-family additions. (See Table 1.18) In these cases, this might well suggest that such children stood as symbols of status, that they performed the role of domestic servants.

In this discussion of offspring and non-family children

in the environment of family and household, one question relates to all young people, regardless of their status within the household. How long did these children remain dependent on their own family or surrogate families? Clearly the findings suggest that children did not assume a role of independence at an early age. In mid-nineteenth century Peel County virtually all young people under the age of twenty-five lived in a family grouping of some description. Whether or not they were members of the family, young people both lived and worked in an adult-dominated household where their own independent aspirations were harnessed to the collective demands of the household. Young people who lived on their own before marriage were atypical. Table 1.13, illustrating the marital status of this study's heads of household in 1861 and 1871, shows that only twenty-seven persons of all ages in 1861 and seventeen in 1871 were 'single' heads of household. In addition, a frequency distribution of the age of heads of household in this study (Table 1.19) indicates that only thirty-four heads of household in 1861 and thirteen a decade later were twenty-five years of age or less. These two Tables dispel fairly simply the possibility of large numbers of young adults being heads of their own household. This evidence suggests that rural society in mid-nineteenth century Ontario found its interests best served by fostering a state of dependency or semi-dependency among its young people.

For further evidence in support of this hypothesis,

it is useful to test the assumption that young people in fact married at an early age and therefore that the population under study here underrepresents young adults between the ages of twenty and twenty-five. As Tables 1.20 and 1.21 indicate, of all young people in Chinguacousy between the ages of twenty and twenty-five inclusive, 214 were married, 679 were singles in 1861; 189 were married, 578 were single in 1871. From these figures it appears that slightly less than one-third of all young people between twenty and twenty-five had married although the substantial bulk of those young married adults were female. (See Table 1.21) Once again, we have striking evidence of the prolonged dependency of young adults, especially males; evidence which puts the high proportion of children yet living in their parent's or someone else's household clearly into perspective.

What can be said in summary about offspring and non-family children in the environment of the family and household? The overwhelming majority of children grew up in their own homes, although where a child was domiciled was in part related to his age and in part to his family's identity as native-born or immigrant. In any event, children clearly did not assume independent status at an early age but rather they remained in the shadow of an adult-dominated household where the welfare of the members as a whole took precedence over the aspirations of any one particular child. Virtually all children lived in a family setting of some description,

the majority of them in what Laslett calls 'simple family households'.¹⁹ The only exception to this norm of children, whether family members or not, living in an adult-dominated household were those young people who married by the age of twenty-five. Since this was particularly unlikely for males, boys, future heads of households, generally remained dependents on their own or surrogate families until they were very mature. Young adults who did marry usually established an independent household separate from that of their parents.

This chapter, dealing with a child's family and household environment, has emphasized the dependent or semi-dependent role assumed by children in the collective labours and goals of the household. It remains to be seen how one or the other of these respective environments affected a child's work and educational activities, and the extent to which participation in one or the other was compatible with a child's own aspirations and with the immediate and long-term needs and interests of the household.

¹⁹ Laslett and Wall, eds., Household and Family, p. 31, pp. 41-42.

TABLE 1.1

Status of Children in HouseholdChinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
Children who are offspring of head of household	83.8% (2754)	91.5% (2631)
Children who are non-family members of household	16.1% (531)	8.5% (243)
Total Number of Children	<u>100.%</u> (3285)	<u>100.%</u> (2874)

TABLE 1.2
Status of Children in the Household,
Broken Down by Age Groups
Chinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

1861

<u>Age of Child</u>	<u>Family Member</u>	<u>Non-Family Member</u>	<u>Total Children</u>
Under 8 Years	94.9% (571)	5.1% (31)	100.% (602)
8-16 Years	90.3% (1373)	9.7% (147)	100.% (1520)
17-20 Years	75.1% (482)	24.9% (160)	100.% (642)
21-25 Years	63.2% (328)	36.8% (191)	100.% (519)
Total Children	83.9% (2754)	16.8% (529)	100.% (3283)

1871

<u>Age of Child</u>	<u>Family Member</u>	<u>Non-Family Member</u>	<u>Total Children</u>
Under 8 Years	95.2% (472)	4.8% (24)	100.% (496)
8-16 Years	93.8% (1309)	6.2% (87)	100.% (1396)
17-20 Years	89.3% (469)	10.7% (56)	100.% (525)
21-25 Years	83.4% (381)	16.6% (76)	100.% (457)
Total Children	91.5% (2631)	8.5% (243)	100.% (2874)

TABLE 1.3

Sex and Marital Status of Heads of HouseholdChinguacousy Township, 1861-18711861

<u>Marital Status of Head of Household</u>	<u>Sex of Head of Household</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Single	2.9% (24)	5.1% (3)
Married	92.8% (770)	1.7% (1)
Widowed	4.3% (36)	93.2% (55)
Total	100.% (830)	100.% (59)
	(93.4%)	(6.6%)

1871

<u>Marital Status of Head of Household</u>	<u>Sex of Head of Household</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Single	2.0% (15)	3.4% (2)
Married	92.8% (691)	2.4% (2)
Widowed	5.2% (39)	93.1% (54)
Total	100.% (745)	100.% (58)
	(92.8%)	(7.2%)

TABLE 1.4
Total Offspring in Each Household
Chinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

<u>Number of Offspring in Household</u>	<u>Number of Households</u>	
	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
1	88 (10.6%)*	76 (10.2%)*
2	112 (24.1%)	95 (23.0%)
3	141 (41.1%)	124 (39.7%)
4	128 (56.6%)	112 (54.7%)
5	111 (70.0%)	101 (68.3%)
6	100 (82.0%)	96 (81.2%)
7	68 (90.2%)	48 (87.6%)
8	34 (94.3%)	43 (93.4%)
9	20 (96.7%)	23 (96.5%)
10	17 (98.8%)	16 (98.7%)
11	5 (99.4%)	9 (99.9%)
12	4 (99.9%)	-
13	1 (100.%)	1 (100.%)
0	77	62

*Column percentages are cumulative

TABLE 1.5

Total Offspring in Family.According to Origin of Head of HouseholdChinguacousy Township, 1861-18711861

<u>Origin of Head of Household</u>	<u>Total House- Holds</u>	<u>1-3 Children</u>	<u>4-6 Children</u>	<u>7-9 Children</u>	<u>10 or more Children</u>
England	217	44.2% (96)	41.9% (91)	10.6% (23)	3.2% (7)
Ireland	321	36.5% (117)	41.4% (133)	17.8% (57)	4.4% (14)
Scotland	120	38.3% (46)	40.0% (48)	19.2% (23)	2.5% (3)
Upper Canada	139	51.1% (71)	38.1% (53)	9.4% (13)	2.8% (2)
United States	25	32.0% (8)	44.0% (11)	20.0% (5)	4.0% (1)
Other	7	42.9% (3)	42.9% (3)	14.3% (1)	-
Total	829	41.1% (341)	40.9% (339)	14.7% (122)	3.3% (27)

continued...

Table 1.5 continued1871

<u>Origin of Head of Household</u>	<u>Total House- holds</u>	<u>1-3 Children</u>	<u>4-6 Children</u>	<u>7-9 Children</u>	<u>10 or more Children</u>
England	174	40.8% (71)	37.4% (65)	19.0% (33)	2.9% (5)
Ireland	245	37.6% (92)	42.0% (103)	15.1% (37)	5.3% (13)
Scotland	95	38.9% (37)	38.9% (37)	17.9% (17)	4.2% (4)
Upper Canada	208	41.4% (86)	45.7% (95)	11.1% (23)	4.7% (4)
United States	16	43.8% (7)	37.5% (6)	18.8% (3)	-
Other	6	33.3% (2)	50.0% (3)	16.7% (1)	-
Total	744	39.7% (295)	41.5% (309)	15.3% (114)	3.5% (26)

TABLE 1.6

Total Offspring in Family,
According to Religion of Head of Household
Chinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

1861

<u>Religion</u> <u>of Head of</u> <u>Household</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>House-</u> <u>holds</u>	<u>1-3</u> <u>Children</u> <u>in Hshld.</u>	<u>4-6</u> <u>Children</u> <u>in Hshld.</u>	<u>7-9</u> <u>Children</u> <u>in Hshld.</u>	<u>10 or more</u> <u>Children</u> <u>in Hshld.</u>
Methodist	245	42.4% (104)	38.0% (93)	14.7% (36)	4.9% (12)
Ch. England	177	39.5% (70)	45.8% (81)	13.6% (24)	1.1% (2)
Rmn. Catholic	34	55.9% (19)	35.3% (12)	5.9% (2)	2.9% (1)
Presbyterian	179	39.1% (70)	39.7% (71)	18.4% (33)	2.8% (5)
Baptist	50	48.0% (24)	36.0% (18)	16.0% (8)	-
Ch. Scotland	66	31.8% (21)	50.0% (33)	12.1% (8)	6.1% (4)
Other	78	42.3% (33)	39.7% (31)	14.1% (11)	3.8% (3)
Total	829	41.1% (341)	40.9% (339)	14.7% (122)	3.3% (27)

continued...

Table 1.6 continued1871

<u>Religion of Head of Household</u>	<u>Total House- holds</u>	<u>1-3 Children in Hshld.</u>	<u>4-6 Children in Hshld.</u>	<u>7-9 Children in Hshld.</u>	<u>10 or more Children in Hshld.</u>
Methodist	288	41.7% (120)	41.0% (118)	14.2% (41)	3.1% (9)
Ch. England	123	37.4% (46)	47.2% (58)	11.4% (14)	4.1% (5)
Rmn. Catholic	44	25.0% (11)	27.3% (12)	45.5% (20)	2.3% (1)
Presbyterian	2	-	-	100.% (2)	-
Baptist	53	43.4% (23)	49.1% (26)	3.8% (2)	3.8% (2)
Ch. Scotland	216	40.3% (87)	42.6% (92)	13.4% (29)	3.7% (8)
Other	18	44.4% (8)	16.7% (3)	33.3% (6)	5.6% (1)
Total	744	39.7% (295)	41.5% (309)	15.3% (114)	3.5% (26)

TABLE 1.7

Total Offspring in Family,
According to Occupational Category of Head of Household
Chinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

1861

<u>Occupational Category of Head of Household</u>	<u>Total Offspring in Family</u>				<u>Total</u>
	<u>1-3</u>	<u>4-6</u>	<u>7-9</u>	<u>10 and More</u>	
Agriculture	33.6% (171)	42.4% (216)	18.9% (96)	5.1% (26)	100.% (509)
Commercial	35.0% (7)	50.0% (10)	15.0% (3)	-	100.% (20)
Professional	42.9% (3)	57.1% (4)	-	-	100.% (7)
Skilled	56.3% (40)	35.2% (25)	7.0% (5)	1.4% (1)	100.% (71)
Unskilled	51.4% (73)	43.0% (61)	5.6% (8)	-	100.% (142)
<u>Total</u>	<u>(294)</u>	<u>(316)</u>	<u>(112)</u>	<u>(27)</u>	<u>(749)</u>

continued...

