IN SEARCH OF SECURITY: KINSHIP AND THE FARM FAMILY

IN SEARCH OF SECURITY: KINSHIP AND THE FARM FAMILY ON THE NORTH SHORE OF LAKE HURON (ONTARIO), 1879-1939

By

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In Search of Security: Kinship and the Farm Family on the North Shore of Lake Huron (Ontario), 1879-1939

This study explores the extent to which migration, kinship and social and economic security programs were utilized by individuals in order to increase their 'life chances'. The study area consists of three contiguous townships on the north shore of Lake Huron during an era of profound transitions in Canadian society between 1879 and 1939 and also encompassing the local evolution from frontier to established agricultural community.

Within nineteenth century North American populations, two groups can be distinguished: the geographically stable 'core' minority and a geographically mobile majority. In the study area, as elsewhere, the farm family functioned as a socio-economic institution. The family farm was a source of security, stability and wealth. Paradoxically, while it bound some to the land, it also forced others to leave. As a social unit, the farm family tried to protect and promote the interests of all family members in order to increase their 'life chances'. However, economic realities meant that social welfare often had to be subordinated to the need to attain economic stability in a society with few alternate sources of assistance.

Farmers wanted to provide a 'start in life' for all of their children; but they were loathe to subdivide the farm lest that practice compromise its economic viability. Small farms could not support a family. Conversely, providing for non-inheriting children also depleted capital accrued by the farm. Kinship conventions governed the crucial interface between social and economic functions of these families. They provided flexibility in the orderly transfer of land from the older generation to the younger and fair compensation for those who didn't inherit.

The Rowell-Sirois Report of 1940 suggests that the stresses upon families of unemployment, aging, illness and untimely death, accelerated by the changes from a predominantly rural, agricultural society to an urban, industrial one, were inadequately met by traditional kinship-oriented mutual support networks.

This study examines the extent to which this assertion is valid and the extent to which the first government programs to improve social and economic welfare modified the uncertainties of survival to 1939. Personal characteristics indicative of kinship relations are strongly associated with geographical stability or mobility among farm family members.

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Burlington, Ontario
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Elizabeth Buchanan

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Chapter One: The Settlement Geography of 'New' Lands

When John MacGregor [1] decided to homestead in Algoma, his three oldest children accompanied him north in the fall of 1879. Robert, the eldest, was twenty-one years of age and chose a lot for himself immediately south-east of that chosen by his father. David, sixteen, helped his father and Isabelle, eighteen, cooked for the men. They returned by boat to Sydenham Township in Grey County just before the winter freeze-up.

The MacGregor family, John, his wife Sarah, and their ten children ranging in age from two to twenty-two, moved to Day Township, in the District of Algoma, the following spring. Three more children were born to them before 1885, one shortly after they arrived. John was killed in an accident while clearing land in 1888, the year in which his son John also died. A young daughter died in this period. In the 1890s, the eldest daughter married a blacksmith in Thessalon and another married the son of a local farmer.

Sarah continued to farm with her son David for the thirty-four years of her widowhood. She met the homesteading requirements, received title to the land and eventually transferred the east half of her lot to her son Dave. The west half was transferred to William, the fifth son, who stayed a little more than a decade before he transferred the land to Dave's son. Will moved to the village of Sowerby in the western part of Day Township. After the turn of the century, four children moved to western Canada at different times: a son and daughter to Saskatchewan and a son and daughter to Vancouver.

1.1 Settlement Geography and Social Institutions: An Introduction

The settlement geography of 'new' lands is

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1. Names have been changed for some of the specific family histories included at the beginnings of chapters.

instructive of the interplay between land and people, mediated by economic, social and political institutions. The broad outlines have been delineated concerning the taking up of land by Europeans in the nineteenth century. Much remains to be discovered about the subtle details of the interaction of social, political and economic relations and the discrepancies between plans and adaptations of settlers, which resulted in the eventual reality of settlements. Most prominent has been a focus upon the initiation and organization of settlement by economic activity. It is only in the past decade that the importance of social institutions in the development of settlements has become apparent.

The evidence of the large family described here illustrates several features of late nineteenth century North American society and raises questions about the relationships between social institutions and settlement, specifically kinship, migration and stability. Nine members of this family died locally, and three of these deaths could be considered premature. Two of those were young children who are not counted as permanent residents for the purposes of this study because the timing of their deaths precluded any conscious decision on their part to move or to stay. Within the group of thirteen people who reached maturity was a geographically stable majority of seven and a

geographically mobile minority of six. These unexceptional people were beset by a constant threat of life crises - unpredictable events which threatened the life of an individual and the welfare of the remaining family members. Reliance on kinship bonds and networks was important in coping with a variety of crises in life.

It is apparent that parents and children wanted to remain in close proximity to one another. Migration into and out of the area often took place in family groups. Arrival together meant that a kin network, however fragmentary, was in place locally from the beginnings of settlement. Friends and relatives also often arrived after the initial family group settled. Children were an important source of labour on a farm. In return for that labour, parents were expected to compensate maturing children by providing a start in life, even if it meant that the extended family must move to a frontier. There is no immediately apparent pattern among the children, such as an exodus of younger sons or of daughters, which would help to predict the fate of any one individual. Why, then, did some individuals stay and others move? What personal characteristics of individuals distinguish between the two groups? Did kinship relationships or external events discriminate between movers and stayers, or was it a combination of both?

Many possible but unsatisfying answers can be proposed to explain migration patterns illustrated here. For example, out-migration in 1904 to western Canada reflects a combination of push factors from the place of origin: pressure for local agricultural land, wage labour difficulties associated with fluctuations of the lumber trade and problems in the process of industrialization in Sault Ste. Marie (Van Emery: 1964; McDowall: 1984). Factors drawing migrants to the west were diverse: the potential of western lands due to improvements and successes in dry farming techniques (Norrie: 1977), increasingly efficient transportation and the enticement of 'free' land grants by the Canadian government.

In stating these general circumstances of outmigration, the extent to which each of these factors contributed to individual decisions to move could not be determined, nor would one be able to suggest why it was that some families did not react to these pressures, or why some lost only a few members while others made the exodus as a group. The individual selection process is the focus of this study. Not only were people affected by social and economic forces within and without their immediate locale; they were also affected to varying degrees by their family circumstances.

One objective of this study is to determine whether

geographical mobility reflected a search by individuals for socio-economic mobility or socio-economic security. Was it a response to profound transitions in Canadian society, namely those from rural to urban, from agrarian to industrial, and from the independence and security of farming to the dependence and relative insecurity of wage labour? The primary empirical focus of this study is on the role of kinship relationships in aiding the members of a farming community. Kinship conventions served to promote and protect the interests of all family members and encouraged the stability of family members in proximity to one another. The role of kinship in geographical mobility or stability is investigated through a case study of the movements of residents of the townships of Day, Bright and Bright Additional (District of Algoma), a nineteenth century agricultural settlement in a lumbering district. The data set created for this research is unique in its exhaustive assessment of individuals from 1879 until 1939, a period little studied because of the unavailability of usual sources of information. All data sources known to exist which pertain to individuals in the study area are blended to recreate a comprehensive profile of individuals within the context of their families: parents, siblings, spouses and children. The experience of the 1251 residents known to have arrived between 1879 and 1939 is examined until 1986.

The remainder of this chapter presents the context of this investigation of the role of family relationships in terms of previous research into geographical mobility in nineteenth century Canada. It will emphasize the prevalent dream of socio-economic independence among immigrants to Canada and among migrants within Canada. This context provides a background for the structure of the whole research project: the choice of a theoretical framework within a paradigm of behavioural geography, an hypothesis leading to specific research questions about stability and mobility, the choice of study area and data sources, collection and integration and the methods of analysis to be employed.

1.2 Geographical Mobility in Canada

The issues addressed in this research emanated from an investigation of the 'meaning' of nineteenth century geographical mobility within the United States and Canada. Basically, the question is whether geographical mobility is indicative of the search for alternative places in which to improve one's socio-economic status or whether it was a strategy to try to ensure socio-economic stability and security. The arguments within the literature will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two. The following section presents an overview of the Canadian experience.

1.2.1 Social Mobility or Social Security?

The Canadian myth held that new settlement offered an opportunity to become 'independent', that is, financially secure, without the need to go beyond one's immediate family for any major economic support (Splane: 1965, 15-16, 278-9; Guest: 1980, 15).

> "Everywhere the family and its relatives were a close economic unit; the various members helped one another when new enterprises were started or old ones failed. Within [a] framework of order provided by public authority, individuals were expected to work out their own destiny unrestrained and unassisted by governments" (Smiley: 1963, 44).

The only source of economic assistance was the family-based social welfare system (Smiley: 1963, 26). Dependence and indebtedness were a galling burden, a sign of weakness and a feared potential for compromising survival of all family members (Guest: 1980, 15).

The association of inadequate income with geographical mobility began long before in the Old World. Research into parish records and documents pertaining to township residents who originated in the border area of Scotland reveals some informative observations about social conditions of the period before 1839. They are instructive about the traditions and past experiences of those who came to Canada in hopes of improving their lot. The Rev. J.M. MacCulloch, Minister of the Parish of Kelso, reveals that:

> "Among the most marked characteristics of all classes ... may be specified, beneficence to the poor, a large spirit of hospitality, and a strong feeling of local attachment. This last mentioned quality, in particular, seems quite indigeneous" (MacCulloch: 1839, 326).

He and the ministers of other parishes nearby reveal the degree to which the stability of the traditionally agricultural population was altered in the early nineteenth century. The magnitude and discomfort of widespread geographical mobility in an agricultural community becomes apparent.

> "Occasional fluctuations in the aggregate population furnish but too accurate an exponent of the constant change which is taking place among the individuals composing it. Though a few Border-names keep their ground, from generation to generation, and thereby indicate that the mass is not without a few stationary particles, the great majority of the inhabitants may be regarded as 'strangers in the land'. The number of land-owners is far from considerable, who have had their properties transmitted to them for a lengthened period in lineal descent, from father to son; and the pages of the parish register, as well as the humble monuments of the churchyard, bear witness to an equal fluctuation in the case of the middle and working classes. It is now as true of the borderers, at least of those of lower Teviotdale, as of the inhabitants of places less fitted to foster local attachment, that there is scarcely one man in fifty who, if he survives the age of manhood, is buried with his father" (MacCulloch: 1839, 322-323).

In these parishes is reflected also the precursor to attitudes which would prevail towards the provision of social welfare later in the Ontario milieu. Here is found the idea that parish relief created dependency which paved the way for moral decay. The minister of Ashkirk asserted

confidently that: "... the direct tendency of the system [of parish relief] is to weaken the ties of kindred, to lower the moral tone of the people, to relax industry, and to diminish independence, unless met by powerful checks..." in spite of his prefacing remark that "pauperism has [not] been on the increase for a considerable number of years ...." (Hamilton: 1839, 277).

A pride in maintaining independence was certainly a legacy of those migrants who had originated in the Borders:

> "If a good act may be done to a neighbour, the opportunity of doing it is seldom neglected. If any one has been unfortunate, or has fallen into distress, he is sure of the sympathy and active aid of those around him, and often to a greater extent than they can well afford" (Thomson: 1839, 120).

In the report for the Parish of Oxnam, Rev. James Wight illustrates the humiliation associated with dependency upon the parish:

> "The mode of regular assessment for the maintenance of the poor has been in operation here for a considerable number of years. It has had the effect, certainly, of lessening the shame and degradation naturally experienced by needy applicants, and which at first were felt so strongly, as, in various instances, to prevent an application being made. As it is, however, a careful and judicious distribution of the funds will best insure the satisfaction of all parties" (Wight: 1839, 266).

The hope of acquiring farmland of their own led to the exodus to the New World.

Here the belief in this myth of independence lived on

and is further underscored by the lack of a Canadian equivalent of a 'Poor Law', one of the few British traditions not included in the British North America Act of 1867. It was not an oversight, nor a deliberate callousness towards the less advantaged. Rather, it was based upon the widespread assumption that the new start in Canada, ensured to all by limitless farmland, would make it possible for the Protestant ethic of hard work to reward families with a secure future (Smiley: 1963, 44; Guest: 1980, 6).

The emphasis in the settlement literature which circulated in Europe and Canada (cf. the Canadian Illustrated News Supplement: 1879, 75), was upon the opportunity for farming. In comparison, opportunities for employment in cities were rarely mentioned. Yet, as the century progressed, more and more immigrants were staying in the cities of Ontario; they could never hope to purchase a developed farm in southern Ontario. Only second generation Canadians or early arrivals to this area could afford to take advantage of the 'Free Grant' lands.

Vernon Fowke (1962) advances the thesis that settlers were not the self-sufficient pioneers of myth. Their connection to external markets, as soon as development permitted, confirms their interest in commercial farming but it also ignores the fact that they were prepared and willing to revert to traditional self-sufficiency if and when that

strategy was required. The persistence of the myth of self-sufficiency reflects its widespread acknowledgement as a viable alternative among the strategies employed to ensure social security.

The federal and provincial governments also catered to the ideal of independence (Smiley: 1963, 44-45). They were very anxious to settle the land as rapidly as possible but were loathe to interfere by means of direct assistance to farmers. Agriculture, above all other sectors of the economy, was the hoped for stable base upon which the rest of the economy could be built (Fowke: 1957, 10). Government social and economic policies were geared towards indirect intervention, designed to ease and encourage settlement and to lessen the chances of farmers acquiring debt.

The Free Grants and Homesteads Act of 1868 provided land free if settlement duties were met. It also protected farmers from the temptation of debt by the condition that no lands could be mortgaged until after the patent was received nor could land be sold for mortgage default before twenty years after a patent had been received. The farmer was protected from seizure of the land effectively for twenty-five years. The only exception was that the land could be sold for non-payment of taxes.

Government intervention designed to encourage Canadian industry countered the purpose of the land policy

after 1879. The dilemma created has dogged Canadian governments to the present day. Canadian manufactured products could not compete with cheaper American goods. A system of tariffs was enacted to protect Canada in the home market (Smiley: 1963, 66). As a result, Canadian farmers had to pay a high price for one of the major capital costs in farming, machinery. Furthermore, using agriculture as the basis of the national economy meant that farm products were expected to compete on the world market at world prices. The situation created a cost-price squeeze which has plagued Canadian agriculture since Confederation (Drummond et al: 1966, 17).

The situation worsened with time (Smiley: 1963, 68-71) . Debt incurred during expansion in the prosperous years ending with the termination of the American Civil War (Smiley: 1963, 25-26) forced many farmers to sell their farms and seek cheaper agricultural land elsewhere (Smiley: 1963, 69-70). Sons who remained on the farm slowly climbed the 'agricultural ladder' of progressive responsibility for and claim to the farm which culminated in inheritance (Abell: 1965).

If unable or unwilling to wait for inheritance of a farm (MacDougall: 1913, 131), sons moved to the remaining frontiers of cheap agricultural land - in the prairies or the clay belt of northern Ontario after the turn of the

century. An increasingly tempting alternative was to join the rapidly-expanding industrial workforce wherein one exchanged the long-term socio-economic security of farm ownership for the immediate, if often ephemeral, independence of wage labour.

Alarm was expressed early in the twentieth century about rural depopulation. In 1913, MacDougall suggested several economic and social reasons for dissatisfaction in rural areas. The 'rich wheatlands' of Manitoba offered competition for those who hesitated to adapt to the trend towards mixed farming in Ontario. Less labour was utilized on Ontario farms due to increasing mechanization. Poor conservation practices had also depleted the soil and encouraged erosion in many areas, devaluing the farmland in the process. Even for those farmers who took care of their farms, there were problems acquiring credit for expansion. Farmers had to pay the highest rates of interest in spite of the fact that agricultural prices were low.

All of these features affected the social conditions of farm families, characterized by low returns for hard labour. Farms were becoming socially isolated due to the lower numbers required for tasks aided by mechanization. Finally, the patriarchal system within farm families meant that mature children who stayed upon the farm often remained in a relationship of total dependency upon the head of the

family who owned the land. The kinship relationships became strained when too much power was retained by one member of a household. As MacDougall states, "the financial relation between farmers and their children has caused many a tragedy" (MacDougall: 1913, 131).

Rural depopulation, followed by general unrest about social and economic security among farmers, resulted in the Farmers' Movement (Wood: 1924). During the First World War, farmers were encouraged by both the federal and provincial governments to increase production for the war effort in spite of a lack of manpower. Many invested in expensive labour-saving machinery in order to meet this need and had to acquire debt in order to do so. Immediately after peace was declared, a short but sharp depression, induced by adjustment to the disappearance of wartime markets, put many farmers in jeopardy once again. No assistance was forthcoming to help them during the transition to a peacetime economy and yet it was apparent that other sectors of the economy had benefitted from the war effort and were not experiencing difficulty in the period of adjustment. Once again, goverments were subsidizing only the manufacturing sector (Wood: 1924, 277).

In 1916, farmers joined with the labour movement to protest the inequitable distribution of benefits in society. They formed the United Farmers of Ontario, a short-lived

movement which was unexpectedly influential. Their platform was the need for assistance with the heavy debt load. Much to their own surprise, they were elected in 1919 to form the provincial government under E. C. Drury, a farmer from Simcoe County.

For the first time since 'free grant' lands were made available, the Ontario government directly intervened with financial assistance. The Agricultural Development Board, created in 1923, was formed to assist farmers with mortgages. It issued mortgages for up to ten years at the rate of 4 1/2 to 5 1/2 percent, about half the rate of private mortgages. Later in the decade, the Farm Loans Act was created to give further assistance with mortgages for farmers. However, it remained that:

> "One of the significant themes of agrarian rhetoric was the myth, perpetrated by intellectuals and the upper classes, of the idyllic, sturdy, industrious, self-sufficient yeoman farmer, indispensable to the development of Canada. Only gradually did farmers come to see themselves as an exploited, ill paid economic and social group...." (Griezic in Wood: 1924, x)

The uncertainty of socio-economic security in both town and country, aggravated by the Great Depression of the 1930s, prompted the Rowell-Sirois Report of 1940 (Smiley: 1963). Its major concern was to find a new National Policy which would give a strong reason for maintaining the existing power of the federal government now that settlement

in the western territories was complete (Fowke: 1952, 275-281). Although the British North America Act assigned responsibility for social welfare to the provinces, it was apparent that only the federal government had the resources required to introduce large-scale schemes for assisting citizens in attaining socio-economic security (Smiley: 1963, 174-177).

1.2.2 The Canadian System of Inheritance

Before the widespread adoption of universal welfare programs, the family acted as a mutual assistance group. Involvement in farming was considered an advantage in the quest for social security for all family members. A primary reason for this perception was the convention of transferring the land from one generation to another. For most, the greatest assistance received over their lifetime was that which provided a 'start-in-life', the means by which they could support their dependents. In the process of land devolution, all members of the kinship network benefitted because of the tradition of inheritance systems in providing security, especially as a result of the sharing of the assets of the family.

The inheritance systems in Canada are classified according to the method of division of land. Devolution of land was accomplished by adopting conventions of division

which ranged within a continuum from partible to impartible division of farm lots. A partible inheritance system divides the assets of parents equally among all of their children. Impartible inheritance means that only one child inherits the assets of parents. The inheritance system in Ontario was a compromise between these extremes which was designed to provide for the social welfare of both the older and younger generations (Goody: 1976, 2). This is referred to as a partible/impartible system in Canadian research (Gagan: 1981; Bouchard: 1978; Winchester: 1980), but there is some evidence to suggest that it is not a uniquely Canadian adaptation (cf. Goody: 1976, 2ff. and Henretta: 1978, 27). One son receives the homestead of his parents but his socio-economic advantage from this transaction is mitigated by the requirement that he contribute to settling both his male and female siblings in life situations and/or that he accept reponsibility for the maintenance of his parents in their old age.

In the process of transmission of land from parents to mature children, some favoured the partible division of land (Goody: 1976, 5). Land was divided equally among siblings. The parity of land divisions are the advantage of this system. Ostensibly, each sibling received an identical start-in-life. However, the serious disadvantage was the limited time span during which this system of division would

be beneficial in providing a significant resource base for inheritors. If land were divided equally among the sons of each generation, the plots of land inherited after even two generations would be too small to permit an economically viable farming operation. While the system was eminently fair to all potential inheritors, it could not sustain the families for which it was meant to provide beyond one or two generations.

The tradition of partible/impartible inheritance was an alternative method of devolution. The advantage of this mode, wherein only one person inherited the greater part of an estate, was the maintenance of the original size of a land unit. The disadvantage is obvious;

> "While the unity of the agricultural holding may be preserved ..., this unity is often achieved at the expense of burdening the productive unit with heavy debts. Out of the future proceeds of the farm the heir is obliged to service the mortgage entered into on behalf of his 'non-inheriting' siblings. ...It is the solution to the problem of allocating resources to the siblings who 'inherit' as well as those who do not (either because they leave the farm or else because they remain as unmarried co-partners....) (Goody: 1976, 2).

Only one son could inherit the land and, without compensation, that was patently unfair to siblings who were forced to move away to seek employment and residence elsewhere. In effect, then, "the manner of splitting property is a manner of splitting people" (Goody: 1976, 3), not only in terms of their self-interest, but also in terms

of their geographical location.

Most of the families who came to Canada from the British Isles in the nineteenth century had not been landowners before their arrival. Rather, of the few individuals whose situations were traced in the 'Old Country' before coming to this frontier, all were children of tenant farmers, farm stewards or shepherds in the border region of Scotland. Although land ownership was new to them, they were convinced enough of its benefits to cross the Atlantic to a new land to avail themselves of it. In turn, when the time came to pass it on to descendants, they were very aware of its value in promoting security and wanted to be as fair as possible in the distribution of this pre-eminent family resource.

Both Gagan (1981) and Bouchard (1978) document the existence of a Canadian system of partible/impartible inheritance conventions. The inheritance system preferred by Canadians was very flexible. One or, at most, two sons inherited the family farm. In return, they were expected to compensate siblings who were forced to seek alternate opportunities for employment. In order to do this, inheritors often had to mortgage the farm, an eventuality seriously undermining financial security. The problem could be lessened if the family moved to a frontier en masse so that more sons could 'homestead' land and remain within a

clustered family network. When the frontiers of agricultural land were filled, this strategy was no longer available.

Non-inheritors utilized several alternative strategies to stay near their family of orientation. For those from prosperous families, land could be purchased locally. Kin often sold land to each other at preferential prices and interest rates. Usually it was more expensive to purchase from non-kin. Also, alternative local vocational opportunities could be sought, especially if an individual was not suited to farming. For example, a blacksmith could purchase or use a plot of family land large enough for a home, shop and garden and not compromise the integrity of the family farm (Anderson: 1971, 174). Unmarried women could work locally as dressmakers, clerks and teachers. If alternative occupations were not feasible locally, surplus children could migrate to areas perceived as having greater economic possibilities. If substantial enough, the personal portion of compensation could be used to learn a trade, purchase a farm or begin a business.

Money in short supply or a parent refusing to settle children before death could have profound influences upon the children and upon society (Goody: 1976, 2). Lifelong celibacy is prevalent within kinship systems emphasizing impartible inheritance (Habakkuk in Salamon: 1980, 299). It

was a strategy which curtailed the number of potential inheritors in the next generation. This was also a feature of the Canadian system, which Gagan designates as 'partible/impartible', if parents delayed decisions (Gagan: 1981, 57). The same argument applies to the partible system. If children married late, they would be incapable of bearing many children. If few members of an age cohort married at a reasonable age and bore children, there would be fewer family members in the next generation. Certainly if two unmarried siblings inherited land, neither would feel free to marry, regardless of gender (Park: 1962, 420).

Inheritance was but one means to gaining an economic advantage, albeit an important one. Survival and eventual success were often the result of a willingness to grasp any reasonable opportunity and use it to advantage (Hudson: 1976, 261-263; Gagan: 1976, 154-155). Farmers worked in the woods to gain the capital to acquire or develop a farm. Thus, most families experienced a seasonal transiency of some members which contributed to the security of all (Darroch: 1981). Most of these forays outside the community were of limited duration and distance - for the winter months and within a fifty kilometer radius. These movements were characteristic at a frontier where resource exploitation and construction projects such as railways were under way (Hudson: 1976, 261-263).

Often the only alternative to ensure employment was outmigration, which meant that a descendant no longer sought to earn a living locally. For some, the decision to migrate was a conscious one. However, in many instances, the pursuit of alternate opportunities for employment took the young adult further and further away for increasing lengths of time until his outmigration became an acknowledged fact.

1.2.3 The Canadian Paradigm

The Canadian perception was that of an opportunity to become 'independent', that is, financially secure, without the need to go beyond one's immediate family for any major economic support. Indebtedness was feared - it threatened the survival of all family members. Few of the thousands of small farmers who settled in nineteenth century Ontario really expected to 'get rich quick' but they did believe that hard work would be rewarded with financial security.

The question among historians concerning the connection between social mobility and geographical mobility reflects an inherent value judgment which, rather than illuminating the common experience of nineteenth century individuals, only serves to obscure the more fundamental issue of the quest for social security. The confusion is perhaps understandable in the context of North American research, but the myth of the possibility of rising from

'rags to riches' is not as prevalent in the Canadian experience.

1.3 Research Design

The format of this research is intended to provide a bridge between an analytical approach, in which a number of propositions and specific variables are derived from a theoretical framework, and the more traditional approach in historical geography, focussing on time- and place-specific macro-events. Bridging this gap is also reflected in the tools of analysis and presentation: quantitative, statistical analysis and the interpretation of major economic and political events are both applied, and the numerical data is juxtaposed with the qualitative narrative. Thus, the study offers an explanation of individual behaviour within the context of the evolution of the local, regional and provincial milieu over sixty years of development. It is a comprehensive analytical approach which does not neglect the holistic, contextual dimension.

1.3.1 A Theoretical Framework: Kinship and the Provision of Social Welfare

A theoretical framework based upon the paradigm of behavioural research is useful in ordering thoughts about the implications of kinship relationships for individual

geographical mobility and in ordering the wealth of information collected. The basic assumption here is that personal characteristics of an individual are determinants of whether the individual remains as a permanent resident or moves elsewhere. Personal characteristics are composed of three categories: those of the family of orientation (parents and siblings), those of the individual's position within that family and those of the individual's family of procreation (spouse and children).

The hypothesized interaction of kinship-based family and individual personal characteristics which are salient determinants of geographical stability or mobility of individuals are illustrated in Figure 1.1. Briefly, events within and without the community are mitigated by the characteristics of the family of orientation, of the individuals within that family and of the individual's family of procreation. The decision to stay locally or to move is an outcome of the individual's perception of his advantages or disadvantages in gaining security which result from his assessment of his position. It is assumed that each person will try to choose the strategy which is perceived as the most likely to advance life chances. The concepts contained within the paradigm are explained fully in Chapter Two.

Anderson (1971: 170-175) postulates the importance of

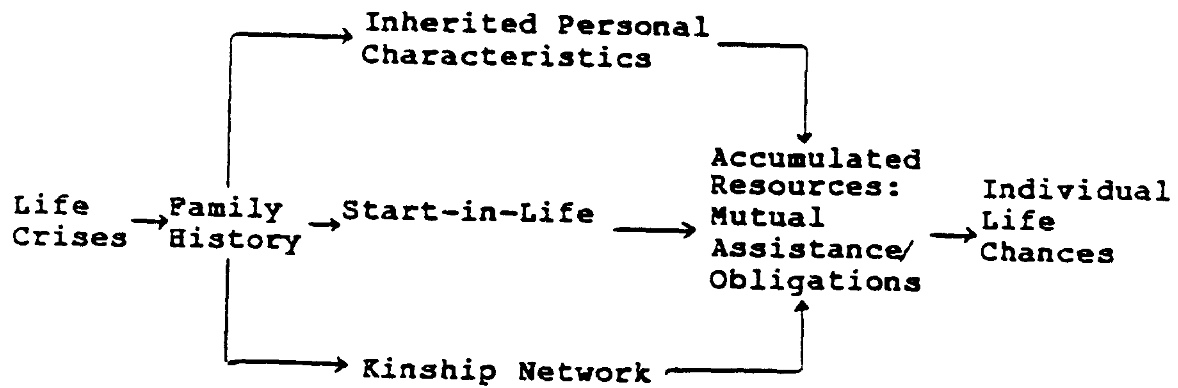

Figure 1.1: Conceptual Framework of Kinship as a Determinant of Individual Life Chances

kinship relationships among those whose goals cannot be attained without reliance upon formal or informal assistance during times of crisis. His theory will be elaborated upon in Chapter Two. Although Anderson's theory evolved from his study of rural-to-urban migrants in nineteenth century Lancashire, it has a wider application. Mutual support (the offer of assistance and the acceptance of obligations among kin) is dependent upon trust of reciprocation. In societies with no formal institutions to provide assistance during crises, kinship relationships are mutually satisfying because knowledge of the reliability of relatives is extensive and permits the acceptance of long-term obligations. Assurance of reciprocation is absolutely essential in a society with relatively scarce resources which is frequently beset by potential crises. Crises may be rare but costly, or may occur unpredictably in societies whose resources are adequate in the long term. Assistance may then be demanded suddenly by any member of the network in the short term.

Anderson further suggests that reliance upon kinship as a source of assistance will probably be reduced in direct proportion to the existence of alternative bureaucratic provisions for social security. By extension, kin will prefer reliance upon the kinship network, with its potential for privacy until the advent of universal social security

programs (Guest: 1980, 15).

In his preface to an historical account of social welfare provision throughout Canada, Guest provides a revealing summary:

> One of the fundamental distinctions between life today in an urbanized, industrialized society and life in a predominantly agricultural, rural-based society such as Canada was at the time of Confederation is the critical importance for the individual and family of a regular and adequate cash income.... Many, if not most, of the necessities of life were produced on the family farm or obtained by barter. The chief causes of income interruption - illness, injury, premature death of the breadwinner, and old age - were handled within the family group or with support of neighbours and other members of the then small, closely knit communities. However, the processes of industrialization and urbanization ... severely eroded this independence and weakened these informal systems of social security" (Guest: 1980, ix).

The experience of residents of a farming community on the north shore of Lake Huron is employed in order to test the validity of Guest's assertions.

1.3.2 Research Questions

It has been argued above that farming families in the nineteenth and early twentieth century Ontario sought social and economic security - and maybe geographical stability - rather than social mobility. The focus of this study is then to assess the factors external and internal to the farming community affecting the geographical stability - or mobility - of individuals in the agricultural community.

The major hypothesis is that the traditional kinship system promoted the stability of as many family members as resources would permit. The objective of these families was to preserve the family group within the advantageous rural milieu in an era of widespread and rapid change permeating all aspects of individual experience.

Further, it is argued that kinship relationships determining the position of family members relative to each other and within the rural community were the interface between social and economic functions of the farm family and were the determinants of those who stayed and those who left over time. These themes are considered within the context of the development of local agricultural settlement. Limitations were imposed by the relative location and physical characteristics of the area in combination with alternative and competing opportunities for employment within the area and beyond, markets, prices, costs and government intervention measures.

The link between the conceptualization and empirical work associated with the study is complex. The theoretical framework provides a vehicle for ordering the wealth of data which has been collected. It specifies the interactions of economic and kinship variables which affect the propensity of individuals to move or to stay. It is an attempt to understand migration and geographical stability within a

context of an urbanizing and industrializing provincial economy and to gain a greater understanding of the contribution of rural communities to that process. The subsequent effect of changes in the economy and society upon the rural community, in turn, are linked to the indirect intervention of government policy.

Five specific research questions are addressed. What is the role of kinship in the context of local development? How efficient was the family system in promoting the social welfare of residents as measured by the ability to stay locally over time? Did family kinship relationships promote the interests of all members equally or did it favour particular individuals as in a system of primogeniture or ultimogeniture? If the family promoted the interests of all, what personal characteristics discriminated between those who stayed and those who left? How did these variables combine to affect the ability of individuals to remain as permanent local residents?

1.3.3 The Study Area

The role of kinship relationships in the geographical stability or mobility of individuals in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Ontario is investigated by means of a case study of inhabitants of three adjoining townships between Thessalon and Blind River on the north shore of Lake

Huron (Figure 1.2). This area was chosen because it was a frontier inhabited largely by residents of southern Ontario. As such, it offers an opportunity to investigate some of the effects of social relationships which affected the development of provincial social relations under favourable circumstances of free land grants in the beginning. The demographic developments over the course of the evolution of the community from frontier to maturity allows investigation of larger questions about the effects of social institutions and government policy. The area has the advantage of having been settled for 109 years during which about 1250 people are known to have resided there. This limited population, which exhibits many features in common with the larger society since it was an extension of it, has the further advantage of permitting collection of a multitude of details about personal characteristics of individual residents, about kinship relationships among community residents and about the evolution of the community.

1.3.4 Data: Sources, Collection, Analysis

Data was collected concerning familial and personal characteristics of 989 individuals residing in the townships of Day, Bright and Bright Additional between 1879 and 1939. The individuals comprised approximately three hundred households which ranged from single, unmarried males to

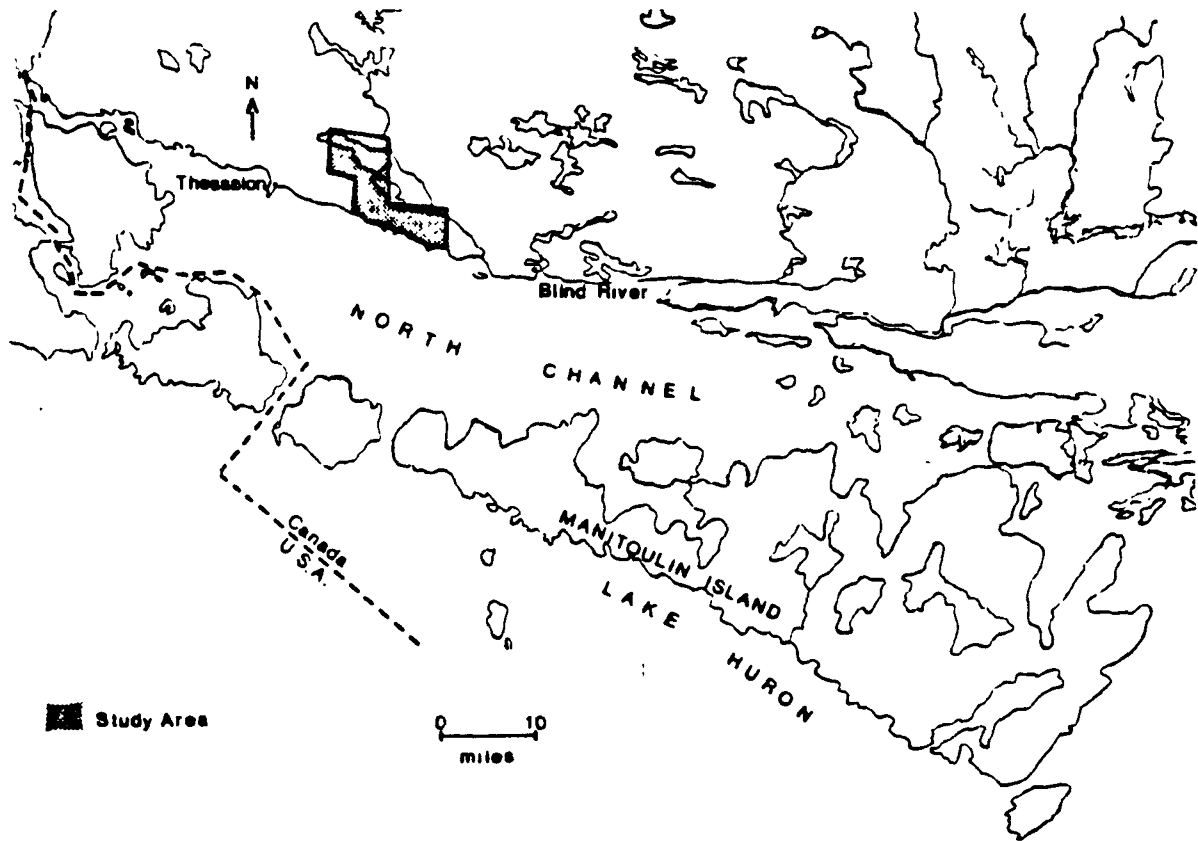

Figure 1.2: The Study Area on the North Shore of Lake Huron

extended families of up to thirteen children with a grandparent present.

The method of data collection employed is an extension of record linkage techniques pioneered in large-scale social history projects (Winchester: 1970; Wrigley: 1973). It is designed to capture the context of the individual within the experience and characteristics of their grandparents and parents and the formation of their family of procreation. Multiple record sources pertaining to an individual were combined to create a more detailed life history than would be available from a single source.

All known sources of information about local residents were accessed and combined: the manuscript censuses of 1881 and 1891, registrations of births, marriages and deaths, gravestones, land registry and land titles records, the Tweedsmuir histories of the Dayton and Sowerby branches of the Women's Institute, local weekly 'news' columns in a few privately held copies of Thessalon's Algoma Advocate, the Sault Star since 1901, private collections of documents and photographs, correspondence and personal interviews with present and former residents. All information has been blended to recreate individual life histories in the context of all life cycle stages.

A further dimension of the context of an individual has been accomplished by family reconstitution. The history

of the family is revealed by a reconstruction and recombination of information pertaining to all members of a family in relation to one another and the changes with cycles of the maturation process of a family unit over time. Information about grandparents, spouse and children creates a multi-generational history peculiar to each individual. While retaining information which not only sets that individual apart from all other family members, it also captures the position of that individual relative to other close kin and within the family and extended family unit.

Known record sources were searched for information about individuals resident in the three townships between 1879 and 1939. In total, 1251 people are mentioned in local records sources, of whom 989 are included in the analysis. It has not been possible to discover all desired information for all individuals included in the analysis. A listing of names for which too little information is available suggests that somewhere between ten and twenty percent of residents are not included: a minimum of ninety people and a maximum of one hundred and eighty. Personal knowledge of local record sources has led to the conclusion that most were short-term residents who worked in the local area briefly and then moved on. Thus, between eighty and ninety percent of those who lived locally are included in the data set.

There are several problems associated with trying to

determine actual residents. The townships were unorganized areas until the creation of the rural municipality of Day and Bright Additional in 1906. Therefore, records pertaining to the study area also included information concerning residents of all of the unorganized townships nearby. In the manuscript census of 1881, the study area was listed under 'Thessalon', which included the townships of Thessalon, Day, Bright, Bright Additional, Gladstone and Thompson. In 1891, the listing for Day Township included Day, Bright, Bright Additional, Gladstone, Thompson, Wells and Parkinson. There is no division within the listings so the location of individuals must be gained from other sources, such as land records or registration of personal events.

The records are satisfactory for the identification of families which are associated with the study area or who are known to have resided in adjacent townships. However, it is very difficult to locate families whose names are unfamiliar as there is no apparent and consistent pattern to the recording of names and one cannot tell whether they were temporary residents of Day, Bright or Bright Additional or whether they were residents of adjoining townships for which records were not collected.[2]

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2. The existence of a 'shadow' population does not

The characteristics incorporated in the analysis indicate several dimensions of individual social experience. The history of the individual's family of orientation (parents and siblings) includes the following categories of data: the kinship conventions and inheritance traditions, the family history of migration, the timing of migration, the complexity and persistence of the individual's local kinship network, the timing of life cycle events of parents

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seriously compromise the study of local families. Many were transient labourers and their families who lived in the villages of Day Mills or Sowerby - people who, for example, appear only once in the local registry in conjunction with the birth of a child or who appear in the land records upon the registration of a mechanic's lien. Certainly none of these people was integrated into the local community of families.

Some few were local residents about whom very little is documented or remembered. Many of this group are young children about whom nothing further is known. It is likely that some of them died at a young age and that others moved away upon reaching maturity and had little further contact with local residents. It was a coincidental feature of the mobility of North American populations that the whereabouts of some individuals became lost even to their own family. Interviews with elderly local residents and former residents and the Tweedsmuir histories were of no avail in discovering more information about these people. The explanation for this is that many early families were quite large and, while the fate of most children was known, a child or two from many of these families seems to have been forgotten and to have slipped through the local records of activities. A number of them simply died at an early age, were buried without a marker and have disappeared from the local memory.

Little concrete information could be found for the wives of a few landowners. It may seem unusual that some adult females were impossible to trace. There are two reasons for this confirmed by conversations with present residents. It was a local convention signifying a measure of respect for women, especially those coming into the area

and grandparents and the cumulative socio-economic status of the family. The history of the individual reveals personal characteristics within the family, timing of personal life cycle events, the creation and characteristics of a family of procreation and its socio-economic status.

Data is analyzed and presented in several forms. Several chapters begin with a case history of a local family which illustrates the salient features discussed. Characteristics of the population are presented in frequency tables for univariate analysis and in contingency tables for

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as adults, to be referred to as 'Mrs. Surname' only. In fact, when there were many families of brothers and cousins sharing the same surname in the area at the same time, the wives were often referred to as 'Mrs. George' or whatever the first name of the husband was, once the family surname had been understood. This system is a very handy short-form of reference. In most cases, it could be further explained, if necessary, that the woman was originally a 'Surname' from a certain place.

For some early wives who were isolated on the periphery of the communities, or who were not involved in local social networks, first names and personal data about birthplace, etc. remain unknown. Even when knowledge of a woman's first name was known, it was only used by women of similar age and usually only then if they had known each other as girls. Elderly widows were signified by the addition of 'old' to 'Mrs. Surname'. The women of whatever age who were related to many in the community were also referred to by these conventions but their first names were also well-known as distinguishing features, even if not spoken by other than relatives. Aunts were referred to as 'Aunt First Name'. Women who had gone to school locally had been referred to by first name and surname for years before the adult conventions of forms of address were applied. The problem, then, has been in gathering information about a very few early wives about whom almost nothing is known in the collective local memories.

bivariate analysis. The combined contributions of the variables in determining the geographical stability or mobility of individuals was determined by discriminant analysis. This powerful technique permits the contribution of each variable to be assessed in terms of its ability to predict accurately to which of the two groups an individual belonged: permanent residents or migrants. It is fully described in Chapter Seven.

1.3.5 Organization of the Thesis

Three major themes prevail: the function of the traditional kinship system, individual geographical stability and mobility, and economic and political events at work in these processes.

The literature review (Chapter Two) addresses the association of geographical and social mobility. Previous research has been preoccupied with rates of social mobility within the context of Neo-Classical economic relationships or Neo-Marxist socio-economic relationships. It will be argued that the uncertainties of survival in the pre-welfare state created problems of social security for family members which transcend the questions addressed by previous research.

Chapters Three and Four describe the settlement process leading to the establishment of a local community

and its subsequent evolution within the local, provincial and federal economic, social and political context.

Chapter Five summarizes the role of kinship in attracting and maintaining the population of an agricultural settlement. Emphasis is put upon the demographic characteristics of this community and in-migration dynamics, including origins, rates, and timing. It establishes the conventions of the kinship system. Chain migration, social control, mutual assistance and inheritance strategies evolved from the egalitarian aspects of kinship networks in promoting permanence of all family members. British traditions were modified within the context of Canadian agricultural development.

Chapter Six summarizes the characteristics of local outmigration: rates, timing, destination types and distances moved. It analyzes how the effectiveness of the traditional social welfare system was affected by changes resulting in a modernizing and industrializing society by means of bivariate analysis of the separate effect of variables associated with kinship relaationships.

Chapter Seven determines the extent to which inherited personal characteristics combine as determinants of geographical stability or mobility over time.

Chapter Eight reflects on the importance of kinship relationships in the settlement process occurring in the

'new lands' available in Ontario in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and in the evolution of the settlement during the first sixty years. It also explores the 'meaning' of the mover/stayer dichotomy among farming families. It concludes with an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the approach employed and a discussion of the potential for future research.

Chapter Two: Geographical Mobility in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century North America

The remarkable geographical mobility of nineteenth and early twentieth century populations has been the focus of research for many historical geographers and social historians. A small body of Canadian research is of importance here. It is mainly empirical in nature and attempts to answer questions about the role of geographical mobility in agricultural areas, and the role of inheritance systems and kinship networks in rural development and change. Some Canadian research also deals with the relationship between geographical mobility and social mobility, although this concern is the hallmark of a great deal of research in the United States.

The research record is uneven in terms of coverage of time and situation: rural, urban, rural-urban. It reveals conceptual shortcomings and problems in terms of data acquisition and measurement. What are judged reasonable insights and what are believed to be shortcomings are used to formulate a somewhat different approach to the question of stability and mobility. The second part of this chapter is devoted to elaborating upon what was sketched out in Chapter One.

2.1 Empirical Research in Canada

Permanence amid widespread geographical mobility in rural Ontario is a perplexing paradox. Canadian concern with rates of socio-economic mobility is exemplified by Gagan's (1981) study of Peel County and Katz' (1975) study of Hamilton. Both studies reflect the concepts prevalent in American research which will be discussed in a subsequent section. Investigation of associational and institutional influences and geographical mobility upon working class cohesiveness has begun (Darroch: 1981, 259; Kealey and Warrian: 1976; Kealey: 1980; and Palmer: 1979). However, much that initially appears to be relevant (Cartwright: 1977; Walker: 1977; Norris: 1980 and 1984; and Dilley: 1984) is not useful for this research.

Gagan illustrates that farmers, in general, were older, wealthier and more geographically stable than any other sector of rural society (Gagan: 1976, 162). Gagan, however, also discovered that only five percent of individuals enumerated in one census were still local residents after twenty years (Gagan: 1981, 123-124). Bouchard's investigation of the Lac St. Jean area in Quebec revealed equivalent rates of population loss (Bouchard: 1978, 362-363). Gagan was not able to discriminate between those who left via outmigration and those who died locally. Bouchard included only whole families who migrated out of

out of the village of La Terriere. Gaffield's (1979) study of French and English Canadian families in Prescott County in eastern Ontario confirms the similarity in responses among those with differing cultural heritages.

Gagan concludes that inheritance is one of the factors affecting high rates of migration, whereas Bouchard claims that it is the primary factor (Winchester: 1980, 202). Winchester emphasizes the complexity of the association of land inheritance with rates of outmigration: that more needs to be known about those who lent money to facilitate indebtedness due to inheritance and that demographic and social history must be integrated into a wider historical context (Winchester: 1980, 199-200). He concludes that geographical mobility is similar in both rural and urban areas and suggests that the postulated difference in emphasis upon the role of the inheritance system is not really justified as yet.

Darroch asserts that the high rates of migration throughout the nineteenth century are associated with networks of family, kinship networks and friends. The rates may indicate that migration was a:

> "means of extending family economies and maintaining family continuity: as part of a moral order of mutual assistance in rural subsistence farming, as a family response to limited landed resources and norms of impartible inheritance, and as an adaptation to wage-labour in urban areas. The forms were not mutually exclusive" (Darroch: 1981, 260).

The evidence accumulated by historians of the family suggests the importance of kinship bonds in the struggle for social and economic survival in the nineteenth century, especially in Canadian research where "the localized migration of individuals and nuclear families could well serve as the main cushion against the scarcity of land and the unpredictability of employment" (Darroch: 1981, 262).

The pre-industrial family worked as a cohesive socio-economic unit (Gagan: 1981, 62). In turn, since the family was the basic unit of social and economic organization, the internal structure and relationships profoundly influenced the nature of society (Gagan: 1981, 62). The kinship system provided an interface between the social and economic interests of individual family members, especially in an agrarian milieu. It provided orderly, traditional conventions by which the wealth of an older generation was passed on to a younger generation. It is a system designed to resolve the problem of maintaining a viable farm unit while concurrently making an equitable distribution of accumulated family resources among siblings.

A brief survey of the literature addressing various aspects of nineteenth century rural Canadian families not surprisingly, then, shows the importance of kinship as a factor affecting individual spatial decisions. In the

Maritimes, inter-regional migration indicates that kinship network fragments were extant from the beginning of settlement, resulting in communities which contained a number of related families (Ommer: 1977). Ommer investigates the role of kinship in the early chain migration of Highland Scots between Nova Scotia and southwestern Newfoundland (Ommer: 1977). She concurs with Mikesell's (1967) suggestion that the concerns of anthropologists and geographers be focussed upon problems of mutual interest, adding a proviso that more attention be paid to kinship relationships. She warns against simplistic assessments of kinship relationships based upon 'same-surname' links and against failure to grasp "the intricacies inherent in anthropological concepts concerning kinship" (Ommer: 1977, 212). She urges a more careful examination, at the local level, of other ethnic groups involved in the nineteenth century exodus from Europe which would "bring to light further examples of hitherto unsuspected cohesion among the supposedly 'uprooted' pioneers of North America" (Ommer: 1977, 232).

Mays (1980) investigates the kinship links of the population of Toronto Gore Township, Peel County. He addresses the issue of the permanence of families by means of the intergenerational transfer of land which, in effect, concerns only a small proportion of local kinship network

members, mostly males. Mays finds that descent of an individual from an early settler and land inheritance or alternate vocational opportunities within a community suggest a predeliction to success and permanent residency. He suggests that this created a cohesiveness and stability which, according to Kohl and Bennett (1965), has continued to be a characteristic of rural society to the present. Although the majority of arrivals in a rural community came and stayed briefly, a stable group which provided the structure and continuity was resident for lengthy periods. Core families persisted for several generations.

Little has been done to determine the extent to which membership in a kinship network influenced the geographical movements of individuals and families in rural areas and ordered their distribution over time. The difficulty in amassing data which would capture the intricate dependencies of kinship relationships has been avoided in large research projects (Winchester: 1970). In Gagan's (1981) study of rural families of Peel County throughout most of the century, and in the study of Hamilton's urban families at mid-century (Katz: 1975), record linkage is limited to tracing discrete family units through time. In each case, tracing and linking descendant generations is deemed too complicated, given the large populations involved (Mays: 1980, 186). However, kinship networks were very important

among French Canadian immigrants in New Hampshire (Hareven: 1975; 1978). The study of household structure in Canada conducted by Darroch and Ornstein (1984) illustrates a relationship with economic circumstances. Ontario has fewer two-family households than other provinces. Regional differences in the availability of wage labour account for differences in the incidence of complex familes. Therefore, they conclude that "routine social and economic dependence on others, whether relatives, or members of ethnic and friendship networks, was not as likely a feature of life in Ontario in 1871 as in other areas" (Darroch and Ornstein: 1984, 174).

There seems a need for a more careful assessment of the Canadian experience which would lead to the development of a conceptual framework guiding future research. Both Winchester (1980) and Darroch (1981) approach the problems with a thoughtful assessment of the work that has been done and that which should be done. It is apparent that the populations studied were spatially very mobile. The literature from historical sociologists, social historians and historical geographers contributes to an overall assessment that kinship relationships are involved in that phenomenon: because the family was the major source of social and economic security in both rural and urban areas and because the system of devolution of land from the older

generation to the younger affected the life chances of the recipients.

2.2 The American Experience: Ideological Issues

It has been argued in Chapter One that the Canadian experience with migration was as a means of attaining socio-economic security. Canadian empirical research focusses on explaining the instability of the rural population in terms of problems generated by dependence upon a land base and the inheritance system determining access to land. Urban population instability is approached from the paradigm and experience of American research. American research is different: it studies geographical mobility in association with social mobility. This difference is attributable to a different ideology.

Social mobility is a concept proposed by sociologists, who define it as "the process by which individuals move from one position to another in society - positions which by general consent have been given specific hierarchical values" (Lipset and Bendix: 1967, 1-2). Social historians study social, economic, geographical and/or vocational mobility to try to determine social structures and the degree to which societies may be classified as 'open' or 'closed'. A relatively 'open' social structure suggests high rates of social mobility indicative of greater

opportunities for advancement. 'Closed' social structures result when the distinctions between classes are sharply drawn and there are few chances for individuals to change their relative position.

Two of the most important themes in the study of social history of the nineteenth century are transiency and inequality (Katz: 1975, 44). Everywhere social historians have looked they have discovered evidence of social structural rigidity and inequality co-existing with extreme geographical fluidity of the population. Most frequently, the latter has been explained as a result of the former. Rigidity and the consequent reduction of opportunities for upward social mobility produced transiency. Moving out became a substitute for moving up. Studies of social mobility try to illuminate these and other dimensions of the "contest for wealth and power" (Thernstrom: 1973, 78).

The evidence which has accumulated for the nineteenth century and before indicates a consistent situation of transiency and inequality wherein inherited characteristics ordered the social hierarchy (Pessen: 1974, 121; Graff: 1979, xviii). In more recent times, a shift in the importance of acquired characteristics, such as level of education, has been observed (Graff: 1979, 55).

Many theorists (Bogue: 1960, 21-34; Griffen: 1969, 49; Gutman: 1969, 98-124; Thernstrom: 1973, 222-228; and

Blumin: 1969, 203-204) have concerned themselves with testing the validity of the very persistent traditional American myth of "equality of opportunity if not of condition" (Pessen: 1974, 120). The perception of the United States as a 'land of opportunity' solidified during the presidency of Andrew Jackson. In 1832, he defended the interests of the common man by preventing "any prostitution of our Government to the advancement of the few at the expense of the many" (Jackson quoted in Heffner: 1952, 97). American society was believed to be evolving towards equality with opportunity for social advancement open to all, even if most never made it. In such a society, one would expect acquired characteristics to gain increasing importance over time. Gutman (1969, 121) claims that the frequency of rates of upward mobility suggests the fluidity of American society.

The theoretical framework for historical studies has been founded upon one of two dichotomous ideologies; the Neo-Classical or frontier framework (cf. Hudson: 1977) and the Neo-Marxist perspective. On the one hand, Thernstrom and Griffen adapt Turner's frontier thesis to argue that structural rigidity within the various segments of the hierarchy and the limited social mobility between them is of less significance than geographical fluidity. Geographical mobility was a response to transportation advancements and

the subsequent rise of a national labour market (Pessen: 1974, 119) which permitted aspirants to social mobility to move from areas of lower to areas of higher standards of living. Kirk expands the list of potential forces promoting social mobility to include population growth, geographical mobility, urbanization, industrialization and the founding of new communities and their subsequent effect on the processes of social mobility. He stresses the fluidity of social structure at the frontier and the slowness of the process creating structural rigidity as a result of the game of 'vocational chess' (Kirk: 1978, 4).

Neo-Marxists accept the existence of structural rigidity and inequality between two distinct classes. Marx believed that the conflict between the bourgeois and the proletariat, the unification of the latter in a common cause and, eventually, revolution were an inevitable part of the process of history. Neo-Marxist historians are trying to find evidence of that process among nineteenth century societies as the result of industrialization. Inherited characteristics are crucial determinants of social position in this paradigm. Neo-Marxists address the phenomena of social and geographical mobility in nineteenth century America to explain the failure of the proletariat to unite in response to gross inequalities (Katz: 1969, 235-241). Their premise is that high rates of geographical mobility,

resulting from the constant search for employment opportunities by the most disadvantaged workers, retarded the development of class consciousness.

Thernstrom (1970, 228-229) suggests that the lack of conflict resulted from some opportunity for social mobility. Griffen (1969, 49) claims that workers did not have expectations of 'rag-to-riches' social mobility but constantly adjusted their expectations to local standards of living for their own trade. Thus their expectations were more reasonably aligned with their opportunities and dissatisfaction with their position minimized. In contrast to this position, Neo-Marxists suggest the lack of class conflict and consciousness in North America was a product of the opportunities for geographical mobility. The resolution of the problem depends, to a great extent, upon the discovery of the relative importance of inherited personal characteristics of individuals in relation to acquired characteristics.

2.3 Empirical Research in the United States

The most significant of the plethora of social mobility studies of the past two decades is Thernstrom's (1973) seminal study of the city of Boston. The major findings are summarized here in order to provide an example of the type of inquiry established and the information

generated about past populations. From 1880 until 1970, Boston was an established city with a large, mixed population and sufficient data to permit an intragenerational and intergenerational assessment of social mobility. This city was a major immigrant destination which attracted a large volume of newcomers, facilitating comparisons between the native-born and newcomers of various ethnic origins.

Thernstrom found that although population growth in Boston was sluggish, only somewhat more than half of the population persisted in any ten-year span (Thernstrom: 1973, 255). Population turnover was twelve times that revealed by net-migration analysis (Thernstrom: 1973, 221). Geographical mobility rates remained consistently high over time and were unrelated to city size (Thernstrom: 1973, 224). Considerably more men with high occupational status were able to stay and to maintain or improve their position (Thernstrom: 1973, 237). The less successful skilled and manual workers found it difficult to bridge the distance between white-collar and blue-collar status. Their higher rates of geographical mobility out of the city indicated an impatience to move up. They increased their chances by moving to areas where labour was in higher demand (Thernstrom: 1973, 241).

One in ten children with fathers of manual skills

reached high occupational status and three in ten managed to become white-collar workers. "White collar skidding occurred only half to a third as frequently as blue-collar climbing" (Thernstrom: 1973, 241). Upwardly mobile blue-collar workers were replaced by an unending influx of manual labourers (Thernstrom: 1973, 242).

Intergenerational mobility fluctuated around forty percent. Working class sons were not rigidly held to their father's position. More entered the middle-class than a skilled trade (Thernstrom: 1973, 245). The native-born were more likely to succeed than newcomers, as were English and Jews. Irish and Italian immigrants were thwarted by inherited characteristics (Thernstrom: 1973, 250). Blacks were the most completely disadvantaged group and their social repression spanned several generations (Thernstrom: 1973, 251). Intra-generational occupational mobility declined with time; social structure became more rigid and geographical mobility increased as a response to this until the 1870s (Thernstrom: 1973, 132).

The studies of Griffin and Griffin in Poughkeepsie, 1850-1880 (1978), Blumin's Ante-Bellum Philadelphia (1969), the artisanal and entrepreneurial elites of Paterson, New Jersey 1830-1880 (Gutman: 1969; 1974) and Sennett's (1978) analysis of Chicago offer Marxist interpretations and refinements to Thernstrom's analysis. The results are

surprisingly similar and confirm the relative openness of American social structure and the prevalence of geographical mobility as a strategy for success. The contention is that widespread geographical mobility served as a substitute for social mobility and that the prevalence of spatial movement prevented class consciousness and cohesiveness from developing in the working class.

Kirk (1978) assesses the society in Holland, Michigan, a microcosm of mid-western experience from its beginnings as a rural frontier community to a burgeoning industrial centre. He addresses the question of the influence of the developing frontier and the nature of its social structure over time. The population increased by a factor of five between 1887 and 1894 and the industrial sector expanded at fifteen times the rate of population growth (Kirk: 1978, 129). Like Thernstrom, Kirk finds the native-born most likely to attain white-collar status (Kirk: 1978, 130) and the less skilled most likely to leave (Kirk: 1978, 131), indicating a very fluid population and somewhat open social structure. Kirk's conclusion is that "the structural changes of a new community were a greater inducement to social mobility than urbanization and industrialization" (Kirk: 1978, 132, 141-142). It contradicts previous assumptions (e.g., Thernstrom: 1973, 10). Upward movement within a frontier settlement was

almost double that for urban areas in general (eighteen percent) and for this frontier place after the first twenty years (Kirk: 1978, 136).

In looking at the experience in the San Francisco urban 'frontier' between 1847 and 1880, Decker (1978) discovered that forty percent of immigrants moved upward and ten percent 'skidded' upon entry. Other studies tracing immigrants and comparing relative social status at their points of origin and destination would be desirable.

There was more opportunity for advancement or social mobility moving to a community as it was being settled than in moving from the farm to the city. Social mobility of heads of households in new settlements ranged from twenty to fifty percent during the first twenty years of settlement, whereas it never went beyond fourteen percent in cities (Kirk: 1978, 140). Indeed, this geographical movement has been defined by Jackson T. Main (1974, 34-35) as "horizontal mobility to seek opportunity". Gagan (1981, 112) and Katz (1975, 104) concur that the Canadian experience reflects the same motivation. Griffen (1969, 65) suggests that nineteenth-century geographic mobility was a response to economic decline especially affecting youth (Griffen: 1969, 61) and the propertyless (Griffen: 1969, 92). The most mobile before entry were the most likely to leave (Bogue: 1960, 24).

Barron (1986, 1) argues that the emphasis of the new social history has been upon economic development and its social context. In the nineteenth century, the most dramatic changes occurred in urban and industrial growth. Most research has focussed upon the creation of an industrial workforce, the urban experience of immigrants, the changing role of the family in an industrializing society and the relationship between social and geographical mobility. There are no theories about the impact of economic change upon agrarian societies and little is known about the relationships of city and countryside. He approaches the study of rural residents as a society of 'those who were left behind' in the dynamic changes associated with urban areas and his contention is that the rural society stagnated. In contrast to this perspective, Gaffield notes a growing awareness and consensus among social historians that both rural and urban areas are part of a larger, integrated holistic view of society which must be taken into account (Gaffield: 1984).

2.4 Methodological Problems in Quantitative Social History concerning Socio-Economic and Spatial Mobility

The problems associated with historical studies of socio-economic mobility are legion and have been recognized as having the potential to distort results seriously if

faulty methods are employed and data are interpreted incorrectly. The remainder of this section will focus on some of the most serious problems and the strategies employed by historians in both Canada and the United States to overcome them. Some suggestions will be given for improvements in future research.

2.4.1 Data Sources

The concentration of population in cities has generated a multiplicity of records from which it is theoretically possible to reconstitute information about large numbers of resident families in past times. Integration of data is based on record linkage (Winchester: 1970), a technique which permits the historian to trace the career patterns and/or the geographical movement of individuals. Data from diverse sources are meshed to reconstruct fuller life histories of individuals over time than are possible from any single record source. Record linkage has become a most useful tool for gathering data which permits quantitative analysis - the 'new urban history' approach. However, this method of reconstructing past societies is also plagued with serious problems.

The high geographical mobility of nineteenth-century populations (Thernstrom: 1973, 277) poses the greatest problem. Urban data sets become progressively limited with

time due, in part, to the relatively high rates of mortality. Thernstrom's dismissal of outmigrants has the serious consequence of underestimating or overestimating vertical mobility. Geographical mobility could sometimes be the vehicle for increasing status (see Decker: 1978, 69). "Shipboard mobility", the change in social status resulting from long-distance movement by ship, raised the status of forty percent of migrants from the East arriving in San Francisco and decreased the status of ten percent. If this change in status associated with geographical mobility was also true of the situation in Boston, social mobility was seriously underestimated. Others, notably Katz (1969, 212) and Knights (1969, 268-269), equate persistence with success. In this case, social mobility is overestimated because those who were less successful were presumably forced out of the city and would not be counted.

Further data attrition occurs in the Boston study because Thernstrom (1973, 269-270) found it impossible to distinguish among persons with common names (for example, John Murphy). This casts serious doubt on the validity of using statistical tests of probability on his less-than-random data sample, a fact he chooses to ignore. Katz (1975, 19-20) discovered a significant difference between the census and assessment rolls of Hamilton in 1852 which were generated only three months apart. Stephenson

has used the Soundex Indexes of the late nineteenth century censuses of the United States to try to systematically trace the whereabouts of those who left the urban data field. "Soundex groups surnames according to sound by coding the first letter of the name along with subsequent consonants given a numerical value" (Stephenson: 1974, 75). It is an unwieldy data source since the indexes consist of almost 8000 reels of microfilm for the 1900 census alone!

Gaps exist in data which have survived. If there are omissions in the city directories (Thernstrom: 1973, 287), census, tax lists, assessment rolls, land records and vital statistics - the sources of the 'quantitative' historian - there is no recourse to remedy the problem (Blumin: 1969, 167). Not all of these sources are available in all places and the potential researcher would do well to heed Gagan's (1981, 166) advice to assess sources in potential study areas thoroughly before beginning a project. It must also be stressed that many of the more obscure sources which do exist are overlooked because it is time-consuming to link them to standardized records. Social history projects have been characterized by large populations for which it is inherently complicated and now prohibitively expensive to link all available sources of data.

2.4.2 Measurement

Computer software imposes serious restrictions on intergenerational data. Mays (1980, 186) notes that linkage occurred only for persistent heads of households in the studies by Katz (1975) and Gagan (1981). Each newly created family had to be treated as a newly arrived entity, unlinked to others in the same social milieu. This prevents intergenerational comparisons of sons and fathers and ignores the succession of related families.

Thernstrom (1973) overcomes this problem to a degree by linking sons and fathers through birth records of the sons. Again the sample size declines rapidly with time, thereby weakening his argument. It is hoped that this problem will be remedied by programs devised for integration of records. In that event, it will become possible to refine and integrate data about all traceable individuals within a society. In turn, this should permit more ambitious and reliable longitudinal research and a greater depth of analysis.

Interpretation of the surviving data can still be most hazardous. Pessen, quoting Dahl, states that the nineteenth century was an era of "cumulative inequality: when one individual was much better off than another in one resource, he was usually better off in almost every other

resource" (Pessen: 1974, 120-121). The historian thus employs actual variables where data exists and surrogate variables where they do not in order to create a "functional relationship between what the investigator wants to measure and what he can measure" (Fogel: 1975, 355). The changes in the relative position of individuals in the social hierarchy will be indicative of socio-economic mobility because the concept involves position and movement (Pessen: 1974, xiii-xiv).

Many variables which have been creatively employed are surrogates for crucial information and it is often difficult to assess their value. Graff (1979) has used the census designation 'literate' to indicate educational attainment. No doubt there are degrees of literacy which are lost in the crude literate/non-literate category in the returns. There was no literacy test in the census, only a statement by the individual concerned. Signatures on wills or land records may be a more reliable source of information. Similarly, religion is thought to be a significant variable (Katz: 1975, 25-26) but this information was never required by the United States census. Those using the Canadian census feel fortunate that religious affiliation was recorded, but this measure is also crude. There is only a statement of sect and no way to determine the intensity or consistency of religious

experience.

