

FAMILIES AND LAND IN TORONTO GORE TOWNSHIP, 1820-1890

FAMILIES AND LAND IN TORONTO GORE TOWNSHIP,
PEEL COUNTY, ONTARIO, 1820-1890

By

HERBERT JOSEPH MAYS, B.A., M.A.

A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

McMaster University

October 1979

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
(History)

McMASTER UNIVERSITY
Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: Families and Land in Toronto Gore Township, Peel County,
Ontario, 1820-1890

AUTHOR: Herbert Joseph Mays, B.A. (Mount Allison University)
M.A. (McMaster University)

SUPERVISOR: Professor D. P. Gagan

NUMBER OF PAGES: xii, 400

ABSTRACT

This study identifies permanence, the search for it and its attainment, as the most important variable influencing social, economic and demographic behaviour in rural society. The dissertation examines the interaction between families and land between 1820 and 1890 in a rural mid-Victorian Upper Canadian community, Toronto Gore township. The Gore of Toronto, one of the prime wheat producing townships in nineteenth century Ontario, is a wedge-shaped tract of land of some nineteen thousand acres situated fifteen miles northwest of Toronto.

The theoretical underpinning for the study is Richard Easterlin's consumption/inheritance model for the behaviour of rural societies. This is buttressed by historical studies of the American midwest as well as studies of rural Ontario by David Gagan, Marvin McInnis and Lorne Tepperman. These studies, as well as the data for Toronto Gore, are used to demonstrate that the processes of social change in rural society were related to incursions of economic stress arising out of land and population pressure. Stress was accompanied by demonstrable changes in demographic and economic behaviour at the household level. Toronto Gore was subjected to two forms of economic stress during the period. The first arose from agricultural change and the demands for land made by immigrants and a maturing younger generation. The second was a crisis of shorter term that began in 1857 with the collapse of the wheat market and was exacerbated two years later by a drastic decline in land values. In responding to these crises the younger generation postponed marriage

and family formation. The older generation limited marital fertility and adopted devices for the distributuon of property that would protect the productivity and profitability of the land. These changes, which conform to the broad outlines of the Easterlin model and the actual historical experience of populations elsewhere, suggest that the Gore's households were not unusual in their behaviour.

The major thrust of the dissertation, however, is that permanence was the most important variable influencing the timing and degree of change. The foundation for permanence was laid during the settlement phase when approximately one hundred families put down roots. Three generations later most of those families were still represented among the township's householders. Others have identified core populations during the settlement phase but thus far no one has systematically studied their behaviour. For Toronto Gore, techniques of family reconstitution developed by French and English demographers are used to reconstruct the population and family relationships. In three generations, intermarriage knit the permanent families into a cohesive group. They owned the largest farms, had the largest households, and were the leaders of the principal social and political institutions. Their children had the best opportunities of acquiring places for themselves in the township. They maintained their relative prosperity because, as a group, they were more sensitive to economic change. In times of economic stress they reacted quickly to protect what they had. Their neighbours responded much more slowly and adjustments in their demographic behaviour appeared almost a decade later.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study would not have been completed without considerable assistance from many people. I would like to thank Dr. Louis Gentilcore and Dr. David Russo for their comments on the drafts. Especially I wish to thank Dr. David Gagan who supervised this work and whose encouragement, understanding and forbearance gave me the confidence to proceed. Special thanks are due also to Mr. Brian Gilchrist who made available to me transcripts of his records of the Woodill family cemetery. My colleagues at the University of Winnipeg, especially Dr. Walter Stein, chairman of the Department of History, and Drs. Garin Burbank and John Milloy provided both inspiration and critical commentary on the work in progress. Of course, any errors of fact or interpretation in this study are mine, and mine alone.

I am indebted, as well, to the Canada Council whose financial assistance helped make it possible for me to pursue this work.

Finally, I wish to thank my wife Annabelle who, despite the stresses and strains of preparing her own dissertation, provided continued and invaluable support throughout my years of study.

ABBREVIATIONS

Ag. Hist.	Agricultural History
A.E.R.	American Economic Review
A.H.R.	American Historical Review
A.S.R.	American Sociological Review
C.H.A.P.	Canadian Historical Association Papers
C.H.R.	Canadian Historical Review
C.J.E.P.S.	Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science
C.P.S.A.P.	Proceedings of the Canadian Political Science Association
C.R.S.A.	Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology
C.S.S.H.	Comparative Studies in Society and History
E.H.R.	Economic History Review
GS. ONT-1	R.G. 22, Records of the Surrogate Court of Ontario
HS/SH	Histoire sociale-Social History
H.M.N.	Historical Methods Newsletter
H.E.Q.	History of Education Quarterly
J.T.B.A.U.C.	Journal and Transactions of the Board of Agriculture of Upper Canada
J.C.S.	Journal of Canadian Studies
J.E.H.	Journal of Economic History
J.M.F.	Journal of Marriage and the Family
J.S.H.	Journal of Social History
Ont. Ag. Comm.	Report of the Ontario Agricultural Commissioners, 1881
O.H.	Ontario History
P.S.	Population Studies

T.R.S.C. Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada

Wm. & Mary Qu. William and Mary Quarterly

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
DESCRIPTIVE NOTE.	ii
ABSTRACT.	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.	v
ABBREVIATIONS	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	viii
LIST OF TABLES, MAPS AND FIGURES.	ix
Chapter	
I. THE PROBLEM, THE METHOD, AND THE LOCALE	1
II. THE SETTLEMENT PHASE, 1820-1851.	61
III. AT WHAT COST? THE AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY, 1852-1890	125
IV. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION: PERMANENCE AND TRANSIENCY, 1851-1871.	178
V. HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY DURING THE ERA OF ECONOMIC TRANSITION, 1851-1871.	228
VI. FAMILY AND KINSHIP, 1830-1890.	275
VII. 'TIL DEATH DO US PART?	321
VIII. CONCLUSIONS.	357
.	
APPENDICES	371
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	383

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1-1 Summary Agricultural Statistics for Select Ontario Communities, 1852	44
2-1 Lands Patented and Occupied in Select Townships in the Mississauga Purchase	78
2-2 Official Speculators in Wild Lands	89
2-3 Land Alienation in Toronto Gore to 1831	92
2-4 Comparative Rates of Growth in Select Townships in the Mississauga Purchase, 1834-1852	94
2-5 Permanence, Persistence and Transiency, 1837-1850	98
2-6 Select Summary Statistics for Land Sales, 1830-1851	101
2-7 Select Summary Land Tenure Statistics for Permanent Families by Settlement Cohort	105
2-8 Select Summary Land Tenure Statistics for Permanent Families by Birthplace	112
3-1 Average Prices Offered for Wheat and Barley at Toronto by Decade, 1851-1889	134
3-2 Select Data on Livestock Production 1851, 1861, 1891	143
3-3 Farm Mechanization to 1871	147
3-4 Select Summary Agricultural Statistics, 1851-1890	150
3-5 Percentage Distribution of Occupiers, Landowners, and Tenants by Size of Farm, 1851-1890	153
3-6 Distributive Inequality Among Landowners by Longevity and Ethnicity, 1851-1891	157
3-7 Summary Statistics for Owners and Tenants from the 1861 and 1871 Agricultural Census Returns	159
3-8 Percentage Distribution of Occupiers by Status on the Land, Ethnicity, Persistence and Age, by Size of Farm, 1861 and 1871	161
3-9 Indices of Economic Stress, 1851-1880	169

Table	Page
4-1 Transiency and Persistence Among Householders, 1852-1891 . . .	189
4-2 Mean Ages of Transient and Persistent Householders, 1852-1881	193
4-3 Percentage Distribution of all Households by Occupation of Head of Household, 1852-1891	195
4-4 Percentage Distribution of All, Persistent, Transient and New Households by Occupational Group, 1852-1891	197
4-5 Percentage of Householders in Each Occupational Category Who were Transient and Replaced in the Intercensal Period, 1852-1881	198
4-6 Distribution of Farmers by Status on the Land, Size of Farm, and Transiency, 1861, 1871, 1881	200
4-7 Select Summary Statistics for Transient Landowners, 1851-1891.	202
4-8 Percentage Distribution of Householders by Birthplace, 1852-1871	206
4-9 Percentage Distribution of Householders by Religious Affiliation, 1852-1871	208
4-10 Significance Levels and Rank Order of Select Variables from Multiple Classification Analysis of Transiency. 1851-1871	211
4-11 Adjusted Mean Percentages for Transient Householders from Multiple Classification Analysis, 1851-1871	212
4-12 Select Summary Statistics for Economic Mobility Among Persistents, 1851-1890	215
4-13 Kinship and Persistence	218
4-14 Percentage Distribution of Members of Local Government By Family Affiliation, 1857-1891	219
4-15 Minimum Number of Different Households, 1852-1890	220
5-1 Trends in Mean Household Size, 1851-1891	236
5-2 Percentage Distribution of Households by Resident Additions, 1851-1871	237

Table	Page
5-3 Summary Statistics for the Domestic Work Force (Servants and Labourers), 1852-1871	241
5-4 Percentage Distribution of All Households, and Households with Resident Workers by Age, Birthplace, Occupation, Land Tenure, Permanence and Size of Farm, 1851-1871	243
5-5 Correlation Coefficients (Phi) for Select Variables and the Employment of Workers, 1851-1871	244
5-6 Percentage Distribution of Persistent Households By Household Structure, 1852-1871	245
5-7 Ratio of Children Over Sixteen Years of Age Living at Home to Heads of Household Over Age Forty-two Years for Permanent and Non-Permanent Households, 1851-1871	249
5-8 Mean Age at Marriage for Males and Females, 1851-1870	256
5-9 Ratio of Males per Hundred Females by Age Cohort	258
5-10 Standardized Marital Fertility Ratios, 1851-1870	263
5-11 Number of Children per 100 Married Women in the 20-24 and 40-44 year old Cohorts	266
6-1 Second and Third Generation Sons Who Settled As Tenants or Landowners, 1831-1891	292
6-2 Mobility Among Sons Settling As Tenants, 1850-1890	295
6-3 Sources of Land For Second And Third Generation Landowners	296
6-4 Mean Age And Size of Purchase For Sons Acquiring Land From Parents by Ethnic Group and Birthplace, 1851-1891.	303
6-5 Kinship and Mortgage Patterns, 1841-1881	307
6-6 Classifications of Households by Structure, 1851-1871.	311
6-7 Residence Patters For Persons Over 60 Years of Age by Sex And Marital Status, 1851-1871.	313
7-1 Percentage Distribution of Testators By Type of Will Written, For Select Variables, 1832-1900.	326

Table	Page
7-2 Correlation Coefficients (C) For Type Of Will By Select Variables.	328
7-3 Significance Levels and Rank Order of Select Variables From Multiple Classification Analysis of Wills.	330
7-4 Adjusted Mean Percentages for Type of Will From Multiple Classification Analysis.	331
7-5 Provisions Made for Widows In Toronto Gore Wills.	336
7-6 Sales of Land By Principal Heirs, 1832-1898	350

LIST OF MAPS

Map	Page
2-1 Home District Province of Upper Canada.	66
2-2 Toronto Gore Soil Types	71
2-3 Land Alienation to 1821	76
2-4 Land Alienation to 1831	91
6-1 Kinship Bonds Among Owner Occupiers, 1851	285
6-2 Kinship Bonds Among Owner Occupiers, 1891	287

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
3-1 Prices Offered For Wheat and Barley At Toronto, 1851-1891 .	135
3-2 Crop Changes, 1852-1891	140
3-3 Toronto Gore Land Values 1831-1891.	165
4-1 Rates of Population Growth in the Humber Valley Watershed . .	190

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM, THE METHOD, AND THE LOCALE

I

During the nineteenth century the pattern of economic and social life in Ontario's agricultural communities changed markedly. By 1880, most of the province's rural areas had completed the progression from a brief period of subsistence farming through several varieties of wheat farming, and had entered the stage of mixed farming, dairying and animal husbandry. From another perspective, they had moved from land-extensive, labour-intensive agricultural practices to a system of agriculture that made more efficient use of land and, as a result of the introduction of farm machinery, required less labour. This evolution has been documented well in numerous studies in historical geography and agricultural history that have analyzed either the province as a whole or individual rural communities.¹ We know much less, however, about the equally important social and demographic changes that accompanied agricultural development. Most often, descriptions of the social landscape have concentrated simply upon the settlement process, religious and educational controversies, or have based their findings on the perceptions of an educated few whose analysis of the forces shaping Canadian society were conditioned by their own cultural or class biases.² Important as these matters are, they represent only one part of the experience of the successive generations of settlers who carved

out lives for themselves and their families in the province. What is missing from this picture is an understanding of the relationship of individual and family experience to larger processes of social and economic development. We know very little, for example, of the impact of agricultural change upon rural Ontario's residents: their attitudes, values, and conceptions of the "proper" structures in their society surely must have been challenged by economic change. How they responded to this challenge, moreover, is important to our understanding of social, economic, and even political developments.

Only in the past decade have historians, economists and geographers begun to probe systematically the nature of nineteenth century rural society in an attempt to understand the processes which helped to shape Ontario's social and economic growth. Collectively, these recent studies comprise what is now called the "new" social history. They differ from earlier works in four important respects. First, they study the experience of ordinary men and women rather than elites and prominent political figures. They have begun with the assumption that individual, family and household experience offer not only a fruitful approach to understanding the attitudes, values, institutions, and structures of society in time past but, more importantly, they provide clues to the way in which whole societies responded to broader social and economic forces.³ Second, they make extensive use of documents such as census returns, land transfers, vital statistics and court records that have been employed only superficially by earlier historians. Third, these studies make use of quantitative techniques and methods that have been borrowed from other disciplines.

Not content to provide impressionistic accounts, the new social historians have sought to describe the contours of past societies in terms as precise as the historical data will permit. They have probed beneath the surface to uncover the processes by which social change took place. Finally, to give meaning to the raw statistical data, which is often open to a variety of interpretations, they have cast their work within some broader theoretical framework.⁴

Until now, the results of these studies have appeared only in journal articles and await fuller treatment in monographs that can explore more deeply the inter-relationships of social, cultural, demographic, economic and geographic variables. The wide variety of settlement patterns, cultural mixes, and geographic factors in Ontario's early development make it difficult to generalize, however, and it seems likely that before any grand synthesis concerning the nature of nineteenth century rural society can be attempted, numerous microstudies which focus on the township or county as a unit of analysis must be undertaken. This study of families and land in the Gore of Toronto in Peel County is an attempt to begin to meet this need.

The purpose of this study, therefore, is to identify and explain both the timing and effects of social change in a rural, mid-Victorian, Upper Canadian community that was subjected to the stresses and strains associated with an evolving agricultural economy and a maturing rural population. Following the well-established methods developed by French, English, and American historical demographers, the dissertation focusses upon individual and familial experience as the principal indices of continuity and change.⁵ To explain the nature of the processes of

change, their timing and effects, the study relies upon Richard Easterlin's model of the inheritance/consumption dichotomy in rural societies. Employing the Easterlin model also permits comparisons of the effects of family/land interaction in Toronto Gore and its demographic, social, cultural and economic ramifications with those found elsewhere in North America. The dissertation is not simply a quick test of the Easterlin model in a Canadian context, however. It attempts to go beyond monolithic explanations of behaviour by differentiating between segments of rural society that were either ignored in Easterlin's analysis or dismissed as uncharacteristic of the northern United States.⁶

This study proceeds from the assumption, well-rooted in the secondary literature, that the pre-industrial rural family was a large tightly-knit economic unit in which individual desires often were subordinated for the mutual benefit of all family members. Ultimately, its economic success depended upon the unremitting efforts of all family members. In return for the labour they provided during their formative years, children expected family aid when the time came to establish their own independent households. In meeting this obligation nineteenth century patriarchs strove to provide all of their children with the means to achieve an independent economic life, preferably nearby so that the family unit would be kept together. Their ability to meet these obligations, however, was limited by changes in the social and economic environment that produced both land and population pressure. These changes posed a threat to the continued strength and endurance of the traditional family farm: its structure, culture and attitudes all were challenged.

In Toronto Gore, as in most other rural communities in North America, delays in marriage and family formation, declines in fertility, and the adoption of complex systems of inheritance were the exemplifications of rural society's attempts to meet the challenge posed by changes in the environment. In this study, the working hypothesis has been that different segments of the population, defined by cultural background, land tenure and longevity, or permanence in the area, responded at differing rates to environmental change. The principal contribution of the thesis, therefore, is not only its documentation that the structural, behavioural, and demographic characteristics of Toronto Gore's residents replicated the experience of other North American societies, allowing for differences in time and place. Far more important, this study demonstrates clearly that "permanence," defined here as a kin relationship to a settler who entered the township during its formative years between 1820 and 1850, was the single most important variable in determining the behaviour and expectations of individuals and families.

Before moving on to examine the methods and sources that are the basis for this study, a survey of the relevant literature for both Ontario and the United States is necessary. This examination serves two purposes: it provides both a context for the study and a theoretical underpinning for much of what follows in the dissertation.

II

Much of the existing literature on Ontario's past, based largely on qualitative sources, has little to say about the interaction between

families and land. It is often vague, ambiguous, or annoyingly silent on most questions dealing with families. The nineteenth century memoirs and traveller's accounts that became a principal source for most modern agricultural and social histories often were based upon fleeting acquaintance with the province or, worse, were filtered through the social, political or intellectual biases of their authors. Hence, although the disenchanted ramblings of a Susanna Moodie, for example, may have been accompanied by her analysis of the forces shaping Canadian society, they also aimed at supplying her own prescription for the ideal society in British North America.⁷ Yet, despite their inadequacies these commentaries provide a useful starting point for an examination of individual and family experience in nineteenth century Ontario.

Perhaps the best example of a literate observer's concern with family life is found in a widely publicized memoir of country life in Ontario published nearly a century ago. Caniff Haight's Life in Canada Fifty Years Ago: Personal Recollections and Reminiscences of a Sexagenarian (1885), mourned the passing of an era. Haight lamented that for at least twenty years Ontarians had been departing from the sterling example set by their progenitors.⁸ He saw the family's role as an economic and cultural refuge gradually disappearing. In contrast with what had been essentially a stable, egalitarian society with a strong sense of family and community cohesion, late nineteenth century Ontario had fallen prey to the corrosive influences of urbanization and industrialization which were breaking down the old value systems and luring young men from the farms.⁹

When the polemical and obviously distorted elements of Haight's

account are stripped away, we are left with a rare first hand account of the way in which the rural Ontario family functioned a half century after the first settlers arrived on the land. This was a family deeply rooted in the land; a social, economic, and cultural unit. Its livelihood was a matter of joint enterprise, in which all members participated.¹⁰ For its younger members, the family served as both a workshop and training ground. Children were subjected not only to the usual parental influences, but also to the influence of aunts, uncles, and often grandparents, all of whom lived under the same roof. In short, early Ontario's families exhibited the major structural traits associated with the pre-industrial peasant family.¹¹

Although other memoirs or traveller's accounts rarely provided as extensive a description of family life, they too stressed the importance of family membership to individual success. In particular, they emphasized the importance of children whose labour was essential to the rapid establishment of a commercial farm.¹² As a consequence, the idea that the early nineteenth century rural family was a closely knit, mutually interdependent economic unit became a commonplace in Canadian historiography. Perhaps it is not altogether surprising, therefore, that when the Rowell-Sirois Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations found it necessary, in 1939, to comment on the importance of the pre-Confederation family as a social and economic unit, they did not bother with documentation. Instead, they simply described the family farm as,

a base of operation on which individuals could fall back when other projects and occupations ended in disaster.... 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. Their material basis for this mutual welfare association was the family farm.¹³

The Rowell-Sirois Commissioners merely reiterated and expanded upon a point that Caniff Haight had made somewhat less articulately more than a half century before. Before at least 1870, the rural family not only provided for the material welfare of its members but also played a supportive role that continued beyond the period when its members resided at home. In short, a collective consciousness accompanied family membership; a sense of belonging which expressed itself in working toward the common goal of providing economic prosperity for all, and perhaps for future generations as well. How long these values and attitudes were retained is uncertain. Haight, at least, believed that traditional patterns of rural family life had been disturbed by the 1880s. Outwardly, these changes appeared in a contraction of the boundaries of the rural household; an alteration in both its size and structure. Haight sensed that the significance of these structural changes ran far deeper. They were the harbingers of the disappearance of a way of life that had characterized rural Ontario for almost a century.

No quantitative evidence has yet been presented in Canada to give form to the image of the rural family so painstakingly constructed by Caniff Haight. Both agricultural and social historians, for the most part, have treated family history only tangentially. When families have appeared the discussion has been limited, most often, to the factors promoting success and rural stability. The inference has been

that both were linked, at least partially, to family ties or their absence.

The standard agricultural history of the province, Robert Leslie Jones' History of Agriculture in Ontario, 1613-1880 looked primarily at changes in agricultural products and the qualities promoting individual success. In this context, families were considered to be important only insofar as they offered an explanation for changes in land ownership and internal migration both of which had implications for the agricultural development of the province. After observing that by mid-century farmers in well-settled areas of Canada West were selling out and moving to newly opened areas such as the Bruce peninsula, Jones offered an explanation for this phenomenon that was rooted in assumptions about family behaviour. These actions, he argued, were prompted by the farmer's desire to keep his family "more or less together" by "setting up his sons on [nearby] farms of their own."¹⁴ The attraction of the Bruce peninsula was cheap land. There, the proceeds from the sale of a farm in more well-established districts would be used to acquire sufficient land to provide farms for each of a farmer's sons. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century this same concern provided the motivation for a continuing restlessness among the agricultural population which was exemplified by a "constant shifting in farm ownership."¹⁵ In the 1880s prosperous farmers were still selling their high priced Ontario farmland in order to acquire capital to purchase farms for their children. Only their destination differed. The agricultural frontier had moved into the Canadian West and with it went the cheap land sought so eagerly for

the members of a new generation.¹⁶

Jones' portrayal of a mobile, highly restless agriculturalist who had little attachment to a particular piece of property contrasts sharply with George Reaman's A History of Agriculture in Ontario which presented a much more sedentary farmer. Yet, both men began with essentially the same assumption: the bonds of kinship, or family ties, were important to nineteenth century agriculturalists. Reaman believed that the Ontario farmer was able to enjoy the best of both worlds. He was able to retain his property and see his children settled nearby. Commenting upon the prospects of a farmer between 1840 and 1867 he wrote:

Agriculture was not to be looked upon as a source of wealth. Its profits were small, only to be secured by hard labor, industry, and extremely [sic] frugality. However, the sober and diligent farmer enjoyed a substantial independence with a comfortable dwelling, plenty of food and clothing, the means of raising a family, the opportunity of procuring the best education for the children and the power for accumulating enough resources for his old age with the comfort of his family about him and the enjoyment of his religion.¹⁷

One or two of the farmer's sons "might remain on the farm, others would teach school and go into the professions."¹⁸ From Reaman's perspective, the major change between 1840 and 1900 appears to have been a growth of prosperity that improved the quality of life and ensured that the agriculturalist was more deeply rooted in the community.

Of the two works, Jones' book is far the more scholarly, the Reaman volume, although filled with quotations, does not acknowledge their source. Yet, it cannot be dismissed out of hand, especially

since the general line of interpretation of agricultural development seems to conform to Jones' broad outline. Where the two books differ is in their admittedly tangential comments on the nature of rural society. From these two works the reader is left alternatively with the impression that stability, and then instability was characteristic of rural society. On the one hand we have Jones' suggestion that, for many, the cohesiveness of the rural family was incompatible with continued residence in a particular locality. In an environment that featured steadily rising land values in well settled areas and a constantly advancing agricultural frontier, Ontario's farmers ordered their priorities. Providing a start for their offspring and keeping at least some of their children nearby was more important than their attachment to a particular piece of land. Consequently Ontario's farmers developed a "casual commitment to place."¹⁹ On the other hand, there is Reaman's emphasis upon the enduring nature of Ontario rural society which was exemplified by one or two sons continuing to farm the family homestead. Each author undoubtedly would have agreed that there was some merit to the other's observation. Moreover, within the context in which they are presented, the two observations are not mutually exclusive. Unfortunately, however, these sweeping generalizations tell us little about the true nature of nineteenth century rural society. If, indeed, both stability and instability were features of that society, as seems likely, then which, if either, predominated? In a stable society the possibility that traditional patterns of behaviour and value systems would be retained, may be enhanced; in an unstable one, the opposite may be true. These concerns reach to the

very heart of the nineteenth century experience. Yet, they remain largely unexplored.

Even the two surveys of Canadian social history published to date, G. P. de T. Glazebrook's Life in Ontario. A Social History and Arthur Lower's Canadians in the Making, provide no satisfactory answers. Once again, each author suggests that family relationships were important, especially in terms of rural stability, only to leave the reader with opposite impressions at the end of their work. After acknowledging the tendency of some ethnic groups to settle clannishly, Lower went on to argue that the English Canadian farmer really was a man who had little attachment to a particular piece of land; he sold out readily when the soil appeared exhausted, or when he found opportunity for a quick profit. Widespread internal migration, particularly in the post-Confederation era, characterized rural Ontario.²⁰ Glazebrook, on the other hand, chose to emphasize the elements of stability. He recognized that rural depopulation had occurred after 1860, but nowhere in his treatment of the period is there the sense of restless migration that emerges from Lower's work.²¹ Glazebrook leaves the impression of a stable society rooted in the land, especially when he turns to rural society between 1850 and 1900. Although conditions did not remain fixed during the period, he argued, the average farm was no longer isolated and had become a "remarkably self-contained little community."²² By the end of the century,

Victorianism [had been] modified in southern Ontario by the conditions of the new world but still had much of the character that the word suggests. The little towns and the brick farmhouse breathed solidarity and stability.²³

Although they appear to disagree on the emphasis that should be placed on stability in rural society, both agree that the North American environment played an important role in shaping, or more properly reshaping, the attitudes, values, and behaviour of Ontario's agricultural population.²⁴

This position places both Glazebrook and Lower firmly within a long tradition in Canadian historiography. Ever since Canadian historians abandoned their preoccupation with political and constitutional themes to the exclusion of all else, environmentalism has played a central role in Canadian historiography.²⁵ The seminal work of H. A. Innis, Donald Creighton, and more recently J. M. S. Careless has focussed upon the interaction between Europeans and the North American environment. They have been particularly concerned with the ramifications of this interaction for social, economic and political developments. In his recent study of the two Canadas under the union government J. M. S. Careless succinctly summed up the state of current scholarship when he suggested that by the mid-nineteenth century, "British trade, emigration and political structure expressed the transatlantic connection; American style enterprise, ways of life and social outlook, [expressed] the influence of the continent."²⁶

Recent studies employing the techniques of the new social history have broadened our understanding of the ways in which the social, economic and geographic environment helped to shape nineteenth century society. These studies, occasionally cast within a neo-Marxist framework, have pointed to a dynamic rural society.²⁷ A number of studies have demonstrated that ceaseless motion in the form of

geographic mobility, or transiency, seems to have effected nineteenth century society at every stage of its development. For the neo-Marxists the explanation for this movement lay in the difficulty of obtaining land in Ontario by mid-century, which forced the landless to migrate to the cities.²⁸ For others, the explanation for transiency was much more complex and could be understood best when geographic mobility was examined within the context of social mobility.²⁹ David Gagan, the author of one of these studies suggested recently that Ontario may have been a one-class society which "played host to an undifferentiated crowd of individuals for whom the acquisition of social status was a long process measured in terms of distance."³⁰

Several scholars, drawing inspiration and theoretical frameworks from English, French and American sources, have either moved beyond migration studies or included them in a more comprehensive examination of all facets of the historical demography of nineteenth century Ontario. Investigations of marriage and marital fertility patterns by David Gagan, Marvin McNinnis and Lorne Tepperman subsume a broader concern than simply the age at which people married or the number of children born into families. Demographic behaviour has been cast as an index of social change. Employing these indices it has been possible to examine, on the one hand the impact of a changing social and economic environment upon families and households and, on the other the importance of cultural baggage the immigrant carried with him to the new world.

The importance of culture for family experience is evident in the work of both Gagan and McNinnis who found variations in

the responses of different ethnic groups; but the inter-relationship of family, land and culture reached perhaps its most explicit expression in a recent article by a sociologist, Lorne Tepperman, entitled "Ethnic Variations in Marriage and Fertility: Canada 1871." Tepperman argued that the ethnic background of Ontario's residents determined customs of land distribution which, in turn, "increased or decreased the feasibility of high levels of nuptiality and fertility."³¹

Gagan's family oriented studies provide the most comprehensive picture of the family's response to changing economic conditions published in recent years.³² Concentrating on a crucial twenty year period in the history of Canada West, between 1851 and 1871 when the international staples economy underwent fundamental changes, he has portrayed changes in marital fertility, delays in marriage and family formation, and customs of land inheritance as part of a variegated response to internal and external forces of change.³³ These changes challenged the strength and endurance of the farm family. In attempting to protect what they could of the traditional culture of the rural family, Ontario's agriculturalists were forced to make fundamental adjustments in their demographic behaviour.

This study of families and land in Toronto Gore is a logical extension of the work pioneered in Canada by Gagan, McInnis and Tepperman. Like their studies its concern is with the interaction of families and land in the context of a changing economic environment. It focusses upon land use and accumulation, levels of vocational opportunity in rural society, residence patterns, marriage and marital fertility, and the transmission of property from one generation

to another. These are presented as a series of inter-related problems which provide insights into the dynamics of rural life and culture. The study also attempts to pull together several historiographic threads including the importance of the family to the fulfilling of the aspirations and expectations of its children and the degree of social integration or stability in rural society. The dissertation differs from earlier studies in three important respects. First, its seventy year time frame rather than one or two decades permits an examination of the experience of several generations of families. Second, it attempts to examine changes in social and demographic behaviour in the context of rural social structure as defined here by various types of land tenure, cultural background and longevity in the area. Finally, and undoubtedly most important, in the process of reconstructing rural society from the bottom up, the thesis identifies and focusses upon the experience of a group of families described here as the township's "permanent" families. These families originated in the settlement process itself. The degree of social integration they enjoyed as a consequence of a constant process of intermarriage and the settling of their children on the land defined stability in this community. Hence, from one perspective the study reconciles the apparently ambiguous references to stability in the work of Jones, Reaman, Lower and Glazebrook. From another, it identifies and documents the differences in the degree of response made by the most and least stable segments of rural society. In this way, it provides insights into the attitudes and values of those families who, in the fullest sense of the word, provided definition for Ontario's rural communities.

III

The theoretical underpinning for many of the recent Canadian studies, including this work, has emerged gradually in a growing body of historical literature published in Europe and the United States since 1960.³⁴ This accumulated literature, whether it has focussed on social class, rural sociology, historical demography, or more amorphously upon "social history," has proceeded from four basic assumptions. The first is that the character of whole societies can be understood best through "precise, detailed examinations of individuals, families and groups in particular communities and localities."³⁵ Second, the nature of individual and collective experience should be examined in the context of the geographic, economic, social structural, demographic, and cultural circumstances that shaped the character of the communities in which individuals and families lived.³⁶ Third, in the absence of literary sources, attitudes and values can be inferred from the behaviour of individuals. And, finally, that families and households in the past were rational decision-making units "seeking to maximize household material well-being under different sets of external circumstances."³⁷ Stated in more specific terms, changes in household size and structure, and the selective migration of individuals or whole families can be interpreted as a conscious attempt to preserve or enhance the family's material well-being.

Although European research has an obvious importance for this study, the recent work in American history has a much more immediate relevance. Both Canada and the United States were immigrant societies and shared the blessing of large quantities of available land

throughout much of the nineteenth century. These two features have figured prominently in American family-oriented studies. The work by European scholars, on the other hand, seems to have placed more emphasis upon the impact of industrialization and urbanization upon traditional societies where land was in comparatively short supply.³⁸

Most family-oriented studies in the United States have drawn inspiration from Bernard Bailyn's suggestive essay "Education in the Forming of American Society" published in 1960.³⁹ Bailyn was among the first American historians to recognize the value of the family unit as a precise reference point from which to examine the cumulative effects of social, cultural, economic and demographic change upon the development of society. The family was, he suggested elsewhere, a "building block" from which whole societies could be reconstructed.⁴⁰ Locked within the structure and culture of the family was a permanent record, not only of its own experience, but also of the experience of preceding generations as well.

The burden of Bailyn's argument was that the seventeenth century immigrant's attempts to transplant the old world family, with all of its traditions, in a new world setting had failed. In that failure lay much of the explanation for the uniqueness of the American experience. An apparently unlimited supply of free land appeared to contribute to the disintegration of the "European" family as Bailyn depicted it. Beginning with the assumption that the family played a fundamental role in shaping the attitudes, values, and perceptions of its individual members, Bailyn sought to explain America's uniqueness by comparing the family of Elizabethan and Stuart England with its

American counterpart. He depicted the English household as patriarchal and extended: there were clear lines of authority that focussed upon the power and prestige of the male head of household; and in addition to the biological family of father, mother and children, numerous kinsmen, servants or apprentices could be found sharing the same roof.⁴¹ Within these familial surroundings children were prepared for life in larger social and economic settings whose hierarchical structures reproduced those of the family. The English family, as Bailyn described it, served as a socializing agency, as well as a childrearing and vocational training institution. It had its roots in the distant past, beyond the memory of men, and thus, by its fixed and permanent nature the family helped to reinforce the notion of a stable, organic society. So long as the family fulfilled its many roles there was no need for more formal institutions such as schools, and children would continue to be prepared to live in a society where the distinctions between family and community were blurred.

Against this portrait of a patriarchal, extended and highly stable English family, Bailyn projected his perceptions of the changing form of the American family. To create a theoretical framework for his explanation of the characteristics of the American family he married his concept of the family as a socializing agency to the idea, first enunciated by Frederick Jackson Turner, that the American environment altered the perceptions of European immigrants. In a North American setting, access to free and available land broke down the cultural traditions that settlers brought with them. In agricultural communities the combination of readily available land and a

sparse population severely limited the number of potential servants or farm labourers and, as a consequence, produced the "isolation of the conjugal unit."⁴² The nuclear rather than the extended family characterized the American experience. With the dominance of the nuclear family came a growth of individualism. These transformations became apparent in the tensions that appeared within the authority structure of the household. Under the influence of the new environment parental authority and prestige broke down; the relationship between colonial fathers and their sons was perceptibly altered. As time passed, there was a general drift away from the hierarchical structure of the European family with its precisely defined roles towards the more equalitarian and, therefore, more individualistic family that came to characterize colonial America.

Available land also resulted in constant mobility as settlers and their children moved to acquire new farms. In addition to the obvious effects of this mobility upon the fixed, organic traditions of family culture, geographic mobility also exacerbated the problem of the isolation of the individual and made transition to life in a larger community setting more difficult. Faced with an alteration in its structure and lines of authority, the colonial family was unable to rear and school its children in the informal style of its English counterpart. As a consequence, Americans were forced to turn to more formal institutions of socialization such as schools and various levels of government to ensure the preservation of tradition, community stability, and the smooth transition for children from life in the family to subsistence in larger social and economic settings.

Bailyn's point, of course, was that within a century and a half the American environment had produced a family which, in its size, structure, and functions, was different from its European counterpart. The American experience emphasized new roles for family members, demanded new formal institutions of socialization, and a new set of relationships among individuals. Ultimately, these changes were translated into different social and economic relationships that made the American experience unique.

Subsequent studies of the American colonial family have tended to support Bailyn's view of the importance of the family as a focus for historical study, as well as his emphasis upon the importance of the environment in shaping family experience. David Rothman, however, used recent European family-oriented studies to question Bailyn's assumptions about the nature of the English family at the time of colonization.⁴³ The family which Rothman describes as European was almost identical to the family Bailyn found developing in the North American environment. Although other writers, too, may have questioned some of Bailyn's substantive conclusions, they have followed his lead with empirical studies of family life. But, unlike Bailyn's grand sweep, their research has focused upon single communities or localities. A new variable, the community context, has been introduced. Among these studies, the work of John Demos and Philip Greven admirably exemplify this new approach to social history.

John Demos' study of family life in Plymouth colony suggested that within the confines of a homogeneous community the colonial family fulfilled a role very similar to Bailyn's Elizabethan and Stuart family.

In Plymouth the family functioned as the primary unit of acculturation while fulfilling its multiple role as a childbearing institution, a business enterprise where all members shared in providing for the material needs of the family, a vocational institution where the old, the orphaned and the destitute could find refuge.⁴⁴

If Bailyn's assertions about the English family were correct then Demos' conclusions suggest that the closely knit nature of the Plymouth colony militated against any immediate and substantial transformations in the traditional roles of the family.⁴⁵ If, on the other hand, Rothman and the European family historians he cites are correct, then in the new world the family may have "expanded its functions."⁴⁶ That is to say, the new world family may have assumed roles that had been abandoned by its European counterpart. The latter suggests that Bailyn may have been correct but for the wrong reasons. The New World environment did shape family behaviour and expectations. The former suggests that, in the proper conditions, family culture was sufficiently strong to resist the pressure for change imposed by the new environment.

Philip Greven's study of colonial Andover, Massachusetts addressed this problem further by tracing the colonial family through the first four generations after settlement. By relating the family to landholding patterns Greven was able to demonstrate a close relationship between families and land that determined family structure, authority relationships within families, and community stability.⁴⁷ He argued that a cyclical pattern appeared during the first four generations after settlement which was based upon the interaction between families and land. During the first generation the family

tended to be nuclear and uncomplicated. The second generation family was a complex interdependent kinship group composed of several generations and relatives of many degrees. This family network, which Greven characterized as a "modified extended family" had its basis in the method of land transfer practiced by the first generation.⁴⁸ By transferring land to their children through Deeds of Gift, which carried with them restrictions and obligations, rather than by direct sales, colonial patriarchs were able to keep their sons in a state of dependence and thereby maintain the parental lines of authority.⁴⁹ During the third and fourth generations transfers by gift were replaced by a system of land sales which became the principal means of transferring land from father to son. The sales system freed sons from obligations to their parents, but for the third generation the independence implied by the outright purchase of land was partially negated by the long delays in acquiring land experienced by many children. It was not until the fourth generation, therefore, that the full impact of the sales system was felt. Not unexpectedly, it was also in the fourth generation that the nuclear family made its reappearance.⁵⁰

Greven's Andover showed that in an essentially agricultural community, family structure was related directly to the availability of land and the economic circumstances of the community's inhabitants. Significant changes in either of these variables were accompanied by an alteration in family structure. In Andover the family was not only the basic unit of acculturation; it was also the focus for economic life, manifested in the transfer of land from one generation to another.

Equally important was the family's role as a source of

community stability. Greven went beyond his predecessors to examine demographic as well as economic change and, more important, to link them together. His findings suggest that population growth led to land pressure that may have been compensated for, in part, by later marriages, smaller families and selective migration from the community.⁵¹ Through these demographic mechanisms, Andover's families were able to adjust to economic pressure and thus maintain at least a semblance of stability in the community.

The organization of the community also played an important role in Greven's analysis. Part of the process of "uprooting" that new settlers experienced in emigrating to North America involved the breaking of social, economic, political, and, to some extent, emotional ties with their former communities. The creation of new lives for themselves and their families required from the outset the forging of new links in a new setting.⁵² In colonial Massachusetts this process was facilitated by group settlement of families that shared a common religion, values and social assumptions. Hence, as Demos had found in colonial Plymouth, Greven's Andover families lived in a social environment where community norms and standards informed individual family experience.

To define Andover as a community Greven turned to the work of social scientists. Among scholars, however, there has been no generally accepted definition of the community, although there is a broad consensus that knowledge of the nature of the community is important to an understanding of the lives of individuals and families.⁵³ In their continuing debate on the importance of the community experience scholars

have emphasized the physical environment, political or administrative functions and the social ecology, which encompasses readily definable structures, functions and values.⁵⁴ To some degree, each of these components acts to set the limits of material success, determine family size and structure, and define the economic opportunities for succeeding generations. The numerous possibilities created by the interaction of the various factors have led sociologists and anthropologists to construct typologies or classifications for communities.⁵⁵

Greven's attempt to exploit one of these classifications was acknowledged early in his study when he argued that seventeenth century Massachusetts exhibited many of the characteristics of anthropologist Eric Wolf's "closed corporate peasant community."⁵⁶ In these closed communities there was little infusion of new blood and a common value system was perpetuated and reinforced as neighbours gradually became kinsmen through intermarriage. Given these circumstances, the emergence of the "modified extended family" in Andover was not unexpected. Nevertheless, its documentation was important. One of Greven's major contributions was the way in which he showed that community organization tempered somewhat the tensions to which the family unit was subjected in the new environment.

Studies like those of Greven and Demos provide both a theoretical and historical context for the study of families and their interaction with their environment but their utility for this particular work is compromised by two factors: they are removed by two centuries in time from nineteenth century Ontario; and, more important, there is an even greater cultural gap. The Puritan townships

of Massachusetts were settled by groups of people who shared not only the same religious convictions but also a common social outlook; nineteenth century Ontario was settled by individual families from diverse cultural backgrounds. A more natural point of comparison would be the American midwest which was closer to Ontario both in time and the nature of its immigrant population. When we turn to studies of the nineteenth century midwest, however, we find that historians have placed their emphasis upon the land to the detriment of the family. Most often, the history of agricultural communities has been written from the perspective of the individual farmer and his relationship with the land. This inquiry has focussed upon two lines of research that have set the limits of a major historiographic controversy in nineteenth century agricultural history. Historians either have sought to analyze the factors promoting agricultural success in an era when there were revolutions in both the transportation and marketing systems, or they have attempted to test Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier hypothesis.⁵⁷ Although these studies utilize economic and demographic data similar to those employed by Demos and Greven, the family has been virtually ignored in the authors' attempts to document the democratic thrust of community participation and development. The preoccupation has been with essentially economic and political questions that probe landholding patterns, social structure, and the degree of integration of various ethnic and religious groups within the community.⁵⁸ All of these considerations are important in family oriented studies as well, but when the family has appeared in this literature its role has been limited to providing a potential labour

force or to a source of capital for land acquisition and improvement.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, in some of this literature there is the germ of a theory of family behaviour in the nineteenth century midwest.

In Allan Bogue's Prairie to Corn Belt, the family appeared in the index only under the heading of "farm labour," and in three pages of text that were devoted to an examination of what Bogue called the "domestic cycle."⁶⁰ He assumed that the isolated nuclear family predominated in the midwest. From this base he reasoned that the labour demands of the homestead would dictate that the farm family would go through a number of stages or cycles during which its boundaries would have to expand to accommodate hired domestic workers. In the first cycle, before a farmer's sons were old enough to join him in working the farm, and in the third cycle, which began after the last son had left home, the midwestern farmer was forced to rely on hired labour or whatever help he could obtain from neighbours.⁶¹ During the middle cycle, which lasted from ten to twenty years, depending upon the size of the family, the farmer was blessed with abundant cheap labour supplied by family members. But, these years also put pressure on farmers to add to their holdings in order to provide land for their children within the community. In return for the cheap labour they provided for the farm, sons expected their fathers to help them acquire land when they were ready to establish households of their own. In some cases one son might remain at home in anticipation of inheriting the family farm, but for most the acquisition of land and independence was associated with departure from the homestead.

Bogue obviously recognized, as did most other agricultural historians, the importance of family members as a labour force in a society where land was relatively abundant and labour scarce. But, apart from his emphasis upon the importance of the labour of sons and his suggestion that farmers attempted to repay their offspring for the work they contributed by providing them with the means to establish their independence, he ignores what may have been an important element in the "agricultural success" story.

How many children were enough? Presumably in the pioneer stage when land clearing and crop cultivation proceed simultaneously, large families were a necessity. But, at what stage did a large family cease to be an asset and become a liability? In an agricultural society dominated by a wheat culture, as was the nineteenth century midwest, a relatively small labour force was required once the initial clearing of the land was accomplished. In this context too many children easily could become a liability. Their upkeep diverted capital that otherwise could have been employed to enhance the material well-being of the family.⁶² When they matured, moreover, these children became a further drain on the resources of the rural household that assumed the responsibility of aiding its children to establish their own independent households. Without some consideration of these questions, Bogue's theory is too simplistic to provide a meaningful conceptual scheme for the examination of rural societies.

Although these matters have been ignored by most agricultural historians, they have been a matter of growing concern for scholars in other disciplines. For almost two decades economists have directed

their attention to the problem of changing patterns of fecundity. In 1961, Yasukichi Yasuba published his study of birth rates among the white population of the United States. A major thesis of the work was the argument that there was a direct correlation between population density, land availability and fertility.⁶³ Subsequent studies by Forster and Tucker, Coale and Zelnick, and Richard Easterlin, to name only a few, have confirmed Yasuba's findings.⁶⁴ These studies have also sought to explain fertility declines in terms of male/female ratios, age, ethnicity, literacy, off-farm employment opportunities, mortality and the importance of child labour.⁶⁵ The most recent contribution to this literature is Richard Easterlin's "Population Change and Farm Settlement in the Northern United States," which draws heavily upon the work both of American colonial historians, in particular Philip Greven, and the agricultural historians of the American midwest to construct a comprehensive model of rural development.⁶⁶

The Easterlin model begins with four observations drawn from the published literature.⁶⁷ First, American farmers were relatively well-to-do for their time and were interested in preserving and increasing that wealth as well as transmitting it to the next generation. Second, the American farm was a corporate family enterprise which aimed to provide each of its members with a proper start in life. Ideally this meant establishing children on nearby farms but when this was not possible a non-farming occupation which carried with it proprietor rather than employee status was considered an acceptable alternative. Third, although infant mortality was high, mortality

levels were sufficiently low to ensure that a number of heirs would survive for whom some provision would have to be made. Finally, regardless of cultural heritage, American farmers adopted, at an early date, the practice of multigeniture. That is to say, they tried to the best of their ability to provide for their children equally either through gifts or inheritance.

Using these observations as a foundation, Easterlin constructed an equilibrium model which suggested that rural populations adjust their fertility levels in such a way as to balance their expectations for material goods with their desire to have children. The specific assumption underlying the Easterlin model is that each farmer would seek to provide a start in life for his children that was at least as good as that he received from his father.⁶⁸ Each child was to be treated equally, although his or her patrimony might take a number of different forms. Obviously, the gift of land or the means to acquire it was one way in which this goal could be achieved, but the provision of capital to begin alternative business enterprises, or long term investments in education that would provide entry into the professions were also acceptable. The material basis for this system was the farm which had to bear the costs of sustaining the family on a day to day basis, supplying the desired material goods, and furnishing a start in life for children. When the holding was extensive it could be subdivided among two or more sons but more modest farms more likely would be left physically intact. The homestead might be transferred to a single child but the land, in one way or another, still had to supply the capital necessary to establish the remaining children. So long as

the physical size of the farm household did not exceed the capability of the land to provide for it, the farmer was able to pursue his goals with equanimity. If, however, this equilibrium was disturbed then the material and psychological stresses placed upon the head of household would be exemplified by behaviour that sought to restore the balance. One area where adjustments could be made was in the number of children born into the household.

Easterlin believed that it was neither land availability nor population density that determined the farmer's perceptions of his future prosperity but rather the behaviour of the land market. The three variables were highly correlated but land values were most closely associated with the farmer's expectations. Land purchased at low prices could be expected to "multiply capital" more quickly than land purchased in a locale where land values were already high. Thus, the farmer with one hundred acres of uncleared frontier farm land from which he could barely eke out a living had a large family because he anticipated that by the time his children reached maturity he would be able to provide for them adequately.⁶⁹ A farmer in an older, more settled region looked forward to a much "slower growth in capital" and, therefore, became increasingly concerned about his ability to provide for a large family. As a consequence, as time passed he would feel pressure to limit the size of his family.⁷⁰ As Marvin McNinnis observed recently, Easterlin's explanation for family limitation fits the psychology of immigrant societies where dreams of future prosperity and a better life propelled emigrants first across the Atlantic and then into the interior of the continent in search of land on new

frontiers.⁷¹

Finally, to explain the timing of family limitation, Easterlin proposed a "staging theory" which owes an obvious debt to Greven's work on colonial Andover.⁷² This theory postulates that despite a growing scarcity of land and improvements in transportation and marketing facilities, all of which helped to drive up land prices, declines in fertility may not have appeared until the third generation. The second generation, having grown up in the austere surroundings associated with frontier farming, succeeded to farms that were large and relatively prosperous. In these circumstances, since their expectations for material goods were relatively low, they could enjoy the luxury of material goods and large families. The third generation, however, was faced with considerably more constraints. Their expectations were higher than their fathers' but they reached maturity at a time when land was significantly more expensive, when the multiplication of heirs resulted in smaller holdings, and when the range of material goods available was commensurately greater. In short, the economic outlook for the third generation was dimmer than for preceding generations. Facing limited prospects, the third generation may have chosen to leave the community and start afresh on some new frontier where land values were significantly lower but there were both pecuniary and non-pecuniary advantages to remaining where they were. In the first place, the movement to some new frontier would have involved a reassessment of their expectations since they would have to accept fewer material benefits. Migration also meant the breaking of ties with family and friends in the community.⁷³ To remain where they were, however, forced

the third generation to either reassess their expectations in terms of material goods or to limit the size of their families. Most often, they appear to have chosen the latter.

Marvin McInnis has demonstrated that the same declines in fertility characterized Ontario's rural communities, and in a recent paper suggested that Ontario's experience hints "at a greater plausibility of an intergenerational mechanism such as that proposed by Easterlin."⁷⁴ There is much more to the Easterlin model than simply an explanation for declines in fertility rates, however. It is a dynamic theory of interaction among a wide range of economic and demographic variables. Population growth, migration, marriage patterns, and the differing behaviour patterns of children within the same generational cohort all can be accounted for by the model. More important, if as Easterlin suspects immigrants from northwestern Europe responded in essentially the same ways regardless of whether they settled in the United States, Canada or Oceania, then the Easterlin model may provide an important benchmark from which to predict and explain the behaviour of nineteenth century Ontarions. At the very least, it provides a useful theoretical and historical basis for comparisons between the behaviour of rural Ontarions and their counterparts elsewhere.

IV

The sources, variables, techniques and methods chosen for this study were determined by the initial set of problems and the desire to compare key aspects in the behaviour of Canadian and American families

in the nineteenth century. This decision necessitated the rejection of purely aggregate data at the outset. A number of studies which have examined fertility rates or geographic mobility have made use of aggregate census data at the township or county level. Although these studies have been successful in isolating long term trends, there are two fundamental problems with this approach. First, the aggregate data represent only an "average" experience. They subsume a wide range of individual experience that cannot be understood accurately from aggregate data, and which, in the long run, are important to our understanding of the mechanisms that produced the trends. Second, the early census returns provide tables on individual variables only, which makes it difficult, if not impossible to even approximate correlations between key variables. Both of these problems can be alleviated by making use of extant manuscript census data which is available in Canada for 1852, 1861 and 1871. The manuscript census permits a detailed reconstruction of key elements in the social, demographic, and economic experience of individuals and households. Equally important, these data can be linked to records of birth, marriage, death, land transfer, indebtedness and inheritance to create a comprehensive file on individual families, both at particular points in time and across time. As a consequence, the data for this study have been drawn largely from the manuscript census returns, crown lands papers, abstracts and copy books of deeds, and records of the surrogate court.

The variables employed in this study are of two kinds. First, there are those taken directly from census and land records. These include: birthplace, age, sex, occupation, religion, ages of children,

non-family members of the household, size of farm, number of improved acres, and various kinds of crops. These data can be used to examine the factors influencing household size and structure, mobility, and landholding patterns. A second set of variables was generated when the records were linked across time. These include: persistence, kinship, and land accumulation. These latter data are particularly important since they can be used to recreate domestic cycles in the household and to analyze persistence/mobility.

The data were recorded on IBM computer cards and the analysis was undertaken using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), a pre-packaged programme. The use of quantitative methods, although relatively new in history, is becoming increasingly popular as historians begin to ask questions that cannot be answered by traditional sources or methods. Rather than basing generalizations upon impressions drawn from fragmentary, often suspect, literary sources, historians employing quantitative methods have been able to provide more comprehensive and inclusive descriptions of past events.⁷⁵ The analysis of those events, however, is often open to several interpretations and, as a consequence, quantitative techniques work best when complemented by qualitative sources.⁷⁶ It is not always possible to obtain those sources. The ordinary men who settled Ontario's township's rarely bothered to make the kinds of comments about their behaviour that are important to this study. In the absence of this literary evidence the data can be used to test hypotheses derived from economic and social theory. Explanations for behaviour that presuppose certain attitudes or values are rooted in the theory.

They are valid only insofar as the theory has validity. For this study, the theory is provided by the Easterlin model. In its examination of both Canadian and American literature, this introduction has attempted to demonstrate that the underlying assumptions of the Easterlin model, particularly the importance of the environment in influencing human behaviour, are supported by both historical experience in a wide range of localities and the historiography.

Two complementary methods form the basis for the study. The first is cross-sectional and longitudinal analysis using census and landholding data. For the period covered by the 1852, 1861, and 1871 census returns it is possible to conduct a comparative analysis of families and households both in time and across time. Longitudinal analysis is imperative if domestic cycles as revealed by the changes in the size and structure of households are to be isolated. This study presupposes the ability to locate and identify the same families on successive records. In this study the linkage was accomplished by hand.

The result of this linkage is not a continuous picture of the family or its development. Rather, it can be likened to a series of snapshots taken successively at decennial intervals. Despite its deficiencies, the technique is useful for examining the impact of economic change upon families. For the sake of consistency, the pattern of decennial cut-in points established by the census was used as well for the land records and assessment rolls. It was only abandoned when it became necessary to record the appearance of second and third generation sons on the land.

Employing these records and methods, it is possible to reconstruct the lives of individuals and families on the land between 1820 and 1890. The data is richest, and the opportunities for fruitful analysis most heavily weighted toward mid-century when the manuscript census is available. This provides one bias for the study. Another is found in the problems that are explored here. Although the study attempts to include all residents of the township, an examination of the interaction between families and land in a period of economic change presupposes a degree of permanence. Thus, those chapters which deal with domestic cycles, the transfer of land from one generation to another, and kinship ties deal almost exclusively with what this study refers to as the permanent population. Hence, this is really a study of permanence in the nineteenth century. In the broadest sense it explains how some people were able to retain something more than a casual commitment to place.

The second method involves family reconstitution, a technique developed by the French demographer Louis Henry and used extensively by British sociologists such as Laslett and Wrigley.⁷⁷ As its name implies, family reconstitution involves the "bringing together of scattered information about the members of a family to enable its chief demographic characteristics to be described as fully as possible."⁷⁸ The demographer's justification for this time consuming procedure is its utility in explaining the way in which changes in mortality and fertility at the household level produced trends revealed by aggregate data. In this study family reconstitution has a much broader application. The principal use of the family files created for this

study has been to establish patterns of intermarriage among the community's households, residential patterns, the transmission of wealth from one generation to another and, of course, to identify those persistent families who constituted the permanent population.

The reconstruction of Ontario's nineteenth century families poses a number of problems not faced by American colonial historians who have been pioneers in this technique on the North American continent. The quality of records that survive for Ontario is inferior, in many ways to surviving records for New England. For most communities literary evidence is virtually non-existent, and genealogical materials cannot match in either quality or quantity the excellent genealogical material that formed the basis for Greven's study. Edward Chadwick's Ontario Families, which collects the genealogies of Loyalist and other important families is virtually useless for most Ontario communities.⁷⁹ Vital statistics records, particularly before the 1880s, are also sparse and filled with gaps. Particularly annoying is the lack of even reasonably complete runs of marriage and baptismal records.

Despite these limitations, it is still possible to reconstruct, at least partially, the families who lived in Ontario's townships more than a century ago, if the investment in time is made. Where records are lacking, information taken from tombstones, or notices of birth, marriage, and death published in newspapers can compensate for the deficiencies of church records. Court records can add to this information by indicating relationships between family members. Finally, manuscript census data provides a source of information about those people living at home at each decennial interval. Obviously, the

process of rebuilding these families is very time-consuming, and this consideration determined, at the outset, that the population to be studied would have to be small, preferably at the township level.

The choice of a township imposes a number of limitations upon the study, but at the same time affords the opportunity to engage in detailed analysis that would be impossible otherwise. Two American scholars, Robert Higgs and Louis Stettler, have argued that township studies provide a very shaky foundation upon which to base generalizations about whole societies.⁸⁰ They suggest that to some extent the history of each township was unique. A portion of its historical experience was shaped by purely local factors including the date and progress of settlement, the cultural identity of its first settlers, and the proximity of the township to towns or villages that might provide alternative economic opportunities. Most important, in terms of the authors' concerns, were the effects of local events upon the township's demographic characteristics. Crop failures, epidemics, the initial age and sex distributions of early settlers, all strictly local factors, shaped the demographic profile of every township.⁸¹ These are powerful arguments against using an administrative unit as small as a township for analysis.

Before rejecting township studies, however, the advantages must be weighed against the disadvantages. For certain kinds of research, particularly the kind undertaken here, township level analysis is a necessity. The township is sufficiently small to permit the reconstruction of families and family groups over several generations. To move to a larger unit, such as a county, would multiply the costs

in time and research funds immensely. Such studies may be possible in the future, but as yet computer software that will create genealogies from raw data is only in the development stage. Sampling techniques, so useful in cross-sectional analysis, become inordinately cumbersome when the same individuals have to be traced across a number of records. The time consumed in locating the same individuals on different records can be shortened somewhat by using computer linkage programmes but to pursue effectively family reconstitution in North American communities requires a familiarity with individuals and families that cannot be incorporated in a computer linkage programme. In the absence of complete vital statistics records, reconstitution can be accomplished only by bringing together newspaper obituaries, marriage and birth notices, scattered church records, census returns, records of land transfer, wills and an intimate knowledge of the people who lived in the community. For a few hundred families this intimacy is possible, but it would be impossible for a single researcher to become well-acquainted with the several thousand families who lived in a single county. Finally, one need only point to Peter Laslett and John Harrison's classic study "Clayworth and Cogenhoe," the reconstitution of a seventeenth century rural English parish as justification for the choice of a township.⁸² "Clayworth and Cogenhoe," has provided the inspiration for numerous other studies that have added considerably to our knowledge of England's past.

The decision to use a township, therefore, was taken only after it had been decided that the benefits at least balanced the losses. Because of the problems involved with township studies, however, there

is no attempt to generalize from the experience of Toronto Gore to the whole of nineteenth century Ontario. The relevance of the experience of Toronto Gore's population can be assessed only when further studies which examine other communities in other localities are completed.

For these reasons, the statistical techniques employed here are relatively simple. For the most part, the statistics are descriptive rather than inferential. The data are presented in simple percentages and cross-tabulations. When co-efficients of correlation, analyses of variance, or tests of significance are reported, they are intended to describe the strength of association within this population. Because of the sometimes fragmentary nature of the data, and also because the number of cases is small, a significance level of .05 has been accepted to define relationships. The most complex statistical technique employed here is the SPSS Multiple Classification Analysis Table (MCA). MCA is a form of multiple regression developed especially to deal with nominal variables such as birthplace, religion, or occupation. The MCA table can be used either inferentially (to predict relationship in a larger population) or to describe the relationship among various variables. As with other techniques employed in this study, the MCA table is used here as a descriptive tool.

V

The site chosen for the study is Toronto Gore township in Peel County. The Gore of Toronto (as it is more properly known) is a triangular-shaped township of some twenty thousand acres on the

eastern border of Peel County. It is bounded to the west by Toronto and Chinguacousy townships, to the north by Albion township and on the east by Etobicoke and Vaughan townships in York County.

In a province that was notorious in the early nineteenth century for its poor transportation facilities, the Gore was relatively fortunate. The township was divided into northern and southern divisions by a provincial road and separated from Toronto and Chinguacousy townships by the Sixth Line Road which, in addition to serving as a north-south corridor that linked the township's farmers to Port Credit on Lake Ontario, also provided access to Dundas Street which connected with York/Toronto. Thus virtually every farmer in the Gore had access to a major outlet for his crops. In the 1850s this situation was improved further when the Toronto and Guelph Railroad laid track through the southern portion of the township and thereby drew it more closely into an international market.

As a site for social analysis, Toronto Gore has several advantages. In the first place, the Gore was a reasonably attractive place to live. By the mid-nineteenth century it was a consistently high producer of wheat in a county that was considered among the top wheat producers on the continent.⁸³ In this sense it was typical, if perhaps a little more prosperous, of most of Ontario's townships where the wheat culture predominated. Second, its small population, which never exceeded more than three hundred and twenty families, permits the reconstitution of those families who remained in the area over an extended period of time between 1820 and 1890. For those families who remained in the township during a period when land prices

escalated, and agriculture underwent a wholesale change, this reconstitution provides the opportunity to examine the ways in which families adjusted to land pressure and a changing regional economy. Third, the Gore was settled later than most of the townships in the southern part of the Home District which means that the township's settlement period is closer to that time for which the documentation is richest. Finally, and not the least of considerations, the Perkins Bull Collection of genealogies and vital statistics for some of the township's families, although uneven and sometimes inaccurate, provides a valuable starting point for the reconstitution of families.

The time frame 1820 to 1890 was dictated by two considerations. In 1820 the Commissioner for Crown Lands first offered land in the Gore for sale at public auction and within a year the first of the permanent settlers were on the land. By 1890 the third generation of the Gore's residents had reached maturity and was beginning families of its own. But, more important in historical terms, the 1880s marked the end of an era in Ontario. The last decades of the century were characterized by a massive rural depopulation which sets that period apart from earlier decades. Also, in more practical terms, 1890 marks the end of the extant manuscript sources that can be used to reconstruct this society.

VI

The Gore's favourable geographic position may explain, in part, the rapid agricultural development of the township in the thirty years after it was first opened to settlement. Despite the fact that genuine settlers were prevented from taking up significant portions

TABLE 1-1

SUMMARY AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS FOR SELECT
ONTARIO COMMUNITIES, 1852^a

	Toronto Gore	Peel County	Lincoln County	Grey County	Canada West
A. Average size of farm (acres)	69.6	96.2	92.7	95.4	98.4
B. Percent of land improved	65.8	50.7	52.3	14.5	37.6
C. Average number of acres improved	45.8	48.8	48.4	13.8	37.0
D. Percent of land cropped	43.2	29.9	33.6	10.4	33.6
E. Percent of cropped land in wheat	45.5	48.9	43.1	41.5	35.0
F. Average yield/acre of wheat (bshls.)	20.3	18.1	14.7	12.9	16.2
G. Wheat concentration index*	.732	.697	.725	.717	.598
H. Average annual income from sale of wheat ⁺	£44-2	£37-2	£34-8	£4-16	£13-10

SOURCE: Census of the Canadas, 1851-2, II (2 vols., Quebec, 1853), Table VI. Calculations are mine. *Ratio of acres cropped in wheat/acres cropped in other cereals. ⁺Calculated on the basis of 5 bushels per inhabitant for home consumption, 1.5 bushels per acre for seed. The remainder could be marketed at an average price of four shillings per bushel in 1851.

of the township's lands by the activities of land speculators, by 1852 the Gore had progressed sufficiently to rank twelfth in average wheat yields per acre among Canada West's more than three hundred townships.⁸⁴ Table 1-1 illustrates the Gore's agricultural development relative to its home county, Peel; Grey County which was in the process of being

settled in 1853; Lincoln County which was a well-established agricultural community that had been settled in the 1790s; and, the province as a whole.⁸⁵

The table shows clearly that the average size of farm in Toronto Gore was almost thirty acres smaller than farms elsewhere in the province. A higher proportion of improved acres, however, meant that the number of acres actually worked by the township's farmers was identical to the rest of Peel County and greater than the provincial average. In fact, the Gore's residents probably were more prosperous in 1852 than most of their neighbours. In the early 1850s southern Ontario was still firmly entrenched in the wheat culture. Wheat, for farmers everywhere, meant prosperity and disposable income. The wheat concentration index which is a ratio of the acreage devoted to wheat to that devoted to other cereals was higher for the Gore than for any of the other communities used in the table. Only neighbouring Toronto and Chinguacousy townships had a higher proportion of cropped lands in wheat, but higher yields in the Gore ensured that potential income from this source was higher there than in any other township in Peel except Chinguacousy.⁸⁶ That income was almost twenty percent higher for the Gore than for Lincoln county, and more than three times the average for the whole province.

The table also shows that in 1852 the Gore may have been on the verge of considerable economic stress. If Easterlin was correct, and it was the anticipation of future growth that influenced rural behaviour then, clearly, the small size of the Gore's farms, combined with the limited supply of land that could be improved further, meant that prospects for future growth were limited. The township was well on

the way towards being over-populated. To avert land pressure and maintain prosperity at the same level, adjustments of one sort or another would have to be made.

Apart from these purely local considerations, Toronto Gore was also a participant in four long-term inter-related processes that dominated the history of nineteenth century rural Ontario. The first was a growing pressure upon all land which was responsible for steadily rising land prices. Thus, an initially favourable man/land ratio was supplanted, after mid-century, by a land crisis that made it more difficult for successive generations to acquire land, threatened traditional family relationships, and helped to promote migration to the Canadian West after 1870. The lure of new frontiers, as David Gagan suggested recently, was the "ability to recapture Ontario's rural past and escape a future compromised by the necessity to change in order to survive."⁸⁷ For those who remained behind, land pressure was exemplified by a gradual decline in the size of holdings as some farmers progressively subdivided their lands to provide for children.⁸⁸ Although these changes did not destroy the essentially one class nature of rural society, they did contribute to a greater differentiation as a few farmers managed to maintain or even expand the size of their holdings.

Second, was the growth of transportation facilities and a shift in markets. Improvements in transportation eased the integration of Ontario farmers into an international market which, before 1846, when Britain repealed the Corn Laws had focussed exclusively on the United

Kingdom.⁸⁹ The second half of the century was characterized by the waxing and waning of British and American markets. After 1850, railroad construction in both Canada and the United States gave Ontario farmers greater access to American markets. During the fifties the twinned effects of the Crimean War and the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States brought a real but short-lived prosperity to the province as farmers enjoyed the benefits of massive exports to both the British and American markets. But, by the mid-sixties, following the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty, Canadian export markets had begun to shift once again to Britain.⁹⁰ Each of these changes brought new prosperity but also created new problems for Ontario's farmers. As markets shifted so did the demands for agricultural products, and the farmer who was not versatile, or sufficiently solvent enough to diversify his activities, was left behind.

The third of these processes was the transition from a wheat based economy to one based on mixed agriculture. This change also implied the increased application of capital to farming. As Kenneth Kelly suggested recently, one of the reasons for the failure of British practices of mixed agriculture to take hold before mid-century was the chronic undercapitalization of the Upper Canadian farmer.⁹¹ The change to mixed agriculture which began in some areas in the late 1860s and continued through the 1880s was accomplished by a heavy infusion of capital that led to the progressive mechanization of Ontario's farms. The reasons for these changes were complex and included shortages of farm labour, the desire for greater and more certain profits, and the shift in markets following the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty in

1865.⁹² In the short term, these changes forced farmers to expend precious capital or go into debt. In the long term, they required more time and effort on the part of farmers who, in addition to planting a wide range of field crops, were engaged in cattle raising, sheep farming or dairying. Although mechanization solved part of this problem, human capital remained the essential ingredient of the Ontario farm.