Table 1.7 continued1871

<u>Occupational Category of Head of Household</u>	<u>Total Offspring in Family</u>				<u>Total</u>
	<u>1-3</u>	<u>4-6</u>	<u>7-9</u>	<u>10 and More</u>	
Agriculture	37.5% (181)	40.8% (197)	18.2% (88)	3.5% (17)	100.% (483)
Commercial	31.8% (7)	45.5% (10)	22.7% (5)	-	100.% (22)
Professional	50.0% (4)	37.5% (3)	12.5% (1)	-	100.% (8)
Skilled	45.6% (26)	40.4% (23)	10.5% (6)	3.5% (2)	100.% (57)
Unskilled	41.5% (51)	47.2% (58)	7.3% (9)	4.1% (5)	100.% (123)
<u>Total</u>	<u>(269)</u>	<u>(291)</u>	<u>(109)</u>	<u>(24)</u>	<u>(693)</u>

TABLE 1.8

Relatives Living in Households
Chinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
Households with No Relatives	81.7% (743)	90.0% (725)
Households with One Relative	9.9% (90)	7.4% (60)
Households with Two or More Relatives	8.0% (72)	2.6% (21)
Missing Information	0.4% (4)	-
Total Number of Households	100.% (909)	100.% (806)
Total Number of Relatives	(288)	(119)

TABLE 1.9

Relatives, Broken Down by Age
Chinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

<u>Age of Relatives</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
Ages 5-25	38.5% (111)	9.2% (11)
Others	61.5% (177)	90.8% (108)
Total Number of Relatives	100.% (288)	100.% (119)

TABLE 1.10

Children Who Were Born in Upper CanadaChinguacousy Township, 1861-18711861

<u>Status of Children in Household</u>	<u>Proportion of Children Born in Upper Canada</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Offspring	89.0% (1332/1496)	88.6% (1114/1258)
Non-family Additions	62.5% (183/293)	68.1% (162/238)

1871

Offspring	92.5% (1267/1370)	93.1% (1174/1261)
Non-family Additions	65.2% (86/132)	86.5% (96/111)

TABLE 1.11

Status of Non-family Additions in HouseholdChinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

Status of all Non-family ADDITIONS (regardless of age)	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
Boarders	32.3% (308)	39.8% (196)
Employees	37.5% (357)	36.1% (178)
Relatives	30.2% (288)	24.1% (119)
Total	100.% (953)	100.% (493)

Status of all Non-family CHILDREN (age 5 through 25)	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
Boarders	31.0% (164)	52.3% (127)
Employees	48.0% (254)	43.2% (105)
Relatives	21.0% (111)	4.5% (11)
Total	100.% (529)	100.% (243)

TABLE 1.12

Number of Additions in Each HouseholdChinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

<u>Number of Additions in Household</u>	<u>Number of Households</u>	
	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
0	49.9% (452)	61.4% (495)
1	24.0% (217)	24.7% (199)
2	12.5% (113)	8.6% (69)
3	6.2% (56)	3.3% (27)
4	3.1% (28)	1.0% (8)
5	2.5% (23)	0.6% (5)
6	0.8% (7)	0.4% (3)
7	0.2% (2)	-
8	0.4% (4)	-
9	0.3% (3)	-
Total Households	100.% (905)	100.% (806)

TABLE 1.13

Additions to the Households, Excluding RelativesChinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

<u>Boarders</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
Households with No Boarders	78.5% (714)	82.5% (665)
Households with One Boarder	13.6% (124)	12.9% (104)
Households with Two or More Boarders	7.5% (67)	4.6% (37)
Missing Information	0.4% (4)	-
Total Households	100.% (909)	100.% (806)
Total Number of Boarders	308	196
<u>Employees</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
Households with No Employees	73.4% (667)	81.5% (657)
Households with One Employee	18.3% (166)	15.5% (125)
Households with Two or More Employees	7.9% (72)	3.0% (24)
Missing Information	0.4% (4)	-
Total Households	100.% (909)	100.% (806)
Total Number of Employees	357	178

TABLE 1.14
Sex and Status of Non-family Children
Chinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

<u>Status of Non-family Children</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
Employees:		
Male	68.1% (173)	78.1% (82)
Female	31.9% (81)	21.9% (23)
	<u>100.% (254)</u>	<u>100.% (105)</u>
Relatives:		
Male	52.3% (58)	54.5% (6)
Female	47.7% (53)	45.5% (5)
	<u>100.% (111)</u>	<u>100.% (11)</u>
Boarders:		
Male	36.0% (59)	34.6% (44)
Female	64.0% (105)	65.4% (83)
	<u>100.% (164)</u>	<u>100.% (127)</u>
 <u>Sex of Non-family Children</u>	 <u>1861</u>	 <u>1871</u>
Male	54.8% (290)	54.3% (132)
Female	45.2% (239)	45.7% (111)
Total	<u>100.% (529)</u>	<u>100.% (243)</u>

TABLE 1.15
Sex and Status of Children
Chinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
<u>Males:</u>		
Member of Family	45.5% (1496)	47.7% (1370)
Non-member of Family	8.9% (293)	4.6% (132)
<u>Females:</u>		
Member of Family	38.3% (1258)	43.9% (1261)
Non-member of Family	7.2% (238)	3.9% (111)
Total Children	100.% (3285)	100.% (2874)

TABLE 1.16
Status of Children Within Household
According to Number of Offspring in Family
Chinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

1861

<u>Number of Offspring in Family</u>	<u>Member of Family</u>	<u>Non-member of family</u>	<u>Total Children in Household</u>
1-3	65.5% (472)	34.5% (249)	100.% (721)
4-6	91.5% (1252)	8.5% (117)	100.% (1369)
7-9	94.7% (753)	5.3% (42)	100.% (795)
10 and more	97.9% (234)	2.1% (5)	100.% (239)
Total	86.8% (2711)	13.2% (413)	100.% (3124)

1871

<u>Number of Offspring in Family</u>	<u>Member of Family</u>	<u>Non-member of Family</u>	<u>Total Children in Household</u>
1-3	80.5% (446)	19.5% (108)	100.% (554)
4-6	95.4% (1199)	4.6% (58)	100.% (1257)
7-9	98.3% (736)	1.7% (13)	100.% (749)
10 and more	97.8% (220)	2.2% (5)	100.% (225)
Total	93.4% (2601)	6.6% (184)	100.% (2785)

TABLE 1.17
Households Containing Non-family Additions,
According to the Number of Offspring in Household
Chinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

1861

<u>Number of Offspring in Household</u>	<u>Households with 1 or More Non-family Additions</u>	<u>Households without Non-family Additions</u>	<u>Total Number of Households</u>
1-3	56.6% (193)	43.4% (148)	100.% (341)
4-6	38.9% (132)	61.1% (207)	100.% (339)
7-9	37.7% (46)	62.3% (76)	100.% (122)
10 and more	22.2% (6)	77.8% (21)	100.% (27)
Total	45.5% (377)	54.5% (452)	100.% (829)

1871

<u>Number of Offspring in Household</u>	<u>Households with 1 or More Non-family Additions</u>	<u>Households without Non-family Additions</u>	<u>Total Number of Households</u>
1-3	45.1% (133)	54.9% (162)	100.% (295)
4-6	28.2% (87)	71.8% (222)	100.% (309)
7-9	23.7% (27)	76.3% (87)	100.% (114)
10 and more	19.2% (5)	80.8% (21)	100.% (26)
Total	33.9% (252)	66.1% (492)	100.% (744)

TABLE 1.18

Status of Children, According to the
Occupational Grouping of the Head of Household
Chinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

1861

<u>Occupational Category of Head of Household</u>	<u>Offspring</u>	<u>Non-family Children</u>	<u>Total Number of Children</u>
Farmer	85.0% (1920)	15.0% (338)	100.% (2258)
Commercial	60.8% (59)	39.2% (38)	100.% (97)
Professional	67.9% (19)	32.1% (9)	100.% (28)
Skilled	75.7% (165)	24.3% (53)	100.% (218)
Unskilled	86.0% (350)	14.0% (57)	100.% (407)
Total Children	83.5% (2513)	16.5% (495)	100.% (3008)

1871

<u>Occupational Category of Head of Household</u>	<u>Offspring</u>	<u>Non-family Children</u>	<u>Total Number of Children</u>
Farmer	91.4% (1801)	8.6% (169)	100.% (1970)
Commercial	81.6% (80)	18.4% (98)	100.% (98)
Professional	90.0% (27)	10.0% (3)	100.% (30)
Skilled	92.6% (200)	7.4% (16)	100.% (216)
Unskilled	95.2% (375)	4.8% (19)	100.% (394)
Total Children	91.7% (2483)	8.3% (225)	100.% (2708)

TABLE 1.19
Breakdown of Ages of Heads of Household
Chinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

<u>Age of Head of Household</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
18	4	-
19	-	-
20	-	-
21	2	-
22	6	-
23	5	3
24	8	4
25	9	6
26-27	24 (6.4%)*	14 (3.3%)*
28-30	72 (14.3%)	42 (8.8%)
31-35	102 (25.6%)	72 (17.7%)
36-40	133 (40.2%)	125 (33.3%)
41-45	121 (53.5%)	94 (44.9%)
46-50	110 (65.6%)	102 (57.6%)
51-55	84 (74.8%)	83 (67.9%)
56-60	105 (86.3%)	88 (78.8%)
61-65	62 (93.2%)	76 (88.2%)
66-70	33 (96.8%)	56 (95.2%)
71-75	14 (98.4%)	20 (97.6%)
76-80	8 (99.3%)	17 (99.8%)
81+	4 (99.7%)	2 (100.%)
Missing Information	3 (100.%)	2
Total Heads of Household	909	806

* Column percentages are cumulative

TABLE 1.20
Age Distribution of Children
Chinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

<u>Age of Child</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
5	6.4% (211)	5.4% (155)
6	5.8% (189)	5.9% (171)
7	6.1% (202)	5.9% (170)
8	5.4% (176)	5.7% (164)
9	5.5% (182)	5.4% (156)
10	5.3% (175)	6.3% (180)
11	5.1% (167)	5.2% (150)
12	5.1% (169)	5.5% (157)
13	5.1% (167)	4.8% (139)
14	5.2% (171)	5.6% (161)
15	5.0% (165)	4.7% (136)
16	4.5% (149)	5.3% (153)
17	5.3% (175)	4.2% (122)
18	4.7% (154)	5.4% (156)
19	4.7% (155)	4.4% (126)
20	4.8% (159)	4.2% (121)
21	4.0% (131)	4.0% (115)
22	3.9% (129)	3.8% (110)
23	2.8% (91)	3.0% (85)
24	2.7% (89)	2.9% (83)
25	2.4% (80)	2.2% (64)
Total Number of Children	100.% (3286)	100.% (2874)

TABLE 1.21

Married Young People (Not More Than 25 Years Old)Chinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

<u>Age</u>	<u>1861</u>		<u>1871</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
14	-	1	-	-
17	-	3	-	-
18	-	4	-	-
19	-	6	-	4
20	-	15	-	16
21	1	20	-	15
22	7	24	3	21
23	15	23	12	20
24	16	37	12	35
25	18	38	22	33
<u>Total</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>171</u>	<u>49</u>	<u>144</u>

	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
Number of couples where both partners are not more than 25 years old	52	47
Number of couples where the wife only is not more than 25 years old	119	97
Number of couples where the husband only is not more than 25 years old	4	2
Number of young people, not more than 25 years old, who are married	228	193

CHAPTER II

CHILDREN AND SCHOOL ENROLLMENT

Any discussion related to the education of children in mid-nineteenth century rural Ontario must focus primarily on the problem of school enrollment. Accordingly, this chapter identifies those children who were enrolled in school and also attempts to compare the essential features of children who were enrolled with those of children who were not. By applying quantitative analytical techniques, the area of school enrollment can be related most effectively to the general social characteristics of the child and household of which he was a member. Such analysis provides tentative answers to some of the fundamental questions that are posed here at the outset of this discussion. Was school enrollment related directly to the age or sex of a child? Were non-family children as likely to be enrolled in school as family offspring? What influence did the head of household exercise on a child's education? Did parents of certain religious affiliations or ethnic backgrounds lay greater emphasis on formal education than others? What bearing did the occupation of the head of household or that of the child

have on the probability of his being enrolled in school? How did the structure of the household in which a child lived affect the likelihood of his going to school? Finally, and perhaps of utmost importance, what did it mean that a child was recorded as being enrolled in school? Although these particular questions are dealt with most effectively in quantitative fashion, their implications are best understood when considered against a general discussion, culled from contemporary sources, of some of the broader features of public education in mid-nineteenth century Ontario.

Today, we are accustomed to the role of the child as a perennial student, by law. But in the nineteenth century, school enrollment was often a reflection of the household's economic priorities and the family's attitudes towards its child's education. In the earlier part of the century, family and household had been regarded, and functioned, as the principal source of domestic, moral, and vocational learning.¹ For example, one American educationist had commented in 1851:

there is often, and may be always, a more perfect domestic education in rural areas as parents have their children more entirely within their control, and the home is more completely, for the time being, the whole world to the family.²

Indeed, some parents evidently kept their children at home because they viewed formal education as simply unnecessary. In Life in the Clearings Versus the Bush, written in 1853,

¹ Alison Prentice, 'Education and the Metaphor of the Family: The Upper Canadian Example', History of Education

Susannah Moodie implied that there was no stigma attached to illiteracy in Canada; it was still possible for "uneducated, ignorant people" to achieve both social and economic success.³ By the middle of the century, nevertheless, the whole question of education, school attendance, and the role of the child within the community as distinct from his role within the family, was the source of increasing public concern. Public education was one of the prime concerns of social reformers throughout North America, Great Britain, and much of Europe; and Canada was itself the scene of intense conflict between competing religious denominations and the various political parties on the contentious issue of secular, universal education. The opinion of ordinary men, however, men such as the farmers of Chinguacousy, had not yet been canvassed and incorporated into formal debate.⁴

Those who advocated educational reform argued that the growing trend toward urbanization and industrialization, as well as improved communications and transportation facilities, dictated a re-appraisal of the Province's educational objectives. For these reformers, a family centred education was no longer sufficient to meet the needs of the population.

Quarterly, XII, 3 (Fall 1972), 285. Also, Bernard Bailyn, Education in the Forming of American Society (Chapel Hill, 1960).

² H. Barnard, 'Sixth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools to the General Assembly of Connecticut for 1851', American Journal of Education, 5 (1865), 293-310, reprinted in Michael Katz, ed., School Reform: Past and Present (Boston, 1971), 14.

They demanded a more democratic approach to education in Upper Canada consistent with the development of the political and economic objectives of the newly autonomous nation.⁵

Like so many articulate proponents, Egerton Ryerson viewed education as a necessary underpinning of the newly emerging nation, "a vehicle for inculcating loyalty and patriotism, fostering social cohesion and self-reliance, and insuring domestic tranquility".⁶ In short, he regarded public education as a means of ensuring social order.

Ryerson's 1871 comprehensive School Act, designed to promote that objective through compulsory attendance, has often been dismissed (like similar compulsory schooling legislation in nineteenth century America⁷) as having "merely added the finishing touches"⁸ to an already pronounced trend toward regular school attendance among most children ages six to sixteen. A significant change, indeed, was emanating from within society itself, as school enrollment figures in Chinguacousy indicate. But as actual attendance rates also

³ Susannah Moodie, Life in the Clearings Versus the Bush (New York, 1853), 53-54.

⁴ H. Adams, The Education of Canadians 1800-1867 (Montreal, 1968), 109.

⁵ R.M. Stamp, 'Educational Leadership in Ontario', Profiles of a Province (Toronto, 1967), 198. Also, D. Bakan, 'Adolescence in America: From Idea to Social Fact', Daedalus, 100, 4 (Fall 1971), 982-3.

⁶ J.D. Wilson, et al. Canadian Education: A History (Scarborough, 1970), 215.

indicate, these were very much transitional years in the history of childhood in mid-Victorian Ontario.

The census figures for Chinguacousy indicate a rather substantial increase in the proportion of children, age sixteen and less, who were enrolled in school in 1871 as compared with those children a decade earlier. As Table 2.1 demonstrates, this increase was most apparent in the youngest group of children, ages five to eight years of age, where the proportion of children enrolled in school rose from a third of the children to almost sixty percent. In the next age category, the number of children enrolled in school rose from seven out of every ten to eight out of ten. When the average of these two groups is taken, 60% of the children age five through sixteen were enrolled in schools in 1861 with the average increasing to 75% a decade later. (See Table 2.2) The substantial change reflected in these figures suggests that by the time compulsory schooling legislation was passed in 1871, universal education for the age group five through sixteen was developing without legal constraints. However, these school enrollment figures based on census information no doubt represent the maximum

⁷ W.M. Landes, and L.C. Solmon, 'Compulsory Schooling Legislation: An Economic Analysis of Law and Social Change in the Nineteenth Century', Historical Methods Newsletter (December, 1971), 26-7.

⁸ Stamp, 'Educational Leadership', p. 196..

numbers of children who were in attendance at school in those particular years.

Enrollment figures have to be qualified by an examination of rates of actual attendance. Unfortunately, the census permits no conclusions as to the regularity or length of a child's school attendance; but contemporary literature abounds in references to the problem, not merely of getting children enrolled, but of securing the regular attendance of those children who were enrolled. The Journal of Education for Upper Canada, edited by Reverend Ryerson, contained a plea in 1861 from a Middlesex, Ontario teacher who claimed that "no one other anti-progressive agent exercises so pernicious and clogging an influence in the educational growth and prosperity of Canada as irregular attendance of children in school".⁹ A concerted effort was made to appeal not only to parents but to all citizens to eliminate this impediment to effective schooling. Ryerson reasoned that "if every man is to be taxed, according to his property, for the Public School Education of every child in the land, every Taxpayer has a right to claim that every child shall be educated in the various branches of a good English Education; otherwise it is raising money by taxation

⁹ Egerton Ryerson, J.G. Hodgins, eds., Journal of Education for Upper Canada (Toronto, 1861), 68.

under false pretences".¹⁰ Hence the Comprehensive School Act of 1871 and subsequent truancy laws.

The legislation of compulsory schooling did not, on its own, effect any immediate improvement in school attendance. Irregular attendance prevailed in Chinguacousy as elsewhere. The Chief Superintendent's Report for 1869¹¹ showed that of 7176 children (of all ages) attending elementary school in Peel County, three-fifths attended school for less than half a year (100 days) and only seven percent attended full time. Moreover, the corresponding figures of absenteeism for 1873¹² were, as Table 2.3 illustrates, even more discouraging. If the Report was accurate (and obviously there was little reason for attendance figures to have been underestimated), then the 1871 Act appeared to have been extremely sluggish in affecting more regular attendance. Poor attendance was certainly not taken lightly by those who tried to instruct their errant pupils. For example, Anne Langton, who augmented her family's income as a private tutor, recognized that

¹⁰ J.G. Hodgins, Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada (Toronto, 1907), 22, 272.

¹¹ Chief Superintendent of Education, Annual Report of the Normal, Model, Grammar and Common Schools in Ontario, for the year 1869.

¹² Chief Superintendent of Education, Annual Report of the Normal, Model, High and Public Schools of Ontario, for the year 1873.

"regularity is of importance" and so insisted on holding classes right through the summer.¹³ For most children, however, school attendance was sporadic from early spring planting time to fall harvest, when chores on the farm kept children who were able to lend a hand out of the classroom and hard at work on the land. In the 1880's, Canniff Haight recalled that as a boy it was only during the winter that he could finish his chores early in the morning and then be off to school.¹⁴ Even if such poor attendance lay behind the census school enrollment figures, however, the enrollment statistics do offer an important indication of a growing token recognition of the need to provide children with at least a modicum of formal education.

A more detailed examination of those children who were enrolled in school and those who were not offers some insight into the relative priorities of Chinguacousy households concerning the education of their children. An important factor in determining whether or not a child was enrolled at school, and one that already has been alluded to, was the age of the child. We have noted that during the decade, there was a significant increase in the proportion of children

¹³ H.H. Langton, ed., A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada, the Journals of Anne Langton, 1834-1836 (Toronto, 1950), 182.

¹⁴ C. Haight, Country Life in Canada Fifty Years Ago.

between the ages of five and sixteen who were enrolled at school. At the same time, the proportion of children from seventeen through twenty years of age who were enrolled dropped just as greatly. (See Table 2.1) This relative increase in enrollment figures at one end of the age spectrum and decrease at the other suggests that the 'school age' of children was becoming more strictly defined in terms that we recognize today. To underline the fact, in the course of the decade the enrollment of very young children, six and seven year olds, increased out of all proportion to the increased enrollment in any other age group. (See Table 2.4) Again, however, enrollment figures provide a quite misleading impression of school attendance, and the most that can be said is that the regularization of school enrollment among the six to sixteen age group, implying attendance for at least part of the year, indicates, however slightly, a change in social attitudes toward the benefits of formal instruction at a very elementary level. Nevertheless, truancy clearly offset the desired benefits of increased school enrollment, and it is difficult to consider any educational benefits that could accrue from this changing pattern.

A second area that might be expected to influence school enrollment is the sex of the child. Although the aggregated data suggest that sex was perhaps a factor of little relevance in determining whether or not a young child initially enrolled at school, there was, nevertheless, a

clearly marked tendency for boys to remain in school longer than their female counterparts. (See Graphs 1 and 2) Table 2.5 illustrates that in 1861 slightly more than 30% of all children below the age of eight years, regardless of sex, were enrolled at school. Within the age group eight to sixteen years, the proportion of girls enrolled at school (67.0%) lagged behind boys (75.2%) and this gap was accentuated in the next age category of children, seventeen to twenty years, where the proportion of boys in school (30.6%) was virtually double the figure for girls (16.0%).

In 1871 the discrepancy in the enrollment patterns of boys and girls was very similar to that of a decade earlier. In 1871, approximately 58% of the children under age eight, regardless of their sex, were listed on the census as enrolled in school. As in 1861, the proportion of boys, ages eight through sixteen, enrolled in school (82.7%) was somewhat higher than the figure for girls of the same age (77.9%). As age increased (seventeen through twenty years of age), the sex of the child assumed more relevance in determining school enrollment patterns (17.3% of the boys between seventeen and twenty were enrolled in school; only 9.6% of the girls were recorded).

These trends, indicating that more males than females were allowed to pursue their formal education into their late teens and early twenties, tends to reinforce an hypothesis,

posed by Edmund Morgan in his work on early America. In his study Morgan argues that girls in pre-industrial society had little expectation of pursuing a vocation other than one within the household, and consequently were not allowed to acquire more training in the three basic 'R's than their parents thought necessary.¹⁵ Richard Sennett finds a similar period of 'retreat' for females, age fifteen through nineteen, in his study of nineteenth century Chicago. During this period of their lives, females generally neither went to school or held an occupation: they "had a chance to forego the school discipline of childhood without immediately adopting the adult role of wife or woman at work".¹⁶ Although females tended to marry somewhat earlier than males, this combination of not attending school, and, as we shall see in the next chapter, of not having an occupation indicates that many girls in mid-nineteenth century Peel County may well have experienced to a greater extent an intermediate stage between childhood and independent adulthood (as represented by marriage) than their male counterparts. This period, however, was undoubtedly passed without the uncertainties, the rebellion, and the division of generations associated in the introduction

¹⁵ Edmund S. Morgan, The Puritan Family (New York, 1966), 67.

¹⁶ R. Sennett, Families Against the City (Cambridge, 1970), 101.

of the thesis with the notion of an extended 'adolescence' that arose in post-bellum America.

If the age and, to a lesser extent, the sex of a child determined variations in school enrollment patterns, what was the importance of the child's status within the household? As we might expect, in 1861 all children, regardless of age or sex, were more likely to be enrolled in school if they were offspring of the head of household than if they were non-family members living in that household. Within such a broad generalization, however, the variables of sex and age once again influenced levels of school enrollment. (See Table 2.6) Young children, under eight years, were only slightly more likely to be enrolled at school if they were family offspring than if they were non-family members; but as age increased (eight through sixteen years), the proportion of family children enrolled (79.0% for boys, 70.9% for girls) was more than twice as great as for non-family children (38.7% for boys, 31.9% for girls). This ratio continued to increase beyond the age of sixteen, although much more sharply for boys than for girls. These figures suggest that, in many cases, the educational objectives of a son commanded attention and, perhaps, family sacrifice long after the formal education of a daughter or of non-family children had ceased to be a factor of diversion in the household's productive enterprises. By 1871, however, enrollment figures demonstrated a disproportionate increase for non-family

children between five and sixteen years compared to corresponding levels of enrollment for family children.

While discrepancies in the school enrollment of non-family and family members suggest that in 1861 the non-family 'boarders' and 'relatives' were cast more in the role of household servants than family children, the situation appears to have changed by 1871. The dramatically increased enrollment statistics for non-family children very likely betoken a heightened sense of responsibility among mid-Victorian Peelites toward the educational needs of their young people in general. Table 2.7 shows, rather predictably, that virtually all of the non-family children who did go to school were not more than sixteen years of age. The vast majority of them were identified as boarders or relatives in 1861 and as boarders in 1871, and almost never as employees. In fact, a comparison of 1861 and 1871 figures illustrates that the employment of non-family children tended to be postponed until these children had reached a later age in 1871 than in 1861; this trend being perhaps a further acknowledgement of the growing distinction between a child's work responsibilities and schooling activities. If this is the case, then we might consider further the factor of occupation in determining school enrollment.

What bearing did the occupation of the head of household or that of the child have on the probability of a child being enrolled in school? We shall deal first with the

question of a child's occupation since the diminished likelihood of non-family children, and particularly those classified as 'employees', being enrolled in school has already been raised. Table 2.8 demonstrates that children, family or non-family members, who listed occupations were extremely unlikely to be enrolled in school; a generalization that requires further clarification. That is not to suggest that children who were enrolled in school did not have work obligations. Quite the contrary was true and the implications will be discussed in the next chapter dealing with those work responsibilities facing any child who grew up in a mid-nineteenth century rural community. Rather, the statement that children who listed occupations were not likely to be enrolled in school implies only that children who were enrolled and the parents of those children were more likely to regard their work as a less formalized segment of their life. Perhaps it represents a growing willingness to acknowledge the place of public education in the early life of children (although, as discussion has already noted, this commitment was applied somewhat sporadically throughout the changing seasons of the year).

The relation between childhood and enrollment is in some respects linked to the occupational category of the head of household. Just as some children or their parents were inclined to attach a formal significance to the child's own work (an attitude which often was accompanied by a rather low

priority on the value of public education), we might expect that heads of household in various occupational categories would place differing values on formal training. In other words, we might expect that children raised in the household of a professional man, a doctor, for example, might be much more likely to attend school than the children of an unskilled carpenter. Or we might hypothesize that merchants were much more aggressive in seeking formal schooling for their children than were farmers. As Table 2.9 indicates, however, the picture that emerges is somewhat puzzling and any interpretations must be extremely speculative. The Table shows that in 1861 heads of household in the agricultural and commercial groupings were somewhat more likely to enrol the children, family and non-family, in their households in school than were heads of household in the professional, skilled or unskilled categories. A decade later, however, it was the small category of professional heads of household who exceeded all others in enrolling their household children in school. This latter trend might well be simply an aberration or possibly it can be explained by the hypothesis that a man in a professional occupation would have been able to provide private tutoring for children within his own household until the introduction of compulsory schooling legislation made him look to the public schools to provide alternative education. Beyond that particular occupational category, it is extremely difficult to present any convincing

evidence that the occupation of the head of household had much direct bearing on the school enrollment of children under his care.

Two further characteristics of the head of household, those of his religious affiliation and his ethnic background, did not offer much insight in determining which children were more likely to enrol in school. In 1861, the heads of household who were born in North America were less likely to enrol the children in their household in school than were heads born in the British Isles. (Table 2.10) It is likely, however, that this was so because of another characteristic, family size. Heads of household who were born in Upper Canada had smaller families than heads claiming other origins and, as we shall discuss presently, there was a direct relationship between the number of offspring in a family and the likelihood of children in that household being enrolled in school. In the interim, suffice it to state that the most noticeable trend in 1871 was the fact that children in the households of Irish-born heads were no more likely to be enrolled than they had been a decade earlier. This meant that, whereas ten years previously they had been the group most likely to be enrolled, in 1871 they were the least likely. The second question of religious affiliation also provided virtually no meaningful grounds for contrasting those children who enrolled in school and those who did not. (Table 2.11) ¹⁷ Thus, we can conclude that it was neither the head of house-

hold's religion nor his origin that influenced his decisions about formal education for the children in his household.

There was another characteristic of the head of household that was far more important in determining whether or not a child was enrolled in school. In both 1861 and 1871, a positive correlation can be made between the marital status of the head of household and a child's enrollment in school. Children, whether offspring or not, living in the household of a married couple were about as likely to be enrolled in school as not; but the chances were much less if the head of household did not have a spouse. Obviously, the responsibilities thrust upon a child, whatever his status within the household, were substantially greater if the family was incomplete in this respect. With the additional obligations, the chance of sparing the child's labour in order that he might attend school were sharply diminished. (See Table 2.12)

Further discussion on the varying degrees of responsibility expected of a child will be left until Chapter Three. However, since this aspect of household structure does affect school enrollment, other areas of the household might also prove to

¹⁷ There was one exception in 1861 and 1871 to enrollment figures. Presbyterian heads of household were noticeably more ready to send the children in their household to school than were the heads of household with other religious affiliations. The peculiar characteristic of Presbyterians, however, was that from their relatively strong numbers in 1861, they all but disappeared within the decade. One can only assume that many of them affiliated with the Church of Scotland whose equally dramatic change in size was precisely the reverse;

be determining factors. What of family size?

The myth of large families in past time has often been tied in with assumptions about the schooling of children. It has frequently been argued that there existed an inverse relationship between the number of children in a family and the likelihood of being formally educated. On this assumption, school enrollment in Chinguacousy should have declined as the total number of children in each family increased. Yet Michael Katz discovered in his work on Hamilton¹⁸ that the percentage of children going to school increased with the number of children in the family, and the Chinguacousy data reveals that this was the practice in rural Ontario as well. (See Table 2.13) The fact that larger families tended to send more of their children to school than smaller families has several possible interpretations. One obvious explanation is that larger families might well have been completed families and therefore have had more children of school age in them, while smaller incomplete families would have fewer children of school age. Another explanation that is often given in studies on urban school attendance patterns is that school kept a child occupied and out of mischief. However, this

between 1861 and 1871 their numbers multiplied. In this case, there can be little grounds for assuming that the differing rates of school enrollment were founded in varying religious attitudes.

¹⁸ Michael Katz, 'Who Went to School', History of Education Quarterly (Fall 1973), 440.

possibility of some mothers using school to 'babysit' their children has somewhat greater credibility when applied to an urban setting where a child could not be put to chores if he was not attending school and where his contact with other restless peers was far greater than in a rural setting. A third explanation of the direct relation between school enrollment and family size is simply this: the more offspring there were in a family, the greater division in chores, thereby increasing the likelihood of a child's labour being limited in order for him to attend school.

The presence of non-family additions in the household is one final variable that has been included for consideration of why a child was or was not enrolled in school. (See Table 2.14) Was a child more likely to be enrolled because he shared the collective responsibilities with additional members of the household? Or did the presence of a non-family addition suggest that the household was already in need of as much assistance as it could obtain and, therefore, the likelihood of a child being sent to school was less? In examining Table 2.14, the figures for school enrollment do indicate that in 1861 children under eight years were somewhat more likely to be enrolled in school if they lived in a household with one or more non-family additions. This was the case, however, only for very young children since this discrepancy between households with and without additions was virtually eliminated for children between eight and sixteen, and the proportion of

children over sixteen enrolled in school was twice as high in households with one or more non-family additions as in households with no additions. In households with non-family additions, then, children who were not enrolled in school tended to be older than those non-enrolled children in households with no non-family additions. This statistic is in no way surprising since non-family children, on the whole, were older children and, as we shall discuss in Chapter Three, their primary reason for being in the households of Chinguacousy in 1861 was not for their own educational benefit but to provide readily available labour. During the decade, any discrepancies in school enrollment on the basis of non-family additions within a household had disappeared and Table 2.14 reveals a remarkable similarity in the enrollment figures for children in households both with and without non-family additions.

What then are the dominant features of schooling in mid-nineteenth century Peel County? Foremost is the growing acceptance of public responsibility for educating children between five and sixteen years of age. Clearly the decade between 1861 and 1871 gives rise to the regularization, more or less, of school enrollment of this age group although, of course, the trend is varied by each child's particular characteristics concerning age, sex, status within the household, size of family, and marital status of parent. However, these substantial gains in school enrollment throughout the decade must

be tempered by the very much lower rate of actual school attendance. There was a very clear distinction between school enrollment and school attendance, and truancy remained a central problem for educationists even in the face of rising school enrollment statistics or compulsory school legislation. What rising enrollment does indicate, then, is a growing token recognition of the social benefits of formal instruction.

Perhaps this heightening sense of responsibility is shown with equal clarity in the particular case of non-family children. In 1871, non-family children were less likely to be categorized as 'employees' at as early an age as they might have been a decade earlier; and between one census period and another, the probability of non-family children (those classified as 'relatives' and more particularly as 'boarders') being enrolled in school increased dramatically. These trends suggest that Peelites were becoming acutely more conscious of the public concern for educational opportunities to all school-age children. A second aspect of this particular pattern of increasing school enrollment was the growing recognition that school and work perhaps should be formally acknowledged as two very distinct sectors of a child's existence. Yet, as we shall see, a child's school enrollment and his work responsibilities were indeed very closely intertwined. This discussion must then consider, at greater length, a child's part in the productive enterprises of his household. It is to this role that Chapter Three directs its focus.

TABLE 2.1

School Enrollment Broken Down into Age GroupsChinguacousy Township, 1861-18711861

<u>Age of Children</u>	<u>Children Enrolled in School</u>	<u>Children Not Enrolled in School</u>
Under 8	33.3% (201)	66.7% (401)
8-16	71.4% (1085)	28.6% (435)
17-20	23.3% (150)	76.7% (493)
21-25	3.7% (19)	96.3% (501)
Total	44.3% (1455)	55.7% (1830)

1871

<u>Age of Children</u>	<u>Children Enrolled in School</u>	<u>Children Not Enrolled in School</u>
Under 8	58.4% (289)	41.6% (206)
8-16	80.5% (1123)	19.5% (272)
17-20	13.3% (70)	86.7% (455)
21-25	3.1% (14)	96.9% (443)
Total	52.1% (1496)	47.9% (1376)

TABLE 2.2

School Enrollment of Children,
Five Through Sixteen Years of Age
Chinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

1861

<u>Children</u> <u>Enrolled in</u> <u>School</u>	<u>Children</u> <u>Not Enrolled in</u> <u>School</u>
60.6%	39.4%
(1286)	(836)

1871

<u>Children</u> <u>Enrolled in</u> <u>School</u>	<u>Children</u> <u>Not Enrolled in</u> <u>School</u>
74.7%	25.3%
(1412)	(478)

TABLE 2.3

School Attendance of Pupils in Peel County

(Statistics taken from the Chief Superintendent of Education, Annual Report of the Normal, Model, Grammar (High) and Common (Public) Schools of Ontario, for the years 1869 and 1873.)

<u>Days Attended During the Year</u>	<u>1869</u>	<u>1873</u>
Less than 20 days	11.2% (791)	12.5% (830)
20 - 50 days	20.5% (1444)	25.2% (1673)
50 - 100 days	28.7% (2023)	28.0% (1864)
100 - 150 days	18.9% (1334)	19.0% (1264)
150 - 200 days	13.9% (982)	13.6% (905)
200 days or more	6.8% (473)	1.7% (114)
Total Pupils Reported	100.% (7047)	100.% (6650)
Not Reported	(129)	(123)
Total Number of Pupils	(7176)	(6773)

TABLE 2.4

School Enrollment, According to Age of Child
Chinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

1861

<u>Age of Child</u>	<u>Enrolled in School</u>	<u>Not Enrolled</u>
5	11.8% (25)	88.2% (186)
6	40.2% (76)	59.8% (113)
7	49.5% (100)	50.5% (102)
8	73.8% (130)	26.2% (46)
9	78.6% (143)	21.4% (39)
10	82.8% (145)	17.2% (30)
11	81.4% (135)	18.6% (31)
12	78.7% (133)	21.3% (36)
13	74.2% (124)	25.8% (43)
14	69.6% (119)	30.4% (52)
15	59.4% (98)	40.6% (67)
16	38.9% (58)	61.1% (91)
17	32.0% (56)	68.0% (119)
18	29.2% (45)	70.8% (109)
19	20.6% (32)	79.4% (123)
20	10.7% (17)	89.3% (142)
21	6.1% (8)	93.9% (123)
22	2.3% (3)	97.7% (126)
23	5.5% (5)	94.5% (86)
24	2.2% (2)	97.8% (87)
25	1.3% (1)	98.7% (79)
<u>Total Children</u>	<u>100.% (1455)</u>	<u>100.% (1830)</u>
<u>Total Average</u>	<u>44.3% (1455)</u>	<u>55.7% (1830)</u>

continued...

Table 2.4 continued1871

<u>Age of Child</u>	<u>Enrolled in School</u>	<u>Not Enrolled</u>
5	13.6% (21)	86.4% (134)
6	77.1% (131)	22.9% (39)
7	80.6% (137)	19.4% (33)
8	89.0% (145)	11.0% (18)
9	89.1% (139)	10.9% (17)
10	88.3% (159)	11.7% (21)
11	90.7% (136)	9.3% (14)
12	90.4% (142)	9.6% (15)
13	83.4% (116)	16.6% (23)
14	73.3% (118)	26.7% (43)
15	64.0% (87)	36.0% (49)
16	52.9% (81)	47.1% (72)
17	24.6% (30)	75.4% (92)
18	12.1% (19)	87.9% (137)
19	12.7% (16)	87.3% (110)
20	4.2% (5)	95.8% (116)
21	3.4% (4)	96.6% (111)
22	2.7% (3)	97.3% (107)
23	3.5% (3)	96.5% (82)
24	3.6% (3)	96.4% (80)
25	1.6% (1)	98.4% (63)
<u>Total Children</u>	<u>100.% (1496)</u>	<u>100.% (1376)</u>
<u>Total Average</u>	<u>52.1% (1496)</u>	<u>47.9% (1376)</u>

TABLE 2.5

School Enrollment, by Age and Sex of the ChildChinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

<u>Age of Child</u>	<u>Males Enrolled</u>	<u>Not Enrolled</u>	<u>Males Total</u>	<u>Females Enrolled</u>	<u>Not Enrolled</u>	<u>Female Total</u>
<u>1861</u>						
Under 8	34.3% (110)	65.7% (211)	100.% (321)	32.4% (91)	67.3% (189)	100.% (280)
8-16	75.2% (609)	24.7% (200)	100.% (809)	67.0% (476)	33.0% (234)	100.% (710)
17-20	30.6% (99)	69.4% (225)	100.% (324)	16.0% (51)	84.0% (267)	100.% (318)
21-25	5.1% (17)	94.9% (317)	100.% (334)	1.1% (2)	98.9% (184)	100.% (186)
Total	46.7% (835)	53.3% (953)	100.% (1788)	41.5% (620)	58.5% (874)	100.% (1494)
<u>1871</u>						
Under 8	58.6% (157)	41.4% (111)	100.% (268)	58.1% (132)	41.9% (95)	100.% (227)
8-16	82.7% (587)	17.2% (122)	100.% (709)	77.9% (533)	21.1% (150)	100.% (683)
17-20	17.3% (44)	82.7% (211)	100.% (255)	9.6% (26)	90.4% (244)	100.% (270)
21-25	3.7% (10)	96.3% (258)	100.% (268)	2.1% (4)	97.9% (185)	100.% (189)
Total	53.2% (798)	46.7% (702)	100.% (1500)	50.7% (695)	49.2% (674)	100.% (1369)

TABLE 2.6

School Enrollment,
by Child's Age, Sex, and Status in Household
Chinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

1861

<u>Age of Child</u>	<u>Male Member of Family</u>			<u>Male Non-member of Family</u>		
	<u>Enrolled</u>	<u>Not Enrolled</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Enrolled</u>	<u>Not Enrolled</u>	<u>Total</u>
Under 8	34.4% (107)	65.6% (204)	100.% (311)	27.3% (3)	72.7% (8)	100.% (11)
8-16	79.0% (580)	21.0% (154)	100.% (734)	38.7% (29)	61.3% (46)	100.% (75)
17-20	38.9% (95)	61.1% (149)	100.% (244)	5.0% (4)	95.0% (76)	100.% (80)
21-25	7.7% (16)	92.3% (191)	100.% (207)	0.8% (1)	99.2% (126)	100.% (127)
Total	53.3% (798)	46.7% (698)	100.% (1496)	12.6% (37)	87.4% (256)	100.% (293)

<u>Age of Child</u>	<u>Female Member of Family</u>			<u>Female Non-member of Family</u>		
	<u>Enrolled</u>	<u>Not Enrolled</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Enrolled</u>	<u>Not Enrolled</u>	<u>Total</u>
Under 8	33.1% (86)	66.9% (174)	100.% (260)	25.0% (5)	75.0% (15)	100.% (20)
8-16	70.9% (453)	29.1% (186)	100.% (639)	31.9% (23)	68.1% (49)	100.% (72)
17-20	19.3% (46)	80.7% (192)	100.% (238)	6.2% (5)	93.8% (76)	100.% (81)
21-25	1.7% (2)	98.3% (119)	100.% (121)	-	100.% (65)	100.% (65)
Total	46.7% (587)	53.3% (671)	100.% (1258)	13.9% (33)	86.1% (205)	100.% (238)

continued...

Table 2.6 continued

1871

<u>Age of Child</u>	<u>Male Member of Family</u>			<u>Male Non-member of Family</u>		
	<u>Enrolled</u>	<u>Not Enrolled</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Enrolled</u>	<u>Not Enrolled</u>	<u>Total</u>
Under 8	57.5% (149)	42.5% (110)	100.% (259)	88.9% (8)	11.1% (1)	100.% (9)
8-16	84.1% (562)	15.9% (106)	100.% (668)	61.9% (26)	38.1% (16)	100.% (42)
17-20	18.6% (42)	81.4% (184)	100.% (226)	6.9% (2)	93.1% (27)	100.% (29)
21-25	4.6% (10)	95.4% (206)	100.% (216)	-	100.% (52)	100.% (52)
Total	55.7% (763)	44.3% (606)	100.% (1369)	27.3% (36)	72.7% (96)	100.% (132)

<u>Age of Child</u>	<u>Female Member of Family</u>			<u>Female Non-member of Family</u>		
	<u>Enrolled</u>	<u>Not Enrolled</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Enrolled</u>	<u>Not Enrolled</u>	<u>Total</u>
Under 8	57.5% (122)	42.5% (90)	100.% (212)	66.7% (10)	33.3% (5)	100.% (15)
8-16	79.7% (510)	20.3% (130)	100.% (640)	55.6% (25)	44.4% (20)	100.% (45)
17-20	10.7% (26)	89.3% (217)	100.% (243)	-	100.% (27)	100.% (27)
21-25	2.4% (4)	97.6% (161)	100.% (165)	-	100.% (24)	100.% (24)
Total	52.5% (662)	47.5% (598)	100.% (1260)	31.5% (35)	68.5% (76)	100.% (111)

TABLE 2.7

School Enrollment of Non-family Children,
on the Basis of Status in the Household
Chinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

Proportion of Non-family Children Enrolled in School

1861

<u>Status of Child</u>	<u>Under 8 Years</u>	<u>Years</u>	<u>Years</u>	<u>Years</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Employee:</u>					
Male	50.0% (1/2)	20.0% (5/25)	1.8% (1/55)	1.0% (1/91)	4.6% (8/173)
Female	0.0% (0/1)	0.0% (0/14)	2.3% (1/43)	0.0% (0/43)	1.2% (1/81)
Total	33.3% (1/3)	12.8% (5/39)	2.0% (2/98)	2.9% (1/134)	3.5% (9/254)
<u>Relative:</u>					
Male	33.3% (2/6)	40.0% (8/20)	14.2% (2/14)	0.0% (0/18)	20.6% (12/58)
Female	33.3% (2/6)	50.0% (9/18)	8.3% (1/12)	0.0% (0/17)	22.6% (12/53)
Total	33.3% (4/12)	44.7% (17/38)	11.5% (3/26)	0.0% (0/35)	21.6% (24/111)
<u>Boarder:</u>					
Male	0.0% (0/2)	53.3% (16/30)	10.0% (1/10)	0.0% (0/17)	28.8% (17/59)
Female	21.4% (3/14)	35.0% (14/40)	11.5% (3/26)	0.0% (0/25)	19.0% (20/105)
Total	18.7% (3/16)	42.8% (30/70)	11.1% (4/36)	0.0% (0/42)	22.5% (37/164)

continued...

Table 2.7 continuedProportion of Non-family Children Enrolled in School1871

<u>Status of Child</u>	<u>Under 8 Years</u>	<u>Years</u>	<u>Years</u>	<u>Years</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Employee:</u>					
Male	-	0.0% (0/9)	3.7% (1/27)	0.0% (0/46)	1.2% (1/82)
Female	-	14.2% (1/7)	0.0% (0/8)	0.0% (0/8)	4.3% (1/23)
Total	-	6.2% (1/16)	2.8% (1/35)	0.0% (0/54)	1.9% (2/105)
<u>Relative:</u>					
Male	-	0.0% (0/2)	-	0.0% (0/4)	0.0% (0/6)
Female	100.% (1/1)	-	-	0.0% (0/4)	20.0% (1/5)
Total	100.% (1/1)	0.0% (0/2)	-	0.0% (0/8)	9.0% (1/11)
<u>Boarder:</u>					
Male	88.8% (8/9)	83.8% (26/31)	50.0% (1/2)	0.0% (0/2)	79.5% (35/44)
Female	64.2% (9/14)	63.1% (24/38)	0.0% (0/19)	0.0% (0/12)	39.7% (33/83)
Total	73.9% (17/23)	72.4% (50/69)	4.7% (1/21)	0.0% (0/14)	53.5% (68/127)

TABLE 2.8

School Enrollment of Those Children
Who List an Occupation on the Census
Chinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

<u>Age of Children</u>	<u>Males Enrolled In School</u>	<u>Males Not Enrolled</u>	<u>Females Enrolled In School</u>	<u>Females Not Enrolled</u>
<u>1861</u>				
Under 8	66.6% (2)	33.3% (1)	-	100.% (4)
8-16	29.4% (25)	70.5% (60)	13.6% (3)	86.3% (19)
17-20	12.4% (19)	87.5% (134)	-	100.% (50)
21-25	3.4% (9)	96.5% (249)	-	100.% (25)
Total	11.0% (55)	88.9% (444)	2.9% (3)	97.0% (98)
<u>1871</u>				
Under 8	-	-	-	-
8-16	20.9% (13)	79.0% (49)	36.3% (4)	63.6% (7)
17-20	5.5% (12)	94.4% (206)	-	100.% (12)
21-25	1.9% (5)	98.0% (250)	9.0% (1)	90.9% (10)
Total	5.6% (30)	94.3% (505)	14.7% (5)	85.2% (29)

TABLE 2.9
School Enrollment, According
to Occupational Grouping of Head of Household
Chinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

<u>Occupational Grouping of Head of Household</u>	<u>1861</u>		<u>1871</u>	
	<u>Children Enrolled In School</u>	<u>Children Not Enrolled</u>	<u>Children Enrolled In School</u>	<u>Children Not Enrolled</u>
Agricultural	47.0% (1062)	53.0% (1196)	57.2% (1027)	42.8% (943)
Commercial	41.2% (40)	58.8% (57)	56.1% (55)	43.9% (43)
Professional	35.7% (10)	64.3% (18)	70.0% (21)	30.0% (9)
Skilled	32.7% (70)	67.3% (144)	57.9% (125)	42.1% (91)
Unskilled	37.7% (156)	62.3% (258)	53.8% (211)	46.2% (181)
Total	44.4% (1338)	55.6% (1673)	53.8% (1439)	46.2% (1267)

TABLE 2.10

School Enrollment of Children,
According to the Origin of Head of Household
Chinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

<u>Origin of Head of Household</u>	<u>1861</u>		<u>1871</u>	
	<u>Children Enrolled In School</u>	<u>Children Not Enrolled</u>	<u>Children Enrolled In School</u>	<u>Children Not Enrolled</u>
England	44.2% (355)	55.8% (448)	51.7% (350)	48.3% (327)
Ireland	47.3% (623)	52.7% (693)	46.4% (466)	53.6% (539)
Scotland	46.7% (230)	53.3% (263)	56.0% (212)	44.0% (166)
United States	37.2% (42)	62.8% (71)	51.8% (29)	48.2% (27)
Upper Canada	37.0% (193)	63.0% (330)	58.1% (426)	41.9% (308)
Other	32.4% (12)	67.6% (25)	59.1% (13)	40.9% (9)

TABLE 2.11School Enrollment of Children,According to the Religion of Head of HouseholdChinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

<u>Religion of Head of Household</u>	<u>1861</u>		<u>1871</u>	
	<u>Children Enrolled In School</u>	<u>Children Not Enrolled</u>	<u>Children Enrolled In School</u>	<u>Children Not Enrolled</u>
Church of England	43.3% (301)	56.7% (393)	55.4% (266)	44.6% (214)
Roman Catholic	39.4% (45)	60.6% (69)	52.8% (47)	47.2% (42)
Methodist	45.7% (544)	54.3% (646)	52.0% (630)	48.0% (582)
Presbyterian	46.6% (340)	53.4% (388)	68.8% (11)	31.2% (5)
Baptist	42.3% (82)	57.7% (112)	50.6% (94)	49.4% (92)
Church of Scotland	37.2% (101)	62.8% (171)	50.1% (411)	49.9% (409)
Other	45.2% (42)	54.8% (51)	53.6% (37)	46.4% (32)

TABLE 2.12

School Enrollment, According to the
Marital Status of the Head of Household
Chinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

<u>Marital Status</u> <u>of Head of</u> <u>Household</u>	<u>1861</u>		<u>1871</u>	
	<u>Children</u> <u>Enrolled</u> <u>In School</u>	<u>Children</u> <u>Not</u> <u>Enrolled</u>	<u>Children</u> <u>Enrolled</u> <u>In School</u>	<u>Children</u> <u>Not</u> <u>Enrolled</u>
Single	13.5% (10)	86.5% (64)	16.7% (5)	83.3% (25)
Married	46.1% (1308)	53.9% (1531)	54.0% (1378)	46.0% (1172)
Widowed	37.2% (115)	62.8% (194)	39.2% (113)	60.8% (175)
Total	44.5% (1433)	55.5% (1789)	52.2% (1496)	47.8% (1372)

TABLE 2.13

The Relationship Between School Enrollment
and the Number of Offspring in a Household
Chinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

1861

<u>Age of</u> <u>Child</u>	<u>Number of Offspring in Household</u>				
	<u>1-3</u>	<u>4-6</u>	<u>7-9</u>	<u>10+</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Under 8 Years</u>					
Enrolled in School	29.8% (40)	34.2% (102)	32.5% (42)	50.0% (15)	33.6% (199)
Not Enrolled	70.1% (94)	65.7% (196)	67.4% (87)	50.0% (15)	66.3% (392)
<u>8-16 Years</u>					
Enrolled In School	54.5% (138)	72.8% (472)	81.5% (358)	76.2% (90)	72.5% (1058)
Not Enrolled	45.4% (115)	27.1% (176)	18.4% (81)	23.7% (28)	27.4% (400)
<u>17-20 Years</u>					
Enrolled In School	15.2% (23)	25.6% (64)	28.6% (41)	34.5% (19)	24.5% (147)
Not Enrolled	84.7% (128)	74.4% (186)	71.3% (102)	65.4% (36)	75.4% (452)
<u>21-25 Years</u>					
Enrolled In School	3.8% (7)	1.1% (2)	10.7% (9)	2.7% (1)	3.9% (19)
Not Enrolled	96.1% (176)	98.8% (171)	89.2% (75)	97.2% (35)	96.0% (457)
<u>Total</u> <u>Children</u>					
Enrolled In School	28.8% (208)	46.7% (640)	56.6% (450)	52.3% (125)	45.5% (1423)
Not Enrolled	71.1% (513)	53.2% (729)	43.3% (345)	47.6% (114)	54.4% (1701)

continued...

Table 2.13 continued1871

<u>Age of Child</u>	<u>Number of Offspring in Household</u>				
	<u>1-3</u>	<u>4-6</u>	<u>7-9</u>	<u>10+</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Under 8 Years</u>					
Enrolled In School	55.8% (57)	62.0% (147)	50.4% (55)	58.3% (21)	57.8% (280)
Not Enrolled	44.1% (45)	37.9% (90)	49.5% (54)	41.6% (15)	42.1% (204)
<u>8-16 Years</u>					
Enrolled In School	75.3% (156)	82.8% (538)	81.5% (327)	76.4% (81)	80.8% (1102)
Not Enrolled	24.6% (51)	17.1% (111)	18.4% (74)	23.5% (25)	19.1% (261)
<u>17-20 Years</u>					
Enrolled In School	10.0% (11)	18.2% (37)	10.8% (16)	6.2% (3)	13.1% (67)
Not Enrolled	89.9% (98)	81.7% (166)	89.1% (132)	93.7% (45)	86.8% (441)
<u>21-25 Years</u>					
Enrolled In School	1.4% (2)	4.1% (7)	3.2% (3)	5.7% (2)	3.2% (14)
Not Enrolled	98.5% (132)	95.8% (161)	96.7% (88)	94.2% (33)	96.7% (414)
<u>Total Children</u>					
Enrolled In School	40.9% (226)	57.9% (729)	53.5% (401)	47.5% (107)	52.5% (1463)
Not Enrolled	59.0% (326)	42.0% (528)	46.4% (348)	52.4% (118)	47.4% (1320)

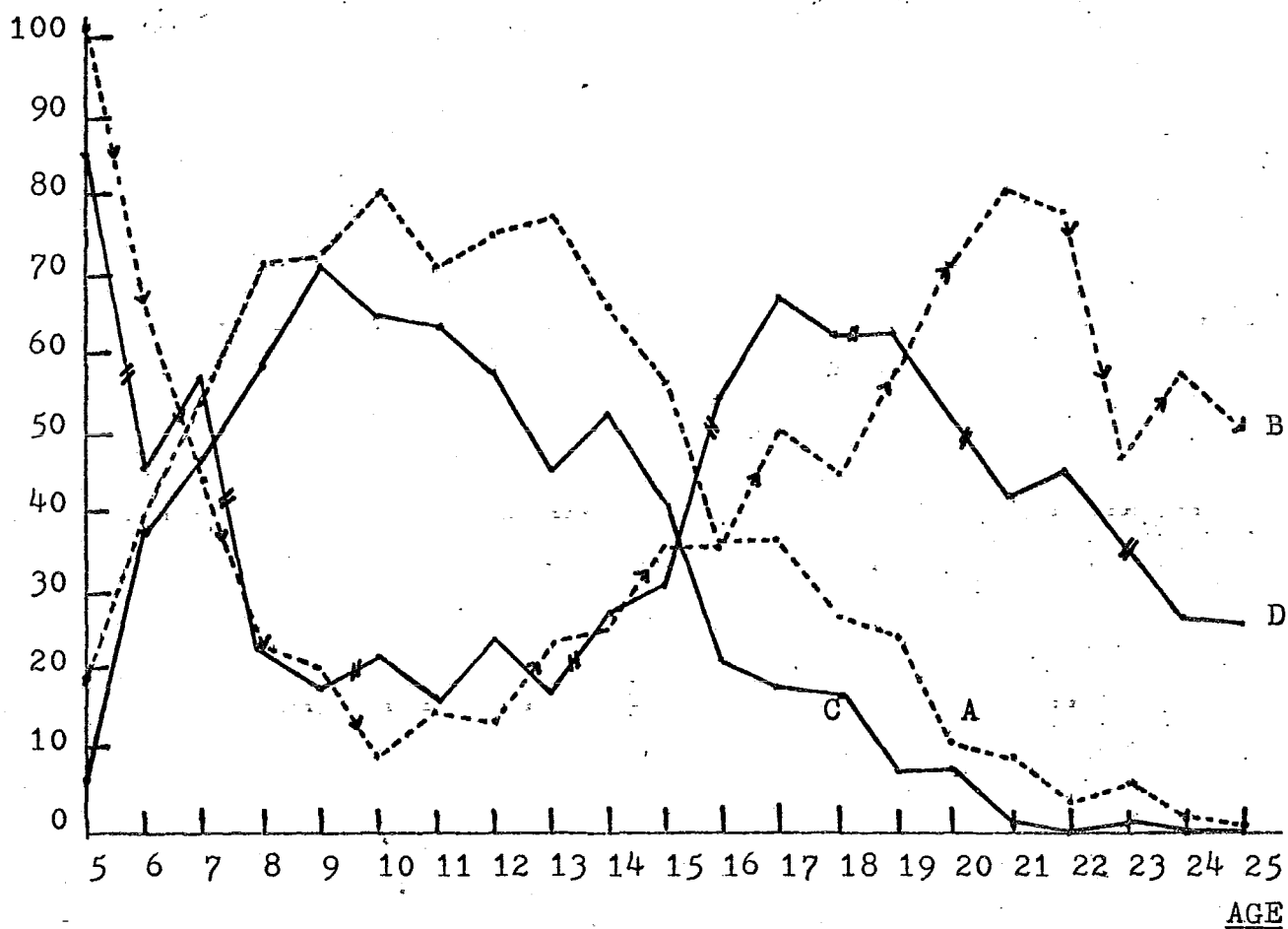
TABLE 2.14
School Enrollment, According to the Presence
of Non-family Additions in the Household
Chinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

<u>Age of Children</u>	<u>Households with No Non-family Additions</u>		<u>Households with 1 or More Non-family Additions</u>	
	<u>Children Enrolled In School</u>	<u>Children Not Enrolled</u>	<u>Children Enrolled In School</u>	<u>Children Not Enrolled</u>
<u>1861</u>				
Under 8	99 (11.6%) (29.6%)	235 (27.2%) (70.3%)	102 (17.0%) (38.0%)	166 (17.2%) (61.9%)
8-16	649 (76.0%) (73.5%)	233 (27.0%) (26.4%)	436 (72.5%) (68.3%)	202 (20.9%) (31.6%)
17-20	95 (11.1%) (31.1%)	210 (24.3%) (68.8%)	55 (9.2%) (16.2%)	283 (29.3%) (83.7%)
21-25	11 (1.3%) (5.6%)	185 (21.5%) (94.3%)	8 (1.3%) (2.4%)	316 (32.7%) (97.5%)
Total	854 (100.%) (49.7%)	863 (100.%) (50.3%)	601 (100.%) (38.3%)	967 (100.%) (61.7%)

1871

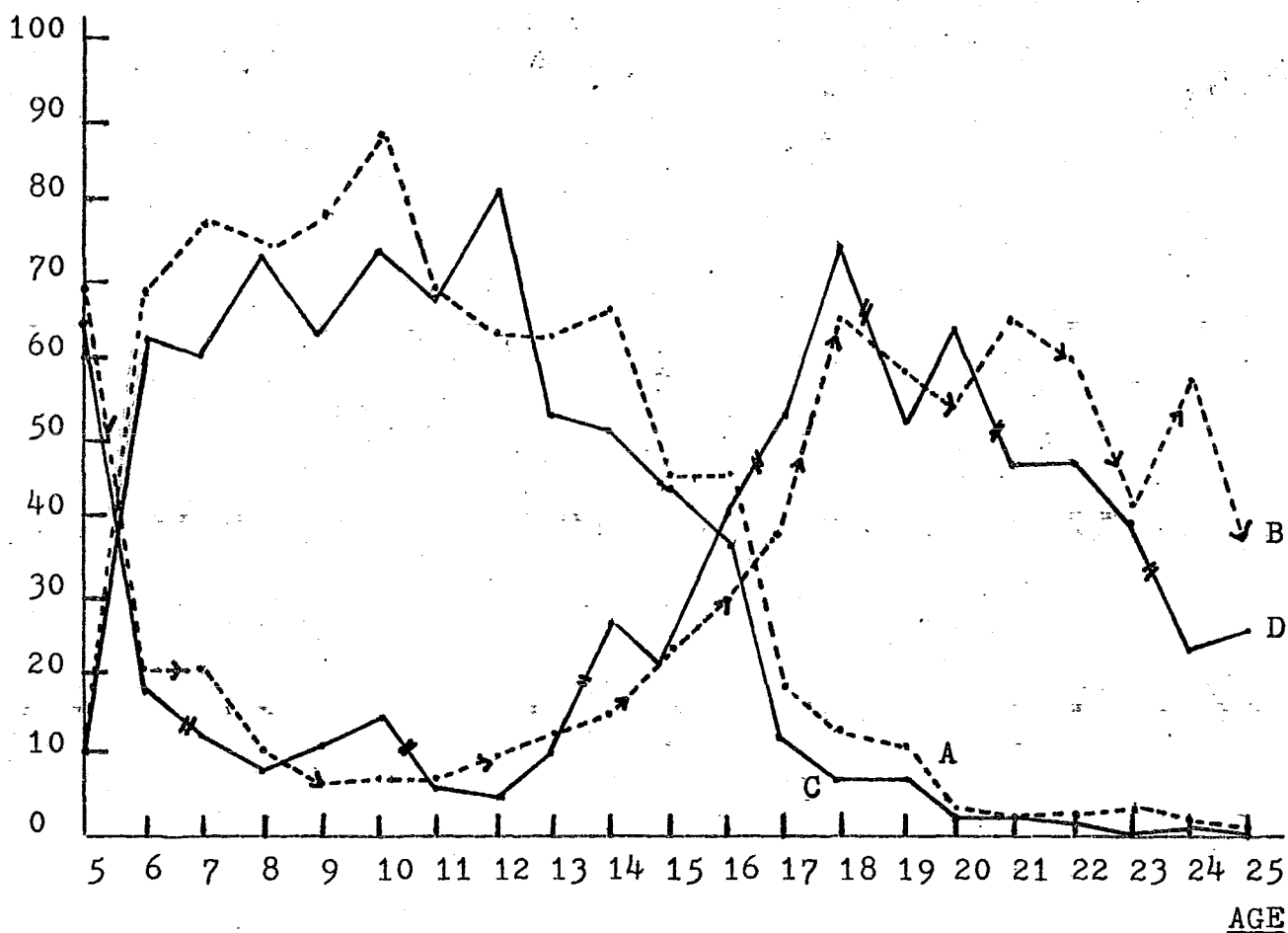
Under 8	193 (19.1%) (57.1%)	145 (16.4%) (42.8%)	96 (19.8%) (61.1%)	61 (12.4%) (38.8%)
8-16	761 (75.3%) (80.6%)	183 (20.7%) (19.3%)	362 (74.5%) (80.2%)	89 (18.1%) (19.7%)
17-20	44 (4.4%) (12.8%)	298 (33.7%) (87.1%)	26 (5.4%) (14.2%)	157 (31.9%) (85.7%)
21-25	12 (1.2%) (4.4%)	258 (29.2%) (95.5%)	2 (0.4%) (1.0%)	185 (37.6%) (98.9%)
Total	1010 (100.%) (53.3%)	884 (100.%) (46.7%)	486 (100.%) (49.7%)	492 (100.%) (50.3%)

GRAPH I

School Enrollment, By Age and Sex of ChildChinguacousy Township, 1861FREQUENCY

- A (-----) Males Enrolled in School
 B (→----→) Males Not Enrolled in School
 C (——) Females Enrolled in School
 D (—#—#—) Females Not Enrolled in School

GRAPH II

School Enrollment, By Age and Sex of ChildChinguacousy Township, 1871FREQUENCY

- A (-----) Males Enrolled in School
 B (→---→) Males Not Enrolled in School
 C (_____) Females Enrolled in School
 D (#---#) Females Not Enrolled in School

CHAPTER III

CHILDREN AND WORK RESPONSIBILITIES

In his work on the Province's social welfare history, R.B. Splane argues that, despite hardships of one sort or another, the life of a child in nineteenth century Ontario had compensations. By this he means that, from an early age, a child was able to join in the work of the homestead, whether it was that of his own family or a surrogate family, and thereby earn the status of a productive member of the farm economy.¹ The evidence gathered in this analysis of a child's work responsibilities, both from contemporary literary sources and from quantitative census data, lends added weight to this hypothesis. Not only were children of all ages able to lend their labour to tasks around the household, they were expected to direct their everyday activities as well as their distant goals and aspirations to the immediate and long-term well-being of the family. In such a society, all physically able members of the household, children and adults alike, were expected to function as an efficient,

¹ R.B. Splane, Social Welfare in Ontario, 1791-1893 (Toronto, 1965), 214.

harmonious collectivity, not as separate individuals working for their own interests.

Mid-nineteenth century literary accounts tend to reinforce this assumption. Concerned as they were with school legislation and the related issues of educational theory, truancy problems, and the right of the state to assume responsibility for universal public education, contemporary observers devoted considerable attention to the child's role in the economic life of the family and community relative to the social necessity of formal schooling. What emerges from this frequently heated debate is the assumption that the dependent child's first obligation in life was his economic obligation as a member of a co-operative labour force, his family.² Again and again, rural life is defended as a 'family affair' premised on a division of labour among the various members of a household, reflecting the prevailing notion that every capable person, child or adult, was an integral part of the farm economy. This pre-eminence of the family's economic objectives naturally had important ramifications for a child's freedom to pursue his own social, educational and often vocational interests; of course, the nature of each child's obligations was different.

² To cite just two examples: Thomas Conant, Upper Canada Sketches (Toronto, 1898). G.P. de T. Glazebrook, Life in Ontario: A Social History (Toronto, 1971).

It is this relationship between a child's work responsibilities and his household environment that is the central focus of discussion in this chapter. If all children were expected to 'work' in some capacity, what was the significance of some heads of household listing an occupation for the children under their roof while others did not? Did a child who was a member of the family expect to face different work responsibilities than a non-family child living with a surrogate family? How did a child's duties vary with his age? What range of occupational training/experience did children in mid-nineteenth century rural Ontario undergo? What vocations were pursued by the boys of Chinguacousy? By the girls? Where and for whom did a child work?

In the 1861 census, 18.3% of the children between the ages of five and twenty-five were listed as having an 'occupation'. Throughout the decade, the proportion remained constant. (19.8% listed occupations in 1871) (See Table 3.1) Whether a child listed an 'occupation' on the census in no way reflected, apparently, whether he contributed to the productive efforts of the household. That is to say, we must assume that he did not have to list an occupation to be considered gainfully employed. Nevertheless, since approximately one-fifth of all children did list an occupation, this variable was examined and contrasted with those children who did not have a formal occupational listing in order to gain

a further understanding of the dimensions of children's work responsibilities in a nineteenth century agrarian community.

The literary evidence suggests that children assumed increasing responsibility as they matured. Contemporary observers wrote that young children were expected to assist with spinning, ploughing and planting root crops.³ Young lads, mid-way through their teen years, "inured themselves of the hardest manual labour in support of their parents, and infant brothers and sisters",⁴ while daughters "would perform cheerfully what would be the duties of a female servant in England".⁵ In other words, there seems to have been a progression in the intensity of work performed as the age of children rose, a progression which ought to appear in the census data in the form of a direct correlation between the age of children and the proportion of children who listed an occupation. As Table 3.1 indicates, there is indeed a dramatic increase, related to age, in the proportion of children listing an occupation.

³ H.J. Philpot, Guide Book to the Canadian Dominion Containing Full Information for the Emigrant, the Tourist, the Sportsman, and the Small Capitalist (London, 1871), 119.

⁴ P. Shirreff, A Tour Through North America Together with a Comprehensive View of the Canadas and United States as Adapted for Agricultural Emigration (Edinburgh, 1835), 168.

⁵ A. Domett, Canadian Journal, edited by E.A. Horsman, L.R. Benson (Reprinted London, 1955), 61.

In 1861 the mean percentage of children age thirteen through sixteen listing occupations was six times greater than the percentage of the five to twelve year olds who were employed, although they represented only a small (12%) percentage of all the children in the age group. More to the point, nearly a third of the seventeen to twenty year olds had occupations, while approximately 55% of the twenty-one to twenty-five year olds were employed. Clearly the years from five to sixteen were not an age of formalized work by any stretch of the imagination. The late teens appear to be a transitional age; and formal vocations were the rule by the early twenties.

Eighteen seventy-one presents an interesting comparison. Occupational titles among the very young had virtually disappeared, reflecting perhaps, the increasing emphasis on school. On the other hand, the dramatic increase in the seventeen to twenty year olds with vocations suggests that if age five through sixteen was now the age of schooling, (in terms of enrollment in school), age seventeen was now the age when work began in greater earnest than before. Again, what we seem to be encountering in this decade is a new periodization of childhood as school enrollment and work become increasingly associated, in 1871, with two quite distinct periods of childhood, whereas the distinction had been rather more blurred in 1861.

Another area raised in the previous chapter's discussion on formal training was the discrepancy between males and females in terms of equipping themselves for an occupation. Here, in Table 3.2, this trend re-appears. For every girl who identified herself in terms of a specific occupation in 1861, there were four times as many boys. A decade later, this distinction had been intensified as the proportion of girls listing occupations was 2.5%, the proportion of boys 35.6%

If sex in part determined the extent to which the labour of children would be formally acknowledged, by virtue of stated vocations, as their primary obligation, Table 3.3 illustrates the equally significant degree to which the child's status as offspring or non-family child increased the probability of having an occupation. For example, in 1861, approximately 70.0% of all non-family male children and 34.5% of all non-family female children listed an occupation compared to a much lower rate for offspring, 19.6% for family male children and 1.5% for family female children. In 1871, this discrepancy was still very apparent, even if not as pronounced as a decade earlier. For males, the figures were 65.9% for non-family children, 32.7% for sons; for females, 20.7% for non-family girls, 0.9% for daughters of the household. This markedly greater proportion of non-family children listing occupations closely corresponds to the link between a child having an occupation and the age of that child.

Earlier analysis revealed that older children were more likely to list an occupation than younger children and secondly, that non-family children were more likely to be older children. From such conclusions we could expect that more non-family children than family children would have an occupation and evidence certainly supports such an assumption.

Despite the fact that occupational labels were frequently attached to the labours of non-family children in an attempt to differentiate that work undertaken by a non-family child from those duties of offspring within the household, primary sources, nevertheless, imply that there was little real distinction in the actual work performed by family children and non-family children. One mother referring to her two eldest daughters, living away in neighbouring households, wrote: "They are treated as one of the family and have no more to do if so much as they would have to do as if they were at home".⁶ One might therefore assume that this lack of recognition for the occupational identity of an offspring had very little connection with the particular responsibilities of family and non-family children living in the household.

The difficulty is that in 1861 approximately thirty percent of the boys and, more noticeably, about sixty-five

⁶ Louis Tivy, ed., Your Loving Anna (Toronto, 1972), 81-2.

percent of the girls who lived in adopted households did not subscribe to explicit definitions of their function as workers. The equivalent figures for 1871 were roughly thirty-five percent and eighty percent respectively. Invariably, those who did not list occupations fell into the age group, five through sixteen years. See Table 3.4. One explanation is that the surrogate parent might be likely to recognize the semi-independent character of an older non-family addition (while not acknowledging the same distinction for his own offspring) but nevertheless regarded the younger additions as very much of the household. In such circumstances, their labour contribution was taken for granted by their presence within the household and there was not a great deal in terms of everyday work chores to distinguish them from young members of the family. Another possible explanation is that many of these young additions were likely neighbouring children whose presence was temporary and hence, accepted on a very casual basis. Writing fifty years later about his own childhood in rural Canada, Canniff Haight lends credence to this theory: "It was quite common then for farmers' daughters to go out to work when their services could be dispensed with at home. They were treated as equals and took as much interest in the affairs of the family as the mistress herself." ⁷

⁷ C. Haight, Country Life in Canada Fifty Years Ago (Reprinted Belleville, 1971), 47.

Any attempt to distinguish the labour contribution of family members from that of non-family children is further complicated by examining the occupations of those children who had been listed on the census. Table 3.5 displays a staggering concentration of children into a very few significant categories. The only occupations represented, either in 1861 or 1871, in any sizeable force are those of farmer, labourer, and servant. These three occupational classifications, in addition to those children listing no occupation, represented virtually all but two or three percent of the total number of children under study. As Kett suggests in his work on youth in nineteenth century America, occupations simply may not have had the rigid quality at mid-century that they later acquired and so it was probable that many children had more than one occupation.⁸ This might well suggest that children included a wider range of activities under these several elastic headings than might be expected.

It has already been noted in Table 3.2 that an overwhelming majority of those young persons listing an occupation were males. In examining Table 3.6 which illustrates children's occupations, divided by sex and status in household, it is not surprising to find that all but a very few girls listed their occupation as servant, laborer, or housekeeper. This

⁸ J. Kett, 'Adolescence and Youth in Nineteenth-Century America', The Family in History, eds. T.K. Rabb and R.I. Rotberg (New York, 1973), 109.

reinforces strongly the suggestion raised in Chapter Two that, mid-way through their teens, many girls retreated into their own household; few were trained or expected to pursue a vocation outside the domestic chores of the family and household. Throughout the decade, the trend changed little and the most noticeable variation in occupation between daughters and non-family girls was the large preponderance of this latter group in the servant category. Little training was involved on their behalf and there was little expectation of these girls remaining in any household except on a highly temporary basis.

Anne Langton recorded that "girls never expect to remain long in service, and seldom do so long enough to gain much experience. They are too uncertain to be worth much teaching, at least it seems quite customary to leave them untaught." ⁹ In illustration of this point, she wrote about the departure of one girl who "had been with us between nine and ten months, something longer than any other we have had." ¹⁰ At one point, she was able to secure the help of a young girl who had already lived with "two or three different families in this neighbourhood", and had the character of

⁹ H.H. Langton, ed., A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada: The Journals of Anne Langton (Toronto, 1964), 189.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 116.

being an "excellent servant". At another period, Mrs. Langton uttered the common complaint that the available help did not hold much promise: "she [the new young female servant] is large and clumsy, very plain, and I am afraid, rather stupid, but as far as I can see, willing, so we must hope to make something of her".¹¹

Among the boys of Chinguacousy, there was a significantly larger range of categories than was the case for girls, perhaps two dozen or so occupations; but as Table 3.6 indicates, the boys were also concentrated into a fairly narrow range of occupational categories, most noticeably farmers and laborers, followed by blacksmiths, butchers, carpenters, clerks, millers, and teachers for male offspring; and apprentices, blacksmiths, servants, and teachers for male non-family children. In 1861, a noticeably higher proportion of male family members fell within the categories of farmer and laborer than that proportion of non-family boys who classified themselves as farmers, laborers, and servants. Although the trend is not apparent because of the occupational groupings, non-family member males were found in a wider variety of occupations; but this should only have been expected since they were, by definition, seeking opportunities outside the family homestead. A decade later, it appeared that sons were somewhat less concentrated in the category of

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 171-2, 197.

agriculture. At the same time, it is difficult to discuss occupational trends in non-family male children since their numbers had decreased even further, leaving a relatively higher proportion of boys in the occupations of farmer, servant, and once again, to a large extent, laborer. In terms of the narrow concentration of occupational categories that encompassed most of these children, male and female, offspring and non-family member, the children of this rural community reflected their elders. In such a society, most heads of household and children alike were lumped into a few largely undifferentiated occupational classifications.

Often, of course, occupation was not something a child had a great deal of freedom in choosing. As Table 3.5 indicates, most of the opportunities available to young people in the Township were manual occupations, employing skills that were learned by formal apprenticeship, or simply by having grown up in the midst of these activities. Chapter Two dealt with the difficulties many children had in gaining any sort of formal training because too often, the exigencies of farm life dominated. One young lad, writing in his diary, reflected on how completely his future goals and plans had been cast aside by intrusive family responsibilities.

At Brampton High School when 15 years old [1866]
I had no intention of ever being a farmer but had
the ambition of being a banker as I had a mathe-
matical turn of mind. But my father took ill and
one day called me home and as I was the only son,
he declared that I must stay home and take the
farm for a livelihood. That ended my school days
and my big ambitions. 12

The boy may have been forced through circumstances to alter his long-range ambitions and plans, and yet, the fact remains that, in this mid-nineteenth century rural Ontario society, the boy was also able to assume complete responsibility for his family. Not yet a man, but no longer a child, the conflict between his aspirations and his obligations suggests, as this discussion has attempted to do, the blurred parameters of childhood and manhood.

The answer to the question "who worked" is undoubtedly simple. All children, except those of the well-to-do, must have worked some of the time, and some more than others. The most that can be ascertained from the census data is that, insofar as having a definitive occupation segregated those who worked most of the time from those who worked some of the time and perhaps attended school part-time, the fact of having a discernible vocation seems to have been a function of age, sex and status (family or non-family) within the household.

¹² Diary of John H. Ferguson. Corporation of the County of Peel, History of Peel County to Mark its Centenary (Brampton, 1967), 73.

TABLE 3.1

Children Listing an Occupation, by Age GroupsChinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

<u>Age of Child</u>	<u>Children Listing an Occupation</u>	
	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
5-12	2.1% (31/1471)	0.2% (2/1303)
13-16	12.7% (83/652)	12.1% (71/589)
17-20	31.4% (202/643)	43.8% (230/525)
21-25	54.4% (283/520)	58.2% (266/457)
Total	18.3% (599/3286)	19.8% (569/2874)

<u>Age of Child</u>	<u>Children Listing an Occupation</u>	
	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
5-16	5.4% (114/2123)	3.9% (73/1892)
17-25	41.7% (485/1163)	50.5% (496/982)

TABLE 3.2

Children Listing an Occupation, Broken Down by Sex
Chinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

Sex of Child	<u>Children Listing an Occupation</u>	
	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
Male	27.9% (499/1789)	35.6% (535/1503)
Female	6.7% (100/1496)	2.5% (34/1371)
Total Children	18.2% (599/3285)	19.8% (569/2874)

TABLE 3.3

Children with Occupations, Broken Down by Family StatusChinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

<u>Children's Status Within Household</u>	<u>Children Listing Occupations</u>	
	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
Male Member of the Family	19.6% (293/1496)	32.7% (448/1370)
Male Non-member	70.3% (206/293)	65.9% (87/132)
Female Member of the Family	1.5% (19/1258)	0.9% (11/1261)
Female Non-member of the Family	34.5% (82/238)	20.7% (23/111)
Total Children	18.3% (600/3285)	19.8% (569/2874)

TABLE 3.4

Children With Occupations, By Age and Status in HouseholdChinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

<u>Sex and Status of Children</u>	1861			1871		
	<u>Age of Children</u>			<u>Age of Children</u>		
	5-16	17-25	Total	5-16	17-25	Total
<u>Male Family Member</u>						
Lists Occupation	5.2% (54)	52.9% (239)	19.6% (293)	5.7% (52)	89.5% (396)	32.7% (448)
No Occupation	94.8% (991)	47.1% (212)	80.4% (1203)	94.3% (876)	10.5% (46)	67.3% (922)
<u>Male Non-family Member</u>						
Lists Occupation	38.4% (33)	82.6% (171)	69.6% (204)	19.7% (10)	95.0% (77)	65.9% (87)
No Occupation	61.6% (53)	17.4% (36)	30.4% (89)	80.3% (41)	5.0% (4)	34.1% (45)
<u>Female Family Member</u>						
Lists Occupation	0.9% (8)	3.1% (11)	1.5% (19)	0.5% (4)	1.8% (7)	0.9% (11)
No Occupation	99.1% (891)	96.9% (348)	98.5% (1239)	99.5% (849)	98.2% (401)	99.1% (1250)
<u>Female Non-family Member</u>						
Lists Occupation	10.9% (19)	43.9% (64)	34.8% (83)	11.7% (7)	31.4% (16)	20.8% (23)
No Occupation	89.1% (74)	56.1% (82)	65.2% (156)	88.3% (53)	68.6% (35)	79.2% (88)

TABLE 3.5

Occupational Categories of ChildrenChinguacousy Township, 1861-1871

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
No Occupation	81.7% (2686)	80.2% (2305)
Farmer	0.7% (23)	11.0% (317)
Laborer	12.4% (407)	4.0% (116)
Servant	2.9% (94)	1.3% (36)
<u>Subtotal</u>	<u>97.7%</u> <u>(3210)</u>	<u>96.5%</u> <u>(2774)</u>
Other	2.3% (76)	3.5% (100)
<u>Total</u>	<u>100.%</u> <u>(3286)</u>	<u>100.%</u> <u>(2874)</u>

TABLE 3.6
Children's Occupations,
Broken Down by Sex and Status Within Household
Chinguaocusy Township, 1861-1871

<u>Status in Household</u>	<u>Occupation of Child</u>	<u>1861</u>	<u>1871</u>
Female Family Member	Clerk	-	3
	Farmer	-	4
	Housekeeper	1	-
	Laborer	13	-
	Musician	1	-
	Servant	3	2
	Teacher	1	2
	Total	19	11
Female Non-family Member	Housekeeper	1	1
	Laborer	12	2
	Nurse	1	-
	Servant	68	20
	Total	82	23
Male Family Member	Blacksmith	4	7
	Butcher	-	5
	Carpenter	1	9
	Clerk	1	10
	Farmer	20	304
	Laborer	252	60
	Miller	-	7
	Teacher	4	13
	Other	13	33
	Total	293	448
Male Non-family Member	Apprentice	12	1
	Blacksmith	12	3
	Farmer	3	9
	Laborer	130	54
	Servant	23	10
	Teacher	7	1
	Other	19	9
	Total	206	87

CONCLUSION

This analysis began with the assumption that the experiences associated with growing up in mid-Victorian rural Canadian society were far less precise, in terms of stages of development, than those associated with childhood in subsequent generations. No set age apparently existed for leaving school, starting work, or moving away from the family household. The relationship between these events seemed to overlap, implying, for example, that a child might be enrolled at school throughout the year and yet attend only when the collective family responsibilities did not demand his attention. Similarly, he might become part of a neighbouring household for an indefinite period of time, if his family did not require his assistance; but then he would return home when responsibilities in his own household dictated it. This, at least, is traditional wisdom on the subject. The empirical evidence presented in this thesis partially substantiates and partially contradicts these assumptions. What it suggests, in fact, is that the 1860's was a decade of significant changes in the nature of 'childhood' in Ontario.

Joseph Kett, in his work on the children of urban

industrial America, argued that children fluctuated between different social categories of maturity and that these classifications could not be applied statically to children in pre-industrial communities:

Strictly speaking, the same boy could be a child for part of the year and a youth for the remainder. Or, again, one could meet seventeen-year-old children and fifteen-year-old youths.¹

Up to a point, this generalization might apply equally to the children in Chinguacousy, especially before 1871. By 1871, however, something approaching definitive stages of development seemed to be emerging.

Evidence gathered from census material and contemporary literature argues very strongly against the myth that children became independent at an early age. In fact, it appears that mid-Victorian children in rural Ontario enjoyed, or perhaps endured, a prolonged period of adult-domination within the households of Chinguacousy. Children under the age of twenty-five who did not live with their own parents were found, almost without exception, to be living in the household of another family, often a neighbour. All young people were expected to live within a family setting of some description. The twentieth-century notion of young, single people living alone had no precedents in mid-nineteenth century Ontario. But within the context of this prolonged

¹ J. Kett, 'Adolescence and Youth in Nineteenth-Century America', The Family in History, edited by T.K. Rabb and R.I. Rotberg (New York, 1971), 107.

period of dependence, life was not a set piece from age five through twenty-five.

The details of a child's day-to-day experiences were perhaps most strongly altered by the child's age but other characteristics relating to the child, his status in the household (family member or non-member), his sex, the number of offspring in his family, and the number of additions living in the household, were also important in accentuating or, in some cases, blurring the perimeters of a distinct phase of childhood.

Throughout the decade, virtually all children below the age of seventeen lived at home under their parents' roofs. It was only as a child passed his mid-teens that he was increasingly likely to live elsewhere, quite possibly on a neighbouring farm. Yet even into their early twenties, the children of Chinguacousy were more frequently found at home than elsewhere. This proportion of children remaining in their own homes, even at the upper age limit of this study, increased over the decade, a trend which suggests that Ontario society was witnessing the steady disappearance of a specific group of young people who lived in a state of semi-dependency away from home within the framework of a surrogate family. Although marriage offered the opportunity for independent status to some females, rural Ontario society found its interests best served by keeping males in a dependent or semi-dependent status well into their twenties.

It has frequently been asserted that in mid-Victorian rural Ontario, the collective demands of the household took precedence over a child's individual aspirations. Nowhere is this fact seen more clearly than in the area of school enrollment. School enrollment figures, however, reflect not only the priorities of the household in which a child lived but also they exemplify the intensely transitional nature of childhood in mid-nineteenth century Ontario. In the course of the decade, there was a substantial overall increase in the proportion of children registered in school but more significantly, the 'school age' of children was becoming increasingly well defined. In 1871 the enrollment of six and seven-year-olds had increased out of all proportion, there had been a significant increase in the proportion of children between the ages of five and sixteen who enrolled at school, and the percentage of children from seventeen through twenty years of age who attended school had dropped just as sharply. Regularization of school enrollment among the six to sixteen age group indicated some change in social attitudes toward the benefits of formal, public education; but since as truancy remained the dominant concern of educators, it seems quite evident that a child's primary obligation was to the household in which he lived and worked.

Every child regardless of age, sex, attendance at school, or any other variable, was expected to work. Although

the nature of each child's contribution varied, he enjoyed the status of a productive member of the household's collective enterprises. It might therefore be argued that children (or the heads of household of those children) who did not list an occupation on the census simply regarded their work contribution as a less formalized segment of their life. In illustration of this, we see that the years under seventeen were clearly not the age of formalized work, that the late teen years were somewhat of a transitional phase, and that formal vocations were the rule by a child's early twenties. From 1861 to 1871 there appears to be a clarification of these two fairly distinct periods in childhood. This demarcation has a parallel in the increasing periodization of school enrollment. Quite naturally, then, there is a very direct correlation between the completion of a child's formal schooling and the assumption of a formal vocation.

The age of a child has been emphasized as a means of identifying particular stages of childhood but at least two other characteristics, those of a child's status in the household and a child's sex, might well be used to illustrate strikingly different day-to-day experiences. For example, although the actual labour expected of a non-family child might not in reality be very different than that demanded of a child who was a member of the family, the formal identity and certainly the long-run implications of his status varied

considerably. Again and again, we see that the non-family child was viewed as a convenient source of inexpensive labour to supplement the household's work force, as a temporary member to whom there was no long-term obligation as there would be to one's daughter and more particularly, to one's son. It was much less probable for a non-family child, especially a boy, to attend school than for a family child of the same age. Education represented a sacrifice in potential labour and, not surprisingly, heads of household assigned any priority in attending school to their own children. Thus, as a non-family child's age increased and his work capacity rose, he became dramatically more unlikely to attend school. At the same time, non-family children were sharply more likely to list an occupation than were family children, a trend which suggests there was some attempt to distinguish the respective labour contributions of non-family child and offspring.

In some aspects of childhood, sex made no difference in determining a child's day-to-day experiences. For example, the sex of a child in no way influenced whether or not the child lived and grew up in the family household. It also was of no relevance in whether a child was allowed to start school at an early age. However, there were rather significant variations in the formal schooling and vocational pursuits of boys and girls. Girls did not remain in school

as long as boys and this undoubtedly reflected a prevailing notion that girls were not expected (or permitted) to assume a vocation outside the home and therefore had no need of any training beyond the basic 'R's. Not surprisingly then, boys were far more likely to list an occupation than girls and the contrast became staggeringly more evident throughout the decade. Many girls experienced a rather unique stage when they were no longer being formally schooled and at the same time, were not yet ready for marriage nor had they formally adopted an occupation.

Variations in the experiences of childhood during this decade make it impossible to establish rigid stages of development. Any general trend toward categorizing children must be modified by the particular characteristics of a child's age, sex, status in the household, size and composition of his family and household. Yet we can conclude that between 1861 and 1871 childhood in rural Ontario society was very much in a state of transition and the decade did witness a substantial, if tentative, trend toward the emergence of definitive stages of development that we have come to associate with childhood in more recent generations.

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