Whereas sociologists routinely combine occupation, education and property to determine socio-economic status, historians must employ other, often less direct, measures. Variables differ for rural and urban studies. 'Occupation' becomes almost meaningless in a rural study as most heads of households are designated as 'farmer'. Gagan (1981, 99-109) overcomes this difficulty by refining measures of relative wealth among farmers to include property ownership, improved housing, family structure and domestic servants. His observation that family structure is the best indicator of wealth coincides with the results of Sennett's (1978) study of Chicago in the same era.

Homeownership (Katz: 1975, 94-175), persistence (Thernstrom: 1973, 220-261), house type and dwelling area (Blumin: 1969, 185), and improved housing (Gagan: 1981, 99-100) have been used in various combinations to suggest a measure of success equivalent to the contemporary urban 'property ownership' variable. 'Dwelling area' might be unreliable as a variable for earlier times as residential segregation seemed to be based on ethnicity, not wealth (Graff: 1979, 101-102). This is one of the reasons why literacy had little effect on social mobility. Literacy rates were surprisingly high among immigrants to Canadian cities. Those who were illiterate had access to information

because they lived amongst those who could communicate what they had read. Also confounding the 'homeownership' variable is the disproportionately large number of tenants in some cities, such as Boston. There are no alternative sources of information about liquid assets (Thernstrom: 1973: 97, 314 n11, 314 n12).

Occupation is a variable permitting assessment within a ranked hierarchy over time (Thernstrom: 1973, 46; Katz: 1969, 237-238) It is also used as a surrogate variable for individual wealth in cities (Thernstrom: 1973, 46-48). Especially critical in urban research is the arbitrary stratification and classification of occupations. Most researchers (Katz: 1969, 214-216; Blumin: 1969, 166-174; Pessen: 1974, xiv-xv; and Graff: 1979, 335-339) agree with Thernstrom's (1969, 130; 1973, 46-48) assessment of class stratification by occupation designated as non-manual (or white-collar) and manual (or blue-collar).

Katz (1972) has attempted a masterlist of occupations and their relative status. Such a system, while generally accurate, may be applicable only to one time period for various occupations whose status was transformed by industrialization (Griffen: 1969, 50). The plight of the slipping status of shoemakers from artisans to factory workers is a frequently cited example of this problem (Blumin: 1969, 166-167, 200-202; Griffen: 1969, 84-86).

Blumin (1969: 167-170) suggests an "Index of Occupation Standing" to facilitate comparison between various groups within the total population. Discussions of this nature serve to encourage consistency of classification. Katz shows that, in nineteenth century Ontario, the English, native-born Protestants and Scots were more likely to achieve upward mobility than those of Irish origin or Catholics.

Denton and George hypothesize that family size and school attendance are related to socio-economic status of the head of the household. They create a workable hierarchy of status categories of occupation roughly based upon that of the 1961 census (Denton and George: 1973, 338). There was little problem in assessing occupational mobility since the study encompasses only information contained in the 1871 census for Hamilton and is later expanded to include both urban and rural portions of Wentworth County (Denton and George: 1970; 1973; 1974).

Perhaps it is well to reconsider the implications of the assumption that socio-economic status determines other characteristics of the family for longitudinal studies, even though the studies may have to rely upon comparisons between cross-sections in order to gain some insight into 'change' in the intervening time period. Gaffield explains that the nineteenth century family did not always act solely as an

economic unit. Rather, geographical mobility and, presumably, occupational change, if not occupational mobility, of family members was often undertaken to improve the chances of avoiding economic difficulties in the future (Gaffield, 1979: 273). Families seem to have placed paramount importance upon remaining near one another (Henretta: 1978). Thus, occupational mobility, like geographical mobility, cannot be assumed to be a reflection of the 'transiency thesis', that is, that those who move are the disadvantaged (Darroch: 1981, 258).

Ethnic background has been strongly correlated with 'success'. The native-born were most upwardly mobile (Thernstrom: 1973, 76-78) and the most persistent (Griffen: 1969, 56-57). Among immigrants, Jews were twice as likely as the general population to experience upward mobility and those Catholics who had attained white-collar status were twice as likely to fall back into manual labour (Thernstrom: 1973, 152). All agree that the Irish always had the most difficult position in society (Thernstrom: 1973, 188; Katz: 1975, 165; Griffen: 1969, 57-58). Graff (1979, 157) suggests that ethnicity should be a combination of birthplace and religion.

Most social mobility studies deal exclusively with males. Some include females (Katz: 1975, 59-60 for example), usually when they become widowed heads of

families. Miller (1975, 97) has deplored the lack of interest in the status or background of females, especially mothers. That females may be important is confirmed by Sennett's (1978, 190-191) explanation of social forces in Chicago.

2.4.3 Conceptual Issues

This section argues that the limitations of the prevalent theoretical paradigms ignore the intensity of plausible forces affecting the process. Miller (1975) cautions that more needs to be known about the interface between social and geographical mobility. Problems with data and research design weaken the claims of many studies. More evidence pertaining to social mobility in more diverse settings, such as frontiers, rural communities and small towns, is required before generalizations can be made with confidence.

Theoretical explanation of observed social mobility patterns needs further refinement in terms of nineteenth century social and economic reality. Thernstrom (Thernstrom: 1969, 159) states that the parameters of social mobility (WHAT) in the past have to be known before explanations (WHY) are attempted. Fogel (1975, 355) presses for a synthesis of case studies completed to date. The remainder of this section concentrates on those facets of

social mobility which require more attention by historians.

It is imperative to examine the social and behavioural models borrowed by historians. Sociologists conduct surveys within contemporary societies to gather data which reveal who has power or high status and why. The interest is in "relationships between social inheritance (or starting position) and the 'means of mobility'" (Lipset and Bendix: 1967, 5), in effect, the "degree to which given backgrounds determine the level of education, the acquistion of skills, access to people at different levels in the social structure, intelligence, and motivation to seek higher positions" (Lipset and Bendix: 1967,6).

Fogel (1975) and Gutman (1969) warn that past historians have had little experience in transposing behavioural models to history. While there is much in this that is of value in sociology, there is also not much that is valuable to history. The criteria for the measurement of social mobility as stated above by Lipset and Bendix (1967, 6) illustrate the difficulty in transposing contemporary methods to historical data. Where can one find objective measures of past intelligence, motivation, perception and expectation of opportunities?

Thernstrom, in his work on social mobility, ignores the problem (1973, 259). Griffen (1969, 52) states that perception and expectation can only be suggested by

examining association and residential patterns - a very difficult connection to make! In spite of this, Thernstrom (1973, 76-78) states, with some confidence, that Boston society has been relatively fluid over the past ninety years, that more individuals ascended the hierarchy than descended and that the most difficult upward movement was the one bridging blue-collar and white-collar status.

Kirk (1978, 1) advocates systematic enquiry to test nineteenth century theories in order to begin a "discussion of causes and consequence, of shifts in rates of vertical mobility" and to determine the "effects of structural factors and changes on rates of movements and the relationship between vertical and horizontal movement".

Comparisons should also be drawn with contemporary experience to account for the apparent evolution of a process over time. For example, have the criteria acting as determinants of social and economic mobility over time shifted sharply or gradually from inherited characteristics to acquired? If so, which of the inherited characteristics declined in importance first, and which were most tenaciously involved with determining social and economic mobility? Why did the observed patterns evolve? Thernstrom offered only three pages of explanatory theory in _The Other Bostonians_ (1973, 30-32). Herschberg (1974) claims it is now time for more elaborate explanation.

Sennett, an historical sociologist, provides an example of how these studies might be expanded. He explores the strategies employed by families to maintain status (Sennett: 1978, 138-140) and determines that one strategy was to protect the position of sons (Sennett: 1978, 170) who were not particularly advantaged due to inherited economic position or numbers of wage-earners in the household. The sons were better able to adapt by making a healthy break with the older generation to seek new opportunities. In nuclear families, the father's absence during work elsewhere was more noticeable (Sennett: 1978, 190-191) and families became mother-dominated. This resulted in an 'inward-turning' in a response to the stress of urban life which further reinforced the behaviour. Anderson (1971) explored the effectiveness of kinship in attaining or maintaining social mobility. An extensive discussion of his thesis is given in Chapter One.

2.5 Towards a New Approach

Traditions, with shortcomings but also useful points, and opportunities of in-depth study, due to personal long-term acquaintance with study area residents and data collection over a long time period, have led to the approach which is mapped out here.

2.5.1 The Realistic Situation

Until just after the turn of this century, farm families were the prevalent unit of Ontario society. As in the British Isles, their internal structure and relationships to each other profoundly influenced the nature of that society and its response to the changes wrought by industrialization and urbanization (Anderson: 1977). Upon consideration of the farm family's traditionally close attachment to a particular unit of land, it is reasonable to expect that a large proportion of any rural population was geographically stable for most of their lives. It is an intriguing paradox, then, to note that nineteenth century populations, both rural and urban, here and elsewhere, are characterized by a stable core population of about ten to forty percent in any decade, and a geographically mobile majority. Two questions are of interest for research: what social and economic forces generated these high rates of population mobility and what personal characteristics determined who stayed and who left?

Dependence upon stable external markets resulted in cycles of 'boom' and 'bust', creating economic uncertainty for farm families, especially in peripheral agricultural areas and lumbering regions. The present study departs from the American preoccupations and paradigms by emphasizing the goal of social and economic stability based upon mutual

dependence upon family members for assistance when needed and independence from outside sources of assistance. Instability from social and economic forces outside the family combines with "internal" problems inherent in a kinship system dependent upon a land resource. The threat of unemployment, interrupted income, accident, illness and premature death, in conjunction with the need to provide a 'start-in-life' for children and security in old age, demanded a mutual assistance network among settlers to ensure their survival. Before the advent of universal welfare programs, social and economic security depended upon a set of widely acknowledged conventions and strategies among kin.

If the relationship between social and economic security and geographical mobility is to be investigated in a rural Canadian context, then kinship relationships among farm family members must be considered. Again, this is a departure from the majority of approaches of social historians, although some Canadian studies have considered kinship. To this end, the Canadian experience is considered here within the parameters of Anderson's exchange theory of kinship relationships (1971: 171-175). The theory aids in ordering ideas about the 'meaning' of kinship-related information concerning the settlers. Anderson's theory, developed in association with his work on Lancashire in the

nineteenth century, does not seem to be specific only to that place.

2.5.2 Excursus: An Exchange Theory of Kinship Relationships

The development of the local kinship network meets the requirements of Anderson's theory (1971) of the functions of kinship in increasing the 'life chances' of individuals in the laissez-faire milieu of nineteenth century Canada. The tenets of Anderson's theory are extended to offer an explanation of the patterns revealed by mapping local kinship relationships. It is argued that the kinship system promoted the interests of the family above those of the individual in order to ensure the permanence of at least some family members over time. Not only did this phenomenon create family cohesiveness, it also contributed to regional social and economic stability.

Anderson (1971: 170-175) postulates that kinship relationships are carefully maintained among those whose goals cannot be attained without reliance upon formal or informal assistance during times of crisis. Mutual support (the offer of assistance and the acceptance of obligations among kin) is dependent upon trust. In societies with no formal institutions to provide assistance during crises, kinship relationships are mutually satisfying because

extensive knowledge of the reliability of others to whom one is related permits the acceptance of long-term obligations with certainty of reciprocation. This assurance of reciprocation of assistance is absolutely essential in a society with relatively scarce resources and beset by potential crises which threaten survival. Crises may be rare, but costly, or crises may occur unpredictably in societies wherein resources are adequate in the long term. Assistance may then be demanded suddenly by any individual member of the network in the short term.

Anderson further suggests that the possibility of reliance upon kinship as a source of assistance will probably be reduced in direct proportion to the existance of alternative bureaucratic assistance. Kin will prefer reliance upon network members for assistance before the advent of universal social security programs because of the potential for privacy within the kinship network (Guest: 1980, 15).

Although Anderson's theory (1971: 171-175) evolves from his study of rural-to-urban migrants in nineteenth century Lancashire, it has a wider application. The theory has three main spatial dimensions. In order to function as a mutual assistance network, a local kinship network must be large, close-knit and localized. It must "support more obligations than any one person could meet" in order to

foster interdependence among members as opposed to dependence upon any one economically advantaged person (Anderson: 1971, 171).

Anderson maintains that kinship facilitated reciprocal assistance among network members within rural families. The operation of the kinship system pivoted on mutual trust in societies with few alternative sources of assistance. Trust was the prerequisite for the efficient functioning of the kinship system and mutual trust depended upon interaction fields which gave accurate information permitting precise assessments of the reliability of those with whom one might expect reciprocal relationships (Anderson: 1971, 171-4). In other words, kin must be reasonably sure that assistance will be reciprocated when needed. A high degree of trust is therefore essential among members of a network. Trust is based upon knowledge of members' previous record of honouring obligations and discharging duties.

A complex network of individuals prevented any individual member of the local network from becoming overburdened with kinship obligations. Furthermore, a complex kinship network located within a relatively confined rural community would be aware of any failure to honour obligations. This knowledge would be disseminated throughout the system by means of frequent interaction

within a well-developed local information field. Thus, another requirement for effectiveness is a complex, localized kinship network with many potential 'contact points' of interaction.

The kinship system must also foster normative behaviour within the community. The function of interaction fields is to give enough information to permit accurate assessments of the reliability of those with whom one might expect reciprocal relationships. An extensive kin network focussed within a small areal unit would be aware of any failure to honour generally perceived obligations. Kin must be willing to accept obligations in order to increase the 'life chances' of all, as will be demonstrated later in this chapter. The personal benefit of aiding kin might not be immediately apparent to some network members, especially the relatively affluent whose need for assistance in future seemed remote. The less advantaged had much to gain and little to lose by accepting assistance with little thought of reciprocation or repayment.

Anderson states that "relationships [must be] encapsulated by a close-knit network on which [the borrower] is dependent and of which [the loaner] is a powerful member" (1971, 173). In this situation, any member failing to offer or failing to repay assistance must be subject to widespread and isolating social disapproval. John Kenneth Galbraith,

in writing of his youth in southern Ontario (1966, 48), recognized the effectiveness of the local monitoring system. In Elgin County, both relatives and neighbours displayed a deep commitment to a normative system of assistance behaviour:

> "The common law on these matters was ... clear and well enforced. ... Occasionally there were complaints that a man called for help too readily. But no one ever declined. Again the social penalty would have been too severe. It is a great mistake to imagine that prisons and fines are the only means that a community has of enforcing its laws. Nor are they necessarily the most drastic" (Galbraith: 1966, 48).

Individuals had to be able and willing to apply effective sanctions against those who deviated from normative or accepted and expected behaviour of mutual assistance. Sanctions imposed by an individual alone would be ineffective. Therefore, if the local kinship network functions as Anderson predicted, a kinship network of increasing complexity develops over time. Paradoxically, it must not become too complex or it will fragment into smaller units for which there would be a 'manageable' information field.

The precise role of family members in this ethos is articulated by Anderson. Briefly, an individual counts upon assistance from close relatives. In return, he has a reciprocal obligation to assist them whenever required. It is especially the obligation of all members of a nuclear or

extended family to look out for each others' welfare as long as they are under the same roof and beyond that if they are mature children or elderly parents domiciled separately. In lieu of fully developed local kinship networks, this tradition is perpetuated in the concept of 'neighbourliness', an acknowledgement of the mutual dependence among neighbours, mimicking the advantages of kinship networks.

The admirable system of mutual assistance was only attainable as long as certain basic assumptions were met: that a family could muster sufficient resources to carry on farming and attain the dignity of independence in the community; that the family farm generated enough income in good years permitting them to set aside resources to cushion against uncertainties in the future. The goal of many Ontario families was independence from want, obligation and reliance upon strangers. "Everywhere the family and its relatives were a close economic unit; the various members helped one another when new enterprises were started or old ones failed. The material basis for a social welfare association was the family farm" (Smiley: 1963, 26).

2.5.3 Toward Specific Formulations: Stability, Change and Kinship at a Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Farming Frontier of Ontario

It is appropriate now to define the critical relationship between firstly, the social and economic functions of farm family members and secondly, the mover/stayer dichotomy in the context of both predictable and unpredictable events by which these people were threatened throughout life.

The conceptual schema which is presented has been developed as a synthesis of Anderson's (1971) theory of the utility of kinship and the staple-led theory of economic development. Kinship served as the traditional interface between the social and economic functions of the farm family. In nineteenth century Ontario, as elsewhere, widely accepted strategies embedded in kinship conventions seem designed to promote the basic social and economic welfare of all farm family members.

In the pre-welfare state, the social and economic welfare of individuals was a matter of family concern. Thus, family relationships could not be divorced from economic considerations (Henretta: 1978). Anderson stressed the important function of the kinship network in providing for the welfare of all through mutual assistance. The implicit understanding among network members was a need to

maintain a long-term balance of accumulated family resources and obligations which promoted the life chances of all members. Mutual assistance was usually an informal insurance rooted in a trust in and social responsibility towards close relatives, that is, those upon whom one could count in times of crisis. So long as the balance could be maintained between resources and responsibilities, the support network countered the predictable crises such as provision both of a 'start-in-life' for maturing children and for old age.

The kinship-based convention of mutual assistance also evolved to provide both short- and long-term assistance to counter unpredictable but possible life crises such as unemployment, accident, illness and the premature death of a head of household. Furthermore, the mutual assistance system increased the pool of resources accumulated by facilitating expansion or intensification of agricultural activity. In order for a kinship network to have social and economic utility for individual members, they must remain in relatively close proximity to each other. This ensured a greater chance of that knowledge of each other's activities upon which mutual trust was based.

As a social unit, the farm family tried to protect and promote the interests of all family members in order to increase their life chances and to ensure the survival of

the family. However, economic realities meant that social welfare often had to be subordinated to the need to attain economic stability in a society with few alternate sources of assistance. The family farm was a source of security, stability and wealth. Paradoxically, however, while it bound some to the land, it also forced others to leave. Farmers, although wanting to provide an ideal 'start-in-life' for all of their children, were loathe to subdivide the farm lest its economic viability be compromised. Small farms could not support a family, especially in an area of limited land capability and marginal location. Conversely, providing for non-land-inheriting children also depleted capital accrued by the farm. The farm family faced many other potential crises which threatened the collective or individual social security and, as a result, developed a multiplicity of strategies to counter them which were based upon the principle of mutual assistance among members to increase the life chances of all. These strategies will be considered as an indicator of the degree of stress upon these people and the difficulty which these crises posed for family members.

The 'staple-led' theory of Canadian economic development, as interpreted by Watkins (1963 and 1977), suggests that regional development occurred as a response to external demand for a staple resource. In the study area,

demand was for lumber, most of which went to Michigan and Illinois. Agricultural land was opened for settlement in those areas which had been cut over in order to serve the needs of lumber camps and as an incentive for those growing families in southern Ontario which needed to acquire more and cheaper land in order to stay together within the province. As a result, prosperity for farmers fluctuated with the external demand for lumber. Without local lumbering operations, farmers would have been unable to earn cash for agricultural development. No local market would have existed for their crops and skills. No external markets would have developed for agricultural products by means of the transportation infrastructure created to serve lumbering activities and connections to export markets in the American mid-west. Lumbering, in effect, drove the development of the local agricultural sector for at least half a century. The farmers' direct and indirect dependency upon lumbering activity added to the precarious supply of local capital which could fuel development and counter life crises.

Based upon the foregoing discussion, it is possible to formulate several hypotheses about the relationship between the farm family's economic characteristics, kinship network , and individual family member's geographical mobility or stability. Two major hypotheses are presented

briefly in general terms and then, in the form of four models, the more specific relationships of family charcteristics and kinship with moving or staying are illustrated.

The primary assumption in this research is that moving or staying is an individual's response to the economic condition of a farm family. More particularly, the more secure one's social and economic welfare was in a locale, the less likely one was to move.

The first model, Figure 2.1, illustrates the relationship between economic opportunity and migration. If the widespread demand for capital to develop the new area and to counter life crises were met, more individuals were likely to stay locally. Crucial to the stability of individuals was access to capital. If it were not met, then they moved to areas where they thought that they might have a better chance for meeting their demand for capital. It is imperative to consider the sources of capital available to settlers over time because these drove development of the family farm in new areas and thus created the agricultural sector of the regional economy.

The second hypothesis to be discussed is that kinship played a crucial role in providing for the social and economic welfare of family members. More specifically, kinship relationships provided both more advantageous access

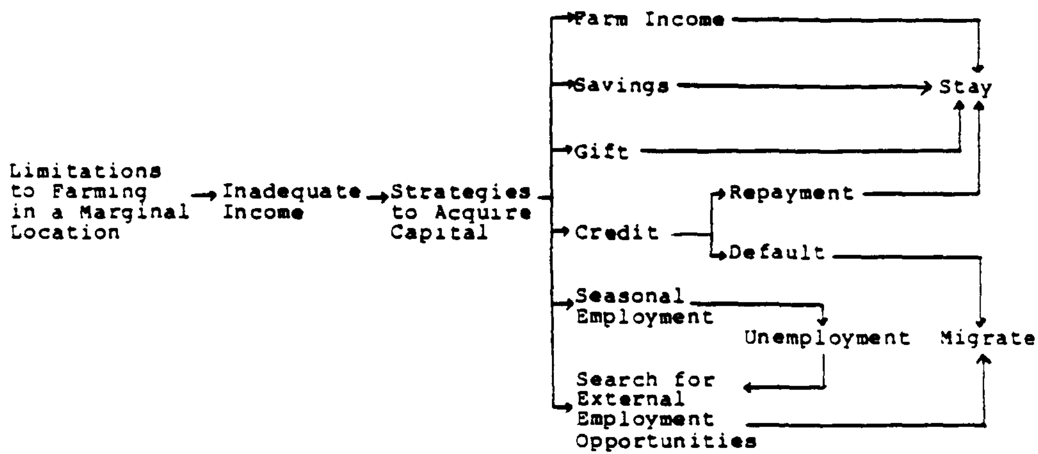


Figure 2.1: The Relationship between Economic Opportunity and the Migration of Farm Family Members

to and a greater array of resources upon which one could rely in times of crisis (Figure 2.2). This included capital.

The third model, Figure 2.3, delineates the relationship between kinship relations, sources of capital and the mover/stayer dichotomy. The sources of capital are listed in descending order of increasing risk to an individual's security and geographical stability. Those who were fortunate could counter a crisis by tapping their savings or drawing upon current wages or earnings from their farm. If one had insufficient personal resources, one could appeal to several other sources of capital - sources which may be characterized as increasingly risky and impersonal.

Gifts were usually one-time events involving succession of the younger generation. They were bestowed to provide a start in life and usually involved a considerable value which had a long-term effect upon the welfare of descendants of the donor. Gifts were major contributors to the ability of children to stay over long periods of time. This strategy was so critical to family welfare that the partible/impartible system of inheritance was in widespread evidence in Ontario and Quebec. One son inherited the farm because the land could not support more than one family over time. In fairness to his non-inheriting siblings, the inheritor was required to compensate them in order that

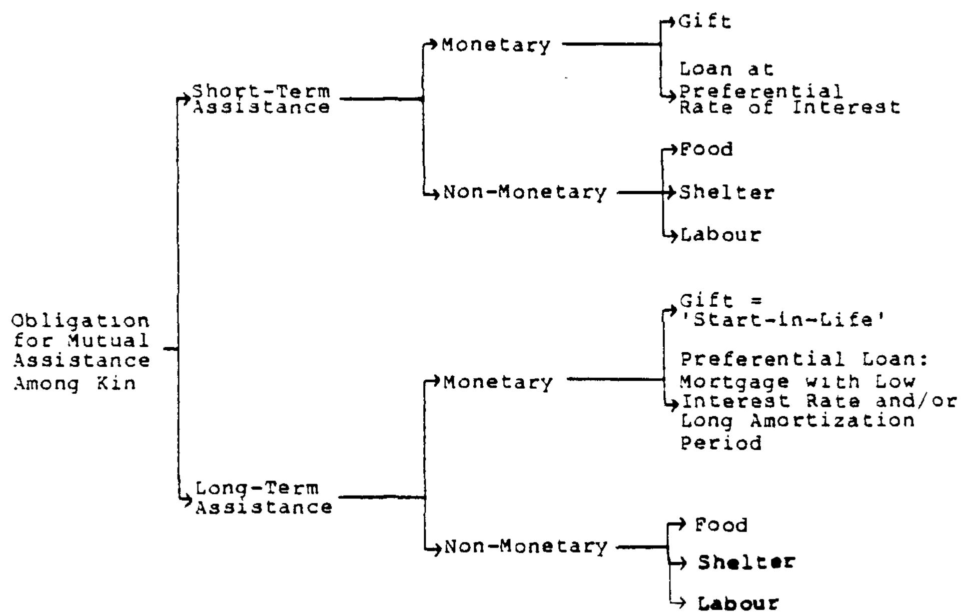


Figure 2.2: Kinship and Mutual Assistance

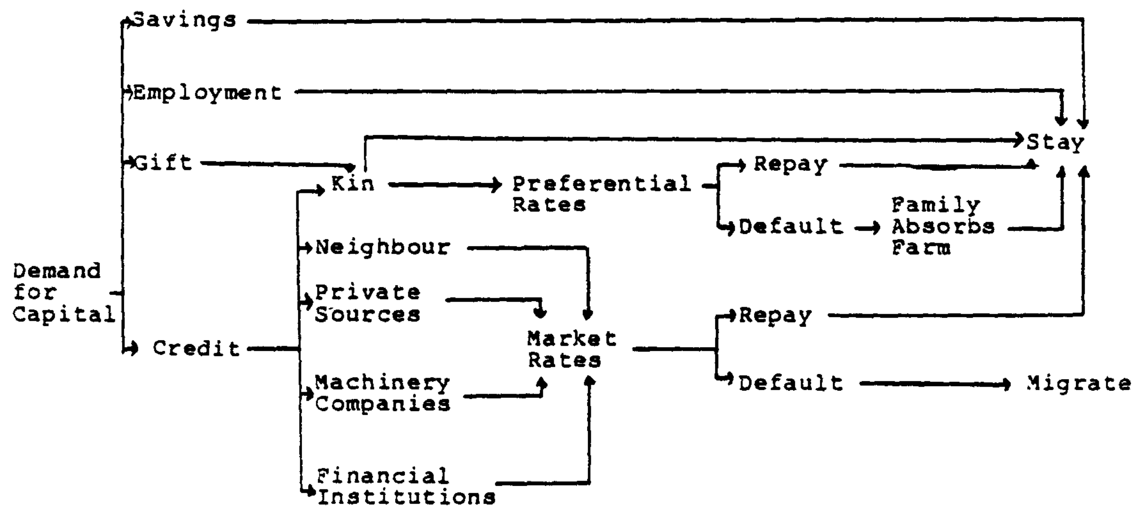


Figure 2.3: Sources of Capital for Farm Families to ca. 1920

they, too, might have assistance with beginning their adult life. Thus the inheriting generations may have found themselves bound to the land by debt, by obligations to care for aging parents or by a charisma associated with land that had been in a family for several generations. Unless these 'hidden' costs of the land were accepted willingly, the advantage of the gift was devalued and may even have forced them to seek a source of capital such as savings or credit.

To seek credit as a source of capital was to count upon future profits from farming to repay the debt. The fluctuations in demand and instability of this developing economy in general made this the most risky choice. Farmers traditionally were extremely reluctant to get involved in this form of financing, and with sound reason, considering the difficulty of repayment. However, if there was no other choice, several sources could be approached. Most neighbours and private investors charged eight to ten per cent interest and were the most frequent source of funds until the First World War. A few settlers held mortgages from the Canada Permanent Savings and Loan Company of Toronto and all were successfully repaid. This fact indicates that these loans were granted after careful investigation of the probability of repayment. No marginal farms were financed in this way.

The machinery companies helped to finance the

purchase of machinery only. For example, when farmers were encouraged to increase production during the First World War, many purchased machinery in order to help them do so. However, the National Policy, begun in 1879, increased the cost of production to farmers because a tariff on cheaper American machinery protected the agricultural implement sector in southern Ontario. Farmers could not compete with world markets if they raised prices, and a cost-price squeeze developed which has plagued them ever since. Some borrowed from the implement dealers to buy machinery, and when a post-war depression inevitably occurred, found it impossible to keep up payments.

The most advantageous source of capital was that provided by kin. Usually, credit from kin was granted at slightly preferential rates, starting at six per cent interest. Even if preferential rates could or would not be offered by kin, the normative expectations within the community in terms of kinship obligations would have frowned upon a sudden foreclosure if a kinsman defaulted in repayment. The mortagagor who was also a kinsman would be expected to be more lenient than any other source of credit, and this leniency could also be considered an advantage in the quest for security. Financial assistance among kin was a very complex process involving both an ability and a willingness to help.

Of these sources, kin were the most likely to be sympathetic to legitimate problems which resulted in default. After all, they would have been knowledgeable about the circumstances and would have been best able to judge the extent to which a family member could be trusted to repay as soon as circumstances permitted. If one were to default upon a debt to a kinsman due to irresponsibility, knowledge of that circumstance would also be apparent to all network members and pressure would be brought to bear upon a recalcitrant borrower. If the borrower could ignore the ostracism of kinsmen, he would still have to contend with the certainty that help would probably not be forthcoming in any subsequent crisis situation. Certainly it would be perilous to ignore such a threat to personal security.

If all else failed, one could leave for external opportunities which were perceived as being better than those available locally. The Canadian west received a number of these settlers after the turn of the century, as did Michigan.

2.5.4 Behavioural Models

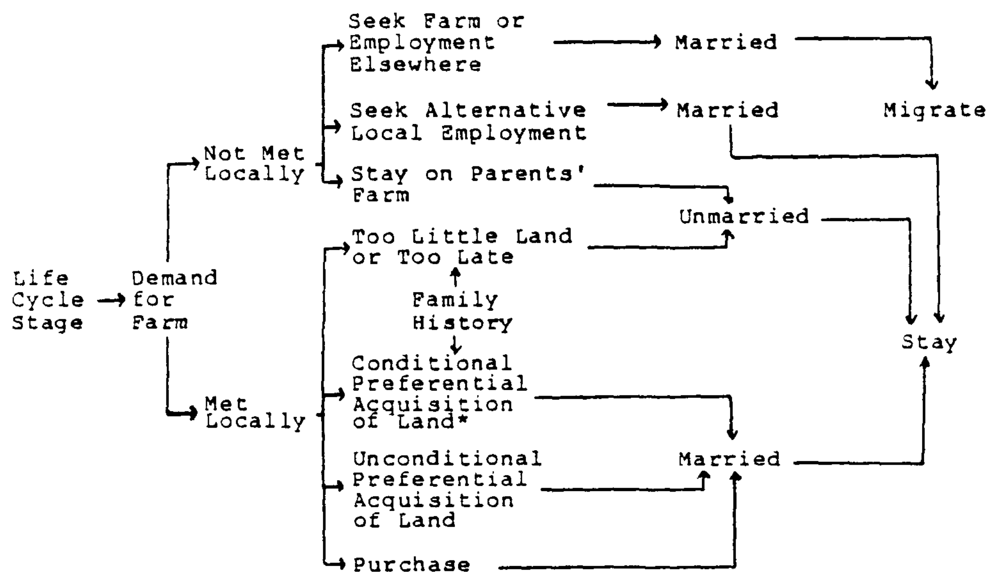
Four generalized models of hypothetical situations which would create a demand for capital within farm families demonstrate some of the strategies which could be employed to counter the detrimental effects of each situation and the

relationship between life crises and the permanence or geographical mobility of the individuals involved. All of the models are based upon the circumstances of early generations of settlers. Government policies changed the configuration of the flows, especially after 1940.

2.5.4.1 Model A: Seeking a Start in Life

Seeking a start was common to all children raised on the family farm. Sons needed land in order to gain the advantages of being self-employed and daughters desired to marry a local farmer or to acquire land through their own family if their husband, for whatever reason, had none. If there were no sons in a family, daughters and their spouses could take over the land by the same processes. If a daughter remained unmarried, it was understood that she could remain on the farm of her parents. If she wanted to be self-sufficient, her alternatives were to move elsewhere and become a seamstress, clerk or teacher. The important point is that families seem to have been expected to give daughters a start in life and if it was less than that given to sons, the disparity was not great.

The interesting feature of this model, Figure 2.4, is the variety of strategies that were employed to keep family members in proximity to one another so that they could offer mutual assistance. In effect, they stuck together in order



* Preferential acquisition of land with compensation of non-inheriting siblings and/or maintenance of aging parents

Figure 2.4: Model A. Seeking a Start in Life

to deflect the worst effects of life crises and disperse the responsibility for aid among the greatest number. This prevented any one member or the kinship network in general from becoming overburdened with obligations.

2.5.4.2 Model B: Expansion or Intensification of Agricultural Activity

With settlement and external events, such as World War One and modernization, came a demand for increased productivity from farmers. Again, a variety of strategies were employed to increase the chances of staying in the community under these circumstances. Four of the most logical strategies, Figure 2.5, required capital investment and would have placed many in the position of having no alternative but to apply for credit, making themselves vulnerable to the dangers which that entailed.

2.5.4.3 Model C: Diminishing the Effects of Life Crises

Emotional considerations aside, all sorts of events could lead to a sudden loss or diminishing of income, as shown in Figure 2.6. Some were foreseeable events, such as aging, and, with luck, could be planned for to some degree as long as other life crises did not intervene and drain resources. The next model, Figure 2.7, will elaborate on

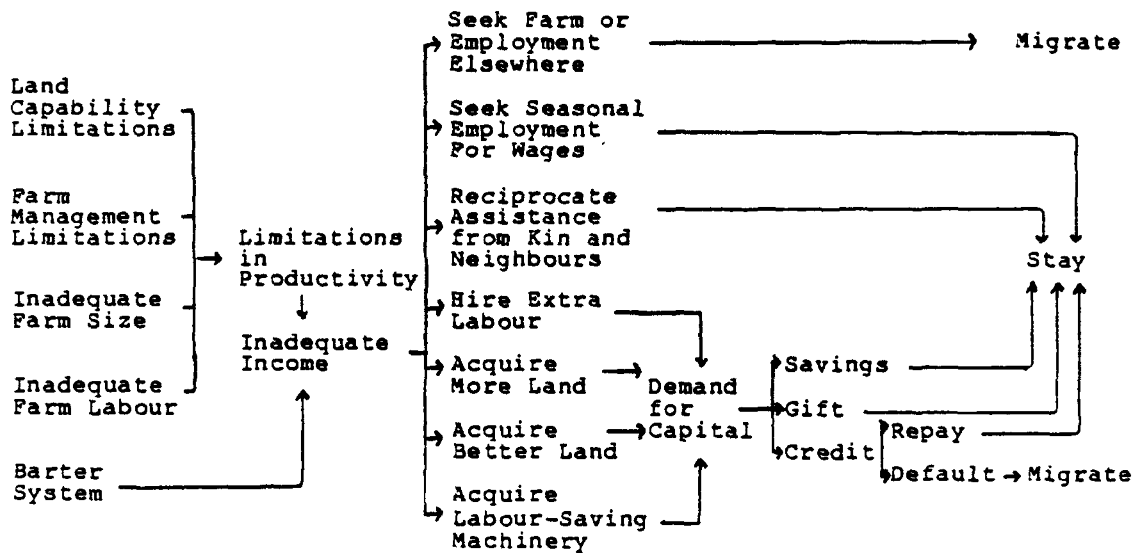


Figure 2.5: Model B. Expansion or Intensification of Agricultural Activity

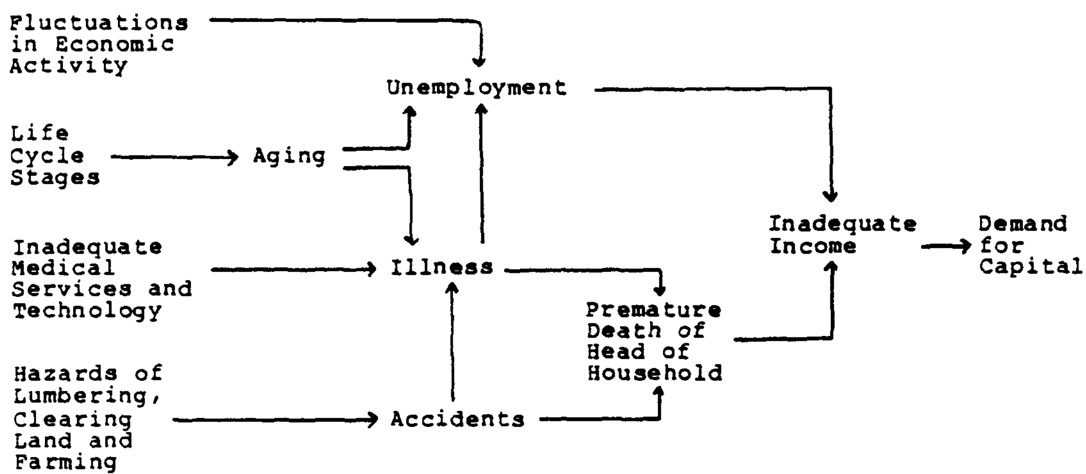


Figure 2.6: Model C. Diminishing the Effect of Life Crises

this special long-lasting life crisis.

Other threatening events were unpredictable, some being probable, like unemployment, and some merely possible, such as accidents, illness and untimely deaths. All placed the family in a position of requiring capital to offset the effects of the crisis and to ensure retention of the family farm.

2.5.4.4 Model D: Providing for Old Age

Perhaps because old age was the most inevitable of life crises, the strategies to counter the hazard of decreased productivity which led to a decreased income and increased dependency on assistance over time were most well-developed (Figure 2.7). A number of alternatives were used frequently. Again, most of them were designed to permit the aging person to stay in the community and benefit from membership in a localized kin network. Selling the farm is the only alternative which conceivably could force a move, breaking the community kinship ties. The circumstances leading to this decision can either imply a forced move or an adequate financial situation which permitted living in a nearby town with the social life and accessibility to services which that implies and yet still remaining within range of the localized rural kin network.

The conceptualization discussed here provides the

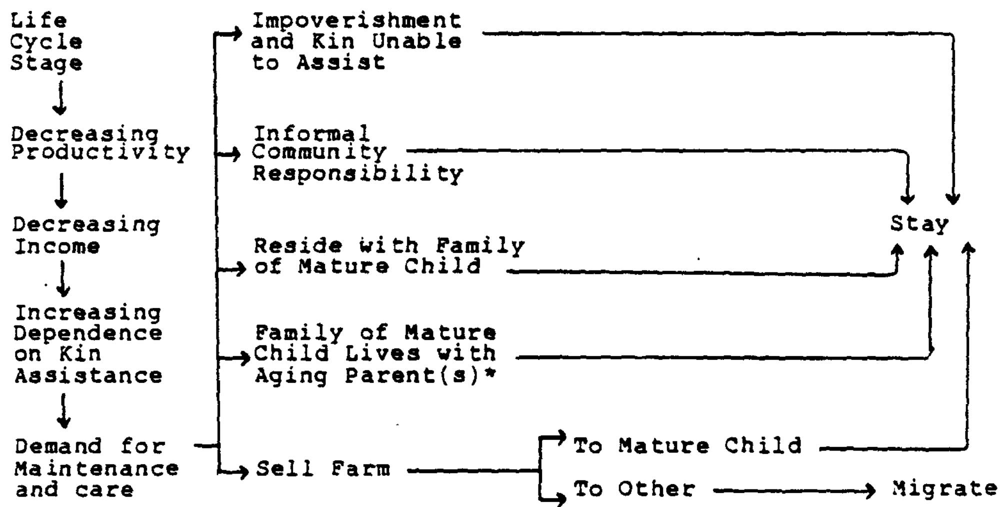


Figure 2.7: Model D. Providing for Old Age

possibility of an ordering of the wealth of data available. It specifies the possible interconnection of economic and kinship variables which affect the propensity of moving or staying.

2.5.5 Data and Variables

The data gathered for this study is a combination of information collected from all of the record sources generated by the community which have survived. Unlike other studies of kinship which rely on linking families through the matching of surnames of heads of households, it includes all of the local residents, both male and female, for whom records were generated. Further, it reflects the evolution of their experience throughout their sojourn within the community.

There is no substitute for a thorough knowledge of kinship relationships within the community over time. Kinship networks are intricate and must be carefully recorded in an organized format in order to properly reconstruct the local network, the basic unit of which is the individual. There is no software program available for this analysis which would have permitted the integration of individual data into that of families and then of kinship networks. For this reason, ninety variables had to be coded for each of almost one thousand individuals, a

time-consuming, expensive but ultimately rewarding task. It is, however, not a research strategy which would be suited to large urban populations. Nor would it be suited to generating a random sample of a large population unless one uses the technique of random sampling to choose a basic population of individuals for analysis and then proceeds to include all of their relatives who lived locally in order to capture local kinship networks. The task would be daunting, if not impossible.

The data which has been collected about residents of the townships of Day, Bright and Bright Additional is unique in terms of its scope, detail and the time period to which it applies (see Chapter One, section 1.3.4). All known sources of data which could illuminate the life history of individuals was integrated and coded for multivariate analysis. The coded information spanned the categories which are included in Appendix A. There are several advantages inherent in this approach to the intricacies of kinship relationships by means of extensive data about the personal characteristics of individuals.

The data is categorized into three major subdivisions for each individual. Information is coded concerning his or her family of orientation (grandparents, parents and siblings), the people to whom one is most closely related and the components of the kinship network with whom an

individual must share resources and to whom he or she must turn for assistance and a start. The second category of data concerns characteristics which are specific to that person as an individual (e.g., year of birth) and as a member of that family (e.g., birth rank). Finally, the characteristics of an individual's family of procreation, spouse and children, indicate those for whom the individual must provide and upon whom the individual must rely for assistance in old age. Also embedded in the codes are the timing of life cycle and migration events.

The completeness of this data set permits assessment of results based upon consideration of changes in life cycle stages and in response to external economic and social events. The inclusion of all individuals captures the experience of women and youngsters who did not reach maturity. Individuals are distinguished by surname, generation within the community, and ancestors held in common with others. Deaths are distinguished from outmigration as a source of population loss until 1986. A precise census of residents can be generated for any year.

There are some drawbacks encountered in creating a data set of this scope. No systematic means was discovered for tracing the destinations of outmigrants. The data included here comes from a multiplicity of sources. The richest and most consistent source which is widely available

in most communities is the statement of place of residence of survivors who are mentioned in obituaries and Surrogate Court records. A good proportion of residents who had once lived in this community were ancestors of present local residents and their whereabouts was known to local families.

'Destination' is defined as that place most commonly associated with a particular individual. Most did not go directly to another place and spend the rest of their lives there. It would have been an impossible and unproductive task to record all movements of people in the short term. It was arbitrarily decided that 'destination' should refer to the destination attributed to an individual by local sources, either written or oral. By this is meant the destination associated with an individual in which he or she was known to reside for the longest period of time or the last known destination of an individual.

The data set which has been generated is extremely versatile. For example, it permits a very refined designation of ethnicity. The birthplaces of all grandparents, parents and the individual can be included. Spouses arriving directly from Old World origins tend to exhibit identical nationalities. However, individuals who moved to the New World before marriage did not necessarily marry someone of the same nationality. This has important implications for potential modifications to ethnic

traditions, especially to traditions of inheritance. In recording origins of the individual and of his or her ancestors for the preceeding two generations, one should be able to discern any consistent modifications.

2.5.6 Analysis

The importance of kinship networks to individuals in the nineteenth century (Anderson: 1971) has been transposed into a conceptual framework incorporating local, regional, provincial and national government policies and social and economic development. Not only is it possible to determine the evolution of important processes over time, but multivariate analysis permits an expansion into the causes and consequences of events.

The variables generated describe the position of the individual within the context of both the family of orientation (parents and siblings) and the family of procreation (spouse and children). The tabulation of the frequencies of data 'events' is the initial step in the analysis.

The independent variables are then cross-tabulated with residence status, whether an individual was a permanent resident of the community or not, which is the dependent variable. This step in the analysis reveals the separate effect of the independent variables upon the dependent

variable by means of statistical tests of significance appropriate to the type of data, whether dichotomous, ordinal or interval. In other words, it reveals the strength of the association between measures of kinship relations with the geographical stability or mobility of the individual.

The final step in the analysis consists of multivariate analysis to determine the combined effects of the independent variables. This 'quantitative' approach to geographical stability and mobility is, however, never detached from the historical context of settlement.

Chapter Three: The Lure of Land: Peopling a Frontier

In 1881, Robert Redpath received a letter from Dave Gordon of the village of Little Rapids in the District of Algoma. Mr. Gordon, the woods manager of the Dyment Lumber Company of Barrie, wrote to tell of a 'land of plenty', encouraging the Redpaths to join him in Algoma. They obviously trusted his judgement of the new land; certainly they knew each other and there is a possibility that they were also distant relatives. In the fall of the same year, the Redpaths, with five children ranging in age from one to fifteen, left the fifth concession of Innisfil Township in Simcoe County for the north shore of Lake Huron.

It took two days for the family to travel overland to Collingwood. The first night of their journey they stayed with a cousin in Glencairn, a farming hamlet thirty kilometres west of Barrie and thirty kilometres south of Collingwood. Sometime during the following day, twelve year old Robert Jr. jumped from the wagon near Thornton. Determinedly, he walked back to the home of his grandparents, the Bettridges, across the road from his former home. The remainder of the family spent the second night on the boat in Collingwood harbour before sailing on to Thessalon in the morning (Dayton Tweedsmuir History).

3.1 "A Land of Plenty"

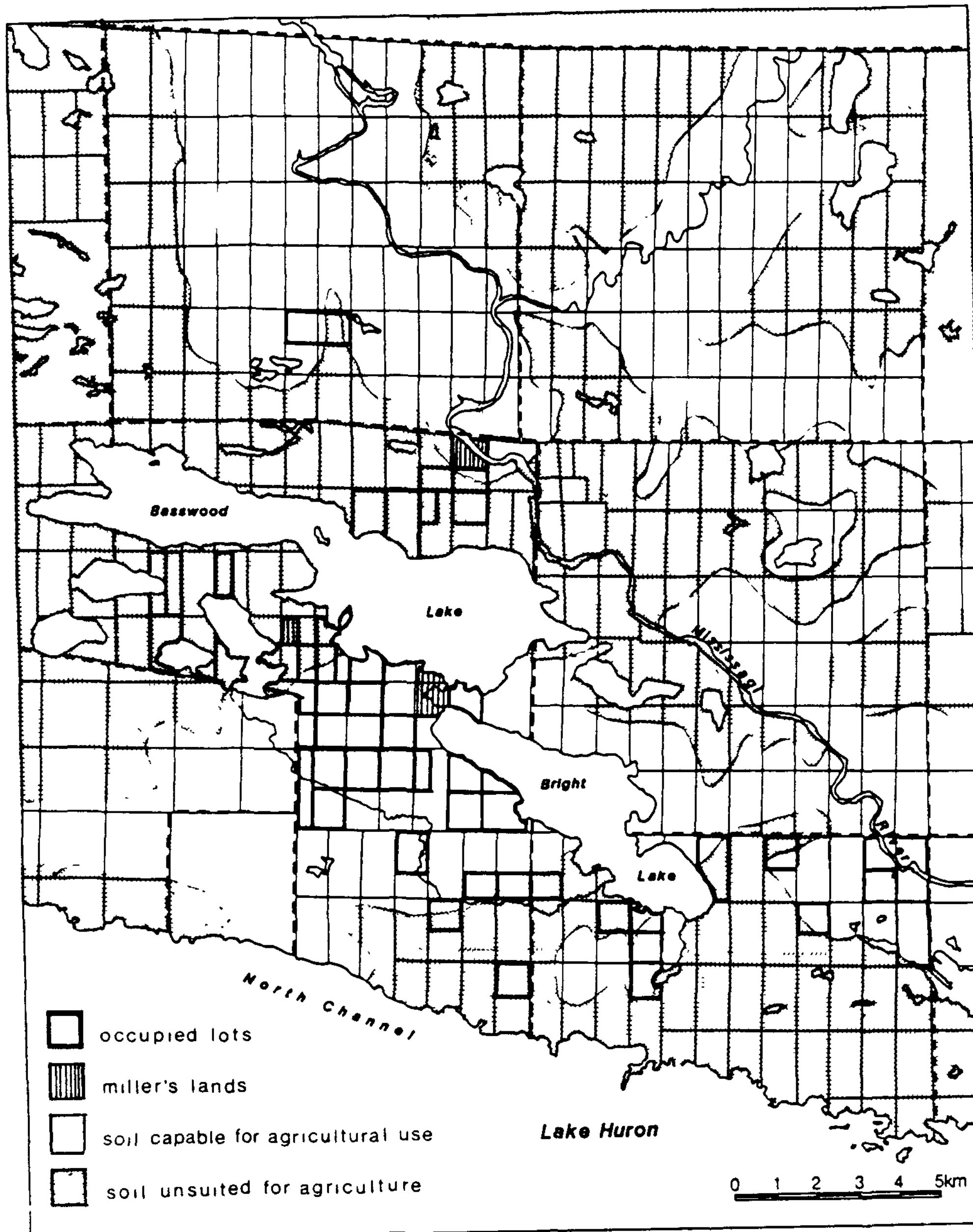
In spite of the prospective settlers' perception that they were going to a 'land of plenty', the settlement of North America's agricultural lands was not an easy process for settlers. Each move meant a wrench from familiar social ties. Unlike young Robert, few could turn back once they had migrated. The lure of 'greener pastures' had to be weighed against the advantages and comforts of known areas. The resulting dilemma over whether to stay or to move was

never far from the minds of farmers as long as new lands were becoming available.

Many Ontario farm families, especially from Huron, Grey, Bruce and Simcoe counties, chose to move to the north shore of Lake Huron beginning in the autumn of 1879. How did they arrive at the decision to cast their fortunes with that of the District of Algoma? With a well-established migration stream from southern Ontario to the American west in place (Hudson: 1976, 242-265), why did they choose to move to the peripheral agricultural lands of Algoma East? The colonization of this new area is examined in this chapter through a case study of residents of Day, Bright and Bright Additional Townships in the District of Algoma (Figure 3.1) during the first two years of settlement from 1879 until 1881. This chapter examines how the land was perceived both by settlers and the provincial government and the expectations of both for the area.

3.2 The Physical Environment from a Modern Perspective

The north shore of Lake Huron abuts the southern edge of the Gogama Uplands (Dept. of Economics and Development, Ontario: 1966, 5). It is a land of abrupt transitions and great physical complexity characterized by low rolling hills, fertile river valleys and the exposed bedrock of the Canadian Shield. Coincident with the ancient shorelines of



Source: Environment Canada. Lands Directorate. 1972. "Soil Capability for Agriculture". Canada Land Inventory. Blind River 41J,K. Ottawa.

Figure 3.1: Case Study Area: Lots Occupied by 1889 and Soil Capability for Agriculture in Day, Bright and Bright Additional Townships

glacial lakes on the north, a corridor of intermittent settlement now extends from Sudbury to Sault Ste. Marie and seldom penetrates further than three townships inland (Surveys and Mapping Branch, M.N.R.: 1985).

Located about one hundred kilometres east of Sault Ste. Marie, the townships of Day, Bright and Bright Additional are situated within the settlement corridor just to the east of Thessalon, originally a lumbering port and now an agricultural service centre. These three townships are bisected diagonally by a chain of lakes. The surface is 31742 acres of land and 8714 acres covered by water (Abrey: 1879; Bolton: 1879). About one third of the land is suitable for agriculture. Of the 203 half lots of approximately 160 acres each, only 19.2 percent is classed as capable for cultivation of crops and a further 14.3 percent is suitable for pastureland. About two-thirds of the lots have been patented or severed from the Crown, but only half of the patented lots have capability for agriculture. Figure 3.1 shows that the good farmland occurs in a band bounded by Basswood Lake and the railway tracks (Environment Canada: 1972).

Sandy plains occur around the south-western and north-eastern shores of Basswood Lake. The plains were originally the habitat of legendary white pine stands famous in the lumbering era, but farmers have come to know them as

'hungry sand' because of their poor capability for agriculture after the initial nutrients in the soil were rapidly depleted (MacDonald: 1966, 6, 13). Rugged Shield land emerges north-west of Basswood Lake. Southern portions of Bright and Bright Additional, adjacent to Lake Huron, are a tangle of rock, scrubby growth and bog. Permanent settlers shunned the area from the beginning and much remains virtually inaccessible Crown Land.

Since agriculture in Algoma East occurs in isolated pockets of better soil which are often separated by several kilometres of rough country, the view from Highway 17 gives little suggestion of the extent of farmland. However, the lakeshore corridor contains a substantial amount of land suitable for raising crops and pasturing livestock (Environment Canada: 1972). The long-term success of farmers in the past is suggested by 'century farm' status recently conferred upon two local farms. Direct descendants of the original families have worked the farms for the past hundred years.

3.3 Setting the Stage

The first era referred to as the 'Great Depression' in Ontario, from 1873 until 1895, marked a major readjustment to events of the preceding thirty years. Economic insecurity began with the decline in British

colonial preference policies in the 1840s. A fortuitous development postponed immediate economic reversal in British North America; a strong world market for wheat fuelled a boom characterized by railway building in order to integrate the colonies with new areas of expansion, notably the American mid-west.

Within the context of the confederation of the former colonies of British North America, the Ontario government set several objectives designed to remedy the declining prospects for the future. Of paramount importance was the need to expand continuous settlement in order to create a constant flow of commodities and goods along railway lines. It was hoped that this strategy would lower railway debt, extend the commercial hinterlands of Toronto and Hamilton, expand agriculture, create a home market for Ontario manufactures and ultimately attract and retain a greater proportion of immigrants passing through the province (Mackintosh: 1939, 19-25; Sessional Papers: 1860, No. 4, 230-232).

Copper had come out of Bruce Mines since the 1840s but the mines and fur trade posts did not provide an impetus to extensive assessment and settlement of the north shore of Lake Huron. A smelter was proposed for Sault Ste. Marie in 1860, 65,000 acres of farm lots were surveyed and a colonization road begun (Sessional Papers: 1860, No.12, 13; Gentilcore and Head: 1984, 106). The surveyor briefly described the local area:

> "Leaving Lake We-que-ko-bing, we guided the line [for the colonization road] over a level tract of hard wood land, passing between a chain of lakes, thence to the Mississaga River, thirteen miles.
> South of the line the country is fitted for settlement, but to the northward it is more rugged and rough.
> A considerable portion of this tract has been burned, and much valuable timber destroyed.
> The soil is a sandy loam, with boulders scattered over the surface" (Sessional Papers: 1860, No. 4, 227).

In spite of this, it came as a surprise to the Department of Crown Lands in 1880 to discover that preliminary reconnaissance of the lands abutting the eastern and northern shores of Georgian Bay were said to have land suitable for agriculture (Sessional Papers No. 4: 1880, vii-viii). It was only with the depletion of lumber in the southern region of Georgian Bay and in Michigan that less specialized and less isolated settlement became feasible.

Both the governmnent and farmers envisioned a complementary and symbiotic relationship between agriculture and lumbering that would provide local markets for produce. It was hoped that falling world prices for agricultural products would be offset by the increasing productivity and the demand created by proximity to lumber camps. The profits would provide the capital required to transform a wilderness farm into a stable commercial operation capable of integration into external and export markets.

The cessation of the 1854 Reciprocity Treaty with the United States in 1866 posed several long-term problems for

Canadian farmers. The United States raised tariffs to protect its home markets and created a barrier for agricultural products. This, in conjunction with faltering foreign demand for agricultural products, resulted in depressed markets beginning in the 1870s.

However masked the underlying economic problems, there were several indications that they would eventually reassert themselves. Immigration declined sharply, new lands were exhausted for agricultural development within the colonies and the exploitation of the transfer of goods from the United States did not materialize. The changes in American policy towards protectionism forced consideration of colonial as opposed to continental integration.

A depression in world prices in 1873 triggered the reckoning. There is some debate (McDougall: 1971, 21-22) concerning the severity of 'depression' which lasted for the next twenty-two years because falling prices for exports from Canada were ameliorated by concurrent declines in transportation costs and in costs of imports from Britain.

The 'depression' forced a rapid decline of the Ontario staple trade in wheat and many farmers began to feel the burden of debt acquired in more optimistic times. In the face of declining prices and increased competition from the American wheatlands, farmers turned to mixed farming. For those near lumber camps, pork became important, as did

oats for the horses used in the woods throughout the winter.

The National Policy of the Canadian government in 1879 placed a protective tariff on manufactured goods which was detrimental to agriculture. Farmers competed at world prices and yet now had to purchase implements which were protected from American competition by high tariffs. A cost-price squeeze ensued which has plagued Canadian agriculture since that time. The federal government's policy to keep food prices low and the continuing tariffs protecting manufactured goods meant that farm income consistently fell behind that in other sectors of the Canadian economy (Drummond et al: 1966, 23).

3.3.1 Widespread Dissatisfaction: The Impetus for Settlement

In 1878, a Huron County editorial referred to the prevalence of "a class of farmers who are constantly on the lookout for a better place to go to..." where they might find "luxuriant lands in some other parts of the country which can be bought 'for a song'..." (*Huron Expositor*: 4 Jan. 1878). The economic problem in the settled areas was an old one. "Many of these men own mortgaged farms; and for such men to desire to remove where they can own a free farm, though it be far, far away, is but a natural manifestation to better one's condition which the human mind cannot

resist" (Huron Expositor: 4 Jan. 1878). The editorial continues that a farmer would be left with $1000 to $1500 after paying debts and would then face the prospect of transporting his family, buying a farm in the American midwest and equipping himself with stock and machinery once again. A log cabin and eighty acres would cost between five and ten dollars an acre.

However tempting the potential for freedom from debt and the expectations of economic advantages in new lands, the social costs of moving to the frontier were high, as contemporary observers well knew. The prospect of isolation meant few neighbours, churches, schools and markets for produce. It would be especially difficult for children to go to widely scattered schools in the harsh prairie climate. Furthermore, if neighbours did not speak English, misunderstandings and lack of personal interaction might thwart mutual assistance within the farming community (Huron Expositor: 4 Jan. 1878).

3.3.2 Opening Agricultural Lands in Algoma

The opening of lands in Algoma for agricultural settlement created excitement in southern Ontario. The government of Ontario, like the federal government (Mackintosh: 1939, 22, 47), was anxious to encourage agriculture on the north shore of Lake Huron in order to

ensure continuous settlement which would lead to expansion and integration of the provincial economy and to retention of people who had immigrated to the province. Lumbermen hired farmers to work in the woods in wintertime and to supply foodstuffs and fodder to lumber camps. Farmers found the prospect of a new frontier, only a day's travel from southern Ontario, appealing. It promised the chance of local markets in lumber camps, a chance for many who had acquired heavy debt to begin again and, for others, a chance to settle near their mature children.

Three interest groups were involved in the settlement process. Lumbermen from Michigan and southern Ontario responded to a demand for construction materials to build the cities of the west by seeking new sources of lumber (Lower: 1936, 51). Farmers, and potential farmers, found land either too scarce or too expensive to purchase in southern Ontario or the American Mid-West. The provincial government sought to encourage permanent and continuous settlement in order to create an integrated economy which would justify the past investment in railways (Smiley: 1963, 45, 69-70).

The Ontario government increasingly expressed concern about sovereignty over human and natural resources within the province, prompted by the loss of settlers from southern Ontario and the loss of timber processing to Michigan mills

(Johnson: 1950, 213-233; Fowke: 1942, 57). Lack of inexpensive agricultural land was a long-standing problem in southern Ontario and the government response was to open new lands under favourable terms in order to encourage settlers to remain within the province. A Commissioner of Crown Lands declared in 1866 that "the settler was of infinitely more value [to the development of the province] than the land" (Sessional Papers: 1866, No.26, xxi).

The complexity and physical limitations of the land for agricultural development were recognized as early as 1860:

> "Possessing, as this section does, an invigorating climate, large blocks of arable land, fishing grounds abounding with trout, white fish, herring, and pickerel, forests of valuable timber, water power unlimited, and in its most rugged and barren portions, as is believed, an inexhaustible supply of mineral wealth, I deem it of no little importance to the Province" (Sessional Papers No. 12: 1860, 232).

Experienced settlers from southern Ontario were encouraged to pioneer this area (Fowke: 1946, 121) by means of promotional pamphlets, one of which referred to the area as a 'vast land of great promise [which] awaits the thrifty settler' (East Algoma: ca. 1879, cover). These pioneers had the expertise to recognize the area's potential, to cope with its limitations and to capitalize on the opportunities afforded by lumbering activity (Fowke: 1942, 56-58; Drummond et al: 1966, 17). In turn, they created conditions leading

to stable permanent settlements. The pioneer bought the goods and services of provisioners and transportation companies on the way to the frontier. In any new community, settlers utilized a good deal of capital in erecting mills, stores, houses and barns, the infrastructure upon which local social and economic life would be based.

The supply of marketable timber was rapidly nearing depletion in southern Ontario. Accessible and extensive new sources of timber had to be exploited by mills surrounding southern Georgian Bay and the watershed of the north shore was the logical source. Michigan interests vied for timber rights in the same area and for the same reasons (Morrison: 1935: 35). The expanse of Lake Huron permitted long-distance towing of timber rafts for relatively little cost (Johnson: 1950, 215). Mill towns such as Saginaw, Bay City, Collingwood and Penetanguishene sustained their prominence through access to this timber. Mining and lumbering also provided the impetus for frequent coastal steamer service by Georgian Bay shipping and passenger lines to the north shore.

Skilled woodsmen were brought in as overseers and executors of key operations in lumbering. Provisions and equipment for lumber camps had also been imported. Farmers were not located on agricultural lands until the lumbermen had first taken off the marketable lumber (Sessional Papers

No. 4: 1880, 58). Theoretically, at least, the timber dues which lumbermen paid were to be used to begin the building of roads for settlement (Williams: 1947, 11-16). Unskilled labour was expected to gravitate towards the lumbering activity.

The provisioning function of new agricultural settlements in the nineteenth century evolved when "lumbering [spilled] over to the Shield, an area removed from easy access to seasonal labour and from supplies of food and fodder, factors directly connected with operating costs of the industry" (Richards: 1958, 202). Seasonal labour and imported foodstuffs would not foster permanent settlement. The rationale of the Ontario government was stated explicitly during the general concern throughout the 1890s about protectionist American tariffs on lumber:

> "... if we permit the Michigan lumber manufacturer to come into Ontario, bringing in his own supplies, horses, sleighs, working, as has frequently been the case, and merely taking our logs and floating them into Michigan, there is but a restricted market afforded for the settlers, and we have left upon our hands a desert of stumps, upon which it is difficult to establish colonists. ...if [lumber] manufacture within the Province is encouraged and fostered, it will be in the future, as it has been in the past, the surest foundation and the greatest assistance towards a satisfactory colonization of our unoccupied lands" (<u>Sessional Papers</u>: 1898, 16).

The opportunity for a 'free' farm in combination with wage labour in the woods would draw people to the

newly-opened lands, since the extraction of timber occurred mostly in winter and early spring. It was held that

> "the industrious settler need not want in these parts, as there is always plenty of work in the winter time in easy reach, and when he could not be doing much at home on his land, he can leave the 'guid wife' and family at home to attend the bit of stock he may have, and he can go and always earn the necessaries of life and thus keep them comfortable" (Huron Expositor: 4 Dec. 1885).

With development, local farms should begin to supply foodstuffs and fodder to lumbering camps. The anticipated surplus of farm products would eventually result in exporting to external markets. Suppliers of goods and services for both the lumbering and farming sectors would also be attracted by the potential of a growing economy.

3.4 Facilitating Settlement

The lure of free grants of farmland only "to settlers on or near roads in new settlements" had been established with the Public Lands Act of 1860 (Statutes of the Province of Canada: 1860, 6-15). Exploitation and then abandonment by 'timber farmers' dogged the Ottawa-Huron tract where lumbering and agriculture clashed in competition for use of the same land (Richards: 1958, 202). As a result, before the Ontario government promoted agricultural settlement in eastern Algoma almost twenty years later, a new Act was inaugurated. The Free Grants and Homesteads Act of 1868

(Statutes of Ontario: 1868, 31 Vict. Cap. 8), especially with the revisions in 1880 (Statutes of Ontario: 1880, 43 Vict. Cap. 4), offered free lands to 'actual' settlers over eighteen years of age who had not been previously located under this Act and who completed prescribed 'homesteading' requirements.

There were several conditions to be met. A limit of two hundred acres per person would be granted by a patent to the land (the original Crown deed) after five years of continuous settlement with no absence of more than six months per year. Fifteen acres had to be cultivated and a house of sixteen by twenty feet constructed by the end of that period of time. Settlers could cut and use trees necessary for building, fencing, fuel and clearing land, but the land must be chiefly suitable for cultivation, not lumbering, mining or quarrying.

Among other conditions, settlers were not given the right of alienation or sale before receiving a patent and were not permitted to mortgage the land until after they had been granted a patent. The land could be sold for taxes. Speculation was minimized because no large tracts of land could be sold. In several amendments to 1897, the Act was further altered to reserve timber and mineral rights to the Crown. There was provision for purchasing extra lots at twenty cents an acre (Huron

Expositor: 18 July 1879).

Colonization roads were financed as bait for encouraging prospective settlers (Morrison: 1935, 64; Richards: 1958, 204). It has been claimed that the roads in the Ottawa-Huron tract were initiated for the benefit of private lumber businesses (Fowke: 1946, 120) but that was not the case on the north shore of Lake Huron. The dues on timber limits provided provincial revenue which could then be invested in the construction of roads. On the north shore, the evidence suggests that the Great Northern Colonization Road was built by the government to benefit the agricultural settler. It runs in a predominantly east/west direction, roughly corresponding to the present course of Highway 17, in order to create mobility between the settlements. Timber was brought out of the forests along the lakes and rivers which flow south to empty into the North Channel. The rivers are relatively short but broad and swift enough to have served as superior routes for the transportation of logs. The Commissioner of Colonization Roads stated that "Roads [were] for the double purpose of creating access to a new settlement ... and relieving some very indigent but industrious settlers on the line by affording them a few weeks' employment" (Sessional Papers No. 4: 1880, xx). Furthermore, the settlers realized the advantages of this plan: "the liberal grants recently

expended on colonization roads in Algoma, have made access to the western side of [Day] township, from the port of Thessalon, easy. The settlers have already extended these [roads] nearly a mile into Day" (Sessional Papers No. 4: 1879, 62).

3.5 Reconnaissance of a New Land

What did the surveyors and prospective settlers discover when they arrived in Algoma? In the spring of 1879, an expedition of potential settlers left the Huron County village of Brussels bound for the north shore of Lake Huron. Their purpose was to inspect the new townships which were about to be surveyed for settlement. When they returned to Brussels one week later, the consensus regarding the potential of the new land was that "rocks, hunger, bad whiskey, and hard times were the prevailing diseases in that locality" (Huron Expositor: 13 June 1879).

The perception of another group which left shortly thereafter contrasts markedly in attitude and detail (Huron Expositor: 11 and 18 July 1879). Their strategy for assessing the potential for farming was to observe the land and to talk to settlers on farms in townships already being cleared, especially farmers who were former residents of Grey and Huron counties.

Letters to the editor of the Huron Expositor

described soils, forest cover and topography and appealed to would-be emigrants with news of the prosperity of former residents. A typical reference is one to Mr. Charles Granger from Hullett Township, of whom it was written: "he says [that the move to Algoma] is the best move he ever made in his life" (Huron Expositor: 4 Dec. 1885). What were their prospects? In 1877, a farmer arrived in Algoma from Huron County with nothing and, within two years, he had 160 acres of land paid for, a house and ten acres of clearing, mostly in fall wheat (Huron Expositor: 4 Dec. 1885).

The surveyors and prospective settlers found gently rolling land, heavily timbered with both softwoods and hardwoods which would be an excellent source of building materials and fuel: maple, tamarack, basswood, pine, elm, cedar, spruce, balsam, birch, hemlock and oaks which were straight for fifty feet and twelve to twenty inches in diameter. The clear cold waters of the local lakes and streams held pike, bass, pickerel, speckled trout, salmon trout and white fish.

William Harris, resident of Brussels and correspondent of this reconnaissance party, had formerly owned a mill at Bodmin in Morris Township (Kirkby: 1981, 34). Immediately, he recognized the excellent mill site on the creek between the two large lakes. The creek bed dropped forty feet in forty rods with plenty of water to

drive four or five turbines, according to his estimate. He also located eighty acres of bird's-eye maple nearby.

In order to reserve the land for himself until after the harvest, he surveyed the lots which he wanted into roughly half mile squares and hired a man to clear a small portion. The area's staunchest booster, he declared his preference for "a few acres of high rocky land covered with heavy timber ...[to] the miserable swamps in Morris and Grey" (Huron Expositor: 18 July 1879).

In his assessment of the "Promised Land", he estimated that in a lot of one hundred and sixty acres, the standard allotment before 1877, it would not be difficult to find one hundred acres of good land. The rest would provide a permanent source of timber for farm use and protection from severe winds, unlike the exposed lands in Manitoba. He countered the earlier assessment by stating that:

> "The rocks and rough places around Bruce Mines have frightened many milk and water (and whiskey) men, who wander around a few days, afraid to lose sight of the lake, and then return home sick. I think the lands to the east of Bruce Mines in the Mississagua River territory, is about the best part of Algoma. I am certain there is plenty of land fit for settlement, no matter what any one may say to the contrary" (Huron Expositor: 18 July 1879).

In fact, many visitors to Algoma extolled the advantages of this land over Manitoba. The moderate climate was an important consideration. This was a land not subject

to bitter prairie winters. Precipitation was more reliable here and there was less likelihood of severe blizzards. The uneven topography was considered an advantage because it ensured a permanent supply of trees. Unlike southern Ontario, nights were cool even in the middle of summer.

In many other respects, the north shore corridor seemed like an extension of the familiar farmland of southern Ontario from which the settlers were to come (Dept. of Crown Lands: 1885, 49). It had the further advantage of being only one and a half days away from family and friends in the older southern settlements. The process in which reliable news of a new frontier was disseminated by word-of-mouth was one that had been repeated time and again whenever new lands became available for settlement and "slowly the current of emigration turned in this direction as the pioneers sent out reports of the fruitfulness of the soil and the favourable climate" (Patullo: 1883).

This 'new land', then, offered the opportunity of acquiring a free farm and the prospect of seasonal wage labour which would facilitate investment in the further development of that farm. It is also apparent that the government of the time was anxious to encourage and ease agricultural development. The process of migration to this frontier and the rapidity with which the land became filled with settlers is instructive to gaining an understanding of

the dynamics of settlement.

3.6 Migration to the Frontier

Most settlers who came to this part of Algoma originated in two major and several minor focal areas in southern Ontario. The largest families came from Grey County's rural townships surrounding Owen Sound. More families, which were of somewhat smaller size, came from the central townships of Huron County. The remaining families came from various other townships throughout the older settled areas of southern Ontario. Three potential heads of households came from the southern border of Quebec. Two families came from Michigan and another, related to them, from Nova Scotia.

The most dramatic feature of the migration process is the importance of kinship relationships in the relocation of these nineteenth century families. Only two young adult males are known to have been entirely without kin somewhere along the North Shore settlement corridor. Other young men who arrived to settle in this community came either as part of a larger family group which also settled locally or as a part of a family group which homesteaded within another nearby township settled previous to the opening of these townships just east of Thessalon.

Family groups usually consisted of parents and

unmarried children. Two families arrived with an elderly grandparent. One mature son arrived with only his father. Upon arrival, most males over eighteen acquired a separate homestead lot within a lot or two of parents and siblings. Many of these separating families erected one dwelling on the parental homestead and shared the tasks of clearing land and erecting the required dwellings on the other lands during the first short phase of initial settlement.

Some interesting modifications of the family relocation process are apparent. Many young single settlers and those with young families were siblings of other local residents in the same life cycle stage. For example, there are several instances of brothers moving to the frontier with a sister, all of whom were over eighteen years of age and unmarried. The sister 'kept house' for her brothers for awhile and all eventually married and stayed within the community.

Another variation of this pattern was the regrouping of brothers and sisters. In two cases during the first year of settlement, siblings with their families were reunited at the frontier. Two brothers and a sister had been born in southern Ontario in the 1850s. Since they had become independent of their parents about five to ten years before 1879, one man and his sister had moved to Michigan where they had started their own families, and the other brother

had married in Nova Scotia and stayed there until moving to Algoma. All arrived in Day Township at about the same time.

Even 'older' families displayed this tendency to reunite siblings and their families in proximity to each other. Two brothers with their families arrived in Ontario from the Shetland Islands several years before moving to Algoma, leaving Lambton County for the frontier townships. Shortly after their arrival on the north shore, another family arrived from the Shetlands, followed by two other families during the forty years until 1914. Thus settlers from the distant Shetlands displayed all of the grouping features known in terms of the migration experience: step migration, wherein the migration from one place to another occurs in a series of stages or steps; chain migration, wherein one related family follows another to the same destination; group migration, wherein several siblings or family fragments move together from one place of origin to a frontier; and also a regrouping feature, wherein families which have become scattered from a mutual point of origin take advantage of the availability of land at a frontier to regroup as adults, in order to live in proximity to each other.

The final form of migration unit consists of family fragments. Many members of a kin group, encompassing several generations, arrived and lived as a family group at

the frontier. A most unusual example of this is the family of McDougalls. An elderly husband and wife were accompanied by their son, aged twenty-one, a middle-aged, widowed niece and her daughter, and three brothers of the head of the household, who were all over the age of seventy. Unfortunately, little is known about their experience in southern Ontario since migration about twenty years before from Scotland. The grouping which arrived at the frontier suggests that several tragic but not unusual events had depleted the family and that all surviving members gathered together to try their fortunes at this new frontier.

From the emphasis on kin groupings among the first settlers, it is evident that kinship served several functions in the initial settlement process. It helped to combat loneliness and isolation in a new environment and eased the physical hardships associated with settlement duties such as clearing land, building dwellings, fencing and preparing the land for crops. Kin members shared labour, tools, machinery and other resources and lived together during the six months when they had to remain on the land in order to retain the right to claim it. They also went together to find winter employment in the woods.

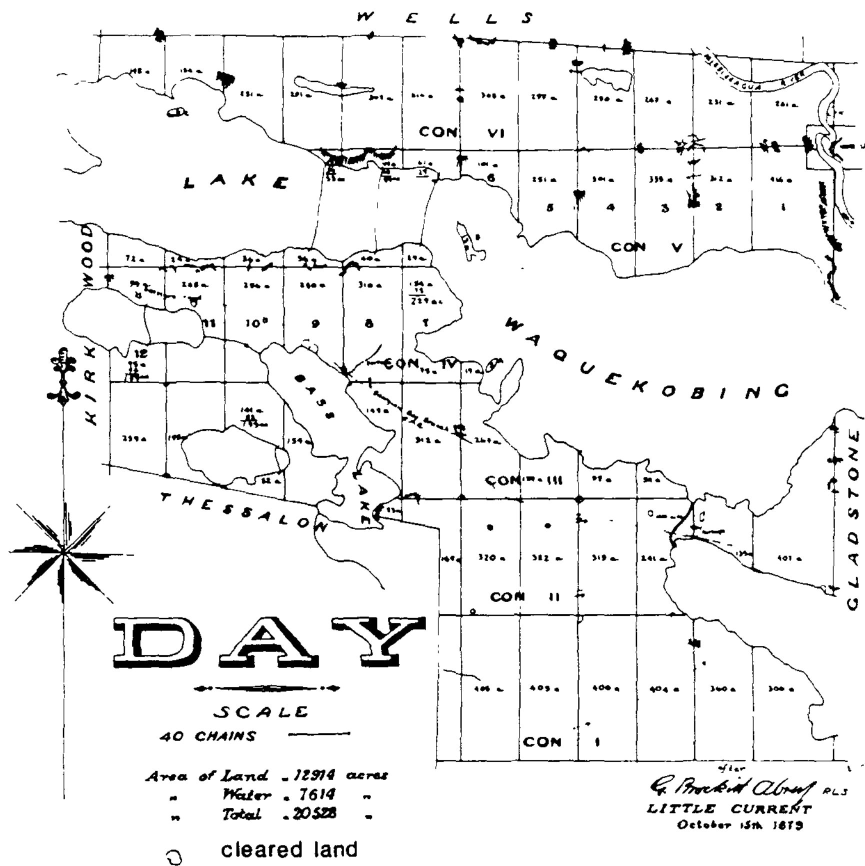
The land available in large quantity at the frontier also permitted families to remain in close proximity to one another while at the same time providing homesteads for

maturing sons. Families which had become fragmented could take advantage of the 'free land' to regroup, whether siblings or the remnants of several related families described above. Migration was a voyage into the unknown in company with known individuals with whom one shared a special bond of kinship with its attendant obligations for mutual assistance.

3.7 Arrival

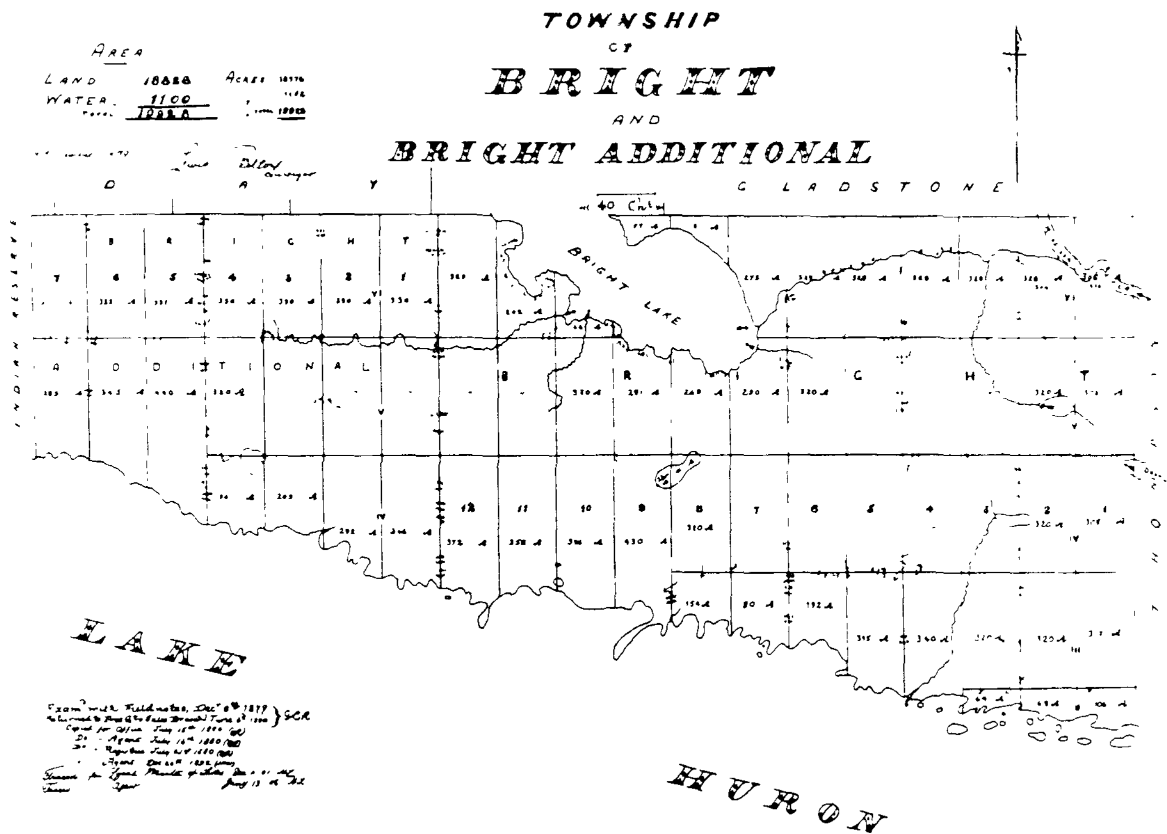
Colonization had really begun some time before the surveyors completed their task since they note clearings upon the survey map (Figures 3.2 and 3.3). The marketable timber had been cut in the winter of 1878-9 (Sessional Papers: 1879, 58). Eager early settlers arrived shortly afterwards, before the surveyors. This was a diffusion and logical extension of southern Ontario agricultural settlement unlike the later and more selective settlement focussed upon resource sites to the north. However, individual settlers were selective about their choice of lots, as seen by their choices during the first decade. This settlement pattern is typical of lands on the Canadian Shield (Fowke: 1942, 203; Osborne: 1977, 217).

It is interesting to notice the coincidence of the first lots settled with the present-day classification of local farmland by the Canada Land Inventory (shown in Figure



Source: Ontario. Department of Crown Lands G. Brockitt Abrey, P.L.S. October, 1879. Day. Little Current.

Figure 3.2: Surveyor's Map, Day Township



Source: Ontario. Department of Crown Lands. Lewis Bolton, P.L.S. November, 1879. Township of Bright and Bright Additional. Listowel.

Figure 3.3: Surveyor's Map, Bright and Bright Additional Townships

3.1). Many of the farmers' criteria upon which they judged the land's suitability for farming coincided with the present-day assessment of land, even though they did not have equipment to cultivate heavy soils. For the most part, bona fide settlers avoided rough land, although small-scale, non-resident speculators purchased some of the lots for timber or potential gains should the settlements grow.

An anomaly in this pattern occurs indicating the opportunistic interests of some early settlers in the northwest corridor of settlement along the southern shore of Basswood Lake. It is evident that they were willing to ignore some of the best farmland in southern Day township. They located to take advantage of the potential for superior accessibility to markets which would be afforded by the constriction of land at the confluence of the chain of local lakes, the colonization road and the pre-1879 proposed route of the C.P.R. branch line between Sudbury and Sault Ste. Marie. Their farm lots are relatively small and irregular, settled perhaps in anticipation of a potential village site.

Bolton, the surveyor of Bright and Bright Additional, documents the eagerness of early settlers to choose good locations. He reported that:

> "In Bright and Bright additional I found lines running north and south, east and west, cut and blased. On enquiry I ascertained that some parties had during last winter run these lines with a view of taking up the best lots and making improvements thereon. Commencing their

> survey from the Indian reserve, making the concessions and lots correspond therewith, it did not coincide with the proper survey, consequently on some lots more than one party had made improvements, thereby causing disputes" (Sessional Papers No. 4: 1880, 59).

The surveyors' maps (Figures 3.2 and 3.3) show that, in 1880, most of the townships were still covered by forest. This suggests that the lumbermen had culled only the trees suitable for commercial use (MacDonald: 1977, 16). There must have been a considerable cost to early settlers for clearing land - a cost measured in time and effort. The land had to be cleared before crops could be grown and sold, but domestic animals, transported from southern Ontario within three years of first settlement, could forage in the woods, if necessary.

3.8 Economic Conditions in Ontario, 1870s-1880s

A depression began in 1873 which curtailed the development dreams fostered by Confederation. The federal government set a number of objectives with the National Policy of 1879. Tariffs were used to encourage national economic development and integration. They were used to counter the American emphasis on promoting self-interest through discriminatory tariffs on foreign goods. Customs revenues from Canadian tariffs were the primary source of federal revenue. As a result, the national financial state

was dependent upon fluctuating world prices for commodities because the purchasing power of exporters was tied to prices abroad. In turn, this created fluctuations in revenues from customs duties on imports - a difficult situation for a government with major fixed costs incurred with railway building.

The Ontario government had concerns similar to those of the federal government except in scale of territorial integration. Its objective was to extend settlement, expand agriculture and to retain its population and attract new residents in order to assure continuous and integrated settlement. Opening new lands would make railways profitable by the two-way movements of staples and manufactured goods. New settlement would present opportunities for investment and create an integrated home market by extending the hinterlands of commerce in Toronto and Hamilton. There would also be a concurrent encouragement of Ontario manufacturing in goods needed by these settlers: textiles, stoves and agricultural implements.

Lumbering activity was heightened with the development of Chicago and the mid-western cities rising beyond it. The established mills in Michigan and Georgian Bay began to look beyond their immediate areas because the supply of easily accessible timber had become depleted. The

north shore of Lake Huron was the next available shed of virgin stands of commercial timber. It was conveniently accessible to the mills by means of timber rafts across the relatively short expanse of open water beyond Manitoulin Island to either southern Georgian Bay or Saginaw Bay. The rates for transportation of timber in this manner were very inexpensive and there was no need to move the existing mill equipment. By 1888, American interests owned two-thirds of the stumpage in the Georgian Bay watershed (Johnson: 1950, 215).

Americans were in competition with mills from Collingwood to Sturgeon Bay for the American market and Michigan lobbyists were successful in convincing Washington to institute a series of protective tariffs which would give them precedence in their home markets. Logs were admitted free, but not manufactured lumber. It was the custom of American lumbermen to bring specialized workers, provisions, horses and equipment with them to Canada. They employed local labourers and farmers with teams to work in the woods in winter. Thus, they created local employment in the vicinity of the lumber operations but only a limited market for local goods. Ontario farmers were not too disturbed by this development because much of their produce was shipped to American markets.

Disappointment of expectations for the complementary

combination of lumbermen and farmers became an increasing source of concern and resentment with time. The lumber industry was subject to external demand which meant that it could not be relied upon as a steady and lucrative source of alternative seasonal employment for farmers. The perception grew widespread that Americans were benefitting unduly from the extraction of Ontario lumber for processing in the United States. Tariffs were frequently imposed by the American government in order to protect Michigan lumber interests by making Canadian logs more expensive (Johnson: 1950).

The McKinley Tariff of 1890 changed the traditional balance of trade. It effectively closed the American market to Canadian agriculture and also increased the tariff on processed timber. Consequently, it was detrimental to the provincial objective of continuous permanent settlement and an integrated provincial economy. All of the economic benefits from the exploitation of the forests of the north shore of Lake Huron would accrue to Michigan.

Others were interested in capturing the burgeoning markets of Chicago and the midwest in another way. Shipping via the Great Lakes was slow and it could be expected that the freight rates would be augmented by two break of bulk points which involved extra handling. The first would be at the western port where exports were loaded and the second

would be at the transshipment port somewhere on the Lower Lakes. Conversely, a railway line which would connect the midwest with the ports of Montreal and Boston by a more direct route through northern Wisconsin and Michigan would save time, handling, and capture business for the Canadian railway system. As the system developed further, it could be expected that the freight rates would also decline.

By 1887, the Canadian Pacific Railway completed a branch line from the main line at Sudbury to Sault Ste. Marie. In the same year, a railway bridge was built over the St. Mary's River to give access to the American rail systems. The McKinley tariff thwarted the original vision of lucrative two-way traffic of produce. If Canadian produce couldn't be sent to the United States profitably because of protective tariffs, it was still possible that the Canadian commercial system could become integrated with the market by organizing the flow of American exports such as wheat.

Prices for farm products fell throughout the extended depression after 1873. The only way that farmers in the more established areas of Ontario could maintain their economic position was by increasing production. In newly settled areas, increased production was dependent upon land clearance. It was hoped that the relationship between lumbermen and farmers would become symbiotic, thus creating

a local market for produce and giving the farmer cash with which he could further develop his farm. Further integration of the provincial economy would occur when the farmers shipped to the growing industrial cities, Toronto and Hamilton, and ordered machinery and imports from them.

The expansion of settlement by the Free Grants and Homesteads Act of 1868 was not always successful in encouraging permanent settlement elsewhere. In Algoma, it did create an opportunity for resettlement of many farm families with landless sons and farmers who had become overextended in the economic expansion of the boom before 1873. There was still difficulty in attracting immigrants from abroad and in retaining many residents who were now faced with fixed charges for debt in an era of continually falling prices. Many chose to sell the farm, discharge the debt and move elsewhere to begin again with the remains of the proceeds of the sale. Most left Ontario for the more obvious agricultural lands opening in the American midwest. Others accepted the assistance of the Ontario government to relocate under more favourable terms while remaining within its jurisdiction.

The Free Grants and Homesteads Act forbade encumbrances upon the land until a patent had been obtained. This gave farmers a minimum of five years free from debt, an advantage with the low productivity and incomes of a pioneer

farm. There was little temptation to purchase machinery which would be useless amid the stumps of newly cleared fields. The Act protected farmers from acquisition of debt throughout the period of initial development and subsistence farming phase until the sales of agricultural produce were feasible on a commercial basis. However, by the time that most farmers were entering the phase of commercial farming, the McKinley Tariff of 1890 cut off the anticipated markets. The local markets serving the lumber camps became crucial to their survival before the industrialization of Sault Ste. Marie began with the arrival of Clergue in 1894.

3.9 Summary

Widespread financial difficulties in southern Ontario and lack of good, inexpensive farmland upon which maturing sons could be settled created dissatisfaction and a determination to move. On the north shore of Lake Huron, lumbering activity created a further impetus for permanent agricultural settlement. The government of Ontario promoted migration to the District of Algoma by making free grants of farmland available as soon as commercial timber had been removed.

The farmer had to devote a portion of his capital on the expense of moving north. If he sold his farm in southern Ontario, the funds could be used to move people,

animals, supplies and machinery to the frontier. If he had lost his farm in the south and was moving under adverse financial conditions, then he would somehow have to raise capital at his destination and provision himself locally. It is because of the potential for lumbering activity in the farming off-season that many who had run into financial difficulties in southern Ontario could be persuaded to try again. The situation in Algoma seemed to offer a chance to start anew without the threat of immediate debt.

Kinship networks dominated migration and the process of peopling the frontier. New lands were approached with trepidation and only the promise of economic advantage for the family could overcome misgivings about leaving old and familiar places. Initial information about the existence and potential of new lands often came from adventurous relatives or friends who had been drawn to the area. The decision to move depended upon confidence in the reliability of the assessment by someone whose judgement was trusted. Migrants stayed with kin en route to their destination and with kin for the initial weeks at the frontier.

Unoccupied lands filled rapidly. Pioneers chose the best farmland or that which had superior accessibility. The government continued indirect encouragement of permanent settlement by using timber fees to construct colonization roads.

Some families split into smaller units upon arrival, with maturing sons gaining a separate farmlot. Other families chose movement to the frontier to regroup brothers and sisters who had become scattered across the continent. Close proximity to one another within the local community meant that they could rely upon each other to help with major tasks, such as the erection of buildings, and they could pool machinery and other scarce resources. Social isolation and loneliness were alleviated by the interaction of kin network fragments.

The reliance upon migration in conjunction with a variety of kin groups and the proximity of this part of the District of Algoma to southern Ontario helped to allay concern about social isolation at this frontier. The economic enticement of free grants of farmland, in conjunction with the potential for seasonal wage labour to supplement farm incomes, made this an attractive destination for many in comparison with the lands of the west.

This chapter has presented the perceptions of potential settlers to a frontier and the interests of government and lumbermen in promoting settlement. It begins an assessment of community evolution by surveying internal and external political and economic events which affected Ontario society in general and this small community in particular. The next chapter will survey the effect of

subsequent local and provincial events upon local development and local reactions to these developments.

Chapter Four: The Context of Settlement: Interactive Processes in Local Development

Daniel O'Connor was born in Ireland in 1815; his second wife, Margaret, was born in 1837 in Scotland. In 1856, they married in Ontario and Daniel's son from his first marriage lived with them in Sydenham township, Grey County. Eleven more children were born to them between 1857 and 1879 - three sons and eight daughters.

Even though their Sydenham township farm was an extensive operation, the farm was sold by the Sheriff of Grey County in 1879 and the family moved to begin again on the two most southerly farm lots in Bright Additional township. Michael and Patrick, the second and third sons, patented a nearby lot containing 165 acres. In the same year they arranged a mortgage of $500 at five percent interest, which was to be repaid over nine years in equal annual installments. They agreed that the local farmer who lent them the money would have Power of Sale if they defaulted on payments for six months.

In 1891, Daniel O'Connor died at the age of seventy-six. In the following year, Margaret, his fifty-four year old widow, patented the two adjoining lots which they occupied, consisting of 333 acres. Michael and Patrick's lot was forfeited by foreclosure in 1894.

Margaret O'Connor mortgaged one lot of the family farm for $125 at ten percent interest in 1896. She discharged that mortgage and immediately was granted another for $925 at ten percent interest, due in one year, by the same local farmer who held the first mortgage. She did not repay the mortgage in one year and, probably unable to negotiate yet another year's extension, transferred title to the southerly 173 acres to the farmer in 1900 for the consideration of one hundred dollars.

The other lot was transferred to Margaret's youngest son, Joseph, and his wife in 1901 for seventy dollars. He sold ten acres to the Canadian Pacific Railway for $500 in the same year, but by 1905, he needed more capital. The terms of his mortgage held by a lawyer in Thessalon were eight percent interest on $330 for one year. The lawyer advertised that he had "money to loan" (_Sault Star_: 31

August 1901) and also seems to have acted as a broker for private investors.

Michael, unmarried at the age of fifty, patented a portion of the same lot also occupied by his youngest brother, Joseph, in 1907. The pine trees were reserved to the Crown on this eighty acre lot. Both brothers mortgaged their land in the same year. Joseph discharged his previous mortgage with the Thessalon lawyer by receiving funds from William James McFarland, a broker in Toronto. He received $450 at eight percent interest for five years. The rate of repayment, forty dollars a year for four years, was lenient, until the final payment of $290 became due in 1912. Next, Michael received money from a Thessalon township man who loaned him $400 at eight percent interest for five years. Only the interest had to be paid annually.

In 1909, Joseph discharged the debt to the Toronto man and borrowed $500 from Henry Sargeant of Sault Ste. Marie who had long been a lumberman at Dean Lake. The terms were fair; eight percent interest but no payment of principal for the first year and only fifty dollars in each of the next four years. $300 was due in 1915. By 1912, Michael and Patrick shared the eighty acre farm and purchased $1185 worth of equipment from the J.J. Case Machinery Company by mortgaging their farm lot. In 1915, their mother, Margaret O'Connor, died at seventy-eight. Little is known of the fate of the girls, except that one married the local station master, a native of Quebec, before 1890. The rest simply moved away before 1915.

It is obvious that Michael had difficulty in meeting the payments for machinery. In 1916, he had another mortgage, the money coming from Joseph John Williams, a physician in Woodstock in the southern Ontario county of Oxford. The terms were not harsh by the standards of the day. Michael borrowed $1100 at seven percent interest which was to be paid yearly. He did not have to begin paying back the principal until three years elapsed. Then he had to pay $300 in 1919 and 1920 and $500 in 1921. Within a year, he sold the eighty acre property to a local farmer for $1600, discharged the mortgage for $1100 and moved to the west with his brother Patrick.

Only the youngest son of Margaret and Daniel O'Connor remained in the community by 1917. His fate was to be a repetition of the experience of his brothers because title to his land was granted to Henry Sargeant in 1918 by an Order of Foreclosure. Joseph and his family also moved on to western Canada.

4.1 Broken Dreams: Failure in Agriculture

The story of the O'Connor family is not unusual in this community except in the instance of foreclosures. It illustrates the types of problems which were faced by some settlers. This chapter presents the constellation of local, regional and provincial events which affected the economic and thus the social security of these families. Developing a farm required capital and most families had little alternative to borrowing from future earnings. Inheritance simply gave some the right to the land; many inheritors had to borrow money to compensate non-inheriting siblings. On the other hand, some local farms have never been mortgaged in the course of one hundred years of occupation. Some brought more capital with them initially, some chose more productive land, some were more diligent and efficient farmers and others simply dreaded debt so much that they would rather forego mechanization or other improvements and bear the 'lean years' unassisted.

There were several strategies by which farmers could acquire capital in the expansion of the economy between 1895 and 1920. They could receive profits from the sale of agricultural produce or they could supplement farm earnings with wage labour, usually either locally or regionally. Some could tap savings from previous years. If these sources were inadequate, credit was available. Machinery

companies extended credit through implement dealers. The Canada Permanent Savings and Loan Corporation granted mortgages to a few but most mortgage money came from private individuals in southern Ontario, from a few local farmers and from kin. The rates of interest differed considerably. Machinery companies and private investors charged between eight and ten per cent amortized over one to five years. The Canada Permanent charged eight and one-half percent but the length of amortization is not recorded. It is not so simple to assess the rates charged by kin. Rates which appear in the land records range from five to ten percent over one to five years but, in many cases, these rates were just a form of legal protection or insurance in case the kinsman mortgagee met with disaster and the estate questioned the arrangement. Most mortgages were renewed several times and, sometimes, a new mortgage was taken out at the time of renewal. In some instances, it is apparent that a lower rate of interest had been found by the farmer, but in many other instances, the rate was higher, indicating the fact that the former mortgagor probably refused to renew the mortgage and that another lender had been found but had perceived the difficulty of the farmer and had charged a higher rate of interest in light of a riskier situation.

The discussion which follows will illustrate events which affected a farmer's ability to create and maintain a

viable farming operation that could meet the immediate and long-term needs of the family.

Economic and political events which affected the local area were subject to modifications in policy. Local family responses created the settlement features which evolved over time. The development of the settlement has been divided into three segments: the first between 1879 and 1895, the second between 1895 and 1920 and the third from 1920 until 1939. The time segments chosen reflect three economic eras within Canadian development (Mackintosh: 1939). Between 1879 and 1895, development dreams were curtailed by depression. The economy recovered and expanded between 1895 and 1920, but further national integration was marked by instability and a severity of adjustments between 1920 and 1939. Essentially, the processes begun in the first decade, both social and economic, evolved with decreasing effectiveness in promoting the traditional expectations of farm family members for social and economic security. This chapter describes the external and internal processes which affected the growth and development of this agricultural settlement and the responses of local farm families to social, economic and political events which affected them.

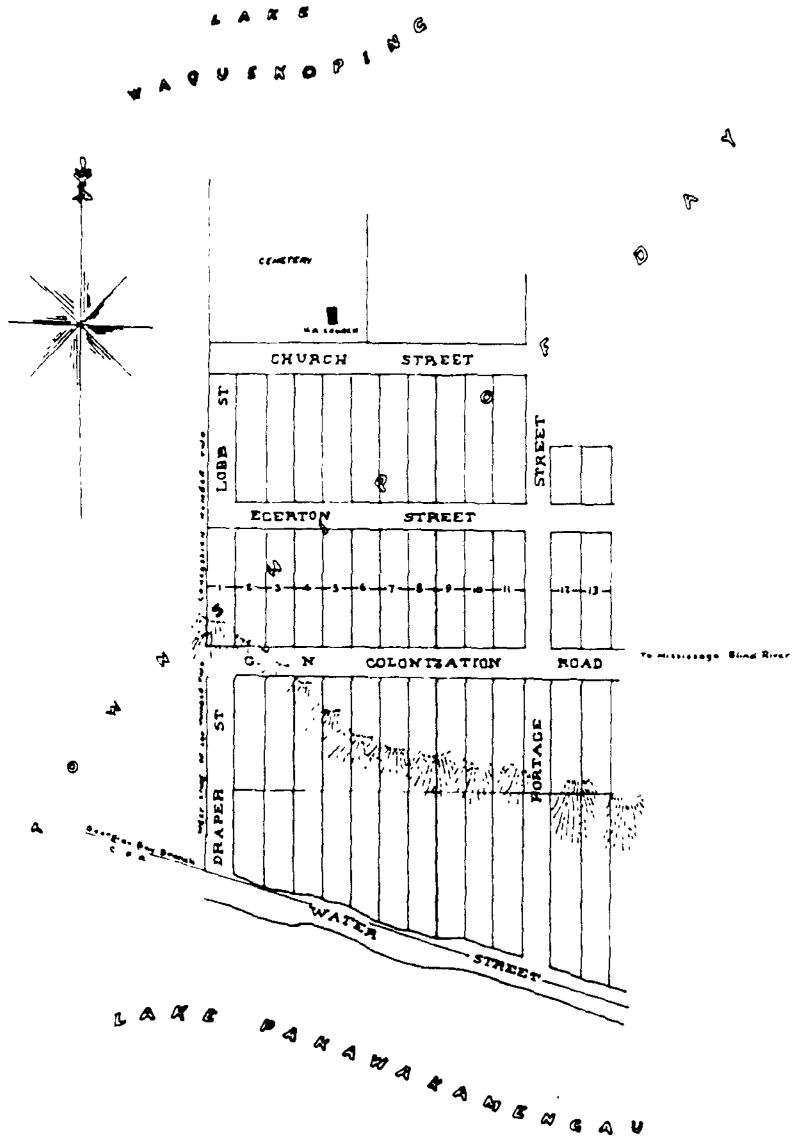
4.2 Colonization in Times of Uncertainty, 1879 to 1895

The Canadian economy experienced a depression of twenty years' duration after 1873 and it was under this unfavourable economic circumstance that the north shore of Lake Huron was settled. Farm families, especially from counties in western Ontario that touched Lake Huron or Georgian Bay, took advantage of the opportunity of acquiring 'free' farmland in eastern Algoma. Families arrived in kin groups as a strategy to maintain the lineal family (Darroch: 1981, 266). For most, "the prospect of material difficulty in the future caused economically secure families to emigrate in order to preserve their own cohesion" (Gaffield: 1984: 273). The arrival of the settlers and the economic pressures leading to their migration were discussed in Chapter Three. The following section resumes the narrative of local development.

Thessalon became the point of organization for the surrounding area (Figure 1.2). Nathaniel Dyment and his son held timber limits locally and erected a mill in Thessalon before 1876 (MacDonald: 1977, 43-44). They came to the north shore from Barrie and were instrumental in encouraging a number of Simcoe County residents to move north with them. The southern portion of Simcoe County was even more removed from timber activity than the mills on southern Georgian Bay and it is likely that this is what prompted Dyment to erect

a local mill. There is also evidence of another lumberman, Proctor, of Sarnia, within the immediate limits of Day, Bright and Bright Additional Townships in this earliest era. The local Dyment operation was linked to southern Ontario via their mill in Kincardine, a feature which also attracted settlers from Huron and Bruce counties (MacDonald: 1977, 152).

J.B. Dobie, a merchant in Thessalon, provisioned many of the settlers coming into the surrounding agricultural lands and became an organizer along with Dyment. He had arrived on the north shore before the opening of these easterly lands and had married Mary Caroline Lobb, the daughter of a Cornishman who had come to the north much earlier in order to work in the Bruce Mines. Dobie saw the potential for village settlement at the confluence of the two larger lakes and the connecting mill stream in close proximity to the proposed branch of the Canadian Pacific Railway. In 1882, he platted the Village of Portage City (Figure 4.1), so named because the site was also the traditional portage point between the lakes. The description of the site given thus far meets many of the classical requirements of a village location and, based upon information similar to this, the lots must have appealed to outsiders. The names of merchants of southern Ontario (e.g., W. E. Sanford and St. Clair Balfour of Hamilton)



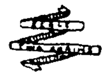


Figure 4.1: The Village of Portage City

appear as owners of lots selling for about twenty dollars. They were probably granted in exchange for goods to be sold at Dobie's store in Thessalon. A church was provided for in the plan and was erected in 1882.

People at the site would immediately recognize the limitations of the topography for a village settlement. There is an abrupt drop of fifty feet between Big Basswood and Bright Lakes and, while an excellent feature for a millstream, it is too steep for easy daily movements north to south. The site is also very constricted. If the Great Northern Colonization Road and the Canadian Pacific Railway went through, there would not be much land for extensive settlement in spite of the suitability for east to west transportation along the glacial beach ridges. The purchase of so many village lots by non-residents also served to curtail development.

Harris, the miller, followed Dobie's example and formally platted a Village of Day Mills on his block of four broken lots immediately to the west of Portage City (Figure 4.2). At its peak, he attracted three general stores, a blacksmith and several labourers associated with his mills. In 1885, a Methodist Church was constructed. In addition, he leased a site on the western side of the millstream above his grist and saw mills to Street and Barker in 1888 for the manufacture of furniture. It was a much regretted loss

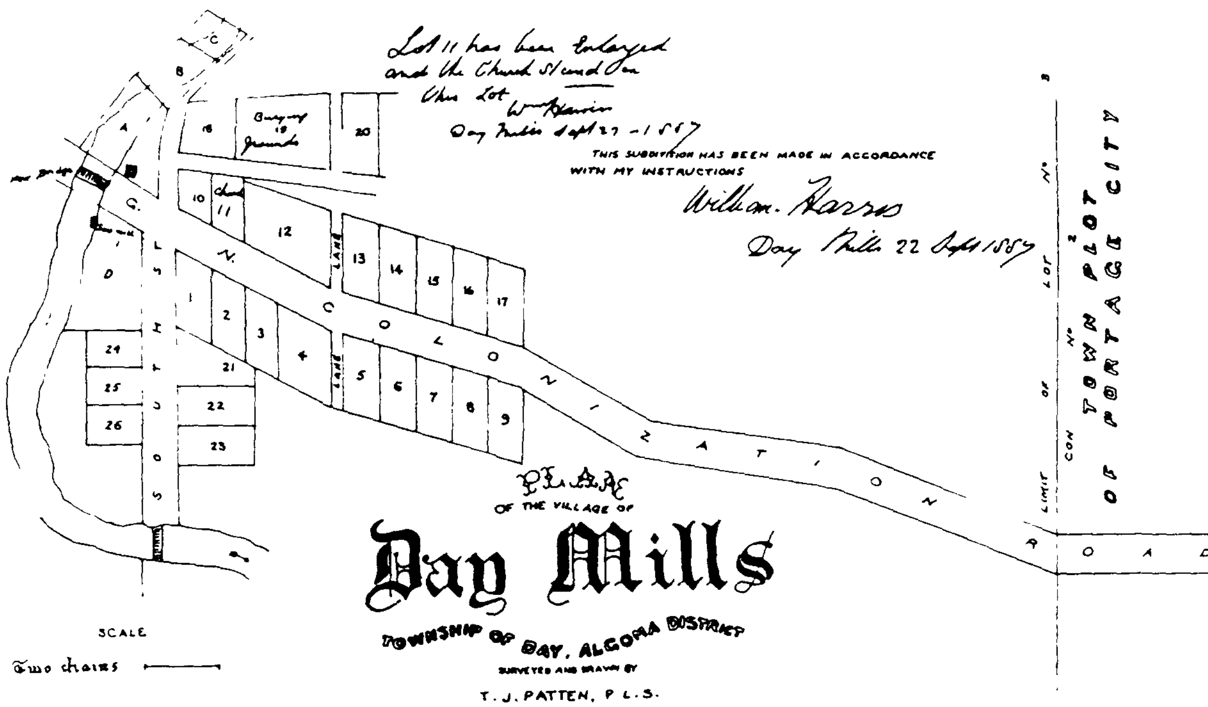


Figure 4.2: The Village of Day Mills

when the factory burned in early 1890 just after its insurance had expired (Algoma Advocate: 3 Jan. 1890).

At the western side of the townships was a further nucleus of settlement begun in the earliest years. This site was never platted, but its natural advantages promoted continuing settlement. Sowerby was located on flat land at the place where the colonization road turned south below the group of small lakes and where a trail turned north towards the thriving lumbering community of Little Rapids in Kirkwood Township, site of the nearest grist mill until 1882 when Harris built one at Day Mills. This trail was joined just north of Sowerby by a road from Black's Landing on Big Basswood Lake, the landing for the Goldenburg settlement on the north-east shore. By 1882, a general store and post office were located here and land was donated so that a school would be built north of the village.

There were many alternate opportunities for wage labour locally which supplied cash until farm development and the economy would promote commercial farming. Most of these jobs required little specialized skill and many men were involved in the local and provincial investments to create the infrastructure of settlement. Winter was the time for labour in lumber camps. Farmers with their own teams were an elite (Lower: 1936: 45) and the seasonality of this work complemented their farming activities. During the

warmer months, they grew fodder and bedding to be used by the horses in the woods in winter and some also boarded the horses belonging to the lumber companies.

In spring, there was work in the Day Mills saw mill which made lumber for the erection of local barns and houses, shingles and staves. Farmers could sell the lumber on their property if they had the patent to the land or if they were willing to pay timber dues. At least one had a contract to take out the lumber on his property for a Chicago company. They could also take out railway ties and tan bark. The debris of clearing land was burned in pits and the charcoal was exported. All of these activities helped in the acqusition of cash, of trade goods or of necessities such as lumber.

Of great importance to local economic development were the exchanges of labour among settlers. Barns were erected by 'barn raisings', a gathering of neighbours for the purpose of supplying labour for major projects. All knew that labour would be reciprocated whenever needed. This traditional exchange of work, a form of 'bee', also was used for wood-cutting, quilting and harvesting. It permitted completion of major tasks in a short period of time in exchange for hospitality of the receiving family and perhaps the promise of a social occasion when the work was completed.

Local residents who had been trained as craftsmen could gain assistance from neighbours in return for specialized skills which they had learned before coming to the frontier. In this community, there was a former shoemaker, cabinetmaker and barn-framer. None of these men could have found full-time local employment at their trades, even if they had not been farmers. Only the local blacksmith and miller and a few specialized men who worked for him could devote themselves entirely to their non-farming occupations.

The informal exchange of goods and services among the residents was crucial for development. It helped to foster a mutual reliance on assistance not only within families but also among neighbours, many of whom relied upon each other as if they were kin substitutes. Before too many years had passed, many were further united through intermarriage of their children. This interdependence within the community benefitted the chances of all in becoming successful farmers in a largely cashless local economy by promoting the independence of all from incurring debt.

Farmers turned to numerous alternate local economic activities to acquire capital and avoid the need for a mortgage. Farms grew wheat for sale to the local mill and sold produce, fodder, beef and pork to provision nearby lumber camps. Some attempt had been made to mine gold along

the Mississagi River, but that enterprise was abandoned before permanent settlement began, as was a small copper mine further south.

The Harris sawmill and gristmill employed a number of men seasonally. The practice of gathering the labourers together in a boardinghouse was widespread in that era. In 1898, a Commissioner of Colonization Roads recommended that the settlers be given preference in employment, that they be paid wages and provided with a common boarding place to ensure wholesome and substantial food and to prevent intoxication (Sessional Papers: 1898-9, 55). A lumber camp located at the southerly end of Bright Lake employed several men who boarded there whether they were local residents or itinerant labour from outside the community. This policy, in conjunction with the remoteness of other alternate employment opportunities, meant that farm women were, in effect, managers of the farms for many months each year. If disaster befell and the head of the household were incapacitated or killed, the wife and older children were capable of carrying on.

An objective for some moving to this frontier was the chance for freedom from debt, but that was not guaranteed. Investment capital for local farms was funded privately in many ways. The government did not become involved in financing credit to farmers in this era. Farmers who sold

good farms in southern Ontario before arriving invested some of that capital to start a new farm at the frontier. Another strategy was to grant a mortgage to the buyer in southern Ontario and to work locally in the farming off-season to provide more ready capital for farm improvements. Many were successful without reliance upon any apparent extra-familial source of capital funds. The men, father and sons, worked off the farm in winter and aided one another with major farm tasks. In this way, settling two or even three farms to accommodate maturing sons was possible because of the lenient homesteading requirements. The final strategy apparent from the land records is that some took out mortgages, albeit somewhat reluctantly, and with good reason.

Settlers were officially protected by the terms of the Act from the temptation of acquiring debt until a patent had been granted. This protected most farmers from acquiring mortgages in this earliest time period. However, once they had fulfilled the settlement duties, some immediately took out a mortgage on the property. Rarely did these mortagages exceed five hundred dollars. That even that amount was a formidable sum for some to repay from the meagre profits of the frontier farm is apparent from the number of settlers who had to move on when the mortgage became due. Most of these unlucky settlers located upon the

poorer soils or had lost the head of the family to the not infrequent accidental deaths in the woods or while clearing land.

The complexity of integrated social and economic features which evolved in this community is really quite remarkable. By 1895, there were four schools, three churches and two congregations which had not yet constructed permanent buildings, fraternal lodges and an agricultural society. This was an era of local construction of barns, houses, mills, other buildings, the Great Northern Colonization Road and the C.P.R. branch line (Algoma Advocate: 20 Dec. 1888). The C.P.R. was finished to Algoma Mills in 1883, where the Canadian Pacific fleet of boats met the train to transport passengers and freight to the Lakehead (Landon: 1945). Its completion to Sault Ste. Marie by 1887 meant that the entire north shore corridor now had year-round accessibility to destinations and markets in southern Ontario, eastern Canada and the mid-western United States.

The extent of local economic expectations may be judged from the variety of economic activities begun in this era. The two village plats were surveyed at the logical site for the nucleus of settlement by the millstream and at the adjacent site of the Indian portage between the two lakes. Some lots were sold to local residents who

immediately provided essential services such as a post office, general store and blacksmith shop. Speculative entrepreneurs from southern Ontario, however, purchased the majority of lots, perhaps in partial payment for goods purchased by the businessmen-landowners. The outsiders' lack of interest in immediate development retarded growth of the villages in spite of the boom at Day Mills which was due to the installation of a sawmill in 1881 and a grist mill in 1882.

The extension of the railway to Sault Ste. Marie in the late 1880s created more provincial links with transportation systems in the American west. This was both an economic and social boon to the farming communities and villages. Settlers had always enjoyed frequent steamer service in warmer weather, but would have found that the annual freeze-up, lasting a minimum of five months, created an oppressive isolation. It was further hoped that the branch line would "open up a vast tract of country, much of which is good agricultural land, well adapted for stock-raising and dairy purposes. It also abounds in mineral wealth, and contains valuable pine and other timber suitable for commercial purposes." (Sessional Papers: 1880, viii).

The railway, while a convenient route to regional markets and to transport goods to Thessalon for trans-shipment via steamer to southern Ontario, never

generated local economic development. It passed through the rough, swampy land of the southern portions of Bright and Bright Additional townships which was unsuited for any complementary development. Only one road gave access to it when the railway was used locally.

The railway was not used to transport lumber because its freight rates were based on weight, not board measurement, which was the standard for freight rates on ships. This meant that it was uneconomical to transport lumber by train in this era (Williams: 1955, 204). Furthermore, the overland route by rail was much longer than the water route to most Great Lakes ports.

Locally, it permitted year-round access to provisions from southern Ontario and to people in the burgeoning communities along the north shore. It benefitted the settlers but did not create new economic activity in proximity to the line in the townships of Bright and Bright Additional. The increasing frequency of rocky uplands to the north created insurmountable difficulties for settlement beyond the next inland township.

Three people chose sites for general stores. Two of these, in the area between the larger lakes, lasted only briefly and the other became the generator of the village of Sowerby where the Great Northern Colonization Road began a southward course in order to avoid Little Basswood Lake and

to join the roads of Thessalon township. At the same point, the Georgian Bay branch line was projected going northwest towards the village of Little Rapids. The plat of the Village of Day Mills included one of the general stores, the sawmill, gristmill and residence of William Harris, the miller, and the furniture factory of Barker and Street, sited upon land leased from Harris adjacent to the millstream.

When the C.P.R. was put through the southerly portions of Bright and Bright Additional in 1888 (Corporate Archives, Canadian Pacific: Folder A, 15 April 1889), the failure of these towns to capture the focus of community social and economic life became assured. The mills thrived but even Harris, who had proven himself adept at attracting settlers to the area, could not attract many settlers for his village site.

The townsites also suffered from abrupt rises in elevation which hindered north-south development and constricted east-west access. The supremacy of the village of Sowerby, to the west, was in response to these problems. The land was flatter and it permitted easier access to the market at Thessalon. It provided many essential services for farmers and the majority preferred to deal there after the opening of James Hagen's store and post office in 1882.

4.3 Stabilization under Conditions of Economic Expansion, 1895-1920

4.3.1 Economic Expansion in Canada

The long-awaited economic expansion and integration, initiated by the policies of Confederation, began to materialize after 1895. The next quarter century was characterized by a remarkable expansion in the integration and interdependence of all sectors of the Ontario economy. Increased exports, growth in manufacturing for the domestic market and development of essential infrastructure not only encouraged settlement but facilitated the movements of materials between heartland and hinterland. It was an era marked by construction of railways, roads, schools and public utilities.

It was, however, a precarious prosperity fostered by foreign investment and high world prices for exports and based upon increasing expansion in a favourable world market. Dependence upon foreign capital created mounting debt and interest charges in both the public and private sectors. The fixed costs associated with the debt were an advantage in times of rising prices but would precipitate an economic crisis if prices dropped.

Agriculture, mining and lumbering were most dependent upon export markets and would be the first sectors affected if world prices weakened. Federal government revenues were

still largely dependent upon customs revenues from imports and this reliance on the purchasing power of exporters created both insecurity in revenue and a conflict of interest with the National Policy's goal of the promotion of domestic manufactures in a home market.

The era began inauspiciously for the lumber industry. The Dingley Tariff of 1897 raised the duty to be paid upon Canadian lumber, thereby reinforcing the trend of American lumbermen to tow logs across the expanse of Lake Huron to the mills in Saginaw and creating employment there. This was a serious block to the Ontario dream of creating continuous settlement in an area with limitations for both agricultural production and alternate supplementary employment in the off-season. The Canadian government was petitioned to retaliate against American protectionist policy but declined to take countermeasures, perhaps because of the hope for a new reciprocity treaty (Nelles: 1974, 49-50).

Ontario, on the other hand, could not afford to wait for federal negotiations which might eventually create more favourable conditions for lumbermen and for settlement. The frustrations of trying to ensure settlement by nurturing economic growth prompted a response with potentially serious consequences for international relations. The Ontario government initiated the 'manufacturing condition',

requiring "all horses, cattle, sleighs and all provisions, pork, flour, tea, and all tools and hardware, such as chains, axes, saws, and all other tools, supplies or material of any kind used in connection with the taking out of sawlogs, or timber cut upon Crown lands shall be purchased in Canada" (Sessional Papers: 1897, 16) and imposing a duty on all unprocessed timber going to the United States.

This type of action normally fell under federal jurisdiction because it concerned international policy. However, the Ontario government justification was that it was concerned with the abuse of access to timber limits located on Crown Lands, a provincial jurisdiction, and that Ontario was the province most involved with the American market. The ramification of this policy was that farmers near lumbering activity had a more certain market for their fodder, beef and pork; saw mills of American lumber companies from Michigan to Chicago were rapidly assembled along the north shore.

In 1890, central Canadian exports were dominated by primary products which required little processing before shipment, such as timber and barley to the United States and cheese and cattle to Great Britain. Agricultural policy emphasized diversification and the standardization of quality. All areas had access to foreign markets; the

integration of both the home and export markets was promoted by transcontinental railway lines.

Prices for farm products fell between 1882 and 1910 and farmers tried to maintain income by increasing production. The wheat boom in the west began with adoption of dry farming techniques (Norrie: 1977), declining freight rates and mass immigration. Lumbering activity was increased by the manufacturing condition but the opening of western wheatlands created a labour shortage and forced up wages.

In New Ontario, that part of the province encompassing lands lying north of a line from Lake Nipissing to Ottawa, farming in the Clay Belts served pulp and paper and mining operations which were rapidly gaining importance in the export market. Labour shortages in all sectors became severe with the drain of man-power for the First World War effort.

The Canadian Council of Agriculture was formed in 1909 to counter the tariff and to protest farmers' financial situation. The United Farmers of Ontario was formed in 1914 to unite the agricultural lobby within the province (Wood: 1924, 275). They became aligned with the Canadian Council of Agriculture in 1916 to protest conscription which would aggravate the persistent shortage of agricultural labour.

Farmers' incomes fluctuated with the vagaries of

world demand for agricultural products and it became increasingly difficult to generate enough income to ensure that debts and interest charges could be met. Farmers had particular difficulty with obtaining reasonable financing (Drummond: 1966, 31). As MacDougall stated in 1913,

> "Credit is one of the strong factors of modern progress. The farmer needs it for the utilizing of production in advance of sale. ... When the farmer has a thousand bushels of wheat in his granary he cannot borrow upon it, although it is the best collateral security in the world. Our banking laws expressly forbid the banks to make such loans. The farmer must secure current loans by personal note or by chattel mortgage. In consequence, although the farmer is the safest of private borrowers, he nevertheless pays the highest rate of interest" (MacDougall: 1913, 89).

Rising prices promoted rapid mechanization during World War One (Abell: 1962). Mechanization was the farmers' response to labour shortages when production had to be increased. Purchase of machinery simply compounded the debt problem for many acquired it through short-term mortgages. To alleviate this problem, the Fielding Tariff of 1906 reduced rates on agricultural implements, a boon to all farmers, those in the older agricultural areas and those involved in wheat in western Canada. In the older areas which could not compete with the western boom, an increasing emphasis upon livestock for domestic consumption became apparent.

Rural residents were drawn to wage labour in

industry, contributing to the depletion of rural populations after 1911. Local people were drawn to Detroit and other cities within what Laurier referred to as the "Pittsburg, Buffalo and Chicago triangle of continental industrialization" (Mackintosh: 1939, 68), in addition to the obvious industrial destination, Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. In Canada, the pre-war emphasis on steel production for railways, stoves and farm implements became more diversified after the war.

Farmers' dissatisfaction peaked after the war as they perceived exploitation by governments and other sectors of the economy. Government policy encouraged increased production for the war effort. Manufacturers were assisted with further protection from external competition after the war in order to ease their adjustment to peacetime markets. Farmers received no such consideration.

By 1920, Canadian exports and their regional distribution had changed. Western wheat was dominant. Ontario was still reliant upon exports for prosperity, but the variety of raw materials was increased dramatically: pulp and paper, base metals, auto parts and meat, an export which declined with importance after the unusual demands incurred by the war effort. All were developed by massive public and private borrowing resulting in heavy fixed charges. Although the economy was becoming more

diversified, it was still threatened by fluctuations in world demand.

4.3.2 Stabilization of the Farming Community

From 1895 to 1920, the local community became a consolidated settlement. Economic opportunities were still attracting families from southern Ontario until 1900, in spite of some sobering external economic crises which created a more realistic assessment of local potential for development.

The adjustments to the terms of the 'manufacturing condition' caused a fluctuation in demand for lumber. Eventually Saginaw, in effect, came to Canada (Johnson: 1950, 223) and a series of sawmills was constructed at the mouths of rivers along the North Shore. A new mill was also placed at Nestorville, on the bay just west of Thessalon, which processed the white pine moving through the lakes of the study area. A chronic labour shortage became more evident over time. The Sault Star warned that:

> "The operations of lumbermen this winter are going to be more costly and less extensive than usual. The wages question is a serious one. Men are being offered $28 to $30 per month and they are scarce at these figures. This is an advance of $2 over last year. It is not very long ago - two years - since all the men required could be secured at $16 a month" (Sault Star: 31 August 1901).

Although the McKinley Tariff of 1890 had effectively

closed access to American markets by Canadian farmers (Drummond et al: 1966, 20), the manufacturing condition required American lumbermen to purchase provisions in Canada. This strengthened the local market for the farmers for some years, even if some of the larger lumber companies bought the bulk of supplies in southern Georgian Bay ports. Each winter, 'trains' of sleighs would be loaded in Thessalon and provisions hauled to remote camps. The smaller operations owned by independent operators relied upon individual farmers delivering foodstuffs to their camps. Certain homesteads provided hospitality to farmers and their horses on the trek north.

The competition of economic opportunities in the Canadian west drew people away yearly until the peak year of out-migration in 1904. The realization of the limitations of the local area had become apparent to some, balanced by a fierce and unquestioning loyalty to the District of Algoma by others. The best local farmland had been occupied by stable families and the west was proving to have abundant productive agricultural land. The Sault Star expressed alarm in editorials throughout the spring, bolstered by letters in praise of Algoma from local subscribers.

The federal Department of Agriculture promoted modernization by adoption of scientific agricultural practices from the mid-1880s onwards. Progressive farmers

grew experimental crops and reported the results to the new Agricultural College at Guelph. None of these was within the bounds of the study area, but many were in the surrounding townships (Report of the Agricultural and Experimental Union, Ontario: 1898). An experimental farm was also established near Desbarats to investigate the best agricultural practices and crops for the north shore.

Local meetings to disseminate principles of scientific farming were organized by the Farmers' Institutes (Wood: 1924, 274) and the local Agricultural Societies (Statutes of Ontario: 1868, 31 Vic., Cap. 29), which also sponsored the Fall Fair, where the proof of the value of new ideas could be judged quickly at first hand.

Investment funds now came from the Canadian west and Michigan. Most, however, still came from rural areas of the settlers' origin and small towns in southern Ontario. A proliferation of mortgages indicates the wartime expansion and improvement of local farms. Of sixty-three mortgages, seventy-three percent were privately funded at the traditional eight to ten percent interest. Sixteen percent were loans from a financial institution, the Canada Permanent.

However, 1913 marked the beginning of government involvement in farm credit (Drummond et al: 1966, 30-1). Farmers had taken the initiative in this demand because the

traditional sources of funds were inadequate for their needs. Loans were given for too short a term and at an interest rate which was perceived as too high (MacDougall: 1913, 88-89). During this time, six percent of mortgages were government sponsored.

After 1921, the Agricultural Development Board of Toronto offered a mortgage at five and one-half percent for twenty years (<u>Statutes of Ontario</u>, 11 Geo. V, Chap. 31-32: 1921). The Canadian Farm Loan Board charged four and one-half percent for a sixteen year mortgage (<u>Statutes of Ontario</u>, 11 Geo. V, Chap. 33). These farmers were aware of government programs but their progressive tendencies were balanced by a traditional distrust of acquiring debt and of government interference in their entrepreneurial affairs.

Land in proximity to relatives was acquired by several strategies. A man with three sons bought two lots of two hundred acres each which faced each other across a side road. He divided each lot in two to provide for himself and his three sons. This was to prove an unwise decision over time because farms needed to be larger here to compensate for the rough land. That is the reasoning behind the change in the Free Grants and Homesteads Act in 1877, granting two hundred acres to each grantee instead of the previous one hundred and sixty acres.

A lack of local labour was caused by a combination of

factors. Many young people had migrated west or were drawn to jobs for wages in the Sault. The increase in local farmers would also suggest that any who could enter farming did so in this era. Few excess sons were available as labourers to assist in the increased agricultural production accelerated by wartime demands. This promoted the modernization process locally through acceptance of mechanization.

The strategy was of somewhat dubious value to those farmers who had to take out a mortgage for machinery which usually carried an interest rate of five percent. Seven mechanics leins were registered during this era, which indicates an over-extension by some who were not farmers. Four properties were sold for back taxes, but none involved good land. Some farmers on smaller lots tried to increase productivity by adopting new technology and mechanization but the national policy protecting implements by tariffs increased the cost to farmers.

Non-resident speculation was rampant, bringing money into the area from Thessalon to California, Minneapolis, Toronto, Montreal and New York. Not suprisingly, those who lived closer to the study area purchased better land or land with recreational potential. However, those further away had likely never seen their land, which was usually located in rough, inhospitable areas.

The local settlers were integrated into the social and economic activity of the Great Lakes region. Figures 4.4 and 4.5 illustrate the trips out of the study area by residents and the origins of visitors during the brief time between August, 1901 to the end of 1903. The data was drawn from the local 'news' column which appeared almost weekly in the Sault Star from 1901 onwards. This evidence suggests that interaction fields were well-developed and generated both social and economic activity.

By 1920, the local farming community exhibited both economic and social integration; it had a lively complement of churches, schools and post offices. Church groups and fraternal lodges were the foundation of local social activity. The participation of so many of the residents in multiple organizations facilitated the provision of a social infrastructure. The building and sharing of institutional structures added to social cohesion, in turn, leading to local economic ventures such as small mines. In spite of the exodus to the Canadian west around 1904, the complex kinship network fostered mutual assistance within the community and linkages among most families.

The land records reveal that kin received slightly preferential interest rates for mortgages, and physical labour in busy times and times of crisis. This society was not experiencing unusual stress, so there would be no need

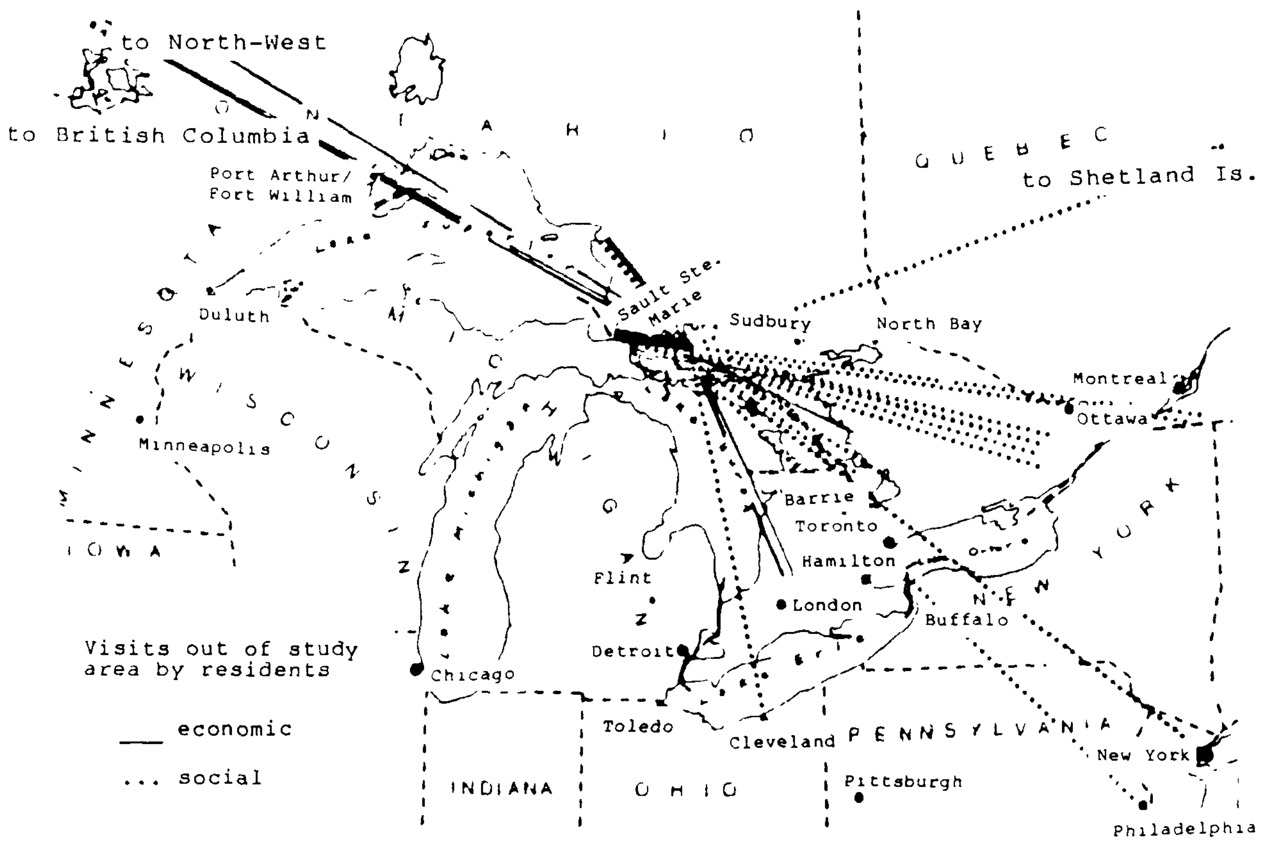


Figure 4.3: Social and Economic Interaction Fields, 1901-1903 (A)

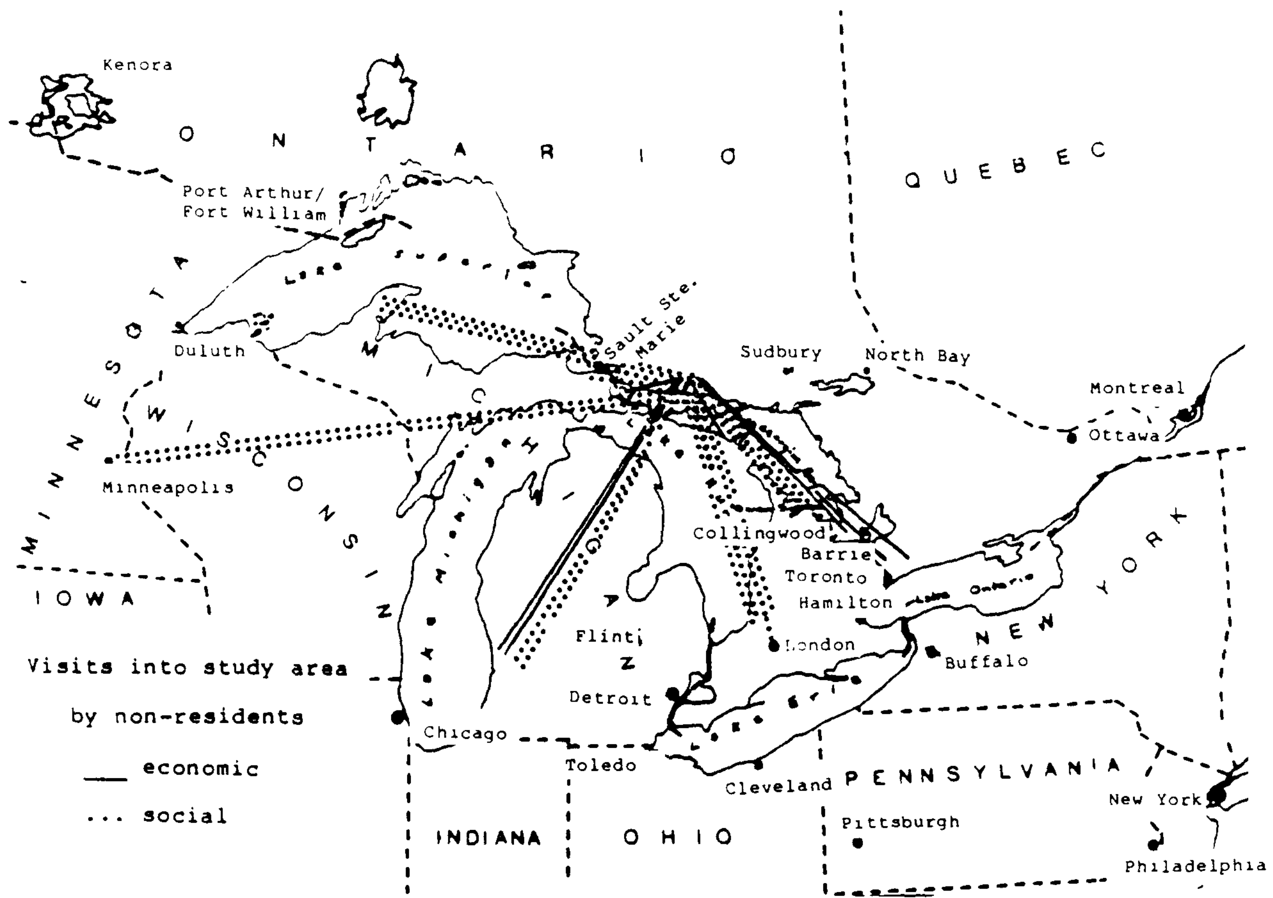


Figure 4.4: Social and Economic Interaction Fields, 1901-1903 (B)

for kin assistance to be more than 'slightly preferential'. The disadvantaged members of the community were aided by those who knew them as neighbours, regardless of kin ties. However, assistance among kin seems to have been more frequently of long duration and involved sums of money.

Aged parents were still exercising traditional conventions for their maintenance (Gagan: 1981, 51-53). Contracts were drawn to delineate the conditions under which the land, the wealth of the older generation, was passed on to the younger. Others avoided a formal settlement, a practice which seems to have been equally successful for all concerned.

The First World War increased demand for agricultural production and, although the local population declined by ten percent during the decade 1911-1921, the number of farmers rose by ten per cent. Farm size remained stable, but about ten per cent more land was improved for field crops. Less cleared land was available for pasture, as a result. This does not indicate less livestock were raised. It is likely that scrubby brush had grown up on the land which had proven marginal for cultivation and it was not being kept cleared. Pioneer cattle had been permitted to range throughout the woods and along the road allowances, so scrubby land would have posed little problem for their survival.

4.4 The Adjustments Leading to End of An Era: 1920 to 1939

The twenty years between major wars was marked by several increasingly sharp adjustments in the economic order, adjustments which profoundly affected the social and economic welfare of the ordinary people of Ontario. A series of painful jolts laid to rest the agrarian dream of independence upon a family farm. The contrast with the previous quarter century of expansion was a stark reminder that the price of development had been largely unpaid.

Immediately after World War One, there was a brief economic boom caused largely by demand for consumer goods which had been unavailable or in short supply during wartime. It was over by 1921. In 1922, prices collapsed by one quarter in lumbering, by one thrid in newsprint and by one third in agriculture (Mackintosh: 1939, 72). The province was obviously too reliant upon an export-led economy.

Farmers were in double jeopardy; not only did prices for agricultural products decline dramatically, but farmers' relative prosperity before the war and wartime expansion had tempted many into debt which was a fixed cost and an increasingly larger proportion of their incomes. It was also very difficult to attract agricultural labourers away from industrial wages. Farm mechanization had to continue

at a rapid pace, contributing to an even greater debt load.

Most export markets recovered by 1925 and continued to expand until the end of the decade. Agriculture did manage to regain production levels of 1920, but the relative importance of this sector to the national economy began to decline. Many were forced to abandon farming.

The unhappy combination of further sharp declines in demand for both agricultural and industrial goods created an economic crisis of unprecedented magnitude world wide. Ontario's involvement in export markets meant that the full impact of the 'Great Depression' was felt throughout the provincial economy. In turn, the sharp economic decline threatened the social welfare of more people and to a greater degree than ever before.

Traditional European markets began to shrink due to an emphasis on domestic production. Wartime shortages created a fear throughout Europe of continuing dependence upon foreign supplies. To counter falling incomes, Ontario farmers tried to increase production but any gains in that quarter were offset by rigid transportation and production costs. Farmers thus bore the brunt of the economic crisis. In every province, farm incomes dropped more than salaries and wages (Mackintosh: 1939, 134). The old economic order of Ontario was gone.

In the local area, during the economic depression

after the First World War, thirty-five percent of farmers gave up farming, although the local population remained steady. A number of these were older folk who were not replaced by descendants. Their farms were absorbed by local farmers upon their retirement or death. Those remaining in farming continued the trend of modernization towards commercial farming. Average farm size increased by 137 percent with fifty percent more improved land in field crops and pasture. Thirty-one percent more unimproved land is also noted on the average farm. Waste land was recognized as such and abandoned (Census of Canada: 1911 and 1921). Post-war reconstruction hindered commercialization of farming because protective tariffs on agricultural implements created a 'cost-price squeeze' for farmers (Fowke: 1946, 251ff.; Drummond et al: 1966, 23). Farmers again objected to this situation which meant that their incomes were always falling relative to other sectors of the economy. Locally, interest was active in the United Farmers of Ontario, the politically oriented institution which promoted farmers' interests. Pools and co-operatives were strategies advanced to remedy the situation by volume purchasing power.

Continuing government involvement in farm credit facilitated the trend towards large commercial farms. In the twenty years of this time period, fifty-two mortgages

were taken out and most were successfully discharged. Forty-four percent of mortgages were the traditional type from private individuals and most of these were contracted early in this era. The Canada Farm Loan Board and the Agricultural Development Board accounted for a further forty-four percent of mortgages. Both offered loans for a period of twenty years, the former at four and one half percent and the latter at five and one half percent. The Canada Permanent now held only two percent of mortgages because it could not compete with the preferential rates offered by the government.

Thirteen lots were sold for non-payment of back taxes. None was considered good farmland. Some were lots that had been given to veterans of the Fenian Raids of 1866 who had never settled here and others were the property of absentee American speculators. One lot in the southern portion reverted to the Crown. One Crown lease was also granted during this time period to permit ranching. This was an unsuccessful venture in spite of government encouragement to put Crown Lands to productive uses.

There were few new settlers in the community after the influx of former residents of Cockburn Island arrived in 1921. The Island was considered too isolated by these people now that the lake traffic and fishing which had been centred upon Tolsmaville was declining (MacDonald: 1979).

The community on the North Shore was relatively stable for the remainder of this era. The 'excess' young people migrated to the jobs available in Sault Ste. Marie; they worked at the paper or steel mills. Wage labour in primary manufacturing was the greatest competing alternate employer for farm children after 1924 and up to 1939.

In 1927, the Old Age Pensions Act was instituted by the federal government. This was one of the first social welfare programs in the Second National Policy (Fowke: 1946). Five local residents qualified for assistance after a means test. Recipients of both sexes were too old to farm full-time, but also did not want to lose control of the land. The means test would have been an objectionable requirement for all. However, the program eased some of the monetary obligations between sons and aging parents. The older folk had a small but steady infusion of cash, twenty dollars a month. Some could delay passing the farm on and losing their independence because they did not need the capital invested in the farm. No longer did contacts regarding conditional succession appear in the contracts Court records. Others simply and silently acknowledged succession when the son married. They used the pension money as a source of private income to supplement that generated by the traditional division of farm profits between the older and the younger generations.

The kinship networks were most complex in the era to 1939. The interrelationships integrated most community residents into the net which was still an important source of mutual assistance in spite of the government financial programs negating some traditional economic relations involving the exchange of money. Social cohesion was great and the farming community thrived.

4.5 Summary

Land cleared in 1940 is shown by Figure 4.5, a facimile of the first extant land use map since that of the surveyors in 1879. Most of the classes two to five farmland was occupied by farmers. The road system was adequate for local access and general stores, post offices, schools, churches and a blacksmith were dispersed throughout the settlement, positive indicators of a viable rural community. Some land was held by retired owners or descendants of earlier settlers who now lived elsewhere and used the farm as an alternate base. Local farmers rented fields and were now known as tenant/farmers. This was a new strategy developed to avoid the prohibitive costs of purchasing extra farmland. There was still some evidence of land speculation - but it did not interfere with farming. Americans purchased land with recreational potential, much of which has never been developed to the present day.

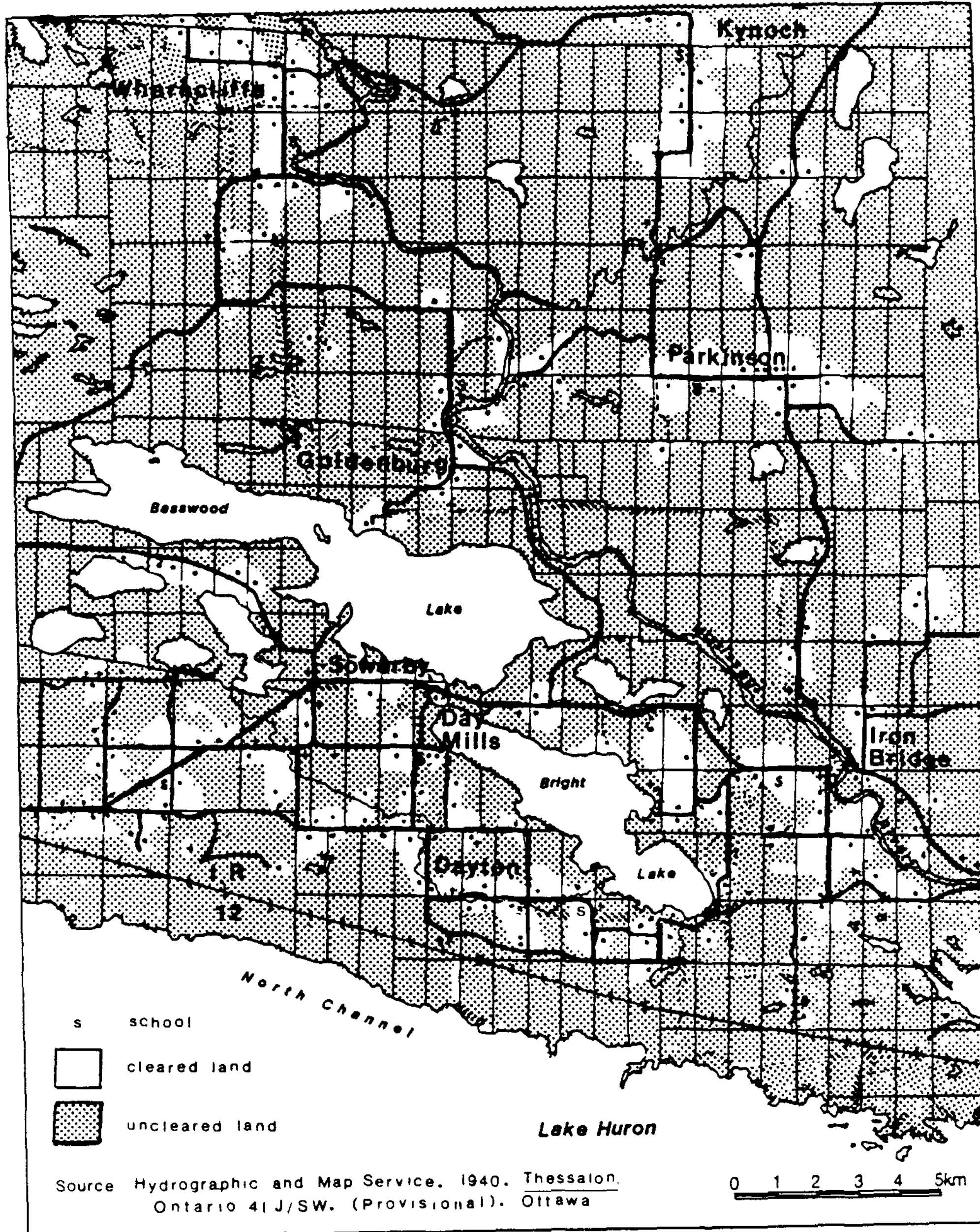


Figure 4.5: Land Use in 1940

The next chapter illustrates the evolution of the local kinship network and investigates the role of kinship relationships in migration to a 'new land' and in the subsequent development of social and economic relationships within the community. The data collected about the local fluctuations in population reveal stresses in both society and the economy and the timing of reaction to them within the local community.

Chapter 5: The Search for Security: Independence and Geographical Stability

James Smail and Euphemia Clark were married in 1864 in Roxburghshire Scotland. Both were sixteen and living upon adjoining estates by Loch Yetholm when they married. His father was a farm steward; her father had just become one after many years as a shepherd.

After the Great Fire in Chicago, carpenters were recruited in Scotland to help to rebuild the city. James and Euphemia and their three small children, Isabella, Thomas and Agnes, emigrated there in 1871. Shortly after their arrival, another child was born to them, although he did not survive long. Saddened by the loss of the child and lonely in the new environment, Euphemia and her remaining children travelled to Bentinck Township in Grey County in order to visit her brother, Thomas Clark, who owned a farm there. James joined his family in a very short time and found carpentry work in Hanover, the town nearest to Tom Clark's farm. Within two years, the Smails moved to Elmwood, a small village even nearer her brother. Four more children were born to them during the sojourn in this part of Ontario: Frances, Euphemia, George and Mary.

'Free grant' land became available on Manitoulin Island around 1880 and this family moved there to homestead a lot. Their last three children, Margaret, Arnold and Jim, were born here. When their eldest son reached eighteen years of age in 1885, he patented a lot near that of his parents on Barrie Island. Before the family left the Manitoulin in 1886, Isabella married and returned to southern Ontario to live and Thomas abandoned his lot and travelled west.

Shortly afterwards, James Smail began to work for the Spanish River Lumber Company. The family lived near the mill on Aird Island in the North Channel during the summer and spent the winter in Massey where James worked as a millwright. During this time period, Agnes and Frances married. Frances lived near her parents and Agnes moved to a village along the north shore settlement corridor.

Six children remained at home living with their parents when the family moved to Dayton in 1893: three daughters between fourteen and nineteen years and three sons between nine and sixteen years. The family purchased a farm from a local gentleman farmer who had held a mortgage on it and had foreclosed on the previous owner. They stayed in the study area longer than any other place during their married lives - eleven years.

Although the sons, when they were old enough, were seasonally employed in lumbering in the area, no one left home during the period of their local residency from 1893 until 1904. Instead, Agnes and her small son returned home to live with her parents after she became widowed. She remarried in 1900 and she and her husband, Thomas Burrows, bought a farm across the road from the family farmstead.

In the spring of 1904, James Smail left for western Canada, accompanied by his wife's brother, John Clark, who had recently arrived from Scotland. They followed a land agent north from Regina, through Lumsden and on to a new homestead at Southcote, between Last Mountain Lake and Strassburg. The farm in Dayton was rented to a local family and the mother, father, three youngest sons and two youngest daughters moved to Saskatchewan. There the family occupied one full section of land divided into four homesteads.

Arnold worked a quarter section for six months of the year and spent winters in logging camps near Rainy River in north-western Ontario. Mary married a Swede who had come north from Nebraska and they moved on to Alberta. After her marriage in Thessalon, Euphemia and her husband, Bob Redpath, also a resident of Dayton, moved to a town near her parents' homestead in Saskatchewan. Margaret stayed at home to care for her parents who were now in their fifties. Her mother was a semi-invalid. It was in this era that the eldest son, Thomas, whose whereabouts was unknown for twenty years, suddenly appeared at the homestead; the family were overjoyed to see him again. He had married and settled in Oregon after working in lumbering in the state of Washington. Agnes, who had remained behind with her young family in Dayton, suffered the tragic loss of her second husband due to appendicitis. She and her three children, Forrest, Esther and Euphemia, went to live with his parents in Lambton County for a short period and then joined her parents in Saskatchewan.

In 1908, both James Smail and his grandson, Forrest, died and Agnes, her mother and her remaining children returned to the east to stay with Frances, who was living in Sault Ste. Marie by that time. Within two years, Euphemia

Clark Smail, the mother, died. Her will stated that the farm in Dayton was to be shared by the four youngest children: Mary, Margaret, Arnold and Jim. Arnold returned east for a visit and married the niece of Agnes' husband, Annie Galloway, who was a teacher at the local school. They moved to Saskatchewan for a year where their son, Jim, was born but then decided to buy out the interest of Arnold's siblings in the Dayton farm.

Margaret acquired the homestead of her parents in Saskatchewan and remained on the section with George and Jim. She married at the age of forty-seven. When western agriculture was beset by disasters in the 1920s and 1930s, all of these people returned to eastern Canada, although only George sold his property. He found employment as a millwright in Nova Scotia where he remained until he died. Family members aided the others to find employment in northern Ontario.

Arnold's family lived on the Dayton homestead for four years. Their only daughter, Audrey, was born here. In December, 1915 the house burned. An infant son, Arnold Lorne, died from pneumonia contracted as an aftermath of the fire and, after staying with the Redpath family for awhile, the family moved to Sault Ste. Marie where Arnold found employment with the Algoma Steel Company. Again the farm was rented - this time until Arnold and his wife retired there in 1940.

5.1 Family Cohesiveness in Difficult Times

This family arrived in Chicago in 1871 and, by 1940, had become scattered from the Atlantic to Pacific Oceans. The general movement was westward until after the turn of the century when parts of the family began to return eastward. Throughout all of the years of movement, kinship relationships were maintained and utilized for assistance in times of crisis. Mature children moved with their parents to new frontiers and returned to family 'home' areas in times of personal crisis. The family retained title to a

farm in northern Ontario when they moved to western Canada. Children shared the inheritance of that farm and redistributed title to it when Arnold decided to return to Ontario. He, in turn, relinquished a quarter section in Saskatchewan to the siblings who remained there with his parents. The close and continuing ties of this family resulted in regrouping of fragments of this kinship network at several different locations over time and space.

This family is typical of many, demonstrating the strong influence of kinship ties on the location decisions of individuals and upon their chances for survival in an unstable economy without the security of universal social welfare programs. This chapter determines the extent and the utility of kinship relationships in the context of settlement. It explores the ways in which kinship conventions and relationships aided members of the study community to provide for the social and economic welfare of all family members. It addresses two research questions pertaining to the initiation, growth and development of the kinship network and the use of this in fostering social security and geographical stability. The questions are: 1) How did kinship relationships promote the security of all family members? 2) How effective was membership in a local kinship network in promoting economic and geographical

stability over time?

Formal details of a kinship network can be documented and analyzed given the data collected for this study. The use and effectiveness of the kinship network in fostering security and stability is not as easy to pin down. A great deal has to be inferred from the anatomy of the network and what other researchers (especially Anderson) have postulated. However, there are some means to go beyond these inferences, namely: a) the local Tweedsmuir History (a community generated compendium of farm and family histories, newspaper clippings, etc., collected by members of the Women's Institute over many years); b) social notices and other articles in The Algoma Advocate, North Shore Sentinel and Sault Star; c) land registry, land titles and Surrogate Court records; d) personal family involvement; e) oral histories and correspondence. All of the information pertaining to local families and farms which is contained in the Tweedsmuir histories of Dayton and Sowerby was utilized. All known copies of the Algoma Advocate which have survived locally were incorporated into the research as well as pertinent information contained in the present weekly newspaper of the area, The North Shore Sentinel. 'Local news' and items concerning developments salient to the study area which appeared in the Sault Star

were accessed for every issue between 1901 and 1914 - a fascinating but daunting task! After 1914, only issues for which there was other documentary evidence to indicate an approximate date of an event or issue were consulted. Microfilm copies of issues from the 1930s onward are not available in southern Ontario. In instances when there was evidence that pertinent information might be found, the microfilms were consulted in the Sault Ste. Marie Public Library.

The following three sections (5.2 to 5.4) describe the populations coming into the study area and the formation of the kinship network. Section 5.5 deals with the functions and functioning of the kinship network.

5.2 Arrivals and Local Births: The Peopling of an Agricultural Community

The influx of first settlers created a community with unusual demographic characteristics which set development upon a particular path over the ensuing fifty years. In 1879, 165 people arrived. Within the next ten years, 342 people of all ages came into the three townships, representing about one of every three people who ever lived there (Table 5.1). Sixty-two men arrived with their families of maturing children who sought their own land

Table 5.1: LIFE CYCLE STAGES OF INDIVIDUALS ARRIVING, 1879-1939

Life Cycle Stage	1879-1889	1890-1899	1900-1909	1910-1919	1920-1929	1930-1939
Local Births	60	105	88	84	90	42
	18%	51%	65%	66%	68%	88%
Children (1-17 years)	133	40	15	11	4	0
	36%	20%	11%	9%	3%	0%
Young Adults (18-25 years)	67	25	7	10	13	2
	20%	12%	5%	8%	10%	4%
Mid-Adults (26-40 years)	36	18	18	10	10	4
	10%	9%	13%	8%	7%	8%
Adults (41-59 years)	38	13	5	6	4	0
	11%	6%	4%	5%	3%	0%
Elderly (≥ 60 years)	8	3	3	5	12	0
	2%	2%	2%	4%	9%	0%
Totals	342	204	136	126	133	48
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

within the next ten to twenty years. Indeed, many of the fifteen young men who occupied land in the first ten years were older sons of farmers in the community. Others were brothers with a sister to care for them while they established their claim to land. Only seven young men came alone to settle the new lands and, of those, three had family members in other townships along the north shore. Four were completely unrelated to people in the region, although they originated from the same townships in southern Ontario as the majority of settlers.

Ontario had never been able to compete with Australia and the United States as a destination of immigrants arriving from the British Isles (Fowke: 1946, 169). At this frontier, only eighteen percent of settlers had been born in the British Isles, coming to this locality after a sojourn in southern Ontario of about twenty years. Over half of arrivals had been born in southern Ontario and eighteen percent were born locally during the first ten years. Nine had been born in Michigan and seven in Quebec, but these figures really represent only two families. In all, about four out of five arrivals had been born in North America, mostly in southern Ontario (Table 5.2).

The population was composed of people in all life cycle stages but the largest number of new settlers were

Table 5.2: BIRTHPLACES OF SETTLERS

Birthplace	Time of Arrival 1879-1889	1890-1899	1900-1909	1910-1919	1920-1929	1930-1939
Local (≤ 25 km):	60	114	99	91	92	43
Regional (26-100 km):	0	5	3	6	14	1
Great Lakes (101-500 km):						
Northern Ontario	0	0	0	0	1	0
Southern Ontario	181	59	19	15	5	2
Michigan	9	0	1	0	0	0
Quebec	7	0	0	0	0	0
North America (> 500 km):						
New Brunswick	1	0	0	0	0	0
Nova Scotia	5	0	0	0	0	0
Other Canadian	1	6	0	1	0	0
Other U.S.	9	1	0	0	1	0
British Isles:						
England	13	1	0	0	0	1
Scotland	33	5	0	3	0	0
Ireland	14	5	1	0	0	0
Totals	333	196	123	116	113	47
Missing cases:	9	8	13	10	20	1

under the age of eighteen, a group augmented by sixty births between 1879 and 1889 (Table 5.1 and Figures 5.1 and ..2). Almost one in five arrivals was a young adult between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. Slightly more were adults between the ages of twenty-six and fifty-nine and eight persons were over sixty years of age. Of these arrivals, males predominated with 55.3% of the total population. The frontier was the primary area in which land could be acquired at preferential rates and lumbering activity attracted young men who wanted to work in the woods in order to acquire some capital in order to purchase and develop a farm.

A striking feature of this population was the history of movement throughout the preceding two generations. Although these people would have given their father's country of birth had they been asked about 'ethnic origin', the reality was that, after one or two generations in Canada, the situation was very much more complicated than that traditional means of expressing ethnicity. Information collected about birthplaces of the parents and grandparents of arrivals reveals family origins encompassing two generations before settlement in northern Ontario (Figure 5.3). The westward progression of these families from their origins in the British Isles to the north shore of Lake

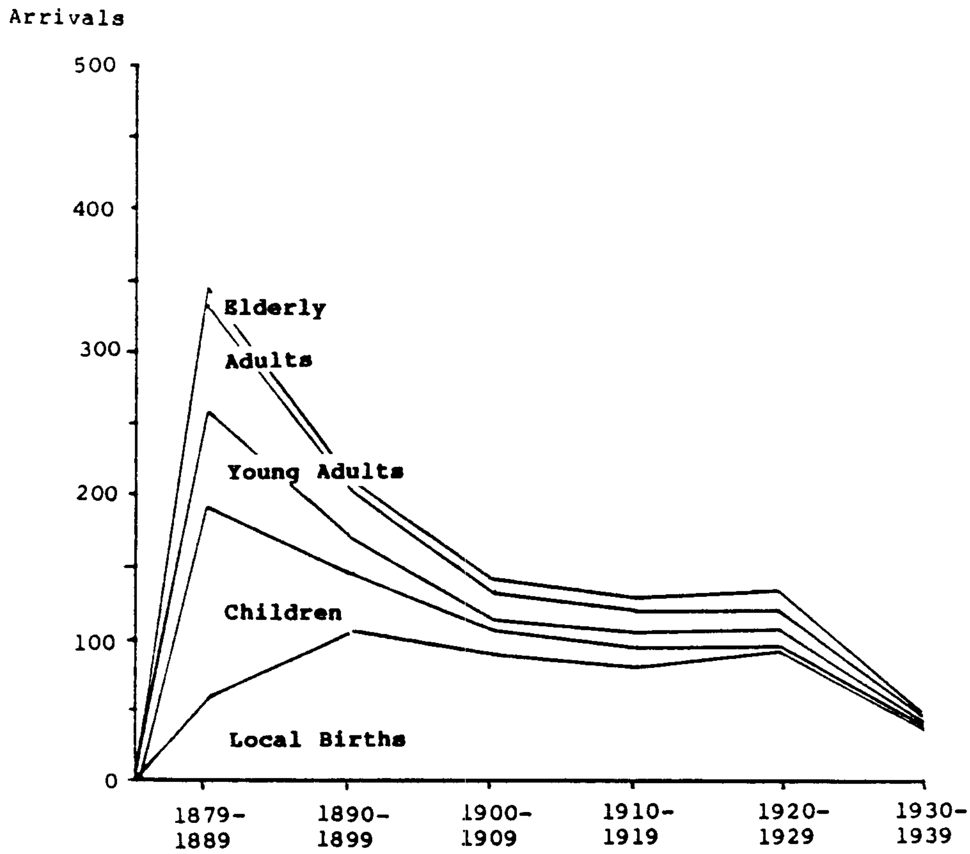


Figure 5.1: Age Composition of Arriving Population

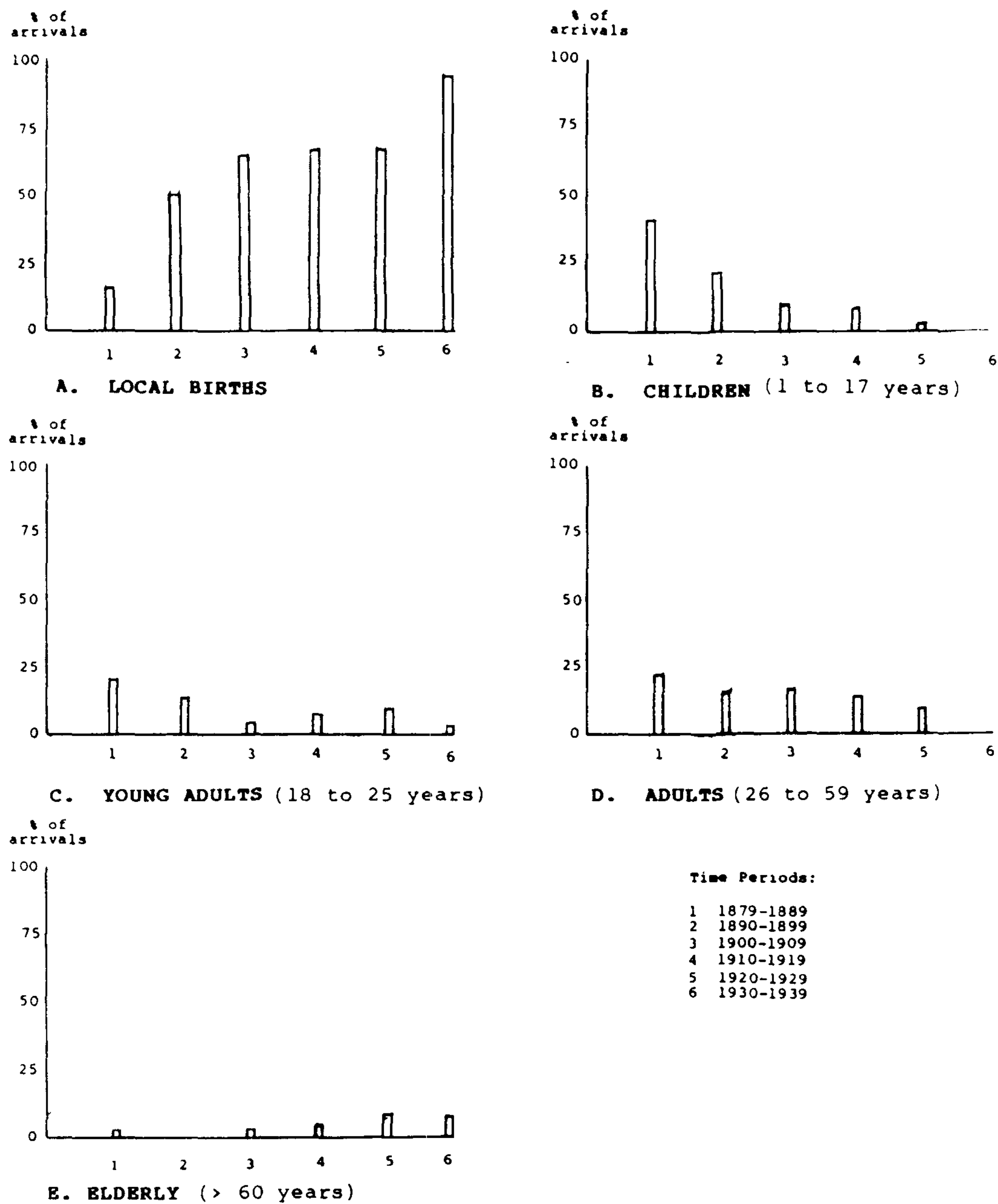


Figure 5.2: Age Cohorts as Proportion of Arrivals

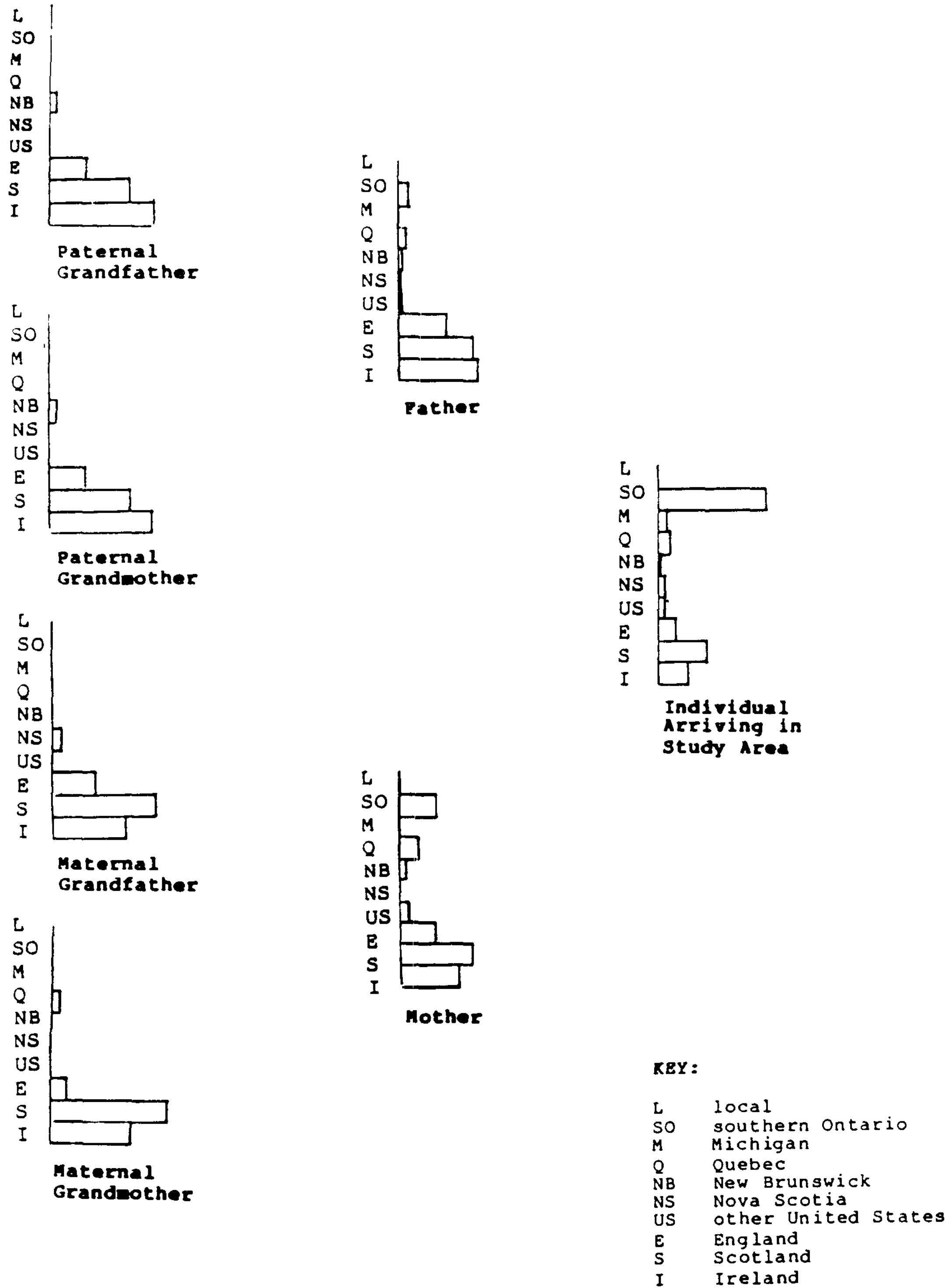


Figure 5.3 : Birthplaces of Ancestors for Arrivals over 18 Years of Age

Huron can be seen to have taken place as a step-wise migration spanning at least three generations. Also apparent are the major routes of trans-Atlantic migration.

Eighteen percent of arrivals eventually patented land (Table 5.3: column 1). There was no hurry to take out title to the land as most claims were not disputed because farmers and their families occupied the land throughout the year. Some unmarried men had difficulty retaining their right to a lot because they tended to go some distance to find alternative employment opportunities and sometimes did not return within the prescribed time limit. One in five people eventually inherited land from kin or married a woman whose family granted the land to the son-in-law. Less than ten percent of this cohort purchased land at market value and the remainder, just over half of the residents, never owned land. (This figure includes women who married local landowners but who were technically labourers under a husband's management; cf. Sachs: 1987, 81). About forty-five percent of males arriving in this time period never owned land.

Twenty of those arriving were young men who would marry and begin their own families during this time period. Most of these young men married women whom they met locally, but at least two returned to their places of origin to marry

Table 5.3: ACQUISITION OF LAND

Sources of Acquisition	Time of Arrival 1879-1889	1890-1899	1900-1909	1910-1919	1920-1929	1930-1939
No land acquired	158	120	93	88	101	37
Kinship:						
From parents	29	26	14	8	6	2
From siblings	9	6	0	1	1	0
From other kin	7	5	1	1	0	0
New arrival related in community	0	3	1	3	1	1
Dower interest through marriage	51	19	21	18	15	6
Land patent	61	11	0	0	0	0
From neighbour	27	8	3	1	3	1
New arrival to community	0	5	3	6	4	1
SUMMARY STATISTICS:						
No land acquired	46%	59%	68%	70%	77%	77%
From kin	28%	29%	27%	25%	18%	19%
Patent	18%	6%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Acquired from non-kin	8%	6%	5%	5%	5%	4%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

and bring their brides to the frontier. Within ten years, twenty-six marriages took place locally, bonding families together even more by joining family groups in a common concern for the welfare of their married children. Thus, the trust which was a prerequisite for mutual assistance among settlers was forthcoming immediately upon arrival, based upon common origins and kinship initially, but augmented quickly by intermarriages of neighbouring young adults. These kin links were an important component for the foundation of social and economic interaction of families.

After the initial decade of settlement, the numbers of new arrivals in every decade dropped until 1939 when arrivals were last included in this study (Table 5.2). Dramatic declines in the rate of new arrivals occurred between 1890 and 1909 and between 1930 and 1939. In contrast, local births in the second decade of settlement were almost double those of the first decade. They stabilized between 1900 and 1929 and then dropped significantly until 1939 (Figure 5.1).

After the first twenty years, the population was largely augmented by local births. It is within these cohorts that competition for limited local land was greatest. The members of the initial cohort of settlement were of all life cycle stages and they dominated the local

population numerically until the 1930s. Those who were born in the townships, especially after 1900, found it more difficult to acquire land because the earlier in-migrant cohort was in direct competition with them and had the advantage of being slightly older.

In summary, the local population was built initially from the in-migration of persons of all life cycle stages but with the largest cohort being children. This pattern of population building terminated by the turn of the century. The earliest period of settlement was a brief window of opportunity for family members to establish themselves in a milieu conducive to promoting their dream of acquiring a farm at a reasonable 'cost' and under relatively favourable conditions because of lumbering activity and investment in the physical infrastructure of settlement.

The average family size of those arriving between 1879 and 1889 was 5.7 children (Table 5.4). Families had a decreasing number of children at the frontier until 1920. After that time, limitations to the number whose expectations could be accommodated with an adequate start-in-life became apparent again. The number of local births fell, as did the size of the local population. There was a marked decline in the number of children born within the community after 1930. Since the first two cohorts

Table 5.4: FAMILY SIZE

Total Children Born in Family	Children Born to Arrivals 1879-1889	1890-1899	1900-1909	1910-1919	1920-1929	1930-1939
0	71	45	24	23	18	6
1	15	11	7	7	4	1
2	10	25	13	7	5	3
3	13	7	7	9	5	4
4	18	16	5	4	4	3
5	12	11	2	3	5	0
6	19	5	2	4	3	0
7	17	9	3	4	1	0
8	23	2	3	0	2	0
9	2	0	2	1	2	0
10	11	2	2	1	0	0
11	3	1	0	0	0	0
12	2	1	0	0	0	0
13	3	3	0	0	0	0
Total children born:	847	392	179	150	129	31
Total residents:	219	138	70	67	49	17
Average number of children born to local residents	3.9	2.8	2.6	2.2	2.6	1.8
Local residents with children:	148	93	46	40	31	11
Average number of children born to residents with children:	5.7	4.2	3.9	3.8	4.2	2.8

contained people of all ages, many were maturing families who had left established children behind in southern Ontario and many were still completing families in 1939. As a result, these early cohorts of arrivals dominated the local population and land ownership for sixty years (Figure 5.4).

Over the sixty year time span from the beginning of settlement, the local population exhibits a sharp initial rise, augmented by a large number of in-migrants and local births over the first thirty years (Figure 5.5). Beyond the first period of population influx, there was a steady decline in local residents due to decreasing numbers of arrivals, local deaths and to the incidence of out-migration which will be discussed in the next chapter. It is of immediate interest to determiine the extent to which these people became bound together by kinship ties.

5.3 The Genesis of a Local Kinship Network

The purpose of this section is twofold: to illustrate the rapid development and integration of local kinship networks and to explain their complexity. Kinship relationships were recorded upon the arrival of the settlers during the first decade of settlement, until 1889. It was a critical time for the establishment of the community and the time in which reliance upon others was great. That is

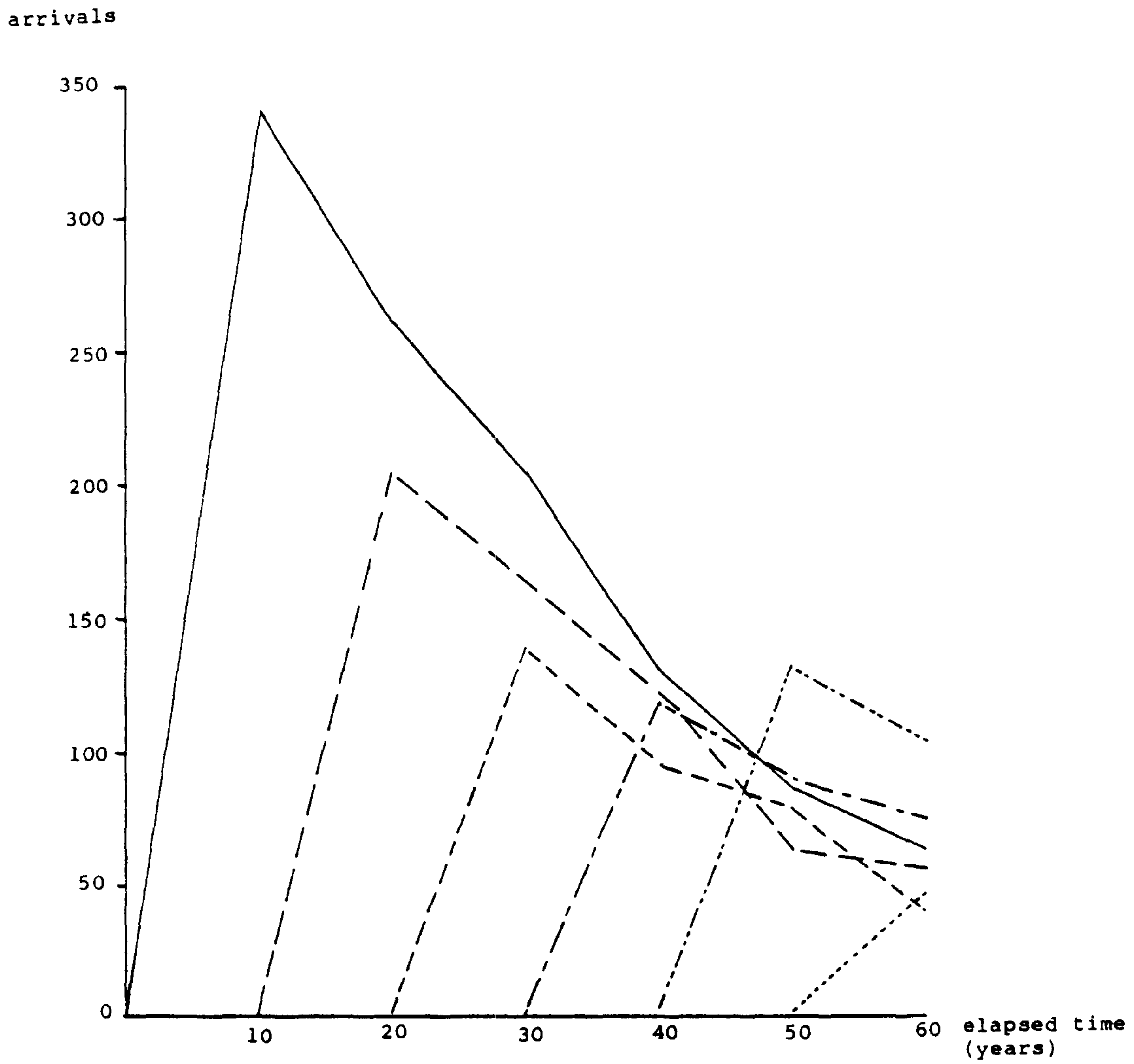


Figure 5.4: Population Cohort Remaining

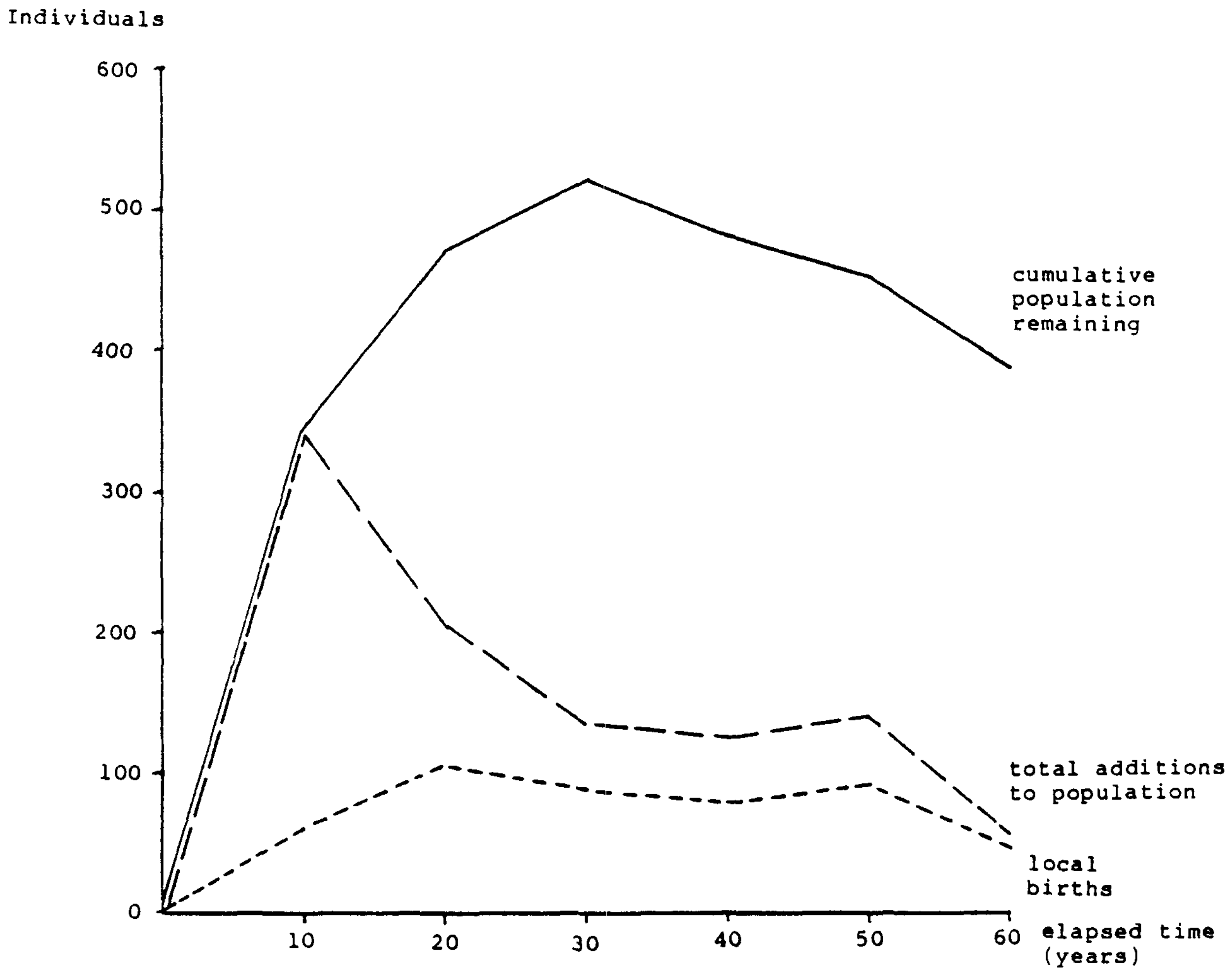


Figure 5.5: Local Population Dynamics over Sixty Years

one of the major reasons why so few came alone, as is evident from Figure 5.6.

The potential for community co-operation and cohesiveness is apparent in the web of kinship relationships among the first settlers. It is immediately obvious that most landholders were not only able to count upon the support of their immediate families, but also of parents, siblings and more distant relations. The matrix of potential assistance and obligations is revealed in the remarkably complex local kinship networks and encompassed even more families with the uniting of thirty-six local residents in marriage during the first decade. Common origins in southern Ontario and more distant kinship relationships, which are not tabulated, facilitated the rapid development of community institutions. These ties also served to 'knit' the community into the region (Anderson: 1986, 271). Even today, many of the first families are strongly represented by resident descendants.

Families predominated and tended to consist of parents and children, the oldest of whom was about the age of twenty-one (Table 5.1). It is clear, then, that most arrivals were part of families who were seeking to begin again on land where they could ensure that maturing children could settle nearby. Young men who, at first, appeared to

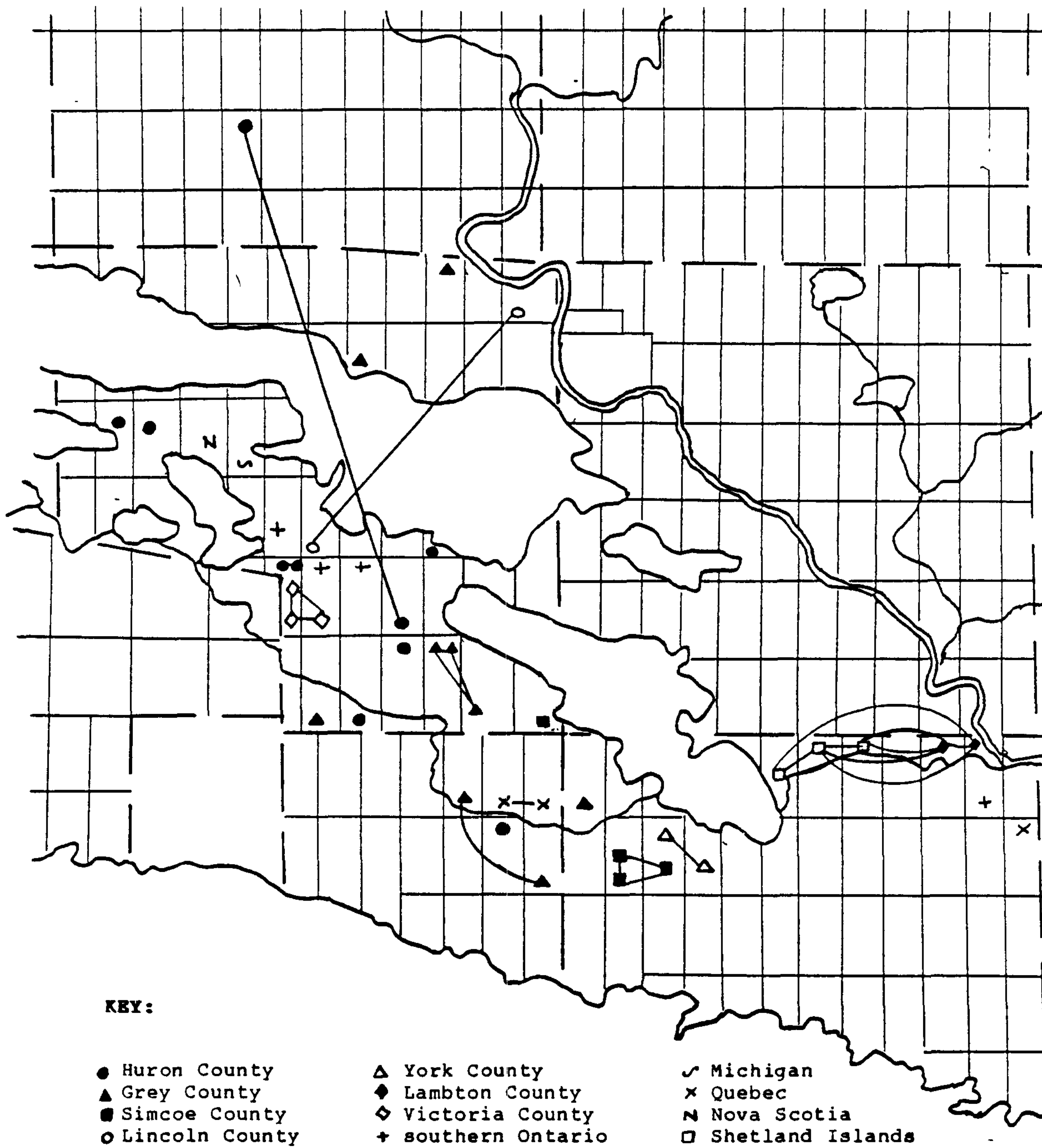


Figure 5.6: Kinship Relationships upon Arrival, 1879-1889

come alone to the frontier were often, upon further investigation, discovered to be part of a group of siblings or cousins or were found to have parents settled in townships outside the study area along the north shore of Lake Huron.

Group migration was an interesting feature of the settlement of this area (Figure 5.6) which promoted the rapid development of kinship networks in the initial settlement phase. Several related families banded together to move to this frontier from one point of origin or several and tried to settle near to one another upon arrival. That observation, however, is not meant to suggest that they always sought adjacent farms - only parents and sons seem to have wanted to create a strong family enclave.

Less apparent kinship relationships among settlers, those which did not involve members of a family of orientation (parents and children), show that proximity to one another was important, but that residence in adjacent townships was acceptable because it permitted frequent interaction among families, although not daily visits. This behaviour seems instinctively wise in that fewer close branches of a kinship network competed for land with kin when the time came that the younger generation eventually required more, but they were still close enough to provide

assistance in times of major crisis. Both fragments of the same kin network maintained an awareness of each others' needs and reliability.

Chain migration is another form which was apparent in this area. Families who arrived early kept in touch with relatives in southern Ontario and, when glowing reports were sent back to them, some of those relatives followed them to the frontier. The Ontario government traded upon the effectiveness of 'testimonials' by local residents who were known in localities in southern Ontario because it used them in its pamphlets promoting settlement in Algoma East (Algoma Land and Colonization Co.: 1892, 26). Consider how much more effective it must have been to receive a letter from a relative whose reliability in judgment was well known to both a potential migrant and to those who were close to him.

This method of enticing relatives to the frontier served three purposes: to increase kinship network complexity at the frontier; and, by doing that, to increase the number of people upon whom network members could rely in times of crisis; and, finally, to create support and assistance among those relatives remaining in southern Ontario to help migrants to finance the move to a new land. In some instances, knowledge of the local conditions by non-resident kin led to personal mortgages to finance the

development of a new farm.

All of these observed in-migration patterns strongly suggest the advantages of membership in a complex local kinship network and the advantages of retaining ties with the place of origin. The local kinship networks at a frontier were a complex combination of strong local, regional and provincial ties. Maturing members of large families were able to remain in advantageous proximity to one another at the destination and complex networks were successfully transplanted from older settlements by means of mass and chain migration.

5.4 Augmentation of Local Kin Networks by Intermarriage

Intermarriages between local community residents, as seen in Table 5.5, created further complexities. Marriage bound together members of the community and families throughout the north shore corridor for the century since first settlement. Kinship systems are renewed by marriages. Most families preferred to be aware of the background of potential spouses of their children, useful information in assessing their reliability and vulnerability to sanctions should they stray from the accepted norm of meeting obligations (Anderson: 1971, 173). If family was of paramount importance, marriages will have been encouraged

Table 5.5: MARRIAGES OF LOCAL RESIDENTS, 1879-1939

Marital Status *	N	% of all marriages of local residents
Unmarried	74	13%
Married Local Resident	283	50%
Married Non-Resident	206	37%
Total	563	100%

* Marital status of those who did not arrive in the study area as married persons.

with known and trusted individuals. A small community such as this witnessed 563 marriages between 1879 and 1939.

New family alliances thus created by marriages among community members are apparent on Figures 5.7, 5.8 and 5.9, which are maps showing the density of local intermarriages. Settlers tended to approve intermarriage with local residents, the intricacies of whose families were common knowledge with the passage of time. The 'life chances' of both families and individuals increased greatly by the marriages between siblings of local families. Seldom were there 'double marriages', marriages between two sets of siblings at one time. More often, a second marriage followed the first by a few years. The reliability of the first spouse and knowledge of the spouse's family was evident and marriage to a sibling of that spouse entailed even less risk of unreliability for both parties. Intermarriage between sets of siblings was also a powerful kinship connection to encourage normative behaviour and would be heartily approved by community members, especially parents. Trust was crucial to the functioning of the system and this strategy was highly reliable in furthering the life chances of all involved. There are three incidences of this behaviour pattern involving six individuals in the first decade.

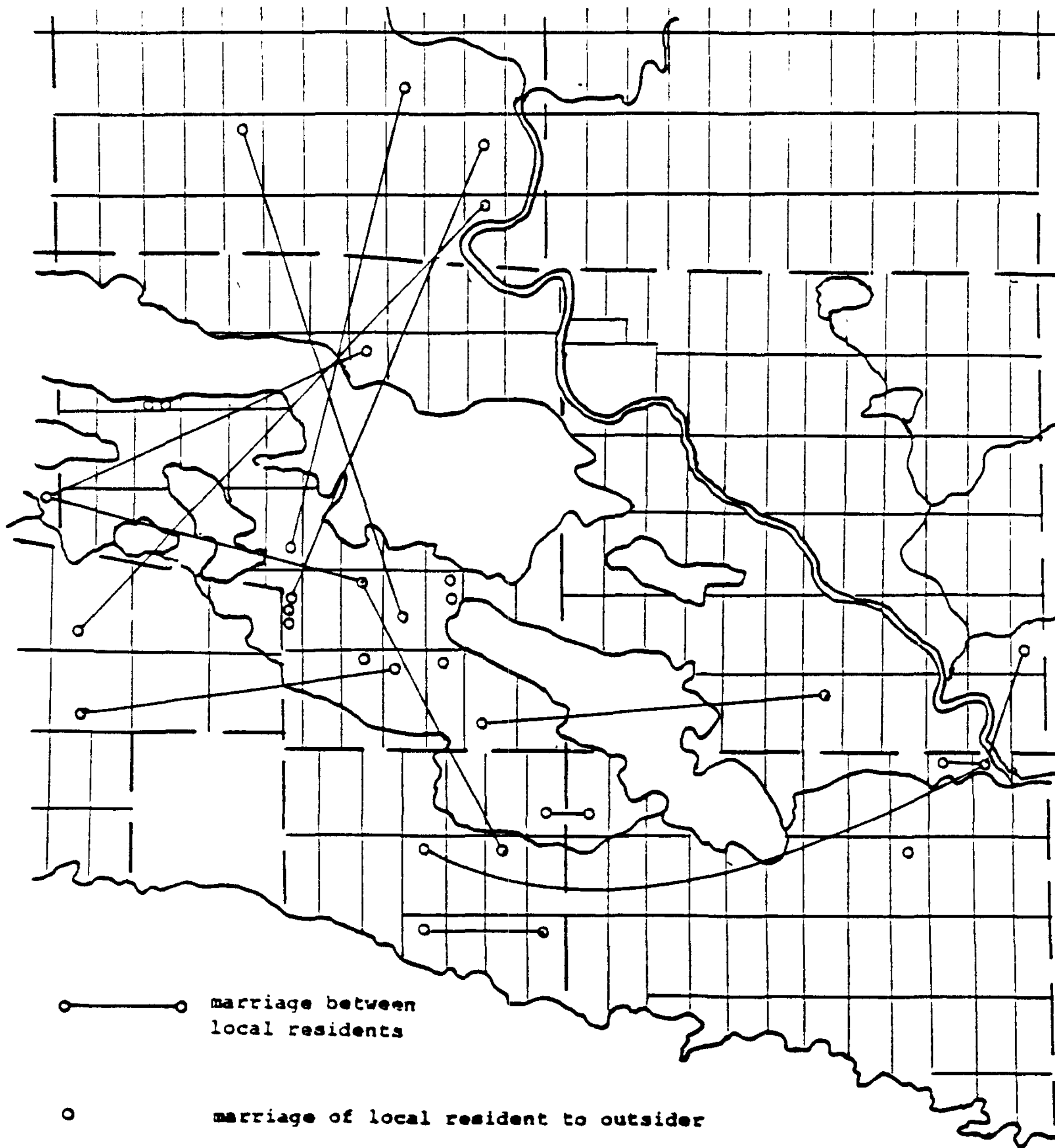


Figure 5.7: Local Marriages, 1879-1889

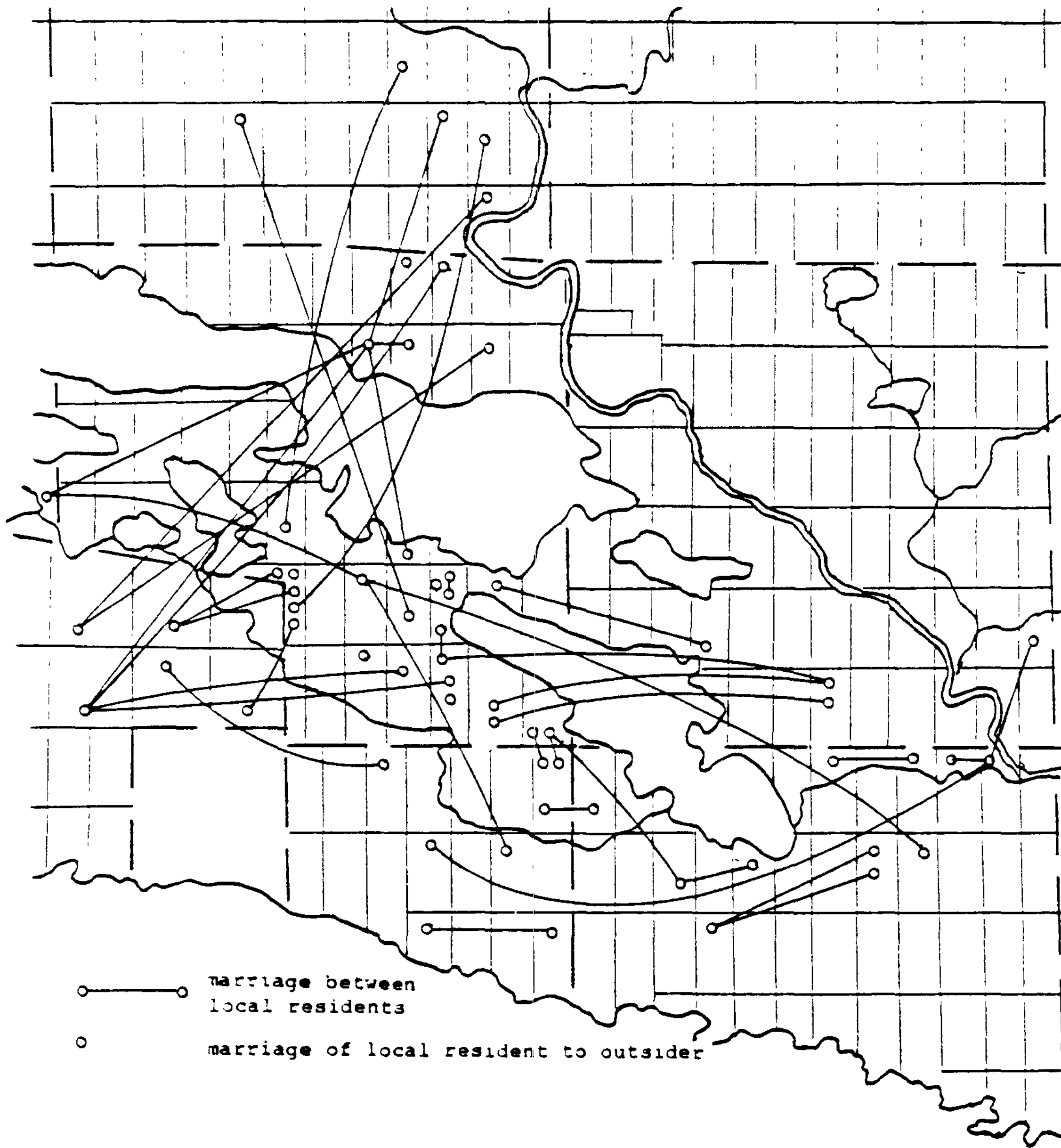


Figure 5.8: Local Marriages, 1879-1909

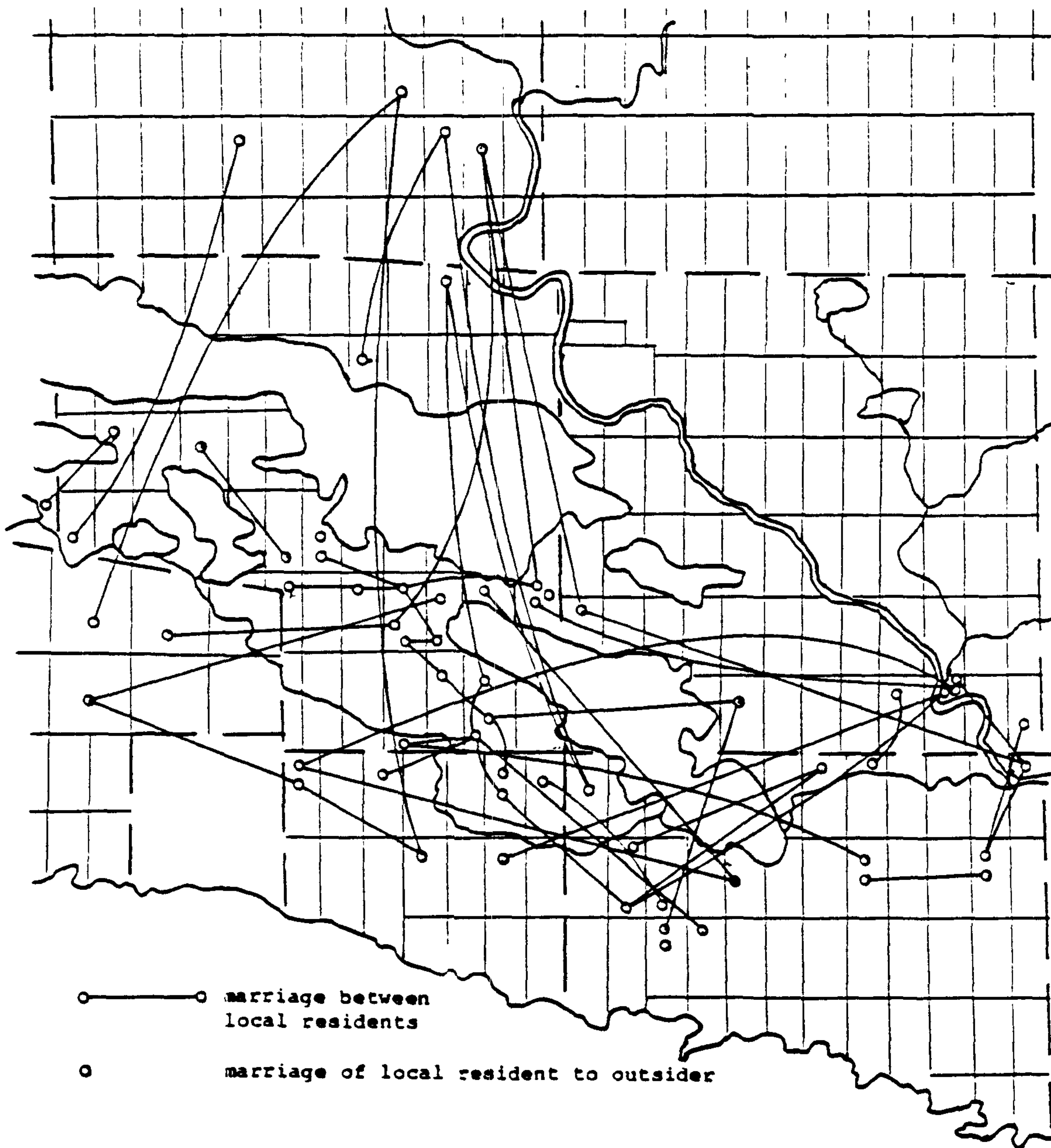


Figure 5.9: Local Marriages, 1910-1939

Several local men returned to marry women at their point of origin. At least one instance is known of a local man marrying at his family's point of origin about a quarter of a century before in southern Ontario. That length of time seems to express a limit of interaction with a place of origin. Trust, which depended upon knowledge of individual background, diminished with the length of time away from previous places of residence and with the death of elderly parents and grandparents.

5.5 The Function of Kinship Network Components

Within thirty years, marriages and chain migration created a local kin network of such complexity that it was not instructive to map all of the relationships on a single map. The dilemma of mapping the kinship bonds of residents was resolved by considering the component parts of the networks. The farm family was a complex, interdependent socio-economic unit. Personal knowledge of the functioning of the local units, aided by family histories contained within the local Tweedsmuir History (an on-going project), the column of local news describing the activities of residents in The Sault Star and more formal assessment of the role of farm family members which are to be found in the literature suggested that responsibilities within this

socio-economic unit were usually ordered according to gender (Sachs: 1983, xii-xiii). Mature males were most likely to dominate the formal economic functions and mature females the formal social functions. Children were integrated into appropriate roles as they matured.

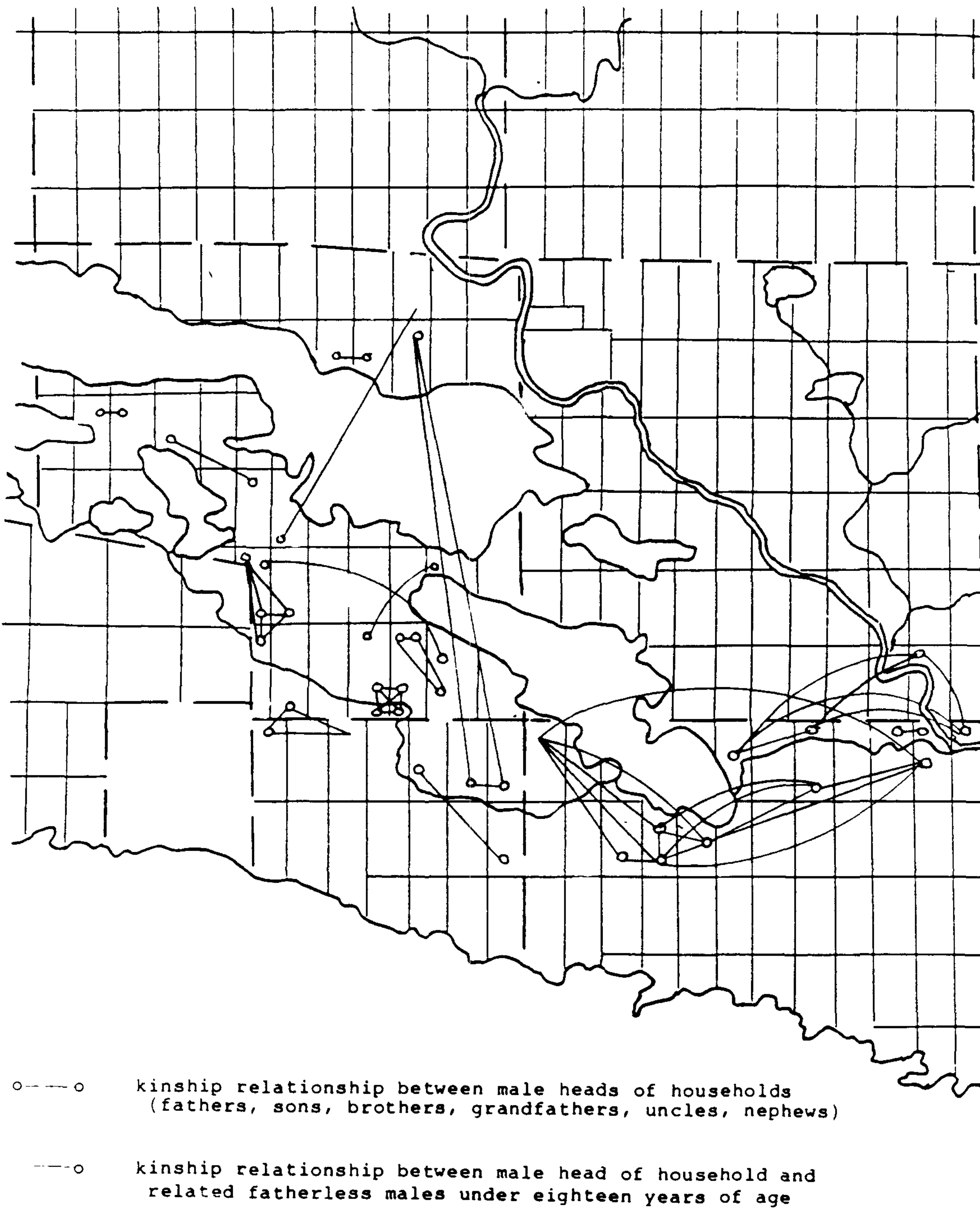
The data recorded on each of the maps indicates the kinship relationships of spouses or widowed adults who 'headed' each farm household. Bachelors and spinsters were included only if they maintained a separate household. Male to male kin ties closely parallel the prevalent contemporary strategy of historians who use 'same surname' research for studying kinship. The inadequacy of 'same surname' research to effectively illustrate the dimensions of local kinship relationships has been suggested within the methodological literature. However, the experience in mapping the separate parts of the local system strongly suggests that this short form of approaching the complexities of kinship relationships is unacceptable. Without the careful delineation of all primary kinship relationships at the very least, one cannot claim a study of kinship, but only a study of male kin relationships.

Rapid development is shown by the maps; a precondition for trust and acceptance of obligations is present. Each map illustrates one component of linkages

within local kinship relationships which indicate the spatial extent and complexity of kinship relationships within this community at two points during its development, at thirty and sixty years after the lands were opened for settlement. Women, as well as men, would choose to stay locally if possible. Proximity to male and female kin increased life chances, especially in times of acute distress. It also encouraged conformity to the normative behaviour required to perpetuate a functioning kinship system.

The pattern of the male-male ties is the most compact (Figure 5.10). It reflects a simplicity of male-oriented interaction fields. The mature male population of an agricultural community was most attached to the land because of the extent of land required to be a full-time farmer. In addition, farmers tried to settle as many sons as possible on a farm nearby. The strategy facilitated sharing of machinery and labour.

Many of the first arrivals demonstrated the importance of this strategy because they had migrated from their southern Ontario farms in order to achieve this goal. Most of them had owned a developed farm there and could have provided a 'start-in-life' for sons upon a farm located elsewhere. However, proximity to close relatives was also



o—o kinship relationship between male heads of households (fathers, sons, brothers, grandfathers, uncles, nephews)

—o kinship relationship between male head of household and related fatherless males under eighteen years of age

Figure 5.10: Biological Kinship Linkages between Male Residents , 1909

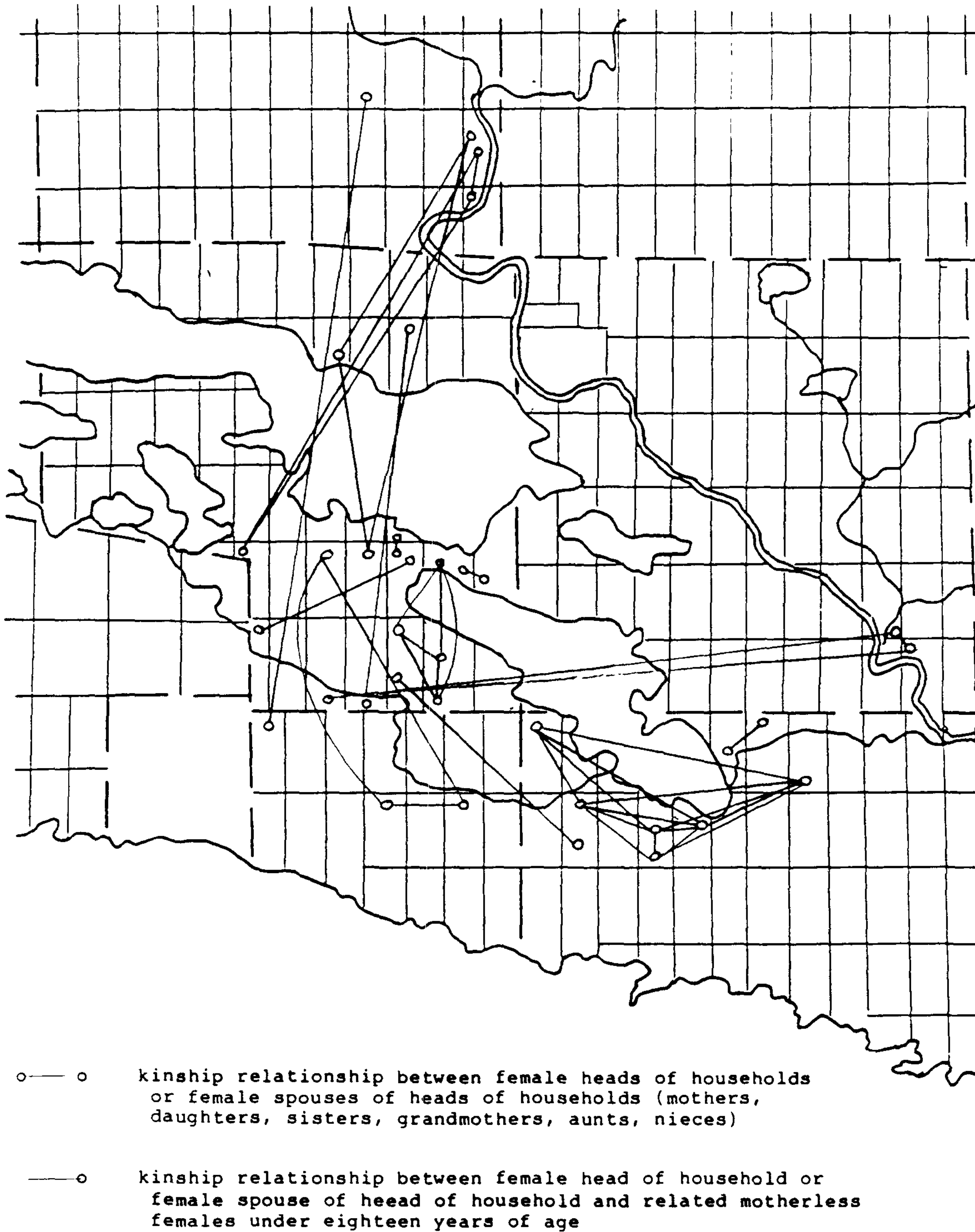
an important factor in the decision of the farmers to move if they were willing to uproot themselves in middle age in order to settle their sons nearby. The greater the number of sons in the community, the greater the 'life chances' for all family members because land ownership was one means of creating a complex local kinship network and achieving the permanence of successful farming.

In turn, the presence of multiple sons enhanced the 'life chances' of their kin because the sons were capable of honouring obligations to family members in distress. Furthermore, should the son designated to inherit the father's farm meet an untimely death, the father still had alternative sons nearby on whom he might rely for support in old age. This strategy meant that the farm would not have to be sold if the elderly farmer needed money in order to exist nor would the farmland have to be sold because he was too old or infirm to work it. Either it could be used to expand the landholdings of any son or it could be worked singly or collectively until a member of the next generation was able to assume responsibility for it. These alternative strategies promoting family permanence in a rural community resulted from the complexity of the male-male kinship network and increased the chances of permanence.

The mechanism by which other components of the mutual

support system functioned is suggested by careful examination of the two remaining components of the kinship network. The noticeable dispersion of the linkages on the two remaining maps, Figures 5.11 and 5.12, suggests that the analysis of male-male kin relationships, the usual and most convenient practice in many studies of this kind to date, do, in reality, deal with a very truncated portion of a local kin network. Anderson (1971, 174-5) contends that complex kinship networks help to increase the life chances of all individuals within the community. Obligations will be met by those whose resources are greatest. In turn, those with resources at a particular time trust that members who are distressed will reciprocate at a later point in time when the situations may be reversed.

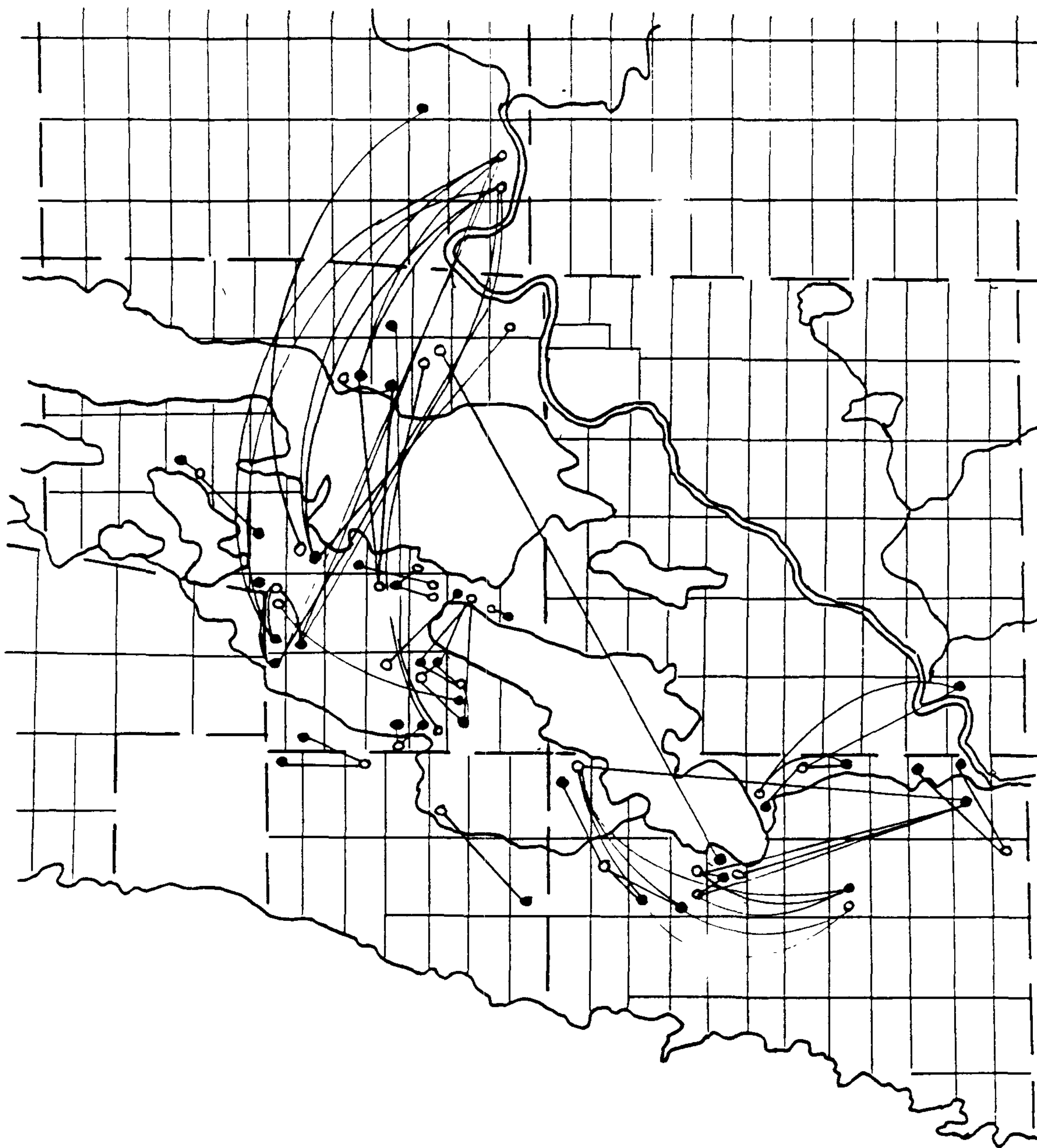
Female-to-female kin ties were delineated separately (Figure 5.11). The role of females had both economic and social components but it did differ from that of males in promoting the normative operation of the kinship system. Female family members were responsible for certain operations of the farm economy such as milking cows, raising poultry, tending the vegetable garden and selling the surplus produce of these labours. Other activities which had economic consequences were the making of clothing and bedding for the entire family (Sachs: 1983, xii-xiii).



o—— o kinship relationship between female heads of households or female spouses of heads of households (mothers, daughters, sisters, grandmothers, aunts, nieces)

——o kinship relationship between female head of household or female spouse of heead of household and related motherless females under eighteen years of age

Figure 5.11: Biological Kinship Linkages between Female Residents , 1909



● ○ male (●) to female (o) kinship relationship between heads of households or spouses of heads of households

Figure 5.12: Biological Kinship Linkages between Males and Females , 1909

Women were the primary agents for socializing family members within kin groups (Kohl and Bennett: 1965, 115), the transmitters of knowledge of acceptable behaviour in acquiring and discharging obligations (Berkhofer: 1979, 44). The role of females as nurturing mothers meant that they socialized and educated children in the behaviour required to meet the expectations of their culture. This function gave females a predominantly social role necessary to the function of the local kinship network (Berkhofer: 1979, 44; Gjerde: 1979, 403-5; Gagan: 1981, 56). Their formidable ability to impose sanctions against those who did not meet the accepted standards of normative behaviour were fundamental postulates of rural society. Women transmitted a 'sense of duty' to descendant generations which helped to perpetuate the system of mutual trust leading to reciprocation of assistance when needed.

The dispersed women's social network ensured that those who did not conform to expected behaviour anywhere in the community could be encouraged to comply through the intercession of an influential relative or generally respected community resident. If that tactic failed, most members of the community would severely curtail both social and economic transactions with the individual. Both sides of any major dispute were soon common knowledge among

community members. Inequities and injustices on either side were weighed against the general knowledge of past family relations. This mechanism applied to major problems - not passing disagreements. Perhaps minor confrontations received brief attention as gossip but there was no suggestion of a general consensus to ostracize an individual. Most felt that minor disputes were not their concern. It was only in blatant cases of injustice among family members or between community residents that the weight of public interest was brought to bear.

It is also appropriate to show male-to-female kinship linkages such as that between a father and daughter, a mother and son or a brother and sister (Figure 5.12). They indicate close female kin bonds with community males. In effect, these are the contact points of the complex interaction fields between the male and female components of the local kinship system beyond the immediate family. The complexity and dispersion of articulations facilitated knowledge of a transgression and thus permitted that knowledge to spread rapidly throughout both male and female networks. It was in the interests of all to support the system which so obviously increased the life chances of all.

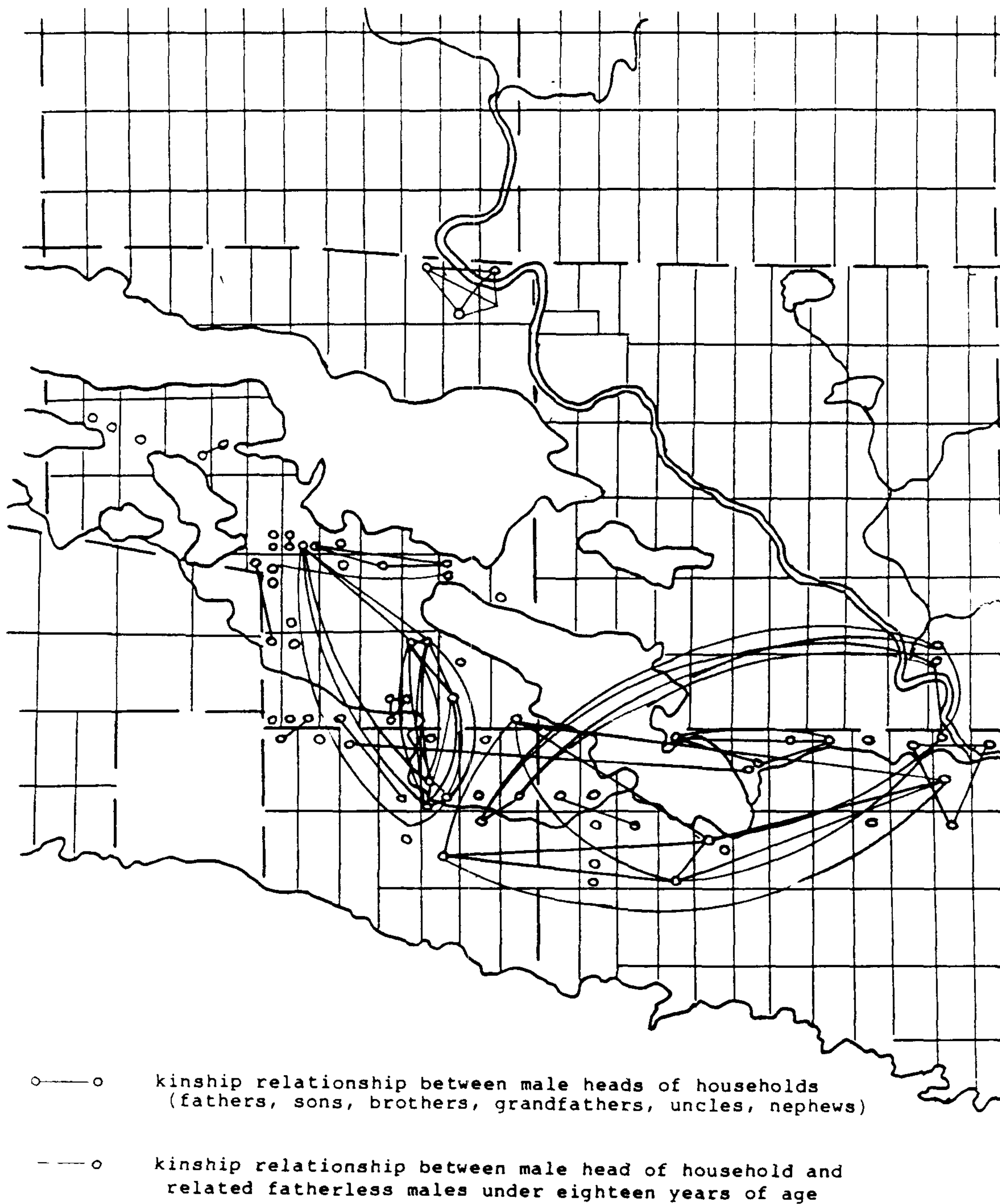
How did the web of community kinship network components evolve in the next thirty years, between 1909 and

1939? Maps of the three components of the local kinship networks show a continuance of the trends of increasing complexity until 1939 at least and they also show unequal rates of growth (Figures 5.13, 5.14 and 5.15).

The kinship networks at a northern Ontario frontier met the spatial requirements of Anderson's theory. Within the span of one generation of settlement, their rapid development led to a large, close-knit localized information field which was able to function as a mutual support system, a powerful social force to encourage and ensure normative behaviour. Normative behaviour balanced individual advantages with obligations. Individuals who would not conform were ostracized. The increasing complexity and inherent usefulness of the networks were instrumental in favouring the permanence of the family within the community, rather than the permanence of particular individuals.

5.6 Kinship and Family Permanence

This section argues that the kinship system promoted the interests of the family above those of the individual in order to ensure the permanence of at least some family members over time and space. Since land was considered the basis of family security (Gagan: 1981, 50ff), permanence of at least a portion of family members upon the land must be



o——o kinship relationship between male heads of households (fathers, sons, brothers, grandfathers, uncles, nephews)

– — o kinship relationship between male head of household and related fatherless males under eighteen years of age

Figure 5.13: Biological Kinship Linkages between Male Residents , 1939

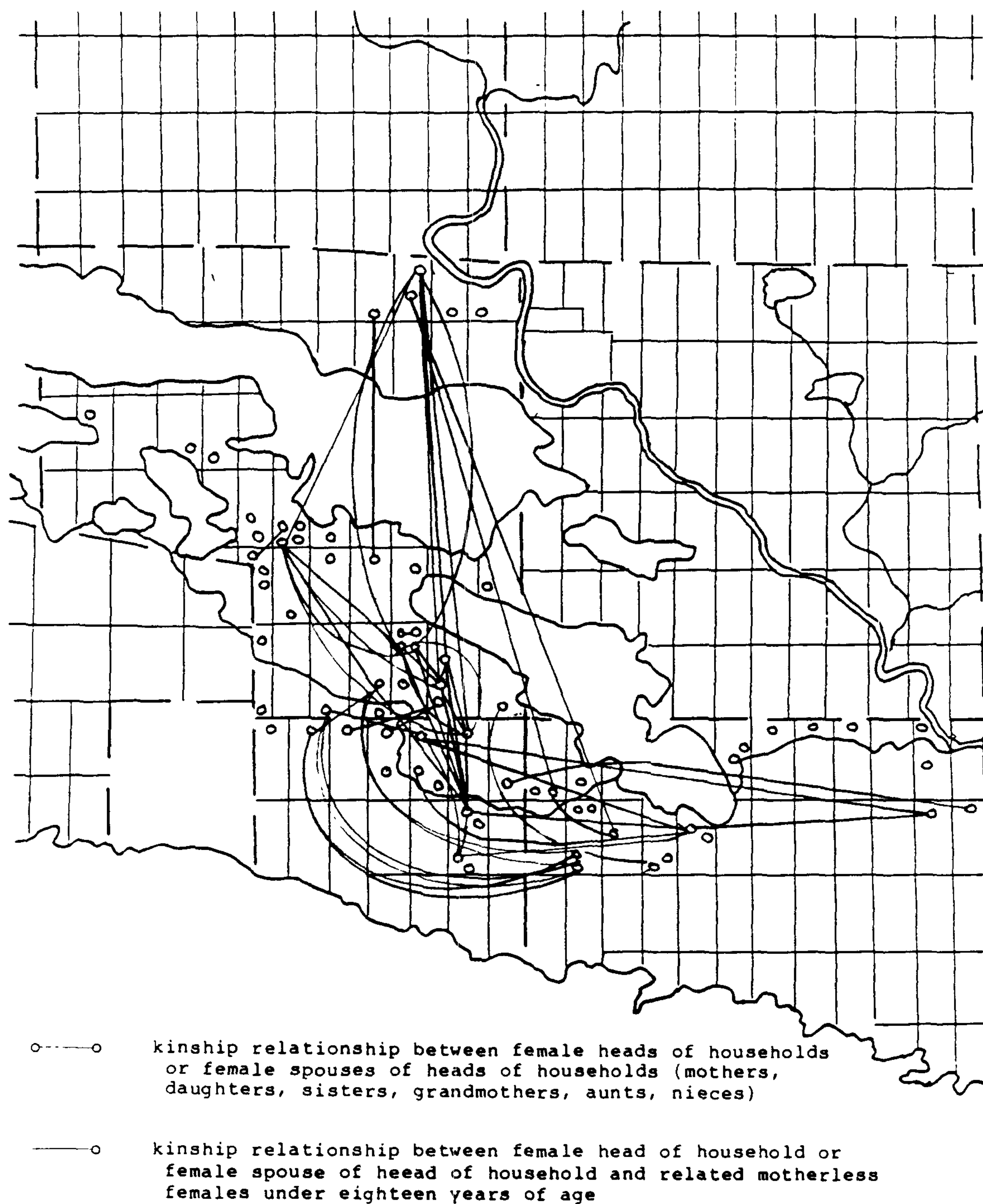
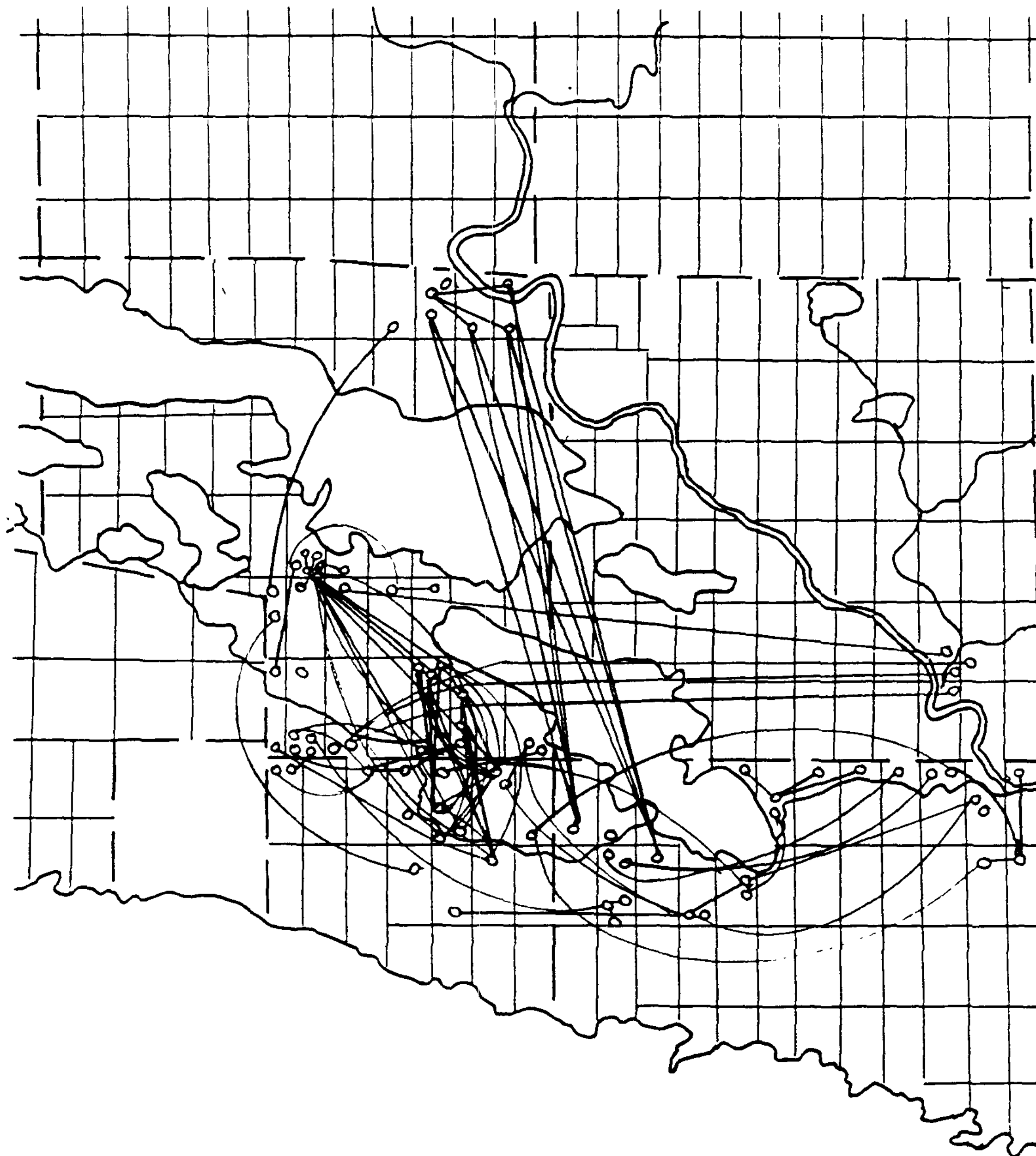


Figure 5.14: Biological Kinship Linkages between Female Residents , 1939



• –o male (•) to female (o) kinship relationship between heads of households or spouses of heads of households

Figure 5.15: Biological Kinship Linkages between Males and Females , 1939

considered an advantage to individual survival in a society of frequent, unpredictable and threatening life crises.

Was membership in a local kinship network advantageous to the family or to particular individuals in the quest for the security implied by permanence on the land? Individuals developed strategies leading to behaviour which favoured increasing life chances for more than one 'chosen' inheritor in order to enhance the potential for family permanence over time and space. Due to the prevalence and variety of unexpected crises to which these people were vulnerable, all children were encouraged to follow the normative behaviour expected in this community. The eventual inheritor of land and kin responsibilities could never be predicted with certainty.

Most fathers in this agricultural community were primarily farmers, although one of the features of economic life in northern Ontario is the necessity for men to be able to 'turn their hands' to a variety of labours as they are demanded by regional activity. To a great extent, this is still true in the smaller communities. Whether it was working in the woods, on the roads, making tan-bark or hauling goods, most farmers were experienced in some non-agricultural tasks which brought in cash. Children of farmers were more likely to become permanent residents.

Only thirty percent of children of non-farmers remained, whereas forty-two percent of farmers' children did. This finding confirms the contemporary perception that farming promoted both economic and geographical stability.

Gender was a poor discriminator of those who left and those who stayed (Table B5.6).[3] Slightly more women than men were migrants, but the difference between them was statistically insignificant. Remaining a permanent local resident did not depend upon marriage (Table B5.7). The difference in the rate of permanence between the seventy-four adults who did not marry and the remainder who did was less than ten percent. Residence status was not associated with birth rank of the individual (Table B5.8). The permanent members of the community tended to be drawn from the younger children of a family simply because they were still at home as parents aged. However, the level of significance of 0.23 indicates that there was no consistent choice of either the eldest or the youngest children for inheritance. The case histories of families which have been recounted earlier indicate that premature deaths among residents of all ages precluded reliance upon

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3. Appendix B contains results of the analysis which are not included in the text.

the survival of any child of a particular birth rank.

5.7 Protection of Disadvantaged Family Members

The kinship system accommodated multiple strategies to ensure maximum chances of at least some family members remaining on the land over time. These strategies are evident in the acceptance of obligations for the maintenance of distressed individuals not likely to be immediate inheritors of land and in the methods and grantors involved in land transfers. Since the security of all family members was important to these people, the kinship system favoured protection of disadvantaged family members to the limit of family resources at a time when alternative bureaucratic assistance did not exist (Anderson: 1971, 174).

A test of the effectiveness of kinship relationships in providing for the social welfare of all family members within the context of a crisis with the potential to affect economic status was indicated by determining the age of the father at death. This variable addresses the question of whether the premature death of the father was associated with the subsequent migration of children from the area. It can be argued that children whose fathers died prematurely might be less likely to receive an adequate start. Conversely, it can also be argued that children in these

circumstances would be likely to gain their inheritance at a younger age.

The age of a father at death is not associated with the permanence or migration of his children (Table B5.9). There were several strategies among families who found themselves in this predicament which were obviously successful in offsetting any disadvantage. Some sons acquired responsibility for the family farm while still in their teens but, as indicated in conjunction with the discussion about the effect of widowhood of mothers, mothers tended to retain title to the land. Many of these sons accepted responsibility for taking care of their mother and did not receive control of the property until after her death. Some felt that they could not marry because of their responsibility to their mother for the remainder of her life without any chance of acquiring title to their own land.

It did not significantly change one's chances of becoming a permanent resident of the community if one's mother became widowed (Table 5.10). This is one of several strong indicators of the effectiveness of local kinship networks in providing for disadvantaged members. Most families were able to compensate for the loss of the head of the household because some of the male children were nearing maturity and could assume responsibilities not normally

Table 5.10: THE EFFECT OF MARITAL STATUS OF MOTHER ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	MARITAL STATUS OF MOTHER	
	Married	Widowed
Permanent	77	136
	38%	40%
Migrant	124	203
	62%	60%
	201	339
	100%	100%

Chi Square 0.11 d.f. 1 sig. 0.75

expected or acquired at their age. In most instances, when a woman became a widow at a young age, one of two courses of action was taken. Many remarried within a couple of years. Those who homesteaded under the Free Grants and Homesteads Act could receive the patent to the land in their own name as soon as homesteading requirements had been met, if they barred their dower right to a one-third portion of the husband's estate. Older women retained the land under the same provision of the Act. For those whose husbands had acquired land by bargain and sale or by grant, there was a tendency to move to a small town or larger urban area.

About twenty percent of the heads of households in the community were widows thirty and sixty years after 1879. Most were living with sons who were expected to support them. These widows had fulfilled the long-term obligation to retain the property as a compensation for the labour of the son over the years. However, most widows also retained legal title to the land, a strategy which added a convincing argument against sons not reciprocating with care for aged parents until their demise (Kohl and Bennett: 1965, 104; Mays: 1980, 204-5; Gagan: 1981, 50-8).

In rural society, land ownership was a powerful force in ensuring security. The kinship system's checks and balances promoting normative behaviour worked well for most

'mutual understandings' but most widows thought it wisest to rely on legal means to make certain that obligations were met (Kohl and Bennett: 1965, 104). The assistance of a son was crucial to the survival of an older parent. Widows had lived a long time and had seen the hardship caused by non-normative behaviour. They wanted to do everything possible to ensure their chances of having personal needs met in old age. If a son did not meet obligations, title to the land could be willed to another son or the property could be sold. Investigation of Land Registry records revealed that few families resorted to legal contracts to ensure the maintenance of parents in their old age. Clearly, normative behaviour within the community was adequate insurance for most.

Widows were also instrumental in limiting expansion of a family's kinship network in the descendant generation. Sons were reluctant to marry while unsure of land ownership (Park: 1962). Perhaps they, too, had seen instances of non-normative behaviour wherein the inability of a son to meet unreasonable demands of an aged parent resulted in the forfeiture of land. Often they delayed marriage until more certain of inheritance. This practice served to decrease the number of children born to a son if he eventually married someone of his own age group. If he married someone

considerably younger, it was likely that his spouse would face widowhood at an early age and the check upon the system would recur.

This system, which at first appears counterproductive to the permanence of both individuals and families within the community, served several useful purposes. It limited the number of individuals dependent upon one farm for livelihood and inheritance during a period of family crisis. It helped to retard the uncontrolled growth of kin networks and thus avoided fragmentation into numerous sub-nets which could easily become dissenting factions. It served to delay the time when the system of kinship networks grew so large that it would be in danger of collapse (Anderson: 1971, 175).

The importance of family is further suggested by the treatment of young widows with children. These women and their children were doubtless a drain upon the resources of the male obliged to support them. On further investigation, perhaps the reciprocal facet of the arrangement for the male relative is apparent as a twofold benefit: a personal one and a far stronger familial one. Young widows living with their family of orientation, while unlikely to make a significant economic contribution by labouring in the fields, were very useful in assisting with the myriad duties

of the home. It was also in the larger family's interest to keep the children, a potential pool of inheritors, close by should fate intervene and preclude the succession of the children of the male relative through untimely death. (In the course of transcribing data from grave markers, several instances of multiple deaths occurring within one nuclear family over a short period of time were evident - no doubt the consequence of contagious disease in most instances, but there was one tragic accident in Bright Lake on Christmas, 1941 wherein eight people, all related, were drowned.) Providing for disadvantaged family members increased the chance of survival of the family even if particular individuals were unsuccessful.

In a relatively stable economic community as this one was, many young widows kept their own land for the benefit of their sons' futures. Male relatives assisted with labour on land held in trust for these male children because this assistance was reasonable. The alternative was the widow's total dependence on their resources, although that situation has previously been shown not to be without an element of reciprocity, albeit the returns were less for the male relative and less likely to accrue. One of the more affluent farmers even provided land for a widowed daughter. He had many lots and had previously provided for sons. His

action was a strategy to improve the chances of family permanence.

Only a limited number of mature children could stay locally over time. Perhaps widows were part of a mechanism which was self-adjusting, to some extent, in order to limit family size and thus to limit the number of children eventually exiled from the community by land limitations. Be that as it may, Chapter Six clearly illustrates that less than half of the children were able to stay. The chances of any particular individual being able to stay were certainly not assured, but the chance for family permanence remained at a level of equilibrium for several families, as illustrated by Table 5.11.

5.8 The Role of Kinship in Land Transactions

In this society where life crises were frequent and survival unpredictable, the kinship system furthered the chances of family permanence by providing a somewhat flexible system of strategies for land transmission (see also Kohl and Bennett: 1965, 95, 103, 108-9). This system ensured that individuals who were no longer candidates for land inheritance through untimely death or perceived alternate opportunities such as 'North-West fever' could be replaced by other candidates of the same kinship network.

Table 5.11: INDIVIDUALS REPRESENTING N GENERATIONS OF FAMILY IN COMMUNITY

	Time of Arrival					
N Generations in Community	1879-1889	1890-1899	1900-1909	1910-1919	1920-1929	1930-1939
First Generation	118	43	22	26	24	4
	35%	21%	16%	20%	18%	8%
Second Generation	204	89	34	20	18	3
	60%	44%	25%	16%	14%	6%
Third Generation	18	67	77	65	51	8
	5%	33%	57%	52%	38%	17%
Fourth Generation	0	5	3	15	37	31
	0%	2%	2%	12%	28%	65%
Fifth Generation	0	0	0	0	3	2
	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%	4%
Totals	340	204	136	126	133	48
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Missing cases: 2

Local farmers tended to favour the system of impartible inheritance (Salamon: 1980) common in other parts of the province (Gagan: 1981, 50-1). Gagan suggests that the 'Canadian' system of partible/impartible inheritance was egalitarian. This chapter concludes that it equalized opportunities for all family members in order to try to assure the permanence of some. Translated to the northern Ontario experience, it meant that most farmers would not negate the economic viability of a farm by dividing it among too many sons but that the sons who inherited land had to compensate siblings who did not.

Farms were the security of all family members to greater or lesser degrees over time. A farm too small, or supporting too many people, put a family in a tenuous position in terms of security. The inherent limitations of this land's agricultural potential is apparent from successive censuses wherein it was recorded that, after sixty years, only one-seventh of the land had been improved for agricultural use (Census of Canada: 1941). Therefore, farms of about two hundred acres, a size approximately twice that of the majority of farms in southern Ontario, were, in reality, smaller. This limitation was offset for most by supplementing farm income with work in the lumber camps in winter.

The few exceptions to this reluctance to divide the land to less than one hundred and sixty acres illustrate the willing accommodation of sons who did not jeopardize the security of land. A farm was divided only when two older bachelor sons were left to inherit or if one son pursued an alternative occupation such as blacksmithing or operating a custom sawmill. This practice of permitting only one farming son per lot argues for the importance of family permanence rather than the short-term permanence of all sons. Concern about the life chances of any particular individual had to be subordinated to long-term family permanence and security. If two farmers' sons each received 'half' a farm, chances for their sons to maintain permanence would be nil if the same practice of devolution continued for another generation.

In most instances, it is impossible now to determine the terms and conditions imposed upon inheriting sons. The mechanics of the transfer of land is unknown in terms of the 'actual' money exchanged and the 'true' price in terms of obligations encumbering inheritance. Therefore, an assessment of 'true' cost cannot be computed to reflect reality. The anxiety of wondering about succession and the potential for inequitable settlements created bitter but largely unarticulated tensions within some families.

The land transmission practices between widows and sons is of particular interest because it is the result of a timely anomaly in the provision of married women's property rights. The Free Grants and Homesteads Act of 1868 stated that a widow could acquire sole title to family property upon renouncing her traditional dower right to the land (a one-third interest). Widows took full advantage of this provision to guard against dependency in old age. This practice had both advantages and disadvantages if considered in economic terms. It retarded the process of land succession by inheriting sons because widows tended to keep title to the land until death. Conversely, it was a beneficial process in that sons hesitated to marry without the security of land. Although most only seemed to delay marriage for a few years or until brothers were settled elsewhere, it had the potential to serve to limit the number of children in the next generation. Fewer descendants meant less local land pressure in future. The security of owning land to counter life crises is further illustrated by the practice of retaining farms when owners were absent for several years seeking opportunities elsewhere. Whatever the mechanism at work, the descendants of widows were most likely to be among those families who remained permanent in the area to 1979, a full century.

The difficult economic situation of the 1930s created a new temporary community. Known locally as a 'Depression Community', it was located on marginal Crown Land in the southern portion of Bright Township which was not an organized municipality and therefore not subject to taxes. These families squatted on poor Crown Land in order to benefit from the security of land during a serious and widespread economic crisis.

For the purposes of this study, each individual was categorized by the number of years of residence of his family in the local area. This indicator of family continuity (Table 5.12) was based upon the year of arrival of the individual's earliest arriving ancestor in either the father's or mother's family. Less than twenty percent of all individuals were members of families which had been in the local area for fifty years or less. Slightly over forty percent of all individuals were from families who were present for fifty-one to one hundred years. Individuals who were descendants of families who were represented in the community for more than a century comprised more than forty percent of all residents.

Permanence in space was less important to survival as long as people remained within the realm of the kinship network, that is, the local and surrounding communities.

Table 5.12: FAMILY CONTINUITY TO 1986

N Years Family related in community	N of cohort arriving 1879-1889	% of cohort arriving 1879-1889	**SUMMARY**
1-10	19	5	
11-20	11	3	1-50 years:
21-30	19	5	21%
31-40	21	6	
41-50	9	2	
51-60	20	5	
61-70	43	12	51-100 years:
71-80	22	6	38%
81-90	19	5	
91-100	38	10	
> 100	152	41	> 100 years: 40%
Total	373	100%	100%

Missing cases: 2

Movement within the local area could remedy a poor choice of original land or increase 'life chances' by settling additional sons. Some were so intent on retaining sons nearby that they began to settle marginal land in hopes that it would prove adequate; it did not. Some families retained land while absent to take advantage of opportunities elsewhere. The land was their security should the venture fail.

5.9 Conclusions

The kinship system in this small northern Ontario farming community promoted the interests of the family rather than those of any individual. The increasing complexity of the kinship network furthered the trust necessary for reciprocal assistance between members. Also, it created the mechanism by means of which sanctions might be imposed in order to curb non-normative behaviour which could prove detrimental to the 'life chances' of all members. Marriage, the mechanism for augmenting and perpetuating the kinship system, was encouraged with those whose 'backgrounds' were known because their potential reliability was more subject to accurate assessment.

Multiple strategies were employed in order to increase 'life chances' in a social milieu fraught with

stresses and threatening life crises. Land ownership was the security of the family and a number of strategies were adopted in order to try to retain land within the family at all costs. Land could support old or distressed kin in the short-term and nurture successive generations over time as long as it was not jeopardized by division. It is apparent from the land transfer data in Table 5.3 that, while many strategies were used by kin, the actual number of land transfers among kin were less than those among neighbours and others. Families, especially those arriving within the first ten years, were found to be more permanent in time than in space within this community and that created little opportunity for land transfers.

Since family welfare was most important to these people, there was no evidence of favouritism of particular individuals based upon gender or birth rank (i.e., no convention of primogeniture or ultimogeniture). Those who were disadvantaged were no more likely to leave the community than those who were not affected by familial crises. Since land ownership was the basis of family security, more flexibile and advantageous strategies for the acquisition of land were apparent among kin. Finally, descendants of families remained in the community over several generations. In other words, permanent residency is

not just associated with heads of households who are particularly able farmers.

The next chapter explores the apparent contradiction concerning the promotion of the interests of all farm family members by kinship and the inevitable migration of the majority away from the security of membership in the local kinship network.

Chapter Six: In Search of Security: Kinship as a Determinant of Geographical Mobility

When George Reid left Grey County for Algoma in the spring of 1880, he thought that the move would be advantageous for the entire family. George, a native of Ireland who had emigrated to Canada in the 1850s, married Quebec-born Mary Parker in Hastings County, Ontario and all of their children were born there between 1859 and 1871. Within the past year they had moved to Grey County. This time the family was moving to a new agricultural frontier: he and his wife, their six children and his wife's mother. The three eldest sons were twenty-one, twenty and eighteen. Also with him were two daughters, aged sixteen and eleven, and the youngest son who was nine.

The opening of land on the north shore of Lake Huron offered George Reid a chance to move where he could easily settle his three sons who were old enough to homestead land for themselves. He and his wife also homesteaded a lot. His youngest son, nine years of age, would eventually inherit this lot near his brothers in return for looking after his parents in old age. His two daughters, sixteen and eleven, would marry and perhaps settle in the community also. In the meantime, he and his wife would raise the younger children and continue to care for her mother.

Within a year, the family situation was altered irrevocably. George died in February, followed by his twenty-year-old son, James, in October. Within two years, the eldest son, William, left to work in iron mines south-west of Lake Superior. He failed to return within the six-month limit allowed by the conditions of the Free Grants and Homesteads Act and his lot was pre-empted by another. What cannot now be known are details of the process which was involved in that pre-emption. No one knows how long he stayed away beyond the six-month limit or why he could or would not return in time. His family could not place another son on the land to hold it for him in the meantime, because his departure meant that only one adult male, John, was left in the community and he homesteaded the lot chosen by his father.

The two daughters married in the late 1880s and moved

away. In 1889, Mary Parker Reid's mother died. Six of nine people who had moved to this frontier with high expectations of stability nine years before no longer were within the community - three had died and three migrated elsewhere.

The eldest son eventually returned to marry a sister of the bachelor who had settled next to the family homestead in 1879. William and his wife moved away with a group of local people in 1892. A son of Harris, the miller, sent a letter 'home' in the 1930s describing that move and it has been saved in the Sowerby Tweedsmuir History. He described the migration of several former residents, mostly single men and young families, who had settled near each other in Shellbrook, Saskatchewan.

In 1899, John and his family moved away and he transferred the land to his brother, William, in western Canada and to his brother-in-law, Peter Roberts, who had been working at lumber mills along the north shore at Spragge and Day Mills. Peter Roberts and his wife, Anne Reid, returned to the family farm and purchased the share of Anne's brother, William. They raised their six children and cared for her mother, Mary Parker Reid, until her death in 1905. Their youngest child died in infancy in 1910 when the family was in Sylvan Valley involved in seasonal lumbering activity. Peter Roberts died in 1913, leaving Anne a widow with four children under the age of twenty-one. She lived a further thirty-nine years in the community.

The fourth generation in the community, the children of Peter and Anne, was characterized by the same crises as the preceeding ones. One sister lived on the farm but never married. She helped to care for her mother until the matriarch'a death at eighty-three in 1952 and died not long afterwards. The eldest brother died at eight months of age. The second brother eventually inherited the home farm. He had five children. All of his daughters eventually moved to other locations within the region. The eldest son moved elsewhere in northern Ontario and the youngest son, fourth in birth rank, inherited the farm and stayed locally for the remainder of his life.

Another son was killed in action in the First World War. The youngest son of Peter and Anne Roberts, married a sister of his brother's wife and purchased a farm in the same township and stayed locally until his retirement to Iron Bridge. He and his wife raised two children who moved to southern Ontario upon reaching maturity. In this local section of the family, then, only one of seven children of the fourth generation stayed locally.

6.1 A Legacy of Uncertainty

Several salient features can be extracted from this family's experience. Most dramatically, it is apparent that the survival of an individual of any age was not assured in the timespan covered by this study. If one did survive, and even if one acquired land under the favourable conditions of the Free Grants and Homesteads Act, the chance to remain a local resident was not high.

The chronicle of this family serves to illustrate the migration experiences which are associated with the social and economic history of families in nineteenth century Ontario. The parents had a background of previous migrations before marriage: he from Ireland and she from Quebec. The most recent migration to the north shore of Lake Huron was part of several stages in an ongoing odyssey throughout the lifetimes of these individuals. In this case, the steps were spaced at intervals of approximately twenty years. The children who accompanied their parents to the frontier were beginning a second generation of step-wise migration. For those who eventually moved away upon reaching maturity, this process of migration repeated itself again. It is apparent that more moved than stayed in the location of their parents in the succeeding generation.

Migration of a family as a unit was a phenomenon indicating the importance of both land and proximity to one

another, even after the children matured. Upon the 'Reid's' arrival, two sons were o[illegible]r eighteen and could homestead farm lots immediately under the terms of the Free Grants and Homesteads Act. The daughters could be expected to marry a local landowner in a few years. In 1880, the Act was changed from having no gender requirements to stipulating that "in the case of a female that she is the sole head of a family having children under eighteen years of age residing with her" (Statutes of Ontario, 43 Vict. Chap. 4: 1880). Women who did acquire the patent to land over the years were widows whose husbands died after locating at the frontier.

Perhaps the most disconcerting feature of this family history is the uncertainty of survival which reflects the ordinary hazards of accident and illness. It is likely that some infants born before arrival at the frontier had not survived. There are gaps in the birth dates of the known children which may indicate this. Furthermore, within ten years of arrival at the frontier, several drastic alterations in family size and structure are apparent which posed difficulties for the survival of the remaining family members just as they were reaching maturity. Such crises created a constant upheaval in long-term plans and provision for the future. Concurrent with the tragic events were the two marriages within two local families which created new family units and the birth of two children which began the

next generation.

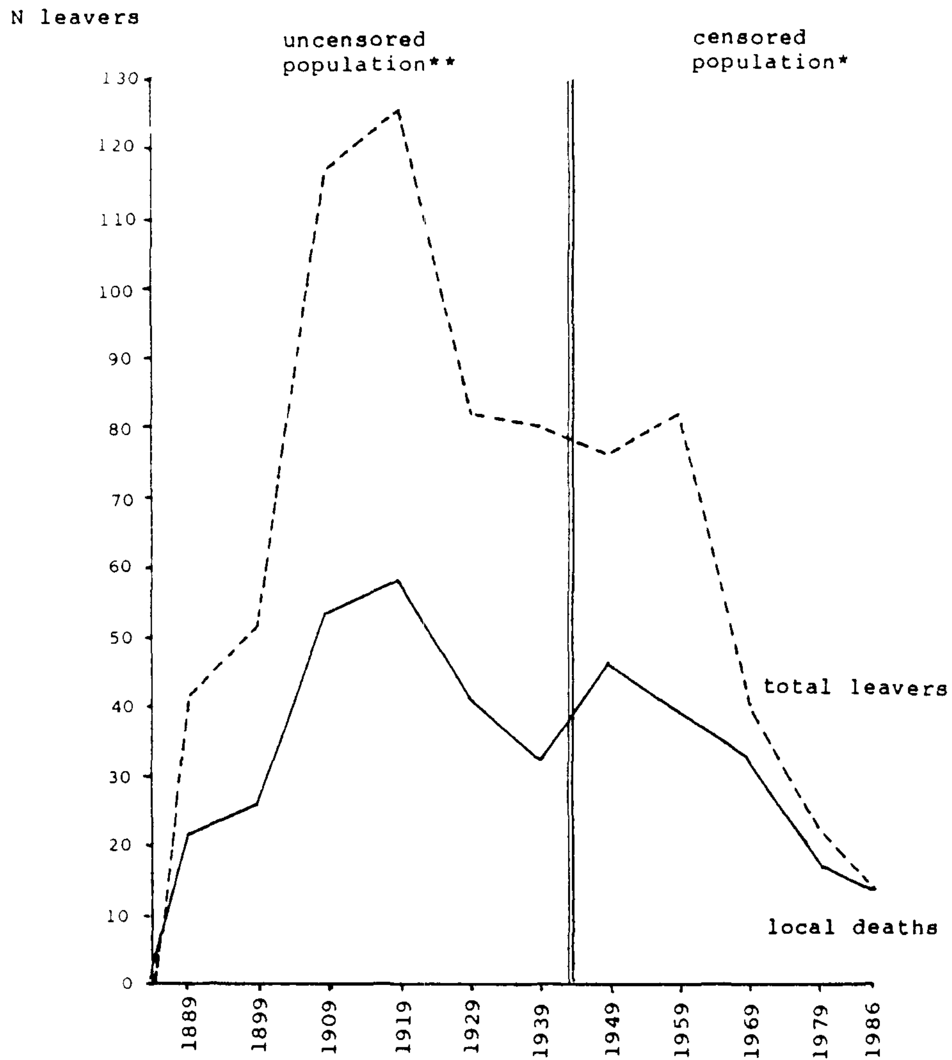
This chapter describes the combined experiences of all residents as expressed in the demographic profile of the depletion of the local population. It presents the rates of local deaths and migration out of the community and identifies economic and political policies and events which affected migration.

6.2 Depletion of the Population

About one-quarter of people who resided in the area during any decade were not part of the population at the end of that period. Of these, half were people who migrated out of the area and half were permanent residents who died. Therefore, about one of every eight people ever present became a migrant (12.5% of the total population). Overall, migrants exceeded local deaths until the decade of 1940-1949 (Figure 6.1).

6.2.1 Local Mortality Rates

Local deaths reflect insecurity of survival throughout the sixty years between 1879 and 1939 which resulted from accidents associated with taming a frontier, with inadequate medical technology and with the extraction of primary resources - lumbering, mining and farming (Figure 6.2). A survey of medical and work-related problems between



** Uncensored population includes all individuals resident in study area

* Censored population includes all individuals resident in study area who arrived before 1939

Figure 6.1: Depletion of the Local Population

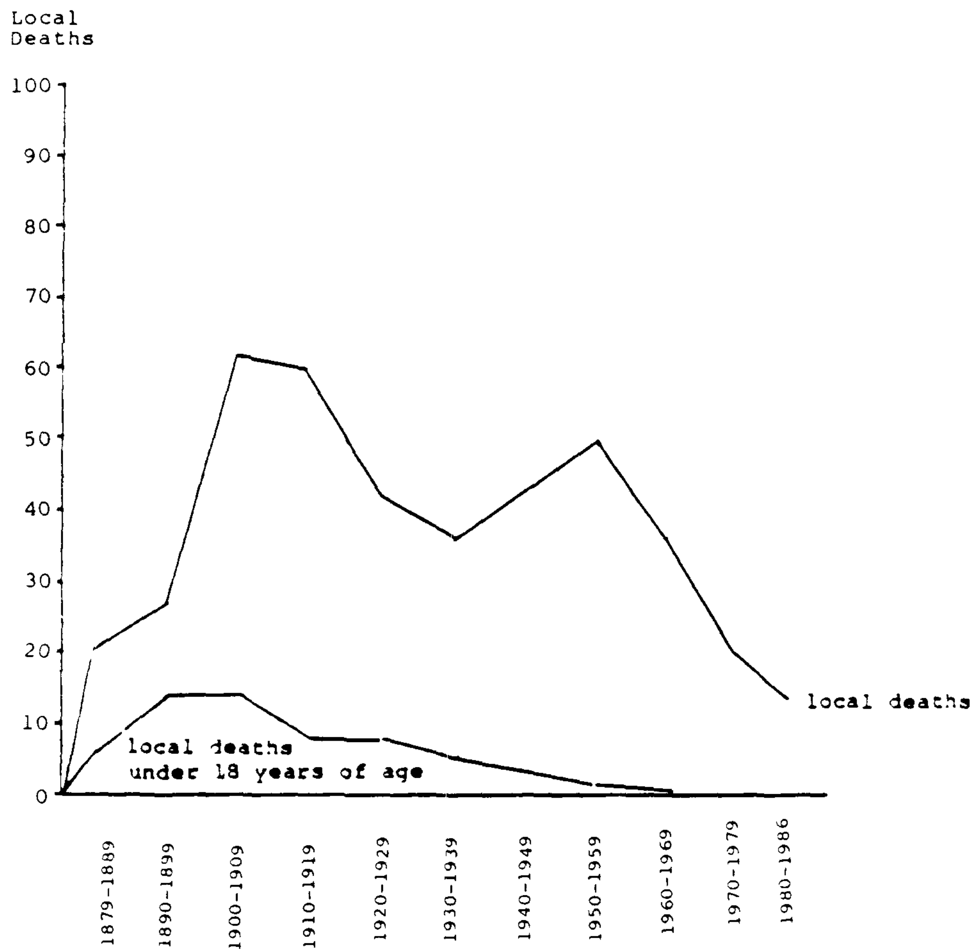


Figure 6.2: Mortality Rates of Local Residents

1901 and 1906 illustrates the threats to survival for a large proportion of the population. The column of local news in the Sault Star makes specific mention of: hay fever, heart disease, bronchitis, smallpox, colds, sciatica, broken legs, measles, rheumatism, death in childbirth, la grippe, impaired eyesight, quinsy, house fires, typhoid fever, inflammation, death due to infection of an ingrown toenail, sprained ankles, death due to the cave-in of a well, drowning, stroke, consumption (tuberculosis), injury caused by frightened horses and crushing by a threshing machine when a small bridge broke. Some of these illnesses and accidents were debilitating for varying lengths of time; others were fatal. One family lost two children within a week due to measles. Only heart disease, stroke, rheumatism and impaired eyesight were strongly associated with the elderly members of the community.

The fact that no one person could be reasonably assured of survival to old age had several ramifications for the security of both the individual and the family. No one could be certain of survival and inheritance (Table 6.1). No one could predict the time when inheritance might reasonably be expected, nor could one predetermine the number of siblings amongst whom the assets of a family of orientation must be shared. From the point of view of parents, no one could predict the number of children for

Table 6.1: RESIDENCE STATUS OF SETTLERS

	Time of Arrival					
esidence Status	1879-1889	1890-1899	1900-1909	1910-1919	1920-1929	1930-1939
Died before 18 years old	13	19	5	12	10	2
	4%	9%	4%	9%	7%	4%
Permanent Residents	172	91	57	30	42	21
	50%	45%	42%	24%	32%	44%
Migrants	157	94	74	84	81	25
	46%	46%	54%	67%	61%	52%
Totals	342	204	136	126	133	48
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Time of reaching age of 25 for individuals of cohort born locally:	1904-1914	1915-1924	1925-1934	1935-1944	1945-1954	1955-1964

whom a start-in-life must be provided or upon whom one could count for assistance in old age. The result of this uncertainty was that each family tried to accumulate resources and tried to avoid encumbrance by debt because the disability or untimely death of the head of the household would seriously reduce the opportunity for retention of the family farm, the major source of continuing family wealth.

6.2.2 Migration Rates

In spite of this common goal of trying to put assets aside or retain free title to land, most families experienced limited success as measured by the rates of outmigration (Figures 6.3 and 6.4). The fluctuation of local rates reflects both events within and without the community which led to the decision of individuals to migrate at a particular time. Most who migrated left between the ages of twenty and thirty. It is apparent that, for most, the decision to move was based upon local prospects for lifelong employment. However, the rates of migrants as a proportion of their cohort steadily increased over time, an indication of increasing demand upon limited familial resources. The optimism surrounding local opportunities is most evident in the families present in the first twenty years. After that time, families adopted two strategies to ensure that at least one inheritor could

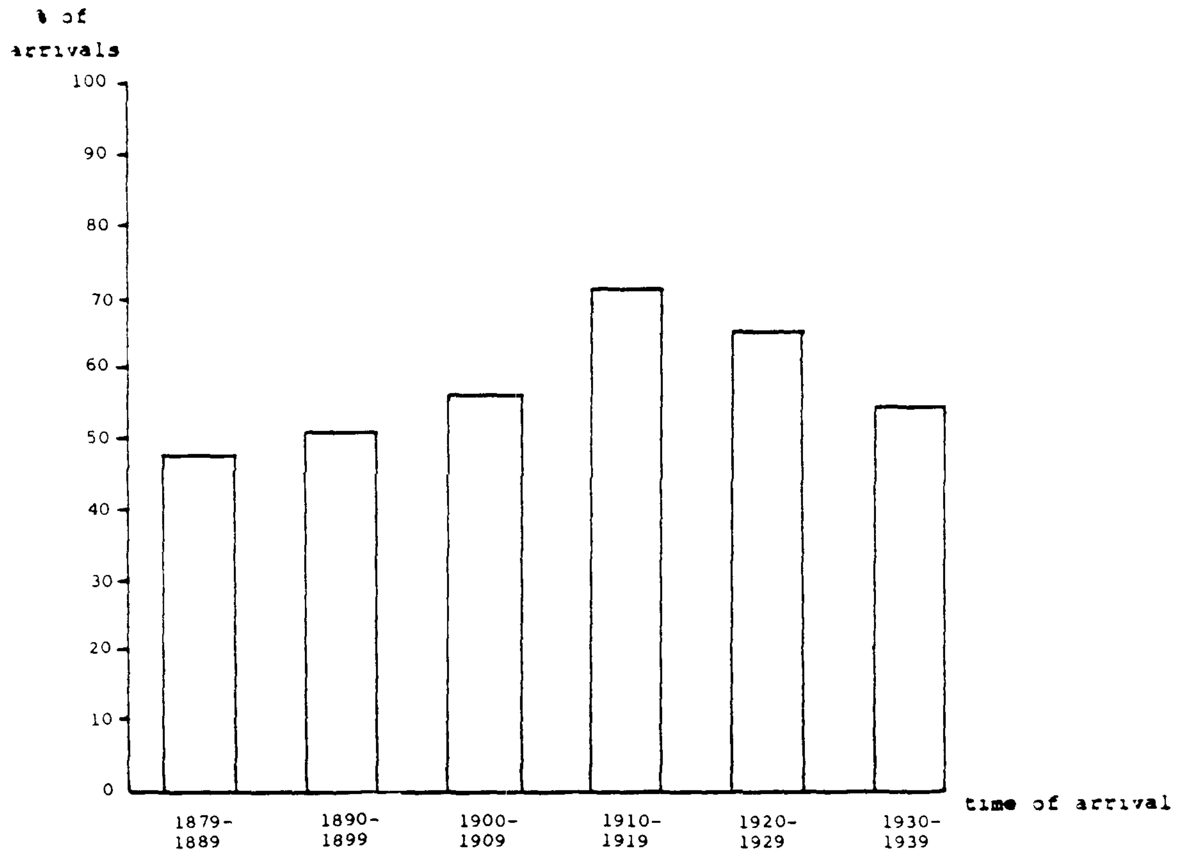


Figure 6.3: Outmigration by Cohorts of Arrival

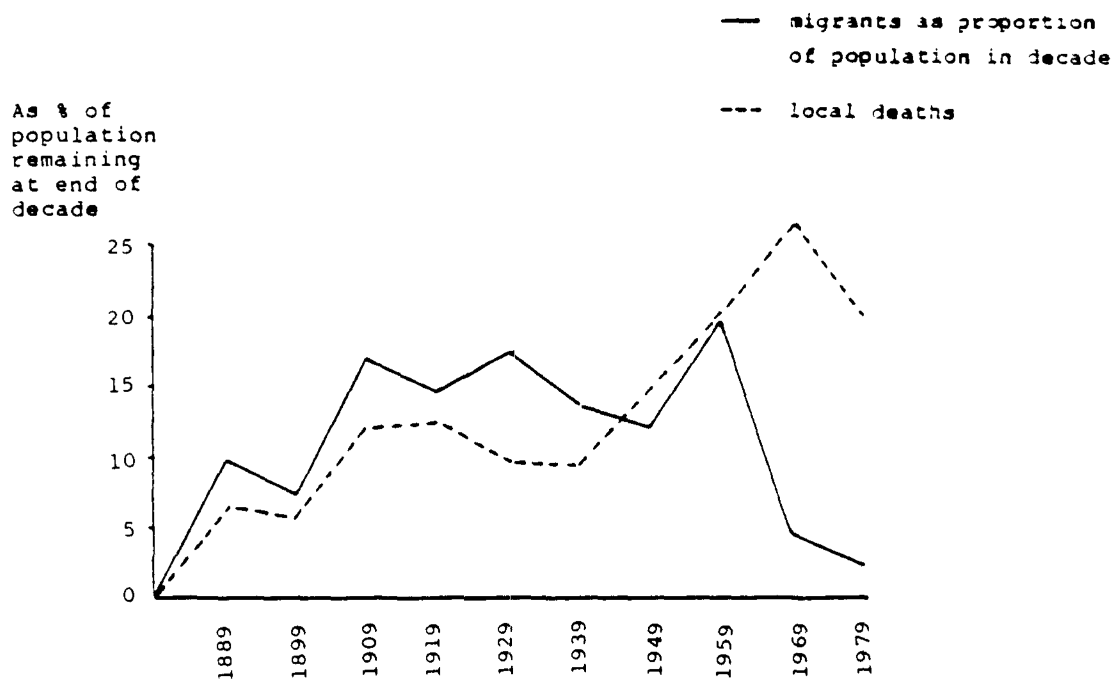


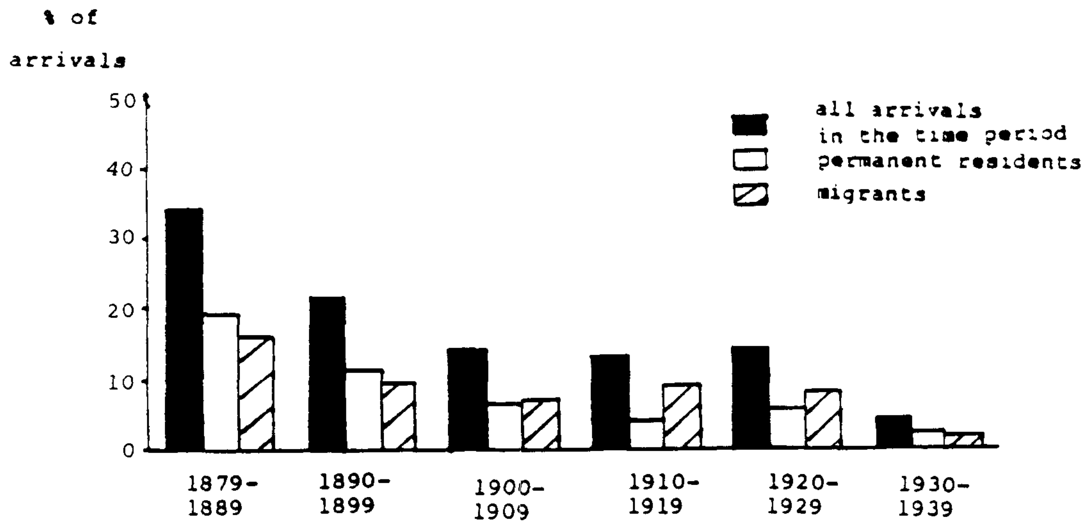
Figure 6.4: Migrants as a Proportion of Population Loss

remain locally. Family size began to be limited (Table 5.4) and a greater proportion of the surplus children migrated.

The persistence rates of all individuals in each cohort of arrivals between 1879 and 1939 is illustrated by Figure 6.5. Slightly more than half of those who arrived within the first ten years became permanent residents of the community for the remainder of their lives. The trend toward a greater proportion of migrants in each arrival cohort increased with time until a dramatic peak outmigration cohort occurred with those arriving between 1910 and 1919. After that period of time, the trend of outmigration lessened, partly as a result of a diminished local population and of fewer people making demands upon limited local resources, but never managed to return to the rate of the first arrival cohort.

When one compares these rates with Figure 5.1, indicating the fact that the greatest number of additions to the local population after the first twenty years was attributable to local births, one can begin to understand the difficulty of remaining a permanent resident. Too many individuals of the same age cohort began to compete for limited land and resources. There was a limit to the number of local families which could farm the land and many of these families consisted of multiple generations after thirty years. Families either had to acquire new lands in

a.: Residence Status by Cohort of Arrival



b: Residence Status by Cohort of Arrival as Percentage of All Arrivals, 1879-1939

Figure 6.5: Residence Status by Cohort of Arrival

order to increase or speed up the transfer of land from one generation to another or assist non-inheritors to begin again elsewhere.

The first and largest cohort of arrivals still dominated the local population numerically until after 1939. By this time, they were grandparents of the young adults seeking land. Many parents had only recently inherited land and it is not difficult to imagine that most were reluctant to relinquish title to it. They had waited a long time for their autonomy to manage a farm. Even under the best conditions for inheritance, only a few children could inherit the limited number of farms. Most grew up with the knowledge that there was little chance of remaining in the community.

The rates of outmigration must be understood also in terms of the timing of outmigration (Figure 6.6). The first twenty years show a steady outmigration rate of thirty-six local residents per decade. In the first ten years of settlement, some families stayed in the study area briefly before taking up more permanent homesteads in adjacent townships. Little concrete evidence now remains concerning others who began to discharge the homesteading requirements and, for one reason or another, failed to return after six months' absence. It may be that the opportunities found elsewhere were thought to be superior to those in Algoma.

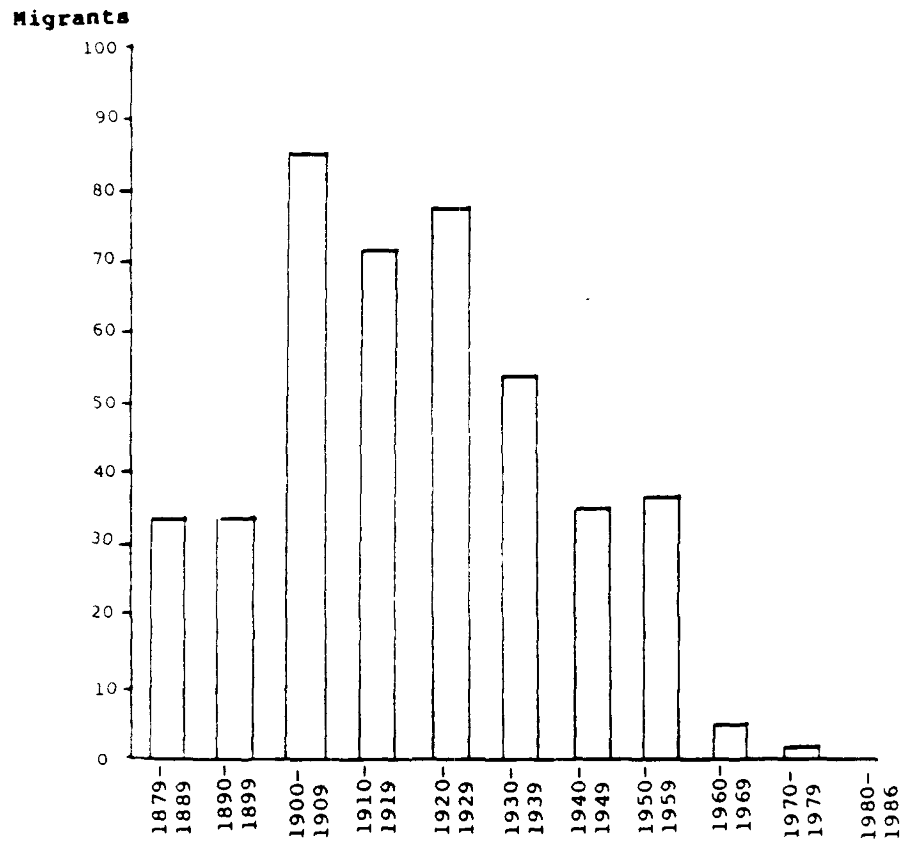


Figure 6.6: Outmigration by Decade of Departure

In the second time period, a number of local people initiated a move to the area of Shellbrook, Saskatchewan. Three young families moved in conjunction with several young men. None returned to Algoma, although they remained in contact with their parents and some of their siblings who stayed locally.

6.2.3 Modalities of Leaving

The importance of kinship relationships in a time of high rates of migration is shown by Figure 6.7. Throughout all time periods, the greatest number of out-migrants stayed within the region extending from twenty-five to one hundred kilometers beyond the townships of Day, Bright and Bright Additional (Figure 6.7.a). When individuals moved farther than one hundred kilometers, movement within a kin group was preferred (Figure 6.7.b), because it was advantageous to arrive at a distant location with kin network fragments. Kin could rely on one another for assistance and companionship.

Figure 6.7.c and Figure 6.7.d indicate the incidence of chain migration among the individuals moving away from the study area. These people moved to locations to which the adventurous members of the community had preceeded them (Figure 6.7.e). Those who went where no neighbours or kin are known to have resided were a small but steady number

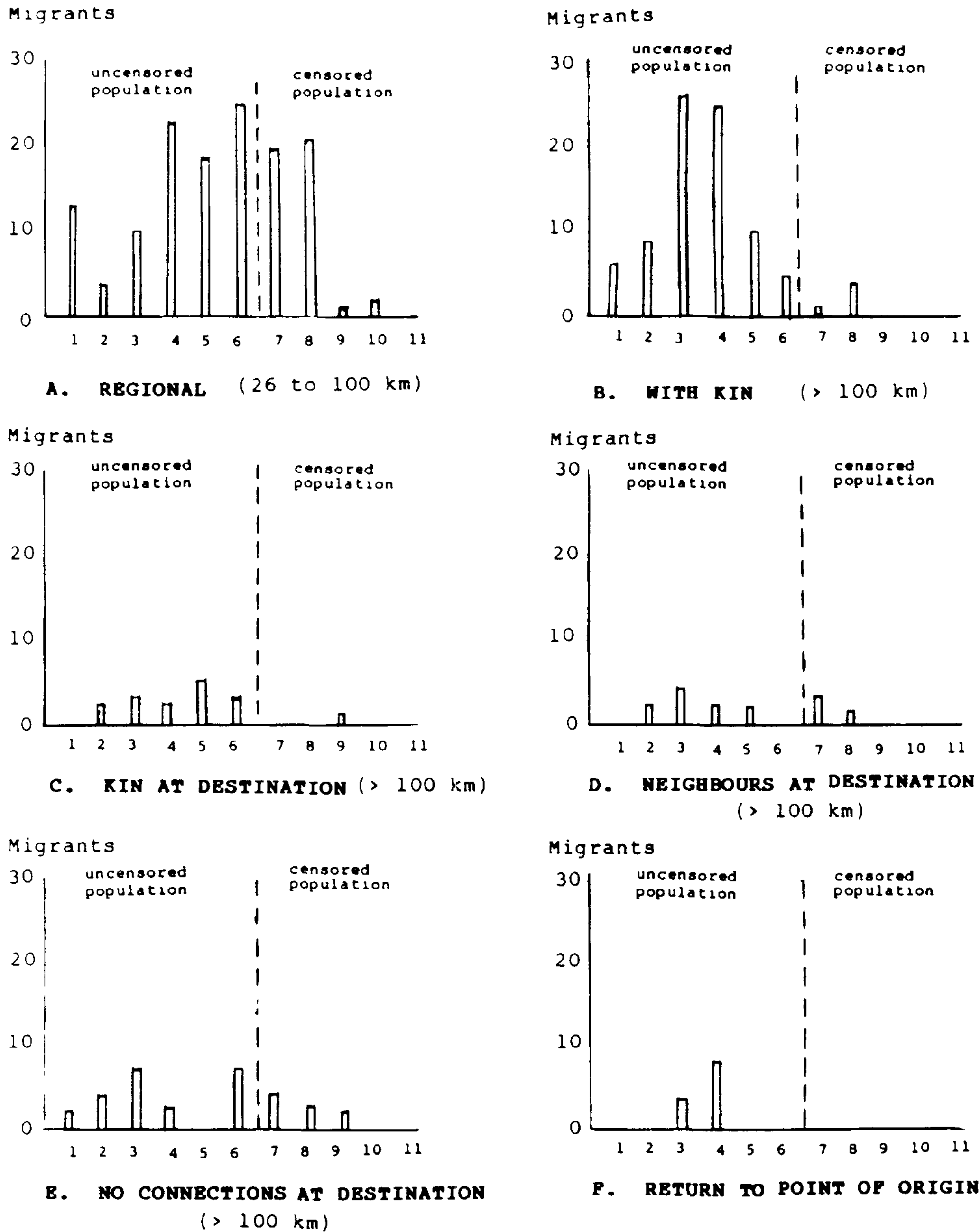


Figure 6.7: The Role of Kinship in Migration

ex ɔt during the 1920s. There does not seem to be any apparent explanation for the lack of adventurous migrants during the 1920s except that a relatively small proportion of the population was involved in any time period and it is coincidence that no one left under these circumstances in that decade.

Figure 6.7.f indicates the rate of people returning to their point of origin after living in the townships in Algoma. In all cases the destination was southern Ontario. The numbers are low and information from one of these people suggests that the family's move was prompted by a longing to return to an area with a complex kinship network in place and also an accumulation of capital, either by savings or the sale of the Algoma farm or inheritance of land in southern Ontario. The numbers represent only two families and in neither case was there apparent financial problems in conjunction with their land ownership in Algoma. These were not 'failed' settlers.

Moving away from the local kinship network was a disadvantage. Marriage between local children was beneficial even if local residence was denied. Out-migrants to the regional urban centre, Sault Ste. Marie, and places beyond found comfort in numbers when in an alien environment. The support of a complex kinship system at home provided a haven to which they might return, if only in

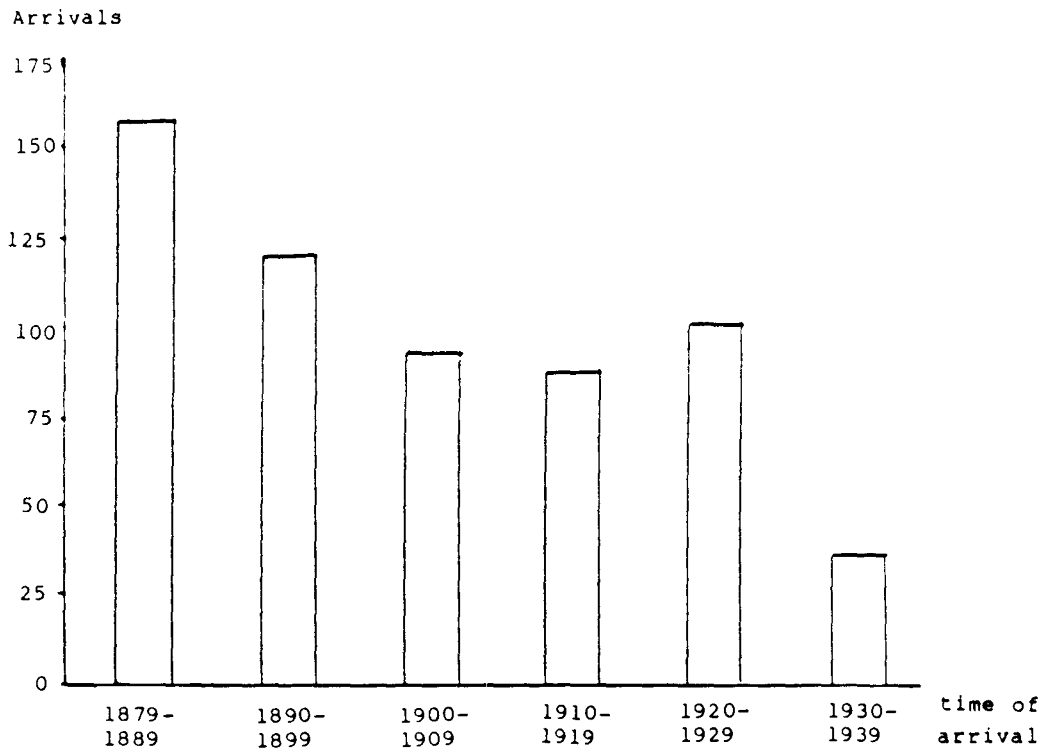
their imagination, when life became difficult. Local migrants chose destinations of earlier migrants from the rural community much as Anderson (1971) found in Lancashire. This characteristic pattern of migration proved advantageous for the development of agricultural 'daughter' settlements in the Canadian west. It also served to ease adjustment to urban life by permitting reciprocating relationships with urban kin who had migrated earlier. Trust and awareness also was rekindled quickly upon moving near former neighbours, facilitating the cycle of strategies to increase the 'life chances' of all network members in the urban area. Again, proximity to a former resident increased the chances of family permanence at each destination.

6.2.4 Conditions Leading to Outmigration

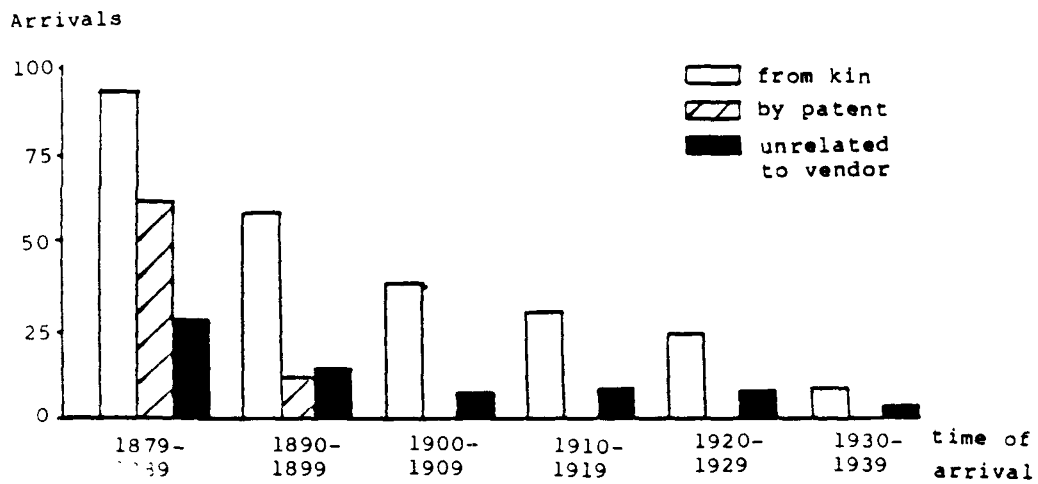
In an effort to ensure permanent continuous settlement in the free grant lands, the Ontario government amended the Free Grants and Homesteads Act several times between 1877 and 1897 when the land office in Bruce Mines was closed. Initially, the amount of land allotted was increased from 160 acres to slightly over 200. This was a formal recognition of the limitations of the land in comparison to that in southern Ontario. In most cases, the amount of land which could be put into crop was about the same as the settlers had experienced in their places of

origin. The government also specifically reserved pine and hemlock in order to prevent 'timber farming' which had been prevalent in the Ottawa Valley settlements (Richards: 1958, 205-206). In spite of these advantageous conditions under which settlers might acquire land, most did not acquire it (Figure 6.8a) and some people who did still decided to migrate to other places. These lands were marginal both in terms of location within the province and in terms of the extent of lands capable of agricultural use. They had also to compete with the rush to lands in the American Mid-west in the 1870s and 1880s and with the federal government's offering of lands in Manitoba during the same time period.

After the initial rush of settlement, the conventional processes of land devolution to kin and transactions between non-kin predominated (Figure 6.8b and Table 5.3). Fewer patents were granted since the best land had been occupied. The rate of land acquisitions dropped sharply after the Great Depression of the 1930s when local farms were consolidated into larger units in order to increase the chance of being commercially competitive. Few new farmers entered farming with small acreage. It is obvious that government policy providing land at preferential rates is effective for only the first two cohorts of arrivals. Some farm expansion in the 1920s was financed with government assistance with mortgages but the



a. Arrivals - Never Owned Land



b. Arrivals - Acquired Land

Figure 6.8: Land Acquisition Status of Arrivals

decline in the number of local farmers continued, and was later formalized under the aegis of government policy promoting consolidation of farmland by the ARDA program of the 1960s (Buckley and Tihanyi: 1967).

It is also apparent that inheritance through the kinship mechanism took some time to become important locally, that is, when the first arrivals began to relinquish farms upon their deaths. Once it attained prominence over land acquisition by means of patenting Crown Land, it was the most important means of obtaining land until the 1930s. The number of transactions involving people who were resident in the study area before 1939 declined sharply after 1939, but devolution of land among kin has maintained a steady rate until 1980, an indicator that most people who inherit land are middle-aged or older.

Although there was a proviso that no land could be mortgaged until the occupier had acquired the patent or Crown deed to the land, many found it necessary to mortgage their land as soon as the homestead requirements had been met. There was a chronic shortage of capital and a limited number of ways to remedy the situation, all of which had potential to affect the residence status of individuals. The land records show that many waited until credit was needed before patenting land and almost immediately mortgaging it. Most were able to wait until the last decade

of the century to do so. Although records of savings are non-existant, one can infer from the pattern of the timing of patenting that many arrived with sufficient funds to tide them over the first decade or two if they were prudent in their efforts at development and faced no devastating life crises.

Goods which residents needed to purchase could be had from local merchants but they seldom received cash for the produce of their farms. The Reeve of Blind River, James Lochore, taunted Thessalon merchants with the geographical and economic implications of this practice in 1901:

> For several weeks past letters have appeared in [The Algoma Advocate] bewailing the farmers doing their trading at Blind River instead of formerly at Thessalon. Now, Mr. Editor, I think that some of your correspondents have very hazy ideas as to distances. One correspondent gives the names of farmers who to my personal knowledge have done their marketing at Blind River for 21 years, and who live within 10 miles of the same and are 27 miles from Thessalon, Iron Bridge itself is only 17 miles from Blind River with a level road, while Thessalon is not less than 20 miles from that point. But dear Thessalonians do not get jealous if Blind River (which is the natural outlet for the Mississauga Valley) gets at least a share of its trade. But there is one of your correspondents who says that the merchants of Blind River pays cash to the farmers. I am afraid he has been mis-informed as I am aware that the merchants of both places think or at least act as if farmers would not know what to do with the cash if they got it, to my mind at least when the farmers is clear on the books he should be payed cash instead of getting a due bill, and give the hardy tillers of the soil a chance to show what they can do with a little ready cash. It would not hurt the merchant to try the experiment of half cash and half trade for a time, in the end most would come back to them" (Sault Star, 28 Nov 1901).

Obviously, merchants could buy farm produce at an advantageous rate of their own determination and the farmer indebted to a particular merchant would have to accept the rate in order to discharge some of his debt.

Due to the availability of land easing the entry of early arrivals into farming, there was a chronic shortage of agricultural labourers which became aggravated over time with competing opportunities such as the rise of year-round wage-labour offered by the growing automobile industry in Michigan in the 1920s and steel and paper making in Sault Ste. Marie. Neighbours helped one another at very busy times, but many sons who traditionally would have assisted with the daily labour sought temporary work elsewhere in order to build savings in anticipation of their entry into full-time farming.

The importance of seasonal employment has been discussed previously, but it should be stressed that it was a relatively unreliable source of income. The demand for labour fluctuated, as did the level of wages. At the turn of the century, a man would have to stay in a lumber camp for the entire winter season, working twelve-hour days for between sixteen and thirty dollars a month (Sault Star: September 19, 1901). One can readily determine his difficulty in repaying a mortgage of only $250 at ten percent

interest.

Restlessness and dissatisfaction spread throughout the farming population in 1904, just as it had in southern Ontario twenty years before and in the local area in 1892. In spite of evidence of a fierce and unquestioning loyalty to the District of Algoma expressed in editorials and bolstered by letters to the editor of the Sault Star throughout the spring of 1904, the last major movement of families, family groups and individuals to the Canadian west began. To the news from Sylvan Valley that "Several farmers around here are almost discouraged with the country and are thinking of going west next spring. Far off fields look green...." (Sault Star: 19 May 1904), the editor responded that:

> "All this seems to indicate something wrong. Of course, we all know, far off fields look green, and the North-West has been advertised and boomed so much that it is natural people in Algoma should be stirred to go out, as others are stirred. Still there should not be so many leave if there was perfect contentment here" (Sault Star: 26 May 1904).

The west was delighted to receive them:

> "thousands upon thousands of them were the sons of Canadian farmers, or were other young Canadians, in the prime of youthful and stalwart manhood. They had no capital to buy farms in the east. They went where they would find employment and free land, and they settled there.
>
> What a large number of young men of this sort there are in the eastern Provinces is shown by the thousands who have in the last few years come up on the harvesting excursions. Many young men in the east like what they hear of this country, but hardly feel able to afford the expense of a journey to look over it and see

> what it is. This applies to Ontario and still more to the Maritime Provinces. The harvest excursions have given to young Ontarians a means of seeing the country and making enough while here to pay the expense; and we have seen how eagerly they have taken advantage of this. ...It would be hard to find a more desirable kind of population to fill our prairies with. Here is the land and there are the workers, the home builders and the citizens. The land, unfortunately, is mostly owned by railway companies, land companies or other speculators, and to get the land takes money, though not so much as in the east. Even if the land were free, a man could not make a living off it at once without implements, buildings or stock. He would require the opportunity of employment" (The Globe, 10 July 1897 p. 11 from the Western Canadian).

The suggestion is then made that these 'eastern' Canadians be given employment in the building of the Crow's Nest Pass Railway.

Once again, local men who had gone west returned with reports of excellent agricultural land to be had at rates below that in Algoma. They brought samples of wheat back with them on the train and the Algoma Advocate in Thessalon reported on the quality as assessed by well-known local farmers in the course of their visits to the newspaper office (Sault Star: 23 June, 1904).

The best local farmland was occupied by stable families by this time and the abundant and productive lands of the west were tempting (Figure 6.9a), especially to members of families who had once had their dreams of prosperity fulfilled by the earlier wheat boom of southern Ontario before 1850. At least two local families must have

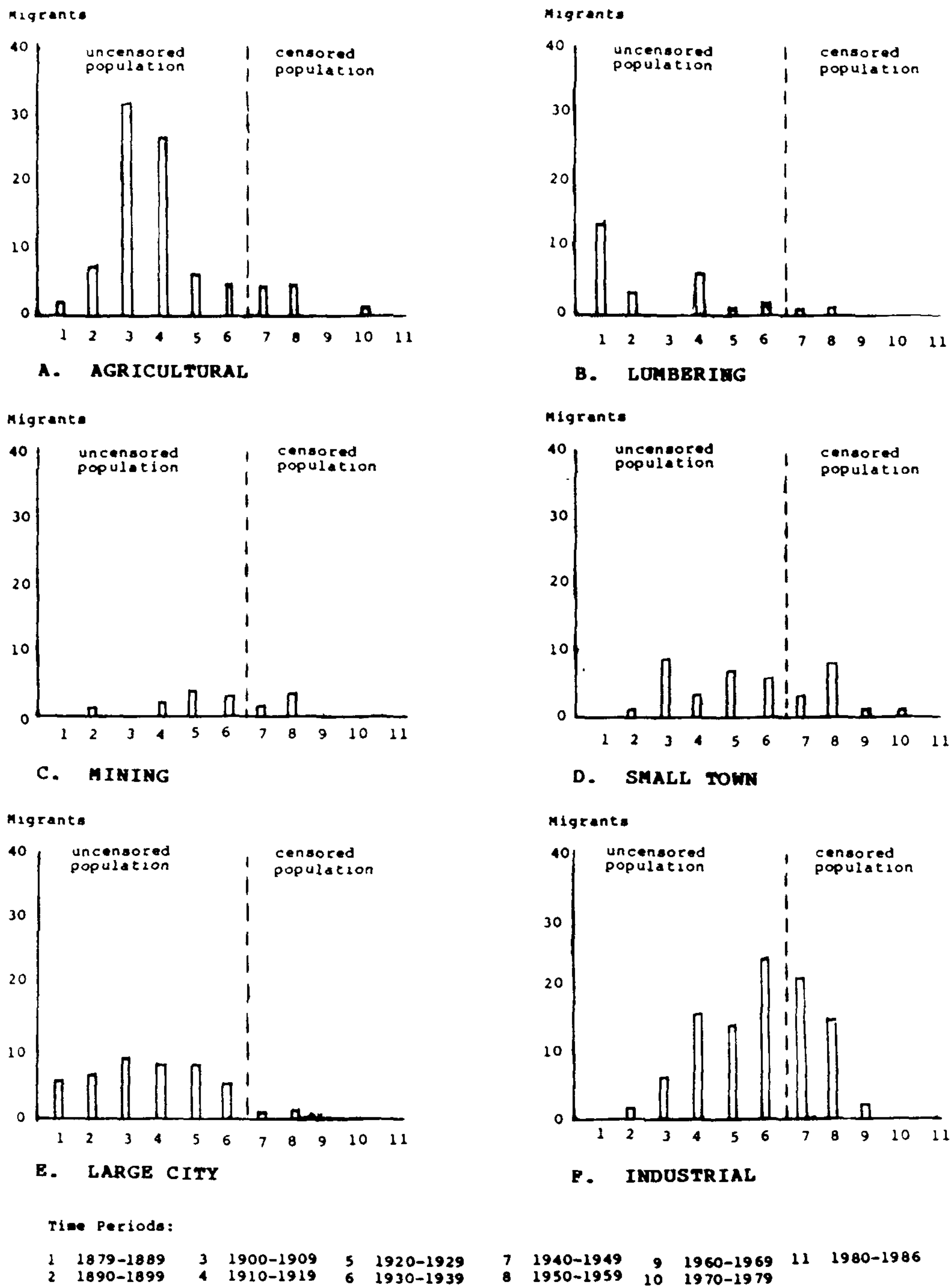


Figure 6.9 Migrant Destination Types

migrated with some trepidation, however, in spite of the Canadian government's strong advertising campaign once again extolling the promise of a new land. They probably remembered similar claims a quarter century before when they had been lured to Algoma!

Instead of selling the farm in Algoma before moving west, some rented out the local farm, retaining title to it as a form of insurance against the future. In one instance, when the last parent died in 1910, the farm was left to the four youngest children. One son returned from the west in the same year, disillusioned with the climate and wheat farming, and 'bought out' the share of his brother and sisters. A tragic house fire in December of 1915 forced the family to abandon the farm once again. Old outbuildings were adapted to replace the house and the farm was rented to another local family for several years. Eventually, the owner returned to retire there after having spent the interim working for one of the major resource-oriented corporations in Sault Ste. Marie.

Concern about the issue of rural depopulation became deflected by the beginning of a period of increased production instigated by the demands of provisioning during the First World War. Machinery was required to expand farm operations, especially during the labour shortage when all available young men were urged to the front. At least two

local farmers purchased machinery by mortgaging their farms. Implement dealers in Thessalon eventually placed liens upon their property.

The following section discusses the reaction to the depletion of rural population by the federal and Ontario governments.

6.2.5 The Role of Government in Promoting the Stability of Settlers

The Ontario government intervened both directly and indirectly to modify the effects of social and economic problems resulting during development of the province between 1879 and 1939. In the period until the 1920s, the government intervened directly to encourage the economic welfare of settlers by providing 'free' grants of farmland in marginal areas (Figure 6.10). This may also be assumed to be an indirect contribution promoting the social welfare of settlers. The policy seems to reflect the attitude mentioned earlier that if settlers once had the chance to acquire land, then they would be able to prosper without further intervention measures. It was imperative to encourage Ontario residents to stay within the province in order to create a diverse and integrated economy to counter the pull of opportunities opening elsewhere across the continent. When alarming numbers of farmers began to leave

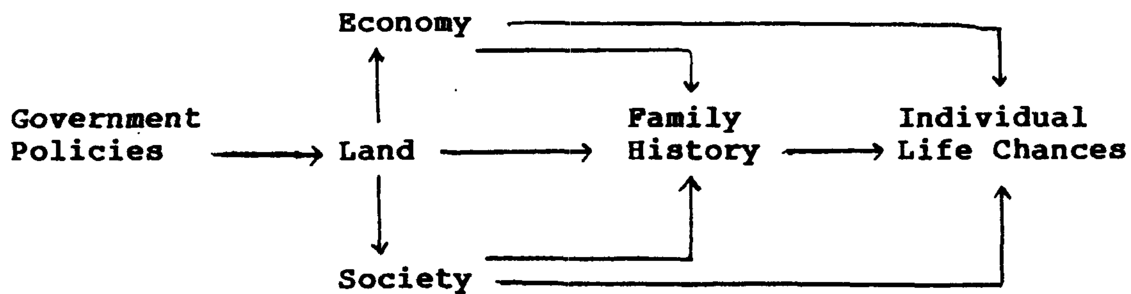


Figure 6.10: Government Intervention Affecting the Importance of Kinship Relationships, 1879-1920

Ontario due to indebtedness caused by the depressions of the 1850s and 1870s, the government opened new lands in the north for agricultural settlement. The Free Grants and Homesteads Act was instituted by the provincial government in 1868, immediately after the province was created. It was a continuation of the policy of the colonial Province of Canada, with modifications to try to ensure equitable and bona fide settlement. Lands were granted to settlers after five years of residence if a house and fifteen acres of land was cleared and a small fee was paid for administration. This strategy was as effective as inheritance in promoting geographical stability (Table B7.51).

After the government facilitated the preferential acquisition of land, it further promoted the agricultural sector indirectly by encouraging scientific farming. Agricultural societies provided a forum for dissemination of the improvements in farming discovered by the Ontario College of Agriculture in Guelph and by model farms located throughout the province. It was thought that the export markets for farm produce could be improved by concentration upon improving and standardizing quality. Farmers implemented the new ideas, but still their economic position continued to deteriorate.

Dissatisfaction with farming led to alarming rates of rural depopulation after the turn of the century. Rates were

slowed with the increased demand for production during the First World War but dissatisfaction peaked immediately afterwards. The government of Ontario had to intervene directly in economic assistance for farmers to try to keep them on the land in spite of the competition of industrial wage labour (Figure 6.9f). Men who fought in the war were rewarded with very advantageous loans from the Soldiers' Settlement Board to facilitate the acquisition of farmland at favourable interest rates and amortization periods. During the 1920s, the Agricultural Development Board and the Farm Loans Act extended similar terms to farmers who had remained upon the land throughout the war.

In the post-war period, the disastrous farming conditions in western Canada and adjustments within the Canadian economy forced by changing export markets prompted interest by the federal govenment in alleviating the more blatant inequities and threats to the social welfare of all citizens. The west had been settled (Figure 6.9a) and the war effort terminated; the dominion government had the largest resource base and yet the terms of the British North America Act prevented direct assistance to individuals.

The Canadian government initiated development of an Old Age Pensions Act which was passed in 1927, the first direct intervention policy affecting the social welfare of the farming community (Figure 6.11). Unfortunately, the long

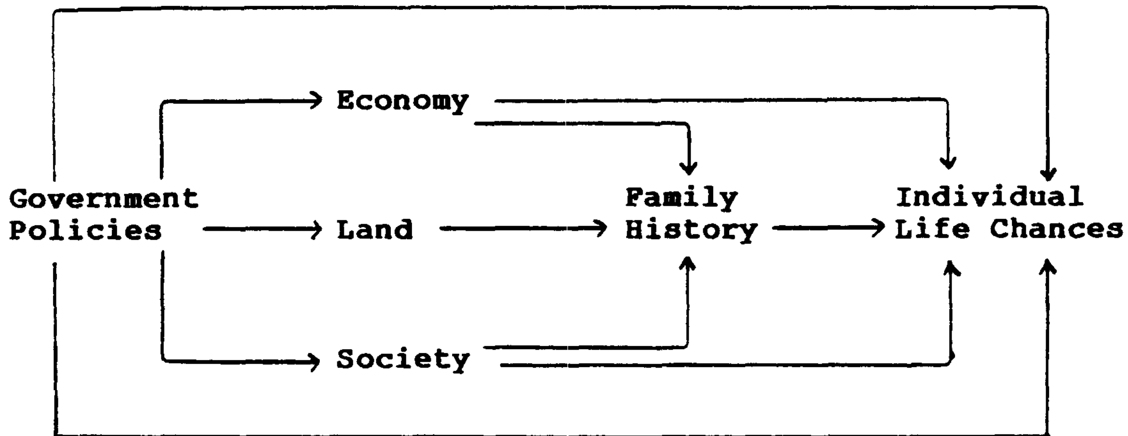


Figure 6.11: Government Intervention Affecting the Importance of Kinship Relationships after 1920

tradition of independence prevented all but the most destitute from applying for assistance under the terms of the Act. A means test (Marsh in Guest: 1980, 77) meant that an individual's financial position was investigated by the clerk of the township and no farmer who valued his independence and could manage to subsist without a pension would tolerate invasion of his privacy in this way.

The evidence of population response in the study area indicates that these measures were both too little and too late to prevent rural depopulation. Migrants were the majority in the local population from 1890 onwards (Table B5.8). Although the number of families remained at about seventy-five, the number of new arrivals dropped steadily. That meant that the size of new families was being limited more and more with time. In spite of this apparent strategy to avert the possibility of losing children to outmigration, families only managed to maintain the same proportion of each new generation within the community. In other words, the same proportion of children migrated out of the community even though the number of children being born fell with time.

The severity of the depression of the 1930s revealed the:

> "virtual disappearance of the traditional avenues of escape for Canadians from the consequences of unemployment and business recession. In the depressions of the 1870's and 1880's many of the victims of unemployment in Canadian towns could return to the

> family farm and await the return of better days. If this was not feasible, another escape route was emigration to the United States, a course of action taken by uncounted thousands. A third option was to move out west to Canada's last frontier and begin farming. By the 1930's, however, these methods of escaping the depression had all but disappeared" (Guest: 1980, 83).

The search for employment outside an individual's own municipality also was severely curtailed because municipalities insisted upon residence requirements (usually of a year or longer) being met in order to qualify for assistance (Guest: 1980, 83-4).

How did government policy affect these individuals when the problem throughout the society became critical in the Great Depression of the 1930s? Unemployment relief began with public work projects, but demand was so great that work had to be rationed to those in greatest need. Eventually, it became apparent that 'direct relief' was the least expensive means of providing assistance (Guest: 1980, 84). Reluctantly, 'relief in kind', the provision of goods or vouchers for specific items, eventually was supplemented with less arbitrary cash assistance. Assistance came late for farm families because farmers were still considered as self-employed and therefore able to provide their families with the necessities even if markets failed.

The federal government contributed about forty percent of the cost of these programs while insisting that

social welfare was a matter for the provinces and municipalities. The federal contribution was a temporary measure to alleviate extreme and unusual circumstances of privation. By 1935, the federal perception of responsibility shifted and direct involvement with social welfare began with the Employment and Social Insurance Act.

> "The Employment and Social Insurance Act meant that a further and significant redefinition of one of the principal causes of poverty and dependency had occurred. By this Act, Canadians had defined unemployment as a socio-economic problem of national dimension rather than a personal problem and a local responsibility. The economic system was seen as culpable on two grounds; it not only produced recurring periods of unemployment for which insurance protection was required, but wages paid during "good times" were recognized as insufficient, in a majority of cases, to permit saving for anything other than the briefest interruptions of income. The act was also an acknowledgement that a reasonable degree of protection in times of unemployment was the worker's right and not a subject for charity" (Guest: 1980, 89).

The legislation was defeated by the Privy Council as being unconstitutional. This and the desperate financial position of Manitoba and Saskatchewan, due to economic depression in combination with drought, pointed out the need for consitiutional reform. The Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations met between 1937 and 1940. Its report was published in 1940 (cf. Smiley: 1963 and Guest: 1980, 91-93), but the outbreak of war prevented immediate implementation of its recommendations that the federal government contribute to the provincial programs

indirectly.

During the Second World War and in the economic expansion afterwards, industrial wage labour became more secure. The Unemployment Insurance Act was initiated in the 1940s, and the post-war period was a time of rapid expansion of social welfare programs. Most significantly, the Old Age Pensions Act was revised in 1952 to grant universal applicability. This modification to government policy eradicated the stigma of charity - modest pensions of twenty dollars a month were granted to all who reached a designated age.

As a postscript to these developments, the very nature of local farming changed in response. Local sons who managed to become farmers had to have large commercial farms and efficient machinery. Most purchased land from the heirs of older farmers - heirs who were satisfied with maintaining their urban and industrial employment. Farming the old size of homestead simply was not economically competitive with the returns from industrial wage labour and they opted to sell their inheritance. This practice resulted in fewer local farmers but increasingly large commercial operations. Farmers raised specialized breeds of cattle for the feedlots of southern Ontario. The increased size of landholdings and cost for stock created a farming operation which required far more capital investment than the original family farms.

As a result, the only way for most young men to become a farmer, once again, is to inherit. The ideal of a large scale operation and full time employment in farming is a closed system available to few. Farm family size is the same as that of urban families. Some local families have adapted by combining wage labour and part-time farming, a lifestyle facilitated by good roads and widespread ownership of automobiles.

Chapter Seven: In Search of Security: Kinship and Geographical Stability

No diaries survive to describe the subjective and emotional experience of the residents of Day, Bright and Bright Additional townships. A great deal of both human triumph and tragedy can be surmised from the records which remain but more concrete evidence is required for analysis. Objective measurement of personal characteristics associated with kinship relationships and life histories is the means by which the significance of these relationships in terms of permanence or mobility of individuals can be determined. This chapter summarizes the results of bivariate and multivariate analysis. However, objective measurement cannot capture the range and depth of human passions embedded in the statistics - human passions generated by personal relationships, attachment to land and the struggle for survival in a rapidly changing world.

7.1 Determinants of Individual Mobility

The incidence of movers and stayers does not appear in any consistent pattern within families. Since most

families have both movers and stayers, it is apparent that pressures limiting the number of local residents were common within the community. But which personal characteristics distinguish between individuals who move and those who stay? To what extent are kinship-related variables associated with the process determining those who stayed and those who left?

This chapter reports the bivariate analysis of the separate effects upon residence status of variables indicating individual personal characteristics. It then describes multivariate analysis undertaken to determine the combined effects of the variables in their association with residence status.

7.2 Bivariate Analysis of the Separate Effects of Variables upon the Residence Status of Individuals

This section investigates the personal characteristics inherited through membership in a kinship network and their association with spatial mobility. Kinship relationships pervade many facets of the social and economic experience of individuals because they are so complex. Variables pertaining to many dimensions of kinship relations were included in the bivariate analysis and are reported in a contingency table indicating the strength of their association with the residence status of individuals (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1: RESULTS OF CONTINGENCY ANALYSES

Interpretation:

The following table summarizes the results of statistical tests in the bivariate analysis and the statistical significance of the results obtained. The independent variables indicated in this table are analyzed for their association with the dependent variable, residence status of the individual. Residence status is a dichotomous variable indicating 'permanent resident' or 'migrant' status of an individual.

Nominal variables are reduced to dichotomous variables and their statistical significance is tested by calculating the chi square. For example, occupation would be indicated as 'farmer' or 'non-farmer'. The chi square test (Blalock: 1979, 223, 283-290) involves a comparison of data consisting of several categories. The null hypothesis is that there is no differences between them. The expected frequencies for each would be fifty percent, which figure is then adjusted to match the proportion of individuals known to be in each group. Observed frequencies indicate the extent to which the assumption of similarity between groups is valid by a comparison with the expected number in each group. The chi square is large if the differences in percentage between the observed frequencies and the expected frequencies is large.

The Mann-Whitney U Test is applied to ordinal data, such as a general indication of birthplace of ancestors by distance from the study area (e.g., 1 for 'local', 2 for 'regional', 3 for 'Great Lakes', 4 for 'North America' or 5 for 'British Isles'). The scores of both samples are combined and ranked (Blalock: 1979, 259-264). Then one counts the number of scores in the larger sample which is of a larger rank than each score in the smaller sample. The results are added to derive the U statistic. If the U is unusually small or large, one must reject the null hypothesis that the groups are similar.

Finally, a T-Test is performed upon interval data, resulting in the F value (Blalock: 1979, 334-348). Interval data has a generally accepted level of measurement between intervals of the data (e.g., years). This analysis of variance tests for the differences of means between the two groups, the permanent and the migrants. The null hypothesis, again, is that there is no difference between them. If the population means are equal and the samples have a normal distribution, then the actual differences between group means can be used to estimate variance. If the population means differ, the group means will differ more than if the populations were the same. The test compares these two estimates of variance by taking the ratio of one to the other. The F value is the ratio of the two estimates. If no difference exists between the two groups, the result should be unity. If the estimate of variance is larger and the ratio greater than unity, the second group differs from the first.

The strength of the association of each variable with residence status is indicated by the number of asterisks following the statistical test result. *** indicates a very strong association with residence status, ** indicates a strong association and * indicates a less than five percent probability that the association could be attributed to chance alone. Any variable with a probability greater than five percent is considered not to have a significant association with the residence status of individuals (Blalock: 1979).

Independent Variables	Chi Square	M-W U	F Value	Cases
I. FAMILY OF ORIENTATION				
A. Kinship Conventions and Inheritance Traditions				
Birthplace of father		62214.0***		788
Birthplace of mother		57002.0***		751
Birthplace of paternal grandfather		88639.5***		614
Birthplace of paternal grandmother		89194.5***		531
Birthplace of maternal grandfather		88844.0***		477
Birthplace of maternal grandmother		88775.5***		486
B. Family History of Migration				
Earliest year of arrival of ancestors		98331.0		923
Presence of father locally	37.00***			928
Presence of mother locally	41.82***			928
Year paternal grandfather arrived		89407.0***		928
Year paternal grandmother arrived		88446.0***		928
Year maternal grandfather arrived		90849.5***		928
Year maternal grandmother arrived		89960.0***		928
Age at arrival of paternal grandfather			1.25***	920
Age at arrival of paternal grandmother			1.31***	912
Age at arrival of maternal grandfather			1.24***	903
Age at arrival of maternal grandmother			1.45***	928
C. Complexity and Persistence of Local Kinship Network				
Years father a local resident			1.03***	885
Years father a local resident to 1939			1.17***	882
Years mother a local resident			1.22**	828
Years mother a local resident to 1939			1.36**	827
Residence status of parents	39.79***			629
Out-migration distance of parents		105956.5		928
Permanent resident male siblings			1.61***	872
Permanent resident female siblings			1.17***	881
Years paternal grandfather local resident			1.59***	895
Years paternal grandmother local resident			2.16***	882
Years maternal grandfather local resident			1.74***	873
Years maternal grandmother local resident			1.09	860
Cumulative years all grandparents were resident			1.28***	831
Years of family continuity to 1986			2.01***	924
Years of family continuity to 1939			1.62***	924

Independent Variables	Chi Square	M-W U	F Value	Cases
D. Timing of Family Life Cycle Events				
Year of birth of father		49614.5***		724
Year of death of father		33562.5***		568
Year of birth of mother		47365.0***		703
Widowhood of mother	0.11			540
Year of death of mother		28886.5*		516
Year of birth of paternal grandfather		12474.5***		366
Year of death of paternal grandfather		5869.5		242
Year of birth of paternal grandmother		11862.5*		354
Year of death of paternal grandmother		5134.5		225
Year of birth of maternal grandfather		7661.5		284
Year of death of maternal grandfather		3502.0***		199
Year of birth of maternal grandmother		6698.0*		268
Year of death of maternal grandmother		4549.5		202
E. Cumulative Socio-Economic Status of Family of Orientation				
Occupation of father	5.90*			740
Age of father at death			1.41	561
Occupation of mother	14.41***			712
Land tenure of widowed mother	8.91**			673
Age of mother at death			1.12	512
Duration of widowhood of mother			1.04	540
Male children of parents			1.07	703
Female children of parents			1.14	702
Total children of parents			1.18	701
Male siblings ≥ 21 years			1.05	694
Female siblings ≥ 21 years			1.14	693
Total siblings ≥ 21 years			1.03	693
Age at death of paternal grandfather			1.07	230
Age at death of paternal grandmother			1.08*	216
Age at death of maternal grandfather			1.09	199
Age at death of maternal grandmother			2.42*	186

Independent Variables	Chi Square	M-W U	F Value	Cases
II. INDIVIDUAL				
A. Personal Characteristics within Family of Orientation				
Birthplace by distance		69495.0***		868
Birth rank		51574.5		696
Gender	2.03			928
Represents n generations in community		79354.0***		926
Years local resident			3.88***	834
Years local resident to 1939			2.61***	836
Time of arrival		88923.5***		928
B. Timing of Life Cycle Events				
Year of birth		72578.0***		915
Year of arrival		88923.5***		908
Life cycle cohort upon arrival		74727.0***		928
Age at arrival			1.40***	928
Age at acquisition of land			1.03**	613
Age at preferential acquisition of land			1.19***	906
Year left community		52460.0***		818
III. THE FAMILY OF PROCREATION				
A. Creation of Family of Procreation				
Married / unmarried	1.18			715
Married to local / outsider	58.19***			489
Year of marriage		35755.5***		612
Age at marriage			1.41	612
Male children born			1.15***	493
Female children born			1.51***	493
Total children born			1.23***	497
B. Socio-Economic Status of Family of Procreation				
Occupation: farmer / non-farmer	77.23***			622
Occupation before acquisition of land	19.84***			207
Land ownership or not	121.31***			925
Preferential land acquisition	.11			389
Efficiency of kin transmission vs. patent			0.00	287
Male children $\geq$ 21 years			1.37***	490
Female children $\geq$ 21 years			1.39*	493
Total children $\geq$ 21 years			1.31***	497

*** P < .001   ** P < .01   * P < .05

There are three major categories included in the table. Characteristics of an individual which are shared with siblings are included under the title 'Family of Orientation'. Subdivisions within this category include variables indicating family kinship conventions and inheritance traditions, family history of migration, complexity and persistence of the local kinship network, the timing of family life cycle events and the cumulative socio-economic status of the family of orientation. Characteristics which are particular to an individual within the family of orientation comprise the second division: personal characteristics which the individual does not share with siblings and the timing of life cycle events. The final division contains characteristics of the individual within the context of the family of procreation: its creation and measures indicating its socio-economic status. Particular details of salient tables generated by crosstabulations of the data appear in Appendix B.

Subtle nuances of evolving relationships caused changes in the status of individuals in relation to one another over time. For example, in all, ninety distinguishing characteristics were coded for all of the 989 individuals who were included in the analysis. However, many measure similar dimensions of relationships. They were included because they were important to an understanding of

the parameters and properties of the attributes and of population. Appendix A indicates the variables and the range of their associated codes. A further fifty variables were generated by computations from or simplifications of the original variables. Although the coding process was sometimes tedious and always complicated, the versatility of the information generated from it justifies the care and time required.

7.2.1 The Family of Orientation

The following sub-sections describe the five categories into which the sixty-one variables associated with the family of orientation are grouped. The criteria for grouping them was the major contribution of each to an understanding of the general characteristics of the family into which individuals were integrated at birth: kinship network complexity, timing of life cycle events and past migration and socio-economic status. The variables implicitly suggest the potential obligations which could eventually be assigned to an individual upon gaining maturity and, conversely, the number of local residents upon whom an individual could expect to rely in times of crisis. The variables capture the experience of grandparents, parents, siblings, aunts and uncles in relation to each local resident.

7.2.1.1 Kinship Conventions and Inheritance Traditions

Kinship conventions and inheritance traditions are considered a function of ethnic origins in combination with the time elapsed since ancestors left the Old World. The tradition of mutual assistance and familial obligations were a combination of Old World conventions of these settlers of British origin and a function of the length of time which the family had resided in the New World, where the partible/impartible inheritance system predominated. This system was widespread in Ontario (see discussion in Gagan: 1981, Chapter 2). Since farmland was able to support a limited number of descendants through subdivision, most farmers opted for having one inheriting son. In return for this advantage, the inheritor was either required to compensate siblings as they came of age or to accept responsibility for caring for the aging parents or both.

Birthplace of ancestors (Table 7.2) was strongly associated with whether one became a permanent resident or not (Table 7.1, A). The independent variables were coded firstly as dichotomous variables indicating whether the ancestor was born in North America or in the British Isles. In all instances, permanence of the individual was associated with having parents and grandparents who were born in the British Isles (Tables B7.3 through B7.8 found in

Table 7.2: BIRTHPLACES OF PARENTS AND GRANDPARENTS OF ARRIVALS, 1879-1889

Birthplace	Fathers	Mothers	Paternal Grand-fathers	Paternal Grand-mothers	Maternal Grand-fathers	Maternal Grand-mothers
NORTH AMERICA:						
Southern Ontario:	53	90	4	6	10	11
Quebec:	20	34	12	10	3	10
Michigan:	1	0	1	1	0	0
New Brunswick:	14	2	14	13	0	0
Nova Scotia:	1	4	0	0	3	0
Other Canadian:	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other U.S.:	8	5	4	9	0	0
BRITISH ISLES:						
England:	57	40	40	33	47	31
Scotland:	94	77	77	54	65	64
Ireland:	71	61	81	59	52	59

Appendix B). From these results, it was not obvious whether the association was based upon the effect of distance from the place of origin and from the family kinship network which had been left behind in the Old World or whether there were differences in kinship-based conventions and traditions concerning land inheritance.

A further analysis was performed for those ancestors who originated in the British Isles to discover whether differences were related to having been born in England, Scotland or Ireland. For all ancestors born in the British Isles, there was no association between their precise country of origin and the permanence of their descendants (Tables B7.9 through B7.14). Therefore, it was distance from place of origin which was important.

The next question was whether birthplace of ancestors, whether in North America or the British Isles, was associated with land ownership by the individual. In all instances, it was significantly associated with land ownership (Tables B7.15 through B7.20). Descendants of persons who were born in the British Isles were more likely to become landowners than descendants of persons who were born in North America. It would seem, then, that 'ethnicity' played no role in determining who stayed and who left. Rather, whether one's ancestors were from the Old World or the New World was important. When observed in

conjunction with land ownership, this suggests that families who had been in North America for multiple generations had more complex kinship networks and were more likely to acquire land through inheritance (Tables B7.21 through B7.26). Those with ancestors born in the British Isles were early arrivals and were more likely to acquire land by taking advantage of the offer of 'free grants' from the provincial government.

7.2.1.2 Family History of Migration

Several aspects of the history of migration of the family were included, most of which measured two concepts: whether particular ancestors moved to the townships of Day, Bright and Bright Additional and the timing of their arrival. Having an ancestor who arrived early is only weakly associated with migration (Table B7.27). Those whose ancestors arrived earliest were part of complex local kinship networks which had to share limited resources among an increasing number of inheritors over time.

The same concept is illustrated by the presence of parents (Tables B7.28 and B7.29). Only forty percent of those whose parents had lived in the local area stayed as permanent residents. Those who moved to the frontier without parents were in an adult life cycle stage. They could take advantage of inexpensive land if they arrived

early. After twenty years, arriving adults could purchase a developed farm or marry a local landowner. 'Stayers' are associated with local parents but having local resident grandparents is associated with being equally likely to stay or to leave (Tables B7.30 through B7.33) but the longer they were present, the less conducive it was to permanence (Table B7.35) since limited resources were shared among a more complex kin network and inheritance was usually delayed.

Most families migrated as a unit including parents and children. Some families moved to this frontier with families to which they were more distantly related. For example, nieces and nephews came with their parents' siblings; brothers were accompanied by unmarried sisters. One family arrived from the British Isles to settle in close proximity to relatives who emigrated to Canada some years before.

Since the difference in patterns of permanence among local family members is strongly associated with the distance from the birthplace of ancestors, another dimension of kinship relationships is revealed here. Families who travelled from the Old to the New World to settle were more fearful regarding their chance of success in the new system and viewed strategies for survival via geographical mobility with skepticism. They did not have access to a large kin network, nor did they have the accompanying multitude of

demands upon their network resources. They were inclined to keep what they had acquired and hesitated to move around in the hope of acquiring more.

7.2.1.3 Complexity and Persistence of the Local Kinship Network

Variables measuring the association with permanence of the number of years parents and grandparents were resident locally indicate a refinement of previous ones assessing the effect of their presence. Permanent individuals were associated with fewer years of parents and grandparents residing within the community (Tables B7.34 and B7.35). The migrant population was characterized by having grandparents present for a greater number of years than those who remained as permanent residents. These findings are consistent with those concerning parents. It does not mean that the presence of grandparents in the community was disadvantageous because they were there, but rather indicates families which had been in the community for a long time and whose kinship network was complex. Most successful families were in a state of equilibrium with the resources available to them.

If parents had been local residents and then moved away, eighty-five percent of their children migrated elsewhere (Table B7.36). Most moved with their parents, even if they were mature children with familiies of their

even if they were mature children with families of their own. About fifty percent of children whose parents were permanent residents became migrants. The distance parents migrated did not influence the decision of children to move (Table B7.37). This suggests that the decision to migrate was discussed in families and that the comfort of facing a move in association with close relatives remained a feature of geographical mobility into the twentieth century, as long as frontier conditions existed wherein multiple families could easily settle in proximity to one another.

The greater the number of male siblings who remained as permanent residents of the community, the more likely it was that an individual would also be a permanent resident (Table B7.38). If a family was able to supply more than one child with a sufficient start to acquire a local farm or if more than one sibling managed to purchase or inherit land, then it was an indication of the family pool of resources or the ability of family members to accumulate capital. Whichever of these alternatives applied to a particular case, it is indicative of a family with superior economic advantage, which also created a superior advantage for the social and economic welfare of family members.

The greater the number of female siblings who were able to remain as permanent local residents adds a further dimension to an understanding of the importance of kinship

relationships within a community (Table B7.39). Sisters and their families extended the number of kin upon whom one could rely for assistance and created a larger local network of social and economic relationships.

The importance of being an early arrival and of having a complex, but not overburdened, local kinship network is confirmed by the association of more cumulative years of family continuity in the community with permanence (Table B7.40).

7.2.1.4 Timing of Family Life Cycle Events

The timing of family life cycle events such as birth and death of parents and grandparents once again confirms the importance of an individual's early arrival in the community (Table B7.41). The earlier parents and grandparents were born, the earlier an individual was likely to have arrived in the community. If an individual was born in a later year, then the timing of his arrival was more likely to be beyond the age of childhood if parents did not accompany him. Since most new arrivals into the community after the first twenty years were local births, all of those children had to compete for resources shared by multiple generations.

7.2.1.5 Cumulative Socio-Economic Status of the Family of Orientation

It can be argued that many of the preceding variables could be used as surrogates for calculating a general assessment of the socio-economic status of the family of orientation. Most of the data which has been collected to indicate socio-economic status does not take into account yearly fluctuations in income depending upon choice of crop, quality of production, market prices or mortgage rates. There is no information available about fluctuation of individual farmers' incomes, nor is there any record of savings, except what may be inferred from the disposition of assets mentioned in Surrogate Court records.

Two basic indicators have been chosen to illustrate a cumulative measure of the socio-economic status of families of orientation. The first is the occupation of the father. For the purposes of this research, occupation was defined as 'farmer' or 'non-farmer'. Non-farmers held a variety of occupations which could be categorized as either entrepreneurial (such as miller, blacksmith or storekeeper) or as labour (unskilled labourers at the mill or in operations in the woods, cf. Appendix A). No noticeable difference occurred in the status of their children and there were not enough cases in each category to justify inclusion in that format. Therefore, they were combined into the non-farming category.

Children of farmers were more likely to become permanent residents (Table B7.42). About thirty percent of children of non-farmers remained locally, whereas forty-two percent of farmers' children did. This finding confirms the validity of the contemporary perception that farming promoted both economic and geographical stability. It also serves to illustrate the high rates of geographical mobility for all children.

The strong association of geographical stability with mother's occupation (Table B7.43) is more difficult to explain. The occupation of mothers was indicated as 'farmer or wife of farmer' and 'other occupation or wife of non-farmer'. Forty-four percent of children of mothers associated with farming were permanent residents, whereas only about twenty-six percent of children of mothers not associated with farming were permanent residents. The Free Grants and Homesteads Act permitted wives of landholders to acquire sole title to the family farm upon the death of the husband. Traditionally, the surviving wife's share was the dower interest, usually one-third of the value. In most cases, a male inheritor assumed title to the land upon the death of the father under those provisions. With the change in women's rights instituted by the Act, women retained title to the land. Most who survived their husbands did not

relinquish title to it until they themselves died.

7.3 Characteristics Unique to the Individual

Several variables, such as birth rank, gender, and year of birth, were specific to only one individual within a family. They were included as indicators of the unique position of that individual within his family of orientation relative to the rest of his siblings. The variables in this section are concerned with the timing of important events which mark life cycle changes. They reveal the relationship between events of personal importance to an individual and changes which occurred in the wider socio-economic developments within the community, region, province and nation.

7.3.1 Personal Characteristics within the Family of Orientation

The indicators employed to reveal the personal history peculiar to an individual were birthplace by distance from the study area, birth rank within the family of orientation, gender, the generation of the individual and the length of residency within the community. Those who were permanent residents of the community were more likely to have been born further from the study area than those who became migrants (Table B7.44). They were the most likely to

have been born in southern Ontario, in eastern Canada or in the British Isles. The majority of new arrivals after 1900 were born locally and a majority of this group became migrants.

Those who represented early generations within this community had a greater chance of achieving permanence (Table B7.45). This is attributable to the simplicity of their local kin network, resulting in fewer demands upon limited resources. Permanent residents lived locally for an average of forty-two years, whereas the average for migrants was nineteen years. It is apparent that the decision to migrate was made by many as they reached maturity (Table B7.46).

7.3.2 Timing of Life Cycle Events of Individual

This category explores the effect of the timing of birth, arrival locally, and departure from the community. It also investigates the effect of life cycle stage upon arrival, age at arrival, at first acquisition of land and at first preferential acquisition of land.

Individuals who were born earlier (Table B7.47), who arrived earlier (Table B7.48) and who were older when they arrived (Table B7.49) were more likely to remain as permanent residents of the community. Most adults arrived within the first twenty years, had already married someone,

had acquired resources outside of the study area and brought sufficient capital to buy or develop a farm. Men tended not to marry until they were sure of having a farm or until they established themselves in a local business. The adults who came after the first twenty years often came with resources from their place of origin or came to marry a local person who was already 'established'. Local births were not as successful in attaining permanence because they had to compete for resources with siblings.

The results of the analysis of independent variables indicating the timing of life cycle stages emphasizes that permanence was strongly associated with the early arrival of an individual, not the early arrival of ancestors into the community. Again, this is corroborated by the results of analysis of variables indicating the time of arrival of the earliest ancestor of an individual and the number of generations which the individual represented within this community.

Land ownership is associated with permanence (Table B7.50), permanent resident landowners acquired land when about forty-one years old, whereas landowners who became migrants were about thirty-five (Table B7.51). The preferential acquisition of land, coded as such whenever it was entered in the records as being acquired for "$1, love and affection", is also strongly associated with permanence (Table B7.52). In most instances, if someone was designated

as the inheritor of a piece of property, that person tended to retain that property for the remainder of his or her life.

7.4 The Family of Procreation

There are also indicators of the characteristics of the family which an individual created. The family of procreation consists of the individual, the spouse and their children. This category investigates the effects of marriage and age at marriage and number of children born within that family. There are also measures of socio-economic status of the family of procreation such as the occupation of the individual, land acquisition and the circumstances of it and the number of children who survived beyond the age of twenty-one years for whom a start in life was likely to have been provided.

7.4.1 Creation of the Family of Procreation

If an individual decided to marry, it mattered very much whether they married a local resident or someone from outside the community (Table B7.53). Marriage to a local resident resulted in 61.5 percent remaining locally. Almost three-quarters of those who married someone from outside the community moved away. Never marrying had no effect upon the permanence of an individual (Table B7.54). The permanent

married at a younger age than migrants (Table B7.55). Perhaps a decision had been reached concerning the eventual division of parental property.

If he did marry, marriage to another local resident meant that an individual had his own local kinship network and that of his spouse upon which he could rely and to whom he owed obligations. Since most men did not marry until they were assured of title to a farm, this result illustrates the effectiveness of the kinship network in protecting the socio-economic welfare of individuals by encouraging rapid development of complex local networks. The problem, then, arose with the actual process and timing of land inheritance.

Permanent residents tended to have larger families with more male and female children than the families of migrants (Tables B7.56 through B7.59). The acquisition of land gave them security and provision of the necessities for children was not perceived as too great a strain upon the resources of a farm family. In return, children helped with farm chores, contributing to the farm's successful operation. The problem arose when a start had to be provided for them at maturity and when provision had to be made for aging parents. Resources were sufficient for the number of children in the family, but were insufficient for the spouses and children of the next generation to live upon

the same farm.

7.4.2 Socio-Economic Status of the Family of Procreation

About seven of every ten individuals who became farmers or farmers' wives remained as permanent residents (Table B7.60). Only three of every ten non-farmers stayed locally. Becoming a farmer was also strongly associated with the acquisition of land either by patent or through inheritance or marriage to a local farmer (Table B7.61).

When the effectiveness of land acquisition strategies is compared, there is no difference between inheritance and acquisition by Letters Patent from the Crown. This result confirms the efficiency of government policy in creating advantageous conditions for individuals to acquire land and to supplant the traditional advantage of membership within a family. It may be thought of as a surrogate for inheritance since the likelihood of an individual staying locally was almost exactly the same in both instances (Table 7.1). These farmers were not the type who would go to a frontier, begin the development of a farm and then move on, although a few early ones did that.

That the advantages with which some started out in life were crucial to their well-being and that of their families is illustrated by the fact that the permanent

residents tended to have more children of both sexes who reached the age of maturity. Since they held an advantaged economic position, they had more children because they could provide for children from their superior resources accruing from ownership of a farm. The quest for independence was fulfilled for them.

7.5 Characteristics Associated with the Dichotomous Population

The preceeding bivariate analysis indicates an emerging portrait of the characteristics of individuals within two mutually exclusive groups, the permanent residents and the migrants. Analysis of the separate effects of variables indicating kinship relationships revealed that there were significant differences between the personal characteristics of permanent residents and migrants.

7.5.1 Portrait of a Permanent Resident

Membership in a kinship network encouraged acceptance of obligations among members in order to promote the chances of social, economic and geographical stability of all members. The system was based upon trust that assistance would be reciprocated when required. The reliability of individuals was estimated from information about local

transactions which were constantly monitored by members who lived in proximity to one another (Anderson: 1971).

Those who became permanent residents were from families which had recently emigrated to Canada from the British Isles. They were among the earliest arrival cohorts and, as a result, had a limited number of ancestors in the local area. They married local residents and were occupied in farming, eventually acquiring title to land. Having siblings of either gender who were resident in the same area is also directly associated with becoming a permanent resident.

7.5.2 Portrait of a Migrant

Kinship assisted in the search for social, economic and geographical stability by all residents but economic problems and limited local land forced some people to move away. Movement beyond the interaction field of the local kinship network could jeopardize an individual's chances of survival. However, it is indicative of the flexibility of kinship that it aided those who had to leave. Families and related individuals joined together to move to a new area of perceived opportunities for employment, creating the nuclei of new kinship networks immediately upon arrival at the destination. In that case, mutual assistance, which increased the chances of survival for all, was available

immediately and, in general, the likelihood of attaining geographical stability was heightened at the destination.

Migrants are characterized by a complex local kinship network composed of multiple generations, although their parents and siblings were likely to move away. Their families had migrated to North America at least one generation before arrival at this frontier. Migrants were born locally or arrived towards the latter part of the era studied, married someone from outside of the community and never became a farmer or acquired local land.

7.5 Multivariate Analysis: The Combined Effect of Kinship-Related Variables upon Geographical Stability

Most of the original categories chosen for ordering the characteristics contained variables which were strongly associated with residence status. These were the categories indicating the range of kinship-related characteristics: kinship conventions and inheritance traditions, family history of migration, the complexity and persistence of the local kinship network, personal characteristics of the individual within the family of orientation, the timing of life cycle events of the individual and the socio-economic status of the family of procreation. Two categories contained relatively weak variables: the timing of family life cycle events (those associated with ancestors) and the

cumulative socio-economic status of the family of orientation (a finding which is similar to the results of research by Denton and George: 1970; 1974).

Many of the variables included in the bivariate analysis were strongly associated with the permanence or migration of local residents but bivariate analysis gives no indication of the way in which these characteristics combine to affect the ultimate choice of location of an individual. Discriminant analysis is employed to determine the strength of the variables in relation to one another and the overall contribution of each to permanence or migration. It is a method of analysis which distinguishes between individuals based upon their scores on the independent variables or personal characteristics. The object is to choose variables upon which the two groups differ most. Discriminant analysis is normally used to predict group membership of individuals in a sample population by means of discriminating variables. In historical research wherein group membership is known, it is useful for testing the strength of association of a combination of variables with the dependent variable (Doucet: 1977). In this research, it determines the strength of variables indicating personal characteristics with residence status.

7.5.1 Choice of Variables for Inclusion in the Discriminant Analysis

The selection of variables for inclusion in multivariate analysis consists of a multi-stage process. Ninety variables are available for inclusion.

Many variables are unsuited for inclusion in an analysis of all groups of arrivals in all time periods. Fifteen variables contain more complete information for later arrivals. For example, data concerning the birth year of a paternal grandfather is usually known for those who represented the second or succeeding generations of a family within the community. In some instances, particularly in the case of elderly people who arrived within the first decade of settlement, it is either impossible to determine this information or it would entail tracing ancestors who were born in Britain in the mid-eighteenth century. A search would be too time-consuming for the advantage of having this precision in information. A combination of two variables, time of arrival and life cycle stage upon arrival, are relatively easy to determine and convey the same concepts.

Not all of those variables remaining are appropriate for inclusion in discriminant analysis, however. Some, such as cumulative grandparent years within the community, number of generation each individual represented within the

community and number of years the individual's father was a local resident, are biased towards overrepresentation in the cohorts of either earlier or later arrivals. The association with presence of grandparents is probably a spurious relationship if considered for all time periods. Because of the frontier situation, it is not possible to determine the effects of grandparents for all time periods with unbiased results. For example, few in the first cohort had grandparents resident in the community. Most in the later generations had grandparents who lived in the community. The presence of grandparents would then suggest an association with migrants since local births dominated arrivals after 1900 and a majority of those arrivals moved out of the community (Table B7.3). The relatively short time span of the study in terms of family history and the fact that the frontier presented an unusual opportunity for several generations of a family to settle near to each other at one time without the usual dilemmas involving waiting for land inheritance would further bias the effect of the variable.

Twenty-two variables are applicable only to those who were born locally. The variable concerning marriage to a local person or to an outsider is an example of this type. All those who were married before they arrived in the study area could not logically be included in this group.

Two more variables are only informative in association with late groups of arrivals. It seems illogical to associate residence status of individuals living in the study area only between 1879 and 1900, for example, with family continuity within the community to either 1939 or 1986.

Four variables, such as year of departure, are informative only in conjunction with migrants. Permanent residents, by definition, stayed until death. Knowing the year of death of permanent residents is useful in describing the population, but it does not aid in explanation of the mover/stayer dichotomy.

A further five variables describing land ownership are biased towards males. It could not be claimed that women owned land by virtue of the fact that their husbands owned land. Only women whose husbands acquired land under the Free Grants and Homesteads Act were entitled to hold the land upon the death of the husband. Other women simply held a one-third interest in their husband's estate. Therefore, the relationship of married women with land was complex and could only be coded as 'landowner' in a minority of cases given these considerations. Eleven more variables related to land ownership do, in fact, really refer to ownership of local land exclusively. These variables indicate mostly permanent residents. It is impossible to capture the

experience of migrants because it is impossibly complicated to check the land records at all of the destinations known for all migrants over the past century.

Of the ninety variables considered in the bivariate analysis, seventy-one percent (59) are strongly associated with residence status ($P < .001$). These variables capture the greatest differences between the two groups: the permanent and the migrant. Six are weakly associated with residence status. Twenty-five are not associated with residence status and are eliminated from further consideration for inclusion in multivariate analysis (Table B7.62).

Of the sixty-five variables remaining, only fifteen represent logical and balanced data for all groups of arrivals and are not biased toward any of the groups due to availability of data. Fifty more are eliminated.

Of the fifteen remaining variables, seven are eliminated due to an insufficient number of cases. In discriminant analysis, cases with any missing values for the variables selected for inclusion in the analysis are automatically deleted. As a result, if the variables with low numbers of cases are included, the results reflect only those people about whom the most is known; those born within the community during the later time periods with grandparents who had also been community residents. In

order to minimize the number of cases excluded from the analysis due to insufficient information, no variable was chosen for which less than 800 valid cases existed. This was an arbitrary decision taken in order to enhance the probability of including a maximum number of cases representing all time periods of arrival in the final analysis. It must be noted also that further attrition of the data meeting the criteria for inclusion would still occur because missing values would not occur in the same cases. (If one individual has a missing value for Variable A and a second individual has a missing value for Variable B, both of these cases would be excluded from the discriminant analysis automatically.)

The eight variables remaining are: number of permanent resident male siblings, number of permanent resident female siblings, time of arrival (by decade), year of birth, year of arrival, life cycle cohort upon arrival and age at arrival.

The final criterion for the inclusion of a variable was that it not be closely associated with any other variable included. For example, four of the remaining variables express time of arrival and life cycle stage upon arrival. There is no reason to include more than one of these in the final analysis. Age at arrival was chosen as the most comprehensive of these variables. Knowledge of the

demographic structure of each arrival cohort indicates that the majority of those arriving after 1900 were local births. Therefore, this variable suggests both life cycle stage upon arrival and time of arrival.

The variables chosen for inclusion in the discriminant analysis were number of male siblings who were permanent residents of the community, number of permanent female siblings, age at arrival and occupation of the father. Although the occcupation of the father was only weakly associated with residence status, it was included because it reflects a difference between the children of farmers and non-farmers. These four variables represent all of the general categries of the conceptual schema (Figure 1.1) and are a distillation of those concepts (Figure 7.1).

Of 989 original cases, sixty-one residents died before reaching maturity (eighteen years of age) and are eliminated from the analysis because their departure did not reflect a decision made to move or to stay. This leaves 928 cases for inclusion in the analysis. Of those, 217 had at least one missing discriminating variable. Therefore, 711 cases are included in the analysis. This represents 72 percent of all cases or 77 percent of cases considered for inclusion in discriminant analysis. It includes people who arrived in all time periods, although the level of representation within each arrival cohort varied, as will be

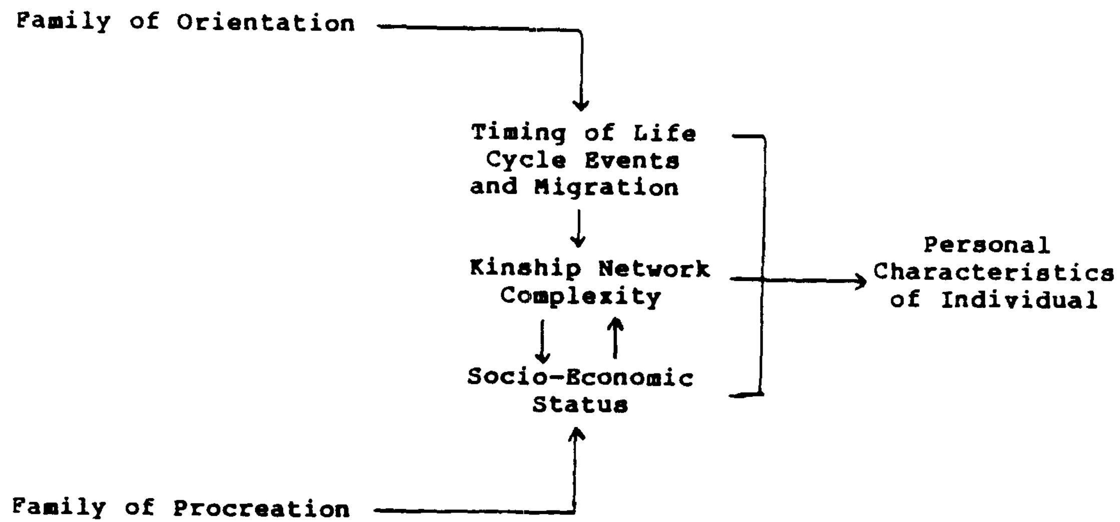


Figure 7.1: Conceptual Schema of General Relationships of Variables Determining Personal Characteristics and Residence Status

demonstrated in Table 7.67. About forty percent of these cases (286) were known to be permanent residents. This proportion of permanent residents reflects the average of 39.33 percent for all time periods. The remainder, almost sixty percent (425) were known to be migrants. Thus these four variables reflect the population composition and are comparable to the overall percentages in each group category.

Basically, the variables capture three broad dimensions: kinship network complexity, timing of events and socio-economic status. Information is clustered into three discrete but interdependent categories of agent influence: family of orientation, individual and family of procreation. The variables meeting all of the criteria for inclusion in the discriminant analysis are representative, as is the population included.

The next section describes the discriminant analysis which is employed to determine the strength of the association of the variables selected with the residence status of community residents.

7.5.2 Discriminant Analysis

The objective of this form of multivariate analysis is to choose variables so that there is a maximum difference between groups (Overall and Klett: 1972). This method of

analysis is useful in historical research when the dependent variable is known for individuals (cf. Doucet: 1977). The discriminant function then becomes a test of the strength of the independent variables in predicting group membership correctly. The better the variables chosen are in predicting group membership, then the more confidence one can have about the combined strength of the variables in their association with and their relative importance to residence status.

Each of the variables is entered separately and evaluated on its contribution to distinguishing between the two groups. The standardized discriminant function coefficients order the variables according to their importance in differentiating between the two groups. The strongest discriminating variable based upon the standardized discriminant function coefficients is entered first, then the next strongest and so on until none of the remaining variables contribute significantly to discriminating between the groups. The standardized discriminant function coefficients indicate the relative contribution of the four variables in discriminating between the two residence status groups (Table 7.63). The larger the discriminant function coefficient, the greater the discrimination between the permanent residents and the migrants. The variables in this analysis are ranked: number

Table 7.63: Standardized Discriminant Function Coefficients

Permanent Resident Male Siblings	.61
Age of Individual at Arrival	.51
Permanent Resident Female Siblings	.43
Occupation of Father	.21

of male siblings who were permanent residents of the community, age of the individual upon arrival in the community, number of permanent female siblings and occupation of the father.

In a successful discriminant function, there is a great similarity among cases within each group and as much dissimilarity between the two groups as possible. The classification function coefficients are weights for each variable used to calculate scores on the discriminant function for each member of each group. Overall, the discriminant function coefficients indicate that the groups differed significantly in their association with this combination of variables (Table 7.64). The associations exceed the 0.001 level of significance and are the ones expected in terms of the theoretical framework (Figure 1.1). Permanent residents have a larger number of male and female siblings who are permanent residents and were older when they arrived in the area and are children of farmers. Migrants are characterized as children of non-farmers who were born locally and who had few siblings who stayed in the local area throughout their lifetimes.

The final stage of the analysis is the classification of cases based upon their discriminant function scores. The classification results are a comparison of actual and predicted group membership, where predicted membership is

Table 7.64: CLASSIFICATION FUNCTION COEFFICIENTS

(Fisher's Linear Discriminant Functions)

Independent Variable	Classification Function Coefficients	
	Permanent	Migrant
Permanent Male Siblings	.88	.40
Age at Arrival	.91	.42
Permanent Female Siblings	.82	.44
Occupation of Father	5.63	5.08
(Constant)	- 4.95	- 3.08

Wilk's Lambda .79 ***

Chi-Squared = 163.67 d.f. 4 P > .0001

based upon discriminant scores calculated from the classification function coefficients. The success in classification reflects how well the variables perform in combination with each other to explain the differences between movers and stayers.

The prediction rate for migrants was slightly over seventy percent and that for permanent residents slightly less (Table 7.65). This result suggests that the discriminant equation was almost equally effective in predicting membership in either group. The variables chosen were strongly associated with the discrimination between movers and stayers. The overall rate of correct classification indicates the complexity of the process leading to geographical stability or mobility. The discriminant equation indicates, in this instance, that residence status is a function of the number of permanent male siblings, age at arrival, the number of permanent female siblings and the occupation of the father.

Kinship-related characteristics played an important part in the individual's staying or leaving, but other factors, which were not taken into account in this part of the analysis, also played a role. The process of rapid change in the society from predominently rural and agricultural to urban and industrial during the 107 years of this study from 1879 until 1939 was complex indeed.

Table 7.65: Classification Results

Actual Group	Cases	Predicted Group Membership: Permanent Residents	Migrants
Permanent Residents	255	171	84
		67.1%	32.9%
Migrants	386	98	288
		25.4%	74.6%

Cases correctly classified: 71.61%

In order to understand the effect of external social and economic events, the proportions of each cohort of arrival who remain as permanent residents and as migrants must be examined (Table 7.66). It is apparent that the fluctuations in the proportion of residents in each category is attributable to two fundamental responses to the rapid changes occurring in the economic and social relations within Ontario. After the first decade, the rate of new arrivals was mostly determined by local births. This rate dropped continuously between 1890 and 1919. It rose very slightly between 1920 and 1929 and dropped dramatically between 1930 and 1939. These rates suggest that local families tried to adjust to increasingly disadvantageous socio-economic conditions by limiting the number of children born.

In conjunction with the lowered birth rate, an increasing proportion of those children who were born to local families between 1890 and 1929 migrated out of the community. This trend was reversed somewhat for local children born between 1930 and 1939.

The variables concerning personal characteristics of individuals which determine their kinship network complexity and family socio-economic status were more useful as predictors of residence status for some cohorts of arrivals than others. It is obvious from discriminant analysis

Table 7.66: Summary Statistics Concerning Residence Status of Individuals by Time of Arrival

Time of Arrival	Number of Arrivals	Proportion of Arrivals	Number of Migrants	Proportion of Migrants
1879-1889	341	34%	153	31%
1890-1899	204	21%	92	18%
1900-1909	135	14%	70	14%
1910-1919	126	13%	83	16%
1920-1929	133	13%	81	16%
1930-1939	48	5%	23	5%
Totals	987	100%	502	100%

(Table 7.67), using the same variables for each of the six cohorts of arrival, that the factors affecting outmigration are best revealed by studying particular sub-groups within a population and in the context of local, regional and wider events. It is most informative to study only one cohort of arrivals, preferably those of a single age cohort, at a time. A study of this type was conducted as a preliminary test of the feasibility of this extended analysis (Sills: 1983). It focussed upon maturing children who were born in the study area between 1879 and 1909. Eighty percent of all cases were correctly predicted by using the same analytical technique. The most significant variables which were positively associated with permanent residents in that time period were: choice of marriage partner, permanence of the family of orientation, the preferential acquisition of local farmland, the year of the individual's twenty-first birthday and the number of male children in the family of orientation reaching maturity.

The results of discriminant analysis for each arrival cohort during the first sixty years of settlement (Table 7.67) show that the forces shaping the migration process changed either in character or intensity over time. A nomothetic approach leading to a general model of migration doesn't work well. As conditions change both within and without a community, so does the emphasis of forces

Table 7.67: Summary Statistics of Discriminant Analysis Results for Each Cohort of Arrival

Time of Arrival	Cases in Arriving Cohort	Permanent Residents	Migrants	Discriminating Variables	Classification Function Coefficient: Permanent	Classification Function Coefficient: Migrant	Standardized Discriminant Function Coefficient	Cases Correctly Classified
1879-1889	308 (90 06% of cohort)	162	146	*permanent resident female siblings	0.69	0.47	.32	71 75%
				*age of individual at arrival	0.13	0.83	.53	
				*permanent resident male siblings	0.93	0.37	.68	
					constant -2.99	constant -1.49		
1890-1899	175 (85.78% of cohort)	83	92	*permanent resident male siblings	1.55	0.93	.74	68 0%
				*permanent resident female siblings	0.84	0.58	.29	
				*age of individual at arrival	0 61	0.19	.45	
					constant -2.83	constant -1.41		
1900-1909	102 (75.0% of cohort)	43	59	*permanent resident female siblings	0.45	0.73	50	67.7%
				*permanent resident male siblings	0.88	0.45	.42	
				*age of individual at arrival	1.37	0.76	.70	
				*occupation of father	4.29	3.30	.42	
					constant -4.05	constant -2.06		
1910-1919	93 (68.4% of cohort)	25	68	*age of indivudual at arrival	0.73	0.36	.84	76.3%
				*occupation of father	0.13	0.34	.45	
				*permanent resident male siblings	4.70	3.53	.37	
					constant -3.99	constant -2.05		
1920-1929	94 (74.6% of cohort)	27	67	*permanent resident male siblings	1.22	0.36	.62	85 1%
				*age of individual at arrival	0 82	-0.97	.58	
				*occupation of father	0.24	0.12	.29	
				*permanent resident female siblings	5.92	4.60	.18	
					constant -5.68	constant -2.43		
1930-1939	45 (93.8% of cohort)	22	23	*permanent resident male siblings	0.17	0.20	.73	77.8%
				*age of individual at arrival	0.15	0 98	51	
				*permanent resident female siblings	0 84	0.25	.33	
					constant -2.71	constant -0.77		

affecting the migration process. The availability of local land for any individual depended upon the number of siblings, the lifespan of parents and their socio-economic status. This created a constant source of pressure towards migration upon the local population who arrived after the free grants of land were taken up. It was alleviated somewhat by the declining birth rate. However, this pressure must also be considered in the context of wider social and economic change - change characterized by the timing of processes of industrialization and urbanization in Ontario. The results also suggest the ameliorating function of government social and economic assistance programs, especially after the Second World War.

These observations raise questions about the timing of the outmigration of local residents in each decade. Basically, the research suggests two hypotheses concerning the predominant cause of outmigration for each decade between 1879 and 1986. Firstly, the timing of outmigration is affected by external economic opportunities. If this hypothesis is correct, then outmigration is associated with the timing of external opportunities such as the availability of land in the Canadian Northwest and the increasing opportunities for industrial employment in Detroit and Sault Ste. Marie. In other words, the rate of outmigration reflects the timing of external events.

Secondly, the rate of outmigration reflects increasingly limited numbers entering farming. This reflects two processes. With the increasing trend toward larger, more commercial farming operations and the problems of land acquisition associated with inheritance, some became impatient for financial independence or were increasingly disillusioned with the rewards of farming. This reaction should be evident in a majority of outmigrants leaving between the ages of twenty and twenty-five. The time period predicted for this type of outmigration is shown for each cohort of arrival in the last row of Table 6.1. It represents the predicted time of outmigration for those born locally.

The actual rates of outmigration are shown by decade of departure in Table 7.68. Table 7.68 A indicates the rates of outmigration of all local residents. Table 7.68 B illustrates the experience of migrants who were born locally. In each case, over ten percent of the cohort of arrival leaves twenty to twenty-five years after arriving. It is also apparent that greater than ten percent of a cohort often left in other decades, a fact which is suggestive of the influence of external pressures and opportunities.

Table 7.68 A: All Migrants by Decade of Departure

Time of Arrival	Time of Departure										
	1879-1889	1890-1899	1900-1909	1910-1919	1920-1929	1930-1939	1940-1949	1950-1959	1960-1969	1970-1979	1980-1986
1879-1889	32	27	48	20	6	1	1	1	0	0	0
1890-1899		7	22	26	20	4	5	0	0	1	0
1900-1909			13	14	24	11	2	0	0	0	0
1910-1919				13	11	30	12	5	0	1	0
1920-1929					17	8	15	20	1	0	2
1930-1939								11	4	0	0
Total	32	34	83	73	78	54	35	36	6	2	2

Table 7.68 B: Migrants Born Locally by Decade of Departure

Time of Arrival	Time of Departure										
	1879-1889	1890-1899	1900-1909	1910-1919	1920-1929	1930-1939	1940-1949	1950-1959	1960-1969	1970-1979	1980-1986
1879-1889	4	2	17	4	4	0	1	0	0	0	0
1890-1899		1	2	20	17	2	4	0	0	1	0
1900-1909			2	12	21	11	1	0	0	0	0
1910-1919				6	5	24	12	4	0	1	0
1920-1929					13	6	14	19	0	0	1
1930-1939								11	4	0	0
Total	4	3	21	42	60	43	32	34	4	2	1

7.5.3 Summary

This multivariate analysis indicates the relative importance of membership within a family and kinship network in times of social change by providing a means of ensuring the social and economic welfare of the individual. Personal characteristics of individuals which describe attributes inherited as a result of membership within a particular family and its kinship network were the discriminators between those who remained as permanent residents of the local community and those who moved elsewhere.

Geographical stability was associated with the presence of siblings and parents, indicative of a complex local kinship network with sufficient resources to settle more than one child in the community. The socio-economic base required to achieve that status was based upon the father being a farmer. Permanence was also associated with the development process within this community. Those who arrived in a mature life cycle stage were more likely to stay locally and, from the bivariate analysis, were likely to have arrived during an early stage of the community's development when 'free' land was available. Migrants were associated with being born locally or being the children of non-farmers.

Chapter Eight: The Search for Security

In the century since this frontier was settled, there have been dramatic changes in both social and economic life for urban and rural families. Family resources and resourcefulness were the most reliable and pervasive protection against potential nineteenth century hazards to social and economic welfare: unemployment, accident, illness, aging and premature death. Farming was perceived as offering the greatest promise of achieving the ideal of freedom from want while promoting individuals' independence from reliance upon extra-familial sources for their needs. A farmer was a small-scale entrepreneur who was self-employed with the attendant independence from the control of others which that implied. A family farm was perceived as offering the opportunity of security and prosperity in good times. Farmers also felt that they could revert to subsistence farming if economic conditions worsened and that tactic was warranted.

Farm families found it difficult to maintain their traditional social and economic welfare function in the depression which lasted from 1873 until 1895. In order to

alleviate the widespread debt of farmers by providing the opportunity to begin again by acquiring farmland at an advantageous price and to stem out-migration of the rural population from the province, the Ontario government instituted a 'free grants' land policy. Farmers in southern Ontario were given a chance to begin again at the more northerly frontier. Many families used this opportunity to regroup in proximity to one another.

The era was marked by little government intervention in social welfare except in cases of extreme crisis. Since families had to adopt many strategies in order to try to maintain their social welfare, there was widespread acceptance of traditional conventions of mutual assistance among kin in costly or long-term crises, augmented by reliance upon assistance from both kin and neighbours in short-term crises. This informal social welfare system promoted the interests of all family members, thus ensuring the stability of some.

Dynamic changes within the families illustrated in previous chapters are indicative of experiences in most families in this community. Schematic representations of three families of varied sizes which arrived before 1890 emphasize the fact that no matter how many children there were in a family, many or few, only a minority of each generation remained as local residents (Figure 8.1). Child

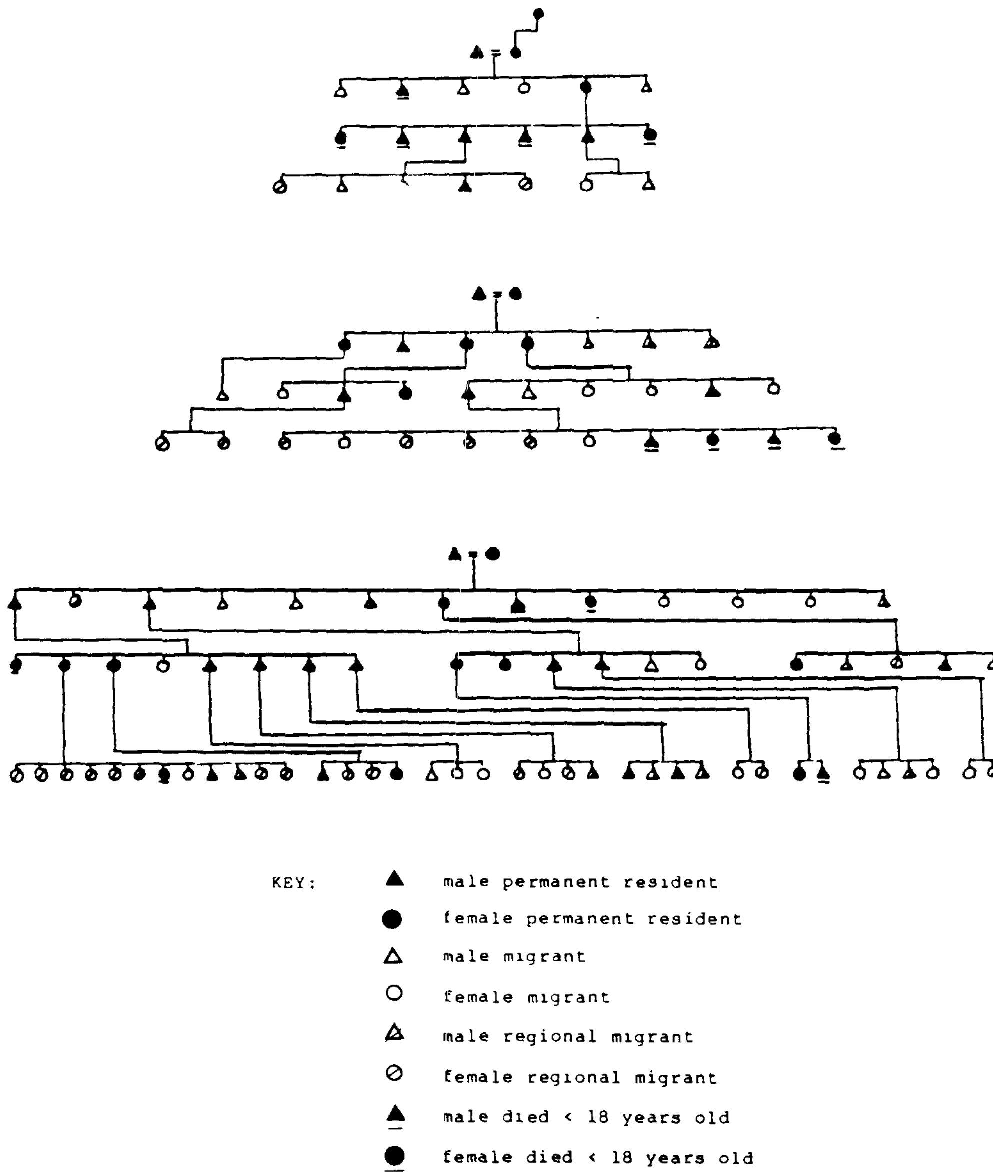


Figure 8.1 Schematic Representation of Selected Local Families

mortality is evident in each family and, although not coded into the diagrams, many of the permanent resident adults died prematurely by the standards of the majority of their cohort within the community. It is apparent that families were beset by many hazards threatening the survival of all individual members throughout the period from 1879 until 1939. Essentially, the processes fostering independence of families, the acquisition of land and kinship strategies promoting geographical stability which were begun in the first decade of settlement, evolved with decreasing effectiveness in promoting fulfillment of traditional expectations of social and economic security for farm family members.

Throughout the first sixty years of settlement, only about half of those arriving in the study area in any decade managed to become permanent residents of the community. Slightly more than half of those arriving in the first twenty years became permanent residents, assisted by the government's 'free' lands policy. In effect, the government augmented the resource base of these families and that, in conjunction with the arrival of people in all life cycle stages, minimized competition for local resources. When arrival cohorts primarily reflected local births, outmigration rates rose. Children of each cohort of arrival had to compete for limited local farmland, in spite of a

downward adjustment in farm family size and the eventual introduction of further government programs involving both direct and indirect intervention in the economic and social lives of these individuals. The rate of outmigration of individuals arriving fluctuated between forty-five and sixty-six percent of each arrival cohort.

The timing of outmigration varied throughout the century since this area was settled. The peak of outmigration occurred during the last great frontier boom when the prairies were settled just after the turn of the century. It signaled the last time when agricultural destinations predominated. The 'promise' of farm ownership was obviously not fulfilled for most after that time. The predominance of industrial and regional destinations among migrants after 1910 indicates the shift in expectations to the opportunities offered by industrial wage labour, mostly in Sault Ste. Marie, and to the more general advantages of staying within the region which can be associated with a sense of community fostered by the presence of a complex kinship network which now was spread throughout the region.

The general results will be discussed, followed by an assessment of their implications for families and societies in change. The strengths and weaknesses of the approach used in this research are discussed with suggestions for its applicability to future research.

8.1 Adaptation in Times of Change: A Consideration of the Role of the Family

This investigation into kinship networks gives an insight into its role in the evolution of the settlement geography of a new land. Kinship was an important factor in the peopling of a new area of settlement - migration into the area is characterized by families and other kin regrouping themselves in proximity to one another at the frontier. This suggests the importance of kinship relationships in uncertain circumstances and that the kinship network eased the adjustment process.

Furthermore, people who acquired land most often received it as a result of a close kinship relationship. The acquisition of land fostered geographical stability for those network members. It created a sense of community and an attachment of their families to many others within the region. Paradoxically, at the same time, the kinship network fostered a strong sense of familial orientation.

The significant association of two personal characteristics with permanent residence in the community suggests the importance of kinship relationships in the provision of social welfare for all members of a network. Permanence was strongly associated with the permanence of male siblings. The evidence obtained from qualitative sources suggests two interpretations of this result:

firstly, that the family of orientation had sufficient resources to settle more than one son locally and, secondly, that being closely related to another male within this rural community increased the chances of the individual being a permanent resident because of the mutual assistance function of kinship relationships which promoted geographical stability.

The ability of the individual to stay in the local area was also affected by events external to the family. The life cycle stage of the individual when arriving in the community is significantly associated with permanent residency. The older one was when one arrived, the more likely one was to remain as a permanent resident. Those who were born in the community had to compete with siblings for a chance to stay. Those who arrived during adulthood often brought sufficient resources with them to acquire farmland or arrived early enough to take advantage of the 'free grants'.

The greater the number of female siblings who were permanent residents of the community, the greater were the chances of an individual becoming a permanent resident. It is the significance of this variable which is suggestive of the importance of a complex local kinship network to the geographical stability of the individual and of the importance of the female component of that network.

As predicted, children of farmers were more likely to remain as permanent residents, although the association was not as strong as those of the other variables.

The characteristics associated with migrants indicate an increasing strain on limited family resources that caused some to seek opportunities elsewhere. Migration rates are highest among those born locally who had the most complex intergenerational kinship networks (with grandparents and parents having resided locally). When greater economic stress is evident, either positive or negative, the rate of migration rises. Overall, almost half of all arrivals became migrants, most upon reaching maturity. Both migration and lowered birth rates are evidence of a mechanism working to create local equilibrium with the resources available.

8.2 The Implications for Families and Societies in Change

The importance of the family in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the provision of social welfare for all members is suggested by the strength of the association of kinship-related variables with geographical stability. That these families were stressed by increasingly limited opportunities for providing stability for maturing children under the stresses of community evolution and external events is clear. Farm families exhibited decreasing birth rates over time but over half of

those arriving in the community after the first decade eventually moved away. The adjustments to family size seem to have only permitted the maintenance of the status quo in relation to outmigration rates.

It is also evident that the stabilization of out-migration was not due to a decreased population within the community. Government intervention policies have played a role in stabilizing the population in general by protection from most sudden and unexpected threats to social welfare. For most of these people, however, the programs of economic assistance by more advantageous mortgages sponsored by the government and by social security programs such as the Old Age Pensions Act have either come too late or have not had universal application.

Whatever hardships were faced in this community were well hidden and, in most instances, problems were resolved within the context of the privacy of family relations. The 'independence' sought by these individuals reflects an eighteenth century ideal of liberalism which is also a feature of early south-western Pennsylvania (Lemon: 1978). People displayed a 'front' of pride in self-sufficiency. Paradoxically, however, these families were unable to survive on their own until the advent of government assistance. The kinship network functioned as a mutual assistance agency.

'Independence' meant self-reliance but that was widely interpreted as reliance on one's kinship network only if a crisis warranted it. To this end, Henretta's assertion of the importance of family is also confirmed (Henretta: 1978). Both interpretations are valid and not mutually exclusive.

It is true that one senses little 'community' effort to address these problems affecting the welfare of all. On the other hand, the reason for that seems to be rooted in the idea that one did not discuss these problems because that would be an admission of personal failure in attaining the goal of self-reliance. People would assist neighbours willingly in an obvious crisis and through subtle indirect means in instances where a problem was not meant for public knowledge because it reflected upon the ability of a person to provide for the family. Only when government social welfare policies became applicable to any member of the population unconditionally and without the stigma of dependence did the situation change.

8.3 A Critique of The Approach

The complexity of the historical issues was such that a holistic approach was adopted. By that, I mean that a particular social institution was embedded in economic foundations and both had to be taken into account. The

problem was made more manageable by approaching the issue by means of a case study approach. It permitted greater awareness of the larger scene in which local events unfolded and insights into the widespread problem which could only be gained by an intimate knowledge of local events and reactions.

8.3.1 Strengths of the Approach

Multi-source record linkage created a richly detailed and virtually complete data set. This technique gives a much greater sense of patterns and process of change than any single record source and this is particularly helpful when studying individuals and families over several generations. It is not applicable to this community alone, but it is time-consuming and requires a great deal of organization in terms of data management. The reconstitution of the family histories of a community over several generations gives continuity to an understanding of the evolution of the process of change. This is a longitudinal study encompassing everyone who arrived in the case study area. between 1879 and 1939, but the data collected extends to 1986 for many individuals, in order to permit an assessment of outcomes over time. The quality of the data is such that it can be ordered in relation to a particular date and a cross-section of information can be

obtained which is much like that found in a census of the population. It can also be used to determine trends and changes. The time period was chosen because it reflects a period of important changes in social and economic relationships which profoundly affected the society and because it permitted an assessment of the evolution of this community from its inception. The combination of quantitative information with qualitative sources creates an objective assessment of the data and the interpretation of it. Each type of information gives a more profound understanding of the other.

The individual is the unit of analysis, but the situation is always considered in the context of the family of orientation and family of procreation, of the social and economic events and of changing policies in a wider context. This approach lets one access data at the level of the individual, the family and the community at any one point in time or throughout the sixty years. It means that additional information needed to understand patterns in the data was available immediately. For example, birthplaces of ancestors indicates an association of those whose parents and grandparents were born in the British Isles with permanence. It is important to this study to understand whether this association is a function of distance from birthplace and a less complex kinship network as a result of

that, or whether it reflects particular inheritance conventions in England, Scotland and Ireland. In the first instance, individuals were separated into those born in North America and those born in the British Isles. In the second, only those born in the British Isles were included, distinguished by their country of birth. The usual assessment of 'ethnicity' based upon the father's birthplace would have been misleading in this instance. In almost all instances of individuals born in North America, parents did not originate in the same country. Since it is postulated that kinship conventions affecting inheritance practices is a result of the conventions with which both parents are familiar from their homeland, and with adaptations which seemed appropriate to the circumstances which they found in the New World, then it is instructive to consider the places of origin of both parents and the length of time since they had emigrated. This 'richness' of the data set also leads to some problems.

Anderson's formalization of the theoretical utility of kinship relationships is crucial to this study. Although his research focusses upon experiences in Lancashire, the theory is neither time nor place specific. As Berkhofer (1979) argues, perhaps it is specific to cultures displaying kinship traditions and conventions similar to those of the study area, especially that of partible/impartible

inheritance of land. It suggests hypotheses about the ways in which kinship linkages among individuals create advantages for all network members, resulting in the selection of appropriate variables from the wealth of information available to test their association with permanence or migration.

The existence of a basic kinship network is fundamental to individual permanence, security and success. Mutual assistance among family members with limited resources meant that all were potentially dependent upon kin for assistance in times of crisis. In turn, membership in a kinship network appears to be advantageous for all individuals. It is evident that no one network member has a significantly greater advantage than any other. Permanent residency was not dependent upon gender, birth rank or marital status. Disadvantaged network members, those whose 'life chances' may have been compromised by the untimely death of a father, are no more likely to be migrants than others. Conversely, even though the inheritance system seems to favour the inheritor of land, he is not made independent of the mutual assistance network because of his inheritance. He is required to compensate siblings who do not inherit land and to accept responsibility for aging parents in many instances.

The middle range of kinship network complexity is the

most likely to foster permanent residency of an individual, as predicted by Anderson. A local kinship network which is either too simple or overly complex can increase the possibility of migration. For many individuals in this position, kinship relationships are advantageous in assisting in the migration process and in ensuring advantageous kinship linkages immediately upon arrival at a destination.

The spatial implications of the theory lead to one of the major contributions of this research. Mapping kinship linkages among male and female heads of households and their spouses lends a different perspective to the web of social and economic relationships within the community than that obtained from traditional lineage charts of anthropologists. The full range of network complexity is evident, as is the very real influence of the local environment upon the settlement pattern.

8.3.2 Weaknesses of the Approach

The example of the versatility of the data mentioned above illustrates a fundamental problem embedded in the case study approach. In that instance, it is difficult to determine a very refined sense of the extent to which the population studied is typical and over what area and time. Hartz (1968) has suggested that when new societies are

formed after a break with an older society, the new societies display different characteristics and patterns of evolution. If this idea is applicable to societies, it must also be applicable to individuals within that society. It is always problematical, then, to assess changes of this sort and to determine the extent to which the area and population studied is typical of a larger area and longer time period.

I choose to accept a conservative estimation of the extent of the applicability of these results in terms of extrapolation to other times and areas. The hesitation is because variation in questions for investigation and research methods make it difficult to draw comparisons based upon the evidence cited. However, there are many suggestions in the literature that Michigan, Ontario and Quebec populations displayed many similarities and it is suggested by other historians that the North American population displayed relatively homogeneeous characteristics. My assessment is that the changes within society were widespread and based upon fundamental forces which pervaded a large area and included both rural and urban milieux.

This problem is mitigated, in part, by a holistic approach. The information is assessed for these individuals in a small community embedded within a provincial matrix of

social and economic events leading to dramatic change. They are drawn from that society and there is no evidence that they differed from it significantly - indeed, they remained a part of it. Differences which they might display from the rest of that society would be what are referred to as 'regional' differences.

It is very difficult to make inferences about the extent to which networks were effective in the provision of social welfare but, again, the combination of quantitative and qualitative sources has been extremely useful. As is apparent from the discussion of attitudes to social welfare in Chapter One, these sensitive issues are not often discussed in the public record. Therefore, it is difficult to measure the extent to which any one kinship network contributed to the social welfare of its members. There is evidence for the actual workings of the mechanism, but information concerning monetary transactions was sensitive and, in keeping with the norms of the study area, they have not been discussed in any but general terms.

It has been possible for me to explore the validity of Anderson's exchange theory of kinship relationships because of my long association with the area. It has given me an awareness of much of the formal structure of the kin network. However, I do not consider myself as participant/ observer. Although my family lived in the area from the

1890s until 1915, I have never resided in the area. Long summer vacations in the area as a child give me a more profound understanding of kinship relationships than would have been possible otherwise, and, I would hope, a greater sensitivity to local customs. This has been fortuitous for my research but this kind of knowledge might not be forthcoming to others.

The data collected has resulted in a total reconstruction of the population and that is a time-consuming activity. Experience with this data set gives me confidence about some omissions in future research. This study has helped to determine key characteristics and variables which can now be replicated using a much less complicated data set. It has also been possible to determine the extent to which certain characteristics covary.

8.4 Implications for Future Research

Investigation of extended kinship networks in the past in an urban setting is probably impossibly complicated and would entail a small return for the potential benefit in insights gained. The population is simply too large unless some exceptional source of information is found. However, there are influential sub-networks apparent in urban populations: people who are associated with particular

phases of the same dramatic era of change. It is possible to concentrate on associational and kinship ties for people involved in a localized manifestation of wider changes in society.

Finally, it would be of great interest to investigate the association among network members who left Day, Bright and Bright Additional townships to reside in Sault Ste. Marie. To what extent did they congregate in proximity to one another and for what length of time? To what extent did they maintain contact with their rural point of origin? Did the personal characteristics of their descendants differ from those who remained in the rural milieu and, dependent upon that, was the rate of geographical mobility comparable? Has our industrialized society significantly improved the circumstances of ordinary people through the extensive provision of social welfare programs? This research dispels the myth that the family farm was the solid foundation upon which social and economic stability was secured, in spite of the popular acceptance of its validity. We can no longer indulge in mythical suppositions if we are to create and maintain a humane society for all Canadians.

APPENDIX A:

COMPUTER CODEBOOK

APPENDIX A: CODEBOOK FOR COMPUTER

01-07	**surname**	**SURNAME**
09-14	**first name**	**FIRSTNAM**
16-18	**year of birth**	**BIRTHYR**
19-20	**birthplace** 01 local 02 regional 03 northern Ontario 04 southern Ontario 05 Michigan 06 Quebec 07 New Brunswick 08 Nova Scotia 09 other Canadian 10 England 11 Scotland 12 Ireland 13 other U.S. 14 adjacent township 99 unknown	**BRTHPL**
21-22	**birthrank**	**BRTHRANK**
23	**gender**	**GENDER**
24	**time of arrival** 1 1879-1889 2 1890-1899 3 1900-1909 4 1910-1919 5 1920-1929 6 1930-1939	**ARRIVAL**
25-26	**age at arrival**	**AGEARRIV**
27	**acquisition of land (source)** 0 no land acquired 1 from parents or parents-in-law 2 from siblings or siblngs-in-law 3 from other kin 4 new arrival related to someone in the community 5 Letters Patent from the Crown 6 from neighbour 7 new arrival to community 8 from marriage to a landowner* 9 unknown * women were coded as landowners when land appeared in their own name	**ACQLAND**
28-29	**age at acquisition of land**	**AGEACQL**

30 preferential acquisition of land **PREFACQL**

0 no land acquired preferentially
1 from kin for $1 love and affection
2 Letters Patent from Crown
3 land acquired but not preferentially
4 through marriage (dower rights)*
5 at less than market value
6 at full market price
7 by tax sale
8 by widow's claim under the Free Grants and Homesteads Act of 1868*
9 unknown

* women are coded at the time of marriage but that code is superceded by widow's claim

31-32 age at preferential acquisition of land **AGEPREFL**

33-34 occupation **OCCUP**

00 died young
01 farmer
02 farmer's wife
03 merchant
04 blacksmith
05 miller
06 lumberman
07 labourer
08 teacher
09 minister
10 nurseryman
11 promoter
12 wife of entrepreneur, professional or labourer
13 nurse
14 auto worker
15 dressmaker
16 bus driver
17 boardinghouse owner
18 clerk
19 baker
20 carpenter
21 military
22 unemployed
23 gentleman
24 Indian agent
25 newspaperman
26 miner
27 soldier
28 trucker
29 secretary
30 meat cutter
31 electrician
32 mechanic
33 trainman
34 accountant
35 livery
36 assessor
37 contractor
38 barber
39 lumbercamp cook
40 disability
41 missionary
42 resort operator
99 unknown

Columns	Variable	Name
35-36	**occupation before acquisition of land**	**OCCUPNOL**
	00 died young	
	01 farmer	
	02 farmer's wife	
	03 merchant	
	04 blacksmith	
	05 miller	
	06 lumberman	
	07 labourer	
	08 teacher	
	09 minister	
	10 wife of other	
	11 shoemaker	
	12 carpenter	
	13 nurse	
	14 (a missed code number)	
	15 dressmaker	
	16 secretary	
	17 engineer	
	18 soldier	
	19 at home	
37	**marital status**	**MSTAT**
	0 died young	
	1 unmarried	
	2 married local resident	
	3 married outside community	
	4 arrived married	
	5 widower	
	9 married but details unknown	
38-39	**age at marriage**	**AGEMARR**
40-41	**male children born**	**MALECHLD**
42-43	**female children born**	**FEMCHLD**
44-45	**total children born**	**TOTCHLD**
46-47	**male children over 21**	**MCHLD21**
48-49	**female children over 21**	**FCHLD21**
50-51	**total children over 21**	**TOTCHL21**
52-53	**years residence to 1939**	**YRSRES39**
54-55	**total years of residence**	**YRSRES**
56	**residence status**	**RESSTAT**
	0 died young	
	1 permanent resident	
	2 migrant	

57-58 destination of individual **DESTINDV**

01 local
02 regional
03 southern Ontario
04 northern Ontario
05 Michigan
06 Manitoba
07 Saskatchewan
08 Alberta
09 B.C.
10 other Canadian
11 other U.S.
12 Africa
13 China
14 death in local area
99 unknown

59 destination kind **DESTYPE**

0 died young
1 agricultural
2 industrial
3 mining
4 lumber
5 large city
6 small town
7 mission
8 institution
9 unknown

60 chain out-migration **CHAINMIG**

0 none
1 with kin
2 kin at destination
3 with neighbours
4 neighbours at destination
5 no connections
6 return to point of origin
7 regional
9 unknown

61-63 father's surname **FRSURNAM**

64-65 father's birthplace **FRBRTHPL**

01 local
02 regional
03 northern Ontario
04 southern Ontario
05 Quebec
06 Michigan
07 New Brunswick
08 Nova Scotia
09 England
10 Scotland
11 Ireland
12 other Canadian
13 other U.S.
99 unknown

66-68 father's year of birth **FRBRTHYR**

69-70 n years father permanent locally **FRPERM**

71-72 years father permanent locally to 1939 **FRPERM39**

73-74 father's occupation **FROCCUP**

01 farmer
02 miller
03 merchant
04 blacksmith
05 lumberman
06 teacher
07 carpenter
08 shoemaker
09 gentleman
10 labourer
11 minister
12 railroads
13 baker
14 gardener
15 contractor
16 barber
17 shepherd
18 farm steward
19 farm labourer
99 unknown

75-77 year of father's death **YRFRDIED**

78-79 father's age at death **FRAGEDTH**

80 m1 (adjustment) **M1**

01-02 mother's surname **MRSURNAM**

03-04 mother's birthplace **MRBRTHPL**

01 local
02 regional
03 northern Ontario
04 southern Ontario
05 Quebec
06 Michigan
07 New Brunswick
08 Nova Scotia
09 England
10 Scotland
11 Ireland
12 other Canadian
13 other U.S.
99 unknown

05-07 mother's year of birth **MRBRTHYR**

08-09 n years mother resident locally **MRPERM**

10-11 n years mother resident locally to 1939 **MRPERM39**

12 mother's occupation **MROCCUP**

1 farmer's wife
2 housewife
3 farmer
4 teacher
5 merchant
6 nurse
9 unknown

13	**land tenure if widowed** 0 doesn't apply 1 land retained to death 2 transferred to child 3 contract to maintain parents 4 land sold to other than family member 5 co-ownership with child 6 land sold before death of father 7 husband and wife already parted 8 sold to relative 9 never owned land	**LTENWID**
14-15	**n years of widowhood**	**YRSWIDOW**
16-18	**year of mother's death**	**YRMRDIED**
19-20	**mother's age at death**	**MRAGEDTH**
21	**n generations of individual in this community**	**GENCOMM**
22-24	**year ancestors first arrived**	**YRANCARR**
25-27	**family continuity in community to 1986**	**FAMCON86**
28-29	**family continuity in community to 1939**	**FAMCON39**
30-31	**n male children born to parents**	**PMALECHD**
32-33	**n female children born to parents**	**PFEMCHD**
34-35	**n total children born to parents**	**PTOTCHD**
36-37	**n male children of parents to 21**	**PMALCH21**
38-39	**n female children of parents to 21**	**PFEMCH21**
40-41	**n total children of parents to 21**	**PTOTCH21**
42-43	**n permanent male children of parents**	**PPERMMCH**
44-45	**n permanent female children of parents**	**PPERMFCH**
46	**migration of parents** 0 none 1 Michigan 2 western Canada 3 southern Ontario 4 regional 5 other Canadian 6 other U.S. 9 unknown	**MIGRPAR**
47	**type of destination of parents** 0 stayed locally 1 agricultural 2 industrial 3 mining 4 lumbering 5 large city 6 small town 9 unknown	**DESTYPAR**
48-50	**paternal grandfather's surname**	**PGFRSN**

51-52 birthplace of paternal grandfather — PGFRBPL

01 local
02 regional
03 northern Ontario
04 southern Ontario
05 Quebec
06 Michigan
07 New Brunswick
08 Nova Scotia
09 England
10 Scotland
11 Ireland
12 other Canadian
13 other U.S.
99 unknown

53-55 year of birth of paternal grandfather — PGFRBYR

56-58 paternal grandfather's year of arrival — PGFRARR

59-60 paternal grandfather's age at arrival — PGFRAGA

61-62 n years paternal grandfather resident locally — PGFRLOCR

63-64 paternal grandfather's age at death — PGFRAGDT

65-67 year of paternal grandfather's death — PGFRYRDT

68-70 paternal grandmother's surname — PGMRSN

71-72 paternal grandmother's birthplace — PGMRBPL

01 local
02 regional
03 northern Ontario
04 southern Ontario
05 Quebec
06 Michigan
07 New Brunswick
08 Nova Scotia
09 England
10 Scotland
11 Ireland
12 other Canadian
13 other U.S.
99 unknown

73-75 paternal grandmother's year of birth — PGMRYRBR

76-78 year of arrival of paternal grandmother — PGMRYRAR

79-80 paternal grandmother's age at arrival — PGMRAGAR

01-02 n years paternal grandmother resident locally — PGMRLOCR

03-04 paternal grandmother's age at death — PGMRAGDT

05-07 year of death of paternal grandmother — PGMRYRDT

08-10 maternal grandfather's surname — MGFRSN

11-12 maternal grandfather's birthplace MGFRBPL

01 local
02 regional
03 northern Ontario
04 southern Ontario
05 Quebec
06 Michigan
07 New Brunswick
08 Nova Scotia
09 England
10 Scotland
11 Ireland
12 other Canadian
13 other U.S.
99 unknown

13-15 year of birth of maternal grandfather MGFRYRBR

16-18 year of arrival of maternal grandfather MGFRYRAR

19-20 maternal grandfather's age at arrival MGFRAGAR

21-22 n years maternal grandfather resident locally MGFRLOCR

23-24 age at death of maternal grandfather MGFRAGDT

25-27 year of death of maternal grandfather MGFRYRDT

28-30 maternal grandmother's surname MGMRSN

31-32 maternal grandmother's birthplace MGMRBPL

01 local
02 regional
03 northern Ontario
04 southern Ontario
05 Quebec
06 Michigan
07 New Brunswick
08 Nova Scotia
09 England
10 Scotland
11 Ireland
12 other Canadian
13 other U.S.
99 unknown

33-35 year of birth of maternal grandmother MGMRYRBR

36-38 year of arrival of maternal grandmother MGMRYRAR

39-40 maternal grandmother's age at arrival MGMRAGAR

41-42 n years maternal grandmother resident locally MGMRLOCR

43-44 age at death of maternal grandmother MGMRAGDT

45-47 year of death of maternal grandmother MGMRYRDT

APPENDIX B:

BIVARIATE ANALYSIS

Table B7.3: THE EFFECT OF THE BIRTHPLACE OF FATHER ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	North America	British Isles
Permanent	165 36%	171 51%
Migrant	289 64%	163 49%
	454 100%	334 100%

Chi Square 16.76 d.f. 1 sig. 0.00

Table B7.4: THE EFFECT OF THE BIRTHPLACE OF MOTHER ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	North America	British Isles
Permanent	200 39%	124 53%
Migrant	318 61%	109 47%
	518 100%	233 100%

Chi Square 13.39 d.f. 1 sig. 0.00

Table B7.5: THE EFFECT OF THE BIRTHPLACE OF PATERNAL GRANDFATHER ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	North America	British Isles
Permanent	75 34%	171 44%
Migrant	149 66%	219 56%
	224 100%	390 100%

Chi Square 5.94 d.f. 1 sig. 0.02

Table B7.6: THE EFFECT OF THE BIRTHPLACE OF PATERNAL GRANDMOTHER ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	North America	British Isles
Permanent	82 33%	131 46%
Migrant	167 67%	151 54%
	249 100%	282 100%

Chi Square 9.51 d.f. 1 sig. 0.00

Table B7.7: THE EFFECT OF THE BIRTHPLACE OF MATERNAL GRANDFATHER ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	North America	British Isles
Permanent	36	147
	27%	43%
Migrant	99	195
	73%	57%
	135	342
	100%	100%

Chi Square 10.22   d.f. 1   sig. 0.00

Table B7.8: THE EFFECT OF THE BIRTHPLACE OF MATERNAL GRANDMOTHER ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	North America	British Isles
Permanent	51	136
	29%	44%
Migrant	123	176
	71%	56%
	174	312
	100%	100%

Chi Square 9.03   d.f. 1   sig. 0.00

Table B7.9: THE EFFECT OF FATHER'S COUNTRY OF ORIGIN ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	England	Scotland	Ireland
Permanent	48 50%	76 53%	47 50%
Migrant	48 50%	68 47%	47 50%
	96 100%	144 100%	94 100%

Chi Square 0.25 d.f. 2 sig. 0.88

Table B7.10: THE EFFECT OF MOTHER'S COUNTRY OF ORIGIN ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	England	Scotland	Ireland
Permanent	27 52%	67 58%	34 52%
Migrant	25 48%	48 42%	32 48%
	52 100%	115 100%	66 100%

Chi Square 1.02 d.f. 2 sig. 0.60

Table B7.11: THE EFFECT OF PATERNAL GRANDFATHER'S COUNTRY OF ORIGIN ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	England	Scotland	Ireland
Permanent	50 46%	70 47%	51 38%
Migrant	58 54%	78 53%	83 62%
	108 100%	148 100%	134 100%

Chi Square 2.80 d.f. 2 sig. 0.25

Table B7.12: THE EFFECT OF PATERNAL GRANDMOTHER'S COUNTRY OF ORIGIN ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	England	Scotland	Ireland
Permanent	40 49%	50 44%	37 44%
Migrant	42 51%	65 56%	48 56%
	82 100%	115 100%	85 100%

Chi Square 0.66 d.f. 2 sig. 0.72

Table B7.13: THE EFFECT OF MATERNAL GRANDFATHER'S COUNTRY OF ORIGIN ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	England	Scotland	Ireland
Permanent	40 41%	60 40%	47 50%
Migrant	58 59%	91 60%	46 49%
	98 100%	151 100%	93 100%

Chi Square 3.00 d.f. 2 sig. 0.22

Table B7.14: THE EFFECT OF MATERNAL GRANDMOTHER'S COUNTRY OF ORIGIN ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	England	Scotland	Ireland
Permanent	31 45%	63 41%	42 46%
Migrant	38 55%	89 59%	49 54%
	69 100%	152 100%	91 100%

Chi Square 0.58 d.f. 2 sig. 0.75

Table B7.15: THE EFFECT OF FATHER'S BIRTHPLACE UPON LAND OWNERSHIP

	North America	British Isles
Landless	362	166
	73%	48%
Landowner	135	182
	27%	52%
	497	348
	100%	100%

Chi Square 54.10 d.f. 1 sig. 0.00

Table B7.16: THE EFFECT OF MOTHER'S BIRTHPLACE UPON LAND OWNERSHIP

	North America	British Isles
Landless	394	102
	71%	42%
Landowner	163	142
	29%	58%
	557	344
	100%	100%

Chi Square 59.02 d.f. 1 sig. 0.00

Table B7.17: THE EFFECT OF PATERNAL GRANDFATHER'S BIRTHPLACE UPON LAND OWNERSHIP

	North America	British Isles
Landless	186 78%	261 61%
Landowner	53 22%	169 39%
	239 100%	430 100%

Chi Square 19.56 d.f. 1 sig. 0.00

Table B7.18: THE EFFECT OF PATERNAL GRANDMOTHER'S BIRTHPLACE UPON LAND OWNERSHIP

	North America	British Isles
Landless	210 78%	181 58%
Landowner	59 22%	129 42%
	269 100%	310 100%

Chi Square 24.55 d.f. 1 sig. 0.00

Table B7.19: THE EFFECT OF MATERNAL GRANDFATHER'S BIRTHPLACE UPON LAND OWNERSHIP

	North America	British Isles
Landless	114 79%	225 61%
Landowner	31 21%	143 39%
	145 100%	368 100%

Chi Square 13.40 d.f. 1 sig. 0.00

Table B7.20: THE EFFECT OF MATERNAL GRANDMOTHER'S BIRTHPLACE UPON LAND OWNERSHIP

	North America	British Isles
Landless	141 74%	211 63%
Landowner	49 26%	123 37%
	190 100%	334 100%

Chi Square 6.20 d.f. 1 sig. 0.01

Table B7.21: THE EFFECT OF FATHER'S BIRTHPLACE UPON PREFERENTIAL ACQUISITION OF LAND

	North America	British Isles
Land from kin	89	76
	86%	59%
Land by patent	15	52
	14%	41%
	104	128
	100%	100%

Chi Square 17.93 d.f. 1 sig. 0.00

Table B7.22: THE EFFECT OF MOTHER'S BIRTHPLACE UPON PREFERENTIAL ACQUISITION OF LAND

	North America	British Isles
Land from kin	100	57
	81%	56%
Land by patent	23	44
	19%	44%
	123	101
	100%	100%

Chi Square 15.19 d.f. 1 sig. 0.00

Table B7.23: THE EFFECT OF PATERNAL GRANDFATHER'S BIRTHPLACE UPON PREFERENTIAL ACQUISITION OF LAND

	North America	British Isles
Land from kin	42 98%	85 71%
Land by patent	1 2%	35 29%
	43 100%	120 100%

Chi Square 11.74 d.f. 1 sig. 0.00

Table B7.24: THE EFFECT OF PATERNAL GRANDMOTHER'S BIRTHPLACE UPON PREFERENTIAL ACQUISITION OF LAND

	North America	British Isles
Land from kin	44 98%	71 78%
Land by patent	1 2%	20 22%
	45 100%	91 100%

Chi Square 37.08 d.f. 1 sig. 0.00

Table B7.25: THE EFFECT OF MATERNAL GRANDFATHER'S BIRTHPLACE UPON PREFERENTIAL ACQUISITION OF LAND

	North America	British Isles
Land from kin	26	77
	100%	76%
Land by patent	0	24
	0%	24%
	26	101
	100%	100%

Chi Square 6.15 d.f. 1 sig. 0.00

Table B7.26: THE EFFECT OF MATERNAL GRANDMOTHER'S BIRTHPLACE UPON PREFERENTIAL ACQUISITION OF LAND

	North America	British Isles
Land from kin	38	63
	93%	74%
Land by patent	3	22
	7%	26%
	41	85
	100%	100%

Chi Square 4.88 d.f. 1 sig. 0.03

Table B7.27: THE EFFECT OF THE EARLIEST YEAR OF ARRIVAL OF ANY ANCESTOR ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	YEAR OF EARLIEST ANCESTOR ARRIVAL	
	$\bar{R}$	Cases
Permanent	478.5	408
Migrant	448.9	515
		923

U 98331.0 P = 0.07

Table B7.28: THE EFFECT OF FATHER BEING A LOCAL RESIDENT UPON RESIDENCE STATUS

	Father a local resident	Father not a local resident
Permanent	280 39%	133 63%
Migrant	437 61%	78 37%
	717 100%	211 100%

Chi Square 37.00 d.f. 1 sig. 0.00

Table B7.29: THE EFFECT OF MOTHER BEING A LOCAL RESIDENT UPON RESIDENCE STATUS

	Mother a local resident	Mother not a local resident
Permanent	275 39%	138 64%
Migrant	437 61%	78 36%
	712 100%	216 100%

Chi Square 41.82 d.f. 1 sig. 0.00

Table B7.30: THE EFFECT OF PATERNAL GRANDFATHER BEING A LOCAL RESIDENT ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	Paternal Grandfather a local resident	Paternal Grandfather not a local resident
Permanent	320	93
	50%	32%
Migrant	319	196
	50%	68%
	639	289
	100%	100%

Chi Square 25.09 d.f. 1 sig. 0.00

Table B7.31: THE EFFECT OF PATERNAL GRANDMOTHER BEING A LOCAL RESIDENT ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	Paternal Grandmother a local resident	Paternal Grandmother not a local resident
Permanent	328	85
	50%	31%
Migrant	324	191
	50%	69%
	652	276
	100%	100%

Chi Square 29.10 d.f. 1 sig. 0.00

Table B7.32: THE EFFECT OF MATERNAL GRANDFATHER BEING A LOCAL RESIDENT ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	Maternal Grandfather a local resident	Maternal Grandfather not a local resident
Permanent	329 49%	84 34%
Migrant	349 51%	166 66%
	678 100%	250 100%

Chi Square 15.88 d.f. 1 sig. 0.00

Table B7.33: THE EFFECT OF MATERNAL GRANDMOTHER BEING A LOCAL RESIDENT ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	Maternal Grandmother a local resident	Maternal Grandmother not a local resident
Permanent	328 48%	85 34%
Migrant	353 52%	162 66%
	681 100%	247 100%

Chi Square 13.33 d.f. 1 sig. 0.00

Table B7.34:

A. THE EFFECT OF NUMBER OF YEARS FATHER WAS A LOCAL RESIDENT UPON RESIDENCE STATUS

	Group Means	Cases
Permanent	25.37	383
Migrant	31.02	502
		885

F 1.03 P = 0.00

B. THE EFFECT OF NUMBER OF YEARS MOTHER WAS A LOCAL RESIDENT UPON RESIDENCE STATUS

	Group Means	Cases
Permanent	28.93	362
Migrant	34.40	466
		885

F 1.22 P = 0.01

Table B7.35: THE EFFECT OF CUMULATIVE NUMBER OF YEARS GRANDPARENTS WERE LOCAL RESIDENTS UPON RESIDENCE STATUS

	Group Means	Cases
Permanent	23.77	385
Migrant	37.81	446
		831

F 1.28 P = 0.00

Table B7.36: THE EFFECT OF THE CONTINUING PRESENCE OF PARENTS UPON RESIDENCE STATUS

	Parents Stayed Locally	Parents Migrated
Permanent	262	17
	47%	15%
Migrant	297	99
	53%	85%
	559	116
	100%	100%

Chi Square 39.79 d.f. 1 sig. 0.00

Table B7.37: THE EFFECT OF DISTANCE OF PARENT'S MIGRATION OUT OF LOCAL AREA ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	$\bar{R}$	Cases
Permanent	463.55	413
Migrant	465.26	515
		928

U 105956.5 P = 0.91

Table B7.38: THE EFFECT OF PERMANENT RESIDENT MALE SIBLINGS ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	Group Means	Cases
Permanent	1.58	388
Migrant	.79	483
		871

F 1.61 P = 0.00

Table B7.39: THE EFFECT OF PERMANENT RESIDENT FEMALE SIBLINGS ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	Group Means	Cases
Permanent	1.14	397
Migrant	.57	483
		880

F 1.17 P = 0.00

Table B7.40: THE EFFECT OF CUMULATIVE YEARS OF FAMILY CONTINUITY TO 1986 ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	Group Means	Cases
Permanent	85.75	409
Migrant	75.36	515
		924

F 2.01 P = 0.00

Table B7.41: THE EFFECT OF THE TIMING OF LIFE CYCLE EVENTS OF ANCESTORS ON RESIDENCE STATUS

B7.41.1 Father:

A. Year of Birth:

	$\bar{R}$	Cases
Permanent	317.09	285
Migrant	391.98	439
		724

U 49614.5 P = 0.00

B. Year of Death:

	$\bar{R}$	Cases
Permanent	260.82	235
Migrant	301.21	333
		568

U 33562.5 P = 0.00

B7.41.2 Mother:

A. Year of Birth:

	$\bar{R}$	Cases
Permanent	310.11	276
Migrant	379.07	427
		703

U 47365.0 P = 0.00

B. Year of Death:

	$\bar{R}$	Cases
Permanent	242.36	215
Migrant	270.03	301
		516

U 28886.5 P = 0.00

B7.41.3 Paternal Grandfather:

A. Year of Birth:

	$\bar{R}$	Cases
Permanent	162.22	127
Migrant	194.81	239
		366

U 12474.5 P = 0.01

B. Year of Death:

	$\bar{R}$	Cases
Permanent	116.26	75
Migrant	123.85	167
		242

U 5869.5 P = 0.44

B7.41.4 Paternal Grandmother:

A. Year of Birth:

	$\bar{R}$	Cases
Permanent	159.35	120
Migrant	186.81	234
		354

U 11862.5 P = 0.02

B. Year of Death:

	$\bar{R}$	Cases
Permanent	109.41	69
Migrant	114.59	156
		225

U 5134.5 P = 0.58

B7.41.5 Maternal Grandfather:

A. Year of Birth:

	$\bar{R}$	Cases
Permanent	130.19	91
Migrant	148.30	193
		284

U 7661.5 P = 0.08

B. Year of Death:

	$\bar{R}$	Cases
Permanent	84.69	75
Migrant	109.26	124
		199

U 8502.0 P = 0.00

B7.41.6 Maternal Grandmother:

A. Year of Birth:

	$\bar{R}$	Cases
Permanent	120.99	87
Migrant	140.99	181
		268

U 6698.0 P = 0.05

B. Year of Death:

	$\bar{R}$	Cases
Permanent	98.08	77
Migrant	103.60	125
		202

U 4549.5 P = 0.51

Table B7.42: THE EFFECT OF OCCUPATION OF FATHER ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	Occupation of Father	
	Farmer	Non-Farmer
Permanent	252 42%	43 31%
Migrant	347 58%	98 69%
	599 100%	141 100%

Chi Square 5.90 d.f. 1 sig. 0.02

Table B7.43: THE EFFECT OF OCCUPATION OF MOTHER ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	Occupation of Mother	
	Farming	Non-Farming
Permanent	242 44%	41 26%
Migrant	314 56%	115 74%
	556 100%	156 100%

Chi Square 14.41 d.f. 1 sig. 0.00

Table B7.44: THE EFFECT OF DISTANCE FROM INDIVIDUAL'S BIRTHPLACE ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	$\bar{R}$	Cases
Permanent	504.41	383
Migrant	381.66	485
		868

U 67250.05 P = 0.00

Table B7.45: THE EFFECT OF NUMBER OF GENERATIONS OF FAMILY IN COMMUNITY WHICH INDIVIDUAL REPRESENTS ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	$\bar{R}$	Cases
Permanent	399.08	411
Migrant	514.91	515
		926

U 79354.0 P = 0.00

Table B7.46: THE EFFECT OF CUMULATIVE YEARS OF LOCAL RESIDENCE ON RESIDENCE STATUS OF THE INDIVIDUAL

	Group Means	Cases
Permanent	42.11	372
Migrant	19.22	462
		834

F 3.88 P = 0.00

Table B7.47: THE EFFECT OF INDIVIDUAL'S YEAR OF BIRTH ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	$\bar{R}$	Cases
Permanent	382.45	409
Migrant	519.07	506
		915

U 72578.0 P = 0.00

Table B7.48: THE EFFECT OF INDIVIDUAL'S TIME OF ARRIVAL ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	$\bar{R}$	Cases
Permanent	422.31	413
Migrant	498.33	515
		928

U 88923.5 P = 0.00

Table B7.49: THE EFFECT OF INDIVIDUAL'S AGE AT ARRIVAL ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	Group Means	Cases
Permanent	1.51	413
Migrant	0.82	515
		928

F 1.40 P = 0.00

Table B7.50: THE EFFECT OF LAND OWNERSHIP ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	Land Ownership Status	
	Landless	Landowner
Permanent	157 29%	255 66%
Migrant	381 71%	132 34%
	538 100%	387 100%

Chi Square 121.31 d.f. 1 sig. 0.00

Table B7.51: THE EFFECT OF INDIVIDUAL'S AGE AT LAND ACQUISITION ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	Group Means	Cases
Permanent	39.13	250
Migrant	34.79	116
		366

F 1.03 P = 0.01

Table B7.52: THE EFFECT OF THE PREFERENTIAL ACQUISITION OF LAND ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	Preferential Acquisition of Land	No Preferential Acquisition of Land
Permanent	204 68%	62 69%
Migrant	95 32%	28 61%
	299 100%	90 100%

Chi Square .11 d.f. 1 sig. 0.71

Table B7.53: THE EFFECT OF ORIGIN OF SPOUSE ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	Origin of Spouse	
	Local Resident	Non-Resident
Permanent	174 62%	54 26%
Migrant	109 38%	152 74%
	283 100%	206 100%

Chi Square 58.19 d.f. 1 sig. 0.00

Table B7.54: THE EFFECT OF MARRIAGE ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	Marital Status	
	Married	Unmarried
Permanent	325 51%	43 58%
Migrant	316 49%	31 42%
	641 100%	74 100%

Chi Square 1.18 d.f. 1 sig. 0.28

Table B7.55: THE EFFECT OF INDIVIDUAL'S YEAR OF MARRIAGE ON RE..DENCE STATUS

	$\bar{R}$	Cases
Permanent	283.35	375
Migrant	344.27	238
		613

U 35755.5 P = 0.00

Table B7.56: THE EFFECT OF NUMBER OF MALE CHILDREN BORN ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	Group Means	Cases
Permanent	2.03	341
Migrant	1.42	151
		492

F 1.15 P = 0.00

Table B7.57: THE EFFECT OF NUMBER OF FEMALE CHILDREN BORN ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	Group Means	Cases
Permanent	2.03	341
Migrant	1.27	151
		492

F 1.51 P = 0.00

Table B7.57: THE EFFECT OF NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	Group Means	Cases
Permanent	3.78	343
Migrant	2.83	153
		496

F 1.23 P = 0.00

Table B7.59: THE EFFECT OF INDIVIDUAL'S AGE AT ARRIVAL ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	Group Means	Cases
Permanent	1.51	413
Migrant	0.82	515
		928

F 1.40 P = 0.00

Table B7.60: THE EFFECT OF OCCUPATION ON RESIDENCE STATUS

	Occupation	
	Farmer	Non-Farmer
Permanent	283 69%	69 32%
Migrant	125 31%	145 68%
	408 100%	214 100%

Chi Square 77.23 d.f. 1 sig. 0.00

Table B7.61: **THE EFFICIENCY OF INHERITANCE VS. PATENTING**

	Preferential Land Acquisition	
	Kin ($1, love and affection)	Patent
Permanent	143 67%	49 66%
Migrant	70 33%	25 34%
	213 100%	74 100%

Chi Square 0.00 d.f. 1 sig. 0.99

Table B7.62: THE SELECTION OF VARIABLES FOR DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS

Independent Variables	Contribution of Variable			Cases	Problems with Variable
	Kinship Network Complexity	Timing of Events	Socio-Economic Status		
Birthplace of father		x		788	8
Birthplace of mother		x		751	8
Birthplace of paternal grandfather		x		614	2,8
Birthplace of paternal grandmother		x		531	2,8
Birthplace of maternal grandfather		x		477	2,8
Birthplace of maternal grandmother		x		486	2,8
Earliest year of arrival of ancestors	x	x	x	923	1
Presence of father locally	x		x	928	4
Presence of mother locally	x		x	928	4
Year paternal grandfather arrived	x	x	x	928	4
Year paternal grandmother arrived	x	x	x	928	4
Year maternal grandfather arrived	x	x	x	928	4
Year maternal grandmother arrived	x	x	x	928	4
Age at arrival of paternal grandfather		x		920	4
Age at arrival of paternal grandmother		x		912	4
Age at arrival of maternal grandfather		x		903	4
Age at arrival of maternal grandmother		x		928	4
Years father a local resident	x	x	x	885	4
Years father a local resident to 1939	x	x	x	882	4
Years mother a local resident	x	x	x	828	4
Years mother a local resident to 1939	x	x	x	827	4
Residence status of parents	x			629	4,8
Out-migration distance of parents	x		x	928	1
Permanent resident male siblings	x		x	872	
Permanent resident female siblings	x		x	881	
Years paternal grandfather local resident	x		x	895	4
Years paternal grandmother local resident	x		x	882	4
Years maternal grandfather local resident	x		x	873	1,4
Years maternal grandmother local resident	x		x	860	4
Cumulative years all grandparents were resident	x		x	831	4
Years of family continuity to 1986	x		x	924	5
Years of family continuity to 1939	x		x	924	5
Year of birth of father		x		724	2,8
Year of death of father	x	x	x	568	2,8
Year of birth of mother		x		703	8
Widowhood of mother		x	x	540	1,8
Year of death of mother	x	x	x	516	1,8*
Year of birth of paternal grandfather		x		366	2,8
Year of death of paternal grandfather	x		x	242	1,2,8
Year of birth of paternal grandmother		x		354	1,2,8
Year of death of paternal grandmother	x		x	225	1,2,8
Year of birth of maternal grandfather		x		284	1,2,8
Year of death of maternal grandfather	x		x	199	2,8
Year of birth of maternal grandmother		x		268	1,2,8*
Year of death of maternal grandmother	x		x	202	1,2,8
Occupation of father			x	740	1,2,8*
Age of father at death			x	561	1,8
Occupation of mother			x	712	8
Land tenure of widowed mother			x	673	1,6,8*
Age of mother at death			x	512	1,8
Duration of widowhood of mother			x	540	1,8
Male children of parents	x		x	703	1,8
Female children of parents	x		x	702	1,8
Total children of parents	x		x	701	1,8
Male siblings ≥ 21 years	x		x	694	1,8
Female siblings ≥ 21 years	x		x	693	1,8
Total siblings ≥ 21 years	x		x	693	1,8

Independent Variables	Contribution of Variables: Kinship Network Complexity	Timing of Events	Socio-Economic Status	Cases	Problems with Variables
Age at death of paternal grandfather			x	230	1,8
Age at death of paternal grandmother			x	216	1,8*
Age at death of maternal grandfather			x	199	1,8
Age at death of maternal grandmother			x	186	1,8*
Birthplace by distance		x	x	868	4
Birth rank			x	696	1,8
Gender			x	928	8
Number of generations in community	x		x	926	6
Years local resident	x		x	834	6
Years local resident to 1939	x		x	836	6
Time of arrival		x	x	928	
Year of birth		x		915	
Year of arrival		x		908	
Life cycle cohort upon arrival	x	x	x	928	
Age at arrival	x	x	x	928	
Age at acquisition of land		x	x	613	7
Age at preferential acquisition of land		x	x	906	7
Year left community		x		818	6
Married / unmarried	x			715	1,8
Married to local / outsider	x			489	4,8
Year of marriage		x		612	3
Age at marriage			x	612	3,8
Male children born	x			493	3,8
Female children born	x			493	3,8
Total children born	x			497	3,8
Occupation: farmer / non-farmer			x	622	3,8
Occupation before acquisition of land			x	207	3,8
Land ownership or not			x	925	3,7,8
Preferential land acquisition			x	926	3,7,8
Efficiency of kin transmission vs. patent			x	287	3,7,8
Male children $\geq$ 21 years	x		x	490	3,8
Female children $\geq$ 21 years	x		x	493	3,8
Total children $\geq$ 21 years	x		x	497	3,8

Key to Problems with Variables:

- * indicates relatively weak association with residential status ($P > .001$ and $P < .06$)
- 1 not strongly associated with residential status ($P > .05$)
- 2 information known mostly for local births
- 3 biased for residence status
- 4 biased towards those who were born locally
- 5 spurious relationship with early arrivals
- 6 biased for a particular sub-group
- 7 biased for gender
- 8 too few cases

APPENDIX C:

DATA SOURCES AND MANAGEMENT

Appendix C: Data Sources and Management

This appendix makes reference to all major sources of information concerning the life histories of local residents. In turn, each of these record groups is evaluated as evidence, whether primary or secondary. Sources are assessed in terms of coverage, reliability of information and time span of record generation. The final section of the appendix discusses the integration of information about individuals with that of their close kin. This format permits assessment of an individual within the context of the kinship network.

A. Primary Data Concerning Individuals: Sources and Evaluation

The primary data concerning individuals who resided in Day, Bright and Bright Additonal townships between 1879 and 1939 were abstracted from all accessible record sources. This appendix describes and assesses the coverage and reliability of major sources of data, evaluates each type of record as a source of evidence, and describes the procedure by which the data was integrated to provide a versatile profile of each individual.

Civil registration began in 1869 in Ontario and, since then, a wide variety of information concerning individuals has been collected with increasing reliability and standardization over time. The data collected for the purposes of this research are unique in the detail included for each individual and also for the coding of information which was necessary in order to capture individuals in the context of their immediate kinship network.

All of the records incorporated in this study are from commonly generated sources which are characteristic of all rural communities in Ontario after the time of Confederation (Figure C.1). The value of the contribution of data collection and management techniques mentioned in this study emanates from the volume of data collected and from the coding procedure adopted - not from a particular data source unique to this community. (The procedure is described in Part D of this appendix).

It is theoretically possible to reconstruct similar life history profiles for other communities, but caution should be exercised before attempting such a research project. It is always important to determine the availability of local records before beginning. The technique for data integration described here was feasible

Figure C.1: Common Post-Confederation Sources of Primary Data Concerning Individual Residents

Record Type	Time Period Covered	Location	Availability
Civil registration	from 1869	Registrar-General, Queen's Park	relatively complete but restricted
Manuscript census	1871, 1881, 1891	Archives of Ontario and some libraries	1871 widely available, 1881 and 1891 at Archives of Ontario
Wills	to present	Archives of Ontario, Surrogate Court of County	most before 1900 now at Archives
Cemeteries	to present	on site	recorded sites at Archives
Directories	to present	local libraries, Archives of Ontario	Archives' collection covers province
County Atlases	1870s-1880s	local libraries, Archives of Ontario	some still available as reprints
Telephone directories	1870s to present	Bell Canada	corporate archives in Montreal
Assessment rolls	incorporation to present	Office of Township Clerk	available
Land records	to present	Land Registry Office for County	pre-1900 may be in Archives
Church records	to present	church or church archives	many lost
Local histories	to present	local library and Archives of Ontario	coverage varies widely
Newspapers	to present	local library, Archives of Ontario and National Library	surviving issues often on microfilm

in this study area because of the history of the population. Most of the people who were born outside of the study area arrived within the first twenty years. Since the pioneer generation is respected locally, many details of life histories before arriving in the local area are recorded. It is also fortuitous that the manuscript census is available for all of Ontario for the decades preceding migration to this area.

A preliminary study of the source of additions to the population after the turn of the century and of potential sources of information is essential to determine the availability of comparable sources. In that era, if a large proportion of individuals originated from outside the study area, directories would be helpful in locating families and individuals but they would not contain the wealth of information found in the manuscript censuses. Most research of this nature will require patience and the creative combination of multiple record sources.

B. Evaluation of Local Information Sources

1. Family Papers: Certificates, Entries in Family Bibles

Official birth, marriage and death certificates are acceptable as primary evidence. Only direct descendants may send for these documents from the Office of the Registrar General of Ontario and they are relatively expensive.

Caution is needed in dealing with family Bibles. Information can be accepted as primary evidence if the entries appear to be written at different times - with different handwriting or different ink or both. If all entries appear to have been made at one time and in one person's handwriting, then the evidence is secondary and must be presumed to have come from some other source at one point in time.

A further word of caution is also advisable. The date of publication of a family Bible must be checked in order to determine if any entries predate that date. If so, it must assumed that those entries, at least, are copied from an earlier source (perhaps the family Bible of the parents of the original owner). Each time a transcription occurs, there is the possibility of error.

Few family papers within the community were viewed by me. I considered it an imposition to ask to see family records unless they were mentioned by others and freely offered for me to see.

2. Municipal Registration of Births, Marriages and Deaths

These records are held by the township and are considered primary sources of evidence. The information contained within them is reliable but there is evidence of under-reporting of events. It is also apparent that some young people were married at the place of residence of the non-resident spouse or that of a spouse's non-resident parents or other relatives outside of the study area. A few entries predate the beginnings of this register. In these cases, one must assume that evidence was given to prove the event sufficiently for it to be officially recorded. The local church record of the event seems to have been lost by the turn of the century and residents sought to have the event officially registered in the municipal records after 1905.

Registrations of births contain name, sex, date of birth, father, maiden name of mother, residence and occupation of father, physician, person making the return and the date of registration. Between 1905 and 1929, births are recorded with convincing regularity. Three births are recorded which occurred prior to the opening of the register in 1905 and one is recorded for 1937. In all, 188 births are recorded.

Marriages are recorded infrequently between 1908 and 1929. The total is sixteen. The records contain information about both the bride's and groom's names, ages, places of residence when married, places of birth, marital status, occupation or profession and parents. Witnesses, residence of witnesses, date and place of marriage, religious denomination, by whom married, license or banns and date of registration are also recorded.

Records of deaths indicate the name of deceased, sex, date of death, age, residence, occupation, marital status, where born, name of the physician, religious denomination, name of person making return and date of registration. Ninety-seven entries were made between 1905 and 1978.

Table C.1: Summary of Registrations

Births	188
Marriages	16
Deaths	97
Total Registrations	301

3. Church Records

Records for the four local Presbyterian churches and for the Baptist congregation appear to be lost. Records of births, marriages and deaths have survived only for the Iron B-idge Charge of the United Church of Canada. They include s..e records for the local Methodist churches before the union resulting in the United Church. Many names are associated with families known to reside in the village of Iron Bridge and in unorganized municipalities to the north and east of it.

One must accept the records at face value. Those which appear are primary evidence but records seem to contain gaps and have some omissions when compared with gravestone inscriptions.

a. Baptisms

The records of baptisms exist for 1927-1948. Area residents show no preferred time of baptism after birth and some children were not baptised until the age of seventeen years. Many parents had all of their children baptised at one time. As a result, the records of the 195 births contained in the register of baptisms ranges from 1909 until 1948.

b. Marriages

The register of the Iron Bridge Charge does not contain any entries pertaining to marriages.

c. Funerals

Funeral records contain the name of the deceased, date of birth, birth place, date of death and burial place. The local mortality rate fluctuates between zero and ten per year. Between 1926 and 1958, ninety-three funerals were documented.

Table C.2: Summary of Church Records

Baptisms	195
Marriages	0
Funerals	93
Total registrations	288

4. Newspaper Announcements

The formal notices of births, marriages and deaths which appear at the time of the event are primary evidence, as are the more informal mention of these events in the news column of the local correspondent. Information about persons not born within the study area is gleaned from obituaries, but not all people who died were mentioned in this way.

The information in obituaries is based upon family records which had been reported and it can be considered primary since it is as reliable a record of a person's life as the survivors could reconstruct. Errors on the part of the reporting family would have been considered a reflection of indifference and negligence toward the deceased or the family in general. Errors on the part of the reporter would have been pointed out and immediately corrected in the next issue.

Each issue of the Sault Star was accessed from August 31, 1901 until March 31, 1910. At that point, it became apparent that more discrimination would be necessary if the task were ever to be completed. Shortly after that time, the newspaper changed to daily editions. It became necessary to search only for information for which the approximate date of the event was known. It is unfortunate that the later issues which are on microfilm are only available in Sault Ste. Marie.

5. Community Correspondence: Newspapers

There has been a local correspondent for the Sault Star from August, 1901 until the present. Any item of interest to the community might appear in this column from mention of births, marriages and deaths, both within the community and without, gentle teasing, mention of weather and crops and announcements of meetings, to prevalence of wolves and bears, etc. If the information was incorrectly reported, a correction would shortly appear.

The Algoma Advocate, published weekly in Thessalon between 1888 and the 1960s, is only available through the clippings and issues held by local residents. The newspaper offices burned in the mid-1960s and all past issues were lost, although the Sault Star sometimes reprinted items of interest from the Advocate. The Algoma Advocate has been replaced by the North Shore Sentinel, a weekly newspaper originally published at Bruce Mines and currently published in Thessalon. Neither the Algoma Advocate nor the North Shore Sentinel are listed in directories of Canadian

newspapers, nor are there any copies of either at the Public Archives of Canada in Ottawa or at the Archives of Ontario in Toronto.

Transcripts were made of all local news items found in the Sault Star from 31 August 1901 until 31 March 1910. This was the most time-consuming part of data acquisition and so the recording of all items of local interest was abandoned after that time. From that point onward, only the issues thought to contain specific information were transcribed.

A few issues of the Huron Expositor, published weekly at Seaforth in Huron County, provided information about people who became residents of Day, Bright and Bright Additional townships and about the competing frontiers. It was particularly easy to acquire this information due to the complete index provided by the Huron County Historical Society. The newspaper is available on microfilm at the Archives of Ontario and at the Goderich Public Library and some of the originals are available at the Huron County Historical Society in Goderich.

6. Manuscript Censuses

Since approximately one third of individuals included in the analysis were members of families which arrived during the first twenty years, it was feasible to trace their origins in southern Ontario in the census of 1871. In most cases, evidence contained in the local records indicated that it would be profitable to trace some families whose whereabouts was known earlier than 1871 or who were known to have been stable residents in southern Ontario previous to the move to Algoma. Although the task was time-consuming, it was rewarding in that the areas generating migrants to the study area often contained multiple families about whom information was required. In other words, this was not a random search through the manuscript census records pertaining to Ontario, but rather a focussed search for families who were known or suspected of originating in particular townships. For this reason, it is a valuable research strategy once the origins of families migrating to a frontier have been established and for frontier areas which receive a large initial influx of population for which manuscript census records are available. It is not a strategy which would be productive in areas where large numbers of people arrive after the turn of the century and for which no records of this nature would likely be available as yet.

Similarity of family surnames could not be used as

the sole evidence for accepting a family as one that eventually moved to the study area. The commonly accepted rules of evidence were applied and only those families for which evidence matched the records of the study area were included. For example, to be accepted for inclusion in the analysis, the ages of individuals had to be comparable to their ages while in the study area and the given names had to coincide with those of other documents or match the family record from the study area.

The following is a list of townships for which the manuscript census was searched. It is evident from the length of this list that not all were located immediately. Often people would say that they were from a generally recognizeable area, such as 'near Barrie'. In that instance, if time permitted, the surrounding townships were searched, especially if directories or historical atlases also indicated that the family was likely to be found there.

Figure C.2: Summary of Manuscript Census Records Searched

Census Year	Township/ Town	County/ District	Call No.
1851	Blanchard	Perth	C-11747
1861	Blanchard	Perth	C-1064
	Bradford	Simcoe	C-1072
	E. Wawanosh	Huron	C-1037
	Charlotteville	Norfolk	C-1052
	Nanticoke	Norfolk	C-1052?
	Nassagaweya	Halton	C-1031
	Norwich	Oxford	C-1060-1
	Sombra	Lambton	C-1041
	Sydenham	Grey	C-1028
	Townsend	Norfolk	C-1052-3
	Vaughan	York	C-1089
1871	Blanchard	Perth	C-9938
	Bradford	Simcoe	C-9960
	Brant	Bruce	C-9936
	Bruce Mines	Algoma	C-10023
	Collingwood	Simcoe	C-9962
	Dalhousie	Lanark	C-10019
	Douro	Peterborough	C-9987
	Drummond	Lanark	C-10017-8
	East Wawanosh	Huron	C-9931

Census Year	Township Town	County/ District	Call No.
1871	Ennismore	Peterborough	C-9987
	Georgina	York	C-9966
	Grey	Huron	C-9932
	Hallowell	Prince Edward	C-9989
	Hillier	Prince Edward	C-9989
	Holland	Grey	C-9953
	Howick	Huron	C-9933
	Hullett	Huron	C-9931
	Innisfil	Simcoe	C-9961
	Keppel	Grey	C-9955
	Kincardine	Bruce	C-9935
	Listowel	Perth	C-9942
	Marmora	Hastings	C-9994
	Morris	Huron	C-9932
	Normanby	Grey	C-9950
	Norwich	Oxford	C-9911
	Nottawasaga	Simcoe	C-9962
	Oakland	Brant	C-9914
	Oil Springs	Lambton	C-9895
	Onondaga	Brant	C-9916
	Otonobee	Peterborough	C-9987
	Perth	Lanark	C-10018
	Peterborough	Peterborough	C-9986
	Proton	Grey	C-9951
	Rainham	Haldimand	C-9917
	St. Mary's	Perth	C-9938-9
	St. Vincent	Grey	C-9954-5
	Sombra	Lambton	C-9894
	Stanley	Huron	C-9929
	Sullivan	Grey	C-9953
	Sunnidale	Simcoe	C-9962
	Sydenham	Grey	C-9954
	Townsend	Norfolk	C-9909
	Tuckersmith	Huron	C-9929
	Turnberry	Huron	C-9933
	Tuscarora	Brant	C-9915
	Vaughan	York	C-9967
	Vespra	Simcoe	C-9962-3
	Walpole	Haldimand	C-9916
	Wellington	Prince Edward	C-9989
	West Gwillimbury	Simcoe	C-9960
	West Wawanosh	Huron	C-9931

Census Year	Township/ Town	County/ District	Call No.
1881	Barrie Island	Manitoulin	C-13282
	Bedford	Frontenac	C-13236
	Dalhousie	Lanark	C-13233
	Day	Algoma	C-13282
	Drummond	Lanark	C-13233
	Hallowell	Prince Edward	C-13237
	Keppel	Grey	C-13262
	Kincardine	Bruce	C-13275
	Lefroy	Algoma	C-13282
	Listowel	Perth	C-13272
	Morris	Huron	C-13272
	Norwich	Oxford	C-13267
	Stanley	Huron	C-13272
	Sullivan	Grey	C-13262
	Tuscarora	Brant	C-13264
	Peterborough	Peterborough	C-13241
	Sombra	Lambton	C-13237
	Thessalon	Algoma	C-13282
	Wingham	Huron	C-13274
1891	Algoma Mills	Algoma	T6323
	Barrie Island	Manitoulin	T6324
	Bruce Mines	Algoma	T6323
	Cockburn Island	Manitoulin	T6324
	Day	Algoma	T6323
	Gordon	Manitoulin	T6324
	Kirkwood	Algoma	T6323
	Mississagua	Algoma	T6323
	St. Joseph	Algoma	T6323
	Sanfield	Manitoulin	T6324
	Spanish River	Algoma	T6323
	Thessalon	Algoma	T6323

* Day included the townships of Bright, Bright Additional, Wells, Gladstone, and Parkinson. The unorganized rural townships were included with the nearest organized township. No distinction is made in the records among these jurisdictions so it is necessary to check the names of suspected residents against the other records generated for the year. It is not enough to simply check them against records of land ownership since all of them may not have been land owners.

7. Gravestone Inscriptions

One of the most comprehensive and important sources of information, especially in terms of birth, death and spouse, are gravestone inscriptions. Seven nearby cemeteries, used by the majority of local families, were recorded and platted as an initial step in data collection.

For the purposes of this research, data taken from gravestone inscriptions was considered primary evidence. (See discussion in David Wood: 1974, 253.) Although the gravestone could be erected some time after the death of a family member, and almost always many years after the birth of the deceased, it is assumed that most families went to considerable lengths to check dates which were to be carved in stone. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the dates recorded are as accurate a record of events as the family could determine.

There is evidence of the under-recording of local deaths because not all graves of individuals are so marked, although the disparity is not great. Even early deaths were marked by gravestones sent from works in Owen Sound and St. Mary's, Ontario. The burial records of some cemeteries have been lost. In others, although the caretakers have evidence of more occupants than those for which they have an official record, the difference, again, is not a serious problem. Some long-term resident families have erected modern monuments to their ancestors who were not so memorialized at the time of their deaths. The tradition in this area is to erect gravestones; one contract between parents and unmarried son at the turn of the century even made the erection of a gravestone (to the memory of the parents when they became deceased) a condition of inheritance.

Figure C.3: Local Cemeteries Recorded

Bright-Carlyle Cemetery, Lot 3, Con. VI, Bright Township

Day Mills Methodist Church Cemetery, Lot 3, Con. II, Day Township

Goldenburg Cemetery, Lot 1, Con. I, Wells Township

Iron Bridge United Church Cemetery, Lot 3, Con. I, Gladstone Township

Maple Ridge Cemetery, Lot 33, Con. VI, Thessalon Township

McArthur Presbyterian Church Cemetery, Lot 2, Con. II, Day

Township

New Iron Bridge Cemetery, Lot 11, Con. VI, Gladstone Township

Cemeteries in Little Rapids, Bellingham, Wharncliffe and Sault Ste. Marie were checked for data concerning specific individuals.

Table C.3: Summary of Gravestone Inscriptions

Cemetery	No. of Burials Recorded*
Bellingham	7
Bright-Carlyle	166
Day Mills Methodist	21
Goldenburgh	25
Iron Bridge United	221
Little Rapids cemeteries	86
Maple Ridge	285
New Iron Bridge	61
Total burials recorded	872

* The numbers here represent only the number of burials mentioned on gravestone markers. They do not take into account the additional people mentioned on the gravestones as often occurs in such instances as 'beloved son of name and name surname'.

8. Surrogate Court Records

Surrogate Court records primarily include wills, letters of administration (for the estates of those who died intestate), and some ancillary documents such as certificates.

Wills list real and personal property of the deceased with instructions concerning its devolution among heirs and the location of heirs. The relationship of the inheritor to the deceased is usually stated explicitly. Letters of Administration perform the same function as wills but are necessarily more impersonal documents without the charm of the less standard form of wills. In both instances, the documents state the last residence of deceased owners of local land.

A very few estates were contested and there is indication in the Surrogate Court records when this occurs.

Table C.4: Summary of Surrogate Court Records

Probate records	39
Letters of Administration	22
Other	3
Total Surrogate Court records	64

9. Assessment Rolls

Assessment rolls were kept from the time that the local community was incorporated as the rural municipality of Day and Bright Additional in 1904 (Sault Star: 19 May and 30 June, 1904). Assessment rolls *potentially* contain a wealth of information but many of the columns are left blank. They were, however, especially useful in determining which adult members of particular families were resident within the community in any particular year and the residence location of non-residents who retained ownership of local land. Approximately 700 pages of local assessment rolls generated from 1904 until 1959 were photographed.

Figure C.4: Potential Information in Assessment Rolls

1. No. on Roll
2. Name, P.O. address, R.R. No. of taxable persons
3. Age of every person entered on roll
4. British subject or alien
5. Owner, tenant, farmer's son, farmer's daughter, farmer's sister, husband or wife and legislative franchise
6. Occupation, and in the case of women, a statement whether a person is a spinster, married woman or widow by entering opposite the name of the person the letter S M or W
   Widower=W'er   Bachelor=B   Non-Resident=NR
7. No. of Concession, name of street or other designation of the local division in which the land lies
8. No. of Lot, house, etc. in such division
9. No. of acres or other measures showing extent of property
10. No. of acres cleared
11. No. of acres woodland
12. No. of acres slashland
13. No. of acres swamp, marsh or wasteland

23. Religion (not filled in)

School Section
24. a) No. of school section
    b) Public or Separate School supporter P or S

Population
25. No. of persons in the family of each person assessed as a resident including such a person and all other persons residing on the premises

Statute Labour
26. a) Male persons from 21 to 60 years
    b) Number of days
    c) Road divisions

Vital Statistics
27. Date of birth if any during this year
28. Date of deaths if any during this year

29. Dog tax: a) no. of dogs
    b) no. of bitches
    c) spayed bitches

30. Date of delivery of notice under Section 52
31. Remarks
34. General debenture rate

School Rates
35. School section

Public
36. General rate
37. Trustees rate
38. Special rate

Separate
39. School rate

Special Rates
40. House of Refuge
41. Roads
42. Relief

Dog Tax
45. No. of dogs
    Bitches
    Spayed bitches
    Amount of tax

47. Total tax
48. Date of demand or transmission of notice

Record of Payments
49. Installment no.
50. Amount of installment or part payment
51. Bye-law Discount Deduction
52. Bye-law Penalty Addition
53. Statutory Interest Addition
54. Total
55. Date of Payment
56. Amount Received
57. Balance of Taxes Unpaid
58. Remarks

10. Land Records: Land Titles and Land Registry

Three groups of land records exist for the local area: Land Titles, Land Registry and the Domesday Books. The Land Titles system, common in northern Ontario, "establishes clear title to the land by declaring under a guarantee of indemnity that it is vested in the named person" (Donahue and Quinn: 1982, 16). The terms used for instruments filed under the Land Titles Act also differ somewhat from those used under the Land Registry system. The latter system is the oldest system in use in Ontario and "the fundamental purposes of the system are to give public notice of interests which are claimed in land, to establish priorities between claimants, and to provide an orderly method of recording titles" (Donahue and Quinn: 1982, 1). For the study area, both of these record groups are found at the Land Registry Office for the District of Algoma at 440 Queen Street East, Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. I am indebted to the Ministry of Consumer and Corporate Affairs for their waiver of the usual fee for viewing each page of deeds registered under Land Titles and to Mr. P.H. George, Master of Titles, and his staff for their assistance. The Domesday Books are located in the Whitney Block of Queen's Park in Toronto. They record the names of individuals who have patented land and serve as a good preliminary source of land ownership information.

Land records contain a wealth of information beyond the names and residences of the principal parties in land transactions. Most mention spouses of the parties and a complete description of the land, sometimes accompanied by a sketch map or registered plan, and whether pine, hemlock or minerals were reserved. In addition, all encumbrances upon the land, ranging from timber agreements, cautions and mechanic's liens to a contract between a child and parents concerning the conditions of eventual land inheritance and details from wills giving instructions concerning the disposal of real property.

Contracts for maintenance occur infrequently, especially after the turn of the century. They were a formal contract between parents and an inheriting child. It permitted the inheritor to have a legal claim upon the land which he would inherit upon the death of both parents provided he met certain delimited obligations in the ensuing time period. Most families probably made verbal contracts amongst the parties concerned but relied upon mutual trust among family members to ensure that the conditions were met.

The following summary of the instruments consulted

concerning local land transactions gives an indication of the proportion of transactions in each of the major categories. The tabulation of discharges of mortgages is excluded.

Ontario. Ministry of Natural Resources. Lands Administration Branch. Titles Section. Patent Records.

Domesday Book 34N - Bright and Bright Additional.

Domesday Book 38N - Day.

Table C.5: Summary of Land Transactions in Land Registry and Land Titles

Township	Patents	Transfers	Trans-missions	Mortgages	Misc.	Total
Day	96	603	58	227	308	1292
Bright Add'l	30	108	16	77	21	252
Bright	65	206	31	101	139	542
Total transactions	191	917	105	405	468	2086

11. Tweedsmuir Histories of the Women's Institutes

The 'Tweedsmuir' history of a rural area is compiled by local residents of the Women's Institute, an organization begun in Ontario which has since spread throughout the world. Lord Tweedsmuir, a former Governor-General of Canada, suggested that one of the aims of each branch should be to compile a local history. The present-day curators of this book are given specific suggestions about the nature of the material to be included and about the sources of information and their evaluation. The coverage of family histories varies dramatically from farm to farm and from book to book. The uneven quality of the material submitted is often offset by items which would not likely be located, such as the letter to the editor by a former resident of Day Mills which is mentioned in the text of this thesis. This individual had moved to Saskatchewan over thirty years before and the letter appeared in one of the issues among those lost in the fire at the offices of the Algoma Advocate.

To the present time, few Tweedsmuir histories have been deposited in the Archives of Ontario and access is by visit to the home of the curator. Most are still on-going projects. It also requires a special effort in acquiring additional funding to type the manuscript and otherwise prepare it according to the guidelines. It also is time-consuming to gather missing information from descendants who have moved away and from less enthusiastic members of the community.

Researchers are guided to the records of county registry offices, township offices, local museums and libraries, court houses, files of local newspapers, personal collections, church records, records of societies, school board records, local commercial and industrial records, cemeteries, printed directories and atlases, photographs and surveyors' maps. In general, it is suggested that they conduct research in the Toronto Reference Library and at the Archives of Ontario.

The suggested format covers all facets of community development: map, geography and topography, Indian lore and inhabitation locally, pioneer settlement and the general story of development. Following the general section is the particular historical information: Women's Institute branch history, community history, histories of individual farms and farm families, village, church and cemetery histories, library and school section history, industries past and present, clubs and organizations, personalities, family trees, war work and armed service records and 50th, 60th and

75th wedding anniversaries.

The guidelines are useful for a project of local research, but I fear that the attempts to foster conformity in content, style and depth of coverage might cause unusual material presently in the books to be lost in a misguided attempt to 'straighten up' the records. While it is unlikely that every history will con in relatively complete accounts of these topics, the Tweedsmuir histories are potentially a source of information about the development process in rural Ontario. The Tweedsmuir histories of Dayton and S-werby have been of value in this research.

12. Personal Interviews and Correspondence

Correspondence, interviews and conversations with local residents and former residents over the past decade have been very helpful in clarifying apparent discrepancies in the recorded data and also as a source of infor-ation about migrant destinations. Local residents have been unstinting in their assistance for this project, and I am grateful for the hours spent in their company while they graciously answered questions, retold stories and proffered the legendary local hospitality. Their patient assistance and kind hospitality are deeply appreciated.

A few of the early interviews were taped but it became apparent that the tape recorder was an intrusive device. Most subsequent interviews involved note-taking with the permission of the participants. Many leads as to where to look for further information emanated rom these conversations. Many people wrote notes or drew sketch maps to clarify points.

I corresponded with several elderly residents in order to receive answers to specific questions or to clarify points which they had made. For all concerned, it was always preferable to visit in person.

The following is a list of major contributors of information, many of whom are now deceased. Inevitably, some names which should appear on this list will not be present and I apologize in advance for these regrettable and unintentional omissions.

Figure C.5: Participants in Personal Interviews and Correspondence

Alena Adams	Angus, Ont.
Evelyn Anstice	Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.
Ivan Baxter	Iron Bridge, Ont.
Audrey Buchanan	Toronto, Ont.
Esther Burrowes	Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.
Edith Cameron	Dayton, Ont.
Gerald Cameron	Dayton, Ont.
Jim Cameron	Dayton, Ont.
Peter Cameron	Dayton, Ont.
Marion Carr	Cambridge, Ont.
Doris Cordukes	Sowerby, Ont.
Elsie Craigie	Day Mills, Ont.
Nancy Cullis	Sowerby, Ont.
Norma Guertin	Wallaceburg, Ont.
Ken Hermiston	Dayton, Ont.
Henry Kirby	Iron Bridge, Ont.
Gwen Mosher	Dayton, Ont.
Irene Murray	Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.
Dell Ralph	Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.
Dick Ralph	Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.
Harold Redpath	Angus, Ont.
Alex Smail	Oakville, Ont.
Isabella Tulloch	Iron Bridge, Ont.

13. Local Histories

The north shore of Lake Huron contains many communities whose residents are interested in local history and this interest is fostered by the both the North Shore Sentinel, published weekly in Thessalon, and the Sault Star, published in Sault Ste. Marie. The consistent contribution of articles by Ethel Gordon (under the pseudonym of Molly Malone), and her daughter, Edith Cameron, have been an invaluable source of information for the past half century. In addition, some fine local histories have been published as this area reached its first century of settlement. Foremost among these are the works of James E. MacDonald of Little Rapids. Within the past two decades, he has produced three major local histories for which he has received the gratitude of area residents and local acclaim as 'Citizen of the Year'.

The following is a list of local books which have been particularly useful.

Hornick, G. Leigh, ed. 1969. The Call of Copper: A History of Bruce Mines and Area. Bruce Mines: North Shore Printing.

Kaufmann, Karl. 1970. Logging Days in Blind River: A review of the events that established a town. Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.: Sault Star Commercial Printing.

MacDonald, J.E. 1966. Shantymen and Sodbusters: An account of logging and settlement in Kirkwood Township 1869-1928. Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.: Sault Star Commercial Printing.

1977. This Point of Land: An account of the early history of Thessalon and the surrounding farming community within the bounds of Thessalon township. Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.: Sault Star Commercial Printing.

1979. Yonder Our Island: one hundred years of history on Cockburn Island. Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.: Cliffe Printing.

14. Miscellaneous Sources

a. Ontario

A number of sources of information were helpful in preliminary tracing of individuals to their points of origin and for locating families on maps indicating land owners. These sources are listed here either because they were not generated systematically or because it was not productive to consult them systematically.

Archives of Ontario:

Belden, N. and Co. 1879. Historical Atlas of the County of Huron. Toronto: Hunter Rose.

County of Huron Directory, 1876-77. B70, Series C, Reel 18.

Deed Abstracts and Index, Derby Township, Grey County. Genealogical Society microfilm: GS 2230.

Deed Abstracts and Index, Euphrasia Township, Grey County. Genealogical Society microfilm: GS 2247.

Deed Abstracts and Index, Innisfil Township, Simcoe County. V. 1, 1835-1947. Genealogical Society microfilm: GS 5416.

Deed Abstracts and Index, Kincardine Township, Bruce County. Genealogical Society microfilm: GS 2129.

Deed Abstracts and Index, Marmora Township, Hastings County, 1847-1876. Genealogical Society microfilm: GS 4251.

Deed Abstracts and Index, Morris Township, Huron County. Genealogical Society microfilm: GS 1715.

Deed Abstracts and Index, Nottawasaga Township, Simcoe County. Genealogical Society microfilms: GS 5446, 5448.

Deed Abstracts and Index, Sydenham Township, Grey County, 1843-1953. Genealogical Society microfilm: GS 2340.

Deed Abstracts and Index, Turnberry Township, Huron County. Genealogical Society microfilm: GS 1746.

Deed Abstracts and Index, Walpole Township, Haldimand County. Genealogical Society microfilms: GS 2771, 2772.

Illustrated Historical Atlas of the County of Brant. 1875. Toronto: Page and Smith. [1972 reprint, Belleville, Ont.: Mika Publishing.]

Illustrated Atlas of the Counties of Grey and Bruce. 1880. Toronto: H. Belden. [1971 reprint, Port Eglin, Ont.: R. Cumming.]

Illustrated Historical Atlas of the Counties of Haldimand and Norfolk. 1877-1879. Toronto, H.R. Page.

Illustrated Atlas of Huron County, Ontario. 1879. Toronto: H. Belden. [1972 reprint, Belleville, Ont.: Mika Publishing.]

Illustrated Atlas of the County of Simcoe. 1881. Toronto: H. Belden. [1970 reprint, Port Elgin, Ont.: R. Cumming.]

Smith, W.W. 1864. Gazeteer and Directory of Grey County for 1865-6. Toronto: Globe and Steam Press. B70, Series C, Reel 17.

Sutherland's County of Huron Gazeteer and General Directory, 1863-4. B70, Series C, Reel 17.

Public Archives of Canada, National Map Collection

Department of Northern Development. 1935. Road Diagram. Bright and Bright Additional.

1935. Road Diagram. Day.

Other repositories

Canada. Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. Land Records. Barrie Island Township, District of Manitoulin.

b. International

Burton Collection, Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A.: Selected directories.

Genealogical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah, U.S.A.: Selected manuscript censuses and parish registers of Scotland.

The manuscript census for Scotland is available on microfilm from the Genealogical Society of Salt Lake City, Utah, U.S.A. This source was little used because the exact origins of few families were available and it is prohibitively expensive to do a general search in terms of both time and money. However, a personal interest in families originating in Roxburghshire led to a search of the manuscript censuses for the census years of 1841, 1851, 1861 and 1871. Regional geographical mobility in the rural Lowlands was quite high during this period due to the practice of hiring agricultural labourers at yearly fairs. As a result, it was easiest to locate families in the census before beginning to search for confirmation of information within the parish registers. Parish registers were consulted for Ancrum, Hownam, Morebattle, Oxnam, and Yetholm. These are the registers of births, marriages and deaths held at the parish church and are the usual source of information in the era before civil registration.

C. Family Reconstitution by Record Linkage

a. Primary Variables Required for All Individuals

Life histories of individuals require a basic core of personal information in conjunction with crucial information which permits linkage to the data concerning persons of the individual's kinship network. In all, seventeen of these basic variables are delimited in Figure C.6.

Many local records are potential sources for this core data. Figure C.7 indicates sources available for this farming community on the north shore of Lake Huron between 1879 and the present which have been evaluated in Part B of this appendix. It provides an assessment of each record as a source of primary or secondary evidence. Primary evidence is immediately acceptable but secondary evidence must have at least one additional corroborating source in order to be acceptable for inclusion. It is apparent from Figure C.6 that there are a surprising number of sources of essential information. It is because of the multiplicity of post-Confederation records that omissions in any particular source are not as serious as it would first appear. There are still an impressive number of alternative sources.

b. Linkage Variables and Family Reconstitution Techniques

After the local record sources are searched for information pertaining to individual life histories of all community residents, the linkage of these records begins. The linkage variables are: names of parents, maiden name of mother, residence of parents, name of spouse and names of children (Figure C.6).

The primary step in this procedure is to reconstitute each family unit. It is imperative that the data concerning family members is meticulously organized and, to this end, Family Group Record sheets (Figure C.8) were indispensable. One Family Group Record sheet was generated for each family known to have resided in the community. If an unmarried man arrived alone in the community and his marital status did not change throughout his local residency, he was assigned a separate sheet. However, if a bachelor or spinster within a local family remained as such throughout life, a separate sheet was not begun since they never generated a new family unit. If someone remarried, a new record sheet was begun and the link to the previous marriage was noted in the appropriate line. In addition, children of each of the

Birth:	a) year of birth b) place of birth c) gender
Marriage:	d) year of marriage e) place of marriage
Land Tenure:	f) year land first acquired g) land acquisition type
Migration:	h) time of arrival i) year left the community (death or outmigration) j) destination if outmigrant
Occupation:	k) before land acquisition l) after land acquisition
Linking Information:	m) names of parents n) maiden name of mother o) residence of parents p) name of spouse q) names of children

Figure C.6: Basic Information Required Concerning Each Individual

Data Required Concerning Individual	Family Papers	Municipal Registration	Church Records	Newspaper Announcements	Community Correspondence: Newspapers	1981 and 1891 Manuscript Census	Gravestone Inscriptions	Surrogate Court Records	Assessment Records	Land Records	Tweedsmuir Histories	Personal Interviews, Correspondence	Local Histories (MacDonald)
BIRTH:													
- year of birth	P/S	P	P	P	P/S	S	S	S			S	S	S
- place of birth	P/S	P	P	P	P/S	S	S(a)				S	S	S
- gender		P	P	P	P/S	P	S	P		P	P	P	P
L - name of father	P/S	P	P	P	P/S	P			P(a)	P	S	P/S	P/S
L - occupation of father		P	P		P	P		P	P	P	P/S	P/S	P/S
L - maiden name of mother	P/S	P	P	P(a)	P(a)						P/S	P/S	P/S
L - residence of parents	P/S	P	P	P	P	S				P	P/S	P/S	P/S
MARRIAGE:													
- year of marriage	P/S	P	P	P	P/S	S			S	S	P/S	P/S	P/S
- place of marriage	P/S	P	P	P	P/S	S					P/S	P/S	P/S
L - name of spouse	P	P	P	P	P/S	P	P	P	P	P	P/S	P/S	P/S
L - residence of spouse		P	P	P	P/S						P/S	P/S	P/S
OCCUPATION:													
- before land acquisition		P	P		P	P	P	P	P	P	S	S	S
- after land acquisition or dominant in adult life		P	P		P	P	P	P	P	P	S	S	S
LOCAL LAND TENURE:													
- type of land acquisition transaction					P/S			P		P	S	S	S
- year of land acquisition					P/S			P	P	P	S	S	S
- length of land tenure					P/S				P	P	S	S	S
CHILDREN:													
L - name of child	P	P	P	P	P/S	P	P	P	P(a)	P	P/S	P/S	S
MIGRATION:													
- year of arrival locally					P				P	P	S	S	S
- year left community (death or migration)	P/S	P	P	P	P		P	P	P	P	S	S	S
- destination of outmigrant		P(a)	P(a)		P			P	P	P	S	S	S
DEATH:													
- year of death	P/S	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	S	P	S	S	S
- place of death	P/S	P	P	P	P	P	P(a)	P	S	P	S	S	S

P - Primary or direct evidence, S - Secondary or indirect evidence.
(a) Information occurs infrequently in records.
L - 'Linking' information required for family reconstitution.

Figure C.7: Local Records: Evaluation of Record Sources for Reconstructing Individual Life Histories

FAMILY GROUP No. ____ Husband's Full Name

This information Obtained From

Husband's Data	Day Month Year	City, Town or Place	County or Province, etc.	State or Country	Add. Info. on Husband
Birth					
Chr'nd					
Mar.					
Death					
Burial					

Places of Residence

Occupation — Church Affiliation — Military Rec.

Other wives, if any. No. (1) (2) etc. Make separate sheet for each mar.

His Father — Mother's Maiden Name

Wife's Full Maiden Name

Wife's Data	Day Month Year	City, Town or Place	County or Province, etc.	State or Country	Add. Info. on Wife
Birth					
Chr'nd					
Death					
Burial					

Compiler

Address

City, State

Date

Places of Residence

Occupation if other than Housewife — Church Affiliation

Other husbands, if any. No. (1) (2) etc. Make separate sheet for each mar.

Her Father — Mother's Maiden Name

Children's Names in Full Arranged in order of birth	Children's Data	Day Month Year	City, Town or Place	County or Province, etc.	State or Country	Add. Info. on Children
1	Birth					
Full Name of Spouse	Mar.					
	Death					
	Burial					
2	Birth					
Full Name of Spouse	Mar.					
	Death					
	Burial					
3	Birth					
Full Name of Spouse	Mar.					
	Death					
	Burial					
4	Birth					
Full Name of Spouse	Mar.					
	Death					
	Burial					
5	Birth					
Full Name of Spouse	Mar.					
	Death					
	Burial					
6	Birth					
Full Name of Spouse	Mar.					
	Death					
	Burial					
7	Birth					
Full Name of Spouse	Mar.					
	Death					
	Burial					
8	Birth					
Full Name of Spouse	Mar.					
	Death					
	Burial					
9	Birth					
Full Name of Spouse	Mar.					
	Death					
	Burial					
10	Birth					
Full Name of Spouse	Mar.					
	Death					
	Burial					

NOTES

Figure C.8: Family Group Record Sheet

individual's marriages would remain entered on the sheet pertaining to their family of orientation. Information was entered as it was found and this practice was instrumental in ensuring that records were always up-to-date so that further linking of data was facilitated.

The secondary step in this procedure was to link families through entering the appropriate information in the Family Group Records. This was the final step before coding for each family member could begin. Genealogical research requires that data collection proceeds systematically from records generated later to those generated earlier, and the sequence is illustrated in Figure C.9.

D. Data Management: Coding Information in terms of the Individual

All of the life history information collected was encoded within the parameters of each variable as listed in Appendix A. For example, although the precise place of birth was known for most community residents, it would not have been useful to include the data in that way. As a result, the information was 'collapsed' into more general categories such as 'southern Ontario', 'Michigan' or 'Scotland'. Similarly, it did not seem necessary to encode the precise date of birth. Only the year was entered and, in order to reduce data entry expenses, only the last three digits of the year were required. In other words, 23 August 1913 was reduced to '913'.

a) Sequence of Coding: The Individual in the Context of a Network of Close Kin

Of utmost importance was the coding of all information concerning the individual's life history within the context of life histories of close kin. The hypothesis of this research is that kinship relationships affected the life chances of individuals and, therefore, analysis had to be performed at the level of the individual.

Figure C.10 indicates the linkage sequence, beginning with the individual and the family of procreation (since the records are contemporary with that of the individual) and proceeding to parents and grandparents. Multiple generations were linked from latest to earliest as indicated by the sequence of Roman numerals in Figure C.10, reflecting the systematic inclusion of all pertinent data. The sequence is: individual, spouse and children, father, mother, siblings, paternal grandparents and, finally, maternal grandparents.

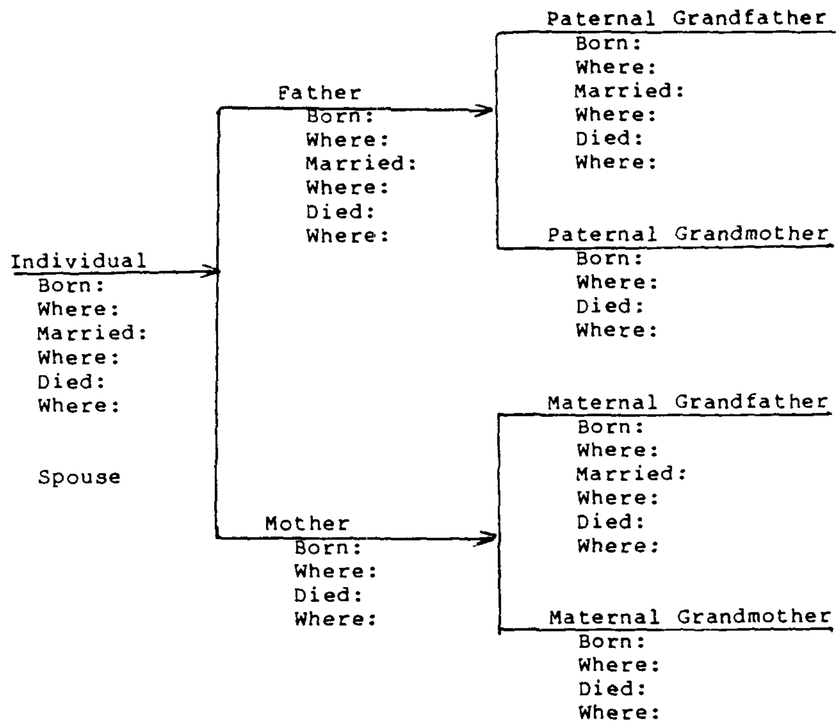


Figure C.9: Sequence of Record Linkage in Family Reconstitution

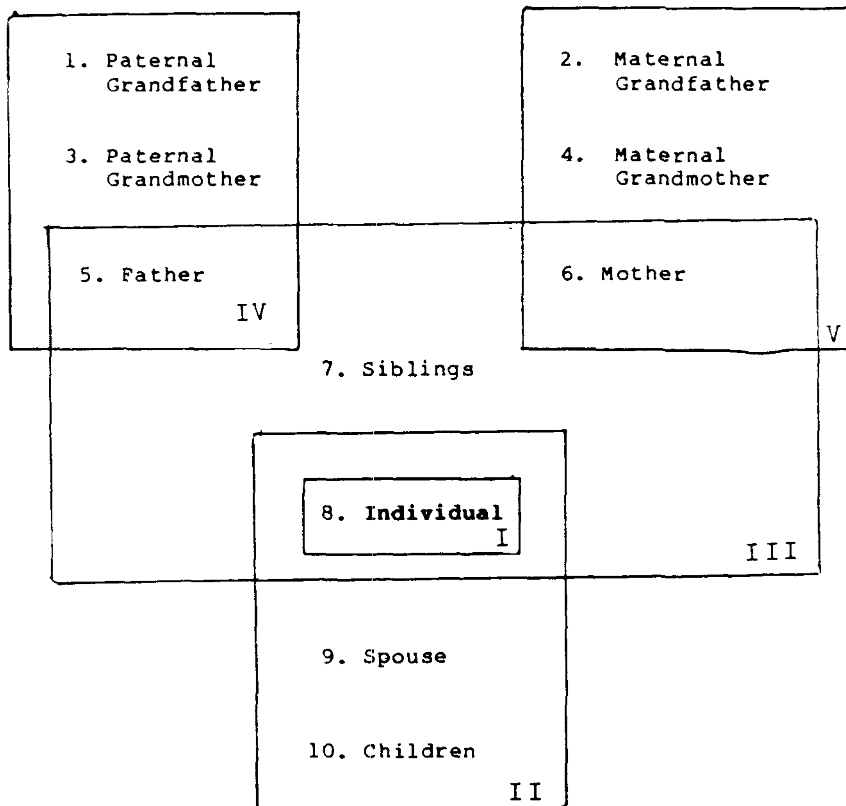


Figure C.10: Record Linkage Sequence in Coding: The Individual in the Context of a Close Network of Kin

It was thus possible to extract Family Group Records sequentially.

b) Generation of Secondary Variables from Primary Variables

Primary variables are those indicated in Figure C.6. However, much more precise information could be derived from recombination of these basic variables. These calculations were performed manually for each individual case in this research (Figure C.11). It would have been impossibly complicated to try to have the computer calculate variables derived from several family histories in terms of an individual, although some programs associated with the linkage of medical data apparently are capable of this. The computation of several additional variables from those coded for individuals was possible and reinforced the great versatility of the data set.

Figure C.11 indicates the range of variables included for each individual, the calculations used to derive variables (based upon the alphabetical code of variables in Figure C.6 and the designation of individuals coded in Arabic numerals which is illustrated in Figure C.10.

c) Data Coverage: Success Rates in the Collection of Data

A measure of the success of these techniques for data acquisition and management is the number of cases of each variable for which data was required. Overall, this rate of coverage, shown in Figure C.11, was relatively high. The lower coverage rates which generally pertain to information concerning grandparents reflect the difficulty in tracing grandparents of early arrivals, most of whom were residents of the British Isles. Resources for this research simply did not permit such a search, although it would have been possible if necessary.

E. Conclusions

Individual experience within the context of close kinship relationships can be coded but it is a time-consuming task which requires painstaking, systematic data collection and management. It does, however, result in a versatile data set to which a wide array of research questions can be addressed. The resulting population captured by these techniques is surprisingly complete, although it is undoubtedly easier to locate records of individuals from relatively stable families for whom many local records were generated in the course of residence within the community.

Figure C.11: Secondary Variables Derived from Primary Variables

Variables	Derivation of Variable	Calculation of Secondary Variables	Rate of Coverage (% of cases)
Birthplace of father	B, C	5. b	79.7
Birthplace of mother	B, C	6. b	75.9
Birthplace of paternal grandfather	B, C	1. b	62.1
Birthplace of paternal grandmother	B, C	3. b	53.7
Birthplace of maternal grandfather	B, C	2. b	48.2
Birthplace of maternal grandmother	B, C	4. b	49.1
Earliest year of arrival of ancestors	B, C	1 thru 6 earliest h	93.3
Presence of father locally	B, C	5. h	93.8
Presence of mother locally	B, C	6. h	93.8
Year paternal grandfather arrived	B, C	1. h	93.8
Year paternal grandmother arrived	B, C	3. h	93.8
Year maternal grandfather arrived	B, C	2. h	93.8
Year maternal grandmother arrived	B, C	4. h	93.8
Age at arrival of paternal grandfather	B, D	1. h-a	93.0
Age at arrival of paternal grandmother	B, D	3. h-a	92.2
Age at arrival of maternal grandfather	B, D	2. h-a	91.3
Age at arrival of maternal grandmother	B, D	4. h-a	93.8
Years father a local resident	B, D	5. i-h	89.5
Years father a local resident to 1939	B, D	5. i-1939, i-h	89.2
Years mother a local resident	B, D	6. i-h	83.7
Years mother a local resident to 1939	B, D	6. i-1939, i-h	83.6
Residence status of parents	B, C	5. j 6. j	63.6
Out-migration distance of parents	B, D	5. j 6. j (km)	93.8
Permanent resident male siblings	B, C	7. (c) j	88.2
Permanent resident female siblings	B, C	7. (c) j	89.1
Years paternal grandfather local resident	B, D	1. i-h	90.5
Years paternal grandmother local resident	B, D	3. i-h	89.2
Years maternal grandfather local resident	B, D	2. i-h	88.3
Years maternal grandmother local resident	B, D	4. i-h	87.0
Cumulative years all grandparents were resident	B, D	1. i-h+ 2. i-h+ 3. i-h+ 4. i-h	84.0
Years of family continuity to 1986	B, D	h of earliest - 1986	93.4
Years of family continuity to 1939	B, D	h of earliest - 1939	93.4
Year of birth of father	B, C	5. a	73.2
Year of death of father	B, C	5. i	57.4
Year of birth of mother	B, C	6. a	71.1
Widowhood of mother	B, D	6. i - 5. i	54.6
Year of death of mother	B, C	6. i	52.2
Year of birth of paternal grandfather	B, C	1. a	37.0
Year of death of paternal grandfather	B, C	1. i	24.5
Year of birth of paternal grandmother	B, C	3. a	35.8
Year of death of paternal grandmother	B, C	3. i	22.8
Year of death of maternal grandfather	B, C	2. i	20.1
Year of birth of maternal grandmother	B, C	4. a	27.1
Year of death of maternal grandmother	B, C	4. i	20.4
Occupation of father	B, C	5. k or l	74.8
Age of father at death	B, D	5. i-a	56.7
Occupation of mother	B, C	6. k or l	72.0
Land tenure of widowed mother	B, D	6. i- 5. i, k or l	68.1
Age of mother at death	B, D	6. i-a	51.8
Duration of widowhood of mother	B, D	6. i- 5. i	54.6

Independent Variable	Derivation of Variable	Calculation of Secondary Variables	Rate of Coverage (% of cases)
Male children of parents	B, C	7. (c)a	71.1
Female children of parents	B, C	7. (c)a	71.0
Total children of parents	B, C	7. a	70.9
Male siblings ≥ 21 years	B, D	7. (c)i-a	70.2
Female siblings ≥ 21 years	B, D	7. (c)i-a	70.1
Total siblings ≥ 21 years	B, D	7. i-a	70.1
Age at death of paternal grandfather	B, D	1. i-a	23.3
Age at death of paternal grandmother	B, D	3. i-a	21.8
Age at death of maternal grandfather	B, D	2. i-a	20.1
Age at death of maternal grandmother	B, D	4. i-a	18.8
Birthplace by distance	A	8. b (km)	87.8
Birth rank	B, D	rank of 8. in 7. q	70.4
Gender	A	8. c	93.8
Number of generations in community	B, D	8. to 1.	93.6
Years local resident	A, C	8. i-h	84.3
Years local resident to 1939	A, C	8. 1939-h or i-h	84.5
Time of arrival	A	8. h	93.8
Year of birth	A	8. a	92.5
Year of arrival	A	8. h	91.8
Life cycle cohort upon arrival	A, C	8. h-a	93.8
Age at arrival	A, C	8. h-a	93.8
Age at acquisition of land	A, C	8. f-a	62.0
Age at preferential acquisition of land	A, C	8. (g)f-a	91.6
Year left community	A	8. i	82.7
Married / unmarried	A	8. d	72.3
Married to local / outsider	A	9. h	49.4
Year of marriage	A	8. d	61.9
Age at marriage	A, C	8. d-a	61.9
Male children born	B	10. (c)	49.9
Female children born	B	10. (c)	49.9
Total children born	B	10.	50.3
Occupation: farmer / non-farmer	A	8. k or l	62.9
Occupation before acquisition of land	A	8. k	62.9
Land ownership status	A	8. g	93.5
Preferential land acquisition	A	8. g	93.6
Efficiency of kin transmission vs. patent	A	8. g	29.0
Male children ≥ 21 years	B, D	10. (c)i-a	49.6
Female children ≥ 21 years	B, D	10. (c)i-a	49.8
Total children ≥ 21 years	B, D	10. i-a	50.3

Key to Derivation of Variables:

A indicates primary variable derived from information concerning individual (8 on Figure C.3).

B indicates primary variable derived from information concerning individual (1 through 7 and 9 and 10 on Figure C.3).

C indicates secondary variable calculated from A

D indicates secondary variable calculated from B

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