Finally, the second half of the nineteenth century was characterized by a major demographic shift. By the 1860s immigration to British North America had slowed to a trickle. This slowdown, coupled with the alternative vocational opportunities provided by the province's rapidly expanding urban areas, was responsible for a chronic shortage of labour in Ontario's rural communities. The few immigrants who did arrive in the province were lured by ambitious schemes to colonize the Muskoka and Haliburton regions, or quickly joined the ranks of native-born migrants who left the province in search of cheap agricultural land in the American midwest or the newly opened areas of western Canada.⁹³ By the final decades of the century a massive rural depopulation was underway as established farmers, as well as young men and women, began to abandon Ontario's farms in unprecedented numbers. Most sought and found new opportunities in Canada's cities. One consequence of this depopulation was an increase in the average size of farm in Ontario that continued well into the twentieth century.

During the same period, there was an equally dramatic shift in the nature of the rural household. The aggregate census data recorded

this change as a reduction in the average size of household. Its cause owed much to a steadily declining birth rate.⁹⁴ Scholars in the 1930s were speculating whether this decline in rural fertility, which had ramifications for agricultural development as well as the standard of living enjoyed by rural populations, might be related to patterns of land distribution.⁹⁵ Only within the last five years, however, have scholars demonstrated empirically that fertility declines and land availability in nineteenth century Ontario were linked.

These wholesale changes in the lives of rural Ontarians meant that by the beginning of the twentieth century life was very different for Ontario's farmers than it had been a half century before.

VII

The behaviour of both families and society in Toronto Gore township between 1820 and 1890 exemplified their attempt to cope with a changing economic environment. In a broad sense, at least, their activities conformed to Easterlin's theoretical model of demographic and social behaviour. Toronto Gore's families were faced, in the decades immediately following mid-century, with increasing economic stress arising from a growing demand for land that coincided with a dwindling supply and wildly fluctuating land values. These conditions made it more difficult to maintain a standard of living while at the same time providing for large numbers of children. As a consequence, they began to adjust their behaviour and structures. Fertility declined, marriages were delayed, and devices that would protect the productivity and profitability of the land as it was transferred from

one generation to another, were adopted. When these devices were no longer necessary they were discarded. In short, the behaviour of Toronto Gore's families appeared to conform to a broad pattern of North American rural social change where periodic incursions of economic stress arising out of land availability and population density produced periodic adjustments in behaviour, attitudes and structures. These changes occurred at different times in different places, but with roughly the same results.

Like Easterlin's midwesterner, the Toronto Gore farmer headed a corporate enterprise that sought to provide equally for its members. During their minority children worked for the benefit of the family, and as the oldest of them reached maturity they were supplied with the means to establish their independence by the family. In many, if not most, cases these arrangements were made while their parents were still alive. Younger children were provided for in wills whose form reflected the family's economic and demographic position at the time of the testator's death. Regardless of the form of will, however, the goal was always the same: to provide equally for children without needlessly dissipating the family's total wealth or threatening its economic position. In this way families revealed two of their major concerns: their need to fulfill obligations to each other, and their desire to protect the symbol, or more accurately what they believed to be the basis, of their prosperity and social status, the land.

In these ways Toronto Gore's population behaved as the Easterlin model suggests they should have. To a greater or lesser

degree adjustments in demographic and social behaviour were made by all members of the society when faced with economic stress. But, one group responded more quickly and made greater adjustments. The township's permanent families had a greater commitment to place than their neighbours. Having put down roots during the township's settlement phase, these families were able to acquire land when values were low. As time passed, intermarriage and the transfer of property from father to son ensured that these families became more firmly entrenched. In the second half of the nineteenth century, these people were Toronto Gore. Across the whole timespan membership in one of these families became the single most important factor determining demographic behaviour. It was the key as well to providing places for a new generation in the township. In a very real sense, their prosperity and continued presence in the area were based upon the ownership of land and the way in which they used it.

The other side of this permanence was the geographic mobility, or transiency, of their neighbours. Like most North American communities, the Gore experienced very high levels of transiency in the nineteenth century. For many, most often members of the tenant population, communities like Toronto Gore served as brief stopping places on the road to somewhere else. For these people, migration continued to provide the major response to the diminished opportunities brought on by land and population pressure. But, they too adjusted other aspects of their demographic behaviour in times of economic stress. Where they differed from their more permanent neighbours

was often in the timing and degree of their response, rather than in the kind.

It is in these differences in the degree of response by the permanent and non-permanent populations that Toronto Gore differed most from the Easterlin model. Easterlin allowed that differing expectations among groups within the society would lead to essentially the same behaviour. Only in the broadest sense was this true in Toronto Gore. Permanence and the emotional as well as the economic commitment it entailed, produced a heightened sensitivity to economic stress in Toronto Gore's permanent population.

These are the major concerns of the dissertation. It focusses upon a small area so that as detailed as picture as possible can be obtained of the processes of continuity and change. An understanding of these processes is necessary if we are to comprehend whether the rural experience as revealed through the interaction between families and land was unique to particular regions or localities or, whether rural societies pursued essentially the same goals regardless of location. The place to start that examination is with the settlement process itself.

FOOTNOTES

¹See for example: R. L. Jones, History of Agriculture in Ontario 1613-1880 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1946); G. E. Reaman, A History of Agriculture in Ontario, 2 vols. (Toronto: Saunders Ltd., 1970); K. Kelly, "The Agricultural Geography of Simcoe County, Ontario, 1820-1880: (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1968); D. A. Lawr, "The Development of Ontario Farming 1870-1914," O.H., LXIV (1972), pp. 239-251.

²This problem is evident in the writing of Susanna Moodie for example. Susanna Moddie, Roughing It in the Bush (London, 1853; reprint ed., Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1962); Susanna Moodie, Life in the Clearings, ed. by Robert L. McDougall (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1959). Moodie's biases are discussed at length in: Robin Matthews, "Susanna Moodie and Pink Toryism," J.C.S., X (1975), pp. 3-14.

³D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley, eds., Population in History. Essays in Historical Demography (London: Edward Arnold, 1965), pp. 24-25; P. Laslett, The World We Have Lost (London: Methuen & Co., 1971), passim.

⁴R. Floud, An Introduction to Quantitative Methods for Historians (London: Methuen & Co., 1973), p. 3.

⁵The recent work in European history is summarized in: Lutz K. Berkner, "Recent Research on the History of the Family in Western Europe," J.M.F., XXXV (Aug., 1973), pp. 395-405. See also Eversley and Glass, Population in History. The work and methods employed by American scholars is discussed at length below.

⁶Allan C. Bogue, "Comment on Paper by Easterlin," J.E.H., XXXVI (1976), pp. 76-81; R. Easterlin, "Reply to Bogue," J.E.H., XXXVI (1976), pp. 81-83.

⁷Matthews, "Susanna Moodie and Pink Toryism," pp. 12-14.

⁸Haight's memoir was serialized during the 1880s in Canadian Monthly and in the Canadian Methodist Magazine. Parts of it also appeared in a twentieth century public school reader where it was entitled, "Country Life in Canada in the Thirties."

⁹Caniff Haight, Life in Canada Fifty Years Ago: Personal Recollections and Reminiscences of a Sexagenarian (Toronto: Hunter & Rose, 1885), p. 38.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 44.

¹¹Berkner, "Recent Research," p. 399. See also: Robert V. Wells, "Family History and Demographic Transition," J.S.H., IX (1977), pp. 11-13.

¹²For a detailed discussion of the perceptions of travellers and early settlers, see: David Gagan, "'The Prose of Life': Literary Reflections of the Family, Individual Experience and Social Structure in Nineteenth-Century Canada," J.S.H., VIII (1976), pp. 367-376. See also: Alison Prentice, "Education and the Metaphor of the Family: The Upper Canadian Example," H.E.Q., XII (1972), p. 283.

¹³The Rowell-Sirois Report, Book I, ed. D. V. Smiley (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1963), p. 26.

¹⁴Jones, History of Agriculture, pp. 55-56.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 304.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Reaman, A History of Agriculture, pp. 117-118.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 117.

¹⁹This phrase was first used by David Gagan in another context. See: David Gagan, "Geographical and Social Mobility in Nineteenth Century Ontario: A Microstudy," C.R.S.A., XIII (1976), pp. 154.

²⁰A. R. M. Lower, Canadians in the Making (Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1958), pp. 336-337.

²¹G. P. de T. Glazebrook, Life in Ontario. A Social History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 161.

²²Ibid., 167.

²³Ibid., p. 161.

²⁴Lower, Canadians in the Making, p. 336.

²⁵The main lines of Canadian historiography are summed up in a brilliant article published by Careless in 1958. It can be found reprinted in: J. M. S. Careless, "Frontierism, Metropolitanism and Canadian History," in Approaches to Canadian History, ed. Carl Berger (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967). Although the major conceptual frameworks in Canadian history are not discussed in detail in the introduction, they provide a context for the thesis and are explored in detail in the introductions to individual chapters.

²⁶J. M. S. Careless, The Union of the Two Canadas (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), pp. 20-21.

²⁷Leo Johnson, "Land Policy, Population Growth and Social Structure in the Home District, 1793-1851," O.H., LXIII (March, 1971), pp.41-60; J. D. Wood, "Stimulating Pre-Census Population Distribution," Canadian Geographer, XVIII (Sept., 1974), p.262; G. Teeple, "Land, Labour and Capital in Pre-Confederation Canada," in Capitalism and the National Question, ed. Gary Teeple (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973, pp. 44-65; Iain C. Taylor, "Components of Population Change," (M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1967), pp.222-232; D. Gagan and H. J. Mays, "Historical Demography and Canadian Social History: Families and Land in Peel County, Ontario," C.H.R., LIV (1973), pp. 45-47; Gagan, "Geographic and Social Mobility," pp. 160-163; Michael B. Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West. Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975), pp. 93-111.

²⁸Johnson, "Land Policy," p. 59; Teeple, "Land, Labour and Capital," p.59.

²⁹Katz, The People of Hamilton, pp.111-112; Gagan, "Geographic and Social Mobility," p.162.

³⁰Gagan, "Geographic and Social Mobility," p. 162.

³¹Lorne Tepperman, "Ethnic Variations in Marriage and Fertility: Canada, 1871," C.R.S.A., XI (1974), p. 324. A summary of McInnis' work appears in: R. M. McInnis, "Childbearing and Land Availability: Some Evidence from Individual Household Data," paper presented at Behavioural Models in Historical Demography Conference, Philadelphia, 1974. (Mimeographed.)

³²Gagan's thesis is demonstrated in a series of articles published over the last five years. See: David P. Gagan, "The Indivisibility of Land: A Microanalysis of the System of Inheritance in Nineteenth Century Ontario," J.E.H., XXXVI (1976), pp.126-147; Gagan, "Geographic and Social Mobility." The most succinct statement of his argument is found in a recent article entitled: "Land, Population and Social Change: The 'Critical Years' in Rural Canada West," C.H.R., LIX (1978), pp. 292-318.

³³Gagan, "The Critical Years," p.316

³⁴See Berkner, "Recent Research," pp. 395-405.

³⁵Philip J. Greven, Four Generations: Population, Land and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970), p. viii.

³⁶Peter Laslett and Robert Wall, eds., Household and Family in Past Time (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), p.xii.

³⁷McInnis, "Childbearing and Land Availability," p. 6. Michael Anderson's study of nineteenth century Lancashire also emphasizes the rational aspect of decision-making. M. Anderson, Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 6-16. Michael Katz, on the other hand, feels that too much emphasis has been placed upon rational decision-making with the result that our perceptions of the range of human motivation have been constricted. Katz, The People of Hamilton, p. 302

³⁸Berkner, "Recent Research," p. 399.

³⁹Bernard Bailyn, Education in the Forming of American Society (New York: Random House, 1960).

⁴⁰Bernard Bailyn, "The Beekmans of New York," Wm. & Mary Qu., XIV (1957), p. 608.

⁴¹There has been a long-standing debate about whether the nuclear or extended family predominated in pre-industrial England. The outlines of that debate are summarized in the introduction to: Laslett, Household and Family.

⁴²Bailyn, Education, pp. 22-30

⁴³David Rothman, "A Note on the Study of the Colonial Family," Wm. & Mary Qu., XXIII (Oct., 1966), pp. 630-33.

⁴⁴John Demos, A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony (New York: Osford University Press, 1970), pp. 183-5.

⁴⁵Demos, however, did not believe that the Plymouth experience was "all that unique." Demos, Little Commonwealth, p. viii.

⁴⁶Rothman, "A Note," p. 633.

⁴⁷Philip J. Greven "Four Generations: A Study of Family Structure, Inheritance and Mobility in Andover, Massachusetts, 1630-1750" (Ph.D dissertation, Harvard University, 1964), p. 466.

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. iv-v.

⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 240-245.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. v.

⁵¹Ibid., pp. 349-68.

⁵²Numerous researchers in the United States have examined and commented upon this process. See for example: Allan Bogue, "Social Theory and the Pioneer," Ag. Hist., XXXIV (Jan., 1960), pp. 21-34; Bogue, From Prairie to Corn Belt (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963); Merle Curti, The Making of an American Community (Stanford: University Press, 1959); Walter Kollmorgen and Robert Harrison, "The Search for the Rural Community," Ag. Hist., XX (Jan., 1946), pp. 1-8; Gilbert C. Fite, "The Pioneer Farmer: A View Over Three Centuries," Ag. Hist., L (1976), pp. 275-89. An analysis of the debate over the nature of the community can be found in David J. Russo, Family and Community in American History (Nashville: The American Association for State and Local History, 1974), pp. 1-13.

⁵³John Sirjamaki, "The Institutional Approach," in Handbook of Marriage and the Family ed. Harold T. Christensen (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1964), pp. 41-2; John Moegy, "Family and Community in Urban-Industrial Societies," in Ibid., pp. 511-514.

⁵⁴Moegy, "Family and Community," p. 512.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Eric Wolf, "Closed Corporate Peasant Communities," South-west Journal of Anthropology, XIII (1957), pp. 1-13.

⁵⁷Examples of such studies include: Bogue, From Prairie to Corn Belt; Curti, The Making of An American Community; Michael Conzen, Frontier Farming in an Urban Shadow (Madison: Wisconsin State Historical Society, 1971).

⁵⁸See for example: Curti, Making of An American Community, chaps. 5 & 6.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 145; Fite, "The Pioneer Farmer," p. 283.

⁶⁰Bogue, Prairie to Corn Belt, p. 185.

⁶¹Ibid., pp. 184-7.

⁶²McInnis, "Childbearing and Land Availability," pp. 11-14.

⁶³Yasukichi Yasuba, "Birth Rates of the White Population of the United States, 1800-1860: An Economic Study," Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXIX, no. 2, p. 21.

⁶⁴Colin Forster and G. S. L. Tucker, Economic Opportunity and White American Fertility Ratios 1800-1860 (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1972); Ansley J. Coale and Melvin Zelnick, New Estimates of Fertility and Population in the United States (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963); Richard A. Easterlin, "Does Human Fertility Adjust to the Environment?" A.E.R., LXI (May, 1971), pp. 399-421.

⁶⁵These explanations are summarized in: Richard Easterlin, "Population Change and Farm Settlement in the Northern United States," J.E.H., XXVI (March, 1976), p. 70.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 63-6.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 65.

⁶⁹McInnis, "Childbearing and Land Availability," p. 15.

⁷⁰Easterlin, "Population Change," p. 66.

⁷¹McInnis, "Childbearing and Land Availability," p. 14.

⁷²Staging theories have played an important role in colonial studies for some years. The work of both Greven and Kenneth Lockridge implicitly stresses the "natural history of a town thesis" which postulates that disruptions in community organization occur every third generation. See Greven, Four Generations. K. Lockridge, A New England Town--The First Hundred Years: Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736 (New York: Wm. Norton & Co., Inc., 1970). Easterlin's suggestion that a staging process may have been at work in the American midwest is found in: Easterlin, "Human Fertility," p. 405.

⁷³Easterlin, "Population Change," p. 67.

⁷⁴McInnis, "Childbearing and Land Availability," pp. 46-7.

⁷⁵Curti, Making of An American Community, p. 5.

⁷⁶Floud, Quantitative Methods, p. 3.

⁷⁷Henry's works have not been translated into English and appear as a series of publications sponsored by the Institut National d'Etudes Demographiques. A useful introduction to the technique is provided in: E. A. Wrigley, ed., An Introduction to English Historical Demography (New York: Basic Books, 1965), pp. 96-159. See also: Laslett, Household and Family.

⁷⁸Wrigley, Historical Demography, p. 96.

⁷⁹Edward Chadwick, Ontario Families, 2 vols. (Toronto, 1898; reprint ed., 1 vol. Hunterdon House, 1970).

⁸⁰Robert Higgs and H. Louis Stettler, "Colonial New England Demography: A Sampling Approach," Wm. & Mary Qu., XXVII (1970), pp. 282-94.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 282; Curti, Making of An American Community, p. 4.

⁸²Peter Laslett and John Harrison, "Clayworth and Cogenhoe," in Historical Essays 1600-1750: Presented to David Ogg, ed. by H. F. Bell and R. Ollard (London: Adam & Chas. Black, 1963), pp. 157-184.

⁸³Canada, Department of Agriculture, Census of the Canadas, 1851-2, Vol. 1 (Quebec, 1855), p. xxix.

⁸⁴Ibid.

⁸⁵Lincoln county was chosen for the table because it was well-established and contained prime agricultural land. (William Smith, Canada: Past, Present and Future, being a Historical, Geographical, Geological and Statistical Account of Canada West [Toronto: Thomas MacLear, 1852], I; p. 163). To have used one of the well-established communities east of the Bay of Quinte would have been misleading since those townships were suffering the ravages of the weevil in 1852. (Census of Canada, 1851-2, I; p. xxxiii).

⁸⁶The potential average income for farmers in Chinguacousy in 1852 was slightly more than £57.

⁸⁷Gagan, "The Critical Years," p. 316.

⁸⁸O. A. Lemieux et. al., "Factors in the Growth of Rural Population in Eastern Canada," C.P.S.P., VI (1934), p. 199.

⁸⁹W. T. Easterbrook and H. G. Aitken, Canadian Economic History (Toronto: MacMillan & Co., 1963), pp. 290-291.

⁹⁰Lawr, "The Development of Farming," pp. 244-245.

⁹¹K. Kelly, "The Transfer of British Ideas on Improved Farming to Ontario During the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," O.H., LXIII (June, 1971), p. 111. See also: Lawr, "Development of Farming," pp. 240-249; Jones, History of Agriculture, pp. 253-257.

⁹²Jones, History of Agriculture, pp. 358-359. Kenneth Kelly has suggested that a few farmers were following the British Ideal of mixed agriculture as early as the 1830s, but he pinpoints the shift of "substantial numbers" of Simcoe County farmers to mixed agriculture between 1859 and 1865. K. Kelly, "Agricultural Geography," pp. 3-5.

⁹³Norman MacDonald, Canada: Immigration and Colonization, 1841-1903 (Toronto: Macmillan and Co., 1966), pp. 90-120.

⁹⁴A. R. M. Lower, "The Growth of Population in Canada," in Canadian Population and Northern Colonization, ed. V. W. Bladen (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), p. 54; N. Keyfitz, "New Patterns in the Birth Rate," in Ibid., p. 35.

⁹⁴Lemieux, "Growth of Population," p. 205.

CHAPTER II

THE SETTLEMENT PHASE, 1820-1851

I

In 1820, the recently surveyed lands in Toronto Gore township were opened to settlement. Thirty years later, land patents, or crown deeds, were still being issued on the land of the township's cultivable lands. Hence, the period between 1820 and mid-century properly represents the settlement phase. The "filling up" of the township was prolonged because the Gore's principal advantages, fertile soils and its proximity to rapidly developing markets at York/Toronto were offset initially by the high cost of land, poor roads, and the activities of land speculators.¹ A slow pace of settlement was not unusual for Ontario's townships, however, particularly in parts of the Home District where the competing activities of land speculators, squatters and genuine settlers produced a pattern of settlement that was neither compact nor effective.² What set Toronto Gore apart from neighbouring townships was the provincial government's decision to offer its lands for sale rather than opening the township to settlement under the so-called "free grant" system then in force. The failure of a public auction, held in October 1820, to attract any more than nine genuine settlers meant that there was a false start to settlement in the area. During the 1820s, land speculators who saw the obvious advantage to

holding fertile farmland less than fifteen miles from markets at York, rushed to acquire land in the area. As a consequence, the few actual settlers were isolated; cut off from markets and, to a lesser extent, from each other by absentee-held lands that remained in a wild state. These conditions remained until the 1830s when the combined effects of a change in government policy that made the township's lands competitive with available land in the surrounding area, and better access to markets produced a rush of land patenting in the township. Thereafter, the population of the township grew steadily, if not spectacularly, until by 1852 it had peaked at 1,820 inhabitants.

During this period three of the dominant themes in the township's subsequent history appeared. The first was the settling of a core of permanent settlers, many of whose families were still in the township at the end of the century. The other side of this permanence was a rapid turnover in the remaining householders for whom the Gore served as a brief stopping place on the road to somewhere else. Finally, a growing inequality, determined by both the size of holdings and the type of tenure under which lands were held, appeared early in the community's development and continued throughout the century. As time passed, a few farmers with capital and foresight began to add to their acreages, either as an investment or to build an estate for their children. Their poorer, or less farsighted neighbours either held on to what they had or sold off part of their holdings to finance capital improvements, stave off hard times, or simply to reap a quick profit during periods when land values were escalating. As a consequence, the passage of time brought a widening of the gap between those who held the township's

largest and smallest acreages. The general outlines of this process were beginning to appear in the latter stages of the settlement phase.

Those who became tenant farmers, either by choice or necessity, represented a different aspect of this inequality. Many, as John Lynch suggested in his prize-winning agricultural report on Peel County for 1853, may have preferred leasing to purchasing land.⁴ Rather than exhausting their capital in the land market, they used it to acquire livestock and to finance the cultivation of their farms. The income generated from these activities meant that farmers who leased substantial acreages probably enjoyed a standard of living that was not much different from their landowning neighbours, even after paying an annual rent which, in the early years, often was equal to between one-third and one-half of their produce.⁵ But, because they rented rather than owned land, they had no equity other than their investments in livestock and implements. In the short term they were more vulnerable to fluctuations in market conditions because they lacked the land that could be used as surety to see them through hard times: in the long term, they were less able to establish their children as independent householders, if that was their goal, because escalating land values outstripped their potential for capital accumulation. There was ample pressure upon the tenant farmer, therefore, to treat his status as a renter as a transitory phase in his economic life and to move as quickly as possible to acquire land of his own.

Thus, in a very real sense, the social structure of this community was inherent in the conditions present during the settlement phase and in the behaviour of the early settlers. The choices they

made, or which were forced upon them, laid the foundation for the future development of the township and for the integration of successive generations into the society. Hence, an understanding of this community, and the rural society of which it was a part, begins with the settlement process.

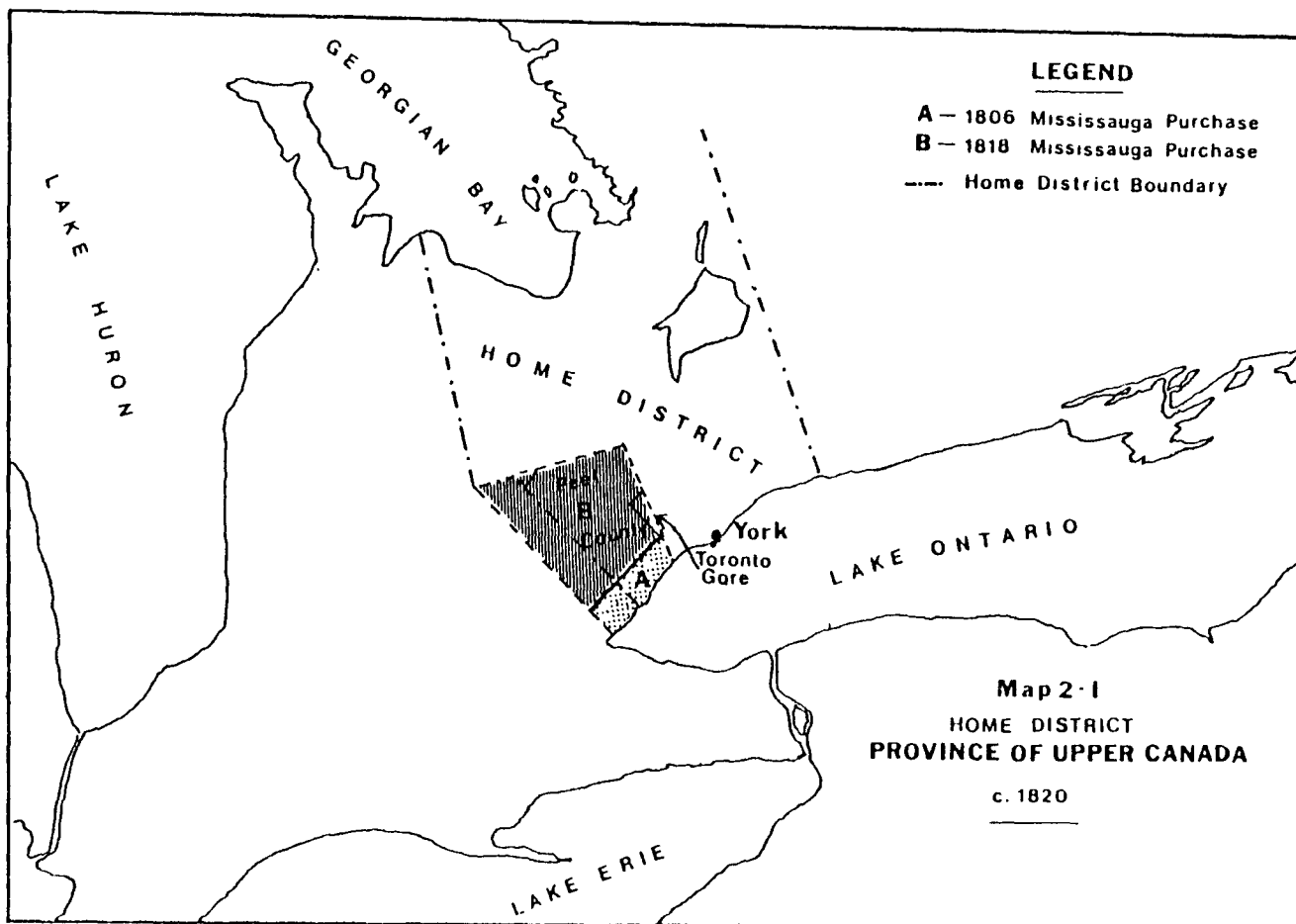
II

In September 1820, the Surveyor General's Office in Upper Canada announced the sale of recently surveyed lands in the Mohawk Tract on the Bay of Quinte, and in the Gore of Toronto. Approximately eighteen thousand acres of land in each tract "with the exception of the Crown and Clergy Reserves and the land granted in payment of survey" were to be sold to the highest bidder at public auction on October 2, 1820. The terms of the sale required that six percent, or one year's interest, on the purchase money be paid in advance; the principal was to be secured upon the land and subject to regular payments of interest with the right of redemption at the convenience of the purchaser. As an added inducement, prospective purchasers were promised a priority of claim to lease the Crown and Clergy Reserves adjoining their property.⁶

The lands advertised for sale in the Gore of Toronto were part of the latest in a series of purchases from the Mississauga Indians. An earlier acquisition in 1806, prompted by a desire to settle a continuous line of lakefront townships from York to the Niagara peninsula, had opened lands set aside during the tenure of Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe as an Indian reserve and supply area for naval stores.⁷

By 1818, land pressure in the Home District had led to a second purchase in the area back of the waterfront township (Map 2-1).⁸ Part of these newly acquired lands were surveyed into four townships: Chingua-cousy, Albion, Caledon, and the Gore of Toronto. Together with Toronto Township, a portion of which had been surveyed soon after the 1806 purchase, these townships would form the County of Peel.⁹ By 1819, the surveys were completed and the area was opened to settlers. In three of the four new townships, land was offered to settlers under the free grant system then in force. Only in Toronto Gore was land to be sold at public auction.

The relative merits of selling crown land as opposed to making free grants to prospective settlers had been a source of debate on both sides of the Atlantic for the better part of a half century. One of the major problems facing the Colonial Office and the provincial authorities charged with the management of the crown lands was to find the most efficient means of settling the province while, at the same time, encouraging a social structure that would provide an effective barrier against the republican tendencies that had led to the disintegration of the first British Empire.¹⁰ From the outset, they had sought to achieve the first of these goals by providing free grants of land to bona fide settlers. To attain the second objective they proposed to use the crown lands to support the "proper" social, political and religious institutions. In practice, this meant that land was used to reward individuals who, for a variety of reasons, had claims upon the provincial executive, as well as to endow churches and schools. Public lands also were seen as a source of revenue that could be used to finance



public improvements, or to provide the provincial executive with a measure of independence from the legislature. Prior to 1826, the principal source of revenue was, most often, the patent fees paid by individuals when a crown deed was issued on their land. Thus, from one perspective, the free grant system became a quasi-sales system.¹¹ On occasion, this free grant system was abandoned altogether and some tracts of land were sold at public auction to provide revenue for special purposes. This happened in the case of the Gore of Toronto.

Although no records survive which suggest a specific motive for selling the lands in the Mohawk Tract and the Gore of Toronto there were numerous precedents that exemplified the provincial executive's acceptance of the principle that crown lands should be sold to raise revenue for public purposes. Some thirty years earlier, for example, the townships of Dereham and Norwich in Norfolk County had been offered at public auction to finance the construction of a road between York and Kingston.¹² In all probability the revenue from the sale of lands in the two blocks advertised in September 1820 was intended for a similar purpose. Whatever the reasons, the decision to sell land rather than opening the township to free grants had important consequences for the subsequent settlement of the area and it became one of the factors that influenced the behaviour of recent immigrants seeking land in Upper Canada.

The opportunity to acquire land in a township where all land, save the Crown and Clergy Reserves, would be set aside for sale may have been seen by some prospective settlers as a way of escaping one of the worst evils of the free grant system.¹³ In other townships the

practice of using land to reward individuals meant that substantial acreages were alienated by United Empire Loyalists, former military men and government placemen. Often these lands remained unsettled and in a wild state. Together with the unoccupied Clergy and Crown Reserves, set aside under the Constitutional Act of 1791 and by executive proclamation a year later, they were so interspersed among the lands of actual settlers as to form an effective barrier to social and economic intercourse.¹⁴ These conditions encouraged low population densities and stagnant land values, as well as poor transportation facilities, particularly since the responsibility for financing and clearing road allowances within the townships rested with the actual settlers. In 1817, widespread resentment against the administration of land by provincial authorities was exemplified by the responses to Robert Gourlay's queries. Published five years later, Gourlay's Statistical Account of Upper Canada demonstrated clearly that the majority of those who completed his questionnaire believed that absentee landowners and the Crown and Clergy Reserves were the major impediments to economic growth.¹⁵ Lord Durham made essentially the same point in 1838, when he argued that the granting of land to privileged persons who left their holdings "unsettled and untouched" was one of the principal difficulties facing industrious settlers.¹⁶

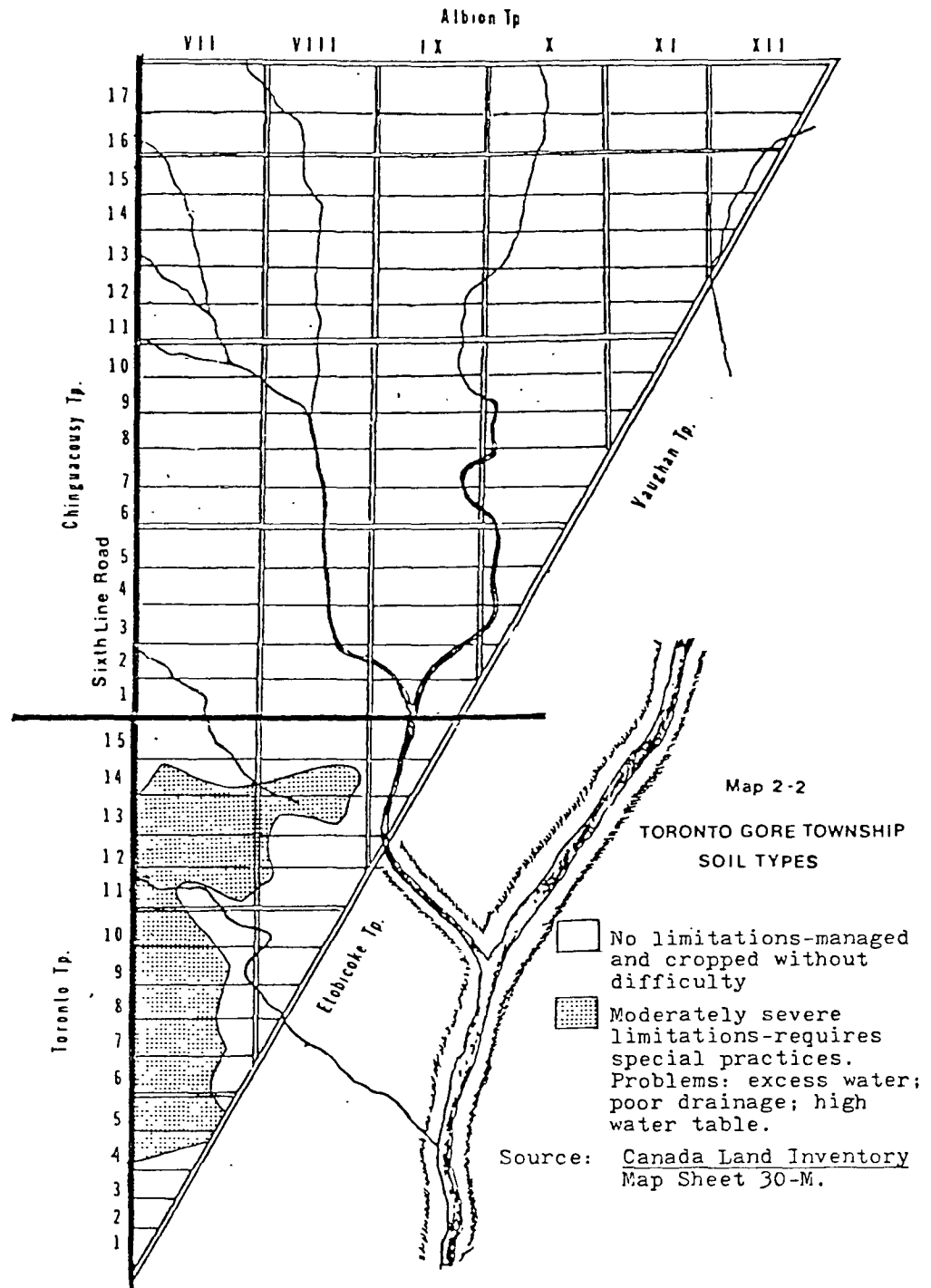
There seems to be little doubt that speculation contributed to the land pressure that led to the second Mississauga purchase in 1818. Of the 550,174 acres of land patented in the Home District by 1817, only 223,982 (40.7%) actually were occupied.¹⁷ But, it now seems clear that despite the claims of Gourlay and Durham to the contrary,

the majority of unoccupied lots in the Home District were not held by privileged grantees. They were in the hands of the general population.¹⁸ Nevertheless, the promise that there would be no grants of land made in Toronto Gore, although it offered no guarantees against speculation, meant that one class of speculator would be absent in this township. There would be no pre-emptions of land by those who had claims upon the government.¹⁹ Would-be speculators, like genuine settlers, would have to purchase their land at market prices. So long as the regulations for the sale were rigidly adhered to, the necessity of investing several hundred pounds would discourage many speculators who could obtain land more cheaply elsewhere. Thus, in theory at least, Toronto Gore offered the prospective settler, who was willing and able to purchase land, some relief from the debilitating effects of speculative activity upon economic growth.

The second of the Gore's attractions was the quality of its lands. Although no contemporary records survive that specifically assess land quality throughout the township, contemporary observers clearly believed that the land in this part of the Home District was of good quality.²⁰ William Catermole, writing in 1831, thought that the land for thirty or forty miles along both sides of Dundas Street was among the finest in British North America.²¹ William Smith's Canadian Gazetteer, published in 1846, was somewhat less enthusiastic, suggesting only that the township contained "some good land."²² Yet another opinion was offered by Joseph Shaw, a resident of neighbouring Etobicoke township. In 1807, Shaw wrote to his brother George, who was then living in New York State, praising his recently acquired lands as "one of the

first Situations in this whole province."²³ He advised George that, although lands were difficult to acquire in the area, the Indian lands at the rear of his grant had not yet been purchased and there was a possibility that land could be obtained there in the future. Perhaps acting on his brother's advice, George Shaw was among the first to purchase land in the Gore when it was opened to settlement thirteen years later. The fertility of the Gore's soils also was attested to in the comments of John Lynch whose 1853 report touted Peel County as the granary of Canada West, and Toronto Gore as the bread basket of Peel.²⁴

Modern assessments of soil quality provide a more complete, less impressionistic, picture of the conditions that faced early settlers. For the most part, they confirm the assessment of nineteenth century commentators. Toronto Gore township shared two major soil types with much of the rest of Peel County. In the Gore, these appeared as two relatively homogeneous blocks of land (Map 2-2). The first block, containing approximately ninety percent of the land in the township, described by geographers as the Peel County type, was composed of lacustrine deposits over clay till. This soil type was imperfectly drained but could be managed without difficulty. The second soil type, the Malton Clays, was spread over almost four thousand acres in neighbouring Chinguacousy township and intruded into the southern portion of Toronto Gore where it affected slightly more than a thousand acres. This soil was more difficult to work because of its much poorer drainage.²⁵ One hundred and fifty years ago, with virtually no farm machinery available, these heavy soils were less desirable for settlers than the lighter, more easily worked soils found to the north, in



Simcoe County for example. But both Peel and Malton clays could produce excellent yields of grain, and were not so heavy that they could not be managed effectively by farmers with the implements available in the 1820s.²⁶ Even the Malton clays drew praise from early settlers. James Reid, one of the Gore's first settlers, whose land was located in the seventh concession, on the seventh lot in the southern division (7S7) wrote home to Scotland praising his homestead in 1823. In response to queries about conditions in Upper Canada, he pointed out that although he was unable to afford help to clear his land because of the high cost of farm labour, he was able to provide for his family through his own efforts because the land was "very good" and a "few acres" could easily sustain them.²⁷

The final advantages offered by Toronto Gore were its desirable location in respect to markets, and a rudimentary road system that was already in place by 1820. Dundas Street, first cleared as a military road in 1793, and improved after the War of 1812, was little more than a mile south of the township and provided access to York.²⁸ Toronto Gore's settlers had a direct link to Dundas Street via the Sixth Line Road, a government project that was surveyed and cleared in 1819. The Sixth Line Road followed the boundary separating Toronto Gore from Toronto and Chinguacousy townships, and Albion from Caledon (Map 2-2). It provided settlers in the western portion of Toronto Gore with entry to Dundas Street and thence to York. It also linked the Gore to the Lakeshore Road and the well-settled areas of Toronto Township. For prospective settlers, this road network and the fact that York was less than fifteen miles away probably were more important than the

quality of the township's soils. Settler's guides regularly advised the prospective emigrant that, "the intrinsic values of land is nothing in comparison with roads and a good neighbourhood."²⁹

Despite these advantages, all of which pointed toward rapid economic growth, Toronto Gore failed to attract immediate attention from prospective settlers. The government auction held in October 1820 drew only twenty-four men who submitted bids on 5,516 acres, or slightly less than one-third of the survey. Their offer of an average of seventeen shillings per acre demonstrated clearly their willingness to make a financial sacrifice in return for a desirable location that had the potential for a rapid increase in land values as settlement in the area advanced.³⁰ Most recent immigrants to the province, however, were not as far-sighted as Alexander McVean, the Gore's first settler, who willingly paid for a two hundred acre lot in the township and chose it for his homestead, even though he had been granted six hundred acres of land in Albion and Chinguacousy a few months earlier.³¹ Rather, they chose to acquire acreages elsewhere in the Mississauga purchase where title to land of comparable quality, only slightly further away from York, could be obtained for a capital outlay of only three shillings per acre under the free grant system.³²

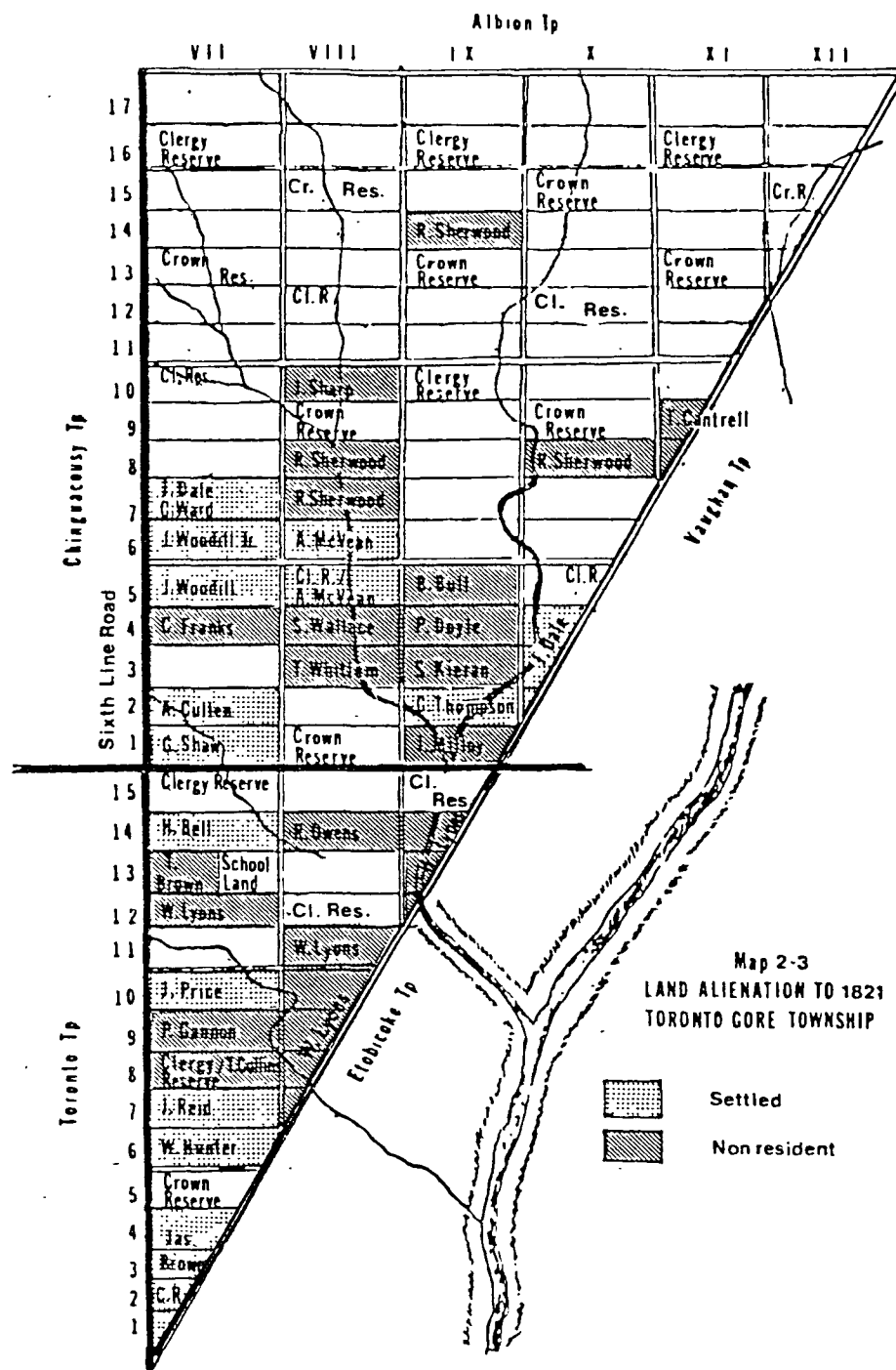
The availability of "cheaper land nearby undoubtedly influenced many potential settlers to by-pass the Gore, and in the years following the government sale conditions arising out of the way in which the auction was concluded discouraged further settlement by removing one of the township's principal advantages. Of the twenty-four men who acquired land at the sale, fifteen never settled in the township. More

importantly, twelve of those fifteen were able to claim their acreages with no capital outlay because Colonel James Fitzgibbon, who presided at the sale, became their unwitting ally. Each of the twenty-four would-be purchasers chose to exercise the option to pay for the land by instalments, but only twelve made the required down payment of one year's interest in advance. Hence, legally, only those twelve had fulfilled the conditions of the sale and had the right of possession, if not title, to the land. Apparently on his own initiative Fitzgibbon entered the names of all twenty-four men in his report to the Surveyor-General's office where all 5,516 acres were recorded as having been located.³² As a consequence, almost two-thirds (64.8%) of the lands alienated in 1820, which were among the best and most strategically located in the township, were denied to legitimate settlers for the better part of a decade. With the stroke of a pen, Fitzgibbon had set aside one of the Gore's initial advantages and created, in effect, a privileged class of claimants. Ultimately, rather than encouraging settlement, which may have been his intention, Fitzgibbon's action only made the Gore less attractive to potential settlers since two-thirds of the men who benefitted chose to retain their lands for speculative purposes.

Although it would have been impossible to eliminate speculative activity entirely in the township, the alienation of several thousand acres of land in the names of men who had not demonstrated their good faith accelerated the appearance of the same kind of problem in Toronto Gore that plagued most of the Home District: too much land being held for speculation. Where the Gore differed, at this stage in

its development, was in the complete absence of official grantees. Its speculators were drawn exclusively from the general population of Upper Canada; from men who already owned land in surrounding townships, or who had friends and relatives in the area. As time would demonstrate, the activities of these men were at least as detrimental to the settlement process as the speculation of a government placeman, or other official grantee. Perhaps it was more injurious since, as will be shown later, government placemen tended to divest themselves of their speculative lands fairly quickly. They were content to take a quick profit. Speculators from the general population, on the other hand, often held their acreages for longer periods of time. As a consequence, their activities produced conditions that not only limited economic growth initially, but also made the area less attractive to potential settlers in the long term. In a township as small as Toronto Gore, moreover, relatively few speculators could have an influence on settlement that was out of proportion with their numbers.

The impact of this speculative activity is demonstrated clearly by Map 2-3. In the southern division, four speculators controlled a total of 1,309 acres. The government, the greatest speculator of all, had set aside Crown and Clergy Reserves that removed another 1,060 acres from settlement. Virtually all of these acreages, which accounted for more than half (56%) of the arable land in the southern division, remained in a wild state throughout most of the 1820s. In the northern division similar conditions prevailed. There, lots alienated by speculators or reserved by the Crown took forty-one percent of the land. More important, in terms of both the northern and southern divisions'



potential to attract settlers, was the spatial distribution of these areages. Land held for speculative purposes occupied key positions along the Sixth Line Road, the Gore Road, and the boundary between Toronto Gore, Etobicoke and Vaughan townships, thus providing an effective barrier between many of the township's unalienated lots and the access to markets that was such an important consideration for early settlers.

After a very modest spurt of settlement between 1820 and 1823, during which nine of the original purchases were joined on the land by five other homesteaders, the Gore became a rural backwater, isolated and cut off from the social and economic growth being experienced by other townships in the Mississauga purchase. One of the indicators of this isolation was the rate at which lands were occupied and patented in neighbouring townships (Table 2-1). In the first five years after the Mississauga purchase was opened to settlers, at least one-fifth of the acreages in Albion, Caledon, and Chinguacousy were patented. In the same interval only one land patent, in the name of Alexander McVean, was issued for Toronto Gore.³⁵ The actual occupation of land, a far more important indicator, revealed essentially the same pattern. Only Caledon, the most remote of Peel County's five townships, had a smaller proportion of its acreages occupied than Toronto Gore. In Albion and Chinguacousy, both of which were less advantageously situated than the Gore in relation to York, more than one-quarter of the land had been taken up by 1825.

Given that in terms of its soil quality and access to markets, the Gore was at least as attractive as any of the surrounding townships,

TABLE 2-1

LANDS PATENTED AND OCCUPIED IN SELECT TOWNSHIPS
IN THE MISSISSAUGA PURCHASE, 1825³⁴

	Total Acreage	Acres Patented	Acres Occupied	% Total Acreage Patented	% Total Acreage Occupied
Albion	56,000	12,735	15,629	22.7	27.8
Caledon	69,000	16,055	7,203	23.3	10.4
Chinguacousy	81,000	24,400	25,054	30.1	30.9
Toronto Gore	19,200	200	2,310	1.0	12.0

the most likely explanations for its inability to attract settlers were the comparatively high cost of land and the activities of speculators. Of the two, as later events would show, the cost of land seems to have been more important. For officials at York, however, the finger of guilt pointed only in the direction of the speculator. In 1828, Peter Robinson, Commissioner of Crown Lands, suggested that so large a tract of land "lying waste" had delayed the township's development and denied homesteads to individuals "desirous of becoming actual settlers."³⁶

Robinson also believed that the slow growth of the township had been a matter of "much inconvenience" to its inhabitants.³⁷ During the 1820s, those inhabitants were a mixed group of recent immigrants from Scotland, Northern Ireland, and the English Midlands. They had left their former homes to escape the unsettled economic conditions that grew out of the massive industrial and agricultural changes that began in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Although conditions

may have varied locally, engrossment, underemployment and unemployment, as well as the belief that the United Kingdom was becoming overpopulated put pressure especially on tenant farmers and small craftsmen, particularly in the cloth trade.³⁸ The immediate cause of emigration for the Gore's first settlers was related, undoubtedly, to the general economic decline that followed the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars.

Like other immigrants who came to Upper Canada, they arrived in the province with little capital but a strong desire to establish themselves as independent yeomen.³⁹ Under no circumstances did they want to replicate an old world experience of tenancy or wage labour that had forced them to accept repeated cycles of economic uncertainty. For the Toronto Gore settlers there was an added urgency. Most had either reached, or were fast approaching, middle age at the time they purchased their lands.⁴⁰ They were men with already well-established families for whom the Gore represent perhaps the only chance to achieve economic independence. If the perceptions of James Reid, one of the township's earlier settlers, are any indication then these settlers recognized the Gore's obvious advantages from the outset. The quality of land in the township and its proximity to markets became a recurring theme in a series of letters that Reid wrote to his relatives in Scotland over a thirty year period.⁴¹ It seems clear, however, that at least in the first decade after settlement, Reid's praise of his new situation was based more on anticipation of what the Gore might become than reality.

Peter Robinson's almost casual reference to the "inconvenience" occasioned by speculative activity understated the problem. As Map 2-3

shows clearly, the kind of compact, contiguous settlement that would have promoted rapid economic development was absent during the first few years of settlement. Instead, the holdings of genuine settlers were interspersed with those of speculators and strung out along the township's western boundary. The only semblance of a settlement pattern was the grouping together of two or three adjacent farms to form a series of neighbourhoods that were created more by accident than design since few of the early settlers appear to have known one another prior to the government auction.⁴² This spatial distribution would set limits on the behaviour and expectations of the settlers in the first few critical years as they attempted to establish themselves upon the land. It meant that Toronto Gore would fall short of providing the kind of "good neighbourhood" that emigrant literature stressed was essential to economic success. Defined as an area in which the majority of the acreages were occupied and in the process of being improved, a "good neighbourhood" ensured that additional labour could be provided by neighbours during such necessary activities as house and barn raisings, harvesting, and the clearing of road allowances.⁴³ Throughout the settlement phase of virtually every rural community, the spirit of co-operation exemplified by these "bees" was essential for the rapid establishment of a commercial farm. For the farmers of Toronto Gore, however, low population densities and the settlement pattern that characterized the first decade determined that farming on a commercial scale would be difficult at best, despite the township's proximity to York.

The period of prolonged self-sufficiency implied by these

conditions was more than a matter of inconvenience. V. C. Fowke has argued convincingly against the myth of the self-sufficient pioneer that dominated the historiography of a generation ago.⁴⁴ He has suggested that those immigrants who established farms in the backwoods of Canada were forced by necessity, if nothing else, to become aspiring capitalists. Although the pioneer and his family produced much of what they consumed, they always had additional requirements, in the form of dry goods, hardware and foodstuffs, that could not be met by their own efforts and which required the expenditure of capital or recourse to a system of barter. These needs, Fowke has argued, "were sufficient to sustain a marketing structure that extended from the manufacturing centers of the Old World to the margins of the advancing agricultural frontier."⁴⁵ Hence, the establishing of a commercial farm and the rapid development of the surrounding area became a matter of no little importance to farmers everywhere in the province. There is little doubt that Toronto Gore's first settlers were aware of the necessity of providing a sound basis for economic growth. From their initial choice of sites to their co-operative activities during the first few years they were on the land, they demonstrated their determination to overcome the mounting problems inherent in their local situation. In short, they continuously strove to create a "good neighbourhood" with adequate access to over-land transportation to markets.

The very fact that they chose to purchase land in the Gore rather than seeking out "free grants" in one of the neighbouring townships suggests a strong desire to establish themselves as landed capitalists as quickly as possible, even if it meant expending what

little capital they possessed. The ownership of land anywhere would have provided them with the economic independence, as defined by proprietorship, that was so important to the nineteenth century immigrant. Land in the Gore had the added advantage, however, of situating them slightly closer to markets. When they submitted bids at the public auction in 1820, they naturally singled out the most advantageous locations for their homesteads. Five of the nine chose to bid on land in the zone of the poorer quality Malton clays, but the disadvantages of this soil type were offset by the southern division's proximity to markets at York and the advanced state of settlement in neighbouring Toronto Township. The remaining four, who acquired acreages in the northern division, appear to have been equally prudent. Their lands were adjacent to the Sixth Line Road which offered access to Dundas Street and hence to York. It was only after they had actually taken up the land, that it became obvious that the advantages offered by these lots were diminished by the proximity of unimproved acreages held by speculators.

This problem was quickly compounded by the provincial authorities' decision to deny the institutions of local government to the Gore because of its failure to attract an adequate population. For almost a decade, until 1831, Toronto Gore was placed under the jurisdiction of the Chinguacousy township council.⁴⁶ From the perspective of the authorities at York, treating the Gore and Chinguacousy as a single administrative unit provided a common sense solution to the irritating problem of what to do with the township. Some local government was necessary, if only for administrative purposes and, on the surface at least, joining the two townships did not seem to impose

any undue hardship on the Gore's settlers. Before 1849, the powers of local government in Ontario's rural townships were circumscribed by provincial statutes that denied any legislative function beyond the setting of the height of fences and, for a time, determining what animals would be permitted to run loose.⁴⁷ At annual meetings township officers were elected, including: a township clerk, two assessors, a collector, several overseers of highways who might also act as fence viewers, a poundkeeper, and two wardens who were charged with defending the property of the township. Since only seven Toronto Gore householders appeared on the Chinguacousy assessment roll for 1827, the township lacked sufficient population to fill even these few offices.⁴⁸ But, if the decision to join the Gore to another township, at least temporarily, was necessary, the choice of Chinguacousy was a mistake. If the Gore's farmers shared problems with settlers elsewhere, they were more likely to be found in the northern townships such as Albion and Caledon whose development lagged behind Chinguacousy. Ultimately, the union of the Gore and the better settled, more prosperous Chinguacousy created more problems than it solved. It became yet another factor contributing to the Gore's isolation in the 1820s and, equally important, it posed a similar problem for the whole northern half of the Humber Valley watershed.

In 1829, the inhabitants of Mono, Adjala, Caledon, Albion and Toronto Gore townships petitioned the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council for the appointment of a commissioner of the peace and overseer of roads in Toronto Gore. They pointed out that good roads and proper access to

markets were "absolutely necessary for the prosperity of every new settlement."⁴⁹ The shortest route to markets at York for all of these townships lay along the road allowance between the ninth and tenth concessions in the Gore of Toronto. In 1829 this route was impassable because statute labour had been neglected which, in the words of the petitioners, was a consequence of "there being no Town Meeting held in the Gore of Toronto."⁵⁰ The union of Chinguacousy and the Gore had obviously failed to meet the needs of the Gore's residents and eventually they were forced to unite with neighbours in other townships in an attempt to promote the economic growth of the area.

The settlers in the Gore's southern division were no more willing to accept passively the township's status as a rural backwater. Despite their lack of an adequate supply of labour they moved as quickly as possible to make their farms viable commercial enterprises by improving their own access to markets.

During the 1820s, the five families that had settled in the southern division banded together in an attempt to cut a road from James Brown's farm at the southern tip of the township (Map 2-3) southeastward to Scarlett's Mills on the Humber River.⁵¹ The new road, begun soon after they had taken up their land still had not been completed in 1828, but when finished it would provide overland transportation to a grist mill and a shorter, more direct route to the rapidly expanding market for flour at York.

Even these modest attempts at improving their situation taxed the early settlers' capacities. For the most part, they had been men

of modest means at the time they acquired their land. Later, they would claim that they had expended what little capital they had left, or could acquire by marketing a portion of their crops, in maintaining their families, clearing their lands and trying to improve the routes to markets.⁵² Most were overextended to the point where almost any unforeseen calamity threatened the family with the loss of its land.⁵³ Nevertheless, during the troubled 1820s they had managed to lay a foundation for the future prosperity of their families merely by retaining the modest purchases of two hundred acres or less they had made at the government auction. They had also developed a tradition of co-operation through their mutual efforts to survive in the harsh economic climate of the 1820s that would be expressed later in the intermarriage of many of the children of these early families. During the 1830s, as the Gore entered a new phase in its development, the anticipation of economic growth that sustained the first settlers throughout the 1820s, was rewarded.

III

During the 1830s, Toronto Gore was catapulted into the mainstream of economic development in the Humber Valley watershed almost overnight. The principal factors determining this economic growth were immigration, the growth of markets, and a fundamental change in provincial land policy.

Between 1830 and 1845 more than a half million immigrants from the British Isles entered the province.⁵⁴ Like their predecessors, most came seeking land and a future as independent farmers. The demand

they created for land, by itself, might have been enough to overcome the problems that had led earlier immigrants to bypass the Gore in favour of other parts of the Mississauga purchase. But, by the 1830s the Gore was somewhat more attractive than it had been a decade earlier.

During the 1820s York had grown significantly as both a retail centre and a market for various kinds of farm produce, especially flour. In terms of Toronto Gore, this meant that the township had a better potential for economic growth, particularly since road allowances down the concession lines and the road to Scarlett's Mills were at least under way. In his Gazetteer, published in 1846, William Smith reiterated a recurrent theme in emigrant literature when he suggested,

Let him on no account whatever, no
matter what the price or apparent
advantages held out to him may be, be
induced to purchase land at a distance
from good roads and a good market; as
nothing tends so much to keep back the
settler, and frequently dishearten him.⁵⁵

By the 1830s the Gore met these conditions even better than it had a decade earlier.

The final factor that stimulated land alienation and population growth in the township was a change in provincial land policy. During the twenties, perhaps spurred on less by public outcry than their own realization that the policies of the past had failed, those in authority began to move to correct some of the worst evils of the land system.⁵⁶ The ease with which taxes on wild lands had been avoided in earlier years had enabled absentee owners to hold acreages in anticipation of future gains. In 1824, the government moved to remove this abuse by providing that lands in arrears of taxes for eight

years could be repossessed and sold at auction.⁵⁷ A similar stance was to be adopted in cases where purchasers of government lands were in default of annual payments. Far more significant was the decision taken in 1826, to abandon the system of free grants and to replace it with the New South Wales system of land sales.⁵⁸ The same year, the Crown Reserves in the province were sold to the Canada Company which, in turn, would offer them for sale on the open market.⁵⁹ These two decisions, first to repossess lands in default of payment of taxes and second, to move to a uniform system of sales, had immediate effects upon Toronto Gore.

The first to feel the effects of the new policy were the nine men who had purchased land at the government auction and later settled in the township. In 1828, they were faced with the prospect of losing their holdings because none had made further payments on the land after October, 1820. They were informed by Peter Robinson that their lands were forfeited and would be resold at public auction.⁶⁰ The inhabitants of the township responded by petitioning the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council for relief. In their petition they pointed out that they had begun their tenure in the township as men of "low circumstances," and the necessity of promoting the economic development of the township had absorbed whatever capital they could acquire.⁶¹ In December 1828, the Executive Council proceeded with the confiscation of lands held for speculation but gave the actual settlers the right to repurchase their lands in a private sale at a price to be determined by the Commissioner of Crown Lands "as the average of other sales by him in the Gore of Toronto."⁶² Hence, the Gore's early settlers entered the decade of the

thirties with a heavy debt on their lands and the discharging of that obligation would occupy their time for several years.

From the perspective of those seeking new farm land in the 1830s, the new sales system placed the Gore's lands on an equal footing with unclaimed acreages elsewhere in the Mississauga purchase. No longer would it be possible to acquire rural lots elsewhere in the purchase at significantly lower prices. But, ironically, the newly adopted land policy also opened the door to a new wave of speculative activity. During the 1820s military claimants, and government placemen could acquire land in the Gore only by purchasing it. Under the terms of the new regulations adopted after 1826, the grants to these classes of people were to be retained and Toronto Gore, like every other township where there was sparse settlement, would be opened to their claims.⁶³ If, as Peter Robinson and others believed, speculative activity had been responsible for the Gore's failure to develop in the 1820s, then similar activities in the 1830s should have produced the same results.

Almost immediately after the promulgation of the new regulations, a highly visible group of well-known Upper Canadian placemen moved to acquire land in the township. Their ranks included: John Strachan, Archdeacon of York, member of the Executive Council and leader of the so-called "Family Compact"; John Beikie, secretary to the Executive Council; George Ridout, copy clerk for the Legislative Assembly; D'Arcy Boulton, member of the Executive Council; William Proudfoot, President of the Bank of Upper Canada; and James Buchanan, British Consul at New York City. Among them, these six men controlled 4,757 acres, or almost one-quarter of the township's prime agricultural land. Most of

TABLE 2-2

OFFICIAL SPECULATORS IN WILD LANDS

	No. of Acres	Date Acquired	Date Sold	Selling Price (£)
James Buchanan	900	1819	--	--
John Strachan	2,000	1828	1832-1856	2,000
John Beikie	800	1828	1833-1836	725
George Ridout	200	1830	1832	250
William Proudfoot	657	1838-44	1844-1847	1,910
D'Arcy Boulton	200	1839	1840	200

SOURCE: Township Papers, Toronto Gore Township, R.G. 1, C-IV, PAO, Toronto.

them had acquired their property before 1831 and held it only briefly thereafter before selling out to legitimate settlers or to other speculators (Table 2-2). Only James Buchanan, who acquired the grant first made to Reuben Sherwood, the township's surveyor, held on to his lands for an extended period of time. In 1836 Buchanan transferred the property to his new son-in-law William A. Baldwin. The land eventually came into the hands of the Honourable Robert Baldwin in 1851, and was leased to tenant farmers until sold by the family in the 1870s.

During the same period that government placemen were staking out claims for themselves, there was also a rush of petitions for military grants. These resulted in the alienation of more than 2,400 acres between 1828 and 1831. Few of these claimants actually took up their grants, preferring instead to hold the lands briefly and then to sell them.

By 1831, almost two-thirds of the township's available farmland

had been alienated but less than one-quarter of those lands actually were occupied. Map 2-4 illustrates the spatial pattern of alienation in approximately 1831. Most of the actual settlers, who by then numbered twenty-six, were clustered together in five pockets or neighbourhoods, on either side of the Gore Road dividing the northern and southern divisions, and along the Sixth Line Road. They were separated from one another by absentee-held lands, unclaimed lots, or lands reserved for the support of educational institutions in the province. In the northern portion of the township, four men occupied widely scattered lots. Captain Abraham Odium and William Campbell had acquired their property as military grants. William Byrne had leased, and would later purchase a Clergy Reserve lot in the eleventh concession. William Morrison, whose lot was in the eighth concession, had begun his tenure in the Gore as a squatter on a lot claimed by James Buchanan, but had received title to the land in 1830.⁶⁵

When Map 2-4 is read in conjunction with Table 2-3, several important features of the pattern of alienation become clearer. Almost two-thirds of those who had expended capital to acquire their lands had settled in the township. Almost without exception they chose lots that were close to acreages already occupied and which had good access to transportation routes already established. The same held true for those settlers who had acquired their right to occupancy through grants or leases. Even Captain Odium, William Campbell and Martin Byrne, whose claims were scattered about the northern division, were adjacent to settled areas in Vaughan and Albion townships. Those who chose lots in the southern division once again considered neighbours nearby

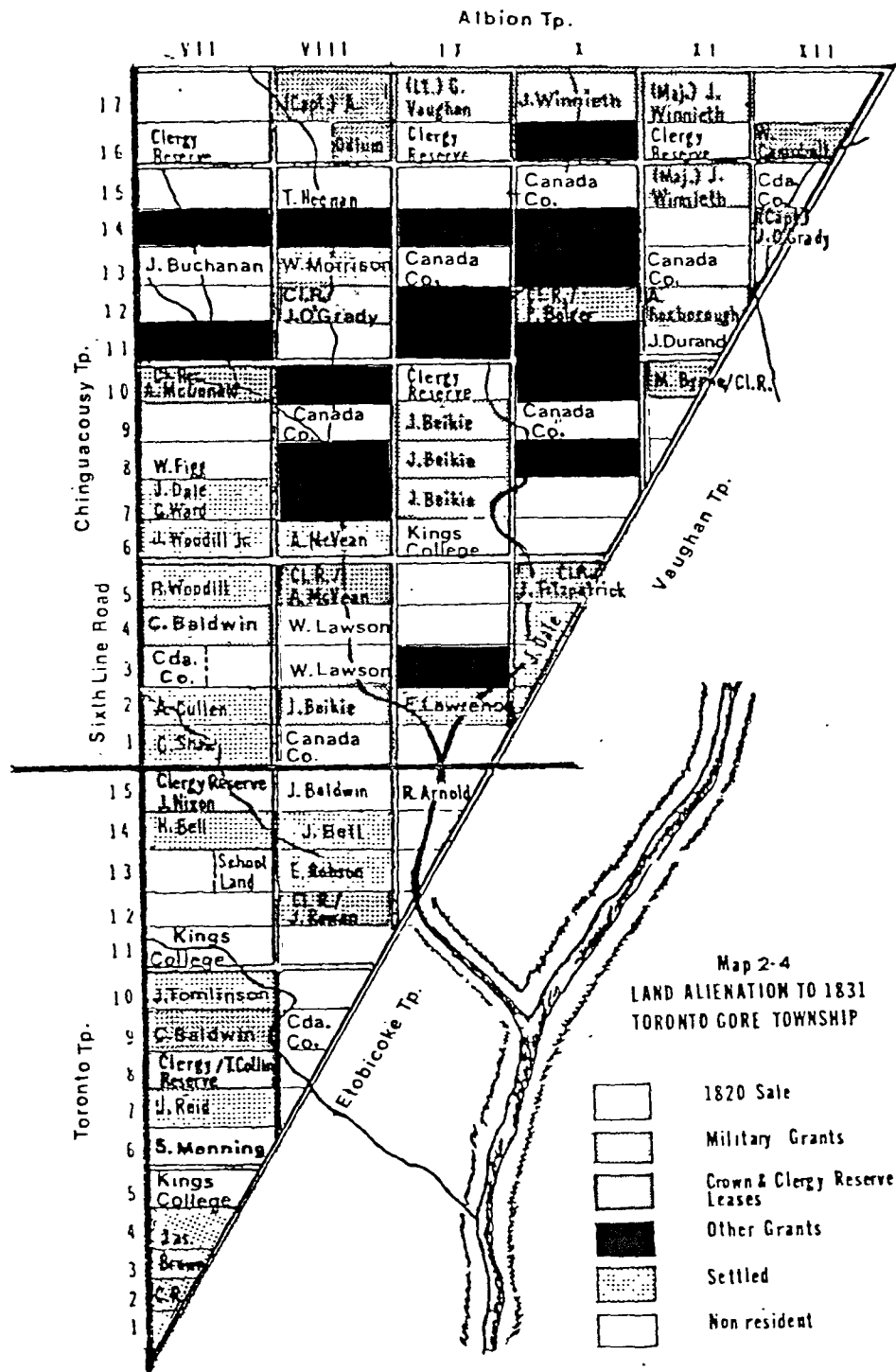


TABLE 2-3

LAND ALIENATION IN TORONTO GORE TO 1831

	No. of Acres	Acres occupied		No. of Owners	Settled	
		N	%		N	%
Military Grants	2,806	600	21.4	8	3	37.5
1820 Auction	1,311	1,311	100.0	8	8	100.0
Leases	2,557	1,557	60.9	14	7	50.0
Grants	2,540	200	7.9	4	1	25.0
Purchases after 1820	3,004	1,097	36.5	18	9	50.0
TOTALS	12,218	4,675	[39.0]	52	28*	[53.8]

SOURCE: Township Papers, Toronto Gore Township, R.G. 1, C-IV, PAO, Toronto. *Only 26 individuals appear on the map because two individuals acquired parcels of land in several different ways.

more important than the poorer soil quality of the Malton clays.

Most of those who had received grants or leases did not choose to occupy them, however. These unimproved acreages generally were found in the northern division of the township beyond the line of settlement. In the short term, this speculative activity would not affect the growth of the area adversely, but as the filling up process continued the lots held by Strachan, Beikie and others could be expected to increase in value substantially, especially since the soil quality in the northern division was superior.

The events of the 1830s were to demonstrate conclusively that this speculative activity did not discourage settlement in the township, and suggest, therefore, that earlier speculation may have been less important than the high cost of land in the Gore. Despite the fact that

almost two-fifths of the arable land in the township (38.8%) was in the hands of speculators in 1831, within less than a decade the township underwent a remarkable transformation. Table 2-4 summarizes changes in three key variables that provide indices of the economic and demographic change that took place in the Gore and surrounding townships between 1834 and 1852. The first of these variables is the percentage of the total acreage in the township assessed for taxation purposes. This measure was chosen in preference to the number of patents issued by the Crown because the actual alienation of land from the Crown often took place years after the lots in question had been located and occupied. The second variable is the percentage of assessed property under cultivation. In the absence of detailed economic data, which do not survive for the period, this measure provides some indication of the economic growth taking place. Finally, the population density per square mile provides a crude reference point for comparing rates of population growth among the various townships. Equally important, when considered in conjunction with the number of acres under cultivation, the population density provides a measure of the pressure being placed upon the township's resources.

Table 2-4 shows clearly that by 1834 a larger percentage of the acreages had passed into the hands of individuals in Toronto Gore than in either Albion or Caledon. As well, both the percentage of land under cultivation and the population density in the Gore surpassed both of those townships. In a matter of several years, growth rates in the Gore had equalled and then passed those of Albion township which had been considerably more developed than the Gore in 1825 (see Table

TABLE 2-4

COMPARATIVE RATES OF GROWTH IN SELECT
TOWNSHIPS IN THE MISSISSAUGA PURCHASE
1834-1852

	Albion	Caledon	Chinguacousy	Toronto Gore
A. Total acreage	56,000	69,000	81,000	19,000
B. Number of square miles	87.81	107.81	126.51	30.0
C. Percent of total acreage assessed:				
1834	50.2	47.9	70.8	53.0
1840	67.8	57.8	83.9	93.1
1846	73.9	70.5	92.5	94.0
1852	76.7	76.0	94.0	92.8
D. Percent of assessed land under cultivation:				
1834	13.9	11.4	18.4	16.3
1840	20.8	17.8	28.9	37.4
1846	26.0	22.6	40.0	47.8
1852	39.6	40.8	53.9	63.9
E. Population density per square mile:				
1834	12.0	-- ^a	21.6	16.1
1840	21.3	14.0	29.2	37.4
1846	40.6	-- ^a	47.5	56.1
1852	48.8	34.4	59.0	60.7

SOURCE: Provincial Secretary's Papers, R.G. 5, B26, Vols. 1-8, PAC, Ottawa. ^aNo data available.

2-1). Only Chinguacousy remained significantly ahead of Toronto Gore.

The years between 1834 and 1840 provided the most spectacular period of growth for Toronto Gore. During those six years, almost eight thousand acres of land were acquired by individuals. By 1840

more than nine-tenths (93.1%) of the acreages had been claimed. Even more impressive was the rate at which lands were put under cultivation. In 1834, 16.3% of the assessed land had been cultivated. Six years later the percentage had increased to 37.4%. But, in terms of the actual number of acres under cultivation, there had been an increase of more than three hundred percent. At the same time the population had more than doubled. In all of these categories the Gore had surpassed Chinguacousy by 1840.

The actual extent of activity in Toronto Gore during this period is shown best by examining the rate at which lands were brought under cultivation. In 1840 Chinguacousy had 28.9% of its acreages under cultivation; the Gore 37.4%. Expressed another way, between 1834 and 1840 the number of acres under cultivation in Chinguacousy increased by 86.3%; in the Gore the increase was 303%. Even with a much smaller population, the Gore's farmers had put almost as many acres under cultivation in those six years as their neighbours in Chinguacousy.

Although this economic development slowed somewhat after 1840, population growth continued unabated through mid-century. By 1852, almost sixty-one people per square mile were being supported on farms where, on the average, almost two-thirds (63.9%) of the land had been brought under cultivation. Economic development had proceeded to the point where, even though population densities were higher than anywhere else in the Mississauga purchase, more than six acres (6.26) were under cultivation for every inhabitant. This contrasted with a provincial average of 3.88, and was ahead of Albion (3.98), Caledon (5.66), and Chinguacousy (5.50).⁶⁶

There were numerous other indicators of the dynamic growth that began in the thirties. In 1831 the township was finally granted the institution of local government in the form of a township council. Soon after most of the township's eight unincorporated villages began to emerge. Grahamsville at the junction of the Gore and Sixth Line Roads was founded in the late 1820s to serve both the Gore and eastern Chinguacousy; Clairville, Coleraine, Castlemore, Stanley's Mills and Tullamore appeared during the 1830s; and Tormore at the extreme northeast corner of the township was founded during the 1840s.⁶⁷ Associated with these villages were the township's primary social, cultural and economic institutions. Grist Mills and storage facilities for grain were present during the 1830s and, at about the same time, the first churches and schools were built.⁶⁸ By mid-century, Stanley's Mills, for example, had a store, hotel, saw mill, grist and flour mills, a brewery, blacksmith shop, grain storage facilities, and several houses.⁶⁹

These villages and the institutions associated with them eventually would supply the cohesive forces that would knit the settlers into a community. After mid-century the co-operative neighbourhood activities of the pioneer period were superseded by a more complex set of relationships that focussed upon the primary instruments of culture and social control in rural society: family, church, neighbourhood, and community. The extent to which these public and private institutions would produce an identification with Toronto Gore specifically rather than simply with rural society at large was dependent upon a continuity in social leadership. Such leadership, supplied by a core of long-term residents, could neutralize the effects

of the constant mobility associated with frontier populations by its maintenance and support of those institutions and relationships that defined the local identity. No records survive from the settlement phase that document these activities, but there is clear evidence that a core of "permanent" residents was present in the township from the outset. By the 1860s, as will be shown later, these permanent families dominated and provided leadership for the principal public institutions in the township. There is reason to suppose, moreover, that the element of stability they represented was present in the township much earlier. By the late 1840s more than eighty percent of those families who would call the Gore home for more than a generation were on the land.

What proportion of the total population these permanent families represented is difficult to ascertain before mid-century. No nominal census or assessment roll survives for the township before 1852. It is possible, however, to acquire an indirect measure of the stability they represented. Directories were published for the area in 1837, 1846 and 1850. From these records three components of the township's early population can be isolated. The first was the township's permanent families who remained in the area for a generation or more, long enough for their children to have reached maturity. The second group was composed of "persistent" households. These householders' names appeared on two successive records but disappeared from the township rolls soon after. The final group was composed of highly mobile householders whose residence in the township was limited to a few years at most.

Table 2-5 shows that permanent households represented a

TABLE 2-5

PERMANENCE, PERSISTENCE AND TRANSIENCY, 1837-1850

	1837	1846	1850
Total number of households	178	268	296
Permanent households (%)	41.6	46.6	47.3
Persistent households (%)	9.5	2.3	--
Transient households (%)	48.9	51.1	--

SOURCE: George Walton, The City of Toronto and the Home District Commercial Directory with Almanack and Calendar for 1837 (Toronto: T. Dalton, 1837); George Brown, Brown's Toronto City and Home District Directory 1846-1847 (Toronto: George Brown, 1846); Henry Rowsell, Rowsell's City of Toronto and County of York Directory for 1850-1851 (Toronto: Henry Rowsell, 1850).

substantial and growing minority of the population throughout the period 1837-50. By 1850, almost half of the township's householders were part of the permanent population. A number of these households were linked by the bonds of kinship. Brothers had settled on nearby farms. The children of the original 1820 purchasers had reached maturity and some had chosen to remain in the township to establish their own independent households. By 1850 one in every ten (10.9%) households in the township was headed by the son, or a close relative of one of the permanent settlers who had acquired a homestead in the township before 1846.

Contrasting with this stability was the transiency, or geographic mobility, that was characteristic of the majority of the township's householders. Table 2-5 also demonstrates that the Gore was populated by a large number of people on the move. Almost half (48.9%) of the

householders listed on the 1837 directory were not there nine years later. Between 1846 and 1850, even more names disappeared from the records as the ranks of the transients were swelled by many of those householders who had persisted from 1837 until 1846.

Nineteenth century observers and social commentators were familiar with the wholesale movement of the population across the landscape and associated it with the individual's quest for self-improvement and social mobility rather than failure alone.⁷⁰ In this context self-improvement was synonymous with economic independence which, in turn, was summed up in the minds of most as freedom from the restraints imposed by an Old World class structure and economic system that placed them in a position of subordination to landlords or employers.⁷¹ Most believed that independence came with the ownership of land and its successful exploitation. To achieve that goal, the immigrant had to be industrious, sobre, honest, diligent, and above all flexible. He had to abandon, in the words of Samuel Strickland, "the parish-bound mentality of the Old World," and prepare himself to grasp each new opportunity wherever, and whenever, it presented itself.⁷² By linking geographic and social mobility in this way, contemporaries came to view internal migration less as an exemplification of failure than as an attempt to exploit the shifting frontiers of socio-economic opportunity which afforded every man the possibility of attaining success.

From the scanty records that survive, it is clear that failure did play a role in determining that some householders would be forced to leave the township. The experience of Robert Scott, one of the

township's early settlers, is a case in point. Scott purchased his land from the government in 1824, took up residence soon thereafter, and proceeded to clear the land. By 1825, he claimed to have cleared and fenced between twenty-five and thirty acres. From that point onward, things began to go wrong. In August 1825, after the harvest had been completed and the grain stored in the barn, a fire broke out that destroyed both the barn and the crop. As a consequence, Scott was unable to continue payments on his land. He petitioned the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council for an extension of the payment period on his land. Even with an extension, he was forced to sell half of his homestead to meet the first payment. A month later, still under financial pressure and unable to meet his obligations Scott sold his remaining acreages in the Gore and moved further west to Chinguacousy township.⁷³ What makes Scott's experience stand out, is its unusual character. Of course, the fact that few instances of foreclosure or financial exigency appear in the Township Papers does not provide incontrovertible proof that failure was not the principal motivation for migration. But, when the lack of specific evidence of failure is considered in conjunction with the activity in the land market between 1830 and 1850, there is a strong suggestion that many of those who left the township were seeking to exploit the opportunities provided by a land market where land prices were rapidly escalating.

Coinciding with the period of dynamic growth was a very active market in the township's lands. Between 1830 and 1851 more than twenty-five thousand acres changed hands in 293 sales (Table 2-6). Almost forty-three percent of these transactions involved purchasers whose

TABLE 2-6

SELECT SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR LAND SALES, 1830-1851

	1830-1839	1840-1849	1851
Number of sales	115	176	21
Sales by members of permanent families	13	41	2
Sales by other owner-occupiers	32	54	10
Number of acres sold	11,818	12,194	994
Average selling price per acre (shillings)	29.2	51.7	96.0
Median cost per acre (shillings)	19.9	48.4	98.3
% increase in cost per acre over the previous decade	+71.8	+77.3	+85.7
Percentage distribution of purchasers by place of residence:			
Toronto Gore	51.3	62.6	57.9
Elsewhere in Peel County	17.7	15.9	15.8
York County	9.7	6.1	10.6
City of Toronto	19.5	14.1	15.8
Other	3.5	1.2	--
Percentage distribution of vendors by place of residence:			
Toronto Gore	39.0	54.2	57.1
Elsewhere in Peel	9.0	9.6	9.6
York County	3.0	0.6	9.6
City of Toronto	44.0	25.6	23.8
Other	5.0	10.2	--

SOURCE: Copy Books of Deeds, Toronto Gore Township, Vol. 1, 1820-1858, GS. 3525, PAO, Toronto (microfilm).

residence was outside the township. Few of them subsequently became settlers and thus a substantial portion of the Gore's land fell into the hands of a new wave of absentee owners who lived in the city of Toronto, York County and other parts of Peel.

Initially, land sales were dominated by residents of the city of Toronto who, in addition to selling off land, continued to speculate in the township's acreages by purchasing lots on the open market. Even after 1840 when more than half of all transactions involved residents of the township, non-residents continued to play an important role by sustaining a demand for land in the area that ensured a continuing rise in land values and a quick profit for those residents of the township who wished to sell out. By 1851, a seventy acre farm, the average size holding that year, sold for £336. Twenty years earlier the same farm could have been purchased for only £102-4.

From the perspective of the less permanently rooted of the township's owner-occupiers, rising land values coupled with the availability of cheaper, newly opened lands further to the northwest provided new opportunities. Their decision to sell, and it is clear from table 2-6 that many did sell, may have been less an indication of their failure than a realization that the smaller farms characteristic of the Gore at mid-century represented capital that could be used to acquire more substantial holdings elsewhere in the province.⁷⁴ On some new frontier, a farm of perhaps two hundred acres purchased with the proceeds from the sale of a much smaller farm in the Gore could be expected to appreciate in value as settlement progressed. Hence, over the long

term the decision to sell out may have represented sound economic thinking.

The continued activities of speculators provided motivation for the emigration of a substantial number of tenant farmers as well. Although no precise figures on the number of householders who rented land survive for the early period, contemporaries were well aware that there were large numbers of tenant farmers in Peel County. John Lynch, in his prize-winning agricultural report on the county for 1853, suggested that "most of the immigrants from the old country who settle in this County (especially the English) prefer leasing to purchasing land."⁷⁵ Lynch believed that this preference for leasing land encouraged the continuation of absentee ownership. He may have been correct, but there was another aspect to tenancy about which Lynch did not comment. The tenant farmer was far more likely than an owner-occupier to have a short-term commitment to the area. Many tenants may have seen the leasing of farms as a way of using capital more efficiently by expending it on the purchase of implements and farm animals rather than land.⁷⁶ If, however, their ultimate goal was to become owner-occupiers, and a period of time as a tenant farmer was a necessary first step in that direction, then Toronto Gore must have been seen by most as a stopping place where capital for a future purchase might be accumulated quickly, rather than a potential permanent home. Land in the Gore was too costly for most tenant farmers.

In 1847, according to James Reid, land in the township was renting at slightly more than ten shillings an acre.⁷⁷ The average cost of an acre of land in the 1840s was fifty shillings, and by 1851

that price had almost doubled. Under these circumstances, it would have been difficult for any tenant farmer to accumulate sufficient capital to purchase a farm in the area. Hence, whether it was lack of capital, parsimony, or sound economic thinking that led many householders to lease land in the first instance, the same factors ensured that they would leave the township after a few years.

There were some tenants, however, for whom the relatively high price of land in Toronto Gore was not an insurmountable obstacle. Their decision to commit themselves more deeply to the area by purchasing farms was the first step toward joining the township's permanent population. The experience of that permanent population demonstrates clearly that there was a strong link between the ownership of land and continued residence in the area (Table 2-7). Of the 102 heads of permanent families on the land in 1851, one in three (34.3%) had begun his tenure on the land as a tenant. But, by mid-century almost four in five (77.5%) were landowners, and by the 1860s more than ninety percent of the permanent householders owned and occupied their own lands.

Those farmers who made the transition from leasehold to freehold expended considerably sums to create landed estates that, although perhaps not essential to their short-term prosperity, promised the opportunity to multiply their capital significantly as land values continued to increase. There were, as well, other advantages to owning land. In hard times it could be used as surety to acquire badly needed capital and, perhaps not the least of considerations, in a society where economic success depended upon the unremitting

TABLE 2-7

SELECT SUMMARY LAND TENURE STATISTICS FOR
PERMANENT FAMILIES BY SETTLEMENT COHORT

	1821	C O H O R T		
		1831	1841	1851
Date of settlement	1820	1821-30	1831-40	1841-50
Number of families	8	8	50	36
A. <u>Status at end of decade of entry:</u>				
Landowners (%)	100.0	75.0	62.0	61.1
Tenants (%)	0.0	25.0	38.0	38.9
Initial purchases by landowners:				
Total number of acres	1,249	916	3,287	1,871
Mean size of farm	156.1	152.7	106.0	85.0
Standard deviation	51.4	56.9	59.5	74.1
B. <u>Status in 1851:</u>				
Landowners (%)	100.0	100.0	84.0	61.1
Tenants (%)	0.0	0.0	16.0	38.9
Total number of acres held	1,185	1,093	5,778	2,113
Mean size of farm	148.2	136.6	137.6	96.1
Standard deviation	103.2	76.2	91.2	77.4
C. Percent change for those started out as land owners				
	-5.1	-2.5	+21.8	+12.9
D. Percent change for whole cohort				
	-5.1	+19.3	+75.8	+12.9

SOURCE: Copy Books of Deeds, Toronto Gore Township, Vol. 1, 1820-1858, GS. 3525, PAO, Toronto (microfilm).

labour of each and every family member, land served as the basis for a patrimony to reward children for their efforts. Thus, although in the short term there might be advantages to leasing acreages, economic independence and economic success were weighted heavily in favour of

the landowner.

There are exceptions to every pattern, and six men chose to become members of the permanent population without acquiring land. Each remained in the area for thirty or more years. For these men the economic prospects offered by the township were somewhat dimmer. They could not look forward, for example, to the increase in wealth that rising land values would bring, but they had a non-pecuniary reason for remaining in the township; they were related to members of the permanent landowning population.⁷⁸

Table 2-7 also demonstrates another emerging theme in the Gore's history, a differentiation of the population on the basis of economic inequality which made its first appearance as a disparity in the size of farms. To simplify the analysis and discussion of this theme, all settlers who entered the community during the same decade have been treated as a single cohort. Thus, all permanent settlers who arrived in the township after the 1820 sale but before 1831 are referred to as the 1831 cohort. Those who entered after 1830 comprise the 1841 cohort and so forth. For most, the time at which they took up residence in the township was the most important factor in determining the size of their farms. Many of the owner-occupiers in the 1821 and 1831 cohorts had acquired unbroken two hundred acre lots. Even when these were subdivided later to provide homesteads for siblings or children, the farms they retained were larger than those purchased by settlers who arrived later. The settlers of the 1840s, for example, had to contend with considerably higher land values and, consequently, their farms were little more than half the size of earlier purchases. But, as the

standard deviations in table 2-7 show, there was also considerably more variation among the purchases of the later settlers. Some of the largest farms in the township were established during the 1830s and 1840s when men of capital, business acumen, or both settled.

Capital and a sense of how to use it best could easily overcome the disadvantages of a late arrival in the township, as the experience of John P. P. De La Haye, Thomas Burrell and John Bland demonstrated. De La Haye, a French master at Upper Canada College, wisely invested his surplus income in land in the Gore during the 1830s. By the time he retired to his farm a decade later he had amassed 341 acres.⁷⁹ Burrell and Bland came from more humble beginnings, but both were able to establish holdings of more than five hundred acres. Burrell, known locally as the "Squire," had begun his tenure in the province as a tenant on John Strachan's land in York County. Through a series of prudent moves he amassed sufficient capital to build up an estate of 534 acres.⁸⁰ Bland's first purchase of one hundred acres was turned into a 541 acre farm through wise investments in the land market over a twenty year period.⁸¹

Most of the early settlers, however, possessed neither the financial resources nor the motivation of men like Burrell, De La Haye, and Bland. As a consequence, they had to be content with much more modest farms. Nevertheless, the length of time they had been on the land had a direct bearing on their worth. In the process of clearing their land and marketing a portion of their crops they amassed wealth in the form of improved acreages, houses and out-buildings, livestock, and farm implements. The earlier they had settled, the longer this process

had been at work.

Between 1835 and 1851 most of the permanent families were active in the land market, but much of their activity seems to have involved a rationalization of their estates rather than increases in their overall holdings. Some purchases and sales involved transfers to relatives, but more often one piece of land was exchanged for another with the aim, it would seem, of acquiring better or more advantageously located acreages.

Undoubtedly some of this activity was related, as well, to the general economic situation in the province and, in particular, to the performance of the staples economy. In the 1830s the prosperity of Upper Canadian agriculturalists was determined by good harvests in Britain that drove prices for colonial grains down; competition from the American market; and a major depression.⁸² Between 1834 and 1835, for example, good harvest in Britain led to a fall in wheat prices in Toronto from 38¢ to 32¢ a bushel. For many farmers those six cents meant the difference between a modest profit and operating at a loss. The world-wide depression that struck in 1837 exacerbated the problem, and there was no immediate recovery after the depression broke, because of a series of crop failures. During this period a number of the Gore's permanent householders sold off part of their holdings. Between 1834 and 1839 more than eight hundred acres of land was sold off by thirteen of the permanent settlers.⁸³

The decade of the 1840s began with a spectacular recovery in the provincial economy. Between 1839 and 1840 exports of wheat through the

St. Lawrence system increased by almost six hundred per cent from 249,471 to 1,739,119 bushels.⁸⁴ The passage of the Canada Corn Act by the Imperial Parliament in 1843, admitted Canadian wheat at a nominal duty of one shilling a quarter and provided an assured market for Canadian farmers who responded by expanding their wheat acreage significantly between 1843 and 1846.⁸⁵ Despite the repeal of the Corn Laws and the Navigation Acts in 1846 and 1849, which severely affected the mercantile community, agricultural prosperity continued. The American market compensated for the loss of Imperial preferences.⁸⁶ It was during this period of prosperity, particularly after 1845, when most of the Gore's permanent landowners began to make modest additions to their holdings and former tenants joined the landowning population.

These activities also are reflected in table 2-7. By 1851, a number of those who had entered the township as part of the 1821 and 1831 cohorts had lost ground. Many had been involved in land sales during the hard times of the 1830s but despite those sales they still retained comparatively large farms. To some extent, the length of time they had been in the township had acted as a buffer to protect them against the effects of depressed times. Both the 1841 and 1851 cohorts had managed to add to their holdings, and three of every five tenants who had arrived before 1840 had become a landowner. But, as the standard deviations show, there was much more variation in the size of farms in 1851 than there had been at the time each of the cohorts entered the township.

The inequality that characterized these permanent owner-

occupiers was even greater among the whole population. In 1851 the average size of farm in the township was 69.6 acres; the average among the permanent owners was 127.1 acres. Although the permanent owner-occupiers represented about one-third of the farming population (32.1%) they controlled almost three-fifths (58.7%) of the township's agricultural land. The social structure implied by these disparities also was reflected in the level of prosperity enjoyed by a few of the township's residents by mid-century. They lived in frame houses of one or two stories and kept carriages for pleasant afternoon outings.⁸⁷ For the bulk of the permanent households these amenities lay at least a decade in the future, and few of the floating population would ever achieve the standard of living implied by such luxuries while they were residents of the Gore. In 1848, four of every five householders in the township (83.8%) still occupied their original pioneer shanties.⁸⁸

The role of cultural variables in encouraging economic disparity during the settlement phase is not as clear. The 1842 census was so badly underenumerated in Toronto Gore that it is impossible to estimate the proportions of various ethnic groups with any certainty, beyond the fact that the township continued to attract a mixed group of settlers from various parts of the British Isles. Yet, there is an extensive historiography of settlement which suggests that cultural traditions determined the expectations, level of skills, and behaviour of settlers from various parts of the United Kingdom.⁸⁹

The extent to which these traditions determined economic behaviour depended upon the strength and duration of their influence.

In many of Ontario's townships the tendency of immigrants to gather in Irish and "Scotch" blocks may have delayed the blurring of ethnic distinctions. The permanent population of Toronto Gore was a heterogeneous mixture of English, Irish, Scots and native born. The only group that showed any tendency to cluster was the Irish who congregated in two very loosely defined "communities" in the northern and southern divisions of the township. In time, some of the distinctions between the various ethnic groups would be blunted by the necessity of co-operation and intermarriage.⁹⁰ Before mid-century, however, there was a correlation between ethnicity and land tenure patterns among the members of Toronto Gore's permanent population but it may have had as much to do with the amount of capital available to individuals as it had with cultural identity.

Table 2-8 treats the landholding activities of the various ethnic groups that made up Toronto Gore's permanent population. Although no single ethnic group formed a majority, settlers from Ireland (48.0%) and England (42.2%) headed ninety percent of the households. There were obvious distinctions in the way in which all groups behaved at the time they entered the township but these were most marked between the English and Irish. Little more than half the Irish heads of household (53.1%) entered the township as proprietors, as compared to three in four (76.7%) natives of England. The rapidity with which Irishmen moved to acquire land suggests that a lack of capital may have been the principal reason why many entered the township as tenants. By 1851, three in four heads of Irish households had acquired their own farms (73.5%) and

TABLE 2-8

SELECT SUMMARY LAND TENURE STATISTICS FOR
PERMANENT FAMILIES BY BIRTHPLACE

	England	Ireland	Scotland	Canada	Other
A. At time of entry:					
Landowners (%)	76.7	53.1 ^a	71.4	100.0	100.0
Tenants (%)	23.3	46.9	28.6	0.0	0.0
Total number of acres owned	3,234	2,860	718	211	341
Mean size of farm	98.0	110.0	143.6	105.5	341
Standard deviation	64.5	55.4	71.0	146.4	--
B. In 1851:					
Landowners (%)	81.4	73.5 ^b	84.7	100.0	100.0
Tenants (%)	18.6	26.5	14.3	0.0	0.0
Total number of acres owned	4,699	4,324 ^c	593	211	341
Mean size of farm	134.3	120.1 ^c	98.8	105.5	341
Standard deviation	93.1	79.7	59.7	146.4	--
C. Percent change for those who started out as land owners					
	+39.3	+17.2	-31.4	0.0	0.0
D. Percent change for all in group					
	+45.3	+51.2	-17.4	0.0	0.0
N	43	49	7	2	1

SOURCE: Copy Books of Deeds, Toronto Gore Township, Vol. 1, 1820-1858, PAO, Toronto (microfilm); MS. Census of the Canadas, 1851-52, Agricultural Census, PAC, Ottawa (microfilm). ^aIrish were more likely than English to enter as tenants rather than landowners. Significance levels: $p < .05$ ($\chi^2 = 4.77$). For Irish and non-Irish, significance level is: $p < .01$ ($\chi^2 = 6.67$). ^bNo statistically significant difference between Irish and rest of the population for land tenure. ^cIrish were more likely than other ethnic groups to fall below the median size of farm (116.8 acres). Significance level: $p < .001$ ($\chi^2 = 12.97$).

there was no longer any statistically significant association between being Irish and a tenant farmer.

By mid-century there was a new correlation. The Irish were more likely to be found among the owners of the township's smaller farms. Although a number of Irishmen had managed to accumulate substantial acreages, the majority (70.1%) owned farms that fell below the median (116.8 acres) for the whole township. Of course, much of this variation may have been produced by the more modest purchases of former tenants but, what is most interesting is the failure of most Irish landowners to add substantially to their holdings after making their initial purchases. They do not seem to have been affected to the same extent as their neighbours by the "mania to purchase land," upon which so many observers commented.⁹¹ Lorne Tepperman has argued that the tendency for Irish farms to have smaller, more equally distributed holdings in 1871 was probably the result of cultural patterns that were exemplified by rules of inheritance and patterns of nuptiality and fertility.⁹² These Toronto Gore data suggest two factors at work. First, the Irish may have had less capital initially which influenced both the size of their and their ability to acquire land in the first place. Second, once they were established on the land they did not move, as a group, to expand their holdings to the same extent as other settlers. One possible "cultural" explanation for this behaviour, noted by many contemporaries, is that the Irish lacked the skills to farm effectively in North America. As a consequence, they were less successful than their neighbours in generating capital from their farming activities. Without that capital,

they were unable to add to their acreages. But, if it was simply a lack of capital reinforced by a lack of skills that explained the difference between the Irish and other ethnic groups, then the differences among cultural groups should have been "washed out" after mid-century as the Irish began to adjust to their environment and accumulate capital. The extent to which these distinctions were blurred over time will be one of the major considerations of the next chapter.

IV

In several important aspects of its early development Toronto Gore was different from most other townships in southern Ontario. The very fact that its land was offered for sale at the outset determined that its economic and social development would lag behind most other townships close to Lake Ontario. Good soil and at least adequate transportation links to markets were not enough to compensate for a sales system that made the township's lands comparatively expensive at a time when most of the province's land was being disposed of by free grants. Hence the first real rush of settlement in the township was delayed for more than a decade.

Land speculation, one of the recurring themes in early Ontario's history seems to have been less important than the high cost of land in deterring prospective settlers, as the events of the 1830s demonstrated. As land values increased as a consequence of demand, speculators quickly sold off their acreages to legitimate settlers, or to a new wave of speculators who, in turn, disposed of their lands in a brief period of time. Consequently, throughout the 1830s and 1840s the Gore was

distinguished from its neighbours by its dynamic pace of growth as the influx of new settlers breathed life into a community that had lain dormant for more than a decade.

The conditions faced by the first wave of settlers became the crucible in which were forged the links that, tempered by time, would define the Gore as a community. Forced into isolated neighbourhoods by lands reserved for the Crown or held for speculation, and denied even the institutions of local government, the early settlers fell back on their own devices. As individuals and families they carved farms for themselves out of the bush and banded together in co-operative activities to improve the environment. If, as Leo Johnson has suggested, "isolation... encouraged both self-reliance and a sense of identity and social cohesion in the settlers which persisted for generations," then in Toronto Gore those cohesive forces must have been strong, indeed.⁹³ For the early settlers harsh economic conditions continued well beyond the ten years that most believed were necessary to achieve economic success. The first settlers, perhaps because they had no choice, persisted and became the nucleus for a growing core of families who were distinguishable not only by their permanence but also by the larger size of their farms.

In a rural society where constant motion seemed to be the rule rather than the exception, the stability these families represented stands out. Yet, in many ways Toronto Gore was not all that different from many other North American communities where the persistence of a core of permanent settlers has been noted by numerous scholars.⁹⁴ If

mobility was related in some complex way to inequality, as many of these scholars have suggested, then Toronto Gore, once again, was no different. As time passed the gap between the owners of small and large holdings, which in addition to defining a current standard of living represented a potential for future prosperity, widened. The prospects of a limited economic future may have pushed many of the smaller landowners out of the township. Many as well, of course, may have acquired their land with no intention of becoming permanent settlers. These resident speculators sold out as land values began to escalate.

By mid-century there was the beginning of a clearly defined social structure in the Gore that expressed itself in a number of different ways. The owners of larger and smaller farms were distinguished less by the number of acres they had under cultivation than by their potential for economic growth. Landowners and tenants were separated both by the strength of their commitment to the area and their potential to provide a place in the community for their children. There were also obvious differences between nativity groups which may have had much to do with a lack of capital initially and which continued to make itself felt by separating them in terms of their potential for capital formulation.

Each of these group shared a township which by mid-century was approaching overpopulation. The average farm in the Gore was thirty acres smaller than the Ontario average. Only the fact that more than sixty percent of the township's agricultural land was under the plough ensured a reasonable standard of living. But, for a maturing

second generation the economic prospects offered by the township were more limited than they had been for their fathers. Whether, indeed, those economic prospects would remain limited depended upon the behaviour of the land market and the agricultural economy.

FOOTNOTES

¹The expansion of commercial activity and the growth of York as a flour entrepot for the Home District is discussed in T. W. Acheson, "The Nature and Structure of York Commerce in the 1820s," in Historical Essays on Upper Canada, ed: J. K. Johnson (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), pp. 183-4.

²The failure of the provincial land policy to produce compact or efficient settlement has become a major theme in the historiography of settlement. See for example: Gerald Craig, Upper Canada. The Formative Years, 1784-1841 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963), pp. 130-133; Gates, Land Policies, pp. 123-134; 147-150; 152-159; Patterson, "Land Settlement," pp. 107-42; J. Howard Richards, "Land and Policies: Attitudes and Controls in the Alienation of Lands in Ontario During the First Century of Settlement," O.H., L (1958), p. 197; Spelt, Urban Development, pp. 32-3. Leo Johnson also cites the importance of provincial land policy in determining settlement patterns [Johnson, "Land Policy," pp. 52-3] but suggests that the "official speculators" whose activities were favoured by the policy were only a small part of the problem. Far more land was held for speculative purposes by the general population.

³Canada, Census, 1851-2, Personal Census, Vol. I.

⁴John Lynch, "Agricultural Report of the County of Peel, 1853," J.T.B.A.U.C., I (1855), p. 351.

⁵William Catermole, Emigration. The Advantages of Emigration to Canada (London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1831; reprint ed., Toronto: Coles, 1970), p. 85.

⁶Crown Lands Papers, R.G. 1, A-I-17, Box 19, PAO, Toronto.

⁷E. A. Cruikshank, ed., The Correspondence of Lieutenant-Governor John Graves Simcoe, 5 vols. (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1923) III; p. 59.

⁸Patterson, "Land Settlement," p. 225.

⁹These five townships were joined to form Peel County in 1851. For administrative purposes York and Peel were united until 1867.

¹⁰For a more detailed discussion of the factors influencing the formulation of land policy see: G. K. Riddell, "A Study in the Land Policy of the Colonial Office, 1763-1855," C.H.R., XVIII (1937), p. 387; Gates, Land Policies, pp. 24, 41-47, 303.

¹¹Gates, Land Policies, p. 304.

¹²Ibid., p. 50; E. A. Cruikshank, ed., The Correspondence of the Honourable Peter Russell, 3 vols. (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1936), III; pp. 172-3; William Caniff, Settlement of Upper Canada (Toronto: Dudely & Burns, 1869; reprint ed., Belleville: Mika, 1971), p. 226.

¹³"Official" speculators were particularly active in the townships near York. Johnson, "Land Policy," pp. 44-5.

¹⁴Ibid.; Craig, Upper Canada, p. 131.

¹⁵Robert Gourlay, Statistical Account of Upper Canada with a View to a Grand Scheme of Emigration, 2 vols. (London: Limkin & Marshall, 1822; reprint ed., New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1966), I; p. 633.

¹⁶Gerald Craig, ed., Lord Durham's Report (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963), pp. 110-111.

¹⁷Johnson, "Land Policy," p. 49.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 52-3.

¹⁹"Petition of Connell James Baldwin, 7 March 1829," Land Book "N", p. 502, PAO, Toronto.

²⁰Reuben Sherwood's field notes are not among the Crown Lands Papers, and two reports prepared by the deputy surveyor of roads, John Geosman, in 1825 and 1827, have disappeared. Some researchers have approached the problem of soil quality by employing an indirect measure. The settlers, themselves, apparently relied upon tree cover as an indication of the quality of the underlying soils. Stands of mixed hardwoods where maple, elm and beech predominated were believed to indicate the best soils; pure stands of pine the worst. Kenneth Kelly, "The Impact of Nineteenth Century Agricultural Settlement on the Land," in Perspectives on Landscape and Settlement in Nineteenth Century Ontario, ed: J. David Wood (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), p. 65; Jones, History of Agriculture, p. 20; Catermole, Emigration, pp. 9, 39. The only indication of the tree cover in Toronto Gore is a general statement in the Humber Valley Conservation Report published more than a century after the first settlers occupied their lands. It indicates only that the Humber Valley watershed contained large stands of softwoods. Ontario Department of Planning and Development, Conservation Branch, Humber Valley Conservation Report (1948), p. 137.

²¹Catermole, Emigration, p. 9.

²²William H. Smith, Smith's Canadian Gazetteer (Toronto: H. W. Rowsell, 1846; reprint ed., Toronto: Coles, 1972), p. 193.

²³ Joseph Shaw to George Shaw, 7 February 1807, Perkins Bull Collection, Series A, Box 29, PAO, Toronto.

²⁴ Lynch, "Agriculture in Peel," pp. 334, 351, 385.

²⁵ Canada, Department of Agriculture, Ontario Department of Agriculture, Soil Survey of Peel County (Report No. 18 of the Ontario Soil Survey, 1962), pp. 55-57.

²⁶ American cast iron ploughs were introduced in Upper Canada as early as 1815. There seems to have been considerably variation in the types of implements used from county to county, or even from township to township, however. Jones, History of Agriculture, pp. 94-5.

²⁷ James Reid to Thomas Reid, 5 March 1822, James Reid Papers, PAO, Toronto.

²⁸ Craig, The Formative Years, p. 148.

²⁹ See for example: Catermole, Emigration, p. 88; H.H. Langton, ed. A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada. The Journals of Anne Langton (Toronto: Clarke Irwin, 1967), p. 6; J. Spelt, The Urban Development of South-Central Ontario (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1972), pp. 30-31. Spelt argues that in the Home District before 1823 the principal determinant of settlement was the accessibility provided by road networks.

³⁰ "Report of James Fitzgibbon to Thomas Ridout, 2 November 1828," R.G. 1, C-IV, Township Papers, Toronto Gore Township, PAO, Toronto. Calculations are mine. Leo Johnson has noted a similar willingness on the part of newcomers to York County to purchase already patented lands because of the advantageous location. Johnson, "Land Policy," pp. 47-48.

³¹ George S. Tavender, From This Year Hence: A History of Toronto Gore, 1818-1967 (Brampton: Charters, 1967), p. 9.

³² Patterson, "Land Settlement," p. 131.

³³ "Memorial of Lieutenant-Colonel James Fitzgibbon, Lands Sold in Toronto Gore, 19 January 1821," R.G. 1, C-IV, Township Papers.

³⁴ Adapted from Johnson, "Land Policy," p. 51n.

³⁵ "Index to Land Patents Issued to About 1850," R.G. 8, Provincial Secretary's Papers, PAO, Toronto.

³⁶ Peter Robinson to Edward McMahon, York 17 November 1828, Land Book "N", pp. 414-415.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Helen I. Cowan, British Emigration to British North America. The First Hundred Years (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), pp. 18-19, 22, 27-30, 35-36.

³⁹The importance of economic independence to early settlers is discussed more fully in: David P. Gagan, "'The Prose of Life': Literary Reflections of the Family, Individual Experience and Social Structure in Nineteenth-Century Canada," J.S.H., VIII (1976), pp. 368-369. See also: W. T. Easterbrook and H. G. Aitken, Canadian Economic History (Toronto: Macmillan Co., 1963), p. 247.

⁴⁰"Petition of Joseph Tomlinson et. al., 3 December 1828," R.G. 1, C-IV, Township Papers. Calculations are mine.

⁴¹James Reid to Thomas Reid, 5 March 1822, James Reid Papers, PAO, Toronto. See also: 22 September 1827; 10 February 1825.

⁴²The only exceptions to this generalization were Joseph and Henry Bell who were brothers and Robert and John Woodill who were father and son. John Woodill was not one of the early purchasers, however, he acquired a lease for a Crown Reserve Lot adjacent to his father's purchase. "Crown Reserve Lease and Surety Bond, John and Robert Woodill, 29 October 1821," R.G. 1, C-IV, Township Papers.

⁴³Kenneth Kelly, "The Agricultural Geography of Simcoe County, Ontario, 1820-1880" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1968), pp. 22-24; Edwin Guillet, Pioneer Days in Upper Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), pp. 119-140.

⁴⁴V. C. Fowke, "The Myth of the Self-Sufficient Pioneer," T.R.S.C., LVI, Ser. III (1966), II; pp. 23-26.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 26-7

⁴⁶Tavender, From This Year Hence, p. 146.

⁴⁷Adam Shortt, "Municipal Government in Ontario an Historical Sketch," University of Toronto Studies in History and Economy (1912), pp. 63-65.

⁴⁸Chinguacousy Township Assessment Roll, 1827, Bramalea Public Library (microfilm).

⁴⁹"Petition of Thomas Russell, et. al., 23 January 1829," Land Book "N", pp. 457-458.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹"Petition of Joseph Tomlinson et. al., 3 December 1828," R.G. 1, C-IV, Township Papers.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³There were a number of instances in the early years where families were reduced to a state of poverty by a fire or the death of a family member. These events are recorded in a series of petitions for relief that were sent to the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council. See for example: "Petition of John Woodill," Perkins Bull Collection, App. E; "Petition of Rober Scott, 7 March 1829," Land Book "N", p. 492; "Petition of Alexander McVean, 22 July 1824," Ibid., 134; "Petition of Mary Hunter et. al., 11 December 1822," R.G. 1, C-IV, Township Papers, Toronto Gore Township.

⁵⁴Cowan, British Emigration, App. B. Calculations are mine.

⁵⁵Acheson, "Structure of York Commerce," p. 191.

⁵⁶Smith, Gazetteer, p. 254.

⁵⁷Craig, Upper Canada, p. 132.

⁵⁸Patterson, "Land Settlement," pp. 144-148; Gates, Land Policies,

⁵⁹Gates, Land Policies, p. 169.

⁶⁰"Lands in Toronto Gore, 17 November 1828," Land Book "N", p. 492.

⁶¹"Petition of Joesph Tomlinson et. al., 3 December 1828," R.G. 1, C-IV, Township Papers.

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³"Petition of John Beikie, 20 October 1828," Land Book "N", pp. 398-9; Patterson, "Land Settlement," p. 155.

⁶⁴PAO, GS. 3525, Copy Books of Deeds, Vol. 1, 1820-1858, #13345.

⁶⁵"Joseph Buchanan to J. L. Bouthilier, 23 April 1844," R.G.1, C-IV, Township Papers.

⁶⁶Canada, Census, 1851-2. Calculations are mine.

⁶⁷Tavender, From This Year Hence, pp. 17, 38-39, 42, 62, 81-2, 88; G. E. Reaman, A History of Vaughan Township (Toronto: George Snider, 1971), pp. 101-102; Perkins Bull Collection, Series B, Box 5, #117.

⁶⁸W.H. Smith, Canada: Past, Present and Future, Being a Historical, Geographical, Geological and Statistical Account of Canada West (Toronto: Thomas MacLear, 1852), I; p.53: "Statistical Report for 1847," Legislative Council Sessional Papers, Vol. 8, 1849, App. R, Table B; PA0, Perkins Bull Collection, Series B, Box 5, #109.

⁶⁹"Burrell Family Genealogy," Perkins Bull Collection, Series A.

⁷⁰See for example: John Howison, Sketches of Upper Canada, Domestic, Local and Characteristic (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1821: reprint ed., New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1965), p. 69; Catherine Parr Traill, The Backwoods of Canada: Being Letters from the Wife of an Emigrant Officer (London: Charles Knight, 1826; reprint ed., Toronto: Coles, 1971), p. 196-197; Samuel Strickland, Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West or the Experience of an Early Settler (reprint ed., Edmonton: Hurtig, 1970), p.265; J. Sheridan Hogan, Canada: An Essay (Montreal: John Lovell, 1855), p. 39; E. Copleston, Canada: Why We Live in It and Why We Like It (London, 1861), p. 84. See also David Gagan, "The Prose of Life," p. 367-81.

⁷¹Michael Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West. Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975), p. 104.

⁷²Strickland, Twenty-Seven Years, p. 265.

⁷³"Petition of Robert Scott, 7 March 1829," Land Book "N", p. 492; "Resignation of Robert Scott, 29 April 1829," RG 1, C-IV, Township Papers; "Quitclaim of Robert Scott, 1 May 1829," Ibid.

⁷⁴This behaviour would have been consistent, as well, with R.L. Jones' observation that farmers in older, more established areas regularly sold off their lands to acquire the capital to purchase larger farms on the frontier. In this way they were able to provide a patrimony nearby for their children. Jones, History of Agriculture, pp. 55-56.

⁷⁵Lynch, "Agricultural Report on Peel," p. 351.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷James Reid to Thomas Reid, 1 March 1847, James Reid Papers.

⁷⁸Easterlin, "Population Change," pp. 72-3. Easterlin has suggested that the bonds of kinship were often a factor militating against the migration of those for whom economic prospects were dim.

⁷⁹GS. 3525, Copy Books of Deeds, Vol. 1, 1820-1858, #s, 8922, 9198.

⁸⁰"Burrell Genealogy," Perkins Bull Collection, Series A, Box 10; GS 3525, Copy Books of Deeds, Vol. 1, 1820-1858, #s, 13626, 15808, 17805, 17880, 1228.

⁸¹GS. 3525, Copy Book of Deeds, Vol. 1, 1820-1858, #s, 9927, 10321, 11883, 29662, 31704.

⁸²Easterbrook & Aitken, Canadian Economic History, p. 16.

⁸³GS. 3525, Copy Book of Deeds, Vol. 1, 1820-1858, #s, 11694, 12038, 12268, 11267, 11268, 3425, 14627, 15541, 15519, 15496, 16343, 16421, 16784.

⁸⁴J.M.S. Careless, The Union of the Two Canadas (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1967), p. 16.

⁸⁵Easterbrook & Aitken, Canadian Economic History, pp. 289-91.

⁸⁶Ibid. The impact of the repeal of the Corn Laws is discussed in some detail in Jones, History of Agriculture, pp. 135-137.

⁸⁷Upper Canada, Legislative Council Sessional Papers, Vol. 8, App. L.

⁸⁸Ibid.

⁸⁹See for example: Jean Burnet, Ethnic Groups in Upper Canada (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1972), pp. 18-26; Jones, History of Agriculture, pp. 333-337; Stickland, Twenty-Seven Years, p. 138.

⁹⁰Cf. Leo Johnson, History of the County of Ontario, 1615-1875 (Whitby: Corporation of the County of Ontario, 1973), p. 76.

⁹¹See for example: Smith, Gazetteer, p. 253.

⁹²Tepperman, "Ethnic Variations," pp. 333-337.

⁹³Johnson, Ontario County, p. 64.

⁹⁴See for example: Bogue, Prairie to Corn Belt, p. 26; Charles Heller and Stanley Moore, "Continuity in Rural Land Ownership: Western Kalamazoo County, Michigan, 1830-1861," Michigan History, LVI (1972), pp. 233-246; Conzen, Frontier Farming, p. 48; Curti, Making of an American Community, pp. 65-66.

CHAPTER III

AT WHAT COST? THE AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY, 1852-1891

I

To a traveller passing through Toronto Gore at the end of the 1860s, the township would have presented a series of contrasts. On the one hand, there was evidence of a thriving agricultural community. Despite a protracted settlement phase and the hardships associated with it, the township had made remarkable progress. For even the meanest of the agriculturalists, original pioneer shanties had given way to more spacious log, frame and brick houses. In the fields, where more than three-quarters of the land had been cleared, there were more extensive improvements than in most southern Ontario communities. Beyond the farms, neat and well-kept schools, churches and cemeteries dotted the countryside. Linking them was an extensive network of roads and bridges that criss-crossed the township, a product of the combined efforts of public and private enterprise. Sideroads located at every second concession line and every fifth lot provided evidence of a local government that worked assiduously to keep roads and bridges in repair, cut down hills and generally ensure that the township's approximately two hundred farmers had continuous access to markets and their principal cultural institutions.¹

The major thoroughfares into which these township roads fed

were less impressive. The Sixth Line Road had been planked in the 1840s but like Dundas Street, which had been macadamized and gravelled for more than twenty years, it was falling into disrepair.² Two other planked toll roads, built by the Etobicoke and Mono Sixth Line Company and the Albion Road Company, incorporated as joint stock companies in 1846, also showed signs of neglect.³ Still further signs of decay were to be found in the abandoned or run-down establishments in many of the villages along these roads.⁴

The explanation for these apparent aberrations could be found in the southern division of the township. There, grazing cattle were disturbed periodically by the high-pitched whistle and noxious fumes emitted by that triumph of nineteenth century technology, the railroad steam engine. For almost fifteen years the Toronto and Guelph Railroad, part of the Grand Trunk system, had linked the township to markets at the city of Toronto. Thus, from one perspective, the decline in the roadways and villages was merely evidence of the price that had to be paid as one economic system was superceded by another.

From the extent of economic activity in the township it would have been difficult to avoid the conclusion that this was a society composed of thrifty, industrious, and hard-working people who were beginning to reap the rewards of their labours. They were also sober and upright in the best mid-Victorian tradition. Gambling houses, and public displays of drunkenness or immodesty were all forbidden by local statutes.⁵ An active temperance group led by some of the township's leading families, the Bells, Blands, Burrells, and Grahams pressured young men to "let off steam" in nearby Brampton rather than

in one of the township's six inns or hotels.⁶ Like most mid-Victorian Canadians, Toronto Gore's residents were committed to the doctrine of progress in which hard work and respectability marched hand in hand to their ultimate reward, material success.⁷

This idyllic portrait of the township is accurate, as far as it goes and it is important to establish these aspects of the township's development. Toronto Gore enjoyed the same kind of conditions that prompted Leo Johnson to describe the years from 1850 to 1871 in nearby Ontario County as "years of great prosperity, change, optimism, and self-satisfaction."⁸ But, what is missing in this description are the aspects of individual and group experience that were the subject of the second chapter of this study. These considerations are all the more important because economic theory and the literature of settlement suggest that in the midst of this prosperity the Gore may have been entering a period of economic crisis.

Most rural communities in nineteenth century Ontario were subject to two forms of economic stress associated with the land market as agricultural society matured and entered the mainstream of economic life in the province. The first was generated internally and was a product of the continuous competition for land as tenant farmers, the members of a new generation, and already well-established individuals scrambled for their share of a limited supply of agricultural land. The result of this competition was a steady upward pressure on land values that made land increasingly difficult to acquire. The second, came as a consequence of the behaviour of the marketplace. Almost from the outset Upper Canadian farmers were tied to an international staples

trade whose demands dictated the crops they grew, the livestock they raised, and the standard of living they enjoyed. The behaviour of the staples economy also was reflected in the land market where short-term fluctuations in the demand for Canadian agricultural products produced corresponding peaks and troughs in the demand for land and, therefore, in land values. When times were good, farmers rushed to acquire new land and prices soared; when they were bad, the farmer held back, or sold off part of his holdings, and land values plummeted. The combination of steadily rising land values over the long term but wild fluctuations in the short term challenged both the farmer's assumption that land was a wise investment and his anticipation that the land he owned would increase in value significantly in the future. These changing conditions amounted to an economic crisis of significant proportions for most Ontario farmers.⁹

The stress placed on farmers by this economic change was exacerbated by the social and demographic ramifications of a commitment to the staples trade. The dream of economic independence that propelled many immigrants across the Atlantic was realized in an environment that informed the attitudes and actions of both the original settlers and their children for generations.¹⁰ Favourable man/land ratios and the wasteful, land extensive, labour intensive agricultural practices associated with the early staples trade led settlers to the inescapable conclusion that land, lots of land, and the unremitting labour of everyone in the family were essential for economic prosperity. Consequently early pioneer families were very large. If, as the Easterlin model discussed in chapter I suggests, farmers felt it

necessary not only to provide for all of their children but also to provide them with a start in life at least equal to their own, then the many farmers after mid-century were subjected to massive stress. On the one hand, the large numbers of children born into pioneer families had to be provided for at a time when rapidly increasing land values suggest that the longer settled portions of the province were becoming over-populated. On the other, the modernization of the economy brought competing demands for the farmer's capital in the form of consumer goods, mechanization and farm improvements. Hence, the farmer was forced to balance his desire for children and, the necessity to provide for them, with his natural yearning to improve his standard of living.

In virtually all of the American and Canadian studies which deal with these concerns, competition for land produced a social and demographic crisis that was exemplified by rising land values and declining agricultural opportunities that frustrated the expectations and aspirations of old and young alike.¹¹ Although these communities exhibited all the outward signs of prosperity and, indeed, enjoyed a measure of prosperity, they were, nevertheless, simultaneously in a state of considerable economic stress.

Toronto Gore was not only subject to these same conditions, but also had its own particular difficulties that were associated with the settlement process discussed in chapter II. At mid-century the average size of farm in the township was among the smallest in the province. The sudden rush of settlement in the 1830s and early 1840s had put pressure on a very limited supply of land. In the face of rising land

values and the continuous competition for what little land was available in the township, farmers added to their acreages when they could, but more often turned to the expedient of bringing more and more of the land they occupied into production. The inevitable result was a limited capacity to provide places for children through the subdivision of existing acreages.

As chapter II demonstrated, however, these conditions did not apply equally to all of the township's residents. The inequalities evident in the Gore by mid-century meant that the capacity to enjoy the fruits of economic progress and to provide a start in life for children varied among groups and individuals. The effects of this inequality might have been diminished somewhat by a transition from extensive to intensive agricultural practices accompanied by specialization in high yield products. But, as several studies in the United States have demonstrated these inequalities would not have disappeared. In the competition to acquire land, early settlers who persisted in the community had a distinct advantage. The larger acreages they acquired when land values were low provided them with a buffer against hard times and allowed them to move quickly to take advantage of opportunities in the land market.¹²

Balancing these difficulties was the Gore's potential for rapid economic growth after mid-century. Its proximity to the city of Toronto, which offered an expanding domestic market as well as an outlet for international trade, meant that the Gore enjoyed advantages similar to those found by Michael Conzen in his study of Blooming Grove, Wisconsin. There, improved transportation facilities and the proximity of a major

metropolitan centre, Madison, hastened the transition to mixed agriculture.¹³ Yet, although these improved agricultural practices offered farmers a more dependable income, those incomes were not necessarily higher. The new agriculture, particularly stock raising was capital intensive and may have absorbed badly needed capital in a time of rapidly escalating land values.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the rural economy between 1852 and 1891 focusing particularly upon patterns of change in agricultural and economic opportunity. That examination must take place within the context of the development of the provincial economy since Toronto Gore had been a participant in an international market economy since well before mid-century. As a consequence, it was subject not only to local influences but also to developments on a provincial and international scale.

II

Traditionally, agricultural historians have portrayed the second half of the nineteenth century in Ontario as a period of agricultural transition.¹⁴ By the 1860s the dominance of the wheat culture was being challenged and Ontario's farmers were beginning to move towards a mixed commercial agriculture or into livestock production. The principal factors influencing the pace of change were shifting markets, mechanization spurred on by a shortage of labour, new transportation systems, and the availability of livestock, new varieties of seed and credit.¹⁵

Changing markets, and the need for a consistent source of cash

income that would finance the mechanization of agriculture, in particular, worked together to break the stranglehold that the wheat culture had upon the mentality of Canada West's farmers. Their faith that their future success lay with the cultivation of wheat had been formed in the years prior to 1849 when imperial preferences gave Canadian grains a competitive edge in British markets over products from continental Europe and the United States. Even when the British parliament repealed those preferences in several stages between 1846 and 1849, the Canadian farmer's commitment to wheat remained unshaken. Any disruption in trade with the United Kingdom was more than compensated for by a demand for Canadian foodstuffs in the United States. There, rising prices and the demands of a growing industrial population made Canadian products competitive despite an American tariff.¹⁶ When the tariff was removed by the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 Canadian farmers found themselves with a strong market not only for wheat but also for coarse grains and livestock. It was also a market that could be serviced easily by American railroads that used their Canadian counterparts as feeder lines.¹⁷ Although some farmers moved to take advantage of this new market, for most the stimulus to diversify their operations was more than offset by the demands for Canadian wheat in Britain following the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1854. It was only at the end of the decade when the wheat market collapsed in the depression of 1857 and yields were cut drastically by the ravages of the wheat midge that farmers began to look seriously for another cash crop to replace wheat. They found it in barley.

Although most farmers continued to plant wheat, barley

increasingly became important as a cash crop after 1860. Unlike wheat prices that fluctuated wildly according to harvests in the United States and Great Britain, barley prices were considerably more stable (Table 3-1). Moreover, Ontario barley had a clear advantage over American varieties and consequently had a steady market in the United States, particularly in the northeast, where it was prized by the brewing industry for its superior malting qualities.¹⁸ Until 1890 when the McKinley tariff resulted in a decline in production, Ontario farmers turned enthusiastically to the cultivation of barley for the American market.

Despite the relatively more stable marketing conditions for barley, there were still sufficient fluctuations in prices offered on a year to year basis to make long term planning virtually impossible (Figure 3-1). It was especially difficult since farmers in the nineteenth century determined the acreage they devoted to a particular cash crop on the basis of the previous year's price level. The farmer who failed to keep a close eye on the market and plan accordingly was flirting with disaster.¹⁹

By the mid-1860s the kind of gambling that participation in the staples trade in grains implied was becoming increasingly unacceptable to many farmers. The flush times of the middle fifties had produced a frenzy of speculative activity in which farmers expressed their continuing faith that "bigger was better" by adding to their holdings, building new houses and barns, and speculating in land in nearby villages.²⁰ When the collapse came in 1857 those who were not ruined outright found themselves heavily in debt. Many responded by diversi-

TABLE 3-1

AVERAGE PRICES OFFERED FOR WHEAT AND BARLEY
AT TORONTO BY DECADE, 1851-1889
(cents per bushel)

	1850-59	1860-69	1870-79	1880-89
A. <u>Wheat</u>:				
Average price	121.0	120.2	116.3	102.3
Standard deviation	37.2	29.8	11.9	16.4
B. <u>Barley</u>:				
Average price	74.7	70.2	78.8	72.8
Standard deviation	22.1	11.8	13.5	9.1

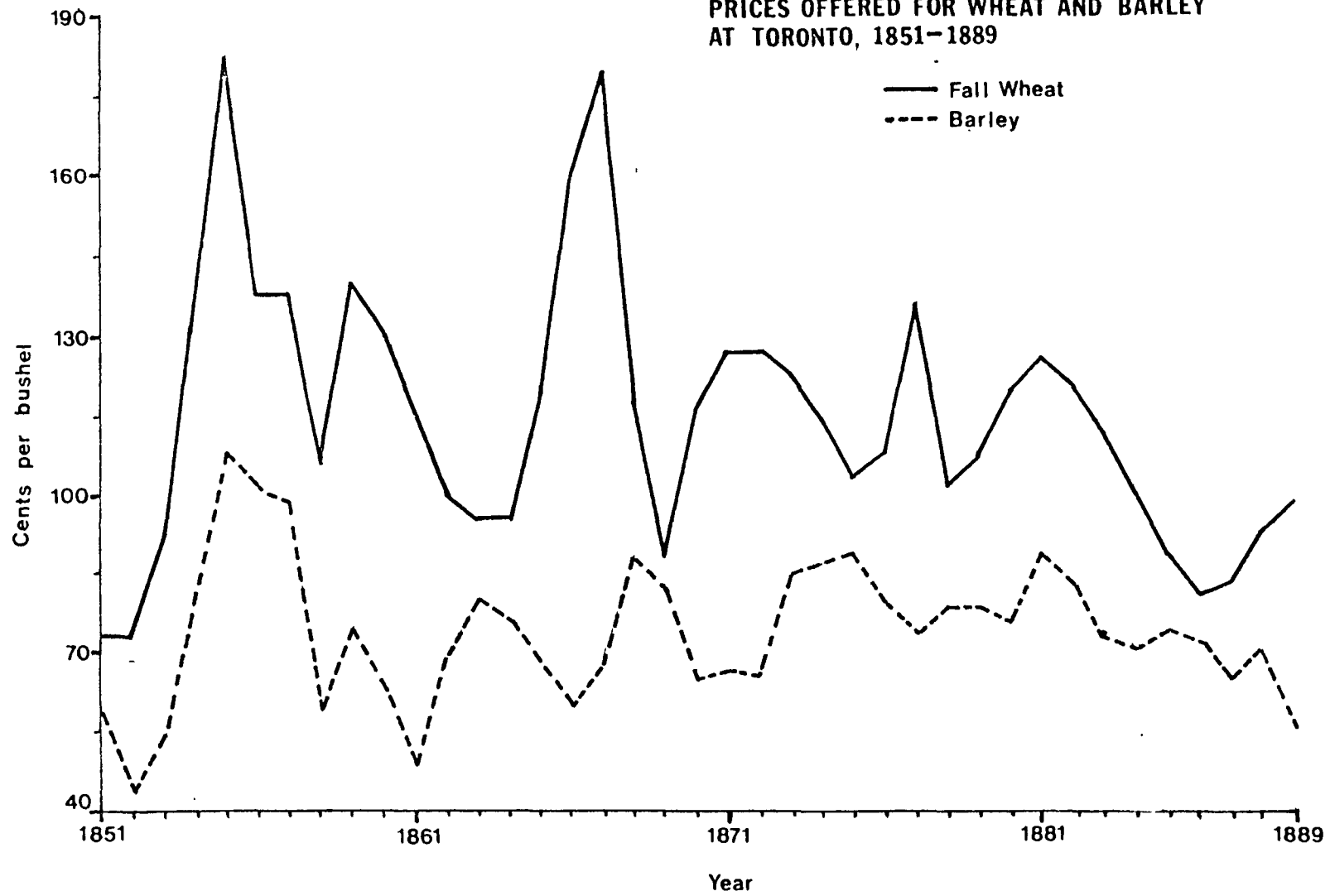
SOURCE: K. W. Taylor and H. Michell, Statistical Contributions to Canadian Economic History (Toronto: Macmillan, 1931), pp. 59, 60, 64, 65. Calculations are mine.

fying their activities to take advantage of existing markets. Livestock and dairying offered the farmer a more consistent source of cash income that could be used to discharge debts, pay for farm improvements and mechanization, and provide some of the material comforts that a maturing provincial economy could supply.

Some were prompted to move into livestock production to take advantage of the American market which, despite the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1865, continued to provide an important outlet for Canadian goods during the reconstruction period following the American Civil War. What the American market did not absorb could be sold in expanding domestic markets.²¹ Others were pushed into dairying and stock raising by exhausted soil conditions.²² Switching to scientific,

FIGURE 3 - 1

PRICES OFFERED FOR WHEAT AND BARLEY
AT TORONTO, 1851-1889



or intensive, agricultural practices offered no solution to their problems. The cost of producing grain using improved methods was so high that they could not compete on an open market with the backwoodsman who, blessed with virgin soil, could flood the market with cheap, unscientifically cultivated wheat.²³ Whatever the motivation, a few made the transition to specialization in livestock, but most farmers before 1880 embraced livestock production as part of a diversified farm economy. Coarse grains were cultivated and fed to animals that were later marketed. In this way the farmer received more for his grains than if he had marketed them directly and was provided, as well, with a buffer against the effects of fluctuations in the grain market.²⁴

Part of the price that had to be paid for this more predictable source of capital was the expenditure of more time and effort for a smaller return. The Ontario farmer, as one author has suggested, might receive twice as much for a single wagon load of wheat in a good year as he realized for a steer that it took three years to raise and finish.²⁵ His profits were reduced even further, moreover, by the capital investments that were required for the purchase of livestock, construction of barns and stables, and improvements in the breed.

These changes in Ontario's agricultural economy took place against a background of constantly shifting world economic conditions. Relying as they did upon international markets in which the competition became increasingly brutal as the century progressed, Ontario's farmers found themselves at the mercy of events over which they had no control. Good harvests in the United Kingdom, bank failures, tariff increases, and industrial depression all conspired against the Canadian farmer during

the latter decades of the nineteenth century.

Agricultural historians have agreed generally that the first six years after Confederation were relatively prosperous.²⁶ The period between 1873 and 1896, however, has been portrayed as both a period of economic stagnation and one in which Ontario agriculture, through a fundamental restructuring, managed to retain some of its strength.

The traditional explanation suggests that in the fall of 1873 Canada entered an economic slump that lasted for a decade. By the mid-1880s the economy had gone from bad to worse and the slump had been replaced by a full-scale depression that lasted until the middle of the next decade.²⁷ These "Days of Trial" as they were referred to by O. D. Skelton, tested the mettle of Ontario's farmers. Faced with a domestic market too small to absorb their production, they could either resign themselves to "hardship and hopelessness" or seek some relief in the development of specialized agriculture such as cattle raising and dairying both of which found new markets in Britain in the 1880s.²⁸

This impression of a stagnating rural economy has been challenged by those who argue that earlier estimates of the malaise in the agricultural economy were overdrawn. Edward Chambers, for example, has argued that the economic declines of the last quarter of the nineteenth century were less severe in Canada than the United States. Rather than a protracted decline beginning in 1873 that was relieved only temporarily by upturns, Chambers postulates an agricultural economy that went through five distinct cycles between 1873 and 1890: 1874-1876; 1876-1879; 1879-1882; 1882-1887; 1887-1890.²⁹ Trade volumes during these cycles illustrate that the effects of the period of "hard times"

were not as disastrous as Skelton believed. Throughout the 1870s, with the exception of two twelve month periods, exports of both grain and livestock reached "historically high levels in both value and volume."³⁰ In the mid-1880s the agricultural sector was strong enough to exert a contracyclical effect on the Canadian economy by moderating the effects of depression and domestic declines in income.³¹ The key to this strength was a fundamental restructuring of the agricultural economy in which grain production was gradually superceded by the cattle and dairy industries.

III

The pressures that produced agricultural change across the province in the second half of the nineteenth century were felt at least as strongly in Toronto Gore township. Because of its geographical position, the township had become integrated quickly into the provincial economy after the initial isolation of the settlement phase was broken. When the Toronto and Guelph railroad began to lay tracks through the township in 1853, local farmers were provided with better access to Toronto which, in addition to offering marketing facilities for international trade, became an important domestic market for the township's produce. The rail line also facilitated transportation of goods to Brampton which became an important marketing centre for some of the township's products as it rose to the status of a regional centre during the post-Confederation era.³² In responding to the new opportunities offered by improved transportation facilities and a growing domestic market the Gore's farmers exhibited a curious blend of sagacity

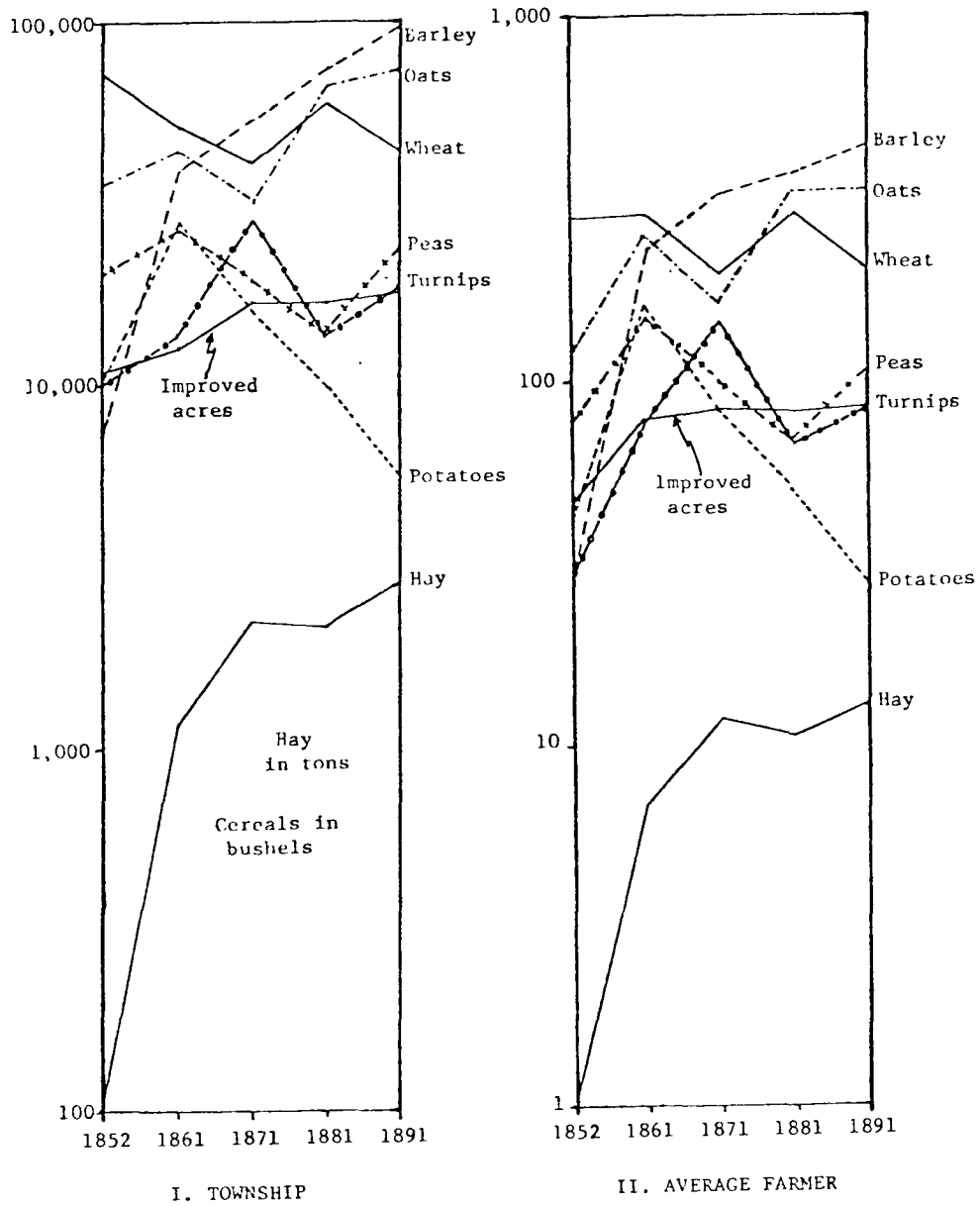
and stubbornness. On the one hand, in the 1850s they moved quickly into barley production and stock raising to take advantage of newly opened markets. On the other, they clung tenaciously to the cultivation of wheat even in the face of rapidly disappearing markets at the end of the period.

The major changes in crop production in the township between mid-century and 1890 are depicted in figure 3-2. Semi-logarithmic scales have been employed to emphasize rates of change in production. The angles of slope of the lines on the graph, therefore, are more important than the absolute values. To correct for any bias introduced by a changing number of farms in the township, figure 3-2-II depicts the activities of the "average" farmer at each decennial cut-in point.

In broad general terms, figure 3-2 depicts an acceleration in the agricultural activities of the township's farmers between 1850 and 1860. The rate of increase in the production of barley, and coarse grains, root crops and grasses that were used as animal feed (oats, peas, turnips and hay) all reached historically high levels during this decade. Wheat showed the only losses, but much of this decline came as a consequence of a poor harvest in 1860 and a reduction in the number of occupiers. The township's "average" farmer continued to produce wheat at approximately the same level he had a decade earlier.

After 1861 rates of growth in production for all crops declined but there is no evidence in these graphs to support a thesis that the agricultural economy in this township stagnated after 1873. Barley, oats, peas, turnips and hay production all made gains, in absolute terms, between 1850 and 1890. Only barley showed continuous progress,

FIGURE 3-2
CROP CHANGES, 1852-1891



however, reflecting the strength of the American market. The slump in that market occasioned by the McKinley Tariff of 1890 was not reflected in 1891 census data because it compiled production for the previous year. Any dislocation caused by the McKinley Tariff would not have shown up until later. Hay production also showed impressive gains, marred only by a slight decline in 1880. Potatoes was the only crop which experienced long term declines after 1860. The explanation for this phenomenon lies in a decline in yields per acre of more than seventy percent between 1860 and 1890 and the farmer's reluctance to devote more valuable acreage to a crop that was reserved mainly for domestic consumption.³³ Even the contracyclical patterns of growth for oats, peas, and turnips suggest, once again, that there was no long term stagnation. Both the 1880 and 1890 production data correspond to troughs in Edward Chambers' business cycles.³⁴ Yet, clearly gains were made in the production of these crops over the decade. If these graphs support any economic interpretation of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it is Chambers' assertion that rather than stagnation there was a slower pace of growth.

It is also true, however, that these same contracyclical patterns and growth rates could have been produced by factors unrelated to . broader economic concerns. There is evidence, for example, that although Toronto Gore's farmers had experimented with artificial fertilizers such as salt, superphosphate, lime and plaster, they had found them unsatisfactory.³⁵ As a consequence, in the 1880s they were still employing traditional methods of crop rotation. This spurious factor, which may be reflected in the graphs, could explain the

cyclical pattern for such crops as peas. So too, could a fundamental change in pattern of livestock production that demanded different kinds of feed.

One thing that is clear from these graphs is the farmer's continued reliance upon wheat and barley as key ingredients in the township's economy. Depositions presented to the Ontario Agricultural Commission in 1880 underscored the importance of these two crops.³⁶ Wheat continued to be marketed through the mills on the Humber River using the route pioneered by the township's original settlers. Barley was sent directly to Toronto.³⁷ Yet, despite the continued importance they placed upon cash crops, the Gore's farmers had been wise enough to devote some of their efforts to taking advantage of the opportunities to market dairy and livestock products.

Changes in livestock production are more difficult to document because of the practice of publishing data for livestock production only at the county level in 1871 and 1881. Thus the construction of graphs is virtually impossible. From the scattered data available, however, it appears that the Gore's farmers expanded their dairying and cattle raising activities at about the same time they were moving into barley production. In the post-Confederation era they maintained their dairying activities, cut back on cattle production, and began to devote more time to the raising of swine (Table 3-2).

Testimony submitted to the Ontario Agricultural Commission in 1880 suggests that the trends indicated in table 3-2 continued throughout the period for which there is no quantitative data available. In

TABLE 3-2

SELECT DATA ON LIVESTOCK PRODUCTION
1851, 1861, 1891

	1851	1861	1891
Total number of:			
A. Cattle of all kinds	1,379	1,477	1,397
% change	--	+7.1	-5.4
B. Milch Cows	753	831	827
% change	--	+10.4	-0.5
C. Sheep	2,994	2,619	842
% change	--	-12.5	-67.9
D. Swine	1,973	1,696	2,392
% change	--	-14.0	+41.0

SOURCE: Census of the Canadas, 1851-52, II (2 vols., Quebec, 1853), Table VI; Census of the Canadas, 1860-61, II (2 vols., Quebec, 1864), Table 11; Census of Canada, 1890-91, III (4 vols., Ottawa, 1893), Table II.

1880 both raw and processed dairy products were being supplied for the continuously expanding Toronto market. Part of this produce came from a cheese factory that had been built at Wood Hill on the Toronto Gore/Chinguacousy border. Pork was also in demand in Toronto and to take advantage of this market improved Berkshire and Suffolk hogs had been introduced in the township.³⁸

Although a few farmers continued to maintain herds of fifteen or more cattle, often of the Shorthorn or Durham variety preferred by Ontario farmers, the number of farmers who marketed cattle on any scale declined steadily from 1860 to 1890.³⁹ In 1890 Toronto Gore

occupiers sent an average of 1.7 cattle, 2.5 sheep and 17.2 swine to market. They also produced an average of more than three hundred pounds of butter.⁴⁰

Like the data for field crops, the scattered data for livestock and animal products provide no evidence of stagnation although, as will be argued later, in the face of falling prices the area's farmers may have been forced to increase production merely to maintain past income levels. There is evidence of the growth of a diversified commercial agriculture in which barley and wheat played a major role as cash crops. Beyond this, there is no evidence of specialization either among individuals or groups. Regardless of social or economic status, or ethnic background virtually all farmers in this township grew the same crops, and raised the same animals. The only differences to be found were those of scale.⁴¹ As a consequence, the problems facing these farmers differed in degree rather than kind.

All farmers in this society obviously were interested in improving the productivity and profitability of their farms. Purchasing new land, bringing more land into production, acquiring improved breeds of livestock, improving existing establishments and mechanization were all ways of achieving these goals. Most of these improvements, as well, implied a shift to intensive agriculture and required the expenditure of significant sums of capital.

Another indicator of the strength of the township's economy, therefore, was the ability of the township's farmers to make all, or some, of these improvements without going heavily into debt. A recent study of mortgaging in Toronto Gore township showed that at no time

during the second half of the nineteenth century were as many as one-quarter of the township's proprietors forced to put up their land as security for loans either to stave off hard times or to finance improvements.⁴²

Improvements in farm land were part of a continuous process of consolidation that had begun with a vengeance in the mid-1830s when the Gore's farmers had begun to improve their land more quickly than their neighbours. Unlike other, larger townships, where significant additions could be made to existing holdings, the opportunities to acquire additional land within the township's boundaries were more limited. Therefore, Toronto Gore's farmers appear to have expressed their faith that land, material success, social status and progress were linked by investing their labour and capital in bringing more and more of the land they owned into production. Adding to this incentive to improve acreages, of course, were the continued activities of absentee land-owners who rented their lands to the township's substantial number of tenant farmers. Even by 1891 two in five (37.8%) of the Gore's occupiers were tenants on someone else's land.⁴³ To maximize returns on rented land it was necessary to improve as much property as possible as quickly as possible. Much of this improvement, however, took place before 1870 and therefore put little strain on the resources of proprietors in the slower times of the mid-1870s and 1880s. By 1871 there were less than three thousand acres of unimproved land left in the township. In the twenty years that followed, approximately half this land was brought into production but the remainder had to be kept as woodlots to supply fuel and raw material for fence repairs.

Fortunately, the excellent drainage system provided by the numerous creeks that ran through the township meant that there was no swampy or wet land in the township and farmers were spared the expense of undertiling their farms.⁴⁴ But, their dairying and stock raising activities required the construction of outbuildings and fences. By 1871 more than two-thirds of the farmers had built two or more barns.⁴⁵ In 1880 three-quarters of these buildings were classified as "first class."⁴⁶ Fences had been constructed on virtually all of the farms as well as along the boundaries of the major sideroads.

The first move towards mechanization had taken place in the township well before mid-century. Reaping machines had been introduced to replace cradling and in the late 1840s threshing machines were travelling from farm to farm.⁴⁷ By mid-century threshing machines were being manufactured locally by Haggert Brothers in Brampton. Fanning mills and drilling machines of local manufacture were also available.⁴⁸

By 1871 almost ninety percent of the Gore's farmers had mechanized their activities to some extent and more than half had several implements of the same type (Table 3-3). Ratios of farm implements to occupiers show that the township had made more progress toward mechanization than the province as a whole and compared very well to other townships in the Mississauga purchase. A decade later all farmers in the township were employing labour saving devices.⁴⁹

These improvements in land and mechanization generally did not require the expenditure of large sums of capital. With the exception of a few expensive items like the threshing machine, a farmer could equip his farm for a few hundred dollars.⁵⁰ Once the

TABLE 3-3

FARM MECHANIZATION TO 1871

	Light Carriages	Vehicles for trans- portation	Ploughs & Culti- vators	Reapers & Mowers	Horse rakes	Thresh- ing machines	Fanning mills
Toronto Gore occupiers with:							
0	47	24	21	60	84	179	39
1	57	11	47	85	108	16	128
2	67	71	45	49	3	0	26
3+	24	89	82	1	0	0	2
Percent with one or more (N= 195)	75.9	87.7	89.2	69.2	56.9	8.2	80.0
Comparative ratios of implements per occupier:							
Toronto Gore	1.39	2.41	2.30	.95	.59	.08	.95
Peel County	1.56	2.38	2.16	.61	.66	.10	.91
Ontario	1.20	1.74	1.68	.21	.27	.08	.70

SOURCE: Census of Canada, 1870-71, III (5 vols., Ottawa, 1873), Table XXII; MS. Census of Canada, 1870-71, Agricultural Census, PAC, Ottawa (microfilm).

farm had been mechanized more land could be worked more efficiently with fewer people. This was an especially important consideration in the latter part of the century as labour became more scarce. But, the general decline in prices that came in the 1880s meant that any increases in productivity were absorbed in trying to maintain earlier profit levels.⁵¹ At the same time demands on the farmer's capital were multiplying. Although many of the Gore's farmers had made their improvements early, the upkeep on those improvements became more costly as time went on. Then too, there were numerous other obligations, such as providing a start in life for maturing children, that had to be met.

In some ways the Gore's farmers may have been better able to meet these obligations than farmers elsewhere in the province. In a number of ways the economic development of the township had exceeded provincial norms. Table 3-4 summarizes some of the key indicators of agricultural development in Ontario as compiled by the published census returns. These data have to be read with some caution, however. They are most useful for cross-sectional analysis rather than the analysis of trends. Any attempt at longitudinal analysis, particularly for farm size, produces misleading results. From 1851 to 1860, for example, the average size of farm in the township apparently increased from 69.6 to 106 acres (+52.3%). In fact, the average increase in size of farm was much more modest. The difficulty arises from the way in which census enumerators interpreted their instructions. Those instructions, for the agricultural census at least, appear to have been identical in both 1852 and 1861.⁵² In practice, however, enumerators in 1861 listed very few occupiers of farms of less than ten acres, even though a

considerable number of such "farms" can be documented from other records. In 1871 all occupiers were enumerated, but before the tables were prepared for publication occupiers of less than five acres were deleted. Despite this difficulty, it is possible to make some meaningful comparisons at each cut-in point because the same standards were applied reasonably uniformly for all data in that year.

When reading table 3-4 it is difficult to escape the impression that, all other things being equal, Toronto Gore's agricultural population must have enjoyed a level of prosperity unattained by most of the province. At almost every decennial cut-in point the Gore's farms were larger, and had a greater percentage of land improved and under crops than farms in either the surrounding area or the province as a whole. The percentages of land cropped in wheat and barley, as well as the ratio of livestock to occupiers suggest that the shift to mixed commercial farming began earlier in the Gore, perhaps reflecting the influence of Toronto. Although ratios for some types of livestock had fallen below provincial averages by 1891, there is clear evidence that the township maintained a lead in dairying. In 1891, for example, the average farmer in the township reported more than one and a half times to province's average butter production.

These data on agricultural growth and production point to a township that was caught in the throes of economic change throughout much of the second half of the nineteenth century. Despite their continuous commitment to the production of wheat and barley, there was sufficient fluctuation in the other activities of the Gore's farmers, as well as in the prices of wheat and barley, to make any kind

TABLE 3-4

SELECT SUMMARY AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS 1851-1890

	1851	1860	1870	1880	1890
A. Average size of farm (acres):					
Toronto Gore	69.6	106.0	94.6	94.6	88.4
Peel County	96.2	105.3	99.3	90.3	65.8
Canada West/Ontario	98.4	101.2	93.8	93.1	73.8
B. Percent of land improved:					
Toronto Gore	65.8	74.5	89.3	87.4	93.4
Peel County	50.7	64.8	72.7	82.8	90.4
Canada West/Ontario	37.7	45.3	54.7	58.6	67.1
C. Percent of land cropped:					
Toronto Gore	43.2	60.4	73.1	74.4	81.2
Peel County	29.9	49.0	59.6	67.6	73.6
Canada West/Ontario	23.2	30.7	40.5	43.5	49.1
D. Percent of cropped land in wheat:					
Toronto Gore	45.5	31.2	16.5	27.7	17.5
Peel County	48.9	41.7	21.9	28.5	12.2
Canada West/Ontario	34.9	33.7	20.9	23.3	10.8
E. Percent of cropped land in barley:					
Toronto Gore	3.5	12.2	--	--	26.3
Peel County	2.9	6.3	--	--	14.6
Canada West/Ontario	0.8	2.9	--	--	6.6
F. Livestock per occupier:					
Milch Cows					
Toronto Gore	3.0	4.8	--	--	3.8
Peel County	3.1	3.9	4.2	3.5	3.0
Canada West/Ontario	3.0	3.4	3.7	3.8	3.1
All Cattle					
Toronto Gore	7.0	9.0	--	6.3*	6.9
Peel County	5.5	7.6	8.8	7.5	6.0
Canada West/Ontario	5.5	6.9	7.9	8.1	7.0
Horses					
Toronto Gore	2.7	4.7	--	3.6*	4.3
Peel County	2.5	3.6	3.6	3.7	3.5
Canada West/Ontario	2.0	2.9	2.8	2.9	2.7
Sheep					
Toronto Gore	12.0	15.1	--	6.8*	3.4
Peel County	11.2	11.3	12.3	6.9	2.6
Canada West/Ontario	9.7	9.0	8.8	6.6	3.6
Swine					
Toronto Gore	7.9	9.8	--	2.9*	3.6
Peel County	7.7	7.9	9.8	6.0	6.0
Canada West/Ontario	5.7	5.9	5.1	3.4	3.9
G. Butter production (lbs. per occupier)					
Toronto Gore	237.5	444.2	--	--	334.0
Peel County	189.5	295.4	254.3	318.5	258.2
Canada West/Ontario	159.9	203.3	218.4	265.1	194.5

SOURCE: Census of the Canadas, 1851-52, II (2 vols., Quebec, 1853), Table VI; Census of the Canadas, 1860-61, II (2 vols., Quebec, 1864), Table XI; Census of Canada, 1870-71, III (5 vols., Ottawa, 1873), Tables XI, XIII, XXI, XXII, XXIV; Census of Canada, 1880-81, III (4 vols., Ottawa, 1883), Tables XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV; Census of Canada, 1890-91, III-IV (4 vols., Ottawa, 1893), Tables I, II, XVI, VI, T. Calculations are mine. *Estimated from 1881 assessment roll, GS. 3519, PAO, Toronto (microfilm).

of long range planning difficult at best. Nevertheless, there is evidence that the township's farmers enjoyed a relatively enviable position. In an era punctuated by periodic depressions and generally "hard times" they were able to move with dispatch to adjust their activities to changing market conditions while at the same time mechanizing and generally improving their farms. Most important, they were able to achieve those goals without a significant number of them being forced to use their property as surety for debts.

IV

There is one important area of economic activity which remains unexplored. A key indicator of the township's prosperity and the relative success of individuals is their relationship to the land. In the absence of precise production figures at the household level, moreover, the relationship of individuals and groups to the land and the rate at which they were able to acquire it provides a useful surrogate for measuring both agricultural prospects and levels of economic success.

At mid-century Toronto Gore's farms were more than forty percent smaller than the provincial average (69.6-98.4 acres). Part of the reason for these small farms was found in the large number of men who occupied less than ten acres of land. For these men, whatever income they received from agriculture was supplemented by returns from another vocation. For the rest, much of the prosperity they enjoyed came as a result of the impressive rate at which they brought land into production. One of the principal benefits of that prosperity was the opportunity to acquire additional land. Chapter II identified two

persistent traits in the early development of the township: the tendency of some landowners to add to their holdings as quickly as possible and the necessity for some to begin their tenure in the township as tenant farmers. For both groups, but for very different reasons, there was ample motivation to translate whatever prosperity they enjoyed into activity in the land market. Among tenants, as well, prosperity may have been associated with the leasing of larger holdings in order to accumulate the capital necessary to purchase land more quickly.

The data from the published census returns for the second half of the century illustrate that this movement toward larger holdings did take place. Indeed, table 3-5 suggests that signs of improvement were ubiquitous. Between 1850 and 1890 there was a phenomenal increase in the number of farms of more than one hundred acres. In absolute terms the number of occupiers of farms in this class increased by more than ninety percent (92.8%). Further evidence of prosperity and land hunger is found in the parallel decline in the number of occupiers of small farms (11-50 acres) which, as well as declining proportionally, decreased in absolute terms by 74.6%. In part, this growth was facilitated by a decline in the number of occupiers (-7.6%) that freed land and made "room" for larger farms.⁵³ The major increases in average farm size came, as might be expected in the 1850s (16.9%), during a boom period, and again in the 1870s (5.6%) when land values recovered after a long decline during the 1860s.

This impression of a community where most occupiers seem to have improved their situation must be tempered by the recognition that

TABLE 3-5

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPIERS, LANDOWNERS,
AND TENANTS BY SIZE OF FARM, 1851-1890

	1851	1860	1870	1880	1890
A. Occupiers^a					
11-50 acres	27.7	17.9	17.0	16.6	7.1
51-100	57.1	54.9	52.1	49.1	61.2
101-200	14.7	24.3	29.2	32.5	28.8
200+	0.5	2.9	1.8	1.8	2.9
(N)	184	173	171	163	170
Average size of farm	90.7	106.0	106.5	112.5	110.1
Percent change	--	+16.9	+0.5	+5.6	-2.1
B. Owner-occupiers					
11-50 acres	18.9	21.5	33.0	20.5	13.8
51-100	53.2	45.8	32.1	44.3	47.7
101-200	22.5	25.2	30.4	28.7	33.1
200+	5.4	7.5	4.5	6.6	5.4
(N)	111	107	112	122	130
Average size of farm	110.2	114.1	110.7	110.1	107.9
Percent change	--	+3.5	-3.0	-0.5	-2.0
C. Tenants					
11-50 acres	41.1 ^b	11.6	5.1	22.0 ^c	15.0 ^c
51-100	56.2	66.7	67.8	58.5	65.0
101-200	2.7	21.7	27.1	19.5	20.0
200+	--	--	--	--	--
(N)	73	69	59	41	40
Average size of farm	64.2	86.6	93.6	98.7	87.8
Percent change	--	+34.9	+8.1	+5.5	-11.0

SOURCE: Census of Canada, 1851, 1861, 1871, 1881, 1891; Abstract of Deeds, Toronto Gore Township, GS. 3523-4, PAO, Toronto (microfilm).

^aIncludes only those occupiers of farms of more than ten acres.

^bEstimated. ^cEstimated from assessment rolls.

these published data subsume the activities of both owner-occupiers and tenant farmers. They are further complicated by the fact that many owner-occupiers also rented acreages from their neighbours or from absentee landowners. As a consequence, when these data are broken down, a rather different pattern emerges which conforms more closely to the ebb and flow of the provincial economy during the latter half of the century. In short, the landholding patterns of both tenants and owner-occupiers reveal that the inequalities identified in chapter II not only continued past mid-century but were exacerbated.

Among the owner-occupiers the faith born in an earlier day of favourable man/land ratios that bigger was better was reflected in a steady increase, in both absolute and proportional terms, of larger sized holdings (more than 100 acres). Between 1850 and 1890 the number of landowners in the township increased by 17.1% but the number of farms of more than one hundred acres grew during the same period by more than sixty percent (61.3%). There was no parallel decline in the number or proportion of small farms, however. Instead, there was actually an increase in the number of owners of smaller farms (11-50 acres) between 1850 and 1870. The reduction in numbers came ten years later. Among medium sized farms (51-100 acres) there was a contracyclical pattern that peaked and troughed at exactly the same points.

There is no easy explanation for this phenomenon. As Allan Bogue observed in his study of rural Iowa and Illinois, the farmer's activities in the land market exhibited an "endless variety of behaviour" founded on a wide range of concerns. Land was bought and sold to acquire capital to stave off hard times, for speculative reasons, to provide

places for family members, and to acquire better and more advantageously located acreages that would improve the family's standard of living.⁵⁴ The most likely explanation for the pattern that emerged in Toronto Gore is found in social and demographic rather than economic factors. In the two decades after mid-century a maturing second generation began to take its place among the township's householders. If some of the Gore's patriarchs responded by subdividing their land among their children while retaining small acreages to provide themselves with old age security and a measure of independence, then the kind of pattern exhibited in table 3-5 would have occurred. The fact that the behaviour of the tenant farmers, for whom the subdivision of acreages was not a concern, was more in line with economic development underlines this point. Between 1850 and 1870, when times were relatively good, a decline in the proportion of small farms (35.0%) was paralleled by an increase in the proportion of larger farms (24.4%). Ten years later, following depression and a general slowdown in the economy, the trend was reversed.

Table 3-5 also suggests that the social structure that had appeared in the early years of settlement became more rigid as time passed. A more precise way of demonstrating this growing inequality is provided by the Gini index, or ratio of concentration.⁵⁵ The Gini index is a measure of distributive inequality associated with the Lorenz curve, a familiar device to economists. In a situation of perfect equality, ten percent of the population would own ten percent of the land, fifty percent would own half the land, and so forth. On a graph this perfect equality would appear as a straight line with a

slope of forty-five degrees. In an unequal distribution a curved line (Lorenz curve) would represent deviations from equality for different segments of the population. The Gini ratio is a statistic that measures the area between the Lorenz curve and the line of "perfect equality" and expresses it as a ratio of the total area under the line of equality. Thus, a Gini index of "0" would indicate a perfect equality, and an index of "1" a perfect inequality.

The Gini ratio for landowners are presented in table 3-6. The ratios for all landowners illustrate that despite the cyclical patterns of behaviour among owners of smaller farms, inequalities increased steadily from mid-century until the 1880s. The general impression is of a society that was "sorting itself out" over time. Although there may have been a "broad agrarian middle class" in the countryside, it was not without its gradations. At the same time, however, this was not a society dichotomized into groups of "haves" and "have-nots." Despite an increase of more than twenty percent (22.3%) in the first three decades after mid-century, the index remained below .5.

Longevity, as might be expected, was an important factor in determining a family's relative success. Although there was obviously some differentiation among members of the permanent population, they were not quite as "unequal" as the population at large. Within the township's major ethnic groups (the English, Irish and native born) two patterns emerged. Over time inequalities became greater for the foreign born and less obvious among the native born. Here, it seems, is further evidence that patriarchs may have been subdividing their

TABLE 3-6

DISTRIBUTIVE INEQUALITY AMONG LANDOWNERS
BY LONGEVITY AND ETHNICITY, 1851-1891

Gini Index	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
A. <u>All landowners:</u>	.359	.413	.425	.439	.434
English	.332	.340	.423		
(N)	(49)	(42)	(39)		
Irish	.256	.377	.453		
(N)	(54)	(49)	(46)		
Scots	.356	.381	.328		
(N)	(8)	(6)	(6)		
Native born	.575	.372	.325		
B. <u>Permanent family</u> <u>landowners:</u>	.334	.387	.371	.385	.355
English	.395	.349	.341	.355	.374
(N)	(42)	(36)	(31)	(31)	(16)
Irish	.263	.352	.331	.417	.327
(N)	(48)	(47)	(38)	(19)	(10)
Scots	.413	.406	.329	.186	.547
(N)	(7)	(6)	(6)	(5)	(3)
Native born	.529	.345	.364	.373	.362
(N)	(9)	(11)	(33)	(47)	(58)

SOURCE: MS. Census of Canada, 1861, 1861, 1871; Abstract of Deeds, Toronto Gore Township, GS. 3523-4, PA0, Toronto (microfilm).

lands and retiring to smaller acreages. Among the permanent families, the same pattern was repeated. In short, although inequality in the general population increased over time, all ethnic groups were affected, more or less, equally.⁵⁷

Although the Gini ratios are useful in describing patterns of inequality within groups, they do not provide an indication of the nature of the inequality. If the social structure of this community was defined during the settlement phase by ethnic identity, longevity,

and status on the land, it is important to understand the continuing relationships among these variables and the way in which they contributed to inequality after mid-century. Table 3-7 provides summary statistics for both landowners and tenants derived from the 1861 and 1871 agricultural census returns. The percentage distributions, results of contingency analysis, analysis of variance, and t-tests, all suggest that fundamental changes had taken place in the township after mid-century. No longer was there the same kind of relationship between ethnicity and landownership. The Irish, who had been more likely to be found among the tenant population during the initial years of settlement were now more likely to be landowners. As in the early years, newcomers could expect to begin their tenure as tenants. Hence, landownership continued to be identified with the permanent families. Over time the average size of farm, particularly for the landowning population underwent significant changes. By 1871, a number of first generation settlers appear to have either sold off or subdivided their acreages. Consequently, where in earlier years larger farms had been associated with membership in permanent families, by 1871 the situation was reversed. The cause of this reversal was the arrival of eight apparently well-off agriculturalists who purchased farms in the 1860s (t-ratio for permanent families and newcomers is significant at .01 in both 1861 and 1871 for a two-tailed test). But, even if the ownership of land, if not the size of holding, continued to be identified with permanence, most young men in this society, regardless of their origins, could expect to spend a period of time as a tenant farmer. Across both decades there was a statistically significant relationship

TABLE 3-7

SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR OWNERS AND TENANTS FROM
THE 1861 AND 1871 AGRICULTURAL CENSUS RETURNS

	1861		1871	
	Owner	Tenant	Owner	Tenant
1. Age ^a	46.1	38.4	47.3	42.6
Standard deviation	14.1	10.7	14.6	13.2
2. Percentage distribution by Longevity ^b				
First generation	43.5	22.8	38.1	22.5
Second generation	45.8	39.2	50.8	16.9
Third generation	-	-	2.6	4.2
Newcomer	10.5	37.9	8.5	56.3
3. Percentage distribution by Nativity ^c				
England	30.2	45.6	29.4	53.5
Ireland	38.4	29.1	30.3	16.9
Scotland	5.8	5.1	4.2	7.1
Upper Canada	18.6	20.3	33.6	22.5
Other	6.9	-	2.5	-
4. Average size of farm:				
First generation	121.3	119.9	85.5	108.3
Standard deviation	55.6	68.2	55.3	60.2
Second generation	105.4	107.4	103.7	104.7
Standard deviation	50.1	48.0	58.1	40.3
Third generation	-	-	111.7	116.7
Standard deviation	-	-	71.5	28.8
Newcomer	86.5	97.0	136.5	87.2
Standard deviation	56.2	49.8	69.4	55.3
5. Percentage distribution by size of farm:				
Small	18.6	20.5	14.3	14.1
Medium	67.4	65.4	71.1	71.8
Large	14.0	14.1	14.3	14.1

^at-ratio significant at $p < .01$ for age difference between owners and tenants in both 1861 and 1871; ^bNewcomers were more likely to enter as tenants. Significance level is: $p < .001$ for both 1861 and 1871; ^cIrish are now more likely to be landowners. Significance levels for 1861 $p < .1$ and for 1871 $p < .001$. But Irish are more likely to fall below median size of holding in both 1861 and 1871 $p < .05$.

between age and status on the land. It is obvious, as well, that over time the cultural parameters of the landowning population were being redrawn. By 1871 the native born were more likely to be landowners than the foreign born (Chi square significant at $p < .05$). Finally, table 3-7 shows that tenants and landowners were distributed in relatively equal proportions among small, medium and large farms. Whether this implied comparable standards of living as well is difficult to ascertain.

Table 3-8 expresses the same data in a slightly different way by linking age, persistence and ethnicity to the size of farm occupied. Farms were group into categories of small (less than 55 acres), medium (55-114 acres) and large (over 114 acres). From this data it becomes clear that among landowners, at least, the size of farm occupied bore a strong relationship to individual life cycles. Occupiers of smaller farms were significantly older than those on medium or large farms. Although the standard deviations indicate a considerable variation in the age of owners of small farms, there is a strong suggestion in this data, as well, that one of the factors producing inequality was the "retirement" of a number of older farmers. The changing proportions among ethnic groups, although not statistically significant, shows foreign born owners being displaced on larger farms by the native born. This is precisely the pattern that would be expected if patriarchs were dividing their land among children.

There is nothing in this data that would permit the identification of a group of landed capitalists on the make. Rather, these data suggest that the 1860s was a period when one generation was being superceded

TABLE 3-8

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPIERS BY STATUS ON THE
LAND, ETHNICITY, PERSISTENCE AND AGE, BY SIZE OF FARM
1861 AND 1871

Size of farm	1861			1871		
	Small	Medium	Large	Small	Medium	Large
A. <u>Owners</u> (N)	16	57	12	17	85	17
1. Ethnicity: ^a						
English	25.0	38.5	20.0	41.2	26.5	37.5
Irish	56.3	33.3	60.0	35.3	32.5	18.7
Scots	6.2	7.0	--	5.9	3.6	6.3
Native born	12.5	21.0	20.0	17.6	37.4	37.5
2. Permanence: ^b						
Permanent family	16.9	68.8	14.3	15.7	70.6	13.8
Non-permanent	37.5	50.0	12.5	--	80.0	20.0
3. Average age ^c	43.5	36.3	40.0	62.5	44.6	46.2
Standard dev'n	13.9	8.6	11.9	19.3	12.6	9.7
B. <u>Tenants</u> (N)	15	50	14	10	51	10
1. Ethnicity: ^a						
English	40.0	50.0	35.7	40.0	57.6	44.4
Irish	46.7	22.0	35.7	40.0	9.6	33.3
Scots	6.7	6.0	--	20.0	5.8	11.1
Native born	6.7	22.0	28.5	10.0	26.9	11.1
2. Permanence: ^d						
Permanent family	16.3	63.3	20.4	6.5	74.2	19.4
Non-permanent	23.3	63.3	13.3	20.0	70.0	10.0
3. Average age ^c	43.1	46.6	48.9	51.3	40.4	45.1
Standard dev'n	10.8	14.7	15.0	13.6	13.0	10.3

Significance levels are as follows: ^a χ^2 is not significant; ^b χ^2 is significant at $p < .05$ in 1861; ^c $p < .001$ in 1871; ^dF-ratio is significant at $p < .05$ in 1861, 1871; χ^2 is significant at $p < .05$ in 1861, 1871.

by another. The land records, in general, reveal that few individuals remained atop the land structure of this community for any length of time. Several, like John Bland and John De La Haye, identified as entrepreneurs in chapter II, were found among owners of more than two hundred acres at each decennial interval. These men were exceptions, however. The composition of the group that occupied the largest farms in the township was constantly shifting. Each decade brought new members into the group and the disappearance of others as lands were subdivided to provide for children.

The distributions for tenant farmers reveal a very different pattern. In 1861, forty-nine members of permanent families were part of the tenant population. Almost two-thirds (63.3%) of these occupiers, many of them born in the old country, were sons of the early settlers. A decade later most of these young men had either acquired land of their own or left the township. Their presence among the tenant population contributed to a statistically significant relationship between the size of farm leased and the age of the occupier. A decade later the composition of the tenant population had changed. Instead of almost two-thirds, permanent family members accounted for less than half (43.7%) of the township's tenants. Much of this change resulted from the presence of fewer members of the second generation. In the 1850s only slightly more than half (51.9%) of the second generation had been able to move directly into the ranks of landowners. A decade later, with the rural economy buoyed by the demands of the American market, more than eight of ten (80.8%) had title to the farms they worked. Their places had been taken by a number of slightly older newcomers,

the oldest of whom leased small farms in the township.

All of these data suggest a population in which there was a continuous competition for land that may have been motivated in large part by the necessity of providing places for members of the second generation. Of course, there were also other reasons for acquiring land, but in at least three different ways the data point to first generation settlers retiring from the land and being replaced by their children. At the same time there is evidence of numerous members of the second generation making the transition from tenant to landowner. In some cases, at least, this transition came only with the purchase of land on the open market. The competition for land produced a growing inequality in the size of holdings over time. The similar Gini ratios for various ethnic groups, however, suggest that there was little difference in behaviour within those groups. This may point to practices of subdivision and the transmission of property through inheritance that were independent of the cultural heritage of the settlers. There were differences among ethnic groups but, with the exception of a tendency for the Irish to occupy slightly smaller farms, these differences were not statistically significant. In short, there is a strong suggestion here that whatever inequalities existed in this society, at least among the permanent population, were in large part a consequence of the need to provide room for children. This and other reasons for acquiring land spawned the psychological crisis that hit the township after mid-century.

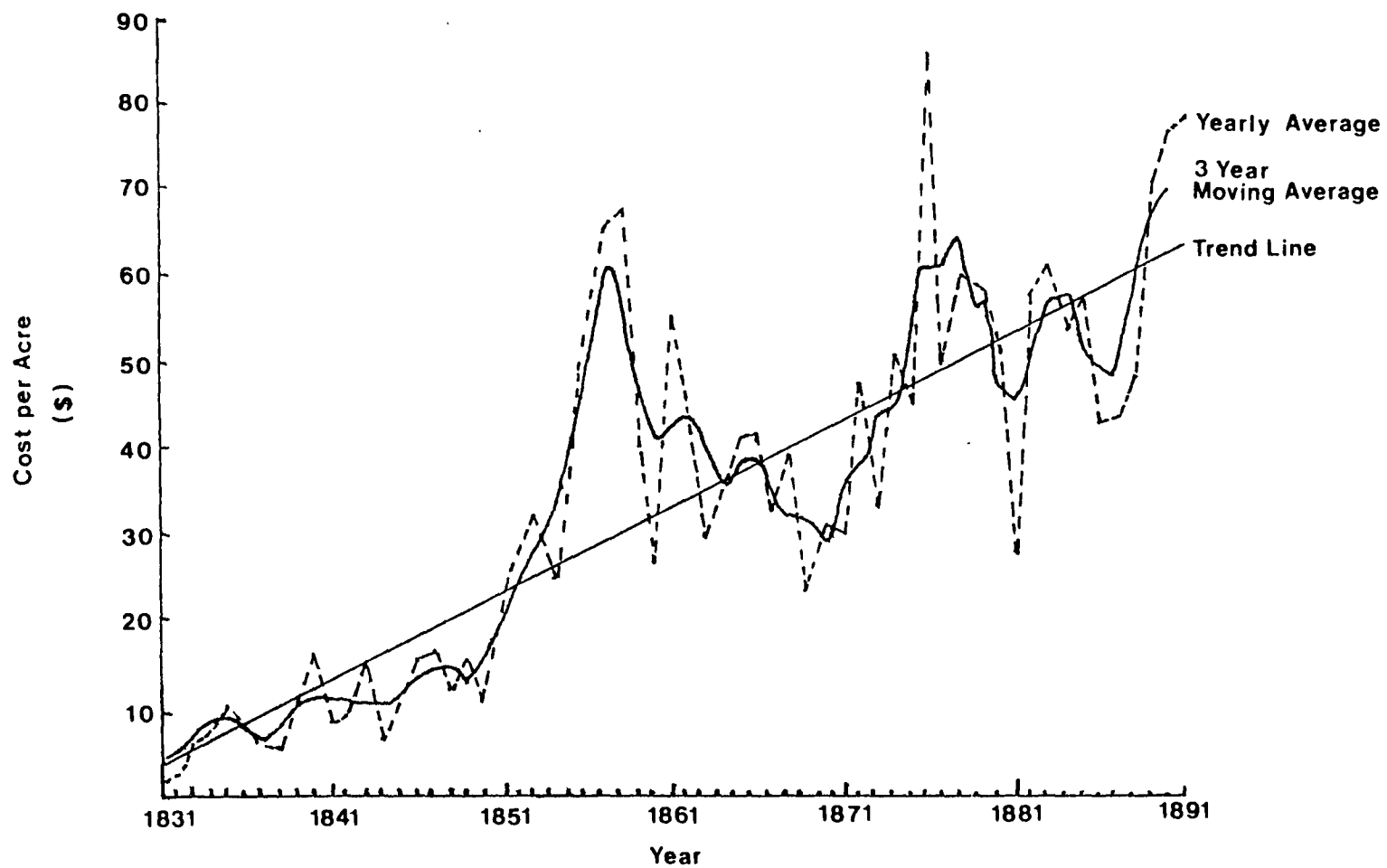
The visible signs of this crisis were escalating land values and declining agricultural opportunities. These appeared simultaneously

and were related one to the other. The pressure that the demands of landowners and potential landowners put on the Gore's limited supply of land drove land values relentlessly upward after mid-century. Figure 3-3 depicts graphically the two major influences upon land values. The first was the short-term influence of the behaviour of the provincial economy. Periods of recession or depression in 1837-38, 1857-59, 1874-76 and 1884-85 are clearly reflected in the movements of yearly land values and the three year moving averages. So too, are the boom of 1854-56, the inflation of 1872-3 and the recovery of 1889-90. These short-term fluctuations obviously had serious consequences for the community's landowners. Between 1854 and 1858, for example, one in five (18.8%) of the landowners still present in the township fifteen years later rushed to buy land as values spiralled upward. Five years later the land they had purchased was worth less than half what they had paid for it. The combination of the collapse of the wheat market, and the American Civil War (which some local inhabitants believed was responsible for some of their troubles) had literally destroyed the investments of those who had purchased land during the boom.⁵⁷ As David Gagan's study of the land crisis in Canada West during these years suggests, whether land was purchased for speculative reasons, to improve productivity or to provide a patrimony for children, the results were the same. The collapse of the land market in 1859 spelled disaster.⁵⁸

Yet, although it must have been clear to even the most casual observer that the purchase of land was becoming an increasingly expensive and risky proposition, these farmers continued to buy land

FIGURE 3-3

TORONTO GORE LAND VALUES 1831-1891



whenever they could. They retained their faith that the ownership of land was the basis of their prosperity and social status. Consequently, although many people in this society continued to rent land, leaseholds were looked upon as a temporary measure or a means of supplementary small acreages that had been purchased. The demands that this mentality created for new acreages caused land values to move constantly upward, despite temporary fluctuations caused by the behaviour of the economy. This upward pressure on land values is reflected in the trend line in figure 3-3.

In addition to the pressures caused by those seeking land to improve a standard of living or for speculative purposes two other factors, both of which can also be designated as internal, caused land values to climb. The first is the activity of non-resident landowners. In the early years of settlement non-resident speculators in Toronto Gore's lands were non-residents in the full meaning of the term. Most of them were residents of the city of Toronto or nearby townships who acquired land and sold it off quickly when the opportunity presented itself. After the township moved out of the settlement phase, however, absentee landowners, who continued to represent at least one-third of all landowners, began to hang onto their lands.⁵⁹ The explanation for this is found in a growing proportion of non-resident owners who were related to one or more of the township's permanent families. By 1891, two of every three non-resident owners (67.1%) had relatives in the township. Although their lands were rented to farmers in the township, the removal of several thousand acres from the land market contributed to a crisis in the supply of land that resulted in an escalation of

land values.

Also pushing land values upward was the demand for land created by young men who sought to establish themselves as farmers. In chapter II a measure of population and land pressure was provided by calculating the number of residents per square mile in the township. In the absence of more detailed data, population density was the best way to demonstrate the pace of settlement and the stresses to which this township was subjected. After mid-century the population gradually declined. As a consequence, the population density fell from a high of 60.7 persons per square mile at mid-century to 41.6 forty years later. Yet, during these same years the township was passing from a phase in which agricultural opportunities, in the form of unalienated and unimproved acreages that could be converted into farmsites, were limited, to one in which they were non-existent for all but the most fortunate. These conditions put considerable stress upon all members of this society but most particularly upon men in the 15-30 year old age group who were seeking land for the first time.⁶⁰ None of this is revealed by a simple population density measure.

It is necessary, therefore, to provide an alternative measure of economic stress which incorporates the factors of supply and demand. Such a measure was suggested several years ago by Don R. Leet.⁶¹ Leet's "Index of Economic Stress," calculated from published census returns, required approximations of the number of farmsites freed through the death of landowners, the number of unimproved acres in the township or county, and the number of young men who were demanders of land. To employ this data he was forced to make two assumptions. First, that

all young men in the community aspired to become agriculturalists. Second, he assumed that the question of "how much land was enough" could be answered by taking the average number of improved acres per farm in the area. Both of these assumptions pose intellectual problems. There is no reason to suppose, for example that all young men aspired to become farmers even if they lived in a predominantly rural area. Second, the question of how much land was enough not only varied from community to community but also from individual to individual. Clearly, an "average" implies an experience that was not attained by a significant proportion of the society. Nevertheless, in the absence of a direct measure of economic stress Leet's technique is as good as any and better than most.

Table 3-9 presents a modified form of Leet's calculation of economic stress. It differs from the original in two important respects. Because the microdata permits the identification of landowners who died, the number of farmsites freed by the death of owners is a direct measure rather than an approximation based on mortality rates. Second, to take into consideration that all farmers kept and required woodlots, 1890 has been used as a reference point for the maximum number of cultivable acres in the township.

The results of the analysis demonstrate clearly that agricultural opportunities became fewer over time despite a declining population. During the 1850s, the township was able to provide new places for less than half (47.4%) of its young men. A decade later the problem had reached crisis proportions. There was insufficient land in the township for more than three in four (77.4%). Thereafter, the situation worsened.

TABLE 3-9

INDICES OF ECONOMIC STRESS, 1851-1890*

	1851 -1860	1861 -1870	1871 -1880	1881 -1890
A. Number of farm sites freed by death of occupiers	13	10	13	17
B. Farm sites not yet developed:				
1. Cultivable land (acres)	17,835	17,835	17,835	17,835
2. Improved land at beginning of decade	11,389	13,664	16,467	16,322
3. Cultivable land not in use [B1 - B2]	6,446	4,171	1,368	1,513
4. Average number of improved acres per farm	45.7	79.0	84.4	82.9
5. Farm sites undeveloped [B3 ÷ B4]	141	53	16	18
C. Total farm sites available [A + B5]	154	63	29	35
D. Males 15-30 years of age in the township	293	279	222	208
E. Economic Stress				
1. Excess demand for farms [D - C]	139	216	193	173
2. Percent of demanders not satisfied [(E1 ÷ D) X 100%]	47.4	77.4	86.9	83.2

*Adapted from Don R. Leet, "Human Fertility and Agricultural Opportunities in Ohio Counties: From Frontier to Maturity, 1810-1860," in Nineteenth Century Economic History. The Old Northwest, ed: David C. Klingaman and R. K. Vedden (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1975), p. 147.

When this factor is considered in the context of a society where already established farmers were seeking to add to their own acreages for a variety of reasons two things become obvious. First, that there was sufficient internal pressure to keep land prices rising. And, second, that a young man would have difficulty becoming established in this society without some aid, either in the form of land or the means to acquire it.

On balance, whatever prosperity was enjoyed on a day to day basis by the families in this society, must have been offset by declining expectations for both the old and the young. Fathers found the prospect of providing places for their sons in the township increasingly more unlikely. The continuous subdivision of land offered no solution and opened the door to the "Irish problem"---too little land shared by too many people which resulted in a declining standard of living for all. Sons were not only faced with the difficulty of acquiring places for themselves in the community, but also with more limited prospects of being able to provide an adequate start in life for their own children.

All of this evidence points to a major crisis in rural society in the second half of the nineteenth century. The traditional ideal of the farm family as a mutual welfare unit in which children contributed their labour to ensure the well-being of the family in return for the prospect of future aid from the family was under assault. As land became more scarce, as the introduction of labour-saving devices reduced the human inputs of labour required in agriculture, large numbers of children who had to be provided for became a luxury rather than a

necessity. For young men and women contemplating marriage in this era there were several options. Marriage could be postponed until such time as sufficient capital to establish independence had been accumulated. The number of children for whom they had to provide could be limited.⁶² Migration to some new frontier where opportunities were not as limited offered a third alternative.

All of these comments, of course, ignore the specifics of the situation in Toronto Gore. Although there can be little doubt that Toronto Gore's residents found themselves facing unprecedented social and demographic problems in the second half of the century, the inequalities that appeared early in the township's history meant that some people may have been better equipped to deal with these problems than others. The permanent population, on the one hand, owned the township's largest farms. Larger initial purchases and the opportunity over the years to acquire additional land had provided them with a buffer against hard times and a reserve of land that could be divided among their children. On the other hand, because of their commitment to the area, they were more susceptible to the pressures in their local situation. Their less permanently rooted neighbours could always look to migration as a solution to their problems. Cultural traditions that helped to shape the expectations of individuals and families may also have played a role in determining behaviour.

Finally, one other factor may have worked to improve the fortunes of people in the Gore. Much of the data presented here, especially the indices of economic stress assume a stable society. But, the concept of a core permanent population implies a substantial degree

of mobility. The movement of significant numbers of households out of this community at all stages of its development could have provided new sources of land or alternative vocational opportunities for young men who wished to remain. Hence, the migration of non-permanent householders out of this community may have acted as a "safety valve" by relieving, but not removing, some of the problems created by the land crisis. Chapter IV explores changing patterns of opportunity and their impact upon the township.

FOOTNOTES

¹GS. 3521, Toronto Gore Township Minute Books, 1857-1916, PAO, Toronto (Microfilm). See especially meetings of: 6 November 1857, 5 July 1859, 14 May 1860, 8 October 1860, 17 June 1861, 26 August 1861, 17 September 1861, 18 November 1861.

²Lynch, "Agricultural Report on Peel County," p. 345.

³Ibid. Many of the township's early settlers had become stockholders in both companies. Tavender, From This Year Hence, pp. 17-18, 156-157.

⁴"Towns and Villages of Peel County," Perkins Bull Collection, Series B.

⁵Minute Books, "By Laws"; Tavender, From This Year Hence, p. 152.

⁶"Temperance Families," Perkins Bull Collection, Series A, Box 73.

⁷W. L. Morton, "Victorian Canada," in The Shield of Achilles/Le Bouclier d'Achille, ed: W. L. Morton (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968), pp. 318-319.

⁸L. Johnson, History of the County of Ontario, 1615-1875 (Whitby: The Corporation of the County of Ontario, 1973), p. 196.

⁹The comments and interpretations in this section were suggested by a recently published article by D. P. Gagan. See: D. P. Gagan, "Land, Population, and Social Change: The 'Critical Years' in Rural Canada West," C.H.R., LIX (1978), pp. 293-318.

¹⁰For comments on the impact of the environment on immigrants see: Gagan, "The Prose of Life," pp. 367-381; David J. Wood, ed., Perspectives on Landscape and Settlement in Nineteenth Century Ontario (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), p. xxiii; M. H. Watkins, "A Staple Theory of Economic Growth," in Approaches to Canadian Economic History, ed: W. T. Easterbrook and M. H. Watkins (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969), pp. 57-61.

¹¹See for example: Gagan, "The Critical Years," pp. 293-318; R. A. Easterlin, "Factors in the Decline of Farm Family Fertility in the United States: Some Preliminary Research Results," J.E.H., LXIII (1976), pp. 600-614; D. R. Leet, "The Determinants of Fertility Transition in Antebellum Ohio," J.E.H., XXXVI (1976), pp. 359-78.

¹²See for example: Charles Heller and Stanley Moore, "Continuity in Rural Land Ownership: Western Kalamazoo County, Michigan, 1830-1861," Michigan History, LVI (1972), pp. 236.

¹³Conzen, Frontier Farming, pp. 38, 84-85, 148-150.

¹⁴The two major monographs in this field are: Jones, History of Agriculture and Reaman, History of Agriculture in Ontario. The agricultural transition in Simcoe County is treated in: Kenneth Kelly, "The Agricultural Geography of Simcoe County, Ontario, 1820-1880," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1968). An article length treatment of the factors influencing the transition in Ontario agriculture is found in: D. Lawr, "The Development of Ontario Farming 1870-1914," O.H., XLIV (1972), pp. 239-51.

¹⁵Lawr, "Development of Ontario Farming," p. 245; Kelly, "Simcoe County," p. 284.

¹⁶Jones, History of Agriculture, p. 358.

¹⁷Ibid.; Easterbrook & Aitken, Canadian Economic History, pp. 291, 301.

¹⁸Lawr, "Development of Ontario Farming," p. 246.

¹⁹Ibid., 244. There is some disagreement on how farmers responded to declines in prices. Lawr argues that farmers reduced their acreages the following year. Jones (History of Agriculture, p. 197) contends that in the following year they gambled by doubling their acreages devoted to cash crops in order to recoup their losses.

²⁰Canada Farmer, October 16, 1871, quoted in Jones, History of Agriculture, p. 263. The distress of the Ontario farmer following the collapse of 1857 was a constant refrain in the Confederation debates. Parliamentary Debates on the Subject of the Confederation of the British North American Provinces (Quebec: Hunter & Rose, 1865), pp. 158, 742, 738-9, 963.

²¹Peter G. Goheen, "Currents of Change in Toronto, 1850-1900," in The Canadian City. Essays in Urban History, ed: Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan Fr. Artibise (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), pp. 60-61.

²²Jones, History of Agriculture, p. 196.

²³Ibid., p. 197.

²⁴Ibid., p. 288. See also: O. D. Skelton, "General Economic History," in Canada and Its Provinces. A History of the Canadian People and Their Institutions by One Hundred Associates, ed: Adam

Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty (Toronto: Publishers' Association of Canada Limited, 1913), IX; pp. 117-120, 134-139, 178-183.

²⁵Lawr, "Development of Agriculture in Ontario," p. 245. Lawr's comment was made in the context of a discussion of the changes in agriculture in the 1890s but it applies equally to earlier periods as well.

²⁶Skelton, "General Economic History," pp. 137-138; Jones, History of Agriculture, p. 358.

²⁷Reaman, History of Agriculture, p. 125; Skelton, "General Economic History," pp. 179-180; O. A. Firestone, Canada's Economic Development, 1867-1953 (London: Bowes & Bowes, 1958), p. 146.

²⁸Skelton, "General Economic History," pp. 180-182.

²⁹Edward Chambers, "Late Nineteenth Century Business Cycles in Canada," C.J.E.P.S., XXX (1964), p. 394.

³⁰Ibid., p. 394.

³¹Ibid., p. 410.

³²Spelt, Urban Development, pp. 147-148.

³³Canada, Census of the Canadas, 1860-61, II (2 vols., Quebec, 1864), Table 11; Canada, Census of Canada, 1890-91, III (4 vols., Ottawa, 1893), Table II. Calculations are mine. See also: Ont. Ag. Comm., II; Appendix B;p. 420.

³⁴Chambers, "Businesss Cycles, p. 394;Table I.

³⁵Ont. Ag. Comm., II; p. 419.

³⁶Ibid., p. 422.

³⁷Ibid., p. 423.

³⁸Ibid., p. 422. See also: A. F. Scott, "Agricultural Report for the County of Peel, 1853," J.T.B.A.U.C., I (Oct., 1855), pp. 343, 358.

³⁹PAC, Ms. Census of Canada, 1861 (microfilm). PAO, Assessment and Collector's Rolls, Toronto Gore Township, 1881, 1891, GS. 3519 (microfilm). In 1861, one in seven (13.9%) of Toronto Gore occupiers maintained a herd of fifteen cattle or more. By 1891 only one in twenty-five (3.6%) had as many as fifteen cattle. Calculations are mine.

⁴⁰Canada, Census of Canada, 1890-91, III; Table III.

⁴¹Ms. Census of Canada, 1861. In 1861 all those men who reported more than 10 milch cows or more than fifteen total cattle, except George Leighton, also occupied farms of more than 150 acres. Leighton, whose thirty acre farm was equidistant from the villages of Castlemore and Coleraine, may have specialized in dairy products for the local market. This comment notwithstanding it appears that there was very little specialization in 1861. More than ninety percent of the farming population grew the same crops and kept some animals.

⁴²The proportion of the population with secondary mortgages which were used for these purposes was as follows:

1861	22.3%
1871	12.9%
1881	18.8%
1891	16.7%

Data is from D. P. Gagan, "The Security of Land: Mortgaging in Toronto Gore Township, 1835-1895," in Aspects of Nineteenth Century Ontario: Essays Presented to James J. Talman, ed: F. H. Armstrong, H. A. Stevenson, J. D. Wilson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), pp. 139, 142; Tables 1, 2. Calculations are mine.

⁴³Census of Canada, 1890-91, IV; Table T.

⁴⁴Ont. Ag. Comm., II; p. 413.

⁴⁵Ms. Census of Canada, 1871, Schedule II. Calculations are mine.

⁴⁶Ont. Ag. Comm., II; p. 418.

⁴⁷James Reid to Thomas Reid, 1 March 1847, James Reid Correspondence.

⁴⁸Scott, "Agricultural Report," p. 362.

⁴⁹Ont. Ag. Comm., II; p. 419.

⁵⁰Lawr, "Development of Agriculture in Ontario," pp. 242-243.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 242.

⁵²See D. P. Gagan, "Enumerator's Instructions for the Census of Canada, 1852 and 1861," HS/SH, VII (1974), pp. 361, 365.

⁵³Holdings of less than ten acres have been excluded from the calculations. These acreages, irregularly reported in the census, were usually clustered at or near the Gore's villages. As such they did not comprise village land which was reported separately in the Abstract of Deeds, but they also could hardly be called "farms." The inclusion of these lands in a calculation of average farm size produces

a steadily declining size of farm throughout the century. In fact, as table 3-5 demonstrates, the average size of farm, for those who were actually farmers, remained remarkably constant.

⁵⁴This practice seems to have been universal in North American rural communities. See for example: Bogue, Prairie to Corn Belt, pp. 51-52; Conzen, Frontier Farming, p. 62; Curti, Making of an American Community, p. 212.

⁵⁵For a description of the method involved in computing Lorenz Curves and Gini ratios see: Charles M. Dollar and Richard J. Jensen, Historian's Guide to Statistics (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), pp. 122-24.

⁵⁶This conclusion is at odds with the findings of Tepperman. Using the published returns as the basis for his calculations, Tepperman found a thirty percent difference in the Gini ratios for English (.534) and Irish (.351) in 1871. Tepperman, "Ethnic Variations," p. 336.

⁵⁷James Reid to Thomas Reid, 27 May 1862, James Reid Correspondence.

⁵⁸Gagan, "The Critical Years," pp. 300-301.

⁵⁹Absentee landowners were identified by linking land records to census returns and assessment rolls. The proportion of non-residents in the landowning population in each decade is as follows:

1851	31.1%
1861	43.5%
1871	45.7%
1881	37.0%
1891	34.0%

⁶⁰These considerations are discussed in more detail in Leet, "Human Fertility," pp. 145-148. In this study young demanders are defined as those between the ages of 15 and 30 rather than 15 and 25 years as in Leet's study. The 15-30 age grouping more closely approximates the age at which young men acquired property in the Gore. See below chapter VI.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²The relationship between fertility and land availability was first postulated by Yasuba (Yasukichi Yasuba, "Birth Rates of the White Population of the United States, 1800-1860: An Economic Study," Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXIX, No. 2, 1961). Subsequent work by Forster and Tucker, Easterlin and Leet have refined this relationship. See: C. Forster and G. Tucker, Economic Opportunity and White Fertility Ratios, 1800-1860 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972); Easterlin, "Human Fertility"; Easterlin "Population Change,"; Leet, "Fertility Transition".

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION: PERMANENCE AND TRANSIENCY, 1852-1891

I

Despite the appearance of a core of permanent settlers early in the Gore's history, the economic stresses to which the township was subjected helped to ensure that there would be a continuous movement of people in and out of this society throughout the second half of the nineteenth century.¹ In any given decade during the timespan covered by this study approximately one-half of the households present at the beginning of the decade failed to remain in the township for as long as ten years. This continuous population upheaval provides the background for both a reinterpretation of the broad general outlines of Canadian social history and for the analysis, in this particular study, of the problems of social integration and social mobility in rural Ontario. It does the first by qualifying the myth of an entrenched, stable rural population compared to urban society in past time; and it does the latter by creating a means of measuring the nature and degree of integration and opportunity in rural societies.

In this particular community transiency, or geographic mobility, seems to have been related to inequality as measured by differing methods of land tenure, to the time of arrival in the community, and to various

levels of economic opportunity provided within the area. To a lesser extent it also was related to age, and the cultural identity of the immigrants who made up the Gore's population. Conversely, those who persisted, or remained within the Gore's boundaries, were those for whom the community provided the means of achieving their reasonable goals. In short, most remained because they were successful and their prosperity encouraged them to put down roots. What prosperity they achieved seems to have been a function of their longevity in the area and, particularly for the young, of their family relationships. Even though in the latter decades of the century family ties were no guarantor of a place in the community, the patterns of transiency and persistence in this locality produced a level of stability that must have reinforced the social values of the early settlers. Ultimately it may have been the paradox of a stable society in the midst of ubiquitous movement that gave rise to the myth of Ontario's entrenched agriculturalists.

Any attempt to account for the wholesale movement of people into and out of this society must be tempered by a recognition that, as one historian suggested recently, there are far too many imponderables that went into the decision to move in the nineteenth century to permit a systematic explanation for transiency in past time.² Thus, the most an historian can hope to do in this context is to identify those who moved at a particular point in time; to distinguish, in the broadest sense, between those who moved and those who stayed; and finally, to suggest with minimal confidence that some people were more or less likely to move than others. Even within these constraints, however, the study of patterns of transiency remains an important aspect of the development

of this community, since to study transiency is to study much more than the movement of people out of this community at every stage in its history. It is also the study of both the levels of opportunity for social mobility provided by this society and the degree of social integration, or stability, it enjoyed.

II

Population mobility studies have had a long history in the United States where agricultural historians, concerned with the factors contributing to the improvement of farm conditions and the stabilization of agriculture, began the systematic examination of the historical behaviour of rural populations as early as the 1930s. As often as not, these studies also were concerned with testing Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis, particularly the notion that the frontier operated as a "safety valve" providing places and opportunities for the excess population of the east in times of economic stress.³ One of the earliest of these studies conducted by James C. Malin, the most influential agricultural historian of his day, documented a phenomenal turnover in farm operators in five Kansas townships during a single decade. More important, at least from Malin's perspective, it appeared that during times of economic stress the movement was away from, not towards the frontier as Turner had believed.⁴ Subsequent studies, often inspired by the same concerns, have shown that the high levels of movement Malin demonstrated for the end of the nineteenth century were characteristic of most communities in the second half of the nineteenth century. Explanations for this population turnover have invariably focussed upon inequality of opportunity, different levels of success, depression and

recession, discouragement over crops and marketing conditions, speculation in land, restlessness, and the lure of better lands and opportunities elsewhere.⁵ Important as these considerations are, using them to test grand theories or measure individual success often has diverted attention away from their role in community development in general and the changing structures of society in particular.

In Canadian historiography attempts to document the extent to which rural populations were on the move have been more rare.⁶ Most often, the failure of individuals to persist in particular communities has been taken for granted. Both the movement itself, and the reasons for it, have been seen as the logical outcome of grand theories of social and economic development.⁷ The staples theory of economic growth, for example, which was used in chapter III to provide a theoretical justification for the explanation offered for the growth in size of farms after mid-century, also has implications for the movement of population. The same wasteful, land extensive farm practices that encouraged "land hunger" in farmers could force them off the land when they had over-extended themselves or when their expectations of future prosperity were frustrated by an inability to acquire additional acreages in the face of increasing competition. On some new frontier the proceeds from the sale of a small farm could provide the basis for a new start and new prospects for the future.⁸ In demographic terms, the favourable man/land ratio with its attendant agricultural practices encouraged large families, since children provided the chief source of man-power for labour-intensive cultivation.⁹ The obvious conclusion to be drawn from these generalizations is that the

combination of wasteful agricultural practices, a dwindling supply of land, and the need for labour, in the form of large rural families, led inevitably to over-population after mid-century. At any given point in time a community could support only a limited number of households and even improvements in agricultural practices and mechanization could not provide enough "room" for all the households of a maturing younger generation.

The composition of the migrant population and the direction of its movement is equally obvious. The ranks of the emigrants would be dominated by the young who would move to less well-settled areas where land and opportunities for economic advancement were still available. Occasionally, they might be joined by older members of the community whose inability to provide places for their children forced them to choose between the comforts provided by a well-settled area and keeping the family together.¹⁰ Specifically, emigration to the American mid-west where land was still cheap and available, to the Bruce peninsula, or, at a later date, to the newly opened farm lands of the Canadian northwest offered the only viable solution to individual socio-economic problems.

In the past decade several alternative hypotheses have appeared which suggest that traditional explanations for transiency are too simplistic. In one of these studies Ian Taylor, a student in historical geography, argued that a push-pull effect was at work in the countryside after mid-century when diminished opportunities in rural townships coincided with the appearance of new opportunities in Ontario's growing towns and cities. The inevitable overpopulation

that resulted from high fertility ratios during the settlement phase produced the greatest number of migrants when there were towns or cities nearby that offered employment opportunities.¹¹ Thus, in addition to documenting high levels of transiency, primarily among young people, Taylor suggested a means of anticipating the timing and direction of flow for the migrants. Taylor's study adds to our understanding of the complex problem of transiency, but like his predecessors he failed to conceptualize transiency as a problem with more than one dimension. He argued in the introduction to his study that transiency was an important problem because the quality, size, and distribution of population can limit or encourage economic growth.¹² His net migration figures, however, tell us little about either the quality or distribution of the population except in the most superficial sense. We learn nothing, for example, about the interrelationships of geographic, economic, occupational, and social mobility, all of which are crucial to our understanding of the forces promoting economic and social change. In fairness, the macrodata Taylor employed would not permit him to probe these relationships and these criticisms tell us more about the limitations of the data than weaknesses in interpretation.

Until very recently, only urban historians have tried to link various kinds of mobility.¹³ They were led to question the relationship between geographic and social mobility by their speculations about the impact of the processes of industrialization and urbanization upon different groups, particularly "working class" people, within the city. Early attempts to reconstruct urban societies using microdata revealed a rapid turnover among members of all segments of the urban population.

In their study of late nineteenth century Boston, Stephen Thernstrom and Peter Knights concluded that although the city's population only increased from 363,000 to 448,000 between 1880 and 1890, approximately one and a half million people lived and worked there at some time during the decade.¹⁴ Speculating upon the meaning of this movement, Thernstrom argued in another study that transiency would promote social stability within the city by removing potential threats to the social order. In short, under conditions where opportunities for economic advancement were few, it acted as a "safety-valve" by removing potentially volatile segments of the population who were the least successful, owned no property, had acquired no special skills and, therefore, had the greatest grievances against the social and economic system in which they were forced to participate.¹⁵ In a sample of Boston transients that Knights traced, he discovered that geographic mobility often was associated with people who were upwardly mobile.¹⁶ Unable to achieve their goals in one economic environment, they simply moved on to another.

Generalizations about the meaning of transiency for social stability and economic opportunity are fraught with difficulties, however. In different economic conditions transiency can produce opposite effects. On the one hand, as in the case of Thernstrom's Boston, it may reinforce stability by removing threats to the continuation of the social order. In different economic conditions, as Michael Katz pointed out recently, transiency could create the setting for a growing militancy by throwing "crowds of rootless, wandering, exploited men together."¹⁷ In his own study of mid-nineteenth century Hamilton, Katz argued that the real importance of transiency

to that city could be understood only in the context of the urban social structure. The Hamilton he portrayed was a society closed at the top, with limited opportunities for upward mobility. But, the migration of substantial numbers of people from all levels of the society (35-40% between 1851 and 1860) created vacancies at the top, middle and bottom of the structure, thus creating opportunities for upward mobility.¹⁸ Because mobility in Hamilton was primarily horizontal rather than vertical, however, the movement of people into and out of the city permitted it to retain a high degree of structural stability while exhibiting all of the characteristics of a population on the move.¹⁹

The first, and thus far the only, attempt to deal with some of these considerations in the Ontario countryside is David Gagan's recent paper on geographic and social mobility in Peel County. Employing a conceptual scheme informed by both the work of urban historians and a careful rereading of contemporary sources that emphasized the importance of flexibility and a readiness to grasp every opportunity as pre-requisites for success in the search for economic independence, Gagan demonstrated that ubiquitous motion was characteristic of rural as well as urban societies.²⁰ In an era when escalating land values and the closing of Ontario's agricultural frontier made the acquisition of land difficult, if not impossible for most, success depended upon a "flexible definition of one's vocation" and an "equally casual commitment to place."²¹ Gagan's study focussed on the relationship between transiency and vocational mobility. He was able to show that in Peel County economic opportunities were constantly renewed, despite a static demand for goods and services,

through the displacement and replacement of individuals in various vocational categories. For a few, the ultimate goal of proprietorship was achieved within the boundaries of the county, but for most Peel County was but one stop on a long road to acquiring the social status they coveted. As one group of migrants left the community, they were replaced by another group, slightly younger, but with similar social and economic characteristics. In contrast to earlier studies that conceived of transiency in linear terms, from well-settled areas to a frontier, from rural to urban, or both, Gagan presented a more random motion that might be conceived of as a circular, swirling or churning pattern that resulted in a ceaseless turnover of population.

The time has come to carry Gagan's questions one step further--to ask, for example, about the relationship of transiency to other structures in rural society. And, more important in the context of this study, to explore the meaning of transiency for the stability of rural society.

III

To measure levels of transiency and persistence requires, at the outset, the setting of arbitrary parameters against which the dimensions of permanence can be estimated. In practical terms, a movement of less than a mile across the township line into Vaughan, Chinguacousy or Etobicoke townships, such as was made by the Burrells, Porters and Bowmans, can hardly be termed a "migration," but for analytical purposes any movement that carried individuals or households beyond the township's borders must be considered migration.

The unit of analysis for this chapter is the household. The

assumption has been made that householders would find it more difficult to pack up and leave than individuals.²² High levels of transiency among householders, therefore, provide a clearer indication of the pervasiveness of geographic mobility in this society. Equally important, it was the migration of heads of household that created vacancies for newcomers and sons both in the occupational structure and on the land. In the next chapter the movement of people into and out of households will be analyzed.

The data for the analysis of migration and various other kinds of mobility is derived from census returns, directories and assessment rolls. By linking these records together, those who persist as residents of the area can be identified readily, and migration into and out of the community can be approximated.

The major disadvantage of this method is the loss of individuals and households who entered the township during the intercensal periods. This is more than compensated for, however, by the fact that a ten year period permits the identification of the true emigrant, as opposed to the householder who temporarily removed to another locale and then returned to this community several years later. More importantly, the method identifies the transient and persistent populations across a wide range of variables that can be compared and correlated.

Throughout the study, the manual reconstruction of families through the use of genealogies, vital statistics returns, and cemetery records has provided the basis for differentiating between those who emigrated and those who died during the intercensal interval. Whenever the death of a householder could be established, either through one of

these records or by the appearance of a widow as the head of household on subsequent records, the household has been eliminated from the calculations. Otherwise the household has been considered as part of the transient population even if, again, the move is known to have covered only a short distance. For example, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that, particularly after 1871, numerous farmers in the Gore retired to Brampton, Bolton and other surrounding communities.

IV

The linking together of the records for householders demonstrates that continuous motion was no less a characteristic of this community than it was for the rest of Peel County, although the Gore was slightly more stable. In Peel County almost two-thirds of the households were on the move in the period from 1852 to 1871.²³ During the same timespan approximately half (51.3-51.0%) of the Gore's householders joined the general migration out of the area. That movement continued unabated through the 1880s (Table 4-1).

From one perspective, this general exodus was part of a fundamental process of demographic change that was at work throughout the whole of the Humber Valley watershed. Evidence of overpopulation predicted by both the Staples and Taylor theses was found in a reversal of population trends throughout the area. By 1851 all of the townships along the banks of the Humber except Albion were passing out of their frontier stages.²⁴ A rapid downturn in the population in each of these townships began at mid-century and continued thereafter. Figure 4-1 which again makes use of semi-logarithmic scales to demonstrate rates of change, shows slight variations on a decennial basis but an overall

TABLE 4-1

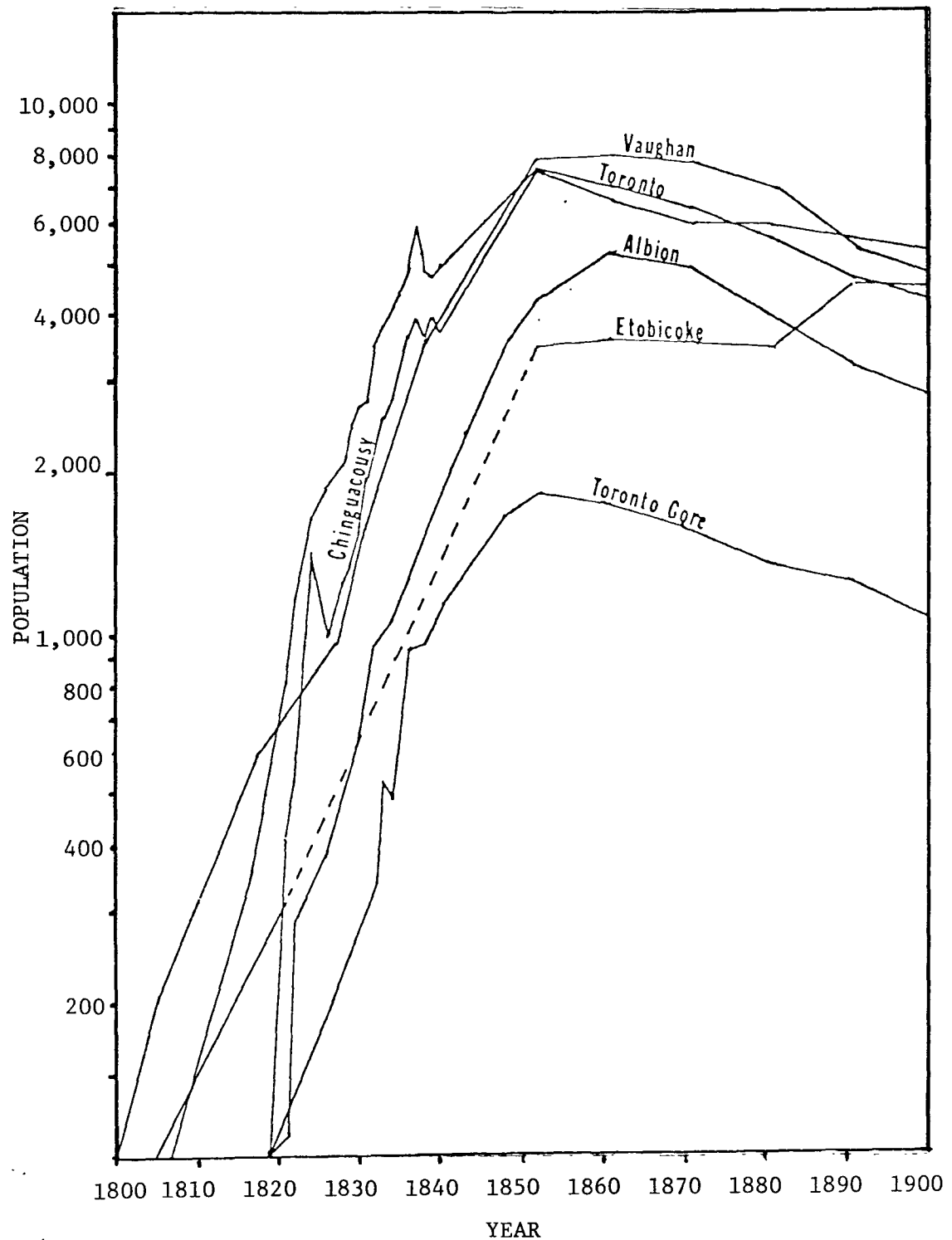
TRANSIENCY AND PERSISTENCE AMONG HOUSEHOLDERS, 1852-1891

Year	N	Population Stability During the Following Decade		Composition of the Population New Households		Population Persisted from last record %
		Transient	Persistent	Immigrants	Sons	
		%	%	%	%	
1852	318	51.3	48.7	44.6	14.2	41.2
1861	297	51.0	49.0	34.3	13.5	52.2
1871	276	48.2	51.8	35.1	12.0	52.9
1881	254	48.9	51.1	21.3	22.8	55.9
1891	256	--	--	39.1	10.6	46.5

decline in the population of each of these townships (except for Etobicoke) of approximately one-third in the second half of the century.

These population declines were not indicative of a general demographic stagnation, however. As table 4-1 also shows, emigrants from Toronto Gore were replaced regularly by newcomers and the sons of residents of the township. Part of this replacement, of course, was accomplished by the subdivision of land associated with the maturing of younger generations who sought places for themselves within the community. Before 1881, they comprised between twelve and fourteen percent of the community's householders. The coming of age of some members of the third generation in the 1870s swelled their numbers considerably in 1881 but a decade later, in part as a consequence of the massive rural depopulation that affected most of Ontario's townships in the closing decades of the nineteenth century, both the number of persistent householders and sons of local residents who had established

FIGURE 4-1

RATES OF POPULATION GROWTH IN THE
HUMBER VALLEY WATERSHED

independent households in the township declined.²⁵ By the late 1880s a number of the permanent families who had made the Gore their home for a half century or more were beginning to move on. Their places were taken by a group of recent immigrants who made up two-fifths of the population in 1891.

Taken together, these data suggest that despite the economic stress to which the township was subjected after mid-century it still was able to attract and absorb, however temporarily, approximately one hundred new households from outside its borders in each decade while at the same time providing places for some of its own children.

The conditions faced by these new households depended to a considerable extent upon the characteristics of the transient population that provided places for many of them. Allan Bogue has suggested that frontier populations were highly mobile in both a "horizontal and a vertical, or social sense."²⁶ If the Gore's social structure had become so rigid by the middle decades of the century that it was impossible for people at the bottom of the social and economic ladder (the tenant or small landowner) to move upward, then emigration would have been a logical consequence. Hence the kind of opportunities created by the transient population provides important clues to the forces shaping this community. The place to begin an examination of those forces, therefore, is with the characteristics of the transient population.

Many of the studies cited earlier in this chapter suggested that transiency was associated with the young, overextended, landless and generally less stable segments of society. In Toronto Gore, however,

none of these characteristics predominated. The mean ages of both the transient and persistent populations presented in table 4-2 show that geographic mobility was by no means confined to young men in their twenties. Numerous householders in their thirties and forties were also on the move. More important, with the exception of 1861 there was no statistically significant difference in the ages of those who emigrated and those who remained behind (t-ratio was significant at $< .01$ for 1861). For many of these older men, movement out of the township may have been an exemplification of upward mobility as men approaching middle age sought better, more advantageously located lands after having established a degree of prosperity for themselves during the optimistic days of the mid-fifties. For them, the lands and opportunities provided by the Gore were a means to an end and their ties to this community were not sufficiently strong to dissuade them from moving on when better socio-economic opportunities were available elsewhere. For others, of course, the same optimism characteristic of the 1850s may have led to an over-extension that forced many out after the collapse of the wheat market in 1857 and the land market in 1859.

These emigrants were replaced by a new wave of householders whose ranks included the sons of many of the Gore's more persistent families, and new immigrants. These new householders, on the average, were four to five years younger than those they replaced. The youthfulness of these new householders, coupled with the retirement of many of the early settlers, ensured that the mean age of this society's householders remained remarkably stable for more than thirty years. The majority of the new immigrants were in their mid-thirties and it

TABLE 4-2

MEAN AGES OF TRANSIENT AND PERSISTENT HOUSEHOLDERS, 1852-1881

	N	Mean	Standard deviation	Median
<u>1852:</u>				
All householders	318	42.6	13.4	40.5
Transients	163	39.7	11.6	38.1
Persistents	155	45.7	14.4	43.9
Sons	45	34.5	7.8	33.1
Immigrants	142	--	--	--
<u>1862:</u>				
All householders	297	42.7	15.3	38.9
Transients	149	39.2*	13.3	36.2
Persistents	125	54.1*	10.1	40.1
Sons	40	30.6	5.8	30.8
Immigrants	102	35.1	9.3	--
<u>1871:</u>				
All householders	276	44.6	14.9	43.5
Transients	133	43.7	13.4	39.6
Persistents	142	40.7	15.5	46.6
Sons	33	30.2	5.8	28.9
Immigrants	97	37.1	18.3	--
<u>1881:</u>				
All householders	254	44.6	14.4	53.0
Transients	124	43.7	14.1	44.3
Persistents	130	45.6	13.9	37.3
Sons	58	32.3	7.4	30.8
Immigrants	54	41.8	6.3	--

*t-ratio for transients and persistents significant at $p < .01$.

appears, from the ages at which sons were first enumerated as householders, that independent participation in the social and economic life of the province came late for many of the younger generation. Hence, as a consequence of the effects of transiency, immigration and maturation, the age structure of this community remained frozen in a state of middle

age. Whatever opportunities or places that were created by transiency were not, or could not, be taken by many young men.

The places assumed by these new households were related to changing patterns in the vocational or occupational structure in the community. Although this is a study of a farming community where more than ninety percent of the permanent families were engaged in agriculture, it is important, nevertheless, to examine the opportunities created in the full occupational structure. Both Katz and Gagan have pointed out that occupational mobility was an important feature of both urban and rural societies.²⁷ A period of time spent as a skilled or unskilled labourer, or in some other vocation, provided the means for many to join the ranks of the agriculturalists. Hence, to study the relationship between families and land also requires some knowledge of the sometimes circuitous route that led to the acquisition of land.

In addition to farming, the Gore supported a wide range of occupations associated with the unincorporated villages that had emerged during the 1830s and 1840s to serve the needs of the agricultural sector. Although there was no central village in the township, by mid-century the eight villages along the township's borders supported no fewer than thirty-four different occupations. The 1852 census reported, in addition to the 169 who were engaged in agriculture: sixty-one skilled craftsmen, forty-six unskilled labourers, five merchants or shopkeepers, ten tavern and innkeepers, two doctors, two clergymen, nine semi-professionals and three men who listed themselves as "gentlemen." Twenty years later the pattern had altered significantly (Table 4-3). Non-agricultural opportunities in the community had

TABLE 4-3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ALL HOUSEHOLDS BY
OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD, 1852-1891

Year	N	Farmer	Skilled	Unskilled	Commerce	Prof.	Unknown
1852	318	53.1	11.3	14.5	4.7	3.5	12.9
1861	297	53.2	10.1	17.9	6.1	2.1	10.8
1871	276	59.8	6.5	14.5	3.3	0.4	15.6
1881	254	74.8	5.5	6.3	3.9	0.4	9.1
1891	256	73.5	3.9	8.2	5.1	0.8	10.5

declined considerably and almost sixty percent of the householders derived their income from their role as farm operator. The number of occupations listed on the 1871 census was reduced from thirty-four to twenty-six.* Losses were recorded in categories containing skilled craftsmen, professionals, and people who derived their income from commerce. Specifically, four merchants and storekeepers appear to have gone out of business, or to have moved their operations outside the township's borders. The number of hotels and taverns also had been reduced. Equally decimated were the ranks of skilled craftsmen. In the course of twenty years, weavers, tinsmiths, tanners, stonecutters, framers, distillers, coopers and builders had disappeared entirely from the township.

These trends continued throughout the 1870s and 1880s. In a broad sense they were exemplifications of the influence of a maturing provincial economy upon this township. The transportation revolution that came with the railroad shrunk distances and broke down the self-

*see appendix A

sufficiency associated with rural communities by encouraging the concentration of goods and services in growing centres along the railroad right of way. In Toronto Gore, moreover, merchants and artisans were especially hard-pressed because they had to compete with both the city of Toronto and Brampton.²⁸ Ultimately, the influx of cheaper goods produced by Toronto's growing manufacturing sector made many of the Gore's local artisans redundant. There was always a demand for a few local merchants and innkeepers as well as blacksmiths and perhaps a shoemaker or two, but by the 1880s the demand for most other trades, at least within the township's boundaries had virtually disappeared.²⁹

This displacement of a significant proportion of those engaged in non-farming activities did not close off all opportunities for social and occupational mobility, however. As table 4-4 illustrates, newcomers and new households that were generated from within the community were able to find places in a wide range of occupations despite the shrinking of the absolute size of most occupational categories. This process was accomplished through the replacement of part of the emigrant population in each category. In each decade more than three-quarters of the households in every category except agriculture and commerce turned over. By 1881, however, with the exception of the unskilled and commercial sectors of the economy, the opportunity for newcomers to replace emigrants had declined considerably as the population in a number of vocational categories had become more stable. This latter phenomenon is reflected in the contingency coefficients which measure the correlation between occupation and transiency. Although farmers

TABLE 4-4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ALL, PERSISTENT, TRANSIENT
AND NEW HOUSEHOLDS BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, 1852-1891

	N	Farmer	Skilled	Unskilled	Comm.	Prof.	Unknown
<u>1852:</u>							
All	318	53.1	11.3	14.5	4.7	3.5	12.9
Persistent	155	67.1	6.5	3.2	4.5	2.6	10.1
Transient	163	39.9	15.9	25.2	4.9	4.3	9.8
<u>1861:</u>							
All	297	53.2	10.1	17.9	6.1	2.1	10.8
Persistent	147	66.7	3.4	3.4	5.4	0.7	13.6
Transient	150	40.0	16.7	25.3	6.7	3.3	8.0
Sons	40	80.0	5.0	15.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Newcomers	102	21.5	17.7	41.2	0.9	1.9	6.9
<u>1871:</u>							
All	276	59.8	6.5	14.5	3.3	0.4	15.6
Persistent	143	70.6	4.2	6.3	2.8	0.0	16.1
Transient	133	48.1	9.0	23.3	3.8	0.8	15.0
Sons	33	87.9	0.0	6.1	6.1	0.0	0.0
Newcomers	97	39.2	13.4	33.7	0.0	0.0	23.7
<u>1881:</u>							
All	254	74.8	5.5	6.3	3.9	0.4	9.1
Persistent	132	87.1	7.6	3.0	2.3	0.0	0.0
Transient	122	61.4	3.3	9.8	5.7	0.8	18.9
Sons	58	91.4	6.9	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0
Newcomers	53	67.9	7.6	13.2	9.4	1.9	0.0

Significance levels for transients and persistents from contingency analysis are as follows: $p < .001$ for 1852, 1861, 1871; $p < .05$ for 1881.

represented an ever-increasing proportion of the transient population, there was actually little increase between 1852 and 1881 in the percentage of farmers who migrated (38.5-39.5%). But, as table 4-5 demonstrates vocational opportunity was not related solely to replacement. In a

TABLE 4-5

PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDERS IN EACH OCCUPATIONAL
CATEGORY WHO WERE TRANSIENT AND REPLACED
IN THE INTERCENSAL PERIOD, 1852-1881

	Farmers	Skilled	Unskilled	Comm.	Prof.	Unknown
<u>1852:</u>						
Persistent	61.5	27.8	10.9	46.7	36.4	61.0
Transient	38.5	72.2	89.1	53.3	63.6	39.0
Replaced by 1861	83.1	76.9	117.1	137.5	28.6	47.8
<u>1861:</u>						
Persistent	62.0	16.7	10.4	44.4	16.7	62.5
Transient	38.0	83.3	90.6	55.6	83.3	37.5
Replaced by 1871	111.7	52.0	65.8	10.0	0.0	191.7
<u>1871:</u>						
Persistent	61.2	33.3	22.5	44.4	100.0	53.5
Transient	38.8	66.7	77.5	55.6	0.0	46.5
Replaced by 1881	139.1	66.7	22.5	120.0	0.0	0.0
<u>1881:</u>						
Persistent	60.5	71.4	25.0	30.0	100.0	0.0
Transient	39.5	29.0	75.0	70.0	0.0	0.0

number of categories, particularly commerce and unskilled labour during the 1850s, and agriculture thereafter, new households exceeded the number of transient households during the previous decade. For the farming population both replacement and the subdivision of land either through inheritance or some other means accounted for these increases.

Merchants and storekeepers with capital could obviously create their own opportunities, within limits, and in both 1852 and 1871 more merchants entered the community than left it. Unskilled labour was always in demand but alternative opportunities in the Toronto labour

market and the slowdown in immigration after 1860 made it increasingly difficult for those who required labourers to obtain them.³⁰

The comparatively high levels of mobility in every occupational category except agriculture suggests that permanence was most strongly associated with farming. The agricultural developments discussed in chapter III seem to have provided sufficient prosperity and opportunity to keep two-thirds of the township's farmers on the land, even in the face of rapidly escalating land values. Nevertheless, there was still sufficient turnover among the farm population to provide places for some aspiring farmers. Most often, however, as the agricultural census demonstrates, the new places created were among the lower ranks in the social structure. More tenant farmers than owner-occupiers moved on (Table 4-6). Between 1861 and 1881 tenants were consistently more likely to move (the significance of the Chi² analysis in 1861 and 1871 was $p < .001$; in 1881 it was $p < .05$). Thus, there was a correlation, albeit a fairly weak one, between tenancy and transiency (ϕ for 1861-1881 = 0.27; 0.37; 0.16). By the 1880s, however, the combined effects of the lure of new lands in western Canada, the beginnings of rural depopulation, and increasing land pressure in the community, reduced this correlation considerably.

It is tempting to suggest, as well, that it was the least successful, the occupier of smaller farms and sons who had received small acreages through subdivision who moved on. Table 4-6 suggests that in percentage terms, at least, this was true. Unfortunately, however, these differences were not great enough to produce statistical significance.³¹ The most that can be said is that mobility was

TABLE 4-6

DISTRIBUTION OF FARMERS BY STATUS ON THE LAND,
SIZE OF FARM, AND TRANSIENCY, 1861, 1871, 1881

	1861		1871		1881	
	N	Percent transient	N	Percent transient	N	Percent transient
A. <u>Owners*</u>	86	25.6	119	26.9	113	36.3
Size of farm:						
Small	16	37.5	17	35.0	18	61.0
Medium	58	24.2	85	26.0	78	47.2
Large	12	16.7	17	24.0	17	11.8
B. <u>Tenants*</u>	79	51.9	71	64.8	53	52.8
Size of farm:						
Small	15	73.3	10	80.0	13	53.8
Medium	50	52.0	51	64.7	29	58.6
Large	14	28.6	10	50.0	11	36.4

*Significance levels for differences in behaviour between land-owners and tenants are as follows: $p < .001$ in both 1861 and 1871; $p < .05$ in 1881. There was no statistically significant relationship between the size of farm and transiency at any of the decennial cut-in points.

characteristic of all ranks, that it increased steadily among landowners in the lower ranks throughout the period, and that there was a general decline in the movement of tenants during the 1870s. As a consequence, for those newcomers and sons seeking to replace migrants there was more room at the bottom in this society than at the top.

The migration of tenants may have been a reflection of changing patterns of landholding in the township. After mid-century land formerly available on a rental basis was increasingly alienated for the personal use of the owner, or sold to a new owner-occupier. As a consequence,

the proportion of tenants in the township fell steadily from almost half the farm operators at mid-century (48.3%) to little more than one in three (37.8%) forty years later.³² For an aspiring agriculturalist who lacked capital to purchase land, this meant that Toronto Gore offered fewer opportunities. Despite these declines, however, there was still more room for tenants in this community than in the surrounding area. High land values and the township's proximity to Toronto had encouraged continued speculation with the result that tenancy remained a more important part of Toronto Gore's social structure than it was elsewhere.³³

There was no simple explanation for the movement of landowners from this township. The effects of hard times, death that led to the break-up of estates and the dispersal of family members, retirement, overextension, the desire for better land, and the opportunity to realize a quick profit, all appear to have been important. In each decade between one and two-fifths of the township's landowners moved on (Table 4-7). Although they could be found in all parts of the township, transient landowners tended to cluster near the villages, road allowances, and the right of way of the Toronto and Guelph Railroad where land values were the highest.³⁴ Approximately one in five (22.5%) also owned property in the zone of poorer quality Malton clays (Map 4-1). Several lots in this area, in particular, turned over with great regularity.

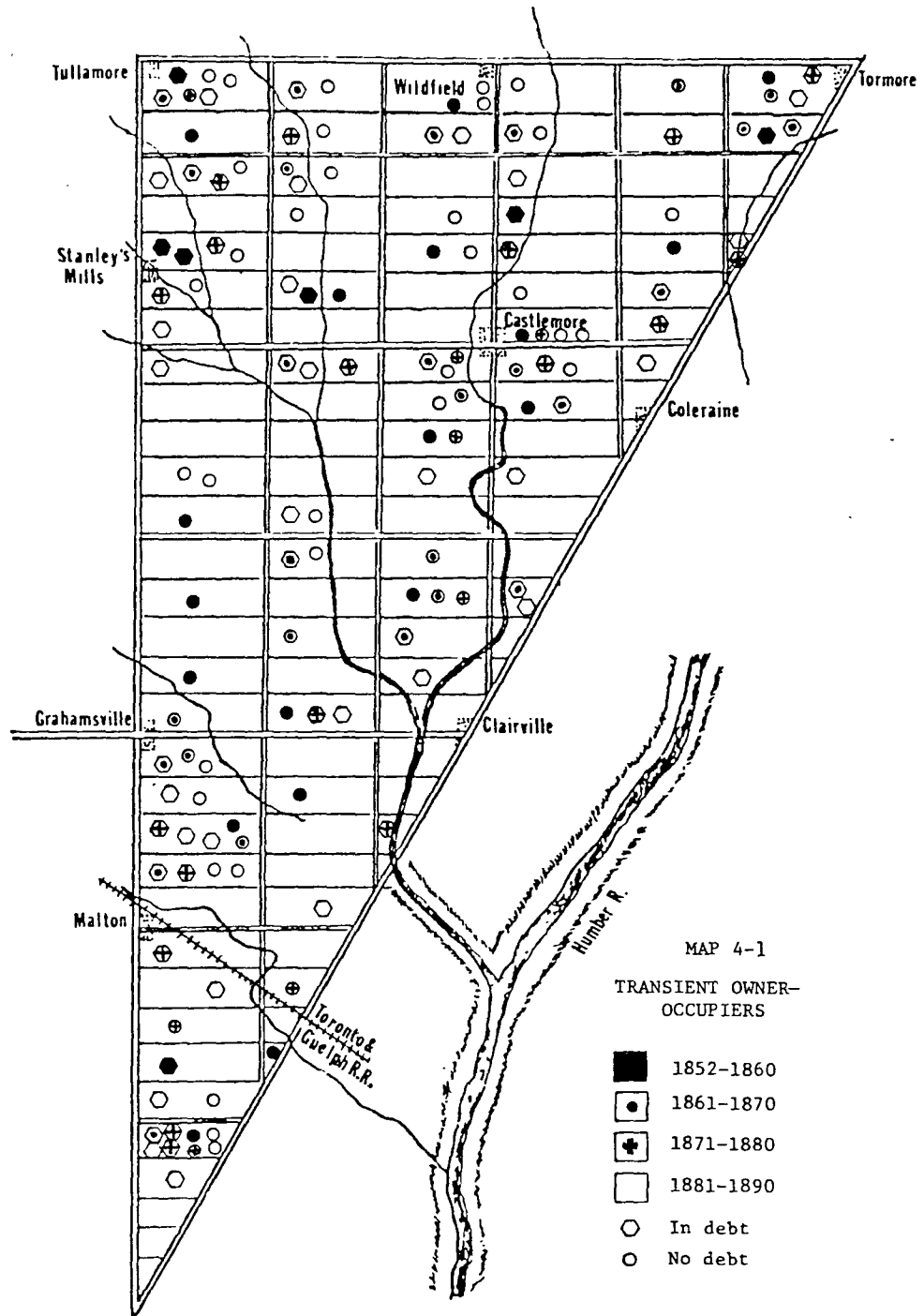
As might be expected, the transient landowners tended to be slightly older, on the average, than their fellow travellers. In every decade at least ten percent of their number were widows or widowers; for another twenty to twenty-five percent the death of a relative preceded

TABLE 4-7

SELECT SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR TRANSIENT LANDOWNERS
1851-1890

	1851 -1860	1861 -1870	1871 -1880	1881 -1890
A. Percent of all transients	17.3 ^a	23.8	30.2 ^b	45.2 ^c
B. <u>Ages of Transients:</u>				
Mean Age of transient landowners	42.2	40.1	46.0	47.8
Standard deviation	11.5	13.3	13.9	13.7
Mean Age of transient tenants	38.5	38.7	40.5	39.0
Standard deviation	10.7	12.0	11.8	14.9
C. <u>Indebtedness:</u>				
Percent with mortgages	37.9 ^d	67.9 ^e	61.9 ^f	38.5 ^g
Average debt	\$759	\$2,247	\$1,738	\$3,510
Percent of all landowners with mortgages	24.4	32.1	32.3	36.1
Average debt for all landowners	\$1,349	\$2,604	\$1,726	\$2,739
D. <u>Destination of transient landowners:</u>				
Percent of transient landowners located	26.9	28.6	31.0	23.2
1. Elsewhere in Peel	14.3	75.0	55.6	53.8
2. Outside Peel	85.7	25.0	44.4	38.5
York	42.8	12.5	44.4	38.5
Simcoe County	14.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Grey County	28.4	12.5	0.0	0.0
Waterloo County	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.7
N	29	36	42	52

T-ratios for age were not significant either across time or between groups. Statistically significant relationships were as follows: $p < .05$ = b-c, d-e, f-g; $p < .001$ = a-c.



migration; yet another twenty-five percent were farmers in their late fifties or sixties who presumably sought retirement outside the township's borders; the remainder were relatively young men who appear to have sold their lands either to pay off debts, or to take advantage of rising land values. For a number, as well, indebtedness seems to have preceded migration. At each decennial interval there was a higher proportion of debtors among the transient landowners than in the general population.

Some of these generalizations are supported by the eventual destination of the transients. The tracing of any transient population is difficult at best, and is really beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless, it was possible to locate the destination of at least one in four of the transients in any given decade. Newspapers, genealogies, probate, land, and mortgage records, all provided clues to the next stopping place for these transients. In the 1850s, almost ninety percent of the emigrants moved, in roughly equal numbers, either closer to Toronto and markets, or to more remote, newly opened counties where land was comparatively cheap and the proceeds from the sale of even a small farm in Toronto Gore would finance an extensive establishment. After 1861, when land was more scarce in the province, the transients invariably chose to move elsewhere in Peel or into York County. For those who chose Peel, a move to Chinguacousy or Toronto townships was favoured. Both of these townships had been settled earlier than the Gore and, in some ways, were more advantageously placed in relation to services and markets. Hence, the movement of these transients may have exemplified the quest for upward social and economic mobility. These

observations cannot be pushed too far, however, since they are based on a tracing of less than one-third of the population. One might expect those who travelled the shortest distances to remain the most historically "visible." Thus, although these findings may be suggestive, a more complete explanation of the motivation for emigration among the landowning population, and a more definitive description of their eventual destinations must await further studies in townships or counties where the economic data are superior to the surviving records for the Gore.³⁵ For the time being, however, the evidence suggests that levels of economic opportunity, indebtedness, death, and the desire to take advantage of rising land values all played a role in providing the impulse to emigrate.

One of the most obvious effects of this continuous motion was the reshaping of the cultural parameters of this society in the two decades following the census of 1852. During its settlement phase, the Gore had been known as a predominantly "Irish" township. W. H. Smith's Canadian Gazetteer published in 1846, described the township as "well settled, principally by Irish and Scotch,[sic] with a few Canadians."³⁶ In 1852 the principal group of householders (48.9%) was still natives of Ireland, but the English (38.9%) also had become an important component of the population. A small number of Scots, Americans and native born Canadians headed the remaining households (Table 4-8). Twenty years later, the ethnic composition of the township's population had been altered substantially through the effects of transiency. By 1871, natives of England had become the largest single group of householders (37.7%), followed by the Irish (27.5%), and then the native born (27.7%).

TABLE 4-8

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDERS BY
BIRTHPLACE, 1852-1871*

	N	England	Ireland	Scotland	United States	Upper Canada	Other
A. 1852:							
All	318	38.9	48.7	3.8	0.6	7.2	0.9
Persistent	155	35.5	52.9	5.2	0.6	4.5	1.3
Transient	163	42.3	44.8	2.5	0.6	9.8	0.0
B. 1861:							
All	297	39.3	36.6	5.4	0.7	17.3	0.6
Persistent	147	40.0	37.9	5.5	1.4	13.8	2.1
Transient	150	38.7	35.3	5.3	0.0	20.6	0.0
Sons	40	25.0	15.0	2.5	0.0	57.5	0.0
Newcomers	101	50.5	19.8	6.9	10.9	20.8	0.9
C. 1871:							
All	276	37.7	27.5	4.4	1.5	27.2	1.8
Persistent	143	35.7	25.9	4.9	1.4	30.1	2.1
Transient	133	39.9	29.3	3.8	1.5	24.1	1.5
Sons	33	18.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	75.8	6.1
Newcomers	98	40.1	21.4	4.1	2.0	35.7	1.0

*Chi² not statistically significant at any of the decennial cut-in points.

Emigration from the township was highest among the native born who consistently were over-represented among the transients. Their proportion of the population at any point in time increased, however, as a consequence of both the maturing of the sons of earlier settlers and the appearance of a number of new households.

Successive waves of these young migrants were joined by representatives of virtually every other nativity group, but transiency had its greatest effect on the Irish population. Although Irish

migration was heavy during the 1850s, it declined steadily thereafter. In fact, from 1861 onward, the Irish were much more stable than their English neighbours who continued to leave the township in large numbers. Yet, the proportion of Irish households in the area steadily declined, while the proportion of English households remained relatively stable. The explanation for this phenomenon is found in the cultural identity of the newcomers. In each decade an influx of new householders who were natives of England, more than replaced the transients. The Irish on the other hand, were not replaced.

A similar transition took place in the relative strength of the township's various churches. Over the twenty year period the dominant position of the Anglican church in the community was eclipsed by the arrival of a large number of Methodists, who more than replaced any Methodists families leaving the township. This same migration pattern also explains why the Roman Catholic church lost ground (Table 4-9).

The means whereby this change was accomplished is most evident in the experience of the farming population. Throughout the census period the ethnic clustering so often associated with Ontario's settlement patterns was found also in this community. Irish Roman Catholics, in particular, tended to group together in the eighth, ninth, and tenth concessions in the northern division. By 1871, when the ethnic balance of the township had been shifted in favour of the English-born farmer, the process had been effected primarily by the migration of Irish tenants, particularly Roman Catholics. In 1852, Irish Catholic tenants and landowners were represented equally in the farming population. Twenty years later, the proportion of landowners remained

TABLE 4-9

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDERS BY
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, 1852-1871*

	N	Anglican	Roman Catholic	Methodist	Presbyterian	Other
A. 1852:						
All	318	41.2	23.3	25.8	7.9	1.9
Persistent	155	42.6	20.7	27.1	7.7	1.3
Transient	163	39.9	25.8	24.5	8.0	1.8
B. 1861:						
All	297	36.4	20.5	34.0	7.7	1.4
Persistent	147	36.7	20.4	36.1	4.8	2.0
Transient	150	36.0	20.7	32.0	10.7	0.7
Sons	140	42.3	10.0	37.4	10.0	0.0
Newcomers	102	24.5	24.5	43.1	6.9	0.9
C. 1871:						
All	276	30.1	18.8	41.3	8.7	1.1
Persistent	143	33.6	18.2	40.6	7.0	0.7
Transient	133	26.3	19.6	42.1	10.5	1.5
Sons	33	24.2	21.2	48.5	3.0	3.0
Newcomers	98	21.4	15.3	45.9	16.3	0.0

* Chi² did not attain a significance level of more than 0.11 at any of the decennial cut-in points.

the same but ranks of the Irish Catholic tenants had been thinned by more than one hundred percent. Consequently, there were only six Irish Catholic tenant farmers in the township by 1871.

Across the timespan, transiency and replacement produced a population with very different cultural and economic characteristics than it had at mid-century. In ethnic terms, the natives of Ireland and England continued to dominate, but prominence had passed to the English who would soon give way, in turn, to the native born.

Transiency also determined that the Irish farm population, whether Roman

Catholic or Ulster, would be predominantly landowning. The tenant population was dominated by natives of England. The native born, who were the most mobile segment of the population at mid-century and through the 1860s, were becoming much more stable by the 1870s.

V

The broad characteristics of the transient and persistent populations described thus far seem to conform to many of the generalizations about migrant populations suggested by the Staples, Taylor, Gagan, Katz and Thernstrom theses. Economic factors, as defined by vocational opportunity, landownership and indebtedness appear to have been associated with transiency in this community. The tendency, in the early years at least, for the native born to have been less permanently rooted also suggests that youthfulness and nativity may have been important. Again, this would have been consistent with some of the studies discussed earlier in this chapter.

The question that remains to be asked about the transient population is the relative importance, individually and collectively, of these variables in explaining the decision to pack up and move on. The lack of statistical significance for some of the crosstabulations (presented here in percentage form) may have been a consequence of the interplay of several variables. To take one example, if the native born were more footloose, all other things being equal, a table which does not take into consideration that many native born were landowners as well and, therefore, less likely to move will underestimate the importance of ethnicity in determining whether a householder would stay or move on.

One way of testing the importance of these variables and their interrelationships is provided by Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA). The results of an MCA analysis of the principal variables discussed in this chapter (Birthplace, land tenure, occupation, age, and indebtedness) appears in tables 4-10 and 4-11. These factors have been allowed to covary with the size of an individual's household on the assumption that the larger the household, the more likely the family would persist.³⁷ The results of this analysis demonstrate not only the relative importance of the variables but also changes that occurred over time.

Land tenure, which ranked first in 1851 and 1871, and second in 1861 (Table 4-10) appears to have been the most important single factor in determining whether an individual would stay in the township or leave. At each decennial cut-in point, all other things being equal, two-thirds or more of the tenants should have been on the move.

Occupation ranked second overall. In both 1851 and 1861 there were significant differences in the behaviour of different occupational groups. In 1851 the unskilled were more likely to move during the next ten years than any other group. A decade later it was the skilled. Perhaps these changes were related to demands for labour and the decline of the township's villages during the 1850s and 1860s. Similarly, the drop in the proportion of transients among the agricultural population in the 1860s may be an exemplification of the behaviour of the provincial economy. The farmer of the 1850s had to weather the collapse of both the wheat and land markets in quick succession. His counterpart in the 1870s had to face another depression. There is evidence in the local church records that the depression of 1873 hit this community particularly

TABLE 4-10

SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS AND RANK ORDER OF SELECT VARIABLES
FROM MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS OF TRANSIENCY
1851-1871

Significance (F-ratio) of variables	1851	1861	1871
Birthplace	.01 (3)*	.45 (5)	.01 (2)
Land Tenure	.01 (1)	.01 (2)	.01 (1)
Occupation	.01 (2)	.01 (1)	.23 (4)
Age	.85 (4)	.69 (3) [†]	.68 (3)
Indebtedness	.36 (5)	.08 (3)	.95 (5)
Overall significance	.01	.01	.01

* Numbers in parentheses indicate the rank order of the variables.

[†] Age and indebtedness tied.

NOTE: Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA) reports both the significance of each individual independent variable and the overall significance of all independent variables collectively in explaining variation in the dependent variable. It also ranks the independent variables in order of importance. The Multiple R is a correlation coefficient which provides an indication of the strength of the relationship that exists between the dependent and independent variables. Multiple R^2 indicates the proportion of the variation in the dependent variable that is explained by the independent variables (see table 4-11).

hard.³⁸ In contrast, the farmer of the 1860s, despite the land crisis, enjoyed fairly firm markets for his agricultural products. Hence, if transiency can be explained in part by the behaviour of the economic sector, and the farmer's perceptions of it, then the generalized sense of crisis that was evident in the Confederation debates, and which united members of all political persuasions in lamenting the fate of the Ontario farmer, ensured that at least forty percent of the farmers in this community were on the move.³⁹

TABLE 4-11

ADJUSTED MEAN PERCENTAGES FOR TRANSIENT HOUSEHOLDERS
FROM MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS, 1851-1871

	1851		1861		1871	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Grand Mean		58		56		54
VARIABLES:						
<u>Birthplace:</u>						
England	102	61	89	51	80	58
Ireland	110	52	87	56	50	72
Scotland	7	33	12	56	10	71
Upper Canada	15	92	45	66	69	36
<u>Land Tenure:</u>						
Owner	80	41	90	41	102	40
Tenant	154	67	143	66	107	68
<u>Occupation:</u>						
Agriculture	145	50	145	45	151	50
Unskilled	46	78	49	70	36	65
Skilled	29	67	26	86	16	67
Commerce	15	59	13	61	6	67
<u>Age:</u>						
20-29 years	39	53	54	50	42	67
30-39	79	55	84	59	51	58
40-49	64	59	44	53	58	49
50-59	35	67	32	58	34	45
60-69	16	60	17	68	14	48
70-79	1	53	1	8	4	36
80-89	0	-	1	33	0	-
<u>Indebtedness:</u>						
No debt	212	59	197	54	170	54
In debt	22	49	36	69	39	53
Multiple R	.507		.456		.477	
Multiple R ²	.257		.208		.227	

Birthplace and age ranked third. Of the two, only birthplace achieved any statistical significance (1851 and 1871). The lack of significance in 1861 may result from the influence of two broad trends that cancelled each other out. Across the timespan the native born became increasingly more stable until by 1871, all other things being equal, they were the least likely to leave the township. At the same time, the Irish and Scots become more likely to move. The data for ages suggest that migrants could be found among all age groups but a slight trend is evident. Over time there was a gradual shift toward younger men. Perhaps, once again, this was related to economic conditions and the difficulty in acquiring land after 1870.

Suprisingly, indebtedness was the least influential of the five factors. Only in 1861 were debtors more likely to move. A clue to this patter of behaviour may lie in the pattern of mortgaging discussed in chapter III. In 1861 almost three-quarters of the mortgages contracted by the landowning population were for the purpose of staving off hard times or making farm improvements. In 1851 and 1871 three in five mortgages (55.8%-60.3%) were taken out for the purpose of acquiring property.⁴⁰

The changing patterns of explanatory power among the independent variables suggests that there is no easy explanation for the movement of people through time and space. These variables, which in one form or another, have provided the basis for most studies of transiency, obviously operated in different mixes at different times and in different economic circumstances. Clearly, however, the most important of them were economic (land tenure and occupation). Social and demographic

variables, with one exception, ranked near the bottom of the scale. Of course, it could be argued as well that there were other variables that perhaps cannot be measured objectively but which, nevertheless, were important factors in determining whether householders stayed or left the township. After all, these "traditional" variables explain only about one-quarter of the variance. One question that can be asked and which may throw light not only on transiency but also on the nature of this community is: Why did people stay?

VI

One measure of the rigidity of the social and economic structures in this community was the opportunities it offered individuals to move upward, or downward. Transiency obviously created opportunity in the township by freeing land and creating vacancies in the occupational structure. The extent to which these, and other opportunities created by a developing economy, were taken advantage of by the persistent population provides insight into the forces promoting social integration in Toronto Gore. It is clear from the foregoing analysis that the acquisition of land, or a shift from some other occupation into agriculture would have increased the likelihood of a household remaining in the area for an extended period.

Table 4-12 summarizes the economic activities of the persistent population along selected variables. It provides correlation coefficients (ϕ) for changes in occupation, land tenure, and farm size for the landowning population. The ϕ coefficient normally is used to indicate the strength of association between two nominal variables. It ranges in value from "0" to "1", with "1" indicating a perfect correlation. In

TABLE 4-12

SELECT SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR ECONOMIC
MOBILITY AMONG PERSISTENTS
1851-1890

	1851 -1860	1861 -1870	1871 -1880	1881 -1890
<u>A. Occupational mobility</u>				
Percent moving into agriculture	42.3	52.7	22.2	0.0
Correlation (Phi) coefficient	.55	.50	.74	1.0
<u>B. Land tenure</u>				
Percent of tenants who became owner-occupiers	56.0	46.7	50.0	40.0
Correlation (Phi) coefficient	.69	.58	.66	.82
<u>C. Size of farm</u>				
Percent moving up	25.0	21.3	28.4	13.9
Percent moving down	16.3	19.9	26.3	17.4
Percent remaining stable	58.7	59.6	45.3	68.6
Correlation (Phi) coefficient	.14	.38	.20	.63

this case a low value for phi indicates that substantial change or mobility occurred over the decade. Conversely, the higher the value of phi, the less change occurred.

In general terms, table 4-12 indicates that there was considerable mobility in the township during the decades immediately following mid-century but as time passed the township's structures began to ossify. Yet, even though it became more difficult, large numbers of persisters could and did improve their position across the timespan. In the 1850s

and 1860s a large proportion of the skilled and unskilled workers, as well as a few men engaged in commerce were able to make the transition to agriculture. In the process they moved into an occupational category that was much more stable. By the 1870s, few were making the switch to farming, and a decade later all occupational mobility had ceased. For a few farmers there was mobility in the opposite direction. Several diversified their activities and became merchants or innkeepers while retaining their farms. One, Thomas Walker Bland, a son of John Bland, moved downward when he sold his farm and began to hire himself out as a labourer. These were exceptions, however. Ninety percent of all farmers remained on the land.

Persistence also afforded many the opportunity to become landowners for the first time. Although it became increasingly difficult to acquire land over time, between two and three-fifths of the township's persistent tenants were able to acquire land in any given decade. Once the farmer had become a landowner there were further opportunities to add to his holdings. As time passed, however, few farmers who owned more than 110 acres purchased additional land. Overwhelmingly, activity in the land market was dominated by the owners of small farms. In fact, the owner of a larger farm was more likely to seel off a few acres during the 1870s and 1880s than he was to buy more land. Most, for whatever reason, seem to have been content with what they had and neither purchased nor sold land.

This mobility suggests that the Gore continued to provide opportunities for those who were willing to persist long enough to take advantage of them. Undoubtedly transiency contributed to the

creation of those opportunities. Hence it was an essential feature of the continued economic growth of this community. But, in quite another way, transiency was the logical outcome of another set of forces that had been at work in this township since the first settlers arrived in 1820.

When John Woodill subdivided his land in 1823 to provide places for his two sons, and Henry Bell divided his purchase to give one hundred acres to his brother, Joseph, they began a tradition that would dominate the history of this township for the next sixty years.⁴¹ In succeeding years the economic opportunities that were so important for the persistence of some households were outweighed for others by a non-pecuniary advantage to residence in the Gore, the ties of kinship.⁴² Between 1851 and 1880, at least two of every five householders in this township, at any given point in time, were related directly to one of the permanent families that had settled in the township before mid-century (Table 4-13). Persistence among these households was remarkable. More than eight of ten, at any point in time, remained for a decade or more. Only after 1880 did this proportion begin to drop. Thus, although the Gore continued to attract at least one hundred new households every decade, few remained for as long as ten years. In the 1850s one in five of the newcomers persisted, but by the 1870s only one in twenty found a place in the township for more than ten years. Increasingly, Toronto Gore became a closed society defined by the longevity and kinship bonds among its families, if not its households. It is not surprising, therefore, that as time passed kinship became one of the more important factors defining social status.

TABLE 4-13

KINSHIP AND PERSISTENCE

	1851	1861	1871	1881
A. Total number of households in the township	318	297	276	254
Percent persistent	48.7	49.0	51.8	51.1
B. Number of householders related to an early settler	145	154	163	165
Percent of all households	45.6	51.8	59.1	64.9
Percent persistent	84.1	81.2	84.1	75.8
C. Number of householders not related to an early settler	173	143	113	89
Percent of all households	54.4	48.1	40.9	35.0
Percent persistent	19.1	14.6	5.4	5.6
D. Correlation between kinship and persistence [Phi (ϕ) coefficient]	.65	.66	.77	.65
Significance	.001	.001	.001	.001

It was the members of these permanent families who dominated the township's principal social, economic and political institutions. They provided the main support for the township's churches.⁴³ They dominated local government. Table 4-14 makes the point well. Local government records, which survive for the period after 1857, show that members of permanent families held ninety percent (89.9%) of all elective positions and almost eighty percent (78.9%) of all appointed positions. Before 1888 every Reeve elected in the township was a member of a permanent family. If continuity in social leadership helps to define stability in a community, then surely this was a stable community.

TABLE 4-14

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT
BY FAMILY AFFILIATION, 1857-1891

	Number of positions	Member of a permanent family	Not a member of a permanent family
A. <u>Elected positions:</u>			
Reeve	35	88.6	11.4
Councillor	140	85.0	15.0
Treasurer	35	100.0	0.0
Clerk	35	100.0	0.0
B. <u>Appointed positions:</u>			
Pathmaster	145	74.5	25.5
Fenceviewer	30	86.7	13.3
Poundkeeper	16	87.5	12.5
Warden	13	100.0	0.0

SOURCE: "Minutes of the Municipal Council, 1857-1916," GS. 3521, PAO, Toronto: George S. Tavender, From This Year Hence: A History of Toronto Gore, 1818-1967 (Brampton: Charters, 1967), pp. 168-171.

Stability, however, did not necessarily mean the continuous presence of individual households over the whole timespan. Mobility, in both a horizontal and vertical sense also was endemic among the "permanent" households. Hence, permanence and stability in this community were defined by the continued presence of families that were constantly generating new households, rather than by the households themselves. At the household level land turned over with rapidity as fathers were replaced by sons, brothers by brothers, cousins by cousins. Between mid-century and 1891 a minimum of 826 householders called the Gore their home, however briefly (Table 4-15). Of these, approximately

TABLE 4-15

MINIMUM NUMBER OF DIFFERENT HOUSEHOLDS
1852-1890

	All householders		Proportion related to an early settler	
	N	%	N	%
Householders persisting for:				
forty years or more	11	1.3	11	100.0
30-39 years	43	5.2	43	100.0
20-29 years	78	9.4	78	100.0
10-19 years	196	23.7	80	40.8
less than 10 years	498	60.3	74	14.9
Total minimum number of households	826	100.0	286	34.6

one-third (34.6%) were related to an early settler. Although there was more stability among these internally generated households, one in two (53.8%) of the young men who began their independent economic life in Toronto Gore failed to remain in the township long enough to marry, raise a family and face the problem of providing a place for their children. These comments notwithstanding, it is clear that there is some basis for the "myth" of the deeply entrenched rural community in Ontario. Throughout its history Toronto Gore was home to two different populations simultaneously. One was highly mobile and its presence scarcely touched the township's institutional frameworks. The other was, in every sense of the word, Toronto Gore.

VII

It is clear then, that both transiency and persistence were characteristic of this community. The ceaseless movement of people out of all levels of this society created vacancies that could be filled by both newcomers and households generated internally. In general, it was the latter who were able to take best advantage of these opportunities. Most often, newcomers filled the lower rungs of the social structure. These were the only places left open to them as persisters snapped up available land and moved into the most stable occupational categories. In a very limited sense, then, transiency did remove some of the economic stress created by land pressure after mid-century.

Far more important, in terms of this study, was the growing relationship between kinship and persistence. The conclusion that family, and the wider bonds of kinship played a role in determining whether individuals would remain in the township is inescapable. For all members of this society there were economic advantages in continued residence in Toronto Gore. The township had good access to markets and agricultural advancement had progressed steadily after mid-century. With markets in Toronto and the United States for both their grain and livestock, the township's farmers could reasonably expect to fare as well as most of their neighbours in southern Ontario. For many, the scarcity of land was an obstacle standing in the way of their full enjoyment of whatever benefits the township had to offer. Hence, the turnover in tenant farmers, who found it increasingly difficult to acquire land, was high. For those householders who had kinsmen among

their neighbours there were non-pecuniary as well as pecuniary advantages to continued residence in the area. Some, content to remain within the bosom of their families, were willing to accept tenant status temporarily as they accumulated sufficient capital to buy land nearby. For most, being related to one of the township's long established families also held out the prospect of receiving some form of family aid. The extent to which that aid was forthcoming is the subject of chapter VI.

It is clear, as well, that the township's capacity to absorb and support new households was limited. Transiency, by itself, could not provide enough places for the children of the permanent families, let alone for the newcomers who continued to drift into the area. Among the permanent families farms of slightly more than one hundred acres could not be subdivided indefinitely. At most they could hope to provide places for one or two sons. Thus, while transiency may have militated against some of the problems inherent in the social and economic ecology of nineteenth century rural Ontario, it did not provide full relief from the dilemma facing all members of Toronto Gore's population, but especially the permanent families. If the goal of providing equally for all children was to be met, if the culture of the family farm was to be preserved, then fundamental demographic and social adjustments were a necessity. It was the permanent families who felt these pressures the most. The families of early settlers who, for whatever reasons, had managed to survive the centrifugal forces of the pioneer phase, had an obvious commitment to maintaining the presence of their own families in the township. The data presented in this chapter suggests that they succeeded, at least in part, in settling their children nearby. How

they were able to achieve that goal is the subject of the next three chapters.

FOOTNOTES

¹An earlier version of this chapter appeared in David Gagan and Herbert Mays, "Historical Demography and Canadian Social History: Families and Land in Peel County, Ontario," C.H.R., LIV (1973), pp. 35-47.

²Katz, The People of Hamilton, p. 104.

³Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in The Turner Thesis Concerning the Role of the Frontier in American History, rev. ed., ed: George R. Taylor (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1956), pp. 9-10; J. C. Malin, "The Turnover of Farm Population in Kansas," Kansas Historical Quarterly, IV (1935), p. 343.

⁴Malin, "Turnover," pp. 343, 361.

⁵See for example: Peter J. Coleman, "Restless Grant County: Americans on the Move," Wisconsin Mag. of History, XLVI (1962), pp. 16-20; Bogue, Prairie to Corn Belt, pp. 25-28; Curti, Making of an American Community, pp. 65-77.

⁶The most notable exceptions to this generalization include: S. A. Cudmore, "Rural Depopulation in Southern Ontario," Trans. of the Cdn. Instit., IX (1912), pp. 261-267; Ian C. Taylor, "Components of Population Change," (M.A. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1967); J. David Wood, "Simulating Pre-Census Population Distribution," Canadian Geographer, XVIII (1974), pp. 250-264; Gagan, "Geographic and Social Mobility," pp. 152-164.

⁷See for example: Watkins, "Stables Theory," pp. 49-73; V. C. Fowke, "The National Policy--Old and New," in Approaches to Canadian Economic History, ed: M. H. Watkins and W. T. Easterbrook (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969), pp. 239-42; Teeple, Capitalism and the National Question, pp. 44-65; Johnson, "Land Policy," pp. 41-60.

⁸Watkins, "Staples Theory," pp. 57-61; Jones, History of Agriculture, pp. 202-203.

⁹Harvey J. Philpott, Guide Book to the Canadian Dominion Containing Full Information for the Emigrant, the Tourist, the Sportsman and the Small Capitalist (London, 1871), p. 119; Patrick Sheriff, A Tour Through North America Together with a Comprehensive View of the Canadas and United States as Adapted for Agricultural Emigration (Edinburgh, 1835), p. 168.

¹⁰Jones, History of Agriculture, pp. 56-7.

¹¹Taylor, "Components of Population Change," pp. 57-59.

¹²Ibid., p. 1.

¹³The only exceptions are: Gagan, "Geographic and Social Mobility," pp. 152-64; Linda A. Bissell, "From One Generation to Another: Mobility in Seventeenth Century Windsor, Connecticut," Wm. & Mary Qu., XXXI (1974), pp. 80-110.

¹⁴Stephen Thernstrom and Peter Knights, "Men in Motion: Some Data and Speculations about Urban Population Mobility in Nineteenth-Century America," Journ. of Interdisciplinary History, I (1970), pp. 17-47.

¹⁵Stephen Thernstrom, "Urbanization, Migration and Social Mobility in Late Nineteenth-Century America," in Towards A New Past: Dissenting Essays in American History, ed: Barton J. Bernstein (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), p. 168. See also: S. Thernstrom, "Notes on the Historical Study of Social Mobility," in Quantitative History: Selected Readings in the Quantitative Analysis of Historical Data, ed: D. K. Rowney and James O. Graham (Georgetown: Irwin-Dorsey, 1969), pp. 99-108; Peter Knights, Plain People of Boston, 1830-1861: A Study in City Growth (New York, 1971), p. 118.

¹⁶Knights, Plain People, p. 118.

¹⁷Katz, People of Hamilton, p. 113.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 119, 133-34.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 93, 206.

²⁰Gagan, "Geographic and Social Mobility," pp. 163-164. For a commentary which stresses the importance of flexibility and abandoning a parish-bound mentality see: John Howison, Sketches of Upper Canada, Domestic Local and Characteristic (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1821; reprint ed., New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1965), p. 69; Catherine Parr Traill, The Backwoods of Canada: Being Letters From the Wife of An Emigrant Officer (London: Charles Knight, 1836; reprint ed., Toronto: Coles, 1971), pp. 196-7; Samuel Strickland, Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West or the Experiences of an Early Settler (reprint ed., Edmonton: Hurtig, 1970), p. 265; J. Sheridan Hogan, Canada: An Essay (Montreal: John Lovell, 1855), p. 39; E. Copleston, Canada: Why We Live in It and Why We Like It (London, 1861), p. 84. A detailed synthesis of these perceptions is found in: Gagan, "The Prose of Life."

²¹Gagan, "Geographic and Social Mobility," p. 154.

²²T. H. Hollingsworth, "Historical Studies of Migration," Annals de Demographie Historique, 1970 (Paris & The Hague), p. 88.

²³Gagan, "Geographic and Social Mobility," p. 156.

²⁴A frontier stage can be defined in terms of population growth and density. One such definition suggests tht the point at which population growth declines the most marks the end of the frontier stage. Conzen, Frontier Farming, pp. 179-82. See also: Jack E. Eblen, "An Analysis of Nineteenth Century Frontier Populations," Demography, II (1965), pp. 399-413.

²⁵S. A. Cudmore et. al., "Factors in the Growth of Rural Population in Canada," C.P.S.A.P., VI (1934), pp. 196-219; Taylor, "Components of Population Change," pp. 89-90; J. MacDougall, Rural Life in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), ch. 1.

²⁶Allan G. Bogue, "Social Theory and the Pioneer," Ag. Hist., XXXIV (1960), p. 22.

²⁷Gagan, "Geographic and Social Mobility," pp. 160-161; Katz, People of Hamilton, pp. 146-152.

²⁸Spelt, Urban Development, pp. 87, 134-7, 147-8; Brampton Weekly Times, 20 March 1857.

²⁹Ont. Ag. Comm., II; p. 416.

³⁰Norman Macdonald, Canada: Immigration and Colonization (Toronto: Macmillan, 1966), pp. 100, 106-108.

³¹This lack of statistical significance may be a function of the number of cases in the study. It was impossible to collapse this data any further. Whether owners of small farms did indeed move with a regularity that was statistically different from from the owners of larger farms must await a study that contains a larger sample or where there are greater differences among groups.

³²This figure was arrived at by comparing the householders listed on the census with the names on the abstracts of deeds for the township. The 1852 census did not differentiate between owners and tenants. In 1891 this distinction was made. Census of Canada, 1890-91, III; Table XVI.

³³Census of Canada, 1890-1, III; Tables XVI, T.

³⁴The land records suggest that farms in these areas sold, on the average, for 10-20% more than farms in the more remote parts of the township. "Abstract of Deeds, Toronto Gore Township, 1819-1958," GS. 3523-4, PA0, Toronto (microfilm).

³⁵Two important indicators of the transient's economic position are missing from the township's records. First, the records for chattel mortgages which would provide a much more complete picture of indebtedness in this society do not survive. More important, is the impossibility of ranking households on any other scale than the ownership of land.

The assessment rolls are particularly disappointing. Assessment was based solely on land, and only in very rare cases was any indication of annual income provided. The lack of precise data on production across the whole timespan also makes it difficult to provide any estimates of farm income.

³⁶Smith, Canadian Gazetteer, p. 193. Smith's comments seem to be based upon the 1842 census which was very unreliable for this township. There was a massive underenumeration.

³⁷Katz, People of Hamilton, p. 124.

³⁸"Records of the Toronto Gore Hilltop Cemetery," Perkins Bull Collection, Series B, Box 5, PAO, Toronto.

³⁹Confederation Debates, pp. 158, 742, 738-9, 963.

⁴⁰Gagan, "Security of Land," p. 142.

⁴¹"Petition of Joseph Tomlinson et. al.," R.G. 1, C-IV, Township Papers, PAO, Toronto.

⁴²This variable could not be introduced into the MCA analysis because variables that are highly correlated produce meaningless results. The permanent family variable was correlated highly with at least two other variables--land tenure, and nativity.

⁴³Perkins Bull Collection, Series A, B, F, PAO, Toronto.

CHAPTER V

HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY DURING THE ERA
OF ECONOMIC TRANSITION, 1851-1871

I

In the early years of settlement, labour-intensive agricultural practices dictated that the rural household would be large and complex.¹ Children, relatives and/or hired domestic workers were necessary components of the work force that was essential to economic progress and success. Children, in particular, were looked upon as vital contributors to the whole family's material well-being in a society where both wage labour and the capital to pay for it were in short supply.² As time passed, improvements in transportation, the transition to mixed commercial agriculture, and the mechanization of Ontario's farms altered labour requirements. But, far more important, this "progress" was accompanied by escalating land values and the appearance of consumer goods. The former made it more difficult for patriarchs to provide places nearby for their children: the latter, which coincided with diminishing labour requirements on Ontario's farms, forced farmers to choose between large numbers of children, who were becoming consumers rather than producers of capital, and their natural desire to enjoy the benefits provided by a maturing provincial economy.³ In short, the generation that reached maturity during the 1850s and 1860s was

confronted with several dilemmas. To acquire places for themselves in the same community as their parents was becoming increasingly difficult and might necessitate postponing marriage and the establishment of independent households. Even once they were established, to continue the practice of maintaining large households and families threatened the standard of living for all in the short term and, over the long term, compromised the rural patriarch's ability to provide places for his children. Further complicating the situation, was the patriarch's natural desire to ensure that he would be adequately provided for in his own old age. But to abandon these practices entirely would have brought fundamental changes in the patterns of rural life that were untenable for a society schooled in a tradition that extolled the virtues of the rural family as a self-contained economic unit.⁴

The study of household and family, therefore, can provide useful insights into the ways in which rural Ontario, in general, and the people of Toronto Gore, in particular, coped with the economic stress in which they were caught in the second half of the nineteenth century. There is a strong historiographic and theoretical underpinning, moreover, for this approach.

The sensitivity of the household unit to both social and economic change has been demonstrated so often in recent years that it is no longer a matter for debate.⁵ Peter Laslett, whose Cambridge Group for the Study of Population and Social Structure has been engaged in a massive reconstruction of pre-industrial society in England, has argued that the size and character of families and households seem to be a "circumstance incidental to the practice of agriculture, to customs of

land distribution . . . to the laws and traditions of land inheritance and of succession in the patriline."⁶

In North America, historians, sociologists, economists, and demographers have related changes in family size and structure to a wide range of demonstrable factors such as improvements in health standards, declines in mortality, industrialization, urbanization, and rising levels of literacy, as well as land and population pressure.⁷ Explanations for changes in household structure have been found in improvements in transportation, mechanization, and industrialization that broke down the isolation of the farm family, lessened the manpower it required, and made alternative, often more remunerative employment outside the household easily accessible.⁸ Hence, farm labourers, domestics, and apprentices disappeared from households as they sought alternative employment elsewhere.

The most recent relevant research for this study has focussed upon the relationship between land pressure and fertility declines. Until Yasukichi Yasuba published his Birth Rates of the White Population in the United States, 1800-1860 in 1962, many sociologists had accepted a hypothesis that linked declines in population growth and fertility to industrialization and urbanization. Higher standards of living accompanied by rising social expectations led urban dwellers to the inescapable conclusion that too many children consumed too much wealth, and they responded by limiting the size of their families.⁹ Yasuba demonstrated that rural populations also had adjusted their fertility. But more important, he showed that the cause of declining rural birth rates was to be found in the rural environment itself, to be more

precise, in the accessibility of land.¹⁰ The controversial nature of Yasuba's findings, which challenged traditional interpretations of population growth in the United States, led to a major reworking of his study by Forster and Tucker in 1972. After applying more sophisticated techniques to the same data, they concluded that there did seem to be a

meaningful socioeconomic relation between the refined birth ratio and the abundance or scarcity of opportunity near to the place of residence for the establishment of new farms, and this may help to account both for the height of American fertility at the beginning of the nineteenth century and its subsequent downward trend.¹¹

At about the same time that Forster and Tucker were preparing their study Richard Easterlin, an economist at the University of Pennsylvania, presented a paper at the annual meeting of the American Economic Association in which he argued that, "the secular decline in American fertility was a voluntary response to changing environmental conditions."¹² In several subsequent papers he developed a hypothesis that built upon the economic theory of fertility which postulated that the number of children born into a family is determined by tastes, prices, and family income. Easterlin's "bequest model," described in the first chapter of this study, related declines in rural fertility to the farmer's concerns about his ability to "keep his capital intact."¹³ In good times, or during the settlement phase, a farmer could look forward to multiplying his capital and, consequently, he felt that he could afford large numbers of children. When the outlook was for "hard times," or when the economy and land market had reached a stage

where the farmer could no longer anticipate increasing his capital substantially, then he would begin to feel pressure to start limiting the size of his family. By focussing on the psychological impact of the land market Easterlin refined the relationship between land availability and fertility that had been demonstrated in studies by Yasuba, Forster and Tucker, and Don R. Leet, one of Easterlin's former students.¹⁴

None of these studies had suggested that declining fertility was related to land availability alone. Leet's work, for example, examined the influence of education, changing sex ratios, migration, culture, and urbanization upon fertility ratios. He finally concluded, however, that the strongest relationship was between land availability, as expressed in land values, and fertility.¹⁵

Similar studies in Canada have not been nearly as numerous. Nevertheless, research by Marvin McInnis, Lorne Tepperman, and David Gagan has demonstrated a similar link between fertility rates and land availability, or patterns of land distribution.¹⁶ In Upper Canada favourable man/land ratios and wasteful agricultural practices had favoured large families. Under conditions where land was relatively cheap and labour scarce and, therefore, expensive, the rural family had to be large to meet its own labour requirements. Consequently, at mid-century Upper Canada/Canada West had one of the "highest birth rates in the world."¹⁷ After mid-century economic conditions changed markedly. Gagan's work, in particular, establishes clearly that the economic crisis that began at the end of the decade of the fifties and continued into the sixties affected both fertility and marriage patterns.¹⁸

Collectively, these studies raise a number of important considerations for this dissertation. If, as they suggest, both household and family were particularly sensitive to changing economic conditions, then the study of both of these units should provide insights into the forces shaping society in Toronto Gore. Of particular importance are the differences in behaviour exhibited by various groups. Previous chapters have established that kinship or "permanence" affected patterns of land distribution, and social integration. Obviously the permanent families had the greatest non-pecuniary attachment to this township. Not only were they concerned with promoting the individual prospects of their offspring, but also with finding places for them in the township, if possible. Hence, their response to economic stress may have been different from their less permanent neighbours. Similarly, the responses of landowners and tenants, as well as those of different ethnic groups may have varied. These concerns go far beyond the general effects of land availability on rural fertility. They measure, in a different way, the impact of economic stress upon different components of the social and economic structures of this community.

III

Before proceeding to an analysis of the Gore's households, a series of working definitions that distinguish between household and family must be developed. The family, in particular, has been defined in numerous ways by social scientists. Their conceptualizations of the family range along a broad continuum, at one end of which the family is depicted as the "elementary society of man, wife and children"

sharing a common roof.¹⁹ The other end of the continuum describes the family as a vast network of kinship groupings including relatives by marriage and adoption as well as blood, that extends to several residences, often in different localities.²⁰

Because the principal sources of household data used in this chapter are the 1852, 1861 and 1871 manuscript census returns, the parameters for households and families were predetermined by the enumeration instructions and the manner in which enumerators carried out their duties. Hence, the family referred to here is the "census family" composed of mother, father, and their offspring living at home. In this context, the household is defined as all persons who shared the same roof. The boundaries of any of these households could expand to include resident servants, labourers, and boarders.²¹ In cases where the co-resident domestic group contained kinfolk who were not part of a conjugal family unit (CFU), and/or domestic workers or boarders, it is referred to as extended.

It is obvious from the manuscript census returns that the diligence with which enumerators carried out their duties varied considerably from one locality to another.²² In the Gore, however, there was sufficient consistency and assiduity among the enumerators in the various census districts to permit the identification, with some confidence, of the occupiers of any single house. Moreover, since the enumerator's instructions required them to differentiate between family and non-family members of the household, it is possible, as well, to determine the various ranks of membership within the household.²³

III

In the two decades after mid-century Toronto Gore experienced significant changes in both the size and structure of its households. These were two separate, although related, phenomena since changes in household size were not necessarily accompanied by changes in structure. The depopulation of the household unit, although it may have differed in degree from one locality to another, characterized all of North America during the same period (Table 5-1). In addition to normal statistical variations among individual households, it is apparent that there were differences related to the ecology as well. Rural households were consistently larger than their urban counterparts and, in the rural context, farming households were larger than non-farming. But, regardless of location or occupation the trend toward smaller units touched all segments of the North American population and the greatest proportional declines were found in rural areas.

In eastern Canada, this trend appeared in the 1860s when there was an average loss of seventy-four residents for every one hundred rural households.²⁴ In Toronto Gore this process began a decade earlier and only farm households were able to resist the tendency toward smaller units. By the 1860s even farm households had begun to decline in size. Although the average losses were not as great as the provincial average, there was still sufficient depopulation to suggest that fundamental changes were taking place at the household level.

To analyze these changes this chapter will focus on three aspects of household structure. First, it will examine the changing composition of the household from the perspective of its resident additions, or non-

TABLE 5-1

TRENDS IN MEAN HOUSEHOLD SIZE, 1851-1891

	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
A. <u>Toronto Gore:</u>					
All households	5.90	5.82	5.80	5.54	5.70
Farm households	6.60	6.69	6.18	--	--
B. <u>Eastern Canada:</u>					
All households	6.18	6.29	5.60	5.36	5.29
Rural households	--	6.45	5.71	5.51	5.40
C. <u>United States</u>	5.50 ^a	5.28 ^b	5.10 ^c	5.04 ^d	4.93 ^e

SOURCE: Census of Canada, 1931, XII (12 vols., Ottawa, 1933-42), p. 28; Census of Canada, 1851-2, 1861, 1871, 1891; P. Greven, "Average Size of Households," in Household and Family, p. 551.

^a1850; ^b1860; ^c1870; ^d1880; ^e1890.

family members. Second, the residence and marriage patterns of family members between the ages of sixteen and twenty-six, those who had reached an age when they could begin to form new families, will be explored. Finally, the extent to which the township's families began to limit their fertility as land became more scarce and more expensive will conclude the analysis. Of course, all of these changes were inter-related to some extent. They are treated separately here for the sake of clarity.

IV

Table 5-2 classifies the Gore's households according to the different kinds of resident additions they contained. These extended households were created as the family unit expanded its boundaries,

TABLE 5-2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY RESIDENT ADDITIONS
1851-1871

	1851	1861	1871
Households with:			
1. No resident additions	53.6 ^a	50.7 ^b	70.7 ^c
2. Resident servants	18.6 ^d	35.5 ^e	5.8 ^f
3. Resident labourers	23.9 ^g	6.4 ^h	9.4 ⁱ
4. Resident boarders	7.9 ^j	4.4 ^k	6.9 ^l
5. Resident relatives	11.9 ^m	12.2 ⁿ	16.3 ^o
Total Households	319	296	276

NOTE: Total percentages exceed one hundred percent since many households contained several different kinds of resident additions. Significance levels for changes by decade are as follows: Not significant ($p > .05$) = a-b, h-i, j-k, k-l, m-n, n-o; $p < .001$ = b-c, d-e, e-f, g-h.

however temporarily, to make room for relatives, boarders, and live-in domestic servants and labourers. The table suggests that many Toronto Gore households at mid-century resembled the household described by Caniff Haight in his memoir of country life in Upper Canada. Haight provided a vivid description of a farm household in the late 1830s that contained, in addition to the conjugal family, a grandmother and two serving girls recruited from neighbouring families.²⁵

The practice of sending children out to work in nearby homes was not unusual in Upper Canada and appears to have served a number of purposes.²⁶ From the perspective of the family whose children were employed, it provided an additional source of income, while at the same

relieving the family of the burden of supporting young adults whose labour was not required. For the adolescent, a period of time working in the household of a successful neighbour offered useful vocational training as well as the prospect of making a good marriage.²⁷ Most often, these young people found employment with families who were unable to meet their own labour requirements. Both at the beginning and the end of its domestic cycle, when its children were either too young to work, or had left to establish their own independent households, the family was forced to turn to neighbouring adolescents or recent immigrants as a potential source of labour.²⁸

For Toronto Gore it is difficult to argue with any confidence that the practice of sending children out to work was widespread. In many households employing domestic servants or labourers there were young people whose names, ages and cultural identities corresponded almost exactly to those of children enumerated as members of a nearby household on a previous census. But, the practice of repeating christian names within families makes it almost impossible to distinguish between the offspring of the township's householders and recently arrived kinsmen who may have sought employment in the surrounding area. These comments notwithstanding, the frequency with which the demographic and cultural characteristics of domestic workers matched those of children missing from nearby households was too great to be a coincidence. In all likelihood, Toronto Gore, like most communities in Upper Canada/Canada West recruited a significant proportion of its serving population locally.

On occasion, the serving population shared places in the

township's households with both adult and child boarders. There is no comprehensive explanation for the presence of these individuals, but it is possible to account for some of them. Many of the children appear to have been living with their grandparents, a practice Michael Anderson found was quite common in nineteenth century Lancashire, England.²⁹ Some, as well, were part of the local indigent and orphaned populations whose distress was relieved by the local township council which assumed responsibility for their care by placing them with local families who received compensation for providing them with food and shelter. Between 1857 and 1885 the township council granted aid to widows, the indigent, and orphans on thirty-five separate occasions.³⁰ When it was practical these indigents retained their own independent households, but when this was impossible, they were taken in by neighbours for whom they undoubtedly performed light tasks. The fact that there were so few of these cases is a measure of the township's relative prosperity but even in the most affluent of communities there were always those in need of aid. In Toronto Gore, a number of these people became part of the extended household structure.

Finally, some households were extended by the presence of relatives. These ranged from grandparents in search of old age security, to siblings and recently immigrated kinsmen of various ranks who often exchanged their labour for food and shelter until they were ready to strike out on their own.

Table 5-2 shows that in both 1851 and 1861 almost one-half of the township's households contained extensions of one type or another. Although a few contained several different types of extensions, most

contained either relatives or working extensions, rarely both. During the 1860s, however, a statistically significant change in the number of extended households took place. By 1871 less than one in three of the township's conjugal families (29.3%) shared their home with anyone else. This process of change actually had begun a decade earlier when the number of households employing live-in labourers had declined markedly. But, because an increase in the number of families employing domestic servants more than compensated for the losses, there actually was an increase in the proportion of households employing domestic workers between 1851 and 1861. Across the timespan, the proportions of households containing relatives and boarders fluctuated slightly but, despite a slight trend toward more households containing resident relatives, none of these fluctuations were sufficient to produce statistically significant differences. Hence, it is clear that the shift away from an extended household structure was attributable mainly to changing patterns in the distribution of the labour force.

Table 5-3 illustrates this problem in a slightly different way by focussing on the domestic workers, themselves. It suggests that the distribution of labour in the township was related to supply rather than individual preferences. During the 1860s both the actual number of workers and the households employing them declined by more than two-thirds (69.2% and 67.3%). Before 1871, the majority of those who sought employment as servants or labourers found it in households that contained two or more resident workers. By 1871 the pattern of employment had changed significantly. Although some of the township's more wealthy men, such as John P. P. De La Haye, continued to employ four

TABLE 5-3

SUMMARY STATISTICS FOR THE DOMESTIC WORK FORCE
(SERVANTS AND LABOURERS), 1852-1871

	1851	1861	1871
A. Total number of workers	170	172	53
Servants (%)	40.7 ^a	86.2 ^b	51.9 ^c
Labourers (%)	53.9 ^d	13.8 ^e	48.1 ^f
B. Percentage distribution of workers by HH containing:			
1 worker	41.2	37.2 ^g	54.7 ^h
2-3 workers	46.5	52.3 ⁱ	18.9 ^j
4+ workers	12.4	10.5 ^k	26.4 ^l
C. Percentage distribution of HH containing:			
1 worker	62.6	57.5 ^m	78.4 ⁿ
2-3 workers	32.7	38.9 ^o	13.5 ^p
4+ workers	4.7	3.5	8.1
D. Mean age of all workers:			
Mean	20.5	25.1	25.1
Standard deviation	3.6	10.0	11.4
E. Geographic mobility:			
Percent leaving before the next census	88.6	93.9	95.0

Significance levels for changes during each decade are as follows: $p < .001$ = a-b, b-c, d-e, e-f, i-j, q-r; $p < .01$ = k-l, o-p; $p < .05$ = g-h, m-n, s-t.

or more workers. The principal reason for this change was a shortage of labour. The individuals who found employment in the township's households were a young, highly mobile group of individuals for whom the Gore provided surrogate families who eased the transition from young adulthood to full independence. At regular intervals they had to be replaced. By 1871 the problem of replacing them had become so acute

that the township council authorized the Reeve to advertise for twenty-five single farm labourers and twenty female servants to work on local farms.³¹

The immediate effects of this labour shortage were felt more strongly by some segments of the population than others. Table 5-4 classifies households employing domestic workers by the age, birthplace, occupation, land tenure, persistence, kinship bonds and size of farm operated by the head of household. At any point in time there was a statistically significant association between at least one of the categories in most of these variables and the presence of hired help in the household. Those people who were well-established or just beginning their families were the ones most likely to be hit hard by a shortage of labour. Specifically, the 30-39 year old householder, the native born, the farmer, the landowner, the persistent, and the individual related to an early settler were consistently over-represented among the households employing domestic workers. Of course, this is exactly the pattern that one would expect to find. These were the families who had the greatest labour requirements either because they had recently begun their economic life in the community, or because they had to maximize the profitability of their farms in order to ensure the economic future of their children.

None of the correlations between these variables and the employment of domestic workers, with perhaps the exception of operating a large farm and membership in one of the permanent families, retained its significance beyond the 1860s. In short, by 1871 it had become almost impossible to predict which households were likely to reach outside their

TABLE 5-4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ALL HOUSEHOLDS, AND HOUSEHOLDS
WITH RESIDENT WORKERS BY AGE, BIRTHPLACE, OCCUPATION,
LAND TENURE, PERMANENCE AND SIZE OF FARM, 1851-1871

	1851		1861		1871	
	All HH	HH with workers	All HH	HH with workers	All HH	HH with workers
1. Age of householder:*						
20-29 years	16.9	17.4	18.9	22.3	15.9	13.2
30-39 years	30.7	39.4 ^a	32.8	34.8	23.9	28.9
40-49 years	23.2	18.3	18.6	19.6	25.0	26.3
50-59 years	16.0	10.1	13.2	9.8	17.4	18.4
60-69 years	10.3	9.8	10.5	9.8	11.2	5.3
70-79 years	2.5	3.7	3.0	1.8	5.1	5.3
80-89 years	0.3	0.0	2.7	1.8	1.1	2.6
2. Birthplace:**						
England	38.9	40.4	39.3	37.5	37.7	36.8
Ireland	48.7	45.0	36.6	32.1	27.5	23.7
Scotland	3.8	3.7	5.4	2.7	4.4	7.9
Upper Canada	7.2	9.7	17.3	24.1 ^b	27.2	31.2
Other	1.5	1.8	1.3	3.6	3.3	0.0
3. Occupation:***						
Farmer	53.1	67.0 ^c	53.2	68.8 ^d	59.8	71.0 ^f
Unskilled	14.5	4.6 ^e	17.9	7.1	14.5	0.0
Skilled	11.3	11.9	10.1	14.3	6.5	10.5
Commerce	4.7	6.5	6.1	2.7	3.3	7.9
Other	16.4	11.0	12.8	7.1 ^g	15.4	10.5
4. Land Tenure:⁺						
Landowner	34.6	47.7	40.7	51.8	52.7	65.7
Tenant	65.4	52.3	59.3	48.2	47.3	38.5
5. Persistence:⁺⁺						
Persistent	42.1	55.7	44.7	47.5	44.4	55.9
Transient	57.9	44.3	55.3	52.5	55.6	44.1
6. Permanence:⁺⁺⁺						
Permanent family	45.9	65.1	56.6	66.1	62.0	78.4
Not. perm. family	54.1	34.9	43.4	33.9	38.0	21.6
7. Size of Farm:⁺⁺⁺⁺						
Small	--	--	18.9	12.5 ^h	14.2	15.0
Medium	--	--	65.2	50.0 ⁱ	71.6	50.0 ^j
Large	--	--	15.8	31.3 ^k	14.2	35.0 ^l
Number of households	318	107	297	113	276	37
Number of farms			164	80	190	20

Significance levels: * 1851 and 1871 = $p < .05$; ** 1861 = $p < .01$; *** 1851 and 1861 = $p < .001$, 1871 = $p < .01$; ⁺ 1851 = $p < .001$, 1861 = $p < .01$; ⁺⁺ 1851 = $p < .01$; ⁺⁺⁺ 1851 = $p < .001$, 1861 and 1871 = $p < .05$; ⁺⁺⁺⁺ 1861 = $p < .001$, 1871 = $p < .05$. Significant differences between those employing workers and those with no wage labourers within groups are as follows: $p < .05$ = a, b, f, g, h, i, j; $p < .01$ = l; $p < .001$ = k.

TABLE 5-5

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS (PHI) FOR SELECT VARIABLES
AND THE EMPLOYMENT OF WORKERS, 1851-1871

Variables	1851	1861	1871
Operator of a large farm	-- ^c	.41 ^a	.20 ^b
Member of a permanent family	.29 ^c	.15 ^d	.13 ^e
Farmer	.20 ^f	.20 ^g	.09
Landowner	.20 ^h	.18 ⁱ	.10
Persistent	.18 ^j	.04	.09
Age 30-39 years	.14 ^k	.03 ^l	.05
Native born	.05	.14 ^l	.04

Significance levels for phi are as follows: $p < .001$ = a, c, f, g, h; $p < .01$ = i, j; $p < .05$ = b, d, e, k, l.

boundaries to supplement the family's labour force, although the majority who employed workers continued to be found among the permanent, agricultural, landowning population (Table 5-5).

This cross-sectional data underestimates the full impact of the labour shortage upon Toronto Gore's population. Although at any point in time no more than half the township's households were extended in one way or another, the experience of the persistent population suggests that, across the timespan covered by this chapter, three in four (78.2%) households expanded their boundaries to accomodate outsiders at some point during the domestic cycle (Table 5-6). More important, two-thirds (66.2%) of these households employed servants or labourers at one point or another. Most often, the family's labour force had to be supplemented at those stages in the domestic cycle when there were no children, when there were children but they were too young to meet the family's labour requirements, or when the sex distribution of the children necessitated

TABLE 5-6

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PERSISTENT HOUSEHOLDS
BY HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE, 1852-1871

	1852 or 1861	1861 or 1871	1852 or 1861 or 1871
A. All extensions	70.8	63.0	78.2
B. Domestic workers	59.2	44.6	66.2
C. Types of extensions:			
Servants	50.0	40.3	51.3
Labourers	29.2	14.2	41.0
Boarders	17.7	15.1	16.0
Child boarders	9.2	12.6	21.8
Relatives	28.9	30.3	48.7
D. Children:			
One or more children living at home	96.9	93.4	97.4
Children over 16 years living at home	16.2	62.8	89.7
Total households	130	121	78

turning to someone else to perform essential tasks. When children over the age of sixteen were at home they, rather than outsiders, provided the major component of the family's work force. Data not included in the table show that in two-thirds of the cases where domestics were employed (66.2%), there were no older children present in the household. On occasion, relatives might be called upon to contribute their labour, but the regularity with which households in this society turned to outsiders suggests that employing domestic workers was a necessity for most families rather than a luxury. The drying up of the supply of young people either willing or able to hire out their labour suggests that the

township's households were very different in 1871 than they had been even a decade earlier.

At the most superficial level, fewer domestic workers implied a smaller average household size. But, the implications of this change went far deeper. What was happening in Toronto Gore subsumed what amounted to a revolution in the behaviour patterns of young adults.

Part of the explanation for the shortage of hired help was found in the natural evolution of the provincial economy and changing patterns of immigration. Wage labour had always been scarce in Upper Canada, but after mid-century alternative employment opportunities competed with the demands of rural households. Railroad construction, the timber industry, and the growth of manufacturing in Canada West's cities and towns, which was well under way even before the stimulus provided by the protectionist aspects of Galt's tariff in 1858-9, all offered employment for wage labourers.³² For those whose aspirations were higher, improved transportation facilities provided easy access to new lands, first in the American mid-west and later in western Canada. After mid-century young men and women who left domestic employment to take advantage of these opportunities were not replaced by new immigrants. By the 1860s the floodtide of immigration to British North America had passed.³³ To make matters worse, most of those who did land in Quebec quickly moved on the American midwest. As a consequence, complaints about the shortage of good servants and farm hands were heard throughout Canada.³⁴

Far more important, in terms of this study, the supply of labour from local sources also had begun to dry up. Fewer families were sending

their offspring out to work and this was reflected in greater numbers of older children present in the township's households. The stage of semi-independence during which they had worked in another household before moving on to establish their own families was beginning to disappear.

V

Earlier in this chapter it was suggested that the township's families may have recruited a portion of their labour locally. At that point it was impossible to link those young adults to particular households. It is possible now, however, to estimate roughly the number of young men and women between the ages of sixteen and twenty-six who should have been living at home at any point in time. By comparing the number of children actually at home with the number who could have been there it is possible to approximate, at least, the changing residential patterns for this age group.

At the outset, this comparison requires making several assumptions.³⁵ Since the scattered marriage returns suggest an average age at marriage for first generation male settlers of approximately twenty-six years, only those households headed by a male over the age of forty-two could have had at least one child living at home. Given the fact, as well, that Canada West's birth rate at mid-century was among the highest in the western world, it is not unreasonable to estimate that an average of one male and one female between the ages of sixteen and twenty-six would have survived and could have been living with their parents at each of the decennial intervals. The actual

average may have been higher but it is unlikely that it was lower.

Table 5-7 summarizes the residence patterns of young adults in the Gore's permanent and non-permanent households. If the two groups are combined there were 131 heads of household over forty-two years of age in 1852. Hence, there should have been a minimum of two hundred and sixty-two young adults recorded as family members in these households. In fact, there was a total of fifty-eight males and ninety-nine females. Stated another way, at most 44.3% of the males and 75.6% of the females were living with their parents. Undoubtedly, a number of the young people who were missing were employed as servants or labourers in nearby households. Others had left the township to seek opportunities elsewhere. Twenty years later a dramatic change had occurred. The maximum proportions of males and females living at home were now 77.9 and 82.1 percent respectively. This general trend conforms, in a broad sense at least, to patterns of residence found in a study of rural Michigan.³⁶ What was happening in Toronto Gore, therefore, was not that unusual. It typified the historical experience of rural North American society.

Once again, however, there was a considerable difference in behaviour between the children of permanent and non-permanent families. The ratios of males and females to heads of household show that for both groups a number of children were missing from the household at any point in time. But, male offspring of permanent families were always more likely to be at home. These differences were statistically significant at each decennial cut-in point.

From one perspective, the male offspring of permanent families

TABLE 5-7

RATIO OF CHILDREN OVER SIXTEEN YEARS OF AGE LIVING
AT HOME TO HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD OVER AGE FORTY-TWO
YEARS FOR PERMANENT AND NON-PERMANENT HOUSEHOLDS
1851-1871

	1851	1861	1871
<u>A. Permanent Households:</u>			
HH with children over 16 yrs. at home	45	52	82
HH over 42 years of age	66	77	87
Number of children over 16 yrs. living at home	91	119	175
Males over 16 yrs. at home	45	57	77
Females over 16 yrs. at home	46	62	98
<u>RATIOS:</u>			
All children over 16 yrs. HH over 42 yrs.	1.38	1.55	2.01
Males over 16 yrs. HH over 42 yrs.	.68	.74	.89
Females over 16 yrs. HH over 42 yrs.	.70	.81	1.13
<u>B. Non-Permanent Households:</u>			
HH with children over 16 yrs. at home	40	19	28
HH over 42 years of age	65	41	58
Number of children over 16 yrs. living at home	66	41	57
Males over 16 yrs. at home	13	5	36
Females over 16 yrs. at home	53	36	21
<u>RATIOS:</u>			
All children over 16 yrs. HH over 42 yrs.	1.02	1.00	.98
Males over 16 yrs. HH over 42 yrs.	.20	.12	.62
Females over 16 yrs. HH over 42 yrs.	.82	.88	.36

NOTE: If the assumption is made that each householder over forty-two years of age could have had one male and one female child over sixteen living at home, then there were statistically significant differences in the behaviour of permanent and non-permanent families. Significance levels are as follows: For males in 1851, 1861 and 1871 $p < .001$; for females in 1851 = $p < .001$; in 1861 = not significant ($p > .05$), in 1871 = $p < .001$.

had the strongest desire to remain at home. Michael Anderson has argued that in England the farmer needed labour for his farm but could rarely afford to purchase that labour on the open market. Consequently, he struck what amounted to a bargain with his sons. In return for their labour and care for their parents in their old age, the sons would be provided with the means to establish their independence.³⁷ If a similar set of relationships had been worked out in Toronto Gore, it was the sons of the permanent families who had the most to gain by remaining at home. As the sons of families that were predominantly landowning and had strong emotional ties to the township, they may have looked forward to acquiring permanent places for themselves nearby. Their families possessed the capital, in the form of land, to assure those places. Most of the sons of non-permanent families, on the other hand, could not look forward to the same kind of remuneration for their efforts at some future date. Their fathers were often tenant farmers who had no land to transfer to their children. For the sons of these families, like the transient householders discussed in chapter IV, economic independence may have been closely tied to mobility. In short, they left their families at an early date and continued to move until they finally established themselves.

The motivation for young females remaining at home was somewhat different. Virtually all young women in this society could look forward to becoming wives and mothers. Before marriage, employment opportunities, except as domestic servants, were few. Hence, many young girls remained at home until they married. But, here again, there was a growing difference in the expectations of young women born into permanent and non-

permanent families. As will be documented in the next chapter, the prospects for marriage and continued residence in the area were much better for the daughter of the township's permanent families. Therefore, the residence pattern for males should have been repeated among the female population. That is to say, there should have been a higher proportion of young women from permanent families living with their parents.

The fact that more females in non-permanent families were living at home in 1851 does not necessarily argue against this inference. The process of social integration that would meld the permanent families into a cohesive community of their own had been underway for little more than a decade in 1851. Between mid-century and 1871, in part as a consequence of an ongoing process of intermarriage, the proportion of households related to an early settler increased by almost twenty percent (45.8%-62.2%). As the proportion of permanent households increased, so too did the opportunities for intermarriage. Perhaps not coincidentally, the behaviour of the daughters of permanent families changed during the same interval. By 1871 there was a high correlation ($\phi = > .7$) between membership in a permanent family and continued residence at home.

Explanations offered thus far for the differences in behaviour between the permanent and non-permanent populations do not account for the increased proportions of all children, particularly young men, living at home in 1871. If, in earlier years, many young men and women left home to take up positions as servants and labourers in neighbouring households, then by 1871 a change in behaviour had taken place.

Historians and sociologists have often referred to what seems to have been taking place in the Gore as a process of "modernization." This often vaguely defined concept has been used as a blanket explanation for all manner of changes, particularly changes in family structure.³⁸ Modernization, in a family context, has been exemplified by a drift away from the ideal of an extended family household toward the isolated nuclear family. It also has been found in fertility limitation, the disappearance of the patriarchal family which emphasized control rather than meeting the emotional needs of children, and in the appearance of a new stage in the lives of young people; a stage we now refer to as "adolescence."³⁹ In the case of the latter, the period of semi-independence that young adults spent living and working in the households of others who became surrogate parents was replaced by a longer period of time under parental control. Michael Katz, in his study of Hamilton, argued that the disappearance of the period of semi-independence for that city's young adults "forced the process of growing up in the direction of modernization."⁴⁰ For Hamilton the depression of 1857-8 acted as a catalyst that accelerated the appearance of modernization.

The argument has been made that "modernization" began in the cities and eventually spread outward to influence rural patterns of life.⁴¹ Even Yasuba, who argued that land availability was the principal demographic determinant in the antebellum United States conceded that after the Civil War the effects of urbanization became the more important.⁴² Was this change in behaviour among the Gore's young adults an exemplification of the spectre of Toronto reaching outward to reshape the lives of a population which was increasingly

falling under the "urban shadow?" Perhaps, but without the 1881 census, it is impossible to determine whether this trend continued, although one suspects that it did. One thing is certain, there was sufficient motivation in the economic stress of the 1860s alone to keep young men at home for a longer period of time. As land became more scarce and land values escalated, family help which could be exchanged for labour inputs became increasingly important, particularly for those who envisioned their future as Peel County agriculturalists.

VI

Alterations in the working and residence patterns for young adults were accompanied by changes in marriage customs. The decision of when to marry is particularly susceptible to economic influences.⁴³ In hard times young adults postpone marriage. When times are good, they marry earlier. European historians have argued that the pre-modern practice of sending young adults out to work as domestics may have promoted later marriages and when these practices were abandoned the average age at marriage dropped.⁴⁴ In nineteenth century Ontario, however, economic conditions conspired to push the age at marriage upward. Abandonment of the practice of sending the young out to work coincided with a period of economic stress for rural populations. As agricultural opportunities for young men diminished, they responded by postponing marriage.

Ideally, any analysis of the age at marriage should be based upon a continuous run of church records. These records make it possible to identify with precision the age at which whole populations, and

various groups within those populations married over time. Unfortunately, such records do not exist for most Ontario communities including Toronto Gore. What survives is scattered and incomplete. Government registration of vital statistics was not undertaken in any systematic manner until 1869, and even then one researcher has estimated that under-reporting was as high as fifty percent during the first decade the Act was in force.⁴⁵ For Toronto Gore, the records for 222 marriages solemnized between 1830 and 1889 survive. The file they represent was constructed from parish records, newspaper accounts and tombstone inscriptions.⁴⁶

The use of these records poses several problems. First, the ages of brides and grooms were reported only rarely before the mid-1850s. As a consequence, the age at marriage must be estimated from other records. Second, and far more serious, the marriage file created from these records contains a disproportionate number of Roman Catholics. More than half (56.6%) of the marriage records that survive for the township come from St. Patrick's parish in Wildfield. Since Roman Catholics were always less than one-quarter of the township's population, this introduces an unacceptable bias.⁴⁷ On the average, Roman Catholic males married six months earlier than their Protestant counterparts and females about eighteen months later.⁴⁸ Attempts to stratify the sample would reduce the number of marriages in some decades to meaningless proportions, especially since more than sixty percent (62.3%) of the marriages in the file took place during the 1860s. To overcome some of the limitations of the data two methods of estimating the average age at marriage are employed here.

An alternative method for calculating the average age at marriage for a whole population has been developed by John Hajnal.⁴⁹ Hajnal's method involves calculating the average number of years that individuals under the age of fifty remained single. The result of these calculations is the average age at which marriage took place.⁵⁰ In general, this mean, which Hajnal calls the "Singulate Mean Age at Marriage," closely approximates the results obtained from more direct measures, such as parish registers. The method has the advantage of dealing only with those in the population who are actually single and, therefore, does not suffer from the bias introduced by second marriages. At the same time, it has two disadvantages. The singulate mean age at marriage can be affected by both mortality and migration patterns. If, for example, the mortality or migration rates for older single women were to increase suddenly, then an earlier age at marriage would result from the calculations. Fortunately, there does not seem to have been any substantial change in mortality levels among either men or women in the sixteen to fifty year old age groups between 1840 and 1870. Migration is another matter, there were wide fluctuations in the proportions single in the various age groups between 1851 and 1861. These could have resulted from selective migration. General transiency levels in the township, which were discussed in the last chapter, did not vary significantly over the decade but an influx of new domestic servants who were slightly older, as well as single, probably increased the proportion of single women in the middle age group (see Table 5-3). This may have inflated slightly the singulate mean age at marriage for women in 1861.

With these qualifications in mind it is possible to

TABLE 5-8

MEAN AGE AT MARRIAGE FOR MALES AND FEMALES, 1851-1870

	1851	1860	1870
A. MALES:			
1. Singulate Mean Age at Marriage method	25.5	27.3	28.5
2. Marriage Register method	26.3(25) ^a	26.6(44)	27.5(105)
Standard deviation	5.0	4.2	6.1
B. FEMALES:			
1. Singulate Mean Age at Marriage method	23.1	24.4	23.7
2. Marriage Register method	21.7(23) ^a	22.2(32)	23.3(106)
Standard deviation	2.9	5.0	5.7

^aMean ages calculated by the Marriage Register method are based on marriages during the previous decade. The numbers in parentheses indicate the number of cases.

proceed to an analysis of marriage in the township. The major question to be asked is whether there was any demonstrable shift in the age at marriage for both men and women that coincided with the period of economic stress. If calculations using both methods produce similar trends, despite their individual deficiencies, then there is strong evidence that young men and women were responding to changing economic conditions.

Table 5-8 presents the results of computations employing both methods and data bases. From one perspective, the results are quite

different. The mean age at marriage for males calculated from the marriage files varies from ten months older to a full year younger than the results employing Hajnal's method. Among females there is a similar discrepancy, especially for 1851 and 1861. Not too much should be made of these differences, not only because of the qualifications given above, but also because two different things are being measured here. In 1851, for example, the analysis of the marriage file is based on marriages that took place between 1840 and 1849. The Hajnal method includes all marriages that took place back to at least 1830. The important point to be made here is that both calculations show an increasing age at marriage for both males and females, with males marrying between two and five years later than females. The standard deviations from the marriage register analysis also indicate a growing variation in the marriage decisions taken by individuals. In short, both calculations suggest that as time passed the decision of when to marry brought a wider range of responses from this population but the overall trend was toward a postponement of marriage.

The question that remains to be answered is whether the decision to marry later was based upon demographic or other considerations. To put the question another way: Had opportunities to marry declined? An alteration in the sex ratios could have pushed the average age at marriage either up or down. When sex ratios are high, that is when men substantially outnumber women, then the age at marriage is often low. Conversely, when sex-ratios are low, the age at marriage increases.⁵² We already know from David Gagan's work that there was a substantial shift in sex ratios for Peel County after mid-century.⁵³

TABLE 5-9

RATIO OF MALES PER HUNDRED FEMALES BY AGE COHORTS, 1851-1870

	1851	1860	1870
<u>A. Toronto Gore:</u>			
16-20 years	101	110	100
21-30 years	113	104	108
16-30 years	108	106	105
<u>B. Peel County:</u>			
16-30 years	115	108	100

In Toronto Gore, however, the ratio of males to females in the marriageable age range changed only slightly during the same period (Table 5-9). Toronto Gore's young men and women, of course, did not confine themselves to the township when it came to choosing marriage partners despite the propensity of members of permanent families to intermarry. The most that can be said at this point is that young adults were faced with two problems that may have affected their decisions to marry. The first was the general contraction of economic opportunity which, although relieved somewhat by the affects of transiency, may have lengthened the period of time a young man had to wait before assuming an independent economic life in the community. The second was a slightly restricted choice of eligible marriage partners. The net effect of these two factors was to delay marriage and family formation.

The relative effects of landownership, tenancy, ethnicity, or membership in a permanent family upon these decisions must remain

largely a matter for speculation. It is clear that the decision to remain at home coincided with delays in marriage. More children in permanent families were remaining at home and it may be a logical, if risky, inference that it was the children of these families who delayed marriage the longest. Differences among ethnic groups over the whole time period approximate the findings of Lorne Tepperman for eastern Canada in 1871.⁵⁴ That is to say, the Irish tended to marry slightly later than the English and, in the case of Toronto Gore, the native born younger still. The mean age for ninety-two marriages of native-born women who married between 1840 and 1870 was 21.8 years. The distribution of these marriages makes it too risky to comment any further.

One thing is clear, the increasing proportions of young people living at home which accompanied delays in marriage offset some of the reduction in mean household size brought about by the disappearance of servants and labourers. Hence, the continuous decline in the size of household had to be a consequence of changing patterns of marital fertility. It is to this problem that we must now turn.

VII

Any increase in the average age at which women married was bound to affect marital fertility. Within the marital union a woman might have a child on the average of every 23-26 months. The shorter the period of time she was married between the ages of 15 and 49, the fewer children she could have.⁵⁵ Before mid-century, Upper Canadian families were large by most standards. In Toronto Gore most first

generation women gave birth to nine or ten children.⁵⁶ After mid-century, however, there was a sharp decline in the birth rate that was attributable only in part to delays in marriage. Not only were women having fewer children overall, but they were limiting the number of children they bore as they neared the end of their fertility cycle.

To measure these changes in fertility it is necessary, once again, to turn to an indirect measure. The family files constructed for this study provide a good reservoir of information on family relationships but it was not always possible to identify dates of birth with any certainty. More important, in terms of the general thrust of this study, the family files deal only with the permanent families. To make comparisons requires data for the whole population.

The data used here are from the manuscript census returns. The measure of fertility is an age-specific child-woman ratio based upon the number of children under the age of ten living with their mothers who, themselves, were between the ages of sixteen and forty-nine. This calculation provides an indirect measure of fertility and can be used for comparative purposes to isolate changes in fertility over time.

The decision to use children under the age of ten was arbitrary. Studies using this method have employed the number of children under five, ten, or fourteen. Those who favour using children under five argue that the narrower the age group, the closer the results are to current fertility.⁵⁷ Others have argued that a wider age range limits the effects of infant mortality.⁵⁸ The age ten was chosen here in an attempt, that was only partially successful, to limit the effects of mortality. For Toronto Gore, this posed a major problem.

At mid-century there was an outbreak of diphtheria and scarlet fever in the township which, according to popular belief, lasted for twenty years.⁵⁹ Although a twenty year epidemic is unlikely, the records of two of the township's nine cemeteries confirm that a large number of deaths occurred among children during those years.⁶⁰ This mortality rate had serious consequences for the number of children who were recorded on the census returns. There was a pattern to child mortality across the timespan, however. The cemetery registers suggest that more than sixty percent of those children buried between 1840 and 1870 died in the 1840s. Only fourteen percent died in the 1860s. In terms of the child-woman ratio this means that ratios calculated for 1851 seriously underestimate fertility for that cut-in point.

Two other factors, migration and literacy, also can influence the child-woman ratio.⁶¹ Migration can remove women in particularly fertile age groups thus distorting the results in longitudinal analysis. Stated another way, a comparison of child-woman ratios at two different points in time for a very highly mobile population may tell us more about the mobility of women in particular age groups than it does about fertility. To remove the effects of migration upon these ratios, it is necessary to standardize the population distribution.⁶² The standard employed here is the age distribution for women in the 1871 population.

Literacy also can effect fertility rates by altering preferences for children. Fertility rates for literate populations are generally lower. This factor must be considered in trying to explain fertility declines. For Toronto Gore there is no evidence of a massive change in literacy rates, although literacy as defined in the census returns raises

a number of problems.⁶³ The census returns suggest a very high literacy rate in Ontario by 1860, despite the fact that the province's first compulsory school attendance act was not passed until 1871. By 1861 literacy levels in Canada West exceeded ninety percent. In Peel and Toronto Gore it was ninety-six percent.⁶⁴ Hence, if the figures are accurate it is unlikely that literacy played a significant role in changing fertility patterns.

The results of the child-woman ratio analysis are presented in table 5-10 in the form of a standardized ratio for the whole population. At first glance the results are puzzling. Rather than experiencing the declines in fertility that were common to most other communities in North America, including the rest of Peel County, the child-woman ratio actually increased by more than eight percent between 1851 and 1871. The effects of an unusually high mortality rate during the 1840s and 1850s are clearly evident here. As a consequence, the usefulness of this table is compromised somewhat. Small increases between 1851 and 1871 have to be treated with suspicion, and are probably due to mortality. Any declines, on the other hand, are probably underestimated.

Even with these qualifications, table 5-10 reveals some interesting patterns. The child-woman ratios for landowning and permanent families were always higher than those for tenants and non-permanent families. Of course, the permanents and landowners were always the most stable segment of the population and might have been expected to have the largest households. They were the ones with the ongoing need for family labour. But with the onset of a period of economic stress that seemed to have no end, they were also the ones

TABLE 5-10

STANDARDIZED MARITAL FERTILITY RATIOS, 1851-1870
(Children under 10 yrs./100 married women 16-49 yrs.)

	1851	1860	1870	Percent change		
				51-60	60-70	51-70
1. All women	237(230)*	245(196)	256(171)	+3.6	+4.4	+8.2
2. <u>Birthplace:</u>						
Native born	191(36)	236(48)	256(88)	+23.5	+8.2	+33.7
Irish	268(103)	223(65)	236(33)	-16.7	+5.8	-11.9
Other foreign born	252(84)	247(80)	257(49)	-2.0	+4.1	+2.0
3. <u>Land Tenure:</u>						
Landowner	270(74)	249(67)	262(77)	-7.9	+5.4	-2.9
Tenant	217(154)	231(129)	254(92)	+6.5	+9.9	+17.1
4. <u>Permanence:</u>						
Permanent family	259(101)	263(105)	183(98)	+1.5	-30.5	-29.4
Non-permanent	238(129)	206(91)	235(73)	-13.5	+14.2	-1.2
5. <u>Farm families:</u>						
Permanent	297(69)	275(77)	187(83)	-7.4	-31.8	-36.9
Non-permanent	283(45)	259(29)	231(34)	-8.7	-10.8	-18.5

*number of cases in parentheses.

whose anticipations of being able to provide an acceptable standard of living for themselves and their children would have been threatened most. Because of their position in this society, the non-permanent and the tenant may have had lower expectations.⁶⁵ Therefore, when fertility limitation began in earnest, it should have been the landowning, permanent, and permanent farming families who responded most quickly. This is exactly what table 5-10 suggests occurred.

The effects of the depression of 1857-8 also may be evident in the table in the form of cyclical patterns of child-woman ratios for landowners, non-permanent families, the Irish and other foreign born. These patterns could have resulted equally, however, from high infant mortality in the 1840s. In any event, the important point to be made is that those sections of the population that were most vulnerable to long term economic and psychological stresses show the greatest declines in fertility. This is really as far as the quantitative data will permit us to go.

Little of any consequence can be said about the relationship between ethnicity and child-woman ratios. The number of cases for several groups, including the native born in 1851, and the Irish in 1871 is so small that the reliability of the results is questionable, particularly since the native born in surrounding townships were limiting their fertility more than other groups.⁶⁶ There is no reason to suppose that this population would have behaved any differently but that is what the figures in table 5-10 suggest.

The child-woman ratios in table 5-10 were produced by two processes that worked simultaneously to reduce the number of children

in the township's households. The first was the postponement of marriage which meant that fewer children were born to women in the 20-24 year old cohort. The second was the limitation of fertility among older women, particularly those in the 40-44 year old cohort. Both of these trends are illustrated by the age-specific fertility ratios (Table 5-11). For all women in the township these ratios declined by 23.5% and 0.5% respectively. The greatest changes, of course, were among young women, which underscores the importance of late marriages for fertility patterns. Declines in the child-woman ratio were recorded by all groups between 1851 and 1871 except the wives of tenant farmers, and even here a decline of almost thirty percent (29.4%) occurred during the 1860s. In short, by 1871 child-woman ratios for all women in the 20-24 year old cohort were down from the previous decade regardless of their position in the social structure. By far the greatest declines, however, were experienced by the permanents, the landowners, and the permanent farming families. For non-permanents, tenants, and non-permanents, the declines came a decade later.

Table 5-11 also suggests that it was young adults in this society who reacted earliest the economic stress by postponing marriage. Late marriage meant fewer children for women in this cohort. The declines in the child-woman ratio for the 40-44 year old cohort indicate a different kind of response. Here is a clear indication of conscious family limitation exemplified by the tapering off of fertility rates after age thirty-nine. These older men and women responded more slowly to economic stress. Clear evidence of family limitation appears a full decade after young men and women began to postpone the age at which they

TABLE 5-11

NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER 100 MARRIED WOMEN IN THE
20-24 AND 40-44 YEAR-OLD COHORTS

Age cohort	1851	1860	1870	Percent change 51-70
1. All women:				
20-24 yrs.	135	158	104	-23.5
40-44 yrs.	223	250	222	-0.5
2. <u>Permanent families:</u>				
20-24 yrs.	150	159	88	-41.3
40-44 yrs.	231	309	185	-19.9
3. <u>Non-permanent families:</u>				
20-24 yrs.	127	156	123	-3.2
40-44 yrs.	213	157	290	+36.2
4. <u>Landowner:</u>				
20-24 yrs.	192	100	82	-56.8
40-44 yrs.	218	300	200	-8.3
5. <u>Tenant:</u>				
20-24 yrs.	113	167	118	+4.4
40-44 yrs.	208	171	264	+26.9
6. <u>Farm families:</u>				
(a) Permanent				
20-24 yrs.	211	79	71	-64.9
40-44 yrs.	264	367	155	-41.3
(b) Non-permanent				
20-24 yrs.	160	200	138	-13.8
40-44 yrs.	240	200	300	+25.0

married.

These data suggest the following interpretation. Economic stress in the form of diminished agricultural opportunities was felt first by the most sensitive segments of the population. In this case the young

members of permanent, landowning, agricultural families. As they reached maturity, they reacted by postponing marriage which, in turn, had the effect of lowering fertility. These changes began in the 1850s when, as chapter III pointed out, the opportunities for young men to acquire farms in the township became very limited. A few years later when the land and wheat markets collapsed there was a general depression in land values that continued for the better part of a decade. It was this economic crisis to which the less stable portion of the young adult population reacted. At the same time, older members of the permanent population came to the realization that their ability to provide for large families was diminished. They responded by completing their families at an earlier age.

VI

A declining household size was only the tip of a demographic iceberg where below the surface massive changes were taking place. The disappearance of most of the household's hired labour, but not of relatives or boarders; an increase in the proportion of children remaining at home; the postponement of marriage and family formation; and finally, changes in marital fertility were all exemplifications of that process of change.

To some degree, all people in this society were touched by these changes. No one, regardless of occupation, kinship, land tenure and, so far as can be ascertained, ethnic group, was immune from the generalized sense of crisis that hit rural Canada West in the 1860s. That crisis presaged the passing of an era. Cheap and readily available land was a thing of the past and in adjusting to their new circumstances

the people of this society ensured that their lives would never be the same again.

The young men and women who came of age in the 1850s and 1860s had to cope with economic stress as best they could. They dealt with it by remaining at home for longer periods of time in families that could shield them from diminished agricultural opportunities. For the sons of the permanent families this was a natural response. The aging of the permanent population had brought their fathers close to the age of retirement. A few more years at home offered them the prospect of inheriting the family homestead. Alternatively, new opportunities might appear as their less persistent neighbours moved on. With the family's help these opportunities might be grasped. Once they entered the mainstream of economic life in the community, however, the conditions that faced them were very different from those that had faced their fathers. Continuous agricultural improvement and new markets offered them the prospect of a reasonable standard of living, but they could neither look forward to the prospect of rapid increases in the value of their holdings, nor to providing an adequate start in life for a large number of children. Their families, as a consequence, would be slightly smaller than those of their parents.

For all people in this society, the passing of time brought new problems and new challenges that continuously tested the strength and endurance of the traditional farm family. The families of Toronto Gore appear to have met those challenges by adjusting the structures within which they lived. If those adjustments were made, in part, because families feared that they would not be able to meet their

obligations to their children, then there should be evidence that the family played an important and continuing role in providing for its own. In the next chapter, the extent to which families laid the basis for whatever economic success their offspring might anticipate is explored.

FOOTNOTES

¹For comments on the size and complexity of the rural household see: Haight, Life in Canada, pp. 7, 42; Strickland, Twenty-Seven Years, p. 139; Traill, Settler's Guide, p. 10; Alison Prentice, "Education and the Metaphor of the Family: The Upper Canadian Example," H.E.Q., XII (1972), p. 283; Gagan, "Prose of Life," p. 370.

²The importance of children to the material well-being of the family is discussed at some length in: Gagan, "Prose of Life," pp. 369-371.

³For theoretical discussions of the motivation to provide places for children see: Robert V. Wells, "Family History and Demographic Transition," J.S.H., IX (1975), pp. 1-19; Easterlin, "Population Change," pp. 64-65. The relative importance of children as producers and consumers is discussed in: McInnis, "Childbearing and Land Availability," pp. 6-7.

⁴The lack of distinction among members of the household in early nineteenth century Ontario is discussed more fully in: Prentice, "Metaphor of the Family," pp. 283-4.

⁵For a useful review of this literature see: L. T. Berkner, "Recent Research on the History of the Family in Western Europe," J.M.F., XXV (1973), pp. 393-405.

⁶Laslett & Wall, Household and Family, p. xii.

⁷Among those studies dealing with rural populations are: Yasuba, Birth Rates; Tepperman, "Ethnic Variation"; Wells, "Family History,"; Don R. Leet, "The Determinants of Fertility Transition in Antebellum Ohio," J.E.H., XXXVI (1976), pp. 359-78; Easterlin, "Human Fertility,"; Colin Forster and G. S. L. Tucker, Economic Opportunity and White Fertility Ratios, 1800-1860 (London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972); McInnis, "Childbearing and Land Availability"; Gagan, "The Critical Years"; D. V. Glass and D. E. C. Eversley, Population in History (London: Edward Arnold, 1965). An interesting theoretical discussion of the factors promoting smaller households is provided by Marion Levy. Levy distinguishes between the "ideal" and "actual" families in time past. He argues that the large, extended family could be accepted so long as it remained an ideal. When improvements in medical knowledge and economic change made it a possibility, the necessity of allocating resources among large numbers of children provided an incentive for a simplification and contraction of the family unit. Marion Levy Jr., "Aspects of the Analysis of Family Structure," in Aspects of the Analysis of Family Structure, ed: Ansley J. Coale (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. 54-56.

⁸Levy, "Analysis of Family Structure," pp. 56-60; Thomas K. Burch, "The Size and Structure of Families: A Comparative Analysis of Census Data," A.S.R., XXXII (1967), p. 347; Laslett & Wall, Household and Family, p. 13; Edward J. Pryor, "Rhode Island Family Structure: 1875 and 1960," in Ibid., pp. 588-589.

⁹For a discussion of this hypothesis, as well as a critical, although not very satisfactory, evaluation of the Yasuba thesis see: J. Potter, "The Growth of Population in America, 1700-1860," in Population in History, pp. 677-678.

¹⁰Yasuba, Birth Rates, pp. 21, 175.

¹¹Forster & Tucker, Economic Opportunity, p. 100.

¹²Easterlin, "Human Fertility," p. 400. Easterlin also provides a brief description of the economic theories underlying his hypothesis.

¹³Easterlin, "Population Change," p. 66.

¹⁴Yasuba, Birth Rates; Forster and Tucker, Economic Opportunity; Leet, "Human Fertility"; Leet, "Fertility Transition."

¹⁵Leet, "Fertility Transition," pp. 368-76.

¹⁶McInnis, "Childbearing and Land Availability"; Tepperman, "Ethnic Variation"; Gagan, "The Critical Years."

¹⁷McInnis, "Childbearing and Land Availability," p. 4.

¹⁸Gagan, "The Critical Years," pp. 308-311.

¹⁹P. Laslett, "The Comparative History of the Household and Family," J.S.H., IV (1972), p. 76.

²⁰See for example: Talcott Parsons, "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States," American Anthropologist, XLV (1943), pp. 22-38; Christensen, Handbook of Marriage, p. 503.

²¹For a critical discussion about the boundaries of the household see: Laslett, Household and Family, pp. 24-38; Katz, People of Hamilton, pp. 213-219; Andreja Plankans, "Peasant Farmsteads and Households in the Baltic Littoral, 1797," C.S.S.H., IX (1976), pp. 70-91.

²²Gagan, "Enumerators Instructions," pp. 355-65; A. Brookes, "'Doing the Best I Can': The Taking of the 1861 New Brunswick Census," HS/SH, IX (1976), pp. 70-91.

²³In 1852 and 1861 enumerators differentiated between households in the Gore by indicating the type of house in which the inmates lived, their residence, if outside the township's limits, and membership in

in the family unit. In 1871 each family and household were assigned a number by the enumerator.

²⁴Several authors have pinpointed the change in household size in Ontario at 1871. See: Lower, Canadians in the Making, p. 333; O. A. Lemieux et. al., "Factors in the Growth of Rural Population in Eastern Canada," C.P.S.A.P., VI (1934), pp. 204-5.

²⁵Haight, Life in Canada, pp. 37-42.

²⁶This practice also was common in parts of Europe. Berkner, "Recent Research," p. 399.

²⁷Gagan, "Prose of Life," pp. 370-71; Jones, History of Agriculture, p. 55 n. 15.

²⁸Cf. Bogue, From Prairie to Corn Belt, pp. 184-187.

²⁹Anderson, Family Structure, p. 149.

³⁰Presumably these activities were carried on before 1857 as well, but the minutes covering the period 1851-1856 were seconded by Joseph Figg, the Town Clerk, who refused to return them. See Township Minutes, *passim*.

³¹Minute Books, 8 May 1871.

³²Macdonald, Canada, pp. 24-25; Easterbrook & Aitken, Canadian Economic History, pp. 373-3; Spelt, Urban Development, pp. 20-21.

³³A. R. M. Lower, "The Growth of Population in Canada," in Canadian Population and Northern Colonization, ed: V. W. Bladen (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), p. 54.

³⁴Macdonald, Canada, p. 106.

³⁵The method of analysis employed here was suggested by Michael Katz's study of Hamilton, Ontario. Katz, People of Hamilton, pp. 264-266.

³⁶Susan Bloomberg, et. al., "A Census Probe into Nineteenth Century Family History: Southern Michigan, 1850-1880," J.S.H., V (1973), pp. 27-45.

³⁷Anderson, Family Structure, p. 93.

³⁸For a discussion of some of the problems associated with the use of this term see: Ian Weinberg, "The Concept of Modernization: An Unfinished Chapter in Sociological Theory," in Perspectives on Modernization: essays in memory of Ian Weinberg (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), pp. 3-14.

³⁹Christopher Lasch, "The Family and History," New York Review of Books (Nov. 13, 1975), p. 33; Wells, "Family History," pp. 11-12.

⁴⁰Katz, People of Hamilton, p. 292.

⁴¹One of the latest studies of this process is found in: Samuel Bass Warner, Jr. and Sylvia Fleisch, "The Past of Today's Present: A Social History of America's Metropolises 1860-1960," Journal of Urban History, III (1976), pp. 3-65.

⁴²Yasuba, Birth Rates, p. 175.

⁴³Glass, Population in History, p. 44.

⁴⁴Berkner, "Recent Research," p. 399.

⁴⁵Taylor, "Components of Population Change," p. 72.

⁴⁶Reports of solemnized marriages are found in: MS. 248, Marriage Registers, Home District, 1816-1857, PAO, Toronto; Roman Catholic Marriage Registers--Gore Mission 1834-1869, R. G. 8, Provincial Secretary's Papers, Section D, Vol. 78, PAO, Toronto; GS. 3453, Records of the Brampton Presbyterian Church, PAO, Toronto (microfilm); J. R. Robertson, Robertson's Landmarks of Toronto, Vol. III (Reprint ed: Belleville: Mika, n.d.).

⁴⁷See above, p. 233; Table 4-9.

⁴⁸In Hamilton, Katz found that Irish Catholic men married "somewhat earlier" than other groups.

⁴⁹John Hajnal, "Age at Marriage and Proportions Marrying," P.S., VII (1953-4), pp. 111-133.

⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 129-31.

⁵¹Census of Canada, 1852-3, I; Table III; Census of Canada, 1860-1, I; Table VI; Census of Canada, 1870-1, II; Table VII; "Cemeteries of Peel County," Perkins Bull Collection, Series F.

⁵²Leet, "Fertility Transition," p. 371.

⁵³Gagan, "The Critical Years," p. 375.

⁵⁴Tepperman, "Ethnic Variation," p. 332.

⁵⁵Glass, Population in History, p. 46.

⁵⁶Estimates of the number of children born to women are underestimated by census returns. An examination the women in the 40-49 year old age group yields an average of 7.4 children for what could

be described as "first generation" families. The permanent family files constructed for this study show slightly more than eight for the first generation and approximately seven for the second. These figures are comparable to David Gagan's findings which were computed employing a slightly different method. Gagan, "Critical Years," p. 297.

⁵⁷Tamara K. Hareven and Maris A. Vinovskis, "Marital Fertility, Ethnicity and Occupation in Urban Families: An Analysis of South Boston and the South End in 1880," J.S.H., IX (1975), p. 72.

⁵⁸Leet, "Fertility Transition," p. 360.

⁵⁹Tavender, From This Year Hence, p. 84.

⁶⁰"Records of the Clairvill Hill Cemetery 1832-1900," Perkins Bull Collection, Series F. I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Mr. Brian Gilchrist who supplied me with a transcript of the burials in the Woodill family cemetery at Lot 5 in the seventh concession of the northern division.

⁶¹Leet, "Fertility Transition," pp. 368-71; Hareven, "Marital Fertility," p. 71.

⁶²The formula for the standardization of the fertility ratio is:

$$Y = .173X_{20-24} + .190X_{25-29} + .185X_{30-34} + .185X_{35-39} + .137X_{40-44} + .131X_{45-49}$$

Where Y is the standardized fertility ratio, X_{20-24} is the number of children under 10 years of age per 100 married women in the 20-24 year old age range, and so forth. The coefficient .173 is the percentage that married women in the 20-24 year old cohort represent of all married women 20-49 in the 1871 population. This method was adopted from Hareven, "Marital Fertility," p. 75. For an alternative method see: Leet, "Fertility Transition," p. 361.

⁶³For a discussion of problems associated with the use of the census to study literacy in the countryside see: H. J. Mays and H. F. Manzl, "Literacy and Social Structure in Nineteenth Century Ontario: An Exercise in Historical Methodology," HS/SH, VII (1974), pp. 331-345.

⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 341-343.

⁶⁵Easterlin used this same argument to suggest that the effect of the size of landholding on fertility would be minimal. Cf. Easterlin, "Population Change," p. 69.

⁶⁶Gagan, "Critical Years," p. 309.

CHAPTER VI

FAMILY, KINSHIP AND PERSISTENCE, 1830-1890

I

The differences in economic and demographic behaviour between the permanent and non-permanent populations point to an important role for family and kinship in the historical experience of this society. The process of settlement had encouraged co-operative activities among the early settlers and, as time passed, those friends and neighbours inevitably became kinsmen as an ongoing process of intermarriage began to knit the permanent families together. In the second half of the nineteenth century family and kinship became important to the second and third generations as they sought places, and especially land, in the township. They were equally important, as well, to the demographic life cycles of individuals, particularly the adolescents and aged. In times of distress, such as at the death of a husband or wife, the family offered succour in the form of care and lodging for its members. Across time the attitudes that underlay these actions did not change, but the desire to keep family and kin together had to be tempered by the recognition that the township's capacity to support new households could not be stretched indefinitely. Hence, the coming of age of children brought the first steps toward either continued residence in the area, or migration. In these decisions

the family played an important role. In the way they intermarried, settled their children on the land, and provided for one another in times of distress, families revealed the strength of the kinship bond while, at the same time, making it possible for successive generations of children to put down roots in the community and thus perpetuate the historical experience of the permanent families.

II

The importance of family and family membership provided a constant refrain for nineteenth century literary sources. Early commentaries on the settlement phase in Upper Canada were unanimous in their opinion that the efforts of all family members were essential to both the immediate success of the family and the long-term prosperity of future generations.¹ Hence, it is not surprising that Thomas Magrath, an early settler in Peel County, referred to children as the "riches" of the Canadian colonist.² Susanna Moodie likened the quality of relationships that developed in Upper Canadian families to "the bundle of sticks in the fable," because family members "clung together through good and ill report," and were "seldom ashamed of owning a poor relation."³ Some believed that this kind of interdependence sprang from a sense of responsibility that could only be maintained in an environment sympathetic to traditional patterns of rural life. The democratic thrust inherent in the North American environment, which often put individual desires ahead of the welfare of the group, was seen as a threat to the unity and solidarity of the Canadian family. It had to be resisted. A "father feels not at home,"

wrote one Upper Canadian farmer, "when subordination is trampled upon in its own house."⁴

Most professional historians who have touched upon these concerns have argued that the sense of interdependence and the desire to keep families together, that were lauded in earlier writings, continued to inform the behaviour of families beyond mid-century. In referring to the Confederation era family as a "mutual welfare association," the Rowell-Sirois Commissioners stressed that family members "helped one another when new enterprises were started or old ones failed."⁵ Both Robert L. Jones and George Reaman singled out the desire of family heads to see themselves surrounded by their families during their declining years as characteristic of rural society.⁶ As sons matured, Jones argued, some farmers would sell property in prosperous, well-developed townships and move to the back settlements where the capital they realized from the sale of their farms would purchase three or four "wild or partially cleared" farm sites.⁷ Those who were more successful were able to subdivide existing acreages or aid their children in acquiring land nearby.

In Canadians in the Making, Arthur Lower suggested that one consequence of the process of subdivision was the growth of family settlements that "sometimes expanded over a considerable area."⁸ Given the natural tendency of neighbours to intermarry, moreover, an interlocking network of kinship was bound to emerge in these communities as time passed. In these "complex blood relationships" Lower saw the roots of an intense localism that found its first

expression in barn raisings and quilting bees.⁹

Lower believed, however, that the settlement of family members nearby was not a continuous process in the history of Ontario. He saw the "rural clan," as he called it, as being characteristic of areas that were removed from the mainstream of provincial development. In most areas the importance of the bond of kinship was limited by the English Canadian farmer's lack of commitment to a particular piece of land and his inability to subdivide his land indefinitely. Thus, in many communities, sons would migrate rather than settle nearby. "Since the farmer was capable of carrying on for years after his boys grew up," he wrote, "more often than not they struck out for themselves. Then at the father's death or retirement the farm would be sold."¹⁰ Even when a farmer did want to settle his children nearby, escalating land values after mid-century made it increasingly difficult. Hence, Lower finally concluded that "talk about keeping youth on the farm has always been nonsense."¹¹ Thus, Lower sounded the only discordant note to an otherwise unanimous opinion that the bonds of kinship in nineteenth century Ontario remained sufficiently strong to dictate the actions of individuals and families and to ensure that family members continued to live close by.

Lower's comment had some merit, however, even if it was a bit over-drawn. Few nineteenth century societies ever were able to provide places for all of their children and continuity in rural society depended, most often, on the settling of one or two sons on the land. For the rest, if marriage did not bring with it the

wherewithal to persist, the quest for economic dependence often led them beyond the communities where they had been reared. This did not necessarily indicate any weakness on the part of the family.

Two recent studies by Michael Anderson and Lutz Berkner underscore this point. In both cases the authors have shown how economic conditions and the developmental stage of the family determined residential patterns as well as the way in which land was transferred from one generation to another. The bargain that Anderson argued was the basis of family relationships in nineteenth century Lancashire provided that one son would inherit the family homestead. The others received some form of aid to establish their independence. The son who received the family farm often was required to assume obligations to care for his parents in their old age as well as for minor siblings until they reached adulthood. The other children, who had no hope of inheriting the homestead, were forced to strike out on their own.¹² Hence, in Lancashire the family was dispersed either at the point of young adulthood or at marriage. These practices provide no evidence for weak family ties, however. Dispersal did not mean the breaking of family relationships. The importance of kinship continued to be expressed in the care and comfort the family provided for the old and distressed. In his study of eighteenth century Austria, Berkner found a similar set of reciprocal obligations at work. There, legal strictures dictated that property had to be passed on to a single heir. After he had married, it was a common practice for his parents to retire, give the heir control of the property, and spend their declining years as part of his household.

Other children were provided with a patrimony in the form of cash and they had to seek their own independence. As in Anderson's Lancashire, the quest for old age security became a central feature of these arrangements. So common were they, that Berkner was moved to argue that although the simple or nuclear family may have been the predominant form of living arrangement at any point in time, many, if not most, European families passed through a stage at both the beginning and end of their domestic cycles when they were extended.¹³

At a more theoretical level, the Easterlin model discussed in chapter I emphasized that farmers balanced an interest in preserving and increasing the family's total wealth with an equally strong desire to provide an adequate start in life for their children.¹⁴ Whether that start came in the form of land or some other kind of patrimony was less important than the making of provisions to ensure the economic independence of each child. In most cases land could not provide that patrimony since to subdivide the land extensively would diminish the standard of living for all. Hence, in passing on his homestead to one, or perhaps two sons, and providing for the remaining children in some other fashion, the farmer may have forced one or more of them to migrate. Nevertheless, these devices provided the best means of ensuring the continuity of the family's economic status and had the effect, as well, of promoting its persistence in the area. Since the principles that the family's wealth should be preserved and all children would be provided for equally were inviolable, no major adjustments could be made in these arrangements. If the family's capacity to provide for its children were compromised by some form

of economic stress then adjustments in demographic behaviour would have to compensate.

Collectively, the primary, secondary, and theoretical studies all stress the interdependence of family members and the family's role in transmitting property from one generation to another. Several as well suggest that either property was passed on, or its disposition was made clear during the lifetime of the family head. On this question, and its ramifications for community stability, the secondary sources are divided. At one extreme is Arthur Lower. Lower saw an endless stream of young migrants leaving farms that would be sold after their fathers retired. Jones, implying that the Ontario farmer's attachment to a particular place was much weaker than his commitment to providing for his children and seeing them settled around him, argues that many willingly sold their property to move to new areas where land could be purchased cheaply for each of the sons. At the other end of the spectrum are the European scholars whose work suggests that the perpetuation of the family on the land was accomplished by arrangements that entailed either the informal or legal transfer of property to one or more sons during the father's lifetime. The economic and social cost of this system of land transfer was the assumption of obligations by the heir and the probable migration of children who had no hope of acquiring land. The Easterlin model is vague. Easterlin makes no specific reference to when obligations to children would be met but the implication, at least, is that this was an ongoing process that saw father's aiding children to acquire nearby

farms as they reached maturity.¹⁵

At the very least, in societies where children could count on acquiring property during their father's lifetime there was an incentive for a new generation to put down roots. Other incentives may have been present as well. One, rarely mentioned in the historical literature, but hinted at in Lower's concept of the rural clan, was the opportunity for intermarriage among families of longstanding. The kinship bonds created through intermarriage offered yet another non-pecuniary tie to a particular locality. Social scientists have noted a tendency for neighbours to become kinsmen in relatively stable societies.¹⁶ The kinship bond thus created became both a cause and effect of continued stability.

This study already has documented the presence of a stable, or permanent population in a township whose principal feature to the casual observer may have been the continuous movement of large numbers of people across its borders. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the roots of that stability. Briefly, it will examine some of the ways in which family ties expressed themselves and the mechanisms whereby these families, either directly or indirectly, provided the opportunity for successive generations to put down roots, even during periods of economic stress.

III

Chapter V suggested that opportunities for young people to find marriage partners in the Gore were not diminished in the second half of the nineteenth century. The same could probably be said for the

opportunity for members of permanent families to intermarry. The same transiency that enabled the permanent families to dominate local social and economic institutions provided some places in both the tenant and landowning populations for second and third generation sons. The settling of those sons reinforced the exclusiveness of the permanent population and promoted intermarriage among neighbours of longstanding. Hence, the permanent families were bound together even more closely. The emotional ties these relationships implied must have provided a powerful inducement for a continued commitment to place.

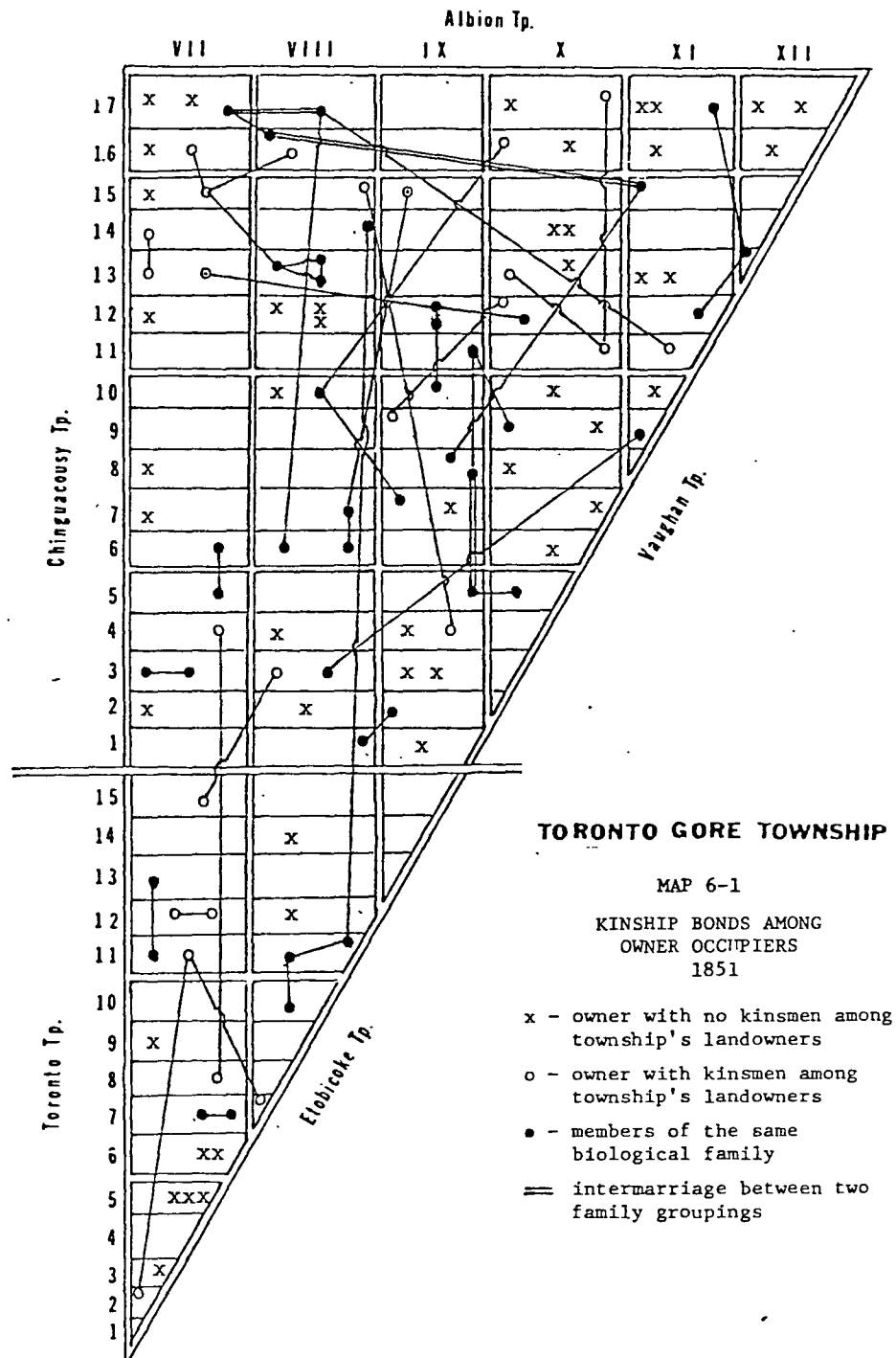
As time passed, moreover, and the number and kinds of kinship bonds multiplied, that commitment was reinforced. Children grew up in a township where they were not only surrounded by family members, but where their neighbours were brothers, sisters, grandparents, aunts, uncles and in-laws of various degrees. It was only natural, therefore, that as they reached maturity some would aspire to settle nearby, and would seek marriage partners among neighbours who were similarly inclined. Even when some of their kinsmen moved on, as they did with some regularity, their moving had little effect on the stability of the community. By 1891, there were few members of this society who could travel fives miles in any direction without encountering at least a half dozen people to whom they were related. Equally, there were few who could look to any agricultural organization, church or institution of local government where their relatives, longstanding neighbours, or the relatives of those neighbours were not involved.

To document the extent of kinship in Ontario's townships is difficult at best. In the nineteenth century, people identified with

the descent groups of both parents.¹⁷ Their concern for the historical identity of their families was permanently recorded in the given names of successive generations of children who carried with them a constant reminder of their links to their mothers' families. Thomas Walker Bland, James Cox Aikins and John Rezeau Lawrence were only a few of the Gore's young men who carried their mother's maiden name as one of their given names. If genealogies or parish registers had survived it would have been possible to trace these lines of descent. They did not survive. Consequently, when most young women married they became historically illiterate, disappearing into their husband's family and leaving no trace of their previous existence save for the odd tantalizing clue permanently recorded in a son's middle name.

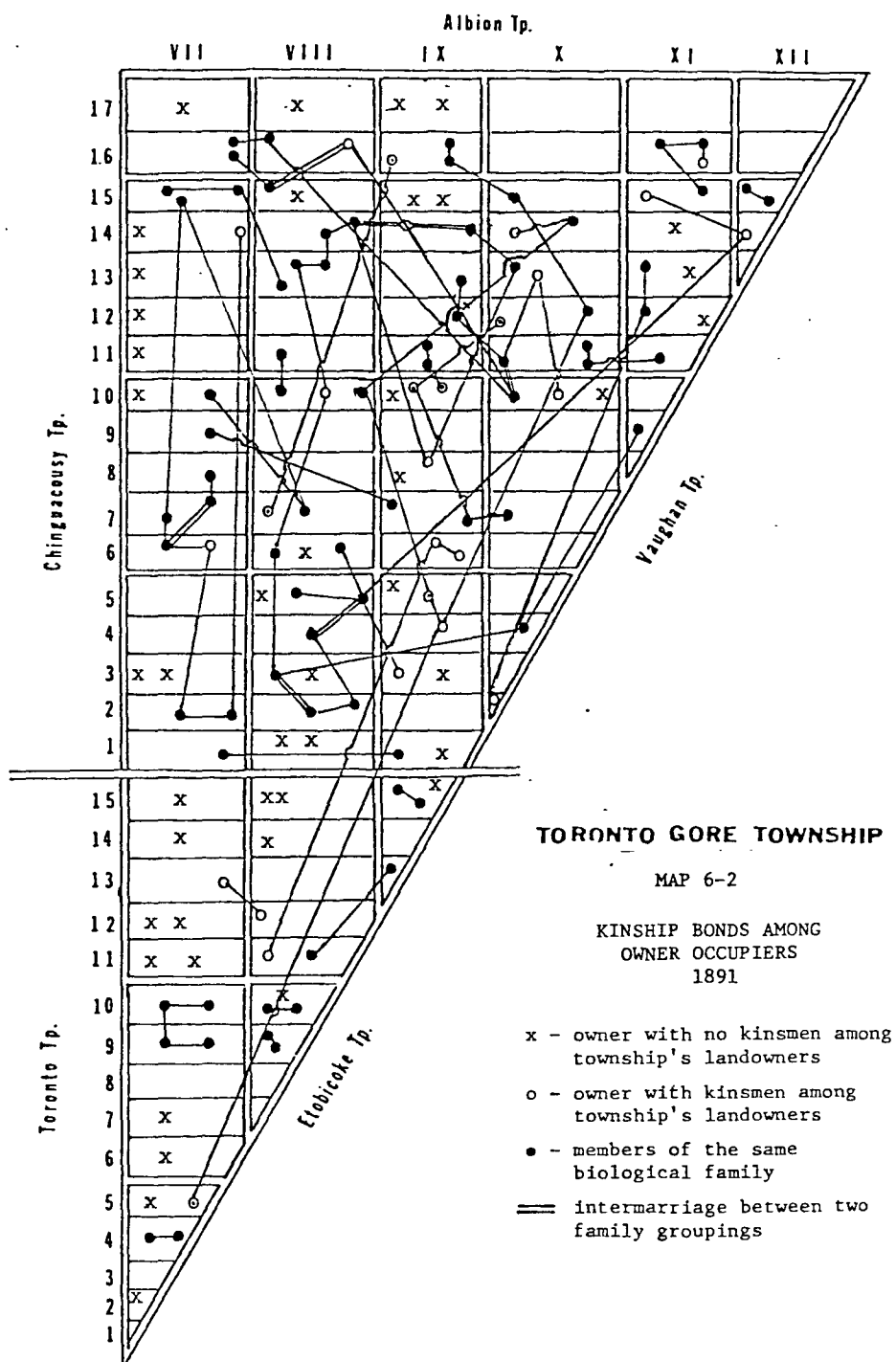
Because of this difficulty, kinship links for this study have been made only through the male line of descent. What results is an approximation of the extent of intermarriage. At the very best, it is a conservative estimate. The kinship bonds also understate the extent of relationships in a second way. To map kinship in this township it was necessary to confine the analysis to landowners since it is difficult, and at times impossible, to link the township's considerable tenant population to a particular piece of property.

The results of the kinship analysis are presented in two maps (Maps 6-1 and 6-2). Map 6-1 depicts the spatial distribution of property-owning kinsmen at mid-century, approximately five years after the lengthy settlement process had been completed. Better than one-third (34.6%) of the landowners had kinsmen among the permanent land-



owning population. These fifty-nine owners were members of seventeen "families" or "extended kinship groupings" most of whose members were listed on the census as farmers but all of whom engaged in farming to some extent. These extended kinship groupings were created through a process of intermarriage that was obviously well underway by 1850. Since marriages were often solemnized between members of families who lived several miles apart, there was obviously considerable social interaction in this community, particularly since none of the marriages recorded here can be associated with the employment of either the bride or the groom in a future in-law's household. The gradual extension of kinship ensured that extended kinship groupings would not be concentrated in any particular part of the townships. Where concentrations did occur, they came as a result of fathers, sons, and brothers settling either on the same or adjacent two hundred acre lots.

By 1891, three in four (76.2%) of the landowners could claim kinsmen among their neighbours, and the number of extended kinship groupings had increased to twenty-eight (Map 6-2). The incidence of siblings, or parents and children occupying adjacent holdings had become even more pronounced, clearly illustrating the effects of two generations of subdivision and activity in the land market. In many cases, sons or fathers had bought out their less permanently rooted neighbours to keep the family unit together. In 1879, for example, David Tomlinson, the grandson of one of the township's original eight settlers purchased the lot adjacent to the family homestead from John Jackson and established his residence there.¹⁸ In a similar



fashion, William Carberry, George T. Ward, and John Taylor all went outside the family unit to purchase land adjacent to the farms of relatives.¹⁹

Of course, these kinship bonds were not limited to the boundaries of Toronto Gore, and often extended into surrounding townships as well. The Woodills, for example, were prominent residents of Chinguacousy as well as the Gore. The Kerseys, who had originally settled in the Gore but later moved to Vaughan, reappeared in the township when two of the Kersey boys married Elisha Lawrence's daughters in the 1870s. Intermarriage with families outside the boundaries of the township provides one explanation for the relatively few kinship bonds in the southern division. Because of the triangular shape of the township, residents of the southern division were more likely to have relatives and friends in Toronto, Chinguacousy and Etobicoke townships. In many cases, these people were their closest neighbours. Much of the southern portion of the township had been settled, moreover, as a result of a "spill-over" from surrounding townships and many of the early settlers, such as the Aikens and Browns, had formerly lived in Toronto township. Then, too, the southern portion of the township contained almost one thousand acres of the poorer quality Malton clays. In this region, transiency among landowners had always been prevalent. A comparison of maps 6-1 and 6-2 shows that several of the kinship groups present in 1851 were no longer there in 1891.

In the northern part of the township, if for no other reason

than it was five concession lines wide, there were more opportunities for intermarriage among people who lived within the township's boundaries. That intermarriage seems to have followed a definite pattern. With few exceptions, marriage occurred between families of the same religious persuasion. Anglicans and Methodists married on occasion, but intermarriage between members of the township's Roman Catholic and Protestant populations was very rare. Between 1837 and 1889, only two such marriages occurred. In 1849 Ann Hewgill, daughter of a lay Methodist preacher, married Matthew Harrison, a Roman Catholic. No reaction on the part of the Hewgill family survives, perhaps because Ann appears to have delayed accepting the rites of the Church of Rome until the year of her death.²⁰ Maria Burrell's marriage to Michael Edward Brougham, on the other hand, did produce a reaction and may have contributed to her being ostracized by her father, a staunch member of the Church of England, and the speedy removal of the Broughams from the township.²¹

Equally as important as religious concerns was the status of the family within the township. Over the course of the century, a very high proportion of the children of permanent families chose their spouses from equally well-established families. The experience of the Bland family, once again, provides an example. Bland had settled during the 1830s and by 1891, the Blands were related through marriage to eleven neighbouring landowners. These eleven households, in turn, were related, either by blood or marriage, to an additional twenty-five households. Together, these thirty-six households represented virtually every cultural tradition in the community, but they had one

thing in common. They were all descended from one of the township's pioneering families who had settled in the area before 1850. Over the course of time, this pattern of intermarriage among long-standing families served to set them even further apart from the rest of the community. Here again, is evidence that in a society that appears to have been composed largely of people on the move, stability was a permanent feature.

The important question to be asked, of course, is what difference these kinship ties, expressed by blood or other relationships, made in terms of the experiences of individuals and the development of the community. Obviously they provided individuals with a strong emotional tie to the area and, hence, a propensity to persist. As chapter IV demonstrated, there were clear differences in the rates of persistence among different groups of people in this society. Roughly eighty percent of the members of permanent families enumerated as householders at the beginning of every given decade were still residents of the township ten years later. Conversely, in the 1850s only one in seven (14.6%) newcomers to the township persisted and by the 1880s that proportion was down to one in twenty (5.6%).²² Emotional ties alone, however, were not sufficient to account for these differences. The other factor binding individuals to this community was the opportunity to fulfill their aspirations. In a word, this meant the acquisition of land. Chapter III hinted at the role of the family in providing land for children by documenting the apparent retirement of older members of this society to small farms.²³ How, specifically, places were provided in this society through the

provision of land, or the means to acquire it, is the question that must be explored next.

IV

Beginning in 1830, the first members of the second generation began to take possession of land. Over the next half century, more than half of the 347 sons (52.3%) born to the 108 families that had settled in the township before 1850 managed to find places for themselves in the area. Among those who became landowners, nine of them (92.3%) remained for more than a decade after establishing their independence. By the 1870s and 1880s the first members of the third generation were seeking land. Like their fathers, many of these young men also found places in the township despite the obvious scarcity of land. For all these young men family aid had been essential to fulfilling their aspirations.*

Most did not acquire land of their own immediately. After mid-century between forty and fifty percent were enumerated first as tenants (Table 6-1). Little can be said about the initial experience of these men. No records survive that record when they acquired their land, from whom, or on what terms. Many undoubtedly spent a period of time as tenants on land owned by their fathers. For James Reid Jr., son of one of the original eight settlers, this was the path that led to full independence. Following his retirement, the elder Reid gladly rented most of his two hundred acre farm to his son for little more than half the usual rent, to keep him nearby.²⁴

*See Appendix C.

TABLE 6-1

SECOND AND THIRD GENERATION SONS WHO SETTLED
AS TENANTS OR LANDOWNERS, 1831-1891

	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
1. First enumerated as:							
(a) Tenant	0	1	18	23	21	33	15
(b) Landowner	3	4	22	31	30	32	22
2. Rank of son in the family: (%)							
(a) Tenant							
1	0.0	100.0	61.1	43.5	42.8	36.4	33.3
2	0.0	0.0	22.2	30.4	38.0	27.3	26.7
3+	0.0	0.0	16.6	26.1	19.1	36.4	40.0
(b) Landowner							
1	33.0	25.0	40.9	38.7	40.0	37.5	31.8
2.	66.6	75.0	36.4	32.3	30.0	28.1	27.3
3+	0.0	0.0	22.7	29.0	30.0	34.4	40.9
3. Age at which land purchased:							
Mean	--	--	29.9	29.9	29.9	32.2	31.8
Standard dev'n			7.3	7.6	6.8	9.0	8.6
TOTALS	3	5	40	54	51	65	37

Unlike James Reid, who was a youngest son, most young men seeking places for themselves in the 1840s and 1850s were the eldest sons of the township's permanent families. As time passed, however, first sons were more likely to pass up an opportunity to remain in the township as a tenant farmer and choose to migrate.²⁵ By the mid-1870s, as the first sons of the third generation were reaching maturity they, too, chose to join the ranks of the migrants. Their fathers

were still young and like Arthur Lower's foot-loose young men, they seem to have preferred migration to a long wait for their inheritance.²⁶ It was their younger brothers who chose to remain in the township, even at the expense of farming someone else's land.

Beginning independent economic life as a tenant, appears to have been a stage through which most young men passed, even those first enumerated as landowners. If, as the residential patterns suggest, marriage meant independence then, on the average, sons had to wait between one and five years after marrying to become owners of land. Even the most liberal estimates of the average age at marriage for men (28.5 years in 1871) fall short of the average age at which young men purchased land by sixteen months.²⁷ How those sixteen months were spent is not clear. The quantitative evidence will take us no further and there is virtually no literary evidence on this point. One suspects, however, that like the younger James Reid they spent a period of time as tenants on family land and then purchased land either from their parents or neighbours.

Among the first time landowners, the largest single group was the first sons of permanent families. The majority, however, were younger sons and as time passed they became a more important component of the second and third generation landowning populations. At the very least, this casts doubt on the popular belief that it was first sons who inherited property and were charged with the responsibility of carrying on family traditions. Like their counterparts among the tenant population, these elder sons had reached maturity when their

fathers were still young. Few fathers were willing to subdivide their property at that point in their economic lives. As a consequence, although first sons were more likely to be represented in both the landowning and tenant populations than second sons, more than half left the township.

For all sons the ownership of land determined whether or not they would remain in Toronto Gore. Less than half the tenants were willing to accept tenant status for as long as a decade (Table 6-2). The aging of the permanent population ensured that more land would be available as time passed and many were willing to wait for their patrimony. At the same time, they must have realized that there was an upper limit on how many farms the township could support. Family land could not be subdivided indefinitely without seriously affecting both its productivity and profitability.²⁸ Many, therefore, had to look for opportunities to purchase land from neighbours. Their ability to acquire that land, as well as their impatience, is documented in the steadily increasing proportion of tenants who abandoned the township after a few years as a tenant farmer. Those who stuck it out as tenants invariably were successful in obtaining land, but most had to await their father's death and the subdivision of his estate. Their decision to remain required a long-term commitment that one in three appeared willing to make before 1870. After the opening of lands in western Canada in the 1870s, the struggle to obtain land in the face of escalating land values and the effects of earlier subdivision became less palatable. As a consequence, most moved on.²⁹

Most who were successful in acquiring land had to rely upon

TABLE 6-2

MOBILITY AMONG SONS SETTling AS TENANTS, 1850-1890

First enumerated in:	1852	1861	1871	1891
Status on next record:				
1. Persisted as a tenant (%)	33.3	30.4 ^a	4.8 ^b	15.2
2. Acquired land (%)	33.3	34.8	57.1	36.3
3. Left the township (%)	33.3	34.8	38.1	48.5
N	18	23	21	33

Differences significant at $p < .05 = a-b$.

family aid. Across the whole timespan, the family remained the principal source of land for sons, either through direct sales, early inheritance, or the division of estates following the death of the head of household (Table 6-3). In every decade at least three in five sons acquired property through one of these devices. In the 1870s more land became available from non-family sources and many of the tenants recorded in table 6-2 took advantage of these opportunities. The disastrous slump in the land market during the previous decade may have shaken the confidence of some land owners, and when the recovery finally came they moved to sell off part of their holdings.³⁰ But, this was an aberration, and even in the 1870s more than half (58.4%) of the township's sons continued to rely upon their families for land.

What changed over time, was not the family's role in supplying land but the way in which it was transferred. Table 6-3 records three general, but inter-related trends in patterns of land acquisition.

TABLE 6-3

SOURCES OF LAND FOR SECOND AND THIRD GENERATION LANDOWNERS

	1841-50	1851-60	1861-70	1871-80	1881-90
1. Number of sons becoming landowners for the first time	22	37	28	24	22
2. Percentage acquiring land from:					
(a) relatives	54.5 ^a	40.5 _f	35.7 ^b	8.3 ^c	31.8 ^d
(b) inheritance	9.1 ^e	32.4 _f	42.8	50.0 ^g	36.4
(c) outside the family	36.4	27.2	21.4	41.6	31.8
3. Acquired land with some form of family help (%)	63.6	72.8	78.6	58.4	68.2
4. Sons making purchases from parents:					
(a) Number	20	19	17	19	13
(b) Mean size of purchase	75.8	75.3	71.0	74.2	89.2
Standard deviation	44.1	63.3	30.2	46.3	53.4
(c) Percent paying less than the average selling price per acre of land.	56.2	16.5 ^h	52.9 ⁱ	63.6	76.9 ^j
5. Obligations attached to the purchase of land (%)	30.0	26.4	23.5	10.5	30.8

Differences significant at $p < .05$ = b-c, c-e, e-f, h-i; $p < .01$ = e-f, h-j, $p < .001$ = a-c.

Between the 1840s and 1880s direct purchases from the family declined significantly. At the same time, inheritance became increasingly important. In fact there was an almost perfect negative correlation between land purchases and inheritance across the timespan. As inheritance became more important, moreover, the proportion of land sales that forced the purchaser to assume obligations also declined. These changes were related almost solely to the aging of the permanent population. At mid-century most of the men who had taken up land in the 1830s and 1840s were still relatively young. They met their children's demands for land by subdividing and transferring part of their farms to their offspring. This process continued at a steadily declining rate until the mid-1870s by which time most of the first generation had died off. After providing for one son, perhaps two, many left the discharging of obligations to the remainder for their wills. The exceptions were men who chose to provide their children with their full patrimony. In short, to provide early inheritance.

Almost without exception, young men who acquired land in this fashion were required to assume obligations that required them to care for parents, as well as brothers and sisters. In most cases, as well, protections were built in to ensure that there would be no default on these obligations.

Two examples demonstrate how these transfers were accomplished. In 1879, sixty-eight year old Thomas Parr of lot 12 in the tenth concession of the northern division (10N12) sold most of his modest holding of fifty acres to his son William. William was the youngest of Parr's five sons and, evidently in his father's estimation, the

best equipped of the two sons remaining at home to take over the family homestead.³¹ William received the land in return for the legal payment of one dollar in cash. In addition, however, he had to promise to pay an annuity of one hundred dollars to his father, and to assume an outstanding mortgage against the property of \$350.00. His father's desire to maintain his own independence and security during his declining years was written into the contract as well. The elder Parr was to retain his dwelling house and one acre of orchard surrounding it during his lifetime. He also was to have free access to the woodlot.

Twenty-one year old John O'Donnell of 8N11 found himself saddled with obligations that could have lasted for the rest of his life. In 1857, his step-father sold him one hundred and fifty acres of land on the promise that John would pay an annuity of £100 to his parents and a bequest of £400 to his step-sister Mary when she reached the age of twenty-one years. When his parents died, he was required to pay the equivalent of the interest on the annuity to Mary in half-yearly instalments. To make matters worse, John's possession of the land was to be delayed until the leases of tenant farmers who occupied it had expired. In the meantime, the income from those leases would continue to go to his father. Finally, to ensure that John fulfilled his obligations, he was required to post a £5,000 performance bond.³² No money actually changed hands in this transaction, but if John defaulted on his obligations the payment of the bond would be demanded.

These practices only declined because of the aging of the

permanent population made "early inheritance" unnecessary. In terms of the obligations imposed upon principal heirs there was no change except in the form of the document that set forth the conditions under which they would receive land. In short, filial love and devotion may have prompted parents to provide for their children, but this aid was seldom given gratuitously. At one level, the relationship between a father and his children was an economic one. In return for their labour children could be expected to be rewarded at some later date. When that reward came, it could not compromise the security of parents in their old age, nor the benefits that other children might reasonably expect. The best source of capital that the family possessed to meet its obligations was the land. Land could produce capital through its productive capacity; it could be sold; or, it could be used as surety to raise capital through mortgages. But, it could not be subdivided indefinitely without seriously affecting its capacity to meet obligations. Hence, when land was transferred, farmers were loathe to carve their farms into enough pieces to provide land for each child. Instead, as table 6-3 demonstrates, sons were sold substantial acreages; sufficient to provide a standard of living that would tie them to the community and also enable them to discharge their responsibilities. Across the timespan, the average number of acres sold to all sons, whether first time purchasers or not, remained remarkably constant. As the standard deviations indicate, there was considerable variation but sales of fewer than fifty acres were exceptional.

Those sales or gifts of small acreages deserve a brief comment,

if only because they say something about the farmer's desire to settle his sons nearby. Most of these transfers appear to have been a down payment on a future patrimony and intended to bind the son to the community as well as keeping him in a state of semi-dependence. Certainly, this seems to have been the intention of John Bland, the owner of one of the township's largest farms. Between 1849 and 1855, Bland devised holdings of less than five acres on each of his three sons, John Jr., George, and Thomas Walker.³³ Each son received his land just prior to marriage, and his full patrimony came in his father's will. The former acreages were large enough to bind the sons to the township but not large enough to give them full independence. Bland, who had demonstrated his own business acumen during the 1840s when he built an original purchase of one hundred acres into a farm of more than four hundred acres, forced his sons to make a choice. They could occupy their small parcels and rent adjacent land, or they could use their gift as the basis upon which to build farms of their own. If they chose the latter course, then when they received their fair division of the family homestead, they would be substantial farmers. Only John Jr. took up the challenge, if that was their father's intention. Over the next decade he added one hundred and fifty acres to his father's gift.³⁴

The point here, of course, is that the transfer of small acreages was an exception that can be explained away. When it came to transferring property both fathers and sons tried to ensure that the resulting farms would be viable economic enterprises capable of sustaining a reasonable standard of living. Hence, property division

rarely resulted in the creation of more than two farms; one approaching the average size of farm in the township, the other smaller and intended to support parents during their declining years. Obviously these practices have serious consequences for any social structure analysis based upon the size of farm operated. As chapter III demonstrated, many of the township's smaller farms were occupied by heads of household who were over sixty years of age. It can now be stated with some confidence that smaller farms, as well as indicating economic differentiation in rural society, contain a permanent record of its practices of land distribution.

Table 6-3 also records that in every decade but the 1850s, the majority of farmer's sons paid their parents less than the average selling price of land in the township. To be sure, many of these sales involved obligations that more than compensated for the difference in price. For others, however, there was a genuine attempt to provide children with cheap land. Only in the 1850s, when optimism about the economic future of the province ran high, were most sons required to pay market value. If a sale could be made without compromising the family's capacity to meet its obligations, then the desire to settle sons nearby was a major consideration in determining the price of land.

Neither the place of birth nor cultural identity of these farmers seems to have influenced the way in which property was transferred during a father's lifetime. Where ethnic groups differed was in when, and how much land would be sold but, even here, decisions were based more often on individual economic circumstance than upon cultural tradition. The township's two principal ethnic groups, the

English and Irish, both attempted to follow the principal that when land was sold the resulting farm should be sufficiently large to support a son and his family at a level that was not substantially lower than the standard enjoyed by the father during his lifetime. Hence, the differences in the size of farms sold to English and Irish sons had more to do with the fact that Irishmen were among the owners of the townships smaller farms (Table 6-4). This meant that between 1850 and 1870, the differences in the size of purchases made by English and Irish sons were statistically significant. But, by the 1880s, as the third generation began to succeed to the land these differences were being washed out. The history of the Irish population in this township suggests that they struggled to close the gap between themselves and their neighbours. In the 1840s they were more likely to be tenant farmers; by the 1850s they were more likely to be landowners, but the owners of smaller farms. The fact that they were able to make progressively larger sales to their sons after mid-century indicates that they were closing even that gap. Only among the Irish who owned farms of two hundred acres or more was the practice of equal subdivision to provide for sons practiced. This was hardly evidence of a cultural influence, however, since English owners adopted identical practices.

There was one difference in the behaviour of the English and Irish that might have been culturally related, however. With the exception of the 1840s and 1880s, Irish sons acquired land earlier than their English counterparts. It is impossible to say with any confidence, except for 1871, however, that there were real differences in behaviour between the two groups. Nonetheless, it appears that

TABLE 6-4

MEAN AGE AND SIZE OF PURCHASE FOR SONS ACQUIRING LAND FROM
PARENTS BY ETHNIC GROUP AND BIRTHPLACE, 1851-1891

	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
1. Whole Population:					
Mean age when land acquired	29.9	29.9	29.9	32.2	31.8
Standard deviation	7.3	7.6	6.8	9.4	8.6
Mean size of holding	118.4	92.1	113.3	103.6	113.5
Standard deviation	73.6	37.4	54.8	56.4	56.4
2. Ethnicity:					
(a) Mean age					
English	28.5	31.8	31.9 ^a	33.6	32.0
Irish	30.8	28.9	27.7 ^b	30.5	32.1
(b) Mean size of holding					
English	137.9 ^c	110.0 ^e	124.2 ^g	108.7	118.0
Irish	109.3 ^d	73.9 ^f	91.1 ^h	93.0	114.9
3. Birthplace:					
(a) Mean age					
Native born	--†	27.5	28.2	29.9	--
Foreign born	--	33.6	34.1	35.5	--
(b) Mean size of holding					
Native born	--	85.3	122.1 ⁱ	85.8 ^k	--
Foreign born	--	96.3	85.7 ^j	118.0 ^l	--
N for each category:					
All	19	26	29	25	20
English	9	8	13	17	12
Irish	9	16	13	8	7
Native born	0	10	22	15	20

NOTE: This table includes only those land transfers of more than five acres. †In 1851 and 1891 there were either no native or foreign born sons. t-ratios for differences in means were significant at: $p < .05$, 1 tail = c-d, $p < .01$, 1 tail = a-b, k-l; $p < .01$, 2 tails = e-f, g-h, i-j.

once the Irish became a major component of the landowning population, as they did after 1850, they began to provide land for their sons at least twenty-four months earlier than English families. By the 1880s, just as differences in the size of land sales had virtually disappeared, so too had differences in the age at which sons acquired land from their parents.

Among the native and foreign born there were even fewer clear distinctions. On the average the native born acquired land earlier than the foreign born just as, in this population at least, they married earlier. At no time, however, were these differences great enough to produce statistical significance and, therefore, could simply be the result of normal variation within the population. The fact that there is a constant pattern does provide some support for an argument that they did receive their land earlier. As for the size of farm purchased, there are statistically significant differences, but nothing to support an argument that there were real differences between the two groups that can be attributed to their place of birth. The quantitative evidence provides no clues and there is no literary evidence on this point. These differences could have resulted just as easily from a group of smaller farmers selling land to their sons in one decade and more prosperous farmers selling out in the next.

The principal value of these data is the clear indication they provide that all farmers, regardless of ethnic background or time of arrival in the province, adopted essentially the same attitude toward the division of their property. All sought to protect it and the standard of living it represented. In practice that meant

providing land for one or perhaps two sons through a system of sales which would provide the income to ensure the old age security of parents and a patrimony for children who did not receive land.

V

Aid from kinsmen was not limited to the sale or gift of land to relatives. On occasion the family also would provide capital to start new enterprises, or surety for loans made by its members. In a recent study of mortgaging in the Gore, David Gagan pointed out that mortgages against property were not as common among the landholders of the township as might have been expected given the high cost of land, the concentration upon vulnerable grain crops, and the unfavourable market conditions that prevailed for much of the century. Nevertheless, there was sufficient indebtedness in this society to enable him to suggest that there were demonstrable patterns in the borrowing and lending habits of the agricultural population.³⁵ In their search for capital, mortgagors of land in this township often turned to relatives and neighbours rather than institutional lenders. They looked as well to retired relatives and former neighbours who had settled in nearby towns, villages or townships. It is important here to move beyond the broad conclusion that mortgage capital was provided by local sources, and attempt to identify how much of that capital was family capital. If our purpose is to understand the role played by kinsmen in providing aid for a new generation of householders then, at the very least, we must distinguish between relatives and neighbours. These distinctions are important since the very act

of seeking aid from strangers rather than family members may be indicative of a weakening of the family tie.³⁶

The various mortgaging activities of the Gore's landowners are summarized in table 6-5. The mortgages taken out between 1830 and 1880 fall into two distinct categories: primary mortgages associated with the purchase of land, and secondary mortgages used for other purposes including capital improvements and meeting financial obligations during times of economic stress. These records reveal that in most cases individuals in search of capital did not turn to family members. As the century progressed, moreover, fewer and fewer family members were involved in financial transactions involving the mortgaging of land. Neighbouring families were not a much better source of capital, although in almost all cases a higher proportion of mortgagors turned to neighbours rather than kinsmen, especially to acquire secondary mortgages. Overwhelmingly, it was strangers or former neighbours, who can not be identified here, who provided the principal source of capital for the potential mortgagor.

Mortgage agreements between a father and son accompanying the purchase of land were rare, as might be expected. Where a sale required the sons to assume obligations outside capital was a necessity. Even when no direct obligations were involved, parents often looked to the sale as a means of financing their retirement. In the later years that often meant retiring to one of the surrounding towns or villages. Outside capital, therefore, was required once again. In most of those cases where a parent took back a mortgage, it documented a variation on the theme of early inheritance. Most of these cases required

TABLE 6-5

KINSHIP AND MORTGAGE PATTERNS, 1841-1881

Year	Number of Mortgagors	Number of Mortgages	Primary Mortgages							Secondary Mortgages				
			Number of Mortgages	Percent of all Mortgages	Mortgagee is vendor		Mortgagee not vendor			Number of Mortgages	Percent of all Mortgages	Mortgagee		
					Relative (%)	Other (%)	Relative (%)	Neighbour (%)	Other (%)			Relative (%)	Neighbour (%)	Other (%)
1841	17	24	10	40.0	0.0	60.0	0.0	20.0	20.0	14	60.0	0.0	14.3	85.7
1851	39	49	22	44.9	9.1	50.0	4.5	4.6	31.8	27	55.1	7.4	14.8	77.8
1861	62	90	20	22.2	15.0	65.0	0.0	5.0	15.0	70	77.8	4.3	15.7	80.0
1871	65	79	38	48.1	7.9	47.4	0.0	5.3	39.5	41	51.9	2.4	19.5	78.0
1881	77	109	39	35.8	5.1	48.7	10.3	7.7	28.2	70	64.2	2.9	5.7	91.4
TOTALS	260	351	129							222				

the sons to fulfil obligations by providing annuities, care, or bequests to siblings. They were written into the mortgage which guaranteed its conditions would be met by granting possession but not title to the land until its terms were discharged.³⁷ This system had advantages over the posting of bonds since the land could be recovered more quickly.

This system was used by Robert Woodill, for example, when he decided in 1868 to sell one hundred acres of land on 7N5 to his son Robert Pickering Woodill. The younger Woodill paid \$2,400.00 for the land and his father took back a mortgage for the entire amount. In lieu of payments on the mortgage Robert Pickering was required to provide his father with an annuity of £20.³⁸ This practice was not unusual and many other sons found themselves similarly indentured.³⁹

Even if families did not make extensive use of mortgaging in their financial transactions involving each other, they were more than willing, if the circumstances required, to gamble their own future well-being to support a kinsman. In the probate inventories prepared for the surrogate court there are records of outstanding mortgages, notes of hand and bonds held by testators at the time of their death. In the absence of chattel mortgages, which the Peel County court destroyed some years ago, these provide the best and only record of other forms of indebtedness.

Taken together the data in these inventories provide further evidence of the importance of the family as a source of aid to its members. Approximately one in five of the 145 wills that survive contain a record of outstanding credits. In sixty percent of the

cases where bonds were present, a relative had guaranteed the payment of a debt. One in four of the mortgages (23.0%) and one in five of the notes of hand (19.0%) also involved relatives. Any disparity in the proportion of outstanding mortgages between the wills and mortgage records may result from the research design for this chapter. Alternatively, it may also indicate that relatives were not pressed for payment. The important point, in any event, is that there is clear evidence here that on occasion kinsmen would put themselves at risk for one another.

VI

The importance of the family tie was expressed, finally, in the life cycle experiences of individuals, particularly the old and the young. In the absence of literary sources that comment upon the quality of relationships within families, the residence patterns of individuals offer some clues, at least, to the attitude of families toward co-residence. They also demonstrate in another way the kind of interdependence that characterized the nineteenth century family. Finally, they point to changes in this society that are documented in the shifting responsibility for the care of the aged, infirm or otherwise distressed.

Residential patterns, as Myer Fortes suggested recently in his introduction to the Developmental Cycle in Domestic Groups, are not governed by rules of kinship, descent, or marriage but instead by economic factors.⁴⁰ According to Caniff Haight, in the early years of settlement in Upper Canada parents and other relations commonly resided

with their kinsmen.⁴¹ Considering the harsh conditions associated with the early period, this might be expected. Chapter V, however, documented that at some point in their domestic cycle two in five Toronto Gore households had relatives present. In many cases these arrangements were made during periods regarded as relatively prosperous.

When these households are classified according to the co-resident living arrangements (Table 6-6) the complexity of experience in this society is revealed.⁴² Single or widowed people living alone (Solitaries), with conjugal families (Extended Family), and several families sharing the same roof (Multiple Family), accounted for at least one in four households at each decennial cut-in-point. Although there was a slight trend toward fewer multiple family households, the only statistically significant change was an increase in the proportion of extended households containing resident relatives.

These extended family households could be created in a number of ways. Newly immigrated kinsmen, family members in distress, orphaned children and widowed grandparents all expanded the boundaries of the household as they sought aid and comfort from relatives. During the late 1850s, to cite one example, Jane Yeomans and her three minor children moved back into her father's household following the death of her husband.⁴³ In this way the McGhie household became extended. Other households that were extended in a similar fashion also documented the family's role in providing sanctuary for those in distress.

TABLE 6-6

CLASSIFICATION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY STRUCTURE, 1851-1871
(%)

Category	1851	1861	1871
1. Solitaries	3.2	2.4	3.6
2. No family	1.3	5.1	1.1
3. Simple family household (CFU)	77.4	76.4	74.6
4. Extended family households	9.4	11.5	16.3 ^a
5. Multiple family households	6.0	4.4	3.3
6. Not classifiable	3.0	0.3	1.1

^aThe increase in the number of extended households between 1851 and 1871 is significant at $p < .05$.

More important in the present context is the behaviour of newlyweds and the aged. It is clear from the manuscript census that the changing proportions in multiple and extended households was not an exemplification of new residential patterns for either newlyweds or the elderly. Unlike Berkner's Austrian example or Anderson's Lancashire, parents in this society rarely retired and took up residence with their children, nor did newlyweds seek out places with their parents prior to acquiring independent places in the community. For newlyweds in this township marriage was accompanied by the dispersion of the nuclear family and the creation of independent households. In the period covered by the census returns only four married children of a total of almost one hundred and fifty, chose to move in with their parents to form a multiple family house-

hold. Newlyweds were as likely to share a household with married brothers and sisters as they were with parents. In the case of the former, these living arrangements were associated with the joint ownership of property and were dissolved quickly once sufficient financial independence had been achieved.

These latter data underscore a point made earlier in the chapter when it was suggested that many young men may have been forced to begin their tenure in the township as tenant farmers. The two or three year gap, on the average, between marriage and the acquisition of land obviously was not spent at home working on the family homestead. Marriage resulted in the dispersal of the nuclear family. This suggests two features of the life cycle experiences of young people in this society. First, if they chose to remain at home in anticipation of inheriting the family homestead, they also postponed marriage until their ambitions were fulfilled. Second, if they did choose to marry, they often began their tenure in the township as tenants, perhaps on family land but with all of the independence that a separate household implied. Perhaps the desire to be close to kinsmen prompted them to accept tenancy as a normal part of their lives, but it is also clear that they would not accept that status indefinitely.

At the other end of the demographic life cycle, parents who had either retired, or were fast approaching the age of retirement, or had been widowed declined to take up residence with their married offspring (Table 6-7). The residence patterns of widowed parents had implications for the number of extended households in the township. Although there was a statistically significant increase in the number

TABLE 6-7

RESIDENCE PATTERNS FOR PERSONS OVER 60 YEARS OF AGE
BY SEX AND MARITAL STATUS, 1851-1871
(%)

	MALES					
	Widowed			Married		
	1851	1861	1871	1851	1861	1871
Living with:						
Spouse				88.9	87.5	96.0
Married child	47.1 ^a	28.5	7.7 ^b	11.1	12.5	4.0
Unmarried child	17.6	28.5	38.5			
Other kin	5.9	14.3	15.4			
Living as:						
Boarder	5.9	14.3	0.0			
Employee	17.6	7.1	15.4			
Solitary	5.9	7.1	23.1			
N	17	14	13	27	32	15
	FEMALES					
	Widowed			Married		
	1851	1861	1871	1851	1861	1871
Living with:						
Spouse				89.5	82.3	93.8
Married child	29.4 ^c	42.9 ^d	16.7 ^e	10.5	17.6	6.2
Unmarried child	29.4 ^c	9.5 ^d	75.0 ^e			
Other kin	5.9	9.5	0.0			
Living as:						
Boarder	23.5	19.0	0.0			
Employee	0.0	4.8	0.0			
Solitary	11.8	14.3	8.3			
N	17	21	12	19	17	16

Differences significant at: $p < .001 = d-e$; $p < .05 = a-b, c-d$.

of these households between 1851 and 1871, when tables 6-6 and 6-7 are compared it is clear that these households were created by absorbing relatives other than parents. In fact, across the twenty year timespan covered by the two tables the number of widows and widowers seeking sanctuary declined significantly in both absolute and proportional terms. Yet, between sixty and eighty percent of all widowers and widows continued to seek out and find places with kinsmen. Here is clear evidence of a shifting responsibility away from young married couples and toward unmarried children, who presumably remained at home, and other kinsmen. This change owed much to alterations in the demographic behaviour of the younger generation. The decision to postpone marriage during an era of economic stress meant that there were fewer young couples who could provide places for parents in distress. Between 1851 and 1870, the proportion of single men in the 30-34 year old age group, those who might have been expected to provide places for widowed parents, increased by thirty percent.⁴⁴

Most parents guarded their independence jealously and only moved in with their children when they were faced with the choice between living alone or in the context of a family. One in ten, or fewer, married couples were living with their children at each decennial interval. Given a choice, they maintained their independence until the death of one of the partners and only then turned to kinsmen for support.

These data do not argue against the importance of family relationships, however. Almost all widows and widowers, if they

had them. Few married couples lived with their children because they valued their independence and ensured that the way in which they transmitted their property made such arrangements unnecessary except in times of great stress.

VII

The importance of kinship in this society is clear. For its youngest members the family provided both pecuniary and non-pecuniary inducements to put down roots. In concrete terms, this meant land for sons, and capital, or surety for capital for new projects including the purchase of land from outside the family. As well, it provided security for the aged and a home for the distressed. Even in a time of economic stress the family continued to ensure that new places were created. Hence, persistence in this society was linked through a number of strands to kinship and few children who did not have kinsmen among the landowning population in this society could anticipate becoming landowners themselves at some future date. The failure to acquire land, in turn, meant that they were likely to become temporary residents of the area.

In performing these functions the township's families documented two major concerns. The first was a sense of responsibility that they felt to other family members and a willingness to discharge those obligations that came with continued residence in the area. In some instances this meant that a home would have to be provided for the elderly or the distressed. In other cases, it meant that sons who acquired land through early inheritance would have to take on the

responsibility of providing for parents or siblings. The second was a concern with preserving the basis of their economic independence, the land. Unless the productivity and profitability of the land were protected, family members would not be able to discharge their responsibilities. Translated into practical terms this meant that when land was transferred from father to son care was taken to ensure that farms were sufficiently large to provide a reasonable standard of living, even if this meant that some sons would have to seek land elsewhere. Ultimately, this meant that some of the sons of permanent families would have to join the ranks of the township's transients. For all sons, however, membership in a permanent family carried with it a better chance of both acquiring land and remaining in the township. A period of time as a tenant and the support of family members offered even those who did not obtain family land the possibility of remaining and eventually realizing their ambitions.

These practices ensured, on the one hand, that the families presence in the township would be continued and, on the other, that those who remained could look forward to a reasonably comfortable existence. From the perspective of fathers, the decisions they took when contemplating the division of their property indicated a recognition that the township could support only a limited number of farms and a limited population. Despite changing social and economic conditions they did not waver in their belief that it was their responsibility to provide for their children, but they remained convinced that continuous subdivision of land was not the best way to fulfil those obligations. Regardless of their ethnic origins, they

behaved in essentially the same way. In the early years when land was comparatively plentiful, it might have been possible for a man to subdivide his land among all his sons in anticipation that they would be able to add to their acreages through their own devices. After mid-century, too much subdivision meant disaster for all. Hence they adopted the principal of granting land to one or at most two sons. Many carried the conviction that this was the proper way to provide for their families into the final act of their economic lives, the writing of their wills.

FOOTNOTES

¹For a discussion of contemporary opinion on this point see: Gagan, "Prose of Life," pp. 369-372.

²T. W. Magrath, Authentic Letters From Upper Canada (Dublin, 1833; reprint ed. Toronto: Macmillan & Co., 1967), p. 8.

³Moodie, Life in the Clearings, pp. 38-39.

⁴Catermole, Emigration, p. 166.

⁵Rowell-Sirois Report, p. 27.

⁶Jones, History of Agriculture, pp. 55-6; Reaman, History of Agriculture, p. 117.

⁷Jones, History of Agriculture, pp. 55-6.

⁸Lower, Canadians in the Making, p. 339.

⁹Ibid., p. 261.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 337.

¹¹Ibid., p. 339.

¹²Anderson, Family Structure, pp. 85, 93, 98. These practices are also described by: H. J. Habbakuk, "Family Structure and Economic Change in Nineteenth Century Europe," J.E.H., XV (1955), pp. 1-12.

¹³Lutz Berkner, "The Stem Family and the Developmental Cycle of the Peasant Household: An Eighteenth Century Austrian Example," A.H.R., LXXVII (1972), pp. 401-405.

¹⁴Easterlin, "Farm Settlement," pp. 63-66.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 64.

¹⁶Christensen, Handbook of Marriage, p. 514.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Abstract of Deeds, #s. 534, 1879.

¹⁹Ibid., #s. 9130, 849, 1205.

²⁰Perkins Bull Collection, Series A, Box 23.

²¹GS. ONT-1-571-#925.

²²See above, Table 4-13; p. 218.

²³See above, pp. 156-163.

²⁴James Reid to Thomas Reid, March 1, 1847, James Reid Correspondence.

²⁵This generalization seems reasonably safe. Although the differences were not statistically significant at .05, which was the criterion established at the outset, they are significant at .1.

²⁶Lower, Canadians in the Making, p. 339.

²⁷See above, Table 5-8; p. 286.

²⁸Cf. Easterlin, "Factors in the Decline of Farm Fertility," p. 613.

²⁹It has been argued that Ontario's farmers continued to subdivide land to provide for children until it was impossible to subdivide any further. At that point they sold out. See Lemieux, "Factors in the Growth of Rural Population," p. 199.

³⁰A more lengthy discussion of the full implications of the land slum is found in: Gagan, "Critical Years," pp. 300-307.

³¹GS. 3527, Copy Book of Deeds, IV, # 582.

³²Ibid., III, # 4459.

³³Abstract of Deeds, lots 11N7, 8N5, 8N10.

³⁴Copy Books, III;#s 35835, 48362.

³⁵D. P. Gagan, "The Security of Land: Mortgaging in Toronto Gore Township, 1835-1895," in Aspects of Nineteenth Century Ontario: Essays Presented to James J. Talman, ed: F. H. Armstrong, H. A. Stevenson and J. D. Wilson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), pp. 146-147.

³⁶M. Anderson, "The Study of Family Structure," in Nineteenth Century Society: Essays in the Use of quantitative Methods (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 51-52.

³⁷Under the land law in force in Canada in the nineteenth century, the mortgagor conveyed his land to the mortgagee in fee

simple with a condition that he would regain ownership of the land when payment was made. A. W. B. Simpson, An Introduction to the History of the Land Law (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 225.

³⁸Copy Books, III; #16189.

³⁹Ibid., #s. 69, 2012; Copy Books, IV; #s. 1383, 4459.

⁴⁰Jack Goody, ed., The Developmental Cycle in Domestic Groups (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 3.

⁴¹Haight, Life in Canada, pp. 44-47.

⁴²This classification system is discussed in detail in: E. A. Hammel and P. Laslett, "Comparing Household Structure Over Time and Between Cultures," C.S.S.H., XVI (1974), pp. 73-109.

⁴³MS. Census of Canada, 1861, Toronto Gore Township.

⁴⁴Census of Canada, 1851-2, II; Table VI; Census of Canada, 1870-71, II; Table VII; MS. Census of Canada, 1870-1, Toronto Gore Township.

CHAPTER VII

'TIL DEATH DO US PART?

I

Providing places or "making room" in the township for maturing children through the use of such devices as deeds of gift, mortgages or direct sales of land was part of an ongoing process that culminated in what was, most often, the final act in a head of family's economic life, the drawing up of his will. Taken together these practices constitute the customs of inheritance practised by this society. Like the adjustments made in the age at marriage and fertility, these customs reflected the rural family's concern with defending a standard of living and maintaining traditional patterns of rural life. Hence, inheritance practices were directed toward achieving those goals while, at the same time, fulfilling the family's obligation to provide for all its children.

Canadian farmers had the choice of three different systems of inheritance when the time came to draw up their wills. They could choose either partible inheritance where the property was divided equally among all heirs; impartible inheritance where everything was left to a single heir; or, impartible-partible inheritance, a hybrid, where property was left to a single heir who then assumed the responsibility of paying bequests to other heirs.

Each of these systems had a long history in the European

experience where inheritance systems were often limited by law.¹ In practice, however, there were few societies where a single system of inheritance dominated. Most often, as H. J. Habbakuk pointed out recently, a "wide range of compromises" was evident in the inheritance patterns of societies that attempted to pursue two basically incompatible goals. The first of these was to keep the family farm intact and the second, to provide for all children, not just the eldest.² In eighteenth century Austria, for example, the law dictated an impartible system of inheritance. A scarcity of land made partible inheritance impractical but, as Lutz Berkner has demonstrated, Austrian families were able to get around the law by working out a series of arrangements which enabled them to leave land to one son who then made bequests to siblings based on an equal division of the market value of the property.³ In effect, what Austrians adopted was an impartible-partible system of inheritance.

The importance of these systems of inheritance for community development, economic growth and the persistence of social and cultural values has been a subject of considerable debate among scholars for some time.⁴ It has been argued that the impartible system of inheritance promoted both a closed social structure and rapid economic growth.⁵ The single heir system created a class of privileged land owners who had the wherewithal to finance improvements in production and mechanization. The monopoly they held over land ensured the continuation of that privileged position. The partible system, on the other hand, promoted a more "egalitarian production system" as large farms were broken up through the process of inheritance.⁶ Others have argued, however, that

exactly the opposite results could accompany either method of inheritance. If single heirs were burdened with debts because of obligations attached to a patrimony, then economic growth would be retarded because heirs were "starved for capital."⁷ A partible system which produced excessive fragmentation of property could lead to an active land market as heirs sold off small holdings and used the proceeds to finance more viable projects. Available land, in turn, would provide those with capital and ambition the opportunity to amass substantial estates. Both systems, as well could contribute to transiency. In the impartible system, those sons and daughters not provided for in the will had the option of remaining at home, perhaps never marryiny, or migrating. Partible inheritance that promoted excessive fragmentation and an active land market also had transiency as one of its logical implications.

The farmers of Canada West who chose one of these systems obviously intended to achieve some goals that were at least implicitly defined. The most obvious choice for them would have been to follow the cultural traditions of their homeland. For the Irish-born, this meant an equal division of property among all children; for the English it suggested a commitment to ensuring the integrity of the family farm by placing it in the hands of a single heir. In its most rigid form, this choice would have denied the promise of the new world. To subdivide the land indiscriminantly would have replicated the "Irish problem" in Canada---too little land in the hands of far too many landowners, all of whom were faced with the prospect of little more than bare subsistence. A different kind of problem faced those families who might

have opted for impartible inheritance, and who, during the course of a lifetime, may have accumulated considerable property. To leave everything to one son would have denied needlessly the ambitions of other children who looked forward to becoming agriculturalists. This decision also would have flown in the face of contemporary commentary which contended the Upper Canadians treated their children with "perfect equality."⁸ To overcome these difficulties required a more pragmatic response based upon the realities of the new environment and the family's economic status at the end of the domestic cycle. This option dictated partible inheritance where possible, impartible where necessary, and a combination of the two when the continued security of the family was at stake.

This kind of flexibility was a necessity for the farmers of Canada West. The large families that characterized the staples economy made it virtually impossible for most families to entertain perfectly partible inheritance. As land prices escalated after mid-century it became increasingly difficult for families to acquire enough property to provide all their sons with land. Consequently, Canadian farmers adopted an impartible-partible system of inheritance which Arthur Lower once misnamed the "English Canadian" system of inheritance.⁹ This practice enabled them to keep the farm in the family while, at the same time, providing a roughly equal patrimony for all children. The land was left to one son who was then required to make payments to other children. As the earlier discussion pointed out, this system was by no means unique to Canada. Impartible-partible inheritance had a long tradition in Europe where it was seen as the logical way of

reconciling the demands of large numbers of heirs when there was a limited supply of land.

The use of these practices in Canada West has been documented extensively by David Gagan and it would be superfluous to repeat that analysis here.¹⁰ Instead, this chapter concentrates upon the association of particular practices of inheritance with different segments of the population of Toronto Gore. Specifically, it argues that the Canadian system of inheritance became the favoured pattern of inheritance for the first generation of the township's permanent families. They saw it as the best means of providing for children without placing the very basis of the family's security in jeopardy. Once fertility declines had reduced family size, resorting to devices like the Canadian system was less imperative. Finally, the wills of Toronto Gore's patriarch's also reveal a fundamental change in attitude toward family relationships.

II

The one hundred and forty-five testators from Toronto Gore township who died between 1832 and 1900 made extensive use of all three systems of inheritance (Table 7-1). It is clear that the Canadian system was favoured and that behaviour was determined, in large measure, by the specific economic situation of the family at the time of the testator's death. Individuals who possessed personal property (personalty), personalty only, had no real estate, were native born, or had settled after 1850 were more likely to choose the impartible system. The partible system was most often the choice of those who had no real estate in Toronto Gore, owned land outside the township, or whose assets

TABLE 7-1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TESTATORS BY TYPE OF
WILL WRITTEN, FOR SELECT VARIABLES, 1832-1900

		Impartible type	Partible type	Canadian type
1. No of testators		29	50	66
Percent		20.0	34.5	45.5
2. Percent of testators for each type of will who had:				
i. Personal property ^a		72.4	56.0	54.5
ii. Real estate in Toronto Gore ^b		13.8	36.0	93.9
iii. Land outside the township ^c		31.0	72.0	45.5
iv. Both personal property and real estate ^d		37.9	46.0	45.5
v. Real estate only ^e		17.3	32.0	54.5
vi. Personal property only ^f		44.8	22.0	0.0
3. Percentage distribution of testators by type of will: (N)				
i. Birthplace: ^g				
Native born	(13)	38.5	53.8	7.7
Foreign born	(110)	34.5	10.9	54.5
ii. Ethnic origins: ^h				
English	(51)	5.9	39.2	54.9
Irish	(46)	10.9	34.8	54.4
iii. Settlement cohort: ⁱ				
Before 1850	(103)	13.6	35.0	51.5
After 1850	(42)	35.7	33.3	31.0
iv. Permanence: ^j				
Permanent family	(106)	14.2	34.9	50.9
Non-permanent	(39)	35.9	33.3	30.8

Significance levels: ^a $p < .05$ ($\chi^2 = 6.0$); ^b $p < .001$ ($\chi^2 = 66.31$); ^c $p < .001$ ($\chi^2 = 14.2$); ^dnot significant ($p > .05$); ^e $p < .01$ ($\chi^2 = 13.6$); ^f $p < .001$ ($\chi^2 = 30.9$); ^g $p < .001$ ($\chi^2 = 19.6$); ^hnot significant ($p > .05$); ⁱ $p < .01$ ($\chi^2 = 10.9$); ^j $p < .01$ ($\chi^2 = 9.4$).

were not limited to land. Those most likely to choose the Canadian system owned real estate, had no land outside the township, often had no personal property, were members of permanent families, had settled before 1850, or were foreign born. In short, there was a clear association (significant at $p < .01$) between membership in a permanent family and the choice of the Canadian system of inheritance. The township's permanent families had carried forward into the writing of their wills the practices they had adopted for "early inheritance."

The Canadian system seems to have been an expedient adopted by the first generation to deal with the problems of overpopulation of the family unit and economic crisis. Regardless of their ethnic origins, these testators behaved in essentially the same way. Only the native born members of the second generation abandoned the Canadian system. They reverted to partible or impartible inheritance (significant at $p < .001$). For these testators the general declines in fertility after mid-century meant that they were not faced with the same urgency to find ways of providing for large numbers of children.

For all members of this population, however, the family's economic situation at the time the will was drawn seems to have been the most important factor in determining which inheritance system would be chosen. Table 7-2 presents the same data in the form of correlation coefficients (C) for the type of will. Since the number of cells in each contingency analysis was identical, the strengths of association between each variable and the type of will can be compared. The strongest correlation for the choice of inheritance systems were associated with purely economic variables. Differences between the

TABLE 7-2

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS (C) FOR TYPE OF WILL BY SELECT VARIABLES

	Contingency Coefficient (C)
1. Owned real estate (also may have had personalty)	.56
2. Had personal property only	.42
3. Birthplace	.37
4. Had land outside the township	.30
5. Had land only	.29
6. Settlement cohort	.26
7. Permanence	.25
8. Had personal property (may have had land also)	.20
9. Had land <u>and</u> personal property	.19*
10. Ethnic origins	.09*

*Not statistically significant.

NOTE: The Contingency Coefficient (C) is a nominal statistic that measures the strength of association between nominal variables. Since the number of cells in the Chi square analysis for each of these variables is identical, the relative strengths of association can be compared. The contingency coefficient is related to the Chi square distribution by the expression:

$$C = \sqrt{\frac{\chi^2}{\chi^2 + N}}$$

native and foreign born and permanent/non-permanent families ranked third and seventh respectively. Here, again, is a clear indication that the Canadian system was more important to early settlers, particularly members of permanent families. But for most the question of whether their wealth was in real estate or personalty was an important factor in determining the kind of will they would eventually write.

The conclusions that can be drawn from these data are limited, since they are confined to simple, discrete, dichotomous relationships. That is to say, they probe associations between the type of will and

those who had or did not have real estate or personal property, those who were or were not members of permanent families, and so forth. The extent to which the amount of personal property, real estate, or the settlement cohort influenced the choice of a particular kind of inheritance is not contained in tables 7-1 and 7-2. Tables 7-3 and 7-4 do explore these relationships. Two additional variables have been introduced in this analysis, occupational status and the number of sons mentioned in the will. Their inclusion was based on two assumptions. First, that occupational status, in particular whether a testator was still active or retired at the time he drew up his will, would influence decisions on how property was to be divided. As chapter VI demonstrated, retiring farmers often transferred part of their property to sons in return for old age security. Hence, when the time came to draw up their will the major decision about the disposition of the family farm had already been made. Similarly, since the Canadian system of inheritance was designed to protect the integrity of the family farm, the number of sons who were potential demanders of land should have been an important consideration.

Table 7-3 presents significance levels and the rank order of the five variables from a Multiple Classification Analysis for type of will. In this analysis, the only statistically significant differences in behaviour were produced by the number of sons for whom provision had to be made. Both the amount of personal property and real estate produced only minor variations, although for impartible wills personalty did produce significance at $< .1$. The most important variable for the Canadian system was the number of sons mentioned in the will. The most

TABLE 7-3

SIGNIFICANCE LEVELS AND RANK ORDER OF SELECT VARIABLES
FROM MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS OF WILLS

Significance (F-ratio) of variables	Impartible	Partible	Canadian
1. Personal property	.08 (2)*	.85 (4)	.57 (4)
2. Occupation	.89 (4)	.07 (1)	.18 (2)
3. Permanence	.42 (3)	.57 (5)	.82 (5)
4. Real estate	.96 (5)	.23 (2)	.42 (3)
5. Total number of sons	.06 (1)	.47 (3)	.01 (1)
Overall significance	.12	.1	.001

*Numbers in parentheses indicate the rank order of the variables.

important variable for the partible system was the occupational status of the testator but, here again, the significance level was only 0.1 or better.

Table 7-4 presents the adjusted mean percentages for the choice of the type of will by each of the variables. It suggests first that, all other things being equal, testators who had two or more sons were much more likely to choose the Canadian system of inheritance. More than sixty percent of testators in this category would have chosen the Canadian system as opposed to forty-eight percent for the whole population. When the heirs were daughters, other relatives or a single son, they chose either partible or impartible inheritance. When there were no sons thirty-two percent, as opposed to sixteen percent for the whole population, would choose the impartible system.

TABLE 7-4

ADJUSTED MEAN PERCENTAGES FOR TYPE OF WILL
FROM MULTIPLE CLASSIFICATION ANALYSIS

	N	Impartible	Partible	Canadian
Grand Mean		16%	36%	48%
VARIABLES:				
1. Personal Property:				
None	66	12	37	51
\$1-999	0	--	--	--
1000-2999	26	34	29	37
3000-4999	7	1	54	46
5000-9999	5	0	32	72
1000+	4	15	40	50
2. Real Estate:				
None*	55	16	39	43
1-49 acres	4	3	87	10
50-149	23	17	35	48
150-249	15	19	19	62
250+	11	14	27	59
3. Occupation:				
Agriculture	73	18	28	73
Commerce	1	15	21	1
Retired	16	11	66	16
Unknown	18	12	42	18
4. Permanence:				
First generation	52	16	33	51
Second generation	27	8	45	46
Newcomer	29	23	33	44
5. Number of sons:				
None	26	32	47	21
1	23	24	43	33
2	20	3	36	60
3	15	7	25	68
4+	24	7	24	69
Multiple R		.468	.476	.584
Multiple R ²		.219	.227	.341

*This category also contains all those wills in which no acreages were mentioned.

Occupational status ranked second for the Canadian system, first for partible and fourth for impartible inheritance. The Canadian system was the more likely choice for those people who were still active at the time they drew up their wills. As expected, those who had retired, often disposing of their farms at the time of retirement, were more likely to divide their remaining property equally among the remaining heirs.

Real estate and personal property ranked third overall, despite the lack of significance. All things being equal, once again, those with the most personal property were more likely to choose either the Canadian or partible systems. The Canadian system was chosen most often by those who left between \$5,000-9,999 in personalty. In general, as the amount of real estate increased so too did the likelihood of employing the Canadian system. Farmers who had little land and, perhaps therefore, little status to protect were more likely to divide the land equally. Only ten percent of the testators in this category would choose the Canadian system as opposed to eighty-seven percent for partible inheritance. Sixty-two percent of the owners of farms between 150 and 249 acres, on the other hand, opted for the Canadian system. The likelihood of the owners of the largest farms, over 250 acres, choosing the Canadian system declined slightly. These larger farms provided their owners with the opportunity to provide a substantial patrimony for several sons.

Finally, permanence was the least important of the five variables, all other things being equal. This is exactly the kind of result one would expect if the Canadian system was a compromise, or

expedient, employed to solve an immediate problem. If there had been significant differences, it might indicate that the Canadian system had become a cultural value.

These data do not contradict the analyses presented in tables 7-1 and 7-2. In the first place, the variables are defined slightly differently to account for all possibilities. In the second, only 108 of the 145 wills were sufficiently detailed to be included in this analysis. Finally, table 7-4 presents adjusted mean percentages. Before the effects of other variables were removed for permanence, for example, there was a difference of twenty percent in the proportions of first generation settlers and newcomers choosing Canadian wills. After adjustments, this difference was reduced to only seven percent. The point, of course, is that the permanent families' choice of the Canadian system had much more to do with their economic and demographic circumstances than it did with the fact that they were part of the permanent population.

III

The aggregate statistical data presented thus far subsume a wide range of individual behaviour which provides further evidence that the decision to pass on property by some means other than the Canadian system depended both on the extent of real estate holdings and the number and kind of potential heirs. Almost forty percent of the testators who chose partible inheritance combined either comparatively large families with large farms, or few heirs with a modest holding. In either case, there was sufficient land to provide each son with land

and usually sufficient personalty to provide bequests for daughters. Hence, it was not necessary to resort to more complex systems of inheritance.

Martin Byrne, for example, found his 406 acres more than enough to provide substantial farms for each of three sons.¹¹ Similarly, Abraham Odlum's 500 acres were more than sufficient to provide for each of his four sons.¹² At the other end of the scale Richard Tibb, George Elcoat and Jand Davis owned farms of only one hundred acres but each had only two heirs for whom provision had to be made.¹³

Partible inheritance was also the logical choice for those who, like Connell J. Baldwin, Richard Berryman and Thomas Robson, had no sons to inherit their property. Rather than transferring land to a daughter, they chose to have their property sold at auction and the proceeds divided among the surviving heirs. Although the holding of property by women was not unknown in this society, rarely was land given to a daughter as part of her patrimony. Perhaps the desire to avoid seeing the proceeds of a life's work fall into the hands of another family, as it might have after the daughter married, led patriarchs to direct their property to be sold. On the other hand, they may have felt that money would provide a dowry for unmarried daughters and a measure of independence for those already married. When there were no sons or daughters, partible inheritance was usually the choice as well, the property being divided equally among other close relatives.¹⁴

Finally, one in four of the landowners who chose the partible

system of inheritance (27.7%), did so to complete a process of division begun during his lifetime. When this practice worked at its best, the fulfilling of an obligation to one or more elder sons when they were ready to begin families of their own, rather than forcing them to wait for their father's retirement or death, relieved the township's heads of family of the burden of providing for them in a will. But, at its worst, the generosity of a father to his older sons could reduce the estate to such an extent that it could not meet the obligations it had to the rest of the family.¹⁵

Most testators, however, did not find themselves in any of these circumstances. They had large families, average sized farms, and some personalty. For them, the Canadian system was the logical choice to meet their obligations. Left intact the family farm could be used to generate the capital necessary to provide a patrimony for all children; needlessly divided its worth would be diminished considerably.

This necessity made the question of who would inherit the property a matter of no small concern for all testators. In one of every three wills, regardless of the type of inheritance favoured, the responsibility for the family homestead and the care of any minor children was passed on to the widow (Table 7-5). But for the majority of widows the death of a husband meant the beginning of a new form of dependence. Two in three widows found themselves dependent upon either one of their children or the executors of the estate. In return for renouncing her dower right in the estate, a widow was provided with an annuity and, on occasion, care from one of her sons. Patrick Dougherty,

TABLE 7-5

PROVISIONS MADE FOR WIDOWS IN TORONTO GORE WILLS

	All wills (%)	Canadian wills (%)
1. No provisions	2.6	4.0
2. Inherits the homestead	38.5	32.0
3. Shares equally in the estate	20.5	2.0
4. Annuity from principal heir	5.1	34.0
5. Annuity and care from principal heir	2.6	4.0
6. Annuity from estate	30.8	24.0
N	89	50

for example, laid out very precisely the terms of his wife, Bridget's widowhood. In addition to an annuity of \$160.00, to be paid by the principal heir, she was to receive "uninterrupted possession of the two front rooms, the orchard and continuous pasturage and winter feed for two cows, twelve cords of firewood per annum, one apartment in the cellar, the privilege of keeping fowl in the barnyard...and a suitable conveyance to take her to and from church on any Sunday she desires to go."¹⁶ Others, such as Peter Fitzpatrick, who chose the same kind of provision for their widows, guaranteed some independence for their wives by including a proviso that in the event of a disagreement between the widow and the principal heir, she was to be provided with separate quarters.¹⁷ In return for this "generosity," the wife, for all intents and purposes, gave up her freedom. One widow in six (16.6%) among the

Canadian estates was threatened with the loss of all, or part of her inheritance, and on occasion even the loss of the right to guardianship over her children if she chose to remarry.¹⁸

In two of every three cases, it was a son who inherited the homestead. In almost half of those cases (47.7%), however, it was not the eldest son but one of his younger brothers who received the family farm and the responsibilities that went with it. The choice of who would inherit the homestead seems to have been determined by two factors. First, there was the practice of providing elder sons with land, either when they reached maturity or were beginning families of their own. When Patrick Dougherty, an Irish immigrant who had first acquired land in the township during the 1830s, made out his will in February of 1869, he had one hundred acres of land in the Gore and another 150 acres of land in a neighbouring county. Twenty years earlier he had sold part of his estate to his two eldest sons, Bernard and Hugh.¹⁹ In 1869, he had a wife, six married daughters and three remaining sons for whom he had not yet provided. When it came time to devise his 250 acres, he chose not to leave the homestead to his third eldest son, William, whom he believed to be, "very unsteady in his habits and in my opinion not fit to be intrusted [sic] with the management of land."²⁰ Instead, he left the farm, responsibility for the care and support of his widow and for the payment of all other bequests, to his youngest son Michael. An elder brother Charles received a legacy of 100 acres of land in nearby Perth county, subject to the payment of an outstanding mortgage.

Nearly ten percent of the testators (7.8%), who chose the "Canadian" system faced a similar decision. Having previously provided

for one or more of their elder sons, they had to choose which of their younger sons would assume the responsibility for the care of the family.²¹ For most others, who had not provided similar aid, circumstances also suggested that a younger son should be the principal heir because by the time the wills of their fathers were probated, a substantial proportion of Toronto Gore's second generation had left the homestead to begin farms and households of their own. It was possible to ascertain with certainty the age of the eldest son for only some sixty-two percent of the surviving wills, but they suggest that the average age of the eldest son at the time of this father's death was slightly more than thirty-six years. In almost forty percent of the cases (39.9%), the eldest son was over forty years of age. If, by that time in life he was not in the process of becoming a successful farmer on his own and, therefore, not in need of the aid that came with inheriting the homestead, he was probably regarded as unfit to be entrusted with the management of land. Few sons, however, were actually cut out of wills. In almost every case where a son was excluded, or left a token legacy, it was because he had been provided for earlier.

As for the other sons in the family, they were provided with either land or a bequest to be paid by the estate, or the principal heir. In almost half (46.9%) of the wills more than one son was provided with land, and one testator in four (22.7%) was able to pass on a parcel of land to three or more sons. In many cases where several sons received land, it was not necessary to break up the family farm since the testator owned two or more plots of land. But for those

families whose additional land was found outside the township, inheritance promoted the migration of the heir.

Regardless of the system of inheritance employed, the daughters of Toronto Gore's families were virtually excluded from inheriting land.²² A distinction also appears to have been made between those daughters who were already married and those who were not, as was suggested earlier. When Robert Morrison died in 1887, for example, he left a legacy of \$10.00 to each of his married daughters, but required his estate to provide each of his unmarried daughters with \$300.00.²³ This additional money, which presumably provided his daughters with a dowry, may have made them slightly more attractive as potential marriage partners.

IV

In making these decision, the Gore's patriarch's seem to have balanced their natural love and affection for their wives and children with a feeling that, as head of the family, it was their responsibility to shape, and control the lives of their children. In a very real sense, the early settlers seem to have behaved like patriarch's in traditional peasant societies. Wills drawn up before 1860, in particular, often contained clauses restricting the behaviour of both wives and children, even to the point where the testator attempted to reach beyond the grave to control succeeding generations. Alison Prentice has suggested that "traditional attitudes and practices" may have persisted longer in Upper Canada than they did in parts of the United States or Western Europe.²⁴ Conservatism, isolation, and slow economic

growth all contributed to a retention of values and attitudes characteristic of an earlier day.²⁵ At the same time, however, the dispersion of the family, the efforts of parents to ensure the individual success of their children, and fertility declines are all exemplifications of "modern" behaviour.²⁶ Whether the changes in the restrictive clauses in wills was symptomatic of a process of modernization is really beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless, there is clear evidence in these wills that the concerns expressed by early settlers became less important as time passed.

Those wills drawn during the earliest years of settlement reveal a considerable apprehension among the testators about the future of their families and, without exception, they stress the importance of maintaining the land intact at all costs. For example, Abraham Odlum, Joseph Tomlinson and John and William Woodill all felt it necessary to forbid their heirs to dispose of the land they inherited.²⁷

Lieutenant Abraham Odlum received a grant of land in Toronto Gore in 1830.²⁸ When he died five years later, he owned three hundred acres of land in the township and another two hundred acres in Georgina township. In his will, which was not registered until almost a quarter of a century later, Odlum left 100 acres of Toronto Gore land to each of his three eldest sons and instructed his executors to hold the lot in Georgina township for the use and benefit of his young son, Thomas Alexander, until he reached his majority, at which time he was to come into full possession of the land. In return for his patrimony each son was to support one of his sisters until she married. Odlum's belief in the importance of maintaining control of the land was

enshrined in a penalty clause inserted in the will which deprived any of his sons of their inheritance if they made any attempt to sell their share of the land without the consent of the executors in writing.²⁹ Both John and William Woodill inserted similar clauses in their wills forbidding the sale of the land.³⁰

Given the behaviour of other early settlers, it is tempting to suggest that these strictures were an exemplification of the ambition of these early patriarchs to ensure not only the well-being of their own offspring, but also the prosperity of future generations as well. Such grandiose schemes were not unknown in this community, as the experience of the Burrell family will show. More likely, however, they felt it their paternal duty to emphasize the importance of the land as the basis of the family's prosperity. The disappearance of such clauses from wills probated after mid-century indicates less a decline in paternalism than the recognition that, in most cases, they were redundant. Particularly for those sons whose patrimony was accompanied by extensive obligations, the sale of the land might solve the immediate problem of discharging their duty but, in the long run, it left them without the basis to support their own families. Since mortgage money was often available, particularly after mid-century, most heirs could easily borrow the money to pay off bequests and, in return for a few years of indebtedness, would be much further ahead.³¹ The fact that few heirs saddled with such obligations sold out and left the township is silent testimony to the fact that most sought to pay off their obligations without disturbing their title to the land beyond the requirements of the mortgage laws.

The paternalism implied by the instructions left behind by these early patriarchs became a central feature of Toronto Gore's wills.³² Over the course of the century paternalism was exemplified in a number of ways including the manner in which land was provided for sons, the restrictions that were placed upon children's behaviour, the provisions that were made for wives, and most especially in the way in which some patriarchs attempted to transcend even the barrier represented by death in their attempt to control the family's future.

One of the most impressive examples of this paternalism is provided by the efforts of Thomas Burrell, known locally as the "Squire," who died in 1858.³³ Burrell and his family settled in Toronto Township, Peel County in 1824, and some years later moved to a property that overlapped Chinguacousy and Toronto Gore townships.³⁴ The mill he constructed there became the nucleus for a village known as Burrell's Hollow, and later as Stanley's Mills. By mid-century the village had one hundred inhabitants and contained a store, hotel, sawmill, grist and flour mill, brewery, and storage facilities for grain, wool, and hides.³⁵ In 1855 Thomas Burrell began to prepare for retirement by liquidating his real estate holdings in Toronto Gore and Chinguacousy. He sold his mill property and the surrounding 195 acres to his eldest son Christopher for £2,000, taking back a mortgage which required Christopher to supply his parents with food, lodging, clean clothing and other necessities of life, in addition to £5 per annum "pocket money."³⁶

The arrangement drawn up between Christopher and Thomas Burrell revealed, once again, that pragmatic solution to the unpredictable nature of family relationships that was found in so many of

the Gore's wills. In the event that Thomas and his wife moved out of the house and took up a separate residence, then Christopher was to provide them with an annuity of £60 per annum, and when Thomas died payments of £30 per annum were to continue to his wife Ann. The arrangement between Thomas and Christopher can be viewed from one perspective as a business-like arrangement made by a rural capitalist with his son to ensure care for the parents during their old age. This concern with a secure old age, which was described in chapter 6, was an important facet of both wills and mortgages in this society. But the Burrell arrangement went beyond simple old age security. It was the first step in a complicated plan worked out by Thomas Burrell to provide for his wife and himself, his seven children, and the next two generations of Burrells. It was also the first step in an attempt to control the behaviour of those children from beyond the grave.

By the time of his death in a mill accident in 1858, Burrell had managed to sell all of his lands with the exception of one plot in Burrell's Hollow that had been leased to a son-in-law George Balfour. From a combination of rents, mortgages and sale, Burrell had accumulated an estate valued at £5,000. In his will he instructed his executors to establish an investment fund, the interest from which would provide legacies for all of his children as well as his grandchildren and great-grandchildren. The only exceptions to this legacy were Christopher and Thomas' daughter Maria whom he believed, "has through her husband deceived and defrauded me of more than her share."³⁷ The fund was arranged so that each child would receive a legacy in the form of a lump sum cash payment on his twenty-fifth birthday. All

legacies were to be paid from the interest on the general fund, the principal of which was not to be touched until the last great-grand-child reached the age of twenty-five, at which time the fund was to be divided among the surviving heirs.³⁸ The fund also was to provide the family with a cushion against hard times, as well as a start in life. If any of the children became sick or unable to work to support themselves, then the fund could be used to provide a "suitable maintenance." Finally, Burrell's youngest son George was given permission to draw on the fund for a mortgage when he chose to provide a home for himself.

In return for these benefits, the family had to submit to the most stringent conditions. When any of the girls in the family married, including his granddaughters and great-granddaughters, their husbands had to provide surety that "the money shall not be wasted." In the event that they defaulted, that family's share of the general fund was to be forfeit. He further enjoined his two married daughters, Mary Appleby and Sarah Balfour, from signing away any dower right they might possess in their husband's property, on the pain of forfeiting the bequests set aside for themselves and their children. Their entitlement to one-third of their husband's property under the ancient custom of dower right would ensure that they would not become a burden upon the fund in the event of their economic distress.³⁹ Finally, Burrell set out very carefully that if any of his children or grandchildren attempted to mortgage their legacies, or defaulted upon any debts that might endanger the fund, they were to lose their share of the estate. Similarly, they would be cut out of the will if they

attempted to challenge the will, or even seek advice about its legality.

This remarkable document provides a striking example of the patriarchal and paternal nature of many of the Gore's families. The will exemplifies the desire shown by virtually all of the Gore's testators to provide for their children while at the same time ensuring that the fruits of a lifetime of work would not be squandered by a lazy or worthless child. Appearances were very important to Victorian Canadians and from neither a social nor an economic standpoint could any threat be tolerated to the family's position in the community.⁴⁰

Although few in the Gore possessed either the wealth or the foresight to draw up as comprehensive a document as Burrell's will, his was not an isolated case. Robert Woodill Sr., for example, possessed an estate of more modest proportions than Burrell, but still sufficiently large to make him one of the Gore's more substantial farmers when he died in 1870. Like Burrell, he had seen his son and five daughters establish families of their own. In his will he attempted to provide his daughters with a measure of independence by leaving each of them an annuity of £120, but beyond that he attempted to provide for his unborn grandchildren as well. They were to share in the division of the estate after the last of his daughters had died, providing they could measure up to the moral standards that Woodill set for them. The grandchildren were to share in the estate provided they were not "lazy spendthrifts, drunkards, worthless characters or guilty of any act of immorality."⁴¹ Thrift, industry and temperance were equally important to both Burrell, an

adherent of the Church of England, and Woddill, a prominent member of the more evangelical Primitive Methodist sect. Each felt it his responsibility to ensure that his children and even his grandchildren developed a proper respect for the values that mid-Victorian society considered so important.⁴² For example, an obedient and dutiful child was valued highly in this society. When Alexander McDonald died in 1842, he provided his two eldest sons with land outside the township and instructed the third of his five sons, Alexander, to live with his mother until her death. In return for being "kind, obedient and [taking] her advice," Alexander the younger was to inherit the family store and the surrounding property when his mother died.⁴³ In - similar fashion, William Carefoot promised his daughter Elizabeth a bed, bedding, a cow and the sum of £40 when she married "providing she pleases her mother or her brother Richard in taking a proper person for a husband."⁴⁴

The attempt to set some kind of condition on inheritance appeared in less than one will in five, and for the most part, these conditions aimed at achieving two goals: ensuring that the legacy would not be squandered, and that the children would be properly cared for in their minority. In the case of female children, the Gore's patriarchs also felt constrained to try to ensure a home for their daughters until their marriage. Instances of religious animosity such as Burrell's decision to cut his daughter Maria out of his will because she had married Michael Edward Brougham, a prominent member of the Roman Catholic community, appear to have been rare. Of all the Gore's testators, only John Burgess followed Burrell's example and threatened

to disinherit his niece and heir, Jane Burgess, if she married a Roman Catholic.⁴⁵

It seems evident as well that the setting of conditions may have been the result of a sense of uncertainty or apprehension that was associated with the early years of settlement. Almost without exception those who included restrictions in their wills were among the Gore's first settlers. Moreover, with only three exceptions, those who appear to have been the most paternalistic in their behaviour all died before 1860, and most died in the 1830s and 1840s. It does not seem to have mattered which system of inheritance was chosen, clauses stipulating special care for members of the family or restrictions on the behaviour of heirs were likely to appear. After 1860, however, such stipulations were rare. Perhaps these clauses exemplify the original settlers preoccupation with economic independence and his concern that if the family were not careful its members might slip back into the pre-immigration status that most had fled the old country to escape.

The sense of responsibility implied by the desire to provide at least a minimum start in life for each child continued to be evident throughout the nineteenth century, however, and was not tied to any time period. Once again, regardless of the system chosen, the literary evidence provided by the wills suggests that among the Gore's patriarchs there was a widely accepted sense that each family had a responsibility and an obligation to care for its children up to a certain point in their lives. For male children that usually meant the age of twenty-one years; for females it often meant until they were safely married. When David Hepton died in 1886, he passed on this obligation to his

son Robert and in return for the fulfilling of this responsibility devised all of his real and personal property upon Robert.⁴⁶ In some cases this system of inheritance worked a hardship upon one or more members of the family, but ultimately it achieved the goal of protecting the family and providing for children equally.

On occasion, however, the desire to treat children with perfect equality forced the testator to resort to rather complicated mathematical calculations. Here, the will of John Curtis offers an excellent example. In Curtis' will, probated after his death in 1858, an apparently unequal distribution of the family's resources actually produced equal treatment. At the time of his death, Curtis' five children ranged in age from four to seventeen years. He left one-third of the proceeds from the sale of his estate to his wife in lieu of dower. The remaining two-thirds was divided among his children as follows. To each of his seventeen and fourteen year old daughters, he left one-eighth of the remainder, after the mother's share had been deducted. To each of his youngest children, aged 8, 6, and 4 years he left one-quarter. Hence, the youngest children apparently received more than their elder sister, but a clause in the will explained that the cost of maintaining and educating each child was to be deducted from his/her share.⁴⁷ These costs absorbed much of the larger portions bequeathed to the three younger children and, thus, each child began life as an adult on an approximately equal footing, with an equal share of the family's resources.

V

It was this need to provide equally for all children that prompted the adoption of the Canadian system of inheritance. For the child who inherited the family farm, the price to be paid for his patrimony was a period of indebtedness while he discharged his obligations. Insufficient data survives to assess comprehensively the impact of this system upon heirs, or upon economic growth in the township. It will be possible to trace the economic activities of these heirs only when the 1881 and 1891 census returns, as well as the copy books of deeds for the years after 1885, are released to scholars. In the meantime, it is possible to make some generalizations however tenuous. In the first place, it is clear from the land records that few sons actually had to mortgage their property, at least not immediately. Only one in five (19.7%) of heirs under the Canadian system was burdened with an outstanding mortgage on his property within two years of his father's death. Most were able to pay their bequests and debts without placing their patrimony in danger.

The system also seems to have been successful in ensuring that the farm remained within the family (Table 7-6). At the end of ten years less than one in five heirs under the Canadian system (16.0%) had sold the homestead. In the same time period, half of those who inherited land under the impartible system, and almost one-quarter (22.6%) who received land from equal partition had sold out. From this perspective, at least, the Canadian system appears to have worked quite well.

TABLE 7-6

SALES OF LAND BY PRINCIPAL HEIRS, 1832-1898^a

Source of property:	Impartible wills	Partible wills	Canadian wills
Percent who sold within:			
1 year	0.0	5.6	2.0
Less than 5 years	25.0	0.0	8.0
Less than 10 years	25.0	16.7	6.0

^aIn cases where the execution of the will was delayed by a clause requiring the disposition of the estate to be postponed until the youngest child had reached the age of 21 years, the heir's tenure was computed from the time of the actual execution of the will.

VI

The real importance of these wills lies in what they reveal about social and economic life in Toronto Gore and the insights they may provide for rural life in general. The evidence presented here demonstrates clearly the Canadian system of inheritance was a device employed primarily by the first generation of the township's permanent families to cope with a demographic and economic problem. Large families and rising land values made it impossible to provide equally for all children if their patrimony was restricted to land. The cost of equal division would have been the destruction of the family's principal source of security. Even to divide land among several sons would have compromised the productivity and profitability of the farm, in the process placing the principal source of the family's independence, stability, and status in jeopardy. Hence, the first generation adopted the Canadian system as a necessary compromise that reconciled

the reality of their environment with their ambitions and expectations. See from one perspective, the adoption of the Canadian system by the first generation was part of a general adjustment to changing economic conditions that saw the second generation respond by postponing marriage and limiting fertility.⁴⁸ The fact that these practices were associated most strongly with the permanent families is silent testimony, once again, to their commitment to this township which led, perhaps, to a heightened sensitivity to any kind of economic stress.

The choice of the Canadian system transcended cultural background which suggests that, although they may not have articulated it, most members of this society recognized that the township could only support a limited number of households. The inheritance practices they adopted had the effect of stabilizing the number of farms in the township and ensuring an adequate standard of living for all. The social cost of these customs of inheritance was the migration of at least half of the children of the township's permanent families. The wills suggest that heirs under the Canadian system were often younger sons who were still part of the household when the head of family died. Their elder brothers, if they had not established themselves in the area earlier, had joined the ranks of the extensive migrant population. Thus control of the family homestead as well as the responsibility for caring and providing for younger brothers and sisters often fell to a second or third son. Those brothers and sisters who did not inherit land also became part of the transient population. Once the homestead had been given to a brother there was little to keep them in the area. As earlier chapters have shown, the ownership of property was

strongly associated with the decision to remain in the township. Thus, from one perspective, the decisions that determined the transfer of property in this society were both a cause and effect of transiency. The migration of elder sons ensured that a younger brother would succeed to the land; the choice of the Canadian system left many of the remaining children with little choice but to migrate.

These practices continued so long as they were necessary. The fact that the native-born abandoned their father's commitment to a particular system of inheritance provides further evidence that the Canadian system was an expedient. By the time the wills of the second generation were being probated, there was no longer the same urgency to find ways of reconciling the desire to provide equally for all children with a large number of heirs and a limited supply of land. Second generation families were smaller and the educational and vocational opportunities open to their children had expanded considerably.

Whether these wills also provide evidence of a transition from a pre-modern to a modern viewpoint is debatable. At the very least, they suggest that early patriarchs saw the transfer of property as a very serious matter. Their attempts to reach beyond the grave to control the behaviour of future generations suggests they had a deep-seated sense of responsibility for their families. They took precautions to protect the patrimony they passed on to their children because they may have seen the control of family land as a trust. As a trust it had to be administered wisely for the benefit of all and protected from anyone who might squander it. Hence, the passing of the torch of family responsibility from one generation to another went far

beyond the mere transfer of property. The new owner assumed the obligations to provide for family members in distress as well. In this context, the land was the symbol of family solidarity, and as such it was not something with which to trifle.

FOOTNOTES

¹H. J. Habbakkuk, "Family Structure and Economic Change in Nineteenth Century Europe," in A Modern Introduction to the Family, ed: Norman W. Bell and Ezra F. Vogel (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960), p. 183.

²Ibid., pp. 163, 165.

³Ibid., p. 164; L. T. Berkner, "The Stem Family and the Developmental Cycles of the Peasant Household: An Eighteenth Century Austrian Example," A.H.R., LXXII (1972), p. 164.

⁴See for example: John Moge, "Family and Community in Urban-Industrial Societies," in Handbook of Marriage and the Family, ed: Harold J. Christensen (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1964), pp. 507-508; Tepperman, "Ethnic Variation," p. 336; Berkner, "The Stem Family," pp. 400-440; Habbakkuk, "Family Structure," pp. 163-72; Philip J. Greven, Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970), pp. 90-94, 145-147, 228-229, 231-234.

⁵Moge, "Family and Community," p. 508; Habbakkuk, "Family Structure," pp. 167-169; G. C. Homans, "The Rural Sociology of Medieval England," Past and Present, IV (1953), pp. 36-37.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Susanna Moodie, Life in the Clearings, ed. by Robert L. McDougall (Toronto: Macmillan & Co., 1976), p. 39.

⁹Lower, Canadians in the Making, p. 336.

¹⁰David Gagan, "The Indivisibility of Land: A Microanalysis of the System of Inheritance in Nineteenth Century Ontario," J.E.H., XXXVI (1976), pp. 126, 138.

¹¹GS. 3526, Copy Books of Deeds, Vol. III, #62.

¹²Ibid., Vols. I-II, #4410.

¹³Ibid., Vol. IV, #s. 421, 446; GS. ONT-1-569-#639.

¹⁴RG. 22, Series 6-1-A, Probate Court Records, 1793-1850, "Will of Robert Glasgow," PAO, Toronto; GS. ONT-1-947, York County

Surrogate Court Register, Vol. 8, p. 55; Ibid., Vol. 12, p. 790.

¹⁵GS. ONT-1-564#103; GS. 3525 Copy Books of Deeds, Vols. I-II, #s. 9050, 2493, 1779; R.G. 8, Series 1-6, Section D, Adjala and St. Margaret's Mission, 1833-37; GS. ONT-1-564-#103; GS. 3525, Copy Books, Vols. I-II, #1383; GS. ONT-1-947, York County Surrogate Court Register, Vol. 10, p. 931; GS. 3525, Copy Books, Vols. I-II, #s. 32565, 32708.

¹⁶GS. ONT-1-564-#595.

¹⁷Ibid., #174.

¹⁸In this respect the behaviour of Toronto Gore's testators was identical to those in the rest of the County. See Gagan, "Indivisibility of Land," p. 134.

¹⁹GS. 3525, Copy Books, Vols. I-II, #s. 46187, 46188.

²⁰GS. ONT-1-564-#595.

²¹See for example: GS. ONT-1-564-#57; GS. ONT-1-573-#1019; GS. 3526, Copy Books, Vol. III, #9136; R.G. 22, Records of the Probate Court, "Will of John Buchanan."

²²In the 145 will that survive for the township, only Mary Jane Burgess was mentioned as an heir of real estate.

²³GS. ONT-1-572-#1019.

²⁴Prentice, "Education and the Metaphor of the Family," p. 282.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Wells, "Family History," pp. 11-14.

²⁷GS. 3526, Copy Books, Vol. III, #4410; GS. ONT-1-944, York County Surrogate Court Register, Vol. 4, p. 342; GS. ONT-1-944, York County Surrogate Court Register, Vol. 5, p. 57.

²⁸It seems likely that Burrell moved to the Hollow sometime in 1835 and lived elsewhere in Peel before that. In 1834 he advertised his Toronto property for sale. Correspondent and Advocate, Tuesday, December 11, 1834.

²⁹GS. 3525, Copy Books of Deeds, Vols. I-II, #4410.

³⁰GS. ONT-1-946, York County Surrogate Court Register, Vol. 4, p. 342.

³¹Gagan, "The Security of Land," pp. 138-145.

³²Although it may be argued that such clauses were inserted proforma during the early decades of the century, their absence in later will suggests a fundamental change in attitude had occurred either among individuals or within society at large.

³³Perkins Bull Collection, Series A, Box 10, "Burrell Genealogy," p. 2.

³⁴GS. 3523, Abstract of Deeds, Concession 7 in the Northern Division, Lots 11, 12 and 13, Instrument #s. 15808, 11242, 12287, 17805.

³⁵Smith, Canada, p. 281.

³⁶GS. 3525, Copy Books, Vols. I-II, #s. 1381, 1382.

³⁷GS. ONT-1-948, York County Surrogate Court Register, Vol. 10, p. 480.

³⁸In 1908 the last of Burrell's great-grandchildren reached the age of twenty-five years and fifteen surviving heirs petitioned the court to divide the principal according to the terms of the will. By that time \$11,048.91 remained in the fund. GS. ONT-1-566-#320.

³⁹A. W. B. Simpson, An Introduction to the History of the Land Law (Oxford: University Press, 1961), pp. 65-66.

⁴⁰Cf. Moodie, Life in the Clearings, p. 136.

⁴¹GS. ONT-1-565-#202.

⁴²For a perceptive discussion of the "mind" of Victorian Canada, see: W. L. Morton, "Victorian Canada," in The Shield of Achilles/Le Bouclier d'Achille, ed: W. L. Morton (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968), pp. 311-333.

⁴³GS. 3525, Copy Books of Deeds, Vols. I-II, #30556; GS. ONT-1-947, York County Surrogate Court Register, Vol. 8, p. 388.

⁴⁴GS. 3525, Copy Books, Vols. I-II, #23008.

⁴⁵GS. ONT-1-571-#925.

⁴⁶GS. ONT-1-572-#941.

⁴⁷GS. ONT-1-947, York County Surrogate Court Register, Vol. 3, p. 72.

⁴⁸Gagan, "The Critical Years," p. 301.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

Among nineteenth century rural Ontario communities Toronto Gore was not unique. In many respects it was like countless other communities scattered across the nineteenth century landscape whose most notable feature was the very ordinary character of their populations. The lithographs that lent life to the pages of the illustrated atlases of the counties of Ontario, published during the 1870s, depicted the owners of the Gore's most substantial farms as reasonably successful and prosperous, but certainly not as great landed capitalists. With the exception of James Cox Aikins, a cabinet minister in the Macdonald government, later a Senator, and finally Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, the Gore produced no legislators of either a provincial or national stature. Neither did it bequeath to the province any substantial businessmen or professionals, although several second and third generation sons appear to have become successful doctors and lawyers in the Toronto area. Yet at the same time, it would be a mistake to treat this community as a perfect microcosm of nineteenth century Ontario. The almost infinite variety of settlement patterns, ethnic and denominational mixes that characterized the province, as well as the fundamental importance of transportation links and geography to community development ensured a measure of uniqueness in each locality's experience. The Gore's

favourable geographic setting which placed most of the township's farmers within twenty miles of Toronto ensured that this community's residents would have opportunities not available in more remote and later settled areas of the province. Not only were markets closer and transportation costs substantially lower, but alternative employment opportunities in Toronto also were more readily available.

These qualifications notwithstanding, like all other agricultural communities Toronto Gore could escape neither the great changes sweeping the province in the second half of the nineteenth century nor the periodic incursions of economic stress brought on by the collapse of markets for certain agricultural products, land availability and population density. Although the timing of these changes might have differed from place to place, the way in which Toronto Gore's farming families dealt with economic stress in their environment suggests that there was a common process of rural social change.

The Easterlin model which provided one of the theoretical underpinnings for this study allowed that farmers, regardless of time and place in the nineteenth century, were motivated by two principal concerns: preserving and, if possible, enhancing the family's total wealth and providing for each of the family's children an equal start in life. The pursuit of these goals, Easterlin argued, dictated the social and demographic behaviour of rural societies. In times of economic stress when the family's capacity to meet its obligations was placed in jeopardy, it responded by altering its demographic behaviour. Specifically, when the behaviour of the land

markets threatened the farmer's prospects for multiplying his capital and, therefore, his ability to improve his standard of living and provide for his children, he responded by limiting the size of his family. The thesis that the interaction between families and land determined demographic behaviour did not originate with Easterlin. First, Yasuba and later Forster and Tucker, Leet and Easterlin, himself, demonstrated a correlation between land availability and fertility levels in the United States.¹ In its own way, each of these studies provided a refinement of the broad relationship between economic and demographic change that has been recognized by demographers and social historians for decades. For Yasuba and Forster and Tucker, the principal determinant of rural demographic behaviour was land availability; for Leet it was land values; and, for Easterlin it became the prospect of increasing one's capital. The Easterlin model was only partly speculative. It was based upon the observed and documented behaviour of rural societies ranging from Philip Greven's work in colonial Andover to Allan Bogue's work on the American midwest. It was further buttressed by Easterlin and Leet's studies of nineteenth century midwestern populations. The resulting "bequest model" postulated that rural societies, regardless of time or place, would behave in roughly the same manner. That is to say, they would seek to enhance their standard of living, and provide an equal start in life for their children that carried with it an independent status that was at least equal to that passed on to their fathers. The devices adopted to achieve these goals might vary from time to time or place to place but essentially the social and demographic behaviour

of families everywhere responded to these same concerns.

Studies of social and demographic behaviour in nineteenth century Ontario have confirmed, in a broad sense at least, that, here too, the relationship between land availability and demographic behaviour was demonstrable. The work of David Gagan, Marvin McNinnis and Lorne Tepperman points to wide variations in rural fertility that subsume a downward trend in rural fertility throughout the nineteenth century. For Tepperman these differentiations in rural fertility and nuptuality were related to patterns of land distribution practiced by different ethnic groups. For McNinnis it was land availability and population density as determined by the length of time an area had been settled that determined demographic behaviour. The timing of changes prompted McNinnis to suggest that the Easterlin model might provide the best explanation for rural Ontario's demographic behaviour. The study that comes closest to an actual test of Easterlin's hypothesis is David Gagan's examination of rural Canada West's response to economic crisis during the 1850s and 1860s. The collapse of the wheat and land markets in Canada West between 1857 and 1859 and a subsequent depression of land values that lasted for more than a decade provided an excellent laboratory in which to examine the concerns expressed by the Easterlin model. Although not cast as an explicit test of the Easterlin model, Gagan's examination of the "critical years" in rural Canada West provided just that.

The burden of Gagan's study was to demonstrate that the implications of short-term fluctuations in land values in the years following the collapse of the wheat and land markets were "devastating."²

The farmer's confidence that the ownership of land was the key to both maintaining and enhancing his standard of living as well as the means of preserving traditional patterns of rural life was shaken. For farmers who sought to acquire additional land to meet the expectations of their children, Gagan wrote, "perpetuating the traditional culture of the family farm had become an expensive, debt-prone proposition which threatened the very basis of the family's security."³ Here was a classic example of the kind of economic stress of which Easterlin had written. The farmers of Canada West, whether they invested in land for speculation, to increase their outputs, or to build up an estate that could be subdivided to provide for children found that their prospects of "increasing their capital" had virtually disappeared. Dabbling in the land market had become a risky business at best. As the Easterlin model predicted they would, the farm families of Canada West responded by adjusting their demographic and social behaviour. Gagan documented two responses. The first, taken by the younger generation was to delay marriage and family formation and hence reduce fertility. The second, by the older generation was to experiment with a method of land distribution that would preserve the principal source of the family's security, its land, while at the same time meeting obligations to its offspring. The device they adopted was an impartible-partible, or "Canadian" system of inheritance in which land was left to one, or at most two sons who were charged, in return, with the responsibility of providing for other heirs. These behaviours were consistent with the patterns of continuity and change implicit in the Easterlin model. Responding to economic

stress the farmers of Canada West had moved to protect and preserve a way of life by adjusting their social and demographic behaviour.

From another perspective, the behaviour of Canada West's farm families was consistent with the kinds of compromise made in the face of economic stress by rural societies on the European continent as well. Here studies by Michael Anderson and Lutz Berkner are particularly relevant.⁴ Economic conditions in both rural Lancashire and eighteenth century Austria forced families to adopt particular forms of land transfer and residential patterns. Hence, the experience of rural Canada West exemplified both the resiliency and flexibility that was exhibited by rural societies everywhere.

In the course of less than half a century farmers in Canada West were forced to cope with a massive change in their economic environment in which the crisis of the 1860s was only one episode. In the agricultural area, they moved from a dependence upon the staples trade in wheat to mixed commercial agriculture, dairying and animal husbandry. These changes were spurred on by the mechanization of Ontario agriculture and fluctuations in demands for Canadian agricultural products. This transformation also had long term implications for continuity and change in the social and demographic behaviour of rural families. The labour shortages, favourable man/land ratios and agriculture practices that characterized the wheat culture had favoured high fertility rates and a mania for land among the members of the agricultural population. The large families that resulted provided the essential labour force for a society caught up in a land-extensive, labour-intensive agricultural economy. In the process

a series of social and economic relationships that exemplified the culture of the rural family were defined. Families became mutually interdependent units where filial love and devotion were accompanied by an essentially economic arrangement between fathers and sons. In return for the labour that was so essential to the search for economic independence that propelled the nineteenth century immigrant across the Atlantic, children would be provided for when they established their own independence. As they matured, these children became demanders of land and in combination with the large number of immigrants who entered the province in the 1830s and 1840s put pressure on the large, but finite supply of land in the province. In short, by mid-century many of Ontario's agricultural communities were becoming over-populated and, as a consequence, population growth in those areas was reversed after mid-century. The crisis of the late 1850s only exacerbated a problem that had begun to surface earlier when rural communities began the attempt to absorb the children of the first generation.

In responding to these crises, Toronto Gore's population behaved predictably. The older generation adopted the "Canadian" system of inheritance and began to limit its fertility. Younger members of the society altered their residential patterns, postponed marriage and family formation. In this way they, too, limited the number of children that would be born into their families. These adjustments were made, it would seem, as part of a defence of a standard of living and a way of life. Thus, although family size, household structure and other aspects of the behaviour of rural

families changed what remained constant was the individual search for economic independence and the interdependence of family units.

This experience establishes Toronto Gore as fairly representative of rural societies. Broadly the behaviour of the Gore's families conforms to the Easterlin model as well as to the historical experience of families in both the surrounding area and elsewhere, allowing for differences in time and place. Like most of those communities, as well, the township played host to a large number of individuals for whom the quest for economic independence was expressed in continuous motion. Throughout the nineteenth century Toronto Gore experienced the same high levels of transiency that were associated with most nineteenth century communities.

The real contribution of this study, however, does not lie in a redocumentation of these phenomena, nor is it found merely in the study of the Easterlin model. On the contrary, the thrust of the study has been to demonstrate that the most important single variable in explaining individual, and family experience in this community was permanence. Permanence, which after all was the quest for economic independence was all about, determined standards of living and the expectations of both adults and children as well as the social and economic organization of the community itself. Each chapter of this study has demonstrated both the importance of permanence and the differences in the behaviour, circumstances and expectations between the permanent families and their less persistent neighbours. It was the permanent families who were the owners of the township's largest farms, had the largest households, the highest fertility rates and

dominated the township's social and political institutions. They ran the insitutions of local government, provided the principal support for the churches, headed the temperance societies and invested heavily in local improvements. In every sense of the word they were the community of Toronto Gore.

It was permanence that informed the attitudes and actions of people in this society. The demographic adjustments that they made began before the appearance of the economic crisis of the late 1850s as they responded to the more general threat of overpopulation that was evident at the beginning of the century. Their less permanent neighbours appear to have begun their adjustments later. Permanence, it would seem, gave these people a heightened sensitivity to their social and economic environment.

Permanence, as well, shaped the expectations of children and provided both the incentive and the means for them to put down roots in the community thus perpetuating the historical experience of their families. Intermarriage and the means by which land was transferred from one generation to another both served this end. The "Canadian" system of inheritance, most strongly associated with the Gore's permanent families, was a device that enabled families to transfer land virtually intact while, at the same time, providing for all children. This system provided a powerful inducement for the principal heir to remain on the land. For other children, as well, the family often was able to provide the means to take advantage of opportunities created by the movement of their less persistent neighbours.

Finally, there is some evidence that permanence "washed out" at least many of the economic difference that characterised settlers of differing ethnic background. Over time the gap between the Irish and the English born was gradually closed. Part of the explanation for this change lies in the fact that, with minor variations, all members of permanent families regardless of ethnic background adopted the same devices for transferring property and made the same kind of adjustments as they strove to protect a traditional way of life.

The roots of permanence were found in the settlement phase itself when a few families through foresight, business acumen, or simply the force of circumstances, were able to acquire sufficient property to satisfy their ambitions. Thereafter, they had no reason to move on. The relationships they established and the legacy they left to their children in the form of farms that were larger than the average provided succeeding generations with a buffer against hard times. In a very real sense, therefore, much of the subsequent social, economic, and demographic history of this community was determined by the actions and experience of the early settlers. The foundation they laid ensured that for at least three generations continuity would be a central feature of this township's history.

The identification and documentation of the experience of this permanent population also has implications for the usefulness of the Easterlin model in a Canadian context. Although it is evident that the behaviour of the Gore's families, in the aggregate, conformed to Easterlin's hypothesis, the Easterlin model treats rural society as a monolith, allowing for no major differences in behaviour between

owners of larger and smaller farms, or between tenants and landowners. Clearly those differences did exist in Toronto Gore and permanence has been the vehicle whereby they have been revealed. Whether this points to a deficiency in the Easterlin model itself, or simply to something that may be unique in the Canadian experience is not clear. Certainly permanence was not unique to Canadian communities. Studies by Bogue, Curti, and Conzen all have identified the presence of core populations early in the settlement phase of American rural communities.⁵ No one, however, has traced the importance of that permanence for individual and family experience. Most often, they have been lured to examine the impact of transiency upon community development. Hence, the most that can be said here is that there were differences in behaviour in this society that were neither predicted, nor allowed for in the Easterlin model.

Collectively these data have provided some useful insights into the nature of family life in the nineteenth century. Their primarily economic and demographic nature, however, has weighted the discussion, as well as the interpretation, to the economic aspects of family activity. There can be little doubt that the family was the focus of rural economic activity during the nineteenth century. It was a unit of both production and consumption. It was also the principal means of providing land for successive generations of family members. Relations within these families can be, and have been, viewed, therefore from an economic perspective, as Michael Anderson did in his study of Preston. In exchange for labour children expected and received economic benefits from the family. This rather oversimplified equation goes a long

way toward explaining some aspects of family behaviour. And, from these behaviours other attitudes that were common to families can be inferred. The range of such inferences, however, is limited. In this study they have focussed upon attitudes towards land, providing for children, and place. There are still many questions that need to be answered. We need to know something of the quality of other relationships within the family. The kind of data available for Toronto Gore, and one suspects for most other communities are annoyingly silent on these aspects of family life. The occasional hints found in wills and the odd land transfer or mortgage can support only the most tenuous generalizations. The few letters that survive are much more concerned with the price of wheat, the cost of labour, and weather conditions than they are with the dynamics of family life in a new environment.

There are a number of other areas of interest that have not been explored fully in this study because of the limitations of the data base. Each of these could throw additional light on the nature of family life. The first of these involves a more intensive study of marriage patterns. Both the age at marriage and the patterns of intermarriage in this study are estimates. One suspects that the estimate of the degree of intermarriage is very conservative. In other places, where records are more complete, it may be possible to explore this phenomenon more fully.

Such studies are necessary if we are to answer the fundamental question raised by this study: How pervasive was the permanence documented here in Ontario society? That question

can only be answered when other studies have been completed. Until then, this study represents a first step in the examination of the kinship bond in the nineteenth century. In one sense, the study remains incomplete. One question that can not be answered at this stage is the effect that the "Canadian" system had upon the future prosperity of heirs. In perpetuating the family on the land, Toronto Gore's families may have consigned their children to a long period of indebtedness. That question can only be explored when the 1881 and 1891 censuses are released to scholars. Then, it may be possible to trace individuals and determine the extent to which the terms under which they received their patrimony affected their future prosperity.

These shortcomings notwithstanding, this study has been able to document both continuity and change in nineteenth century family life. It has demonstrated, above all, the ways in which families most deeply committed to a particular place adjusted their behaviour to meet the challenges posed for a society in a stage of economic transition.

FOOTNOTES

¹Yasuba, Birth Rates; Forster & Tucker, Economic Opportunity; Leet, "Fertility Transition"; Easterlin, "Farm Settlement."

²Gagan, "Critical Years," p. 301.

³Ibid.

⁴Anderson, Family Structure; Berkner, "Stem Family."

⁵Curti, Making of an American Community; Conzen, Farming in An Urban Shadow; Bogue, From Prairie to Corn Belt.

APPENDIX A

DISTRIBUTION OF TORONTO GORE HOUSEHOLDERS BY OCCUPATION, 1851-1891

	1851		1861		1871		1881		1891	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<u>A. Agriculture</u>										
Farm Owner	88	31.4	86	31.3	100	40.7	145	53.7	115	53.7
Farm Tenant	81	28.9	72	26.2	65	26.4	75	27.7	39	18.2
Farm Labourer	45	16.1	53	19.3	40	16.3	16	5.9	21	9.8
TOTAL	214	76.4	211	76.7	205	83.4	236	87.4	175	81.8
<u>B. Commerce</u>										
Auctioneer	-	-	2	0.7	-	-	1	0.4	-	-
Butcher	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1.9
Cattle Dealer	-	-	1	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Conveyor	-	-	1	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pedlar	-	-	-	-	1	0.4	1	0.4	1	0.5
Merchant	2	0.7	5	1.8	2	0.8	4	1.5	4	1.9
Shopkeeper	3	1.1	1	0.4	-	-	-	-	1	0.5
TOTAL	5	1.8	9	3.3	4	1.6	6	2.2	10	4.7
<u>C. Domestic & Personal Service</u>										
Hotel Keeper	-	-	1	0.4	5	2.0	-	-	3	1.4
Inn Keeper	3	1.1	8	2.9	-	-	4	1.5	-	-
Tavern Keeper	7	2.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Servant	1	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	11	4.0	9	3.3	5	2.0	4	1.5	3	1.4

APPENDIX A--Continued

	<u>1851</u>		<u>1861</u>		<u>1871</u>		<u>1881</u>		<u>1891</u>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<u>D. Artisans & Mechanics</u>										
Blacksmith	9	3.2	9	3.3	5	2.0	7	2.6	5	2.3
Builder	1	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cabinet Maker	1	0.4	-	-	1	0.4	-	-	2	0.9
Carpenter	3	1.1	-	-	-	-	1	0.4	-	-
Cooper	1	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cordwainer	1	0.4	-	-	1	0.4	-	-	-	-
Dressmaker/Seamstress	1	0.4	1	0.4	1	0.4	-	-	-	-
Framer	1	0.4	1	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Miller	-	-	2	0.7	1	0.4	1	0.4	1	0.4
Painter	-	-	2	0.7	1	0.4	-	-	-	-
Saddler	1	0.4	3	1.1	1	0.4	-	-	-	-
Shoemaker	5	1.8	4	1.5	2	0.8	4	1.5	1	0.4
Stone Cutter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.4
Tailor	1	0.4	2	0.7	2	0.8	-	-	-	-
Tanner	2	0.7	1	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tinsmith	-	-	1	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wagon Maker	7	2.5	3	1.1	3	1.2	1	0.4	-	-
Weaver	2	0.7	1	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	36	13.2	30	11.1	18	7.3	14	5.2	10	4.7
<u>E. Professional</u>										
Minister	1	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Priest	-	-	1	0.4	1	0.4	-	-	-	-
Physician	2	0.7	2	0.7	-	-	-	-	-	-
Veterinary	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.4	2	0.9
TOTAL	3	1.1	3	1.1	1	0.4	1	0.4	2	0.9

APPENDIX A--Continued

	<u>1861</u>		<u>1861</u>		<u>1871</u>		<u>1881</u>		<u>1891</u>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<u>F. Semi-Professional</u>										
Justice of the Peace	2	0.7	1	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bailiff	1	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Postmaster	1	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Teacher	3	1.1	1	0.4	-	-	-	-	1	0.4
Toll Collector	1	0.4	1	0.4	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	8	3.0	3	1.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.4
<u>G. Other</u>										
Gentleman	3	1.1	6	2.2	13	5.3	9	3.3	13	6.1
Esquire	-	-	4	1.5	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	3	1.1	10	3.7	13	5.3	9	3.3	13	6.1
GRAND TOTALS	280	100.0	275	100.0	246	100.0	270	100.0	214	100.0

APPENDIX B

LANDHOLDING PATTERNS AMONG PERMANENT FAMILIES BY SETTLEMENT COHORT

Name of first settler	1821	1831	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
A. 1820 Cohort (N = 8)								
BELL, Henry	100	100	100	100	100	100*	96	--
BELL, Joseph	100	100	100	100*	101	101	4	--
BROWN, James	210	291**	318	318	318	318**	180	--
DALE, John Sr.	139	139	100	99**	99	2	3	--
MCVEAN, Alex.	200	400	400**	25	145	145	100	100
REID, James Sr.	200	200**	150	150	150	--	--	--
TOMLINSON, Jos.	100	100*	100	100	99	99	149	148
WOODILL, John	200	200*	200	293.4	392.4	392.4	350	200
B. 1830 Cohort (N = 8)								
ALLISON, Sarah		200	200	200*	0.5	0.5	0.5	--
DAVIS, Joseph Sr.		126	126	42*	84	84	84	--
FOSTER, Thos. & Wm.		81	81	81	81*	200	100	--
LAWRENCE, Elisha		209	209	211	210*	209	208	208
MORRISON, James		200	400	259	259	259	200	218
ROHAN, John		T	T	100	100*	100	--	--
SHAW, Robert Sr.		T	T	100**	195	366	250	216
WARD, George Sr.		100	100*	100	100	198	198	398
C. 1840 Cohort (N = 50)								
BALDWIN, Connel J.			200	200	195*			
BEAMISH, Samuel			100	100	267*	17	17	17
BEAMISH, Thomas			T	T	150**	100	100	100
BERRY, Nicholas			T	T	82.5	82.5	--	--
BLAND, John			103	354**	518	521	422*	513
BOWMAN, Robert			179	178	178*	178	179	178

APPENDIX B--Continued

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
BROPHY, Patrick	T	T	T	121	116*	--
BURGESS, John	T	T	50	78	78	78
BURRELL, Thomas	534	434**	308	212	200	1
BYRNE, Martin	T	106	206*	265	306.5	201
CARBERRY, James	100	100**	102	102	150	170
CHAFFEE, Isaac	2	2	1	101	1	--
CLARK, Thomas Sr.	100	150*	100	100	100	100
COOK, Hugh	100	100	100**	151	101	155
CURTIS, John	100	100*	100	100	T	T
DOUGHERTY, Patrick	200**	350	349*	349	349	349
ELCOAT, George	50	97	97	97**	97	--
FIGG, William	100*	97	97	97	97*	1
FITZPATRICK, Peter	T	50	50*	50	150	50
GARBUTT, William	100	100*	100	100	100	100
GARDUM, John	100**	200	150	150	150	150
GORDON, Robert	40	40	40	--	--	--
GRANT, Simon P.	100	100*	149	0.5	0.5	0.5
HAYDEN, James	T	T*	120	120	122	122
HARRISON, William Sr.	100*	150	150	100	100	200
HASSARD, William	T	103*	103	103	5.5	5
HEWGILL, William Sr.	24**	49	47.5	45.5	24	24
IRWIN, John Sr.	100	148	148**	98	99	98
JACKSON, George	T	100	198.5	96	--	--
JOHNSTONE, Alex.	T	146**	73	73	73	113
KELLY, Edward	50	50	150**	150	50	--
LAWSON, William	T	100	100	142*	228.6	186.6
MAW, James Sr.	T	T	50**	50	50	100
McCLELLAND, William	T	T	T	T	--	--
McCLELLAND, Andrew	T	T	T	--	--	--
MORRISON, Robert	T	67	67	67	67*	218
MURPHY, John	T	200**	306	100	50	50

APPENDIX B--Continued

	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
NATTRESS, Thomas	T	50	100	181*	181	181
ODLUM, Abraham	300*	200	118	118	118	100*
OHARA, Daniel Sr.	T	100	100	--	--	--
PARR, Henry	100**	290	201	251	250	150
PORTER, William	150	150	150	150	321.3	321.3
RAINE, Robert	89	186	T	T	--	--
ROBINSON, Abel	T	95	95**	195	295	293
SANDERSON, John	158*	180	180	180	--	--
SHAW, Samuel	156*	100	180	180	--	--
SLEIGHTHOLM, William	158*	256	256	256	258	0.5
ST. JOHN, Richard	100	50**	89	11	--	--
THOMPSON, John	101*	100	125	125	125	--
WILEY, John	30	50	75*	201	351	401
D. <u>1850 Cohort</u> (N = 36)						
ADAMS, John		100	100**	100	100	--
AGAR, Amos		T	T	T	--	--
BAILEY, Joseph		75	166.6	166.6	175	175
BALFOUR, George		T	96*	1	--	--
BLACKBURN, James		T	T	T	--	--
BURRELL, Austin		T	T	T	T	--
COLE, Thomas		50	157	157	157	157
CRAVEN, James Sr.		200	200**	200	200	200
DAWSON, George		T	100	144	149	50
DE LA HAYE, John P.		341	341	342*	--	--
DOBSON, William		144	141	141	141**	140
FANNING, Patrick		T	1	3**	3	3
FINES, William		T	T	T	--	--
GREEN, Mayman		100	150	150	--	--
HART, Robert		0.5	122*	171.5	85	85

APPENDIX B--Continued

	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891
HARRISON, Mathew	50	150	100	200	200
HUNTER, Andrew	T	66	66**	266	300
KERSEY, Edward	31	--*	131	180	128
LAMPHIER, Peter	T	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
LANSDELL, Alex.	T	T	97	99	99
LEIGHTON, George	T	0.5	30	30	30
MADIGAN, Denis	50*	50	--	1	1
MCDONALD, Alex.	200**	99	99	100	--
BEARE, Henry	100	39.5	47	--	--
NASH, Maurice	7	40	2	2	--
NIXON, Ross	T	100*	100*	100	100
O'CONNOR, James	100	100	100	--	--
PEAREN, John	103	103	103	103	--
PEARSON, George	T	T	100	198	198
SARGEANT, Benjamin	100**	100	99	99	173
SHUTTLEWORTH, Thomas	1	1	1	0.5*	--
SPAUL, Austin	T	T	T	--	--
SPLANE, John	36	36	86	286	339.6
TAYLOR, William Sr.	125	125	224	275	276
THOMPSON, Thomas	100	100*	100**	100	100
TINDALE, John	100	216	50	--	--

*died; **land divided among family members; T = Tenant.

APPENDIX C

LAND SALES AMONG KINSMEN, 1821-1890

Vendor	Purchaser	Relationship to vendor	Year	Concession and Lot	No. of acres	Purchase price
James Brown	Thomas Graham	Grandson	1868	7S1	27	\$ 840
James Brown	Joseph Graham	Son-in-law	1839	7S2,3,4	191	£ 191
Joseph Graham	Thomas Graham	Son	1862	7S2	51	\$ 2,000
Joseph Graham	Thomas Graham	Son	1879	7S4	140	\$10,000
Joseph Davis	Oliver N. Davis	Son	1861	7S5	42	\$ 2,000
Oliver N. Davis	Jane Davis	Mother	1865	7S5	42	\$ 2,400
Jane Burgess	Jane M. Burgess	Daughter	1887	7S5	27	\$ 800
James Reid	Thomas Reid	Son	1835	7S7	200	5 sh.
James Aikins	John Aikins	Brother	1847	7S8	200	£ 250
James Reid	James Reid Jr.	Son	1845	7S7	144	£ 144
William Jackson	John Jackson	Brother	1878	7S9	200	\$ 1,475
James Tomlinson	David Tomlinson	Son	1849	7S10	100	£ 1,000
Mary McDonald	Alex. McDonald	Son	1880	7S11	100	\$ 800
Henry Beare	John Beare	Son	1848	7S12	50	£ 1
Henry Beare	William Beare	Son	1848	7S12	50	10 sh.
William Beare	Henry Beare	Brother	1848	7S12	50	£ 15
Hugh Cook	Robert Cook	Brother	1851	7S12	50	£ 100
William Lennox	Henry Lennor	Unknown	1859	7S12	1	£ 234
Edward Robson	Sarah Ruston	Sister	1869	7S12	50	\$ 600
Sarah Cook	James Cook	Unknown	1874	7S12	50	\$ 2,500
James Cook	Hugh Cook	Son	1874	7S12	50	\$ 700
Hugh Cook	James Cook	Brother	1880	7S12	50	\$ 700
Don McDougall	John McDougall	Son	1884	7S12,13	200	\$ 1
John Hutchinson	Walter Hutchinson	Unknown	1868	7S13	100	\$ 400
Thomas Dawson	George Dawson	Brother	1854	7S13	100	£ 200
George Dawson	Robert Dawson	Brother	1854	7S13	50	£ 300
George Dawson	John W. Dawson	Brother	1855	7S13	50	£ 900

APPENDIX C--Continued

Vendor	Purchaser	Relationship to vendor	Year	Concession and Lot	No. of acres	Purchase price
John W. Dawson	George Dawson	Brother	1865	7S13	50	\$ 3,000
Joseph Bell	Henry Bell	Brother	1832	7S14	100	£ 100
William Bell	Robert Bell	Brother	1860	7S14	100	\$ 800
Thomas Burgess	James Burgess	Son	1851	7S15	100	5 sh.
Thomas Burgess	Mary Ann Burgess	Daughter	1855	7S15	50	Gift
Elizabeth Gardum	Walter Gardum	Son	1859	8S10	150	£ 1,000
Robert Shaw	Nathan Shaw	Brother	1861	8S10	103	\$ 700
Eliza Shaw	Sarah Shaw	Mother	1879	8S10	103	\$ 300
Arthur Shaw	Sarah Shaw	Mother	1879	8S10	103	\$ 700
John Codlin	Thomas Codlin	Brother	1884	9S12	40	\$ 2,000
Eliza Porter	William Porter Jr.	Son	1861	9S14	118	5 sh.
John Button	Joseph Button	Son	1881	9S15	part	\$ 2,000
John Button	Edward Button	Son	1881	9S15	part	\$ 1
Edward Button	John Button	Father	1881	9S15	part	\$ 1
Joseph Button	John Button	Father	1881	9S15	2	\$ 1
Thomas B. Phillips	Thomas G. Phillips	Son	1862	7N1	200	\$ 8,000
George Shaver	William T. Shaver	Son	1850	7N2	100	5 sh.
Abel Robinson	James Robinson	Son	1881	7N3	100	\$ 2,000
James Aikins Sr.	James Aikins Jr.	Son	1845	7N4	200	£ 125
Robert Woodill	Robert P. Woodill	Son	1868	7N5	100	\$ 2,400
John Dale Sr.	George Dale	Son	1859	7N7	1	\$ 200
Robert F. Ward	William J. Ward	Brother	1884	7N7	50	\$ 7,500
Thomas Ward	Robert Ward	Brother	1850	7N7	100	\$ 750
William Figg	Joseph Figg	Son	1844	7N8	12	£ 36
William Figg	Joseph Figg	Son	1847	7N8	85	£ 400
William Figg	Maria Adams	Daughter	1847	7N8	85	Annuity
Robert F. Ward	George T. Ward	Brother	1884	7N8	97	£ 1
John Sanderson	John C. Sanderson	Son	1866	7N10	100	£ 375
John Sanderson	John C. Sanderson	Son	1868	7N10	100	\$ 2,000

APPENDIX C--Continued

Vendor	Purchaser	Relationship to vendor	Year	Concession and Lot	No. of acres	Purchase price
Thomas Burrell	Christopher Burrell	Son	1855	7N11	195	£ 2,000
Thomas Raine	Robert Raine	Son	1848	7N13	100	£ 200
Robert Raine	Thomas Raine	Father	1851	7N13	1	£ 25
John Dale Sr.	John Dale Jr.	Son	1862	7N13	100	£ 1,250
Sarah Balfour	James Balfour	Nephew	1880	7N13	1	\$ 20
James McGie Sr.	James McGie Jr.	Son	1851	7N14	75	Gift
Robert Morrison	James Morrison	Brother	1860	7N15	67	£ 25
Hugh Morrison	William Morrison	Brother	1841	7N15	67	£ 67
Hugh Morrison	Robert Morrison	Brother	1841	7N15	67	£ 67
William Morrison	Robert Morrison	Brother	1867	7N15	67	\$ 300
Mary Morrison	Robert Morrison	Son	1871	7N15	67	\$ 3,200
Henry Endacott	George Endacott	Son	1873	7N15	67	\$ 1,500
Ben. Sargent	William Sargent	Son	1853	7N16	100	£ 800
Thos. Mulholland	Henry Mulholland	Son	1875	8N1	50	\$ 1,500
John Natrass	Joseph Natrass	Brother	1882	8N3	100	\$ 6,000
Jane Lawson	Joseph Lawson	Son	1878	8N4	100	\$ 1
John Bland	Thos. W. Bland	Son	1855	8N5	4	Gift
Thomas Tindale	William Tindale	Unknown	1873	8N6	50	5 sh.
John A. McVean	Arch. G. Mcvean	Brother	1884	8N7	100	\$ 1,500
William Baldwin	Robert Baldwin	Son	1852	8N8, 9N4	100	Gift
James Hays	Patrick Hays	Unknown	1845	8N9	50	5 sh.
James Hays	William Hays	Unknown	1845	8N9	50	£ 50
Margaret Bailey	George Bailey	Son	1881	8N12, 13	175	Gift
William Morrison	James Morrison	Son	1847	8N13	67	£ 90
William Morrison	Hugh Morrison	Son	1847	8N13	67	£ 90
William Morrison	John Morrison	Son	1849	8N13	67	£ 90
Andrew Hunter	Margaret Hunter	Wife	1860	8N13	66	5 sh.
Joseph Bailey	John Bailey	Son	1870	8N13	66	\$ 300
James Morrison	Hugh Morrison	Brother	1871	8N13	67	\$ 3,000

APPENDIX C--Continued

Vendor	Purchaser	Relationship to vendor	Year	Concession and Lot	No. of acres	Purchase price
Hugh Morrison	John Morrison	Brother	1877	8N13	67	\$ 4,900
Margaret Bailey	John Bailey	Son	1883	8N13	67	\$ 650
Robert Shaw	James Shaw	Son	1854	8N14	100	£ 600
Robert Shaw	Samuel Shaw	Son	1864	8N14	50	\$ 1,200
James Shaw	Robert A. Shaw	Son	1880	8N14	50	£ 5
James Shaw	Robert A. Shaw	Son	1891	8N14	50	\$ 4,000
William Carberry	John Carberry	Brother	1884	8N15	30	\$ 2,500
Thomas Thompson	John Thompson	Brother	1832	8N16	100	£ 175
William Odlum	Edward H. Odlum	Brother	1857	8N16	18	£ 66
Samuel Shaw	Robert Shaw	Son	1853	8N16	81	\$ 3,000
Edward Odlum	John Odlum	Brother	1843	8N17	83	£ 171
Edward Dunn	Elizabeth Dunn	Unknown	1834	9N1	2	£ 300
William Dobson	Thomas Dobson	Son	1883	9N1	1	\$ 270
Elisha Lawrence	John R. Lawrence	Son	1863	9N2	35	Gift
Elisha Lawrence	Isaac H. Lawrence	Son	1863	9N2	35	Gift
William Gordon	James Gordon	Son	1870	9N3	40	\$ 1,400
William Dobson	Thomas Dobson	Son	1884	9N3	100	\$ 1
Dickinson Fletcher	Thomas Fletcher	Son	1848	9N4	100	Annuity
John Foster	William Foster	Son	1872	9N5	200	\$ 1
Francis Harrison	John Harrison	Brother	1872	9N8	100	\$ 1,600
James Erwin	John Erwin	Brother	1869	9N9	100	\$ 1,600
Elizabeth Hazzard	Elizabeth Hazzard	Daughter	1879	9N10	1	\$ 1,000
Michael Dougherty	Patrick Dougherty	Son	1841	9N11	50	£ 137
Patrick Dougherty	Michael Dougherty	Son	1867	9N11	100	£ 1
Patrick Dougherty	Bernard Dougherty	Son	1846	9N12	50	£ 150
Patrick Dougherty	Bernard Dougherty	Son	1849	9N13	50	£ 400
Patrick Dougherty	Charles Dougherty	Son	1852	9N13	25	5 sh.
Rebecca Wiley	Samuel Wiley	Son	1867	9N13	50	\$ 1
Michael Russell	Patrick Russell	Unknown	1833	9N15	100	£ 175

APPENDIX C--Continued

Vendor	Purchaser	Relationship to vendor	Year	Concession and Lot	No. of acres	Purchase price
Simon Peter Grant	Margaret Grant	Wife	1865	9N15	0.5	£ 100
Lawrence McGinnis	Ellen McGinnis	Wife	1873	9N15	1	\$ 1
Francis Hassard	John Hassard	Unknown	1874	9N15,10N11	103	\$ 500
Abel Robinson	William Robinson	Son	1875	9N15	100	Gift
Margaret Grant	Alexander Grant	Son	1879	9N15	1	\$ 100
John Murphy	Michael Murphy	Son	1855	9N16	25	5 sh.
John Murphy	John Murphy Jr.	Son	1855	9N16	75	5 sh.
John Murphy	Michael Murphy	Son	1861	9N16	75	\$ 1,500
John Murphy Jr.	Michael Murphy	Brother	1865	9N16	75	\$ 8000
Alex. McKenzie	Sarah McKenzie	Wife	1844	9N17	100	£ 100
John Murphy	Michael Murphy	Son	1853	9N17	50	5 sh.
Elizabeth Porter	Thompson Porter	Son	1866	10N2	part	\$ 1
William Dobson	Thomas Dobson	Son	1884	10N3	40	\$ 1
Thomas Dobson	William Dobson	Father	1884	10N3		Annuity
George Nattrass	Thomas Nattrass	Brother	1889	10N4	81	\$ 2,000
William Hewgill Sr.	William Hewgill Jr.	Son	1846	10N5	1	£ 4
William Hewgill	Daniel Hewgill	Brother	1876	10N5	1	\$ 100
Mary Ann Bland	George Bland	Son	1883	10N7	102	\$ 800
Abel Robinson Sr.	Abel Robinson Jr.	Son	1875	10N7	95	\$ 2,000
Nicholas O'Connor	James O'Connor	Son	1842	10N9	100	\$ 500
Daniel O'Hara	Mary O'Hara	Daughter	1866	10N10	99	Bond
Elizabeth Hassard	Alex. J. Hassard	Son	1879	10N10	1	\$ 450
William Carefoot	John Carefoot	Brother	1844	10N10	100	£ 400
John Adams	James Adams	Son	1869	10N13	100	\$1,200
Thomas Parr	William Parr	Son	1879	10N13	50	Annuity
Henry Parr	James Parr	Son	1846	10N13	100	Annuity
James Parr	Henry Parr	Father	1849	10N13	100	£ 150
Henry Parr	James Parr	Son	1859	10N13	100	£ 750
Henry Parr	James Parr	Son	1862	10N14	25	£ 450

APPENDIX C--Continued

Vendor	Purchaser	Relationship to vendor	Year	Concession and Lot	No. of acres	Purchase price
Edward Kelly	Joseph Kelly	Son	1871	10N14,15	100	\$ 6,000
J. J. Kelly	Margaret Kelly	Mother	1875	10N14,15	100	\$ 6,400
John Byrne	Thomas Byren	Brother	1869	10N15	100	\$ 1,600
James Maw	James Maw Jr.	Son	1860	10N16	50	£ 1,200
James Maw	James Maw Jr.	Son	1873	10N16	50	\$ 3,007
Thomas Beamish	Nathaniel Beamish	Son	1879	10N16	50	\$ 1,400
John Bland	George Bland	Son	1855	10N17	2	Gift
Martin Byrne	Michael Byrne	Son	1872	11N10	106	\$ 3,000
Michael Byrne	Martin Byrne	Brother	1883	11N10	106	\$ 8,000
Alex. Johnston	David Johnston	Brother	1857	11N11	66	£ 250
David Johnston	William Johnston	Son	1865	11N11	76	\$ 1,000
William Johnston	David Johnston	Father	1868	11N11	76	\$ 1,000
David Johnston	John Johnston	Son	1871	11N11	76	\$ 6,000
John Johnston	James Johnston	Cousin	1880	11N11	76	\$ 2,800
Henry Parr	Joseph Parr	Son	1848	11N12	50	£ 175
James St. John	Thomas St. John	Brother	1848	11N12	40	Gift
Thomas St. John	James St. John	Brother	1850	11N12	40	£ 400
Joseph Parr	Henry Parr	Son	1859	11N12,11N13	216	Deed
John Splane Jr.	William Splane	Brother	1885	11N15	100	Annuity
William Splane	John Splane	Brother	1889	11N15	100	\$ 8,500
James Craven Sr.	James Craven Jr.	Son	1882	11N16,11N17	100	\$ 1
John Splane	John Splane Jr.	Son	1885	11N17,12N16	75	\$ 1
Edward Dunn	Elizabeth Dunn	Unknown	1834	12N13	34	£ 200
Edward Kersey	William Kersey	Son	1854	12N13	31	£ 250
George Jones	Peter Jones	Brother	1863	12N13	1	\$ 600
Don. McGeachie	Robert McGeachie	Unknown	1876	12N13	1	\$ 472
John Kersey	Thomas Kersey	Brother	1890	12N13	18	\$ 1,300
Colin Cameron	John Black	Stepson	1887	12N15	93	\$ 2,383
George Hall	George Hall	Son	1846	12N17	72	£ 350
George Hall	Robert Hall	Son	1850	12N17	0.5	5 sh.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Public Archives of Canada (PAC)

- R.G. 5, Provincial Secretary's Papers, Series B26, Returns of Population and Land, Vols. 2, 4, 5, 7, 1833-1848.
- MSS. Census of Canada, 1871, Toronto Gore Township, Schedules 4-7, Agriculture and Industry.
- MSS. Census of Canada, 1842, 1852, 1861, and 1871, Toronto Gore Township, Schedule 1, Personal Census (microfilm).

Public Archives of Ontario (PAO)

- R.G. 1, Crown Lands Papers. A series of orders, instructions, regulations, circulars, land rolls, inspection reports, and surveyor's notebooks collected for the period 1793-1872.
- Land Rolls, Crown Sales, 1840-1855.
- Series A-VI-9, Clergy Reserve Inspections, 1828.
- Series C-I-4, Vol. 4, Locations and Grants, 1816-1828.
- Series C-II-3, Vol. 2, Crown Reserve Leases, 1802-1833.
- Series C-II-3, Vol. 3, Return of Clergy Reserve Leases, 1828.
- Series C-III-3, Clergy Reserve Sales Register, 2 vols.
- Series C-IV, Township Papers, Toronto Gore Township.
A collection of documents including petitions, leases, agreements, transfers, sales, and assignments arranged by lot and concession.
- R.G. 8, Records of the Department of the Provincial Secretary.
- Series 1-6-A, Marriage Registers, Home District, 1816-1857.

Series 1-6-B, Marriage Registers, Peel County, 1858-1869.

Series 1-6-D, Marriage Registers, Adjala Mission and St. Margaret Mission, 1833-1857.

Series 1-6-D, Marriage Register for the Roman Catholic Mission of Adjala, Toronto Gore and Albion.

Series S-I-3, Land Patents to 1850.

Upper Canