ST. PAUL'S: A GERMAN CANADIAN RURAL COMMUNITY

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By

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SCOPE AND CONTENTS:

This thesis presents an ethnographic account of the rural community of St. Paul's in Grey County, Ontario, Canada. It proposes that the community has existed as a cohesive unit throughout its existence because of its predominantly primary economic relationships, the strength of its religious expression, closely knit kinship structure, contained social and commercial activity, and the strong ethnic bond felt by the members.

The proposal argues that St. Paul's will cease to be a community as economic pressure resulting from participation in the impersonal marketing systems dictated by large commercial interests erodes its economy and social institutions, and drives its population from the land.

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INTRODUCTION

The material for this paper has been gathered over a period of many years beginning in October 1952. My residence in the geographical area of this community has been continuous with the exception of five years (September 1965 to June 1970). During this period community contact was maintained through the summer months.

St. Denis (Miner, 1939), Plainville U.S.A. (West, 1945) and Plainville Fifteen Years Later (Gallaher, 1961) sparked my initial interest in rural studies. The data has been accumulated through personal observation, conversation with community members and participation in both social and economic activities. Much of the information with respect to the physical operation of the church was received from Rev. F. W. Haak, the present pastor of St. Paul's Lutheran Church.

Traditionally, this community has had its economic base rooted in agriculture. Until very recently all three major criteria for a successful agricultural economy (land, labour and capital) were present in strength but the need for greater capital reserves has become critical as the community has evolved from a collection of small family farms to specialized farming enterprises dependent upon the services of specialists and serving impersonal urban markets. Moreover capital expenditure for machinery has necessitated large individual land holdings. No shortage of physical arable land exists but there persists a shortage of capital for individual acreage expansion. Many farmers would find

places for their children on the land if this critical land capital shortage could be overcome.

A critical shortage of working capital has also wrought changes in the numbers and types of community social institutions. For example, at its inception this community was a close knit German ethnic group sharing a common language and religion in which families worked together in a series of co-operative economic enterprises. The foregoing factors rendered the community almost economically independent of technical specialists and large urban centred markets.

The acceptance of mechanized farming practices destroyed the economic independence of the family farm unit and forced the dispersal of many young family members to other non-agricultural occupations. Mechanization also destroyed co-operative labour among the families, alghough for a brief period it has stimulated this activity. Loss of the co-operative labour structure irreparably damaged the primary relationship associations among community members.

As families acquired automobiles and telephones, their geographical horizons broadened. The small villages were largely foresaken as economic centres in favour of larger urban shopping and recreation centres. Also, mass media entertainment, radios, television and delivery of daily city papers, resulted in a shift from community centred social events to a preference for commercial entertainment.

Mass media entertainment also changed asethic and dietary preferences such as reliance on family processed meat, and home

production of bakery goods and preserves. A knowledge of and a preference for advertised foods developed and convenience foods are now commonly found in most community homes. Reading (novels, biographies, detective and western stories) has never been a popular pastime in St. Paul's but television using these themes has been readily accepted. However, the preference in T.V. programming leans to light musical entertainment (mainly local country and western programmes) religion, and uncomplicated drama features. A few farm families watch agricultural programmes regularly but ballet, classical music, opera, heavy drama, and documentaries are not generally accepted. Hockey telecasts are popular but most other sports features are not understood.

Central education at the elementary level has resulted in the closing of the community school this ending the autonomous control enjoyed by the local three man school board. School centered social institutions (the Christmas concert, parties, etc.) also disappeared at this juncture.

Entrance into the impersonal competitive and cash oriented urban market, loss of community youth to other occupations, abandonment of the neighbourhood social circles, loss of the local school, and suppression of ethnicity by governments and neighbours resulted in a numerical decline of persons using the German tongue. This flight from the ethnic tongue is particularily marked in the youth.

Church congregational cohesion remains as the strong unifying

element of the community. The economic changes and the accompanying social alternations have not yet permeated the face-to-face relationships which characterize the local church government. Alone among all other cohesive elements, church membership unity remains relatively intact. Should the religious cohesiveness of the community be dissolved no vestige of community life or spirit shall remain and St. Paul's community will become merely a non-descript unit of the large commercially oriented Canadian rural economy.

I should like at this juncture to make a few statements regarding the people of St. Paul's. (Hereafter the community will be called St. Paul's after the church centre.)

St. Paul's is traditionally a German speaking community which retains many of the customs brought from Europe and Pennsylvania. During their residence in Normanby Township these people have been the object of a great deal of persecution which served to unify them more strongly and at times excluded non-German strangers.

These people are now, as in the past, very thrifty and efficient farmers. During the early days of settlement in Normanby these traits soon gained for the "Germans" the best farmland which they generally acquired by dispossessing some less efficient individual of another ethnic group. A popular notion expressed by St. Paul's members for this phenomena is that the less efficient groups were given to alcoholism

and laziness. Animosity, suspicion, fear and jealousy by other groups toward the Germans resulted as the German farms prospered.

During the First World War and in the years immediately following it, ethnic persecution toward the Germans in Canada reached its peak. Not only persons who spoke German as a native language but even those whose names were German in origin were the targets of ill treatment outside the German communities.

A progressive mechant in Neustadt tells the following story: Otto's father went to Chesley during this period (Post 1914) on business and unfortunately for him he spoke English with a thick German accent. When the local patriots of Chesley heard his accent and discovered his German name, he was subjected to stinging insults, seized by some of the local citizens, forced to walk down the main street of the village draped in a Union Jack, driven to his knees and compelled to kiss the flag. Their demonstration was accompanied by a chorus of cat-calls and insults such as "Fritzy Boy", "Kraut", and a variety of obscenity. Finally he was escorted out of town suffering under a barrage of eggs and vegetables and given a "healthy" start down the C.N.R. track. Boasting by members of other ethnic groups in the surrounding areas about how they put those "damned square heads" in their place during this period can still be heard.

The period between the First and Second World Wars was peaceful for the German Community but an undercurrent of distrust burst forth

again during the Second World War.

Persecution prevented St. Paul's from contributing many men to the war effort in 1914, but their food production was important and a few individuals anglicized their names to work in defense plants.

During the Second World War most of the eligible young men became soldiers but many of these encountered difficulty in their army careers. One man proved to be a very bright soldier and expressed a desire to go to Officer Candidate School. His sergeant wouldn't sign his application because, "He wasn't going to serve under any "square head" officer."

The result of incidents such as those cited above through four or five generations of these people, caused them to become one of the most closely knit ethnic groups in Ontario.

The general subject of this paper is a short ethnological description of a small rural community located in Southwestern Southern Ontario and a discussion of the economic and social alterations taking place within it as it becomes more a part of the provincial and national economies and adopts mechanized farming and other modern technical devices. This community was chosen for its small size and ethnic background which renders observation of changes in the culture more distinct.

Through the course of the description I shall show how the community with its economic base in agriculture has evolved from a stable self sufficient economic entity whose members enjoyed among themselves

a series of primary relationships encompassing their occupational, religious and social activities tied together by close bonds of kinship and religion to a modern Canadian rural community participating in the impersonal national economy dominated by specialists and secondary social relationships.

Chapter One is a short geographical survey of the Township of Normanby, Grey County, Ontario as well as a brief historical sketch of the settlement of the area.

In Chapter Two the economic foundation of St. Paul's based upon agriculture is described. Here the effect of the growth of local industry on the social and economic institutions of the community is examined as well as the impact of mechanized agricultural practices upon family and co-operative labour enterprises. Included are descriptions of five co-operative labour activities, ice cutting, wood cutting, the making of maple products, threshing and butchering. The description of home prepared foods illustrates the closeness which the community had with its products before cash dealing became the dominant economic pattern.

In Chapter Three the Church as a political institution and an agent of social cohesiveness for the community is described. A brief history of St. Paul's Church is followed by a summary of some of the activities carried on by the organizations contained within the church as a whole and the role of St. Paul's church in the lives of the congregation.

A description of the attitudes displayed by the people with respect to kin relations is discussed in Chapter Four. Kinship is one of the major elements within the community which tends to bind it together as a social unit. An example of the marriage alliances which unites four families is cited to illustrate this point.

A brief description of the major social activities of the St. Paul's community is given in Chapter Five. Wedding and funeral activities are included because these activities become purely social gatherings at the conclusion of the religious ceremonies involved. Because of the intensity of summer work in St. Paul's (in the past as well as the present) few social activities other than those involving co-operative labour are common then. Because the school was in the past a centre of social activity, a short description of this institution and education within the family is included here.

Chapter Six discusses past and current problems which St. Paul's has and is experiencing as a recognizable community. Included is a discussion of social and economic changes as a result of the adoption of mechanized farming, the automobile and television.

The impact of broader horizons as a result of geographical mobility among the youth of the community as well as changing attitudes toward agriculture by this group is also examined. Examples of changes in the ethnic base of the community (loss of language and new food preferences) are cited. Unity of the church congregation is the last

remaining cohesive element for the community and a suggestion is made concerning St. Paul's future as a community should the church dissolve.

This short ethnography traces the history of St. Paul's from its inception to the present. Wherever possible the sequences of events are presented in their order of occurrence but this pattern is sometimes abandoned for clarity.

CHAPTER I

A SHORT SURVEY OF THE TOWNSHIP OF NORMANBY AND THE VILLAGE OF NEUSTADT

Normanby Township is situated in the extreme south-west corner of the County of Grey, Province of Ontario, Canada. Its 67,000 acres make it the County's third smallest Township. Bentick Township abuts the northern boundary while Egremont Township, Carrick Township and Minto Township touch its western, eastern and southern limits respectively. The south branch of the Saugeen River traverses the Township through its south-western area. With its tributaries Meux Creek and the Beattie Saugeen this drainage system is the major one in the area.

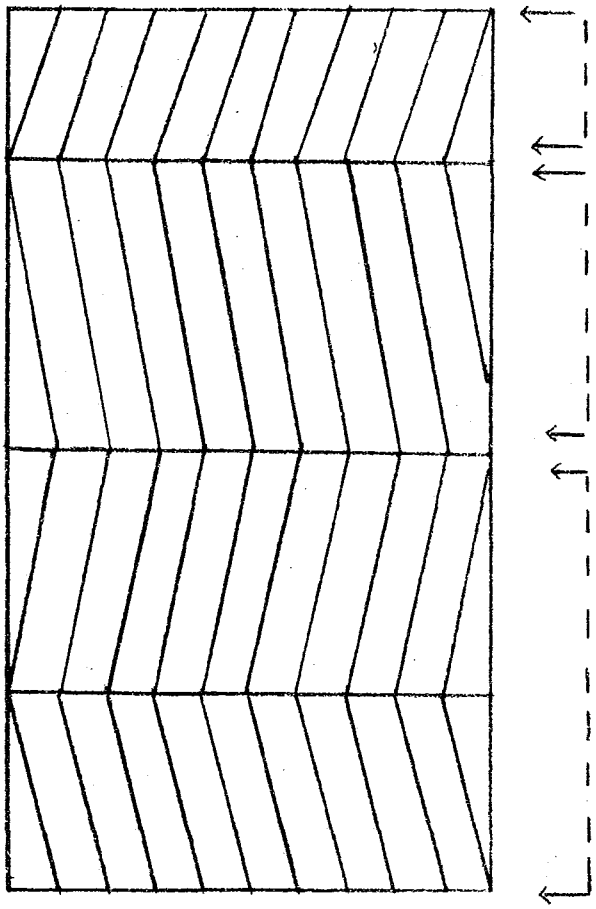
The topography of the Township displays many hills but is generally inclined to gentle rolling land. The elevation at the extreme south-east corner reaches 1,350 feet above sea level but the north-western extremity has an elevation of only 850 feet.

The soil is predominantly of a medium textured dolimitic limestone till, of the Harriston clay type, exhibiting good drainage, moderate stoniness, and slight acidity. A slight deficiency in organic matter, phosphorus and potash exists, rendering the application of commercial fertilizers profitable for agriculture. On Harriston clay soil the indigenous forest cover was mainly of north temperate hardwood

interspersed with pine and hemlock, and in many low lying wet areas small "swamps" of white cedar are still to be found.

Soil Profile

(Generally in tilled areas)



3" dark grey loam

8-12" yellow brown loam

7-8" brown clay loam

yellow brown stoney calcarious till

(From Soil Map of Grey County, Ontario, Soil Report 17, Experimental Farm Service Ottawa, 1958.)

At the time of the first survey (1841) when the Garafraxa Road (Provincial Highway #6) was opened between the Townships of Egremont and Normanby, only one concession was laid out in Normanby. In 1845 a second and third concession complete with lots was laid out. These were termed the "Old Survey". The final survey of the Township was not completed until 1852.

The "Old Survey" divided the land into fifty acre lots, which were given as free grants to settlers who reached the area by way of the Garafraxa Road as soon as it was "Chopped out" in 1841. The remainder of the Township was opened by the Government in 1856.

Initially, Normanby Township was settled by German and Scottish migrants and immigrants. Most of the former made their appearance duringthe years 1854-1856. Many of the German settlers were recent immigrants from Europe but their descendants refer to themselves as "Pennsylvania Dutch". (This term was originally used in the British American Colonies before the American colonial rebellion of 1776 in reference to any speakers of German or Dutch.) These German language speakers soon became the masters of the most productive western and southwestern areas of the Township.

Very early in its history the Township of Normanby began producing large quantities of dairy and poultry products and the arrival of the railway (Stratford and Huron Railway) in 1882 further stimulated the production of these commodities by providing access to the urban markets.

By 1860 public education through the medium of one room ungraded schools was available to the residents of the Township. As well, a variety of religious structures appeared. The latter were predominantly the property of Lutheran or Presbyterian congregations.

The two main centres of population in the Township (the villages of Ayton and Neustadt) still serve as economic and social centres for the

rural residents of the Township but these functions have declined greatly in the recent past. In the very early days a number of smaller centres also existed but these have become extinct except in name--such as Alsfeldt, Nanagh, Hampden and Calderwood.

The Village of Neustadt is located one-half mile from the boundary separating Normanby Township in Grey County from Carrick in Bruce County. Pronounced in the German dialect of the area, "Nay-Shtat" the name means literally "New Town" and comprises 440 acres.

Meux Creek flows through the Western portion of the town, while one-half mile northwest the main course of the South Saugeen River winds its way through agricultural land.

The original site of the village was upon the banks of the larger water course northwest of the present village. In the former location in 1856 a grist mill, a woolen mill, a flax mill, a hotel and a general store were established. Apparently the early settlers were not satisfied with this commercial centre. It was named Viel-Noethig (ie.: "much needed"). The life of this centre was short when better water power facilities on the smaller Meux Creek promoted the building in 1856-7. of a flour and a grist mill on its banks. These enterprises were to be the nucleus of "Nay-Shtat". (March, 1931; pp. 165)

By 1865, 300 people claimed residence on the new site and a variety of new enterprises also appeared. These were a post office, a saw mill, a flax mill, a stone building housing a brewery, a boot and shoe manufacturing business, a tannery, three general stores, three hotels, and two blacksmith

shops. In addition, a school was built. A woolen mill and a foundry soon appeared also. (March, 1931; pp. 167)

The flour mill was the largest building in the community. It was three and one half stores high and boasted two runs of mill stones driven by water power.

In the 1860's, the flax mill at "Viel-Noethig" was one of the most important economic enterprises of the community when the proprietors in 1864 employed about 15 workers but finished linen was never made there. The partially processed raw flax was sent to Conestoga, Waterloo County, where the finishing operation was completed. The growing of flax became an important source of cash income for many of the Township's rural residents in the mid-nineteenth century.

The Brewery was struck a lethal blow by the prohibition legislation of 1916, being replaced on its premises by a creamery producing butter. A grist mill operated by diesel power stands on the site of the original flour mill. As well, all other industry in the village has disappeared, resulting in a change in the economy and character of village life from the early days.

The "Pennsylvania Dutch" of Ohio and Pennsylvania have a reputation for being thrifty, hard working, and prosperous and like them the settlers who came to St. Paul's displayed the desirable characteristics of those people and succeeded both in country and village enterprises.

CHAPTER II

THE ECONOMIC FOUNDATION OF ST. PAUL'S

The principal economic activity of the people of the community of St. Paul's is now as it has been in the past mainly agricultural. Changes have, however, taken place both within this economic base and by the growth of local industry which is not located within the congregational geographic area but on which a growing number of members of the group now look for a livelihood.

Most of the persons and families which have become dependent on industry have moved into the villages of Neustadt and Ayton but the industry located in these areas is limited. Neustadt has only one small factory which manufactures furniture components. Ayton contains a large poultry concern and a bakery which caters to the surrounding area and large urban centres. The latter employs about one hundred persons on a full time basis. The number of persons employed in the poultry industry fluctuates slightly seasonally but usually remains at about twenty-five. As a result most of the village wage earners as well as the young rural people tend to seek employment in Hanover (population 5,500) which contains several large furniture factories and some small woodworking plants. The working members of the family usually commute daily employing "car pools" or a daily bus service which runs from Neustadt to Hanover. Many of the young married women who live in

the villages also work in one of the local service or merchant enterprises but this practice is seldom followed by young families in the rural area. These for the most part are engaged in carrying on the traditional domestic activities of the rural household. Unmarried young women from the rural area may, however, follow the example of their married or single counter parts in the villages. If a village girl should marry and enter a rural household, she usually abondons wage employment for domestic life. A reverse situation may be the rule for rural girls living in the villages after marriage.

Even if a family finds itself removed from a living on the land, its social and asthetic ties with the agricultural community remain strong, as strong social ties between rural and village families still remain after generations of removal from the agricultural base for wage labour. Feelings of town superiority over country are absent in the villages of the township but this is especially true between Neustadt and the rural community.

Great advances have been made in the technology and farming methods of the area but a feeling of nostalgia for the "good old days" when horse power was "king" is understandably strong among the elderly residents of both sexes. Many of the practising farmers of younger age who have grown up exclusively with power machinery do not share this feeling. Although the process of farm mechanization has been continual from the earliest days of settlement, in the last 15 years it

has experienced great impetus. The first step in this direction on most of the farms was the acquisition of a tractor and electrical service. These two items wrought immeasureable changes upon farm life. More land could now be cultivated by fewer hands and in a much shorter time. The days of returning from the fields after the weary task of walking behind a plough and a team of horses which had to stop at the end of every furrow for a "breather" were gone. Banished as well was the prospect of doing evening chores by the light of a kerosene lantern.

Dairying, which has long been the economic mainstaff of the area, has been made easier, from the days when whole milk was separated from its cream by placing the milk overnight into shallow pans. The cream rose to the top and was then skimmed off with wooden paddles. "Skimming" was replaced by manually operated cream separators which in turn were supplanted by electrically driven mechanisms.

The separating process was the work of the women as was the washing of eggs and no woman in the community did not find it a relief to be freed from these jobs. Egg washing by hand has been largely replaced by the use of electrical washers and the shipment of whole milk in recent years has removed even the tiresome chore of cleaning and washing the electric separator.

According to the accounts supplied by many of the older residents, winter was the traditional time for community or co-operative labour. Manure spreading was one such activity. Men with teams would congregate

upon a farm yard and manually fork the piled manure upon the sleighs. The load was hauled into the fields and manually spread or piled depending upon the depth of the snow and the firmness of the ground. Modern technology has eliminated the need for this manual activity because manure is now loaded and distributed mechanically on each farmstead by individual farmers.

Some types of co-operative work still persist but these are becoming more rare each year. The cutting of wood and the preparation of maple syrup and sugar as co-operative efforts have been abandoned only recently.

At a wood cutting or circling (the name is derived from the shape of the power saw blade) several men gathered at a designated farm. These workers were invited several days earlier in order that they could make their plans for work to be done at home during their absence. It was the responsibility of the owner of the land to have a pile of uncut wood gathered in advance.. The raw limbs were piled in the farmyard or in the woods ready for the cutters who gathered about eight or eight-thirty in the morning.

The first activity of the day, the setting up of the saw, was almost ritualistic because each man considered himself an expert in the affair and felt rudely insulted if he were not consulted concerning the suitability of the location and the angle of the tractor. Everyone tested the saw frame for stability, the belt for tension, and inspected the oiling and

greasing. Only when everyone was satisfied was the machine set in motion. Two men assumed stations at one side of the saw. It was their job to take away the cut wood and throw it on the pile. The other workers fed large limbs and small logs into the saw. Numerous breaks were taken for refreshment and at noon the work stopped and everyone retired to the farmhouse for the noonday meal which was usually preceded by glasses of hot, hard cider. The dietary substance of the meal will be discussed later, but the women's labour in preparing it is worthy of mention here.

The work done by the women in preparing meals was equal to that done by the men in the actual cutting of the wood. This task was done on a co-operative basis by the wives of the woodcutters. The number of men to be fed on these occasions ranged from about six to twelve and thus could impose an exhausting task upon a woman working alone. Rarely did the women sit with the men at mealtimes. Instead they stood around the table ready to fill bowls and platters and to pass things when requested to do so. After the men had left the table the women ate with any children who happened to be present. One of the indications that a young boy was becoming recognized as a man was the privilege of sitting with the men as an equal at the table.

After the meal and a rest period for smoking and story telling the men ventured to the worksite. The wood which was cut in the morning was piled and the sawing commenced again. Just before dark the work

stopped for the day unless the wood supply became exhausted earlier. Rarely did wood cutting require more than one day. If the job required more time, the saw was covered with a piece of canvas and the men returned the next day. It was never left in the woods unless it was going to be used immediately, but was dismantled and taken to the place of the next "circling" where it would be put in a dry place.

An evening meal was provided by the host. It was an insult for a worker to suggest going home hungry and a gross piece of rudeness, for the host to hint at such. No one ever went home hungry after a day's work. This tradition is still very much alive.

Maple sugar products were obtained as a product of co-operative labour in the early days of the community. This endeavour differed from wood circling in that it required a long period of time involving several "boils". After the completion of each batch of syrup, the participants shared the harvest. When a man felt that he had all of the syrup he required, it was his privilege to leave. This system of distribution worked out quite well. Usually everyone had all the syrup he wanted at about the same time. Families still make syrup as individual units and the method is the same as that employed when it was done by large groups.

About the middle of March the trees were tested to determine if the sap was "running". If it was, invitations were sent out by a host to relatives and neighbours (often the same people) to come to a "boil". Men, women and children responded to this inviation and brought with them the

family sap kettle (a large iron kettle). Holes were bored into the tree trunks and wooden spiles (replaced by steel in later times) were inserted. To these were hung little tin sap pails for the collection of the liquid. The kettles were suspended from a pole which was lashed to the trunks of two trees, and a huge fire was built.

Horses were used to pull a stone boat (a flat heavy sledge) bearing a barrel among the tapped trees. In this way the raw sap was collected and brought to the boiling site.

The kettles were usually arranged in batteries of three. The sap maker or boiler presided over these. It was his job to remove sap from the barrel to the first kettle. After some boiling this was then ladled to the second kettle and then to the third where the process was completed. During the final stage of preparation a small quantity of milk or cream was poured into the cauldron on the top of the boiling liquid. The hot sap would curdle the cream which would pick up any debris (ashed, wood chips and bark) which had fallen in. The curd was skimmed off and discarded. Being a good boiler was an important status. If this man made a mistake, a good many hours of work could be lost.

Syrup making has always been a family effort. Women and children helped to feed the fires and gather the sap. Everyone, especially the children, enjoyed the taffy like candy produced by pouring boiling syrup on the cold snow. When the boiling of syrup is still practised it is a simple one-family activity. In the winter of 1970-71 only two

families were planning to make syrup.

Probably the greatest co-operative work venture and the one which endured longest was the threshing bee which originally took place in the winter.

During the 1920's and 30's farmers of St. Paul's stored their whole unthreshed crop of grain in the mows of their barns where it remained until the threshing crew moved into the district with their portable steam engine and grain separator. At St. Paul's this usually occurred about the end of November or early December.

The arrival of the threshers heralded a long round of reciprocal labour. Groups of families who worked together in most enterprises requiring mutual labour helped each other to thresh. The men donated or "pooled" their labour to feed the steam boiler, carry the threshed grain to the granaries, pile the straw and empty the mows. This kind of threshing bee was known as barn threshing and it had a duration of two or three days at each farmstead.

To the women the threshing meant the preparation of five meals a day: breakfast for the family and the threshing crew (the owners and operators of the equipment); a ten o'clock lunch break of sandwiches, coffee, and hot cider; a full hot dinner at noon, afternoon lunch similar to that of the morning; and a large hot meal at night. This succession of meals took many days to prepare and the co-operative effort of the workers' wives. Each hostess, however, was responsible for supplying

the provisions and making her own pastry and bread. These meals often became very competitive events as each of the hostess's tried to outdo her predecessors.

The barn method of threshing was gradually replaced by stook or field threshing which meant that the grain was cut by the farmer and his sons but instead of hauling it into the barn, the grain was allowed to dry and cure in piles of sheaves in the fields. This method had drawbacks. The grain separator, for example, had to be available in the early fall before the grain became spoiled by the autumn rains. As a result, stook threshing became popular about the time that farm tractors became common in St. Paul's. These machines supplied the power needed to run the threshing machinery which came to be farmer owned. Groups of farmers formed loose companies nucleated around the purchase of a grain separator which they shared and used when their crops were ready for harvest. This was the golden age of the threshing machine and the salesmen reaped a bonanza.

Stook threshing made the harvest easier for the men because the grain had to be handled only three times in its unthreshed state instead of five. Co-operative work was still necessary, perhaps moreso than before, because timing a new crucial factor was added. All the members of a group of threshing families were expected also to supply man power to some type of wagon and traction to convey the unthreshed grain to the barn. This produced friendly rivalries as each wagon owner tried to outdo his fellows in the number of loads he carried to the waiting machines.

For the women, there was no change in labour. Five meals were still the style.

Ten years ago (1960) there were still some horses on St. Paul's farms but since the end of the Second World War nearly every farm has had a tractor. At the present time there are no farmers in the community who own draught horses but some farms have trotting horses which are raced in Hanover at the weekly meets and many farm children have ponies.

The farms in the St. Paul's area are now fully mechanized which allows each farm to be a nearly self-sufficient unit in its agricultural production. Tractors, power tilling equipment, combine harvesters, barn cleaners, manure loaders and power spreaders, chain saws, automatic feeding and watering devices, milk coolers, egg washers, and electric pumps and motors of all descriptions and sizes are common.

The acquisition of the products of modern industrial technology has dealt the death blow to co-operative labour.

Most of the food consumed in St. Paul's came from the land and the staple diet has always been mainly meat and potatoes. In the past pork was preferred over beef, and was prepared by frying, boiling or roasting. This meat was home grown, home killed, home cured and home cooked.

Butchering pigs, the curing of hams and bacon and the making of the various types of sausage was a special skill. The man who prepared meat well enjoyed high status in the community.

Butchering was a co-operative procedure and took the following general form. Two or three days before the killing took place several neighbours were contacted and two or three pigs were selected by the host from his herd. These were often sows of considerable size, weighing four to seven hundred pounds.

Early in the morning the wife of the host would fill the kettle stove (a large wood burning stove with a cauldron built into the top) with water for scalding the carcasses and when the neighbours arrived the pigs were dragged from the barn by a rope fastened to one hind leg. This usually required three or four men.

The butcher stunned the animal by hitting it between the eyes with a nine pound stone hammer or an axe and then rushed upon it to stick the throat with a long slender knife which was kept especially for this purpose. If blood wurst (sausage) was to be made,someone collected the blood into a bucket as it poured from the throat wound. This task was dangerous because the death throes of the animal could deal a bruising blow to the person of the collector. A practice which was fairly common was the drinking of the hot blood from the dying animals.

When it was certain that the animal was dead, the carcass was dragged to a large wooden trough which had been filled with boiling water. These carcasses were then immersed into the liquid to loosen the hair and were then hung up on a tripod made of long wooden poles by means of steel hooks fastened into the hind legs.

The entrails were removed and the process of scraping the carcasses began, by using a sharp knife as a scraper. Most often this scraping task fell to the lot of the least experienced workers.

The livers, hearts and kidneys were put to one side and the remainder of the entrails were given to the women for processing. They scraped the intestines clean and washed them. These were then set aside to be used as casings for sausage. The lungs were discarded.

The head was scraped and cut into small pieces but the eyes and brains were discarded. The main carcass was quartered and carried into an annex (summer kitchen) at the rear of the house and a table was placed near the kettle stove. At the end of the table a large meat grinder was installed. The fine meat cutting now began and nothing remained in large pieces but the fresh hams and the side bacons. If the bacon was very fat, this also was cut into small portions and fed into the grinder. The entire swine carcass, excepting the hams, and bacons, the head, and the hocks were ground into fresh sausage meat. The trimmed fat was rendered into lard. All of the scraps such as stray bits of rind and very tough parts of the animal such as trimmings from the head, as well as the liver, heart and kidneys are thrown into the kettle stove with a quantity of salt to be boiled. All that remained unused from the carcass were the lungs, hoofs, brains and eyes.

Sausage making was the major activity at the butchering and every family had its own recipe of sausage ingredients. The most popular

sausage types were those which were cooked by frying. To make these about thirty pounds of the raw sausage meat was placed into a tub. The meat was mixed with salt, coarsely ground pepper, dry mustard, caraway seed, and the water from the ground cloves of garlic. The marker's hands were used to mix the meat. Occasionally the raw meat was tasted to assure that the proper balance of ingredients was present. When the mixing was complete, the finished meat was given to two men who operated the sausage stuffing machine. The machine consisted of a long steel cylinder with a plunger at one end and a narrow pipe at the other. The device held about ten pounds of meat. As the sausage emerged in long ropes, it was coiled and piled in clean baskets and tubs. The mixing and filling continued until all of the sausage meat had been processed.

Sausage was the staple meat food and many varieties of the basic frying type were popular. One of these was potato sausage which contained ground boiled potatoes as a filling agent and smoked frying sausage was made by exposing the meat to the smoldering smudge of the smoke house.

Other types of sausage were used as cold meats or as sandwich fillings but the most popular of these was summer sausage which was mainly pork but contained about 25% beef. This type was highly seasoned and smoked and aged for several months improved the quality. Summer sausage was always eaten uncooked.

Blood sausage,which was less popular,was made from finely ground

pork and raw blood and contained a small amount of sugar and sometimes raisins. This type was boiled in the casing like bologna and had a short storage life. Liver sausage a similar type was made by grinding up the boiled liver then adding a filler and condiments. It was stuffed into a casing but this type also has a short storage life.

The frying sausage if it was not to be smoked, was cooked almost as soon as it was made to preserve it. This process required many women, who placed the cooked sausage into glass jars and covered it with hot lard. Lids were placed on the jars when the mixture cooled, and were stored in the cool cellar of the house.

The scrap mixture (headcheese) which was cooked in the kettle stove was removed after a thorough boiling. It was then reduced to a grey mass by the grinder, was mixed with condiments and poured into jars or pans to cool. It was eaten cold. This was the least popular product of the butchering.

Lard was rendered the next day in the kettle stove by the members of the family and was stored in large stone crocks or jars to be used as shortening.

The whole butchering operation generally took only one day and helpers were rarely paid but received service in kind. In addition each of the participants (or families) was given a portion of sausage. The curing of the hams and bacons was the owner's responsibility. This was accomplished by marinating the meat in a sugar and brine solution then smoking it for several days over a slow smoke house fire. Later these

were hung in the cellar to age.

Beef was also home killed, but in the past this was done by several families only in winter and the fresh meat was distributed immediately. Each family in turn supplied a beast making fresh meat available to all. This distribution system was known as the beef ring.

Sauerkraut was also a popular homemade food. In its preparation cabbage was cut into fine shreds and packed into earthenware crocks of five or ten gallons. A layer of cabbage was pressed firmly into a layer of about six inches which was covered with a handful of pickling salt. Another layer of cabbage followed the first in combination with salt. The process was continued until the crock was full. A large plate was inverted on the entire mass and weighted down with a hard stone.

The liquid drawn from the cabbage rose to the top of the crock and formed a scum which was regularily skimmed off. When the scum ceased to appear the preparation was allowed to rest for three weeks and was ready to eat. Sauerkraut could be kept in crocks all winter and was dipped out just before cooking.

Gardening provided many food items as well and no family considered purchasing potatoes or other vegetables. During the summer season lettuce, onions (green), and tomatoes were favorite salad items. As well, carrots, beets, beans, peas and radishes were consumed. Cooked greens with the exception of cabbage were not commonly served. Potatoes, carrots, turnips, onions (dry), and beets were stored in the cellar of the

house for winter use but the storage of other garden produce was mainly restricted to pickling, and the preparation of fruit jams. Pickles were made in a variety of forms but the favorite type was one made from the ears of young corn. A reserve of bread, cakes, and pastry was always on hand and one day each week was set aside for baking in each household. Pastry was served at nearly every meal including breakfast.

Two types of cheese were originally made in the St. Paul's Area. Both of these were soft and made from sweet milk. Curd cheese of the cheddar type was not made. Cottage cheese featured by modern commercial dairies is easily made but no one made this type either.

One of the most popular types of cheese was a cream variety known as cook cheese. The cheese was prepared from sweet boiled milk. This variety was often flavoured with caraway seed. When it was served cold it had the consistency of tapioca pudding, when heated, it became a sticky fluid mass. One way of consuming this product was warm poured over toast. Sometimes this cheese was eaten with an open face type of apple pie.

A second variety of homemade cheese was "ball cheese" more commonly referred to as stink case. This cheese was also made from sweet milk. The whole milk was boiled until it was thick then the liquid was cooled and shaped into balls. The balls were set to "age" in the warming oven of the cookstove. No-one seems to remember how long it was left there to ripen but the odour was overwhelming when it emerged. It is the opinion of most people that limberger is mild compared with its homemade cousin.

The following was a typical round of daily meals. After the men of the household returned from their morning chores in the stable at about seven o'clock, the whole family sat down to a breakfast of hot cereal eaten with sugar and thick cream, fried eggs, bacon, sausage or head cheese, with a liberal serving of fried potatoes, homemade bread, preserves or maple syrup, and strong coffee.

At noon another large meal was served. This might consist of sausage of some type, boiled potatoes, boiled carrots, cabbage salad made with sour cream, pickles, homemade bread, jam, coffee cake, pie and coffee. The evening meal was similar.

Meals were generally quite plain but were substantial and nourishing. Dietary preferences varied from family to family but generally followed the pattern above.

Meals for threshing bees and other types of co-operative work followed the same pattern as family meals however a larger quantity of meat per person was consumed as well as a greater quantity of pastry and other sweet food.

The traditional strong drink of St. Paul's was apple cider, which was made from home grown apples. The farmer and his sons gathered the apples into feed bags after a sheet was spread upon the ground and someone climbed the tree and shook the limbs. The cider barrel was then scoured with a mixture of sand and water and was sweetened with baking soda.

The barrel and apples were loaded on a wagon and taken to the cider mill where the apples were ground and placed in a large canvas bag which was placed under the press. As the press was forced down by water pressure, the apple juice was squeezed out. This juice was collected into large open vats, from which the barrels were filled. A large feed bag of raw apples would yield about 5 gallons of cider.

The raw cider was carried home by the owner where it was left to age in the cellar of the farm house. The curing method was simple. The barrel was sealed tightly except for the bung (plug) on top which was drilled. Into this hole a rubber tube was placed which led to a pail of water. As the apple juice began to ferment, carbon dioxide was produced which bubbled out through the rubber tube. This process stopped the entry of air into the barrel which caused spoilage. When the tube stopped bubbling, the cider was allowed to age and after a short time the cider was ready to drink. This beverage was served in two ways--hot during the winter and cold in the summer.

Wine was also made from such improbable ingredients as potatoes, beets and clover. The recipe for making wine was simple also. The basic ingredient was ground or mashed and mixed with a quantity of sugar and water. This mixture was allowed to ferment and settle in a crock. The clear liquid was then drained off and aged in bottles for a short time before consumption.

A few families in the past brewed beer. To make home brewed beer, barley was sprouted in March, dried and stored in bags. As the need for malt syrup arose, this barley was boiled with dried hops. The resulting product was mixed with water and yeast and allowed to ferment in a crock then the resulting raw beer was bottled and allowed to age.

Beer continues to be a popular beverage but that consumed by the most people now is commercial beer. Home brewing like home cider and wine making has been abandoned in the wake of cash dealing and dependence on specialists.

CHAPTER III

THE CHURCH

St. Paul's Church belongs to the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada and its members accept both the Old and New Testaments as the unalterable Word of God by which all doctrines and teachings must be judged.

St. Paul's Church was organized on the 25th of September, 1859, and was administrated by a five man church council which engaged the first permanent minister, Christian Behrens, who had been an active missionary in Grey and Bruce Counties for some time. From 1861 until 1971, twelve different ministers served the congregation.

In 1859, the charter role of the church consisted of thirty seven members who were head of families. The first service netted the church $1.15 in collections--a sizable amount of cash for a rural congregation at that time. By 1871, a log church had been built to replace the homes of the members for services.

In 1873, a parsonage was built and plans were being made for the erection of a more substantial church building which would be constructed of cut field stones. The cost of the new church was estimated at $2,000 and the final cost of construction was $2,010 which indicated that the men of St. Paul's were good business men.

The cost of the building programme was covered by an assessment levied by the church board on the head of each family. This suggests that the financial positions of the families in the community were not well kept secrets.

Fifty-eight families were assessed in this way:

7 families at $80	=	$ 560
5 families at $64	=	$ 320
14 families at $48	=	$ 670
15 families at $40	=	$ 600
7 families at $32	=	$ 224
4 families at $20	=	$ 80
6 families at $10	=	$ 60
Total		$ 2,516

The distribution of the assessment would suggest a kind of economic class system but unfortunately no further data is available to furnish further evidence of economic social stratification.

In 1875, a congregation member with his violin was replaced at the liturgy and hymn singings by a $150 organ and shortly as the congregation prospered a stone school was erected. Although the school was not a Lutheran Church school, the enrolment was for some time 100% Lutheran and the community engaged a Lutheran teacher. The major building accomplishment of the congregation in the twentieth century was the erection of the Christian Behrens Memorial

Church House which was dedicated on April 13, 1958.

A cemetary was established in conjunction with the church in 1871. To the members of St. Paul's congregation this is holy ground ("Gottes Acker") and a special service is held each year as "Decoration Sunday" and includes a special remembrance sermon and service. Maintenance of the cemetary is accomplished by voluntary labour or token payment to a congregation member.

The Church permeates the life of every member of the Congregation of St. Paul's and plays an important role in determing life styles.

Baptism, the first important rite in the life of the child, is not a matter to be taken lightly by either parents or other members of the congregation, because this rite is believed to be the first step by the soul on the road to heaven. The congregation is religiously fundamentalist and feels that to question Bible teaching is to tamper with God's law.

In the past religious tolerance was more pronounced than it is now as adherence to dogma has led to some intolerance of other faiths. The congregation cannot (or will not) comprehend how anyone believing in other than the teachings of Luther can possibly get to heaven. For example, a few years ago the service was changed slightly by the Synod and the prayer book was partially rewritten. One old gentleman became so incensed that he refused to go to church at all because he thought that this was dangerous tampering.

Other protestant groups are reluctantly recognized but Catholic and Jewish believers are considered to be infidels.

There are four major church voluntary organizations one of which is the Sunday school where attendance is the unwritten rule for children in most families. Sunday school sessions are not generally held while the Chapel service is being conducted because this would necessitate that some of the adults would miss the main service. As a result, most children attend both the adult services and the Sunday school.

In addition to Sunday School, all children between twelve and fourteen years of age attend confirmation classes each Saturday morning. These are usually conducted by the minister in two year sessions. When instruction is completed, the child is publicly questioned before the congregation at a special Sunday service two Sundays before palm Sunday. After this questioning he becomes a full church member. This event has great religious significance because it entitles the child to take the sacrament and is in effect a rite of passage.

Within the church political structure there is a organization to serve each age group. Young children, i.e. those who are unconfirmed, belong to the Sunday school. The older confirmed children (the teenagers) have a social group, the Luther League, which meets one evening a week. This group conducts baseball and other sporting events in the summer; and hockey, skating and tobogganing parties in winter.

Membership is not compulsory but most young people join.

For the adult members of the congregation two groups exist. A group of men (the deacons) serve on the church board for a term of three years but congregation meetings to discuss church business are called often and all of the men of the congregation are welcome. Women are usually absent because church business matters are male dominated. The women have their own organization, the Ladies Aid and this group arranges various social functions within the church, for example, card parties, wedding receptions, dinners, the annual Christmas concert, visiting the sick and the old, and many other useful social and charitable activities.

Each age organization looks after the needs of its members. For example, the Sunday school and Luther League send gifts and cards to sick members. The men's and women's church groups look to the needs of misfortunate families and elderly members. When the church congregation presents a gift to the church it is often a man who presents it because men represent the church offices.

There is no written rule stating that men should dominate church business but this is how the members prefer things to be done. The male dominated church government will likely change in the near future, because St. Paul's women are becoming more and more interested in the affairs of the commercial world.

The church is the major cohesive element for the community.

For example, people who are congregation members and move to other areas never really cut their ties with St. Paul's. They return to the community for baptisms, confirmations, weddings and funerals. The church role (1969) contained 438 persons but on decoration Sunday (a Sunday on which special prayers are said for the dead and the cemetary plots are decorated with flowers) the attendance is often 600 or more.

The church building complex is a centre for community life, and when the Christian Behrens Memorial Church House was added a modern kitchen was installed to facilitate social events requiring warm food, such as banquets, wedding suppers etc. This annex cost several thousand dollars but enough money was pledged by the congregation to complete it and furnish it shortly after construction was completed.

The minister is not highly paid but enjoys great status in the community and has the last word in matters which many people outside the congregation would consider to be highly personal. The pastor occupies a modern well equipped house (pfarrhaus) in which he lives modestly but comfortably with his family. His salary is not high by professional standards but his congregation keeps him well supplied with fresh meat and products of the dairy and garden. In the past his life was much like that of his flock. The present minister, however, keeps no livestock nor poultry.

As work goes on in the fields, in the barns, and in the homes, the church serves as the centre of spiritual life. In the past no one would miss the church service because his hay needed raking after a storm or because the last ten acres was unsown. The whole congregation believed that the welfare of the soul was more important than the flesh. This pious attitude toward work has also declined recently in the face of economic pressures. The church continues to reward the faithful by giving them comfort in times of stress and joy in times of celebration.

The cemetary mentioned earlier is located directly across from the church and the people feel that this is very good, because the dead never have to leave the proximity of the church that they loved in life. Periods of mourning are generally not long because everyone seems to be of the opinion that the congregation of St. Paul's are all bound for heaven. To mourn for a long time would be sinful.

Some of the members of the congregation enjoy travel to distant points occasionally, but before a long trip is undertaken, it is customary to list as many relatives and former members of the congregation as possible whom he may in the course of the journey encounter. This practice also is common for honeymooning couples. For example, when Peter Lorenz married Ruena Gebherdt they visited Detroit on their honeymoon and visited with relatives each evening. These visits are not considered an imposition by hosts, and they would

feel insulted if the travellers did not call. Similarily no-one who returns to St. Paul's or has relatives there rests anywhere but at the abode of a relative or friend.

The present minister stated the feeling shared by the congregation in this way, "The people of St. Paul's are like the birds, they may fly away for a time but this is always home."

Note: I am indebted to Reverend F. W. Haak for the figures and dates which are contained in the brief historic sketch at the beginning of this chapter.

CHAPTER IV

KINSHIP

Kinship is a major cohesive social element in the community. In the past, it was unnecessary for the people to express overtly the kinship affiliations which they recognized. These relationships were reinforced daily in both social and work situations. In the wake of the economic pressures which accompanied entry into impersonal markets and mechanized agriculture, people have come to emphasize kin ties overtly through attendance at family weddings, funerals, and reunions. The expression of these consanguineal relationships also may be related to the growing impersonality of their daily lives. A struggle for identity as a distinct ethnic group finds expression in other ways but the relation of kinship affiliation with as many members of the community as possible is the goal of many of the families.

Every person in the community has a close kin tie with nearly every other person. If the bond is not consanquineal, it is one of close affinity. Fictive kin terms for god parents are not generally used but relationships between these individuals and their god children are very close. Very often one god parent is a sibling of either the father or mother of the child, but good friends are sometimes chosen for this role as well.

Marriage between cousins is not infrequent but unions between any persons closer than second cousins is frowned upon. As the people are acquiring a broader geographic perspective, it is not improbable that a wider selection of marriage partners may end cousin marriages.

Although it is not expressed by the people, marriage and land tenure appear in the past to have been complementary. Marriages have never been arranged by the parents of the partners because nearly everyone tends to marry a partner who is acceptable to his kin and the community.

This phenomena is in no small part a product of home training.

Men usually marry in their very early twenties, choosing girls two to three years their juniors. In the past, teenage marriages were no less common than they are today. Marriages as a result of pregnancy are not uncommon but the community usually attaches no social stigma to these unions.

In the past, if no suitable partner resided within the community, the second choice fell to someone who resided outside but who had community ties. Failing this, a spouse might be chosen from further afield, but this individual was likely to be subjected to close scrutiny by the community. Roman Catholic spouses are not generally well received but members of other protestant faiths are acceptable. Brides entering the community are expected to become Lutherans and usually do because church participation is the key to many social activities.

One of the most common marriage patterns of the last two or three generations is that of two or more brothers marrying girls who are

sisters. The following is an outline of the marriage ties which bind four families in the community. (see figure 1, Page 81.) Arnold Schmidt and Helmuth Schmidt were brothers. Arnold inherited the family homestead and Helmuth, who worked closely with Arnold, was set up by their father Menno, on his own farm. Helmuth married Lena Schufeldt who had a sister, Olivia. Olivia was slightly younger than Arnold. This was a good age situation for a match and all of the social prerequisites had been met. There had been ample opportunity for social interaction through the prior marriage. Arnold eventually married Olivia and their two natal families then shared a double bond. These were the families of Schmidt and Schufeldt. The union of Helmuth and Lena produced three off-spring. The union of Arnold to Olivia produced only one.

The eldest son of Helmuth, Issac, married the eldest daughter of the neighbouring Metzger family, Iona. Iona had a brother, Clayton, who was just a little bit older than Issac's sister Viola. The same social circumstances prevailed as those prior to the union of Arnold and Olivia. Clayton eventually married Viola.

The above example illustrates the complexity of the community's affinal relationships. The Schmidt family shared close kinship with the Schufeldt family as a result of the first set of marriages. The Schufeldt family and the Schmidt family shared kinship with the Metzger family now as a result of the second set of marriages. When the only son of Arnold marries a fourth family will join the system and a

great new set of relationships will emerge when Helmuth's offspring marry.

A complication arose recently when Helmuth was killed in an accident. His widow Lena married a widower from outside the community (John Ortman) who has kin in St. Paul's. The surname Ortman is a common name within the community and all of the Schmidts, Schufeldts and Metzgers share kinship with the Ortmans who are related to nearly everyone.

Arnold's son, Jacob, married Doreen, a daughter of John Ortman, who is his Aunt's second husband. Moreover his cousin Mary has married his brother-in-law Elmer.

Although affinal ties such as the ones just cited are a cohesive agent for the community, the basic kin units are the nuclear and extended families.

Usually a newly married couple residing within the community assumes a patrilocal residence and if the groom is an only son they will reside directly upon the father's property. There appears to be no expressed preference concerning which son shall inherit the home property in families producing brothers, but the inheriting son is usually the son who remains with his parents longest and married last. All siblings are expected to contribute to the family treasury as long as they reside at home and young men, when they are ready to marry, usually receive financial support from the family in establishing their

farmsteads. Girls are not given a dowry but they can expect a share of the family inheritance. Offspring who have been provided with an education or other training may receive a smaller sum of money or goods as their inheritance. Members of the family contribute to each other's welfare and enjoy the security this unit provides. Parents enjoy a secure old age supported by their family. A few old people still live out their lives on the land but the trend during the last few years has been for many to move into the neighbouring villages.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL LIFE

The pressure of summer work has made winter in St. Paul's the traditional time for socializing.

In the past rural evening houseparties were a favourite form of entertainment. A small local orchestra supplied the music and the old stone and log houses rang with polkas, square dances and waltzes as punch made from hard cider and homemade wines formed the catalyst to rouse the people to spirited fun. At the end of the evening a huge cold lunch was served. This repast consisted of hearty sandwiches filled with summer wurst (sausage), blood wurst, liver wurst, and head cheese, enhanced by a variety of pickles including tiny pickled ears of corn; gallons of hot black coffee; and numerous homemade pastries (donuts, cakes, cookies, strudel and pies).

These parties took place usually on Friday night and passed through a circuit of about a dozen families. These affairs were seldom held on Saturday night because it was very embarrassing to have to go to church with a hangover. Fights were rare because bad nature of any description at these parties was regarded as a severe breach of etiquette.

Prosperity spelled doom for these pleasurable affairs. The community has more cash money to spend now, as well as better

automobiles and the people seek entertainment in the larger centres or on television instead of providing it themselves.

Young people attend the dances in Neustadt but the motion picture theatres and other commercial entertainment in Hanover are also popular with this age group.

Saturday afternoon in former times was reserved for family visits to the villages. The women would visit one of the two general stores in Neustadt where they procured provisions as well as dry goods or notions while the men retired to the cooling confines of one of the two beer outlets (hotels) in the village where they consumed lager. Young boys went to the combination pool room and barber shop. At an appointed hour the family would meet again, visit some friends or relatives and return home in time for evening chores.

Much of the family shopping is still done on Saturday, but many of the young women now drive automobiles and go to the village any time they wish. Many of the people also travel more widely abroad than the confines of the village and prefer Hanover to shop.

Informal social gatherings are still attended by the people, such as quilting parties held during the long winter afternoons. Men enjoy hunting in winter in groups of about a half dozen individuals with hounds used to flush jack rabbits or foxes from the woodlands.

Christmas is one of the major social and religious events of the year and the church and homes are festively decorated. Every home

has a Christmas tree and many families are now decorating trees outdoors and erecting electrical ornaments. In the days before electricity candles were used to illuminate the indoor trees but these were lit only once, that being on Christmas eve for the benefit of the children.

Everyone who is able goes to church on Christmas eve for a special service. The whole family returns home at about ten o'clock and often a bottle of hard liquor is brought out. All of the men including boys down to the age of about 14 or younger enjoy a yuletide libation. This is quite a special "ritual" because hard liquor is not used in these households regularly although commercial beer is a common beverage which both men and women drink.

Christmas eve is a common time for gift exchange and everyone from the smallest child to the oldest member of the family takes part. Of course the gifts from Saint Nicholas are not opened then because he does not arrive until after the children have retired. These are reserved for Christmas morning.

Christmas day is a family day usually highlighted by a large dinner at noon of fowl but snacks and special treats are eaten all day. Generally there is no formal evening meal.

Christmas festivities include the annual Christmas concert which is conducted by the Luther League and the Sunday school. During the programme the smallest children recite poems and older children

present short playlets, and dramatized carols. A dramatized version of the Nativity is a standard feature and at the close of the evening someone will sing Silent Night and O'Tannenbaum.

The Christmas and New Year holiday period is spent in a round of visiting with friends and neighbours. New Year's Eve is not as boisterously celebrated as it is in many North American societies but is passed as a quiet evening at home by many families.

In the days before the local school was closed in favour of the new Township Central School a school Christmas concert was held on the evening of the last day of school before the Christmas recess. This was presented by the pupils of the school and the teacher's reputation was measured by the quality of the concert. These presentations resembled the church concerts but were more lengthy. Invariably near the end of the evening a costumed Saint Nicholas made his appearance and distributed gifts to all of the children as a kind of prelude to Christmas proper. Great care had to be taken in Saint's selection for he should be no-one whom the children knew well. In relation to his identity a kind of game was subtly played in which the children tried to discover him. All of the older children knew that the whole idea was a farce but they went along with it for the sake of their younger brothers and sisters. At the conclusion of the evening a huge lunch was served to everyone.

Men in the past have conducted all family business matters and as

a consequence have had more social freedom than their mates. Bill paying and banking is still done by the males necessitating frequent visits to the village and the hotels have become informal meeting places where nearly any afternoon in winter several men of St. Paul's can be found drinking lager and talking with friends. More visits are made to town on business than are really necessary and the women suspect this but no objection is generally made unless their husbands abuse the trips.

Marriage festivals are perhaps the most popular of the social institutions of St. Paul's and are the only ones regularily scheduled for the summer and spring months. Often the prospective bride and groom have known each other since childhood, experiencing each other's company in the local school, the Sunday school, and the Luther League. In addition they are often the offspring of neighbouring families.

Engagements need not be formally announced (although a notice is put in the Hanover paper) because they are anticipated by most of the community as it witnesses the couple sitting together at church gatherings, dancing together at social functions, and casually dating. In St. Paul's to be seen with the same member of the opposite sex on a few dozen occasions in succession is an unofficial announcement of betrothal.

The wedding ceremony itself is preceded by the presentation of a ring which indicates the official betrothal. However, this is only a formality because everyone in the community expected the announcement

and would be surprised and disappointed if it was not forthcoming. A young man is considered to be a cad if he doesn't produce a ring after unofficially indicating his intention to marry.

The wedding ceremony itself is one of paramount religious significance for the congregation and as most pastors state, "It is not to be entered into lightly." The ceremony itself follows the regular pattern for the ceremony described in the Lutheran prayer book.

Tradition dictates that the groom should not see the bride on the day before the ceremony and often he and his friends spend a portion of the closest weekend to the ceremony in revelry. After much beer, cider and wine have been consumed and a hearty lunch is enjoyed he is presented with a gift or a purse of money. There was in the past no such gathering for the bride. Bridal showers were unknown but now they are becoming rather common.

The groom arrives at the church before the bride on the day of the wedding after entrusting the car to be used for the wedding trip to a friend who can be fully trusted to hide it. A certain amount of tampering will be done to the vehicle if it is discovered.

The bride arrives in the company of her father and mother and her immediate family. She is dressed usually in a long white gown but her attendants wear matching coloured clothing which can be worn later as party dresses.

When the bride arrives the groom is informed and is sometimes

given a hearty shot of whiskey from a flask brought by the best man to give him courage for the "ordeal" he is about to face. (This practice is frowned upon by the clergy.) The groom enters the chapel first as the first chords of the wedding march are struck then the ceremony proceeds in an orthodox protestant manner. After the ceremony, the bride and groom in the company of their attendants retire to the church vestry where the register is signed. During this period some talented person who has been selected earlier renders a piece of vocal music.

When the newly married couple emerge from the vestry they leave the chapel of the church and are greeted by a rain of confetti. The wedding party then departs for Hanover for photographs. During their absence the wedding guests often retire to the home of the parents of the groom for refreshments (usually alcoholic) and then later congregate at the church for a wedding supper prepared by the church women.

At this affair toasts are drunk with wine, a large meal is served, and the wedding cake is cut and distributed. The whole assembly after the meal retires to the Neustadt Community Centre where a dance is held in the evening. A free bar provided by the groom is a prominent feature of this aspect of the day's activity, and many friends who have not been invited to the wedding supper are invited to the evening festivities. The bride and groom remain here until about mid-night but their departure does not halt the festivities and these evening gatherings often go on until early in the morning. Sometime during

the course of the evening a large lunch is served and the older people of the congregation return home.

When a death occurs, the word spreads through the congregation in a matter of hours. Funeral notices are posted in the village stores which give information about the disposal of the remains and the church bell is tolled. If the death occurs early in the morning, this may be done the same day.

The body rests at the local funeral home in Neustadt for about two days so that the friends of the deceased may call and it is then moved to the Chapel of St. Paul's about 11 o'clock on the morning of the funeral. Pall bearers are usually selected from the neighbours of the deceased and are rarely close kin.

The service itself is conducted by the prescription laid down in the prayer book and then a biography of the deceased is read.

Following the chapel service the pall bearers remove the casket from the back of the chapel and carry it to the cemetary across the road where the remains are interred to the accompaniment of great weeping and wailing by the relatives and a short graveside prayer by the minister.

After the interment everyone returns to the church where lunch is served by the church ladies and everyone goes home to prepare for the next day's work.

During the early years in St. Paul's education of both sexes was

carried on in the family. The boys learned to farm by example from their fathers and the girls learned to be homemakers. This situation changed with the introduction of formal academic education in the late 1800's. In the pioneer community boys received instruction first because it was felt to be wasted on girls. In 1877 the first permanent stone school was built at St. Paul's and instruction became more or less universal in the community. During the early years the curriculum content was at the discretion of the instructor who taught only subjects which suited his taste and knowledge. Any literate person who had the time to do the job was a candidate for master but often he was "imported". The teacher was paid a very small salary but made ends meet by boarding with the families whose children he instructed. He often lent a hand with the farm chores as well.

The school operated on a twelve month basis and enrolment was often as many as 50 pupils but during the busy spring, summer or fall attendance dropped to a handful as help was required on the farms. The pupils ages ranged from seven to twenty. When a boy had learned to read, write and do some arithmetic his education was considered to be complete and he was ready for the serious business of learning to be a good farmer.

By the turn of the century (1900) girls were encouraged to get an education but most people still felt that the place of women was in the home. Gradually women are becoming emancipated from their

stereotype as household workers. One striking example of the feeling of female inferiority is illustrated by this example. Arthur and his wife were childless. When male visitors arrived at Arthur's home the woman would wait upon the husband and his guests but she did not enter into the conversation. Arthur and his guests occupied the table in the kitchen while she sat on a chair by herself beside the wood stove.

When the couple went into the village the husband walked ahead of the woman and she followed behind him bearing their purchases.

During the 1930's it became fairly common for some of the children to attend the High School in Hanover. This however, was not a universal practice. Extra tuition had to be paid and the student was responsible for his own transportation. In many families the feeling existed that the talents of the children could be more properly developed at home doing "useful" things.

St. Paul's school was closed by the Township in 1966 when a new central school was built in Ayton and all of the St. Paul's pupils now travel to this large school by bus. Many of the older people displayed great resentment when the small school was closed but this is passing now.

In St. Paul's school German was never the language of instruction but a great many of the children who began their educational careers there were unilingual in German. When a child began to go to school this language was a handicap because all instruction was in English.

A great many of the families still speak the German dialect within their homes and in company with similar families but everyone now has a workable knowledge of English. Very few people in the community can write in the German language but most of the elderly people can read a little. This is in no small respect due to the fact that the original settlers were for the greater part illiterate. Those who could read and write had little opportunity to pass this skill on to their offspring because of a shortage of books.

The new compulsory school leaving age of 16 with the abolition of permission to work at 14 means that most of St. Paul's children get some high school education. However, generally those who are going to stay on the land remain in school only until they have reached the legal age to leave. Many boys and girls display a preference for rural life and are not strongly deterred by their parents when they wish to leave school and become part of the rural economy.

Boys were initiated into traditional farming life at a very early age and children of five or six or even younger accompanied their fathers and older brothers to the stables. Their children were given barn tasks for which they are solely responsible but no child was given a task which it was felt he could not accomplish. This would be detrimental to the operation of the farm. These were simple jobs such as the watering of young animals or filling salt boxes. No-one would perform his tasks for him unless he was ill.

Small girls were given light household duties and these tasks became their responsibilities. As the child grew older, she was gradually initiated into the more responsible duties of garden husbandry and home economics. Girls and women were in the past very seldom asked to do any of the stable work except milking.

The gardens are ploughed and the seed beds prepared by the men but after that they usually became the exclusive domain of the women and girls. However, potatoes and turnips which require a lot of manual labour, employing dangerous draught animals or machinery are cultivated by the males of the family. The hoeing falls to the female members of the household.

Women are very fond of flower growing and nearly every household garden has a section devoted to the growing of cut flowers which are used as embellishments in the immaculate homes as well as decoration for the church and the cemetary.

There exists in the community no traditional body of folklore or myths. If these existed in the past they have been lost. No custom of fireside story telling between families is present either but some popular ghost stories such as those which follow are related within the family circles.

It was believed that if a person lay desperately ill, angels could be seen hovering above the chimney of his residence, at night and if the individual's condition improved the angels would fade away. If, however,

he succumbed they descended into the house by means of the chimney and then suddenly dissolved into the air.

The standard metaphysical story in the area was one of a barn haunted by a malevolent ghost. Within this barn strange blue lights appeared at intervals in the stable. The farmer who owned the barn became quite disturbed by the regular appearance of this phenomena and decided to attack it with a long handled hay fork. What he got for his pains was broken and twisted fork tines hafted upon a broken handle. He felt that this unfriendly gesture on the part of the spirit dictated drastic action by himself. Consequently, the next night he went to the stable with his shot gun. When the light appeared he greeted it with a double barrelled fusillade of #2 shot. He awakened about an hour later with a large lump on his head and his gun broken into two pieces. Apparently, he discouraged the apparition because it has never since reappeared.

Music is popular and at many community home gatherings where alcohol is served the assembly often sings Deutschland Uber Alles and the Lauderbach. Traditional German hymns are sometimes sung in the church as well. On Saturday nights in the local beer outlets (hotels) in Neustadt, the older German people sometimes sing German songs but modern western music is more popular with most of the young people.

CHAPTER VI

ST. PAUL'S FUTURE AS A COMMUNITY

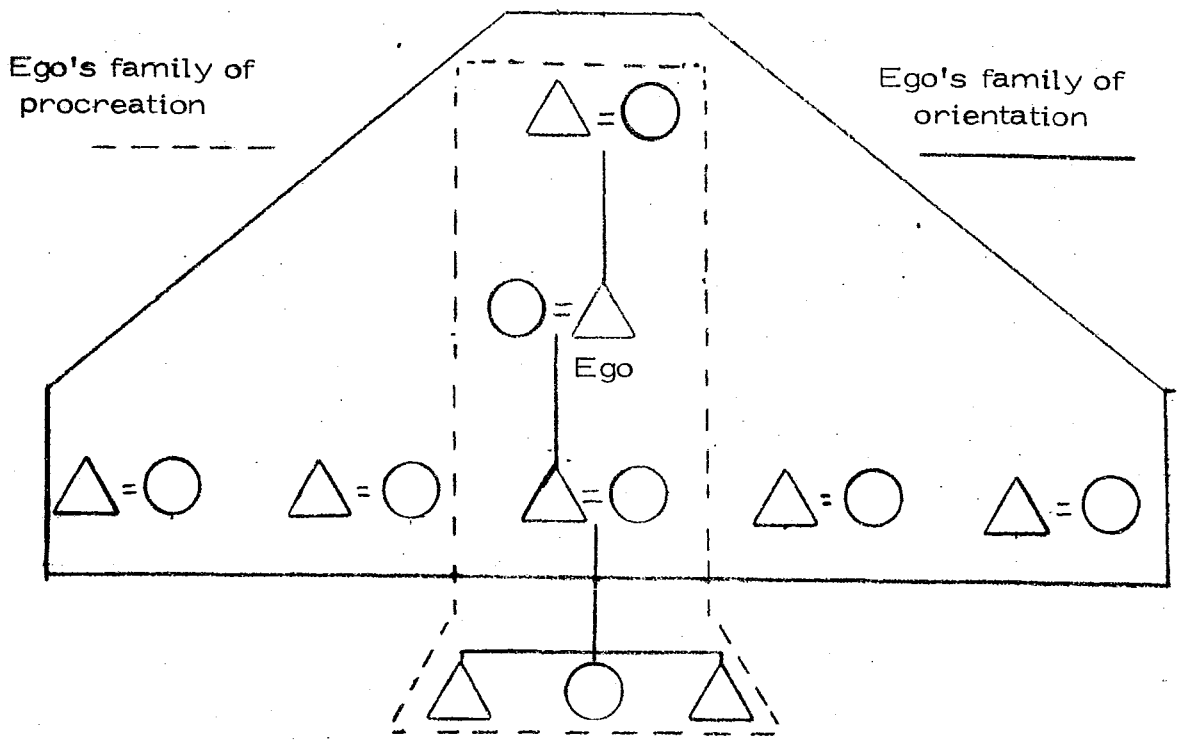
The economic roots of Normanby Township are still agricultural with many families deriving the major portion of their livelihood directly from tilling the soil and assimilation of the resulting crops by livestock. However, some families now supplement their farming incomes with part time work such as driving school buses, caretaking jobs, and selling agricultural chemicals and real estate while others have stopped farming completely in favour of cash labour. The reasons for this trend are apparent upon examination of the economic history of agriculture in the area.

During the early days of the community farming as an enterprise was purely a family endeavour. The division of labour based on sex allotted the activities of the household, garden, and dairy to women. Activities related to the main income aspects of the farming enterprise were the business of men. Men were responsible for buying and selling livestock, animal propagation, soil tillage and woodlot management. Children were expected to contribute to this family enterprise by performing tasks suitable to sex and age. An overlap of role activity occurred among very young children of differing sexes because these children spent most of their time with women. Education for adult roles

was informal. As soon as a male child was big enough he followed his father about the latter's daily tasks but girls were confined to the activities of women such as the household, garden and creamery.

The tasks assigned to men and women were generally well defined but were not absolutely distinguished from each other. For instance, it was not uncommon for women to help in the fields in times of concentrated activity such as haying, harvesting, and sowing but a man who expected his wife to assist him in regular tasks was not well regarded by his neighbours. The general feeling persisted that unless a man had no sons, no female of his household should be expected to do "men's work."

Nuclear families were generally quite large by modern standards. Grandparents and other relatives were frequently attached to households. The following type of household was typical:



Patrilocality was the ideal situation but the availability of land often forced the occurrence of other types of residence.

The farming operation itself was of the "classic" mixed type and specialization in agriculture was almost non-existent with respect to crops or livestock; for example, every farmstead had a little of everything. This factor made any one farm operation indistinguishable from the others with respect to the goods it produced. Common grain crops sown were spring wheat, (now very rarely grown), barley, oats, buckwheat, and flax. Corn was notably missing because of the danger of early frost. Field peas were grown for livestock feed in combination with the "coarse grains" mentioned above. Surpluses in grain appear to have been relatively rare with the exception of wheat which was sold as a cash crop. Flax was grown almost exclusively for cash purposes.

A variety of saleable animals was present on most farms but swine and cattle were most popular. Sheep were never very important either commercially or for home use. Wool was marketed or home spun but the mutton was not a favourite food in St. Paul's. Some of the older men tell of the agony suffered in a warm church while wearing a homemade woollen suit. The number of spinning wheels sold at local auction sales in recent years testify to the industry of the women in the art of textile manufacture in earlier times.

Cattle and swine were marketed for cash but were also the favorite meats for local ingestion. The favorite breeds of cattle were

Dual Purpose Shorthorns and Durhams. These cattle produced both meat and milk indicating that no more importance was attached to one product over the other as a source of revenue. These cattle were not excellent for either purpose but were adequate producers.

Milk products, (especially butter) were saleable items, as were eggs when they were available. Chickens which lay eggs the year round are a relatively recent development in poultry science.

The marketing of surpluses in the past was largely confined to the local area. Grain when it was sold for cash usually went to the miller either in Neustadt or Ayton. Butter and eggs were sold (or bartered) to general store keepers in these centres also. The miller often took a portion of wheat for his milling fee and the store keeper took butter and eggs in trade for such articles as tea, sugar, salt and other items which a family could not produce itself. Barter trading was never really important because the economy of this community was never divorced completely from that of the province or nation. Cash money was therefore always important. Livestock marketing is an example of the dual element of the economic system. Animals were generally sold to drovers who came through the area at given periods during the year (usually spring and autumn). In addition livestock was sold at the cattle fairs held in Durham monthly. The marketing of livestock through either of these channels was generally for cash but some simple barter trading accompanied these meetings as well

especially for feeder cattle.

Originally tillage machinery used in the community was designed for horse traction and a walking operator. The machines were simple and contained a minimum of moving parts, plows for example consisted of a heavy beam fixed with a stationary mouldboard and coulter. These, as well as the simple cultivators and drag harrows could be maintained by the farmer with a little help from the local blacksmith who fashioned iron replacement parts on his anvil. The motto of the "oldtimers" was, "If it breaks, I'll fix it myself."

Such machinery made days seem long and the work hard because nearly all of the operations involved in seeding, haying and harvesting required heavy labour. If times were hard for men conditions for women were if anything, worse. Labour saving devices for home and dairy were rare. Hard work and simple machines produced many early social and economic institutions.

When the original simple machinery for tillage was purchased very little cash was required to maintain it. A family equipped with simple tools was largely economically independent of large economic systems because parts were made or modified locally from basic materials. This phenomenon in company with dominantly local markets largely contained commerce within the area and a family's social and business acquaintances tended to be the same people. The geographic proximity of a family to the nearest village and its geographic location

in relation to one of these centres (Ayton or Neustadt) also dictated the composition of its social contacts. This geographic proximity still is a factor in the degree of social interaction between the rural families of St. Paul's and one village or the other. The South Saugeen River serves as a social and commercial division point. Families living on the east side of the river almost invariably gravitate to Ayton while those on the west side are drawn to Neustadt. No one in the community tries to explain this phenomena but no one questions its existence.

The community and the two villages worked and played together but it is notable that the cities and for the most part the larger centres in the area were excluded largely from everyday business and as a consequence most social activity. The world of the community member consisted of the community itself and the small villages which served his immediate needs, both social and economic.

The economic boom immediately preceding the First World War and the years immediately before the depression of the 1930's were the most prosperous periods that St. Paul's has ever experienced. During these periods the automobile was introduced and industry began to make its appearance in the larger centres of the area as mechanized mass producers.

With the phenomenal rise in the price of wheat during this period as well as a general rise in farm produce prices the standard of living rose accordingly. Mechanized devices come to the fore. Riding gang

plows, cultivators and discs, binders, mowers, and dump rakes became popular. Field labour became less arduous but not without great cost to their owners in economic independence. The machines were expensive to buy and often broke down and metal cast replacement parts could not be made in the local blacksmith shop. Maintenance of these machines required the service of a specialist and someone with a large stock of prefabricated parts of infinite variety. Machines performing the same functions varied in mechanical composition from manufacturer to manufacturer and also varied from year to year. Even simple parts such as plow points were not interchangeable because those designed for one make of plow would not fit one made by some other company nor could they be used on the same company's model of different years.

Complex machines made agricultural production more efficient per worker unit but the increase in production for man hours expended became more and more necessary as the farms began to evolve from their independent economic existence to reliance on specialists and their products. Cash dealing became the rule in all transactions involving the exchange of goods or labour.

As the standard of living continued to improve, specialist consumer goods became dominant also. Of these, without doubt, the automobile had the greatest impact on the community. This machine rendered long journeys comparably easy broadening the community world.

The automobile received a mixed welcome during its early days because a faction divided the community attitude toward the new machine,

as horsemen decried them and new owners praised their virtues. The degree of economic and social change wrought by the automobile is inestimable but its debut in the community did achieve a geographically mobile population.

As they came to be widely accepted, automobiles rendered the community even more susceptible to specialists but these machines were luxury articles and did not directly impinge on the traditional system of farming. This was not true of the gasoline tractor. Probably more than any other machine, it helped to break up the old economic and social systems.

Tractors rendered the farmer independent of manual labour by his neighbours and family, when the new machine was accompanied by other devices such as side delivery rakes, two and three furrow plows, wagons with rubber tires and grain separators which the farmer could own and operate himself. As the co-operative labour system broke down the step to the tractor driven grain separator was preceded by an intermediate stage.

In the early days threshing was accomplished by means of flail and winnow. This operation was performed by the farmer and his immediate family. The steam engine and portable separator travelling its circuit from farm to farm processing the barn stored sheaves replaced flailing but newer harvesting equipment stimulated the old social institution of co-operative labour in threshing to achieve its acme when gas tractors became common and groups of farmers went together to

buy a separator and finally a "big farmer" bought his own. With this machine the work load of harvest time was cut substantially and no longer was it necessary for the farmer to store his unthreshed crop in the mows until the "threshers" came. Grain could now be threshed directly from the field by the farmer and his sons with the help of a number of neighbour workers.

As changes in farm work evolved as a result of mechanization a change in the methods of marketing products from the land appeared. Eggs and dairy products were collected at the farm by the buyer or taken to creameries in the villages of Neustadt or Ayton. Cattle and hogs went directly to the packing houses which paid the producer directly. In dealing with these big concerns farm families gradually lost some of their stature as independent economic units.

Although much of the food for the family still came largely from the land a greater proportion came to be purchased and clothing became universally of the commercial variety. The economic sphere of the rural family was no longer confined to the local community as specialists and impersonal marketing extended their world to the larger centres and the nation at large.

The machinery which dominated the agriculture at St. Paul's during the early twentieth century and on into the 1920's and 1930's was the forerunner of greater mechanization in the mid-twentieth century.

The end of the Second World War saw fully mechanized agriculture come to the area. Every farm acquired a tractor and tillage, haying, and harvesting machinery. Hydraulic tractor mounted plows, traction lift types of trailing plows, power driven mowers, hay loaders, side delivery rakes, large discs (disc harrows), bigger and more efficient cultivators, and seed drills were introduced. The barns were equipped with electricity, milking machines, power chopping mills, and automatic watering devices for livestock. The day of the horse came to an end and specialists dominated the scene. Until shortly after the Second World War it was still possible for a small family to prosper in the "mixed farming" tradition. A small farm with five or six hand milked cows, 100 hens, 20 pigs, and perhaps a few sheep and steers for fattening could provide a good living for its owners as markets remained high for most agricultural products because volume production was not common. When one commodity declined, others could be relied upon to carry the enterprise. During this period many prospective farmers with limited capital established themselves with little difficulty. Most farmers in the community assert that during this period it was almost impossible not to make a good living. Any mistakes which were made in agricultural trading were usually well covered by the gains in other areas. The agricultural bonanza was short lived.

Improved farm technology had far reaching effects as time passed. It became possible for one man with proper machinery to perform tasks which previously required the labour of his whole family and

neighbours but this expensive machinery demanded the services of a new force of specialists who worked only for cash. The economic ramifications of this situation soon became painfully apparent to many farmers. Larger land holdings were required to assure that the machines would be working during every possible hour in their seasons. Only the acquisition of extra acreage stopped time payments and depreciation on these from absorbing profits.

As more land came to be worked by fewer men, the sons of many farmers soon found that there was no place for them on the land. Unless the head of a household had been outstandingly successful during his early farming career, it was nearly impossible for him to set up his sons on their own establishments because the cash outlay for equipment alone represented several thousand dollars. Land also became more expensive than ever before as the demand for it increased in direct proportion to the ownership of expensive machinery.

Cost factors have continued to rise as machinery inventories have grown. Self propelled combines, swathers, balers, forage harvesters, corn pickers and planters, post hole diggers, chain saws, self unloading wagons, silage and forage blowers, stable cleaners, manure loaders, power driven manure spreaders, snow blowers, pick up trucks, and bigger more expensive tractors are representative of some of the machines which are found on most of St. Paul's farms today.

Present estimates of the cost of setting up a profitable farm in

the community today including sufficient land, machinery and livestock to make a living, range from fifty to seventy-five thousand dollars. Few men can get this amount of credit from lending agencies and fewer have fathers with sufficient money to establish them.

The consequence of this economic dilemma is that the number of people actually tilling the soil is steadily diminishing. None of the farms of St. Paul's which are actively producing a living for their owners now contains less than 100 acres and most contain 200 to 300 acres if one considers two or more farms being worked by a man and his married sons or brothers co-operatively as one agricultural unit. In such a co-operative unit expensive pieces of machinery can be bought collectively.

Increased opportunity for education is also affecting community composition. More children from this area are attending high school than ever before. This helps to explain in part diminishing population, because there is very little opportunity in the rural community for the employment of trained persons except in limited specialized farming occupations. As a result educated young people move out of the community to the larger urban centres.

Farming today is fast becoming a highly technical enterprise requiring at least a basic knowledge of chemistry, botany, animal husbandry and veterinary medicine, farm engineering, and economics. If the community is to persist it is imperative that men staying on the

land acquire these skills.

Large food processing concerns are not unaware of the inefficiency problem which runs through most of Canada's rural populations. Consequently, these interests have begun to take steps to insure that their sources of supply will be standardized and dependable. One such measure is the process known as "vertical integration." This means that the processor supplies the farmers with the raw materials needed to produce the desired agricultural commodity and the producer is bound to sell back his production only to the supplier. Literally he becomes an employee of the processing concern. Another variation of the same process is one by which the producer is paid a pre-set price per unit for each unit he produces for the supplier which is then deducted from an underwritten production bill. In essence these concerns are paying farmers wage labour to produce for them, and freedom to compete on the open market is lost. Farmers in St. Paul's universally despise this system but each year more families are being forced to join it if they are to survive. The following are examples of this practice.

Oscar Derbecker is the owner of a fairly large farm which he works with his married son, Emile. In addition to the crop land, cattle and swine this farm contains several large pens for rearing chickens. Oscar and Emile have an agreement with a local poultry farm. They receive day old chicks and raise them to pullets (about 4 months). The poultry farm supplies not only the chicks, but feed, and

advice. Oscar and Emile supply the litter (straw), the housing and the labour. When the pullets are ready to be put into laying pens the poultry farm pays these men a prescribed sum per bird for each chicken that they take from their pens. In effect they are contracting their equipment and labour.

Reuben Schenk participates in a similar enterprise but deals with a rival of Oscar Derbecker's company. He has a large poultry house accomodated to laying hens. Reuben's poultry farm supplies him with laying hens and roosters which he feeds according to the supplier's specifications. The supplier in turn buys the eggs which Reuben's hens produce. The firm supplies the feed, and Reuben must supply the housing, litter, and labour. Reuben may not sell the eggs to anyone else and he must buy the feed from the company.

One of the major packing companies has tried a similar scheme in hog production but no one in St. Paul's has tried this yet. The general feeling is that with pigs they can do better on "their own". How long this independence will last is dependent upon how long these farmers can bear the economic competition of the open market. A fear has long existed in this community as it does in many rural ones that city dwellers in general can't be trusted, but recently hostility has begun to shift more to fear of big, city business. In 1965 an expression of this fear was manifested when many of St. Paul's farmers bought shares in the ill-fated F.A.M.E. scheme. (Farmers Allied Meat Enterprises)

The basis of this plan was a share system. Shares were sold to 1000 Ontario farmers at $100 per share and this capital was invested in a faltering meat packing plant in Burlington, Ontario where all surplus hogs were to be processed by the farmer owned company. In theory this scheme was designed to keep the price of hogs "up" by forcing the buyers from the regular commercial packing firms to continually face an artificial shortage.

The required sum was not raised and the scheme failed. The fact remains however that some farmers in St. Paul's are trying to do something about the commercial fixing of prices by big business.

Many of St. Paul's farmers have given their support to the Ontario Hog Producers Marketing Board and the Ontario Milk Producers Marketing Board, but there is a growing uneasiness concerning the impersonality of these marketing agencies and many of the community's farmers are beginning to wonder if they have simply traded one master for another.

Another organization finding great favour among these farmers is The Ontario Farmers' Union (now the National Farmer's Union). This body is organized like a trade union and its avowed aim is to get better prices for farm products by using coercive measures similar to those employed by blue collar workers in attempts to gain improved wages and working conditions from industrial employers. However, none of the farmers from the "local" which takes in St. Paul's joined

in the tractor march on Ottawa in 1968 but they did support the action in principle. If the march had been in support of beef or pork stabilization, overt participation might have been more strongly expressed. These farmers are not yet willing to look far beyond immediate benefits nor see themselves as part of the whole industry of agriculture. This is a basic weakness in the structure of the Ontario Farmer's Union and one which is causing much disillusionment among members throughout the country.

During the postal strike of 1968 many of the farmers felt sympathy for the strikers and voiced moral support for their cause. This may be partly attributed to the fact that most farmers were not affected directly by the strike. Livestock receipts which would normally be mailed were returned to the producers by the livestock truckers.

If the expression of sympathy for these workers had been expressed only by Ontario Farmer's Union members it might be attributed to union teaching. However, sympathy was universal throughout the community.

Many of the farmers expressed sentiments which indicated that they felt that the blame for the strike lay not with the city postal workers but rather with big business interests which were endeavouring to cheat the mail carriers. In effect the farmers were allying themselves with the postal union against the city interests whom they felt were cheating them also.

This kind of sentiment among farmers is growing as farm prices tend to decline in the face of rising production costs which the community feels are the result of gouging by their suppliers and buyers.

Although the economic changes and the resulting attitudes cited above were important factors in changing the social institutions of the community other factors not so directly economic were also instrumental in this respect. Acceptance of the automobile, for instance, has done irreparable damage to the traditional social life of St. Paul's community.

In the pre-automobile era a journey of any great distance was a tedious undertaking. For example, the nine mile journey to Hanover took more than an hour and the longer journey to Owen Sound (Forty-five miles) required several. Moreover, the horse drawn buggies, democrats and cutters were uncomfortable in inclement weather and too small for many people. Most travel as a result was restricted to village visits.

A model T Ford, although almost as uncomfortable as a horse drawn vehicle, cut travel time in half and modern automobiles make long journeys quick and comfortable. Because of automobiles, the community of St. Paul's became less dependent on the local communities for necessities and the luxuries which it desired as a result of prosperity.

No longer did young persons feel that a journey to Hanover or Kitchener was a real novelty and they began to attend distant social

functions such as dances and parties with regularity. Outside acquaintances and attitudes made this group more "cosmopolitan" than their fathers had ever been. One of the best insulators against social change is geographic isolation and the automobile ended this for the St. Paul's community.

During the "Centennial year" (1967) many people travelled by car to Expo (Man and His World) in Montreal and trips to London, Kitchener, Owen Sound, and Toronto are no longer events of great significance but are regarded as rather everyday occurrences by everyone.

Nearly every young male in the community today who is over the age of sixteen and not in school, is the owner of an automobile. Very few of these owners are staying on the land but get employment in the furniture factories in the larger centres of Hanover, Durham, or Walkerton. A few find employment in the feed mills at Ayton or Neustadt, the poultry farm in Ayton, or the bakery. Many of these first jobs are temporary and most boys approaching their late teens or early twenties seek employment in larger centres. Among those centres chosen for permanent employment Kitchener is most popular. One reason for this preference is that many former residents of St. Paul's have already made their homes there making it easy for a new arrival to seek out relatives and friends. These boys are physically mobile driving everywhere. To be a youth of this class and not possess an automobile

would be socially unthinkable. When the city workers return on weekends and during the holiday seasons, the main streets of the two villages become "automobile shows."

Girls who leave school at sixteen do not usually own automobiles. This is unnecessary because there is a shortage of girls in St. Paul's with respect to the number of boys in the teenage and early twenty group thus they have no trouble finding willing chauffeurs. Most of these girls remain at home immediately after leaving school but by the time they have reached 17 or 18 they have found employment in the knitting mills in Hanover or as sanders in the furniture factories, or solderers in an electrical component plant. Some of them also seek employment in the Ayton bakery or at the poultry farm as egg handlers. If these girls do not marry by the time they reach their early twenties they too move to the larger cities to seek employment and greater social activity.

Boys in this working group very rarely return to the land. It is economically impossible for them to do this. If a boy does not have the backing of his father to "set him up" on a farm there is little prospect that he will be able to find capital on his own.

More young people are now staying in school past sixteen than was formerly true. Their parents generally have come to believe that education is a necessary prerequisite to good employment and that many of the children in the high school group are destined to move from

the area because there is no opportunity in St. Paul's. When these people move to the larger centres they have no intention of ever returning permanently. Although they are not as automobile oriented as their less well educated counterparts they too, recognize the automobile as a status symbol.

Negative attitudes toward farming as a way of life have developed among many of the young people. It is fashionable for them to speak of farming as a second rate way to earn a living. This is in direct opposition to the values which are expressed by their elders. The further one investigates into the older generation levels the stronger the loyalty to farming becomes. The attitude now being expressed by the young people is not an "overnight" occurrence. Most informants over 35 still extoll the virtues of farming as a way of life but their feelings on this subject are not so strongly expressed as they are by people in the post 60 group.

One reason for this negative farm attitude is rooted in the change in the social environment for many of the youth. The social circle of the less educated who work away from the farms are people in the labouring and semi-skilled occupations, many of whom are former farm people. This group tries to hide their rural origins in favour of more "sophisticated" urban status and endeavours to improve its social position by degrading farmers and suggesting these are dumb clods who stay on the land because they can't "make good" in town.

This attitude is reflected in the derogatory jargon used by this group such as "dumb farmer", "hayseed", "rube", and "hick". The effect of this social climate on a farm boy working for wages is unestimable.

When young people from St. Paul's attend high school in Hanover, they meet the children of the small town "aristocracy" for the first time. It is a social fact that many people who live in small centres and who have been born and raised there usually feel that they occupy a higher position on the social scale than persons and families who have rural origins. The rural student soon discovers that it is socially comfortable to imitate these self-styled "aristocrats" and seek to identify with the town rather than the rural social environment. Many of these students have no intention of returning to the rural society when they enter the working world and feel that they are preparing themselves for their new social roles. Some of the young people who leave school go directly to the land or return to it after a brief exposure to local wage-labour occupations. Many of these people are early school dropouts who have no technical knowledge of any sort except that which has been learned from their farming families. This type of knowledge was invaluable in the past but in this quickly changing agricultural era of specialized production, this kind of knowledge is no longer adequate.

The following examples illustrate two cases of inadequate training in management.

Shortly after Ezra's marriage his father wished to retire and agreed to sell Ezra his farm holdings for a nominal sum of money. There appeared to be no reason that Ezra could not carry on as efficiently as his father had but unfortunately he had no knowledge of even rudimentary trading. He bought and sold at the wrong times and consequently lost money on nearly every transaction. Ezra bought some laying hens for $2.00 when the price of market eggs was high because there was a shortage of mature hens and the season's pullets had not yet begun to produce. Shortly after, when the market began to flood with the produce of the new chicken flocks, the egg market became depressed. Ezra was then forced to market his hens at a 2/3 net loss because their production at the reduced price didn't even cover the cost of feeding them. This catastrophe could have been avoided if he had checked the market more closely and had read the Dominion Bureau of Statistics report on poultry.

The final result of Ezra's ventures into other enterprises were equally unfortunate. Within 18 months he had lost his entire livestock and equipment inventory to his creditors and he was forced to sell his land to cover his debts. He now works as a lumber handler for a Hanover furniture factory.

Jacob is another example of an inept manager. Upon the death of his father, Jacob bought his farm from the estate and proceeded to equip it on credit. (This required about 50 thousand dollars.)

Eventually he became so mired in debt that he could not meet his interest payments. In the fall of 1970, Jacob declared bankruptcy. Without better training for young farmers, there will be more failures of this kind in the future.

The introduction of television into the St. Paul's area in the early 1950's has done a great deal to change the social patterns of the community as well. Most people in the community cite television as the instrument which abolished house parties and evening visiting. The loss of these institutions compounded by the death of co-operative labour socially isolated many farm families from their neighbours. The only time many of these people now meet each other regularly is at church or school functions.

Television has, however, broadened the cultural horizons of St. Paul's people. They now watch the same programs as city viewers. Commercial advertising on television has introduced a desire for new products so that an inventory of the food found in any kitchen in the St. Paul's community today would largely duplicate brands and types found in urban homes. Storekeepers in both Ayton and Neustadt immediately stock products seen advertised on television, because if they don't their customers will go to outlets in Hanover where these things are available. The storekeepers resent the new buying trends because of the increased capital required to keep stock competitive.

The effect of television on the children of St. Paul's has been tremendous. They now learn facts about the world at large which were unknown to their parents as children. Television has also fostered attitudes and tastes in these children which are identical with those of city children.

The automobile carried the farmer to the city and the television has brought the city to the farmer.

One of the important results of the changing economy and the adoption of more technological devices is a trend to changed attitudes in the selection of spouses. For the group of young people remaining on the land the ideal types of partners mentioned earlier are still preferred but the old criteria in mate selection has greatly broken down among the other groups. Religion is a very important factor in the selection of a mate by young people living in the community and mixed marriages between Catholics and Lutherans occur only rarely. This is more true now than in the past. Educated males tend to marry later than others with the youngest marriages occurring among those who return to the land. The males in the former group tend to marry in their mid-twenties or later and among the young farmers marriage usually takes place before twenty-three. Girls follow this general pattern also but are one or two years younger than their spouses. Educated girls tend to marry somewhat later than the rural girls and usually choose a spouse from outside the community.

Some elderly people continue to live with married children but

this custom is dying. The cash oriented economy of recent years has fostered a preference among both parents and children for a separate house nearby or in one of the villages. The services of nursing homes are becoming popular also.

Mechanization has also wrought great changes in the sexual division of labour on the farms. The introduction of milking parlours and bulk milk tanks as a result of a profitable market for fluid whole milk has rendered separating unnecessary while the methods of producing eggs for volume production has removed this activity from the sphere of women as well. Women's activities are largely confined now to the care of the children, the household, and the kitchen garden.

Young people who can speak the native German tongue are becomming increasingly rare and those who do possess this skill are usually members of the group who remain on the land. It is not improbable that in future generations knowledge of this language will continue to decline. One factor contributing to this trend is the closing of the St. Paul's rural school in favour of the New Central School which draws children from the entire township. This new school provides the standard elementary education which urban children receive and German is rarely spoken in the school yard. If the emphasis on English continues and there is no reason to assume it will not, even the young people who remain in the community will lose

their knowledge of German. For the children, there is no advantage in preserving the ethnic heritage except in the family situation, and many community families have dropped the speaking of German in their homes. No regular church services have been conducted in German since the early 1940's when this was forbidden by the government although occasionally a German service is held for the elderly members of the congregation.

In the past, home cured and smoked pork was very popular as well as a wide variety of home-made sausages. The preparation of these items was a time consuming process, and most families now purchase these from a commercial outlet although home curing is still practised by a few families. Home produced and home prepared meat is still most popular but it is butchered into fresh cuts which are stored in home deep freeze units.

Most families express a preference for home cured meats, but use the freezing system of storage for its simplicity and convenience. Home canning has been largely replaced by freezing also. Commercially prepared, foods, especially baking is found on most farm tables but in the past with the exception of bread, commercial baking products were rarely used.

At a recent wedding reception in the Neustadt Community Centre the lunch, consisted entirely of commercial meat and cheese sandwiches and purchased baking. The older people were disgusted.

One elderly lady commented: "That sure wasn't the kind of lunch like what we're used to." However most people concede that this type of food will not be rare at these events in the future.

The annual fall fair held in Neustadt in September has also been affected by changing values. The focus of attention (perhaps as a result of television) now is on the comic parade rather than on the exhibition itself. In the past domestic science and livestock were emphasized and as late as five years ago exhibits of baking, sewing, products of the kitchen and the home butcher filled the Community Centre. During the fall of 1970 the display of these goods was meagre and home cured meat products were unrepresented. The few exhibits of sewing and flower arranging occupied only one half of a table running the length of the hall and the baking display was devoted to special classes sponsored by commercial firms as sales promotion gimmicks for their products. The largest area of display space was occupied by the women's group of the Agricultural Society which was selling novelty items and tickets on a raffle. Local livestock exhibitions are also declining in number. At the 1970 fair most of the livestock came from commercial exhibitors who truck stock from fair to fair for prize money. Horse showmen were well represented but these exhibitors were also commercial prize seekers. If the trend toward commercialism continues, the fall fair in Neustadt will become either a carnival or extinct.

Many of the elements which in the past have made St. Paul's

congregation a community, for example, language, extended families, co-operative labour, kinship bonds, a common economic base and religion are disintegrating. Of those listed above only one element remains actually tying most of the people together and that is membership in the church congregation.

Many people now live in the area who are not members of the congregation and this trend has weakened congregational numbers in that the new comers are occupying land formerly held by church members. The confirmed members however, remain in numbers sufficient to assure that St. Paul's Church is not in any real danger of immediate extinction. Although church membership is relatively stable in size, the number of church members living in the community is declining.

Young people who find the rural or village life intolerable or for whom occupational opportunity is lacking have left St. Paul's for the large towns or cities but these persons have not severed their ties with St. Paul's church because much of this youth gravitated to areas where friends and relatives who also have ties with the community reside. By this process St. Paul's has acquired many "satellite" congregations. Persons comprising this secondary congregation became members of other Lutheran churches but in most instances regard St. Paul's as the home church as do many of their children.

The members of the church council recently became divided secularly into two factions based on membership in two rival farm protection groups, for example, The Ontario Farmer's Union and the

Ontario Federation of Agriculture. The members of each faction managed to restrict their mutual animosity to non-church matters and the council has remained united indicating that the tradition of holding church matters above private conflicts still prevails.

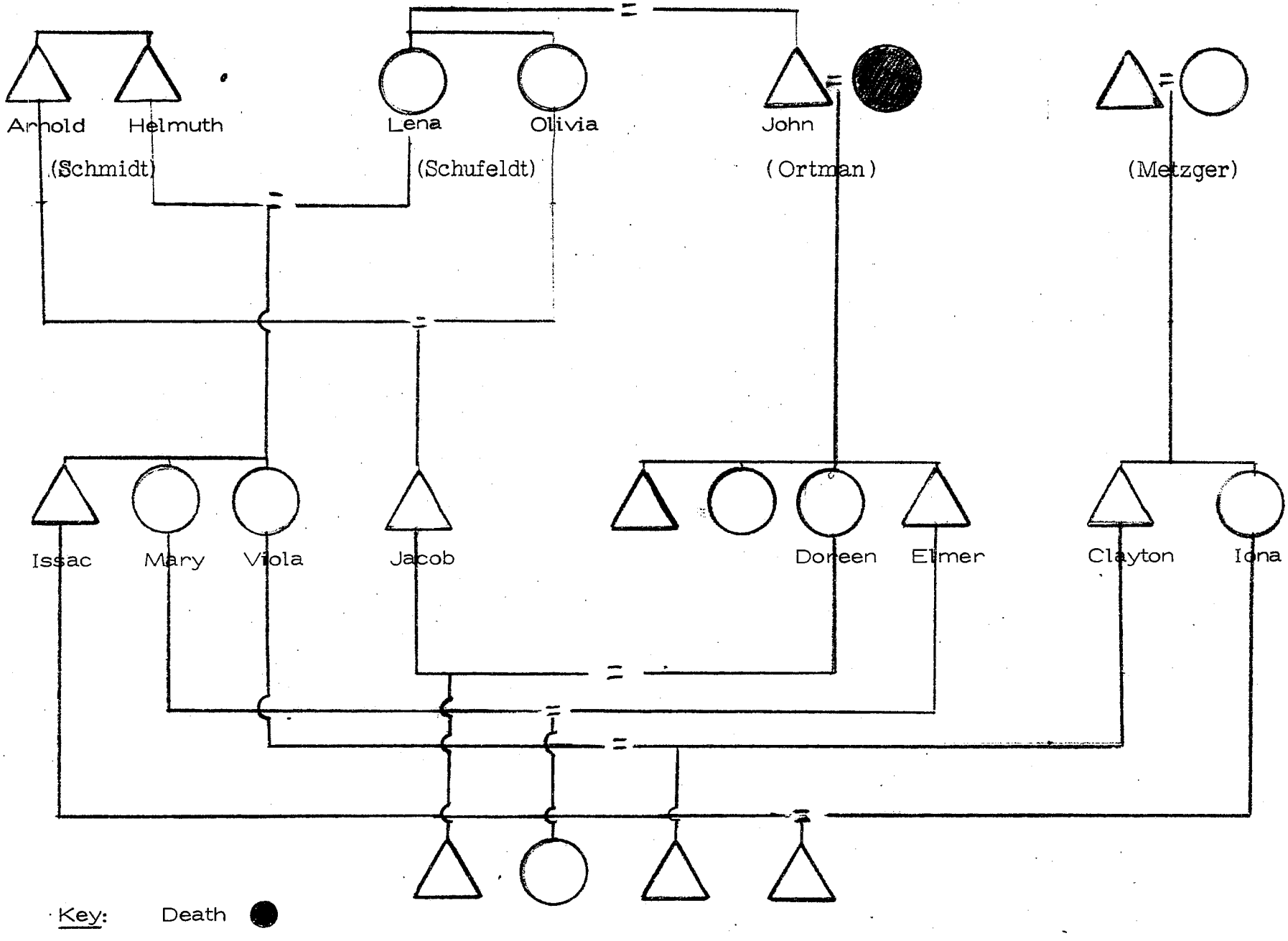
The Sunday School, Luther League, Ladies Aid and Church Council all remain as strong viable and integrating units binding the congregation together but the most active segments of these organizations come from the rural community. If these people are displaced because of changing economic conditions, the church political structure in its present form will be irreparably weakened.

Should the physical structure (the building) be lost through some natural calamity, for example, fire, wind etc., the church as a politically binding institution for the community would die because some members have recently expressed doubt that the structure would be rebuilt. However St. Paul's would not die as a church but could persist in satellite congregations for some time.

A constant danger to community cohesion is the displacement of primary by secondary relationships. Many factors have contributed to this trend but the major ones include the entry of the community into an economy oriented to cash buying, selling and labour and the loss of neighbourly closeness in co-operative labour as well as the loss of the school as an institution which provided a centre of social activity, the automobile and television.

In the past possession of a common language distinct from English had a unifying effect as did persecution by other ethnic groups. Both elements have now almost totally vanished.

Although many of the community members today do not belong to St. Paul's church, it remains as the nucleus for the community. As a cohesive instrument for the community, it remains paramount although it grows weaker as the perspectives of its people broaden and become more secular. The loss of land to people outside the congregation may finally cause the collapse of this institution. If this happens, St. Paul's will cease to be a community and the population will be transformed into a mere aggregation of rural people dominated by secondary relationships. Instead of a community, St. Paul's will be simply another faceless segment of the urban oriented, rural, Canadian economic structure.



Kin Relationships Among Four Families

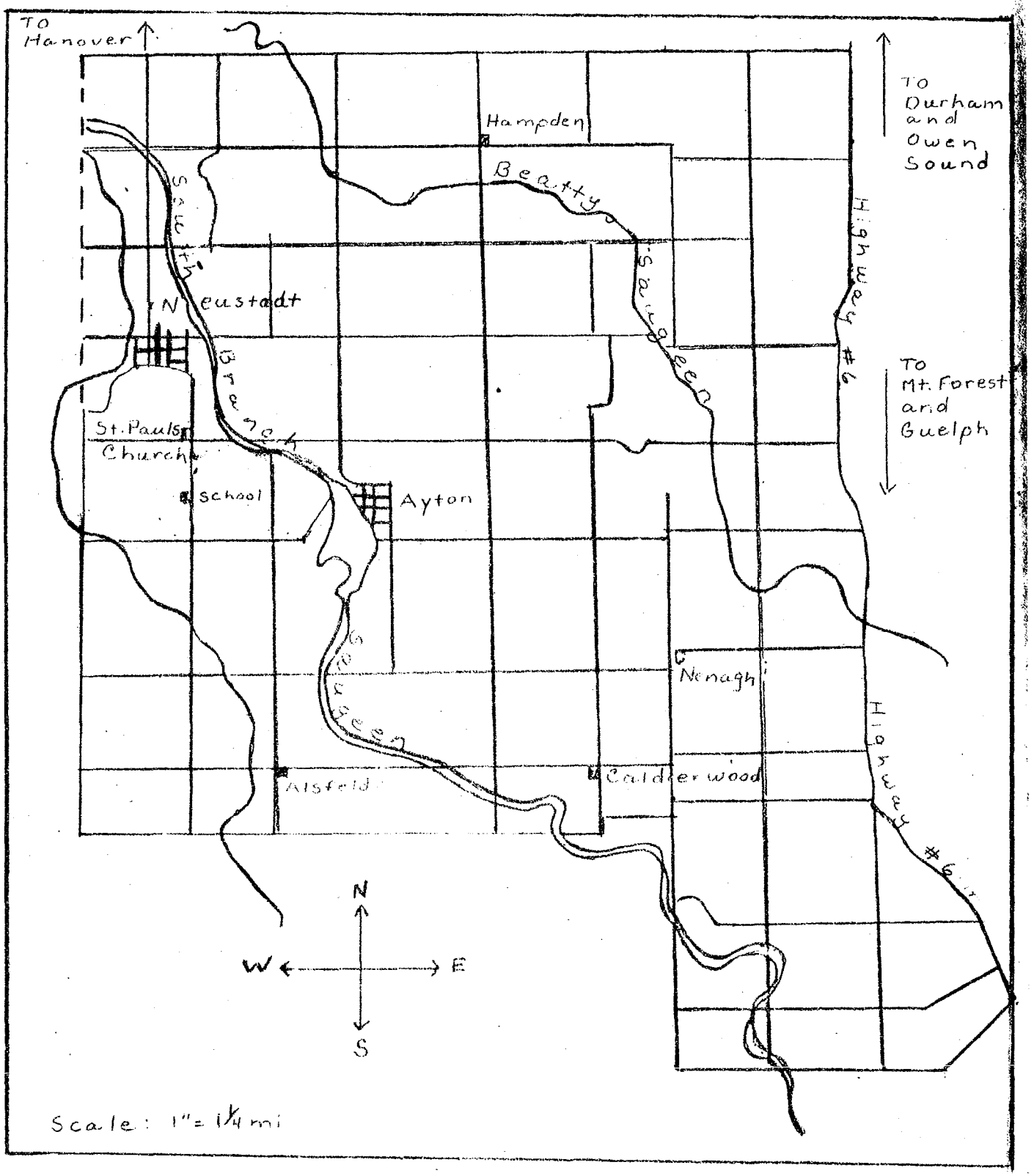
FIGURE 1.

THE PROVINCE OF ONTARIO AND THE RELATIVE LOCATION OF NORMANBY TOWNSHIP

Figure 2

Figure 3

NORMANBY TOWNSHIP - GREY COUNTY - ONTARIO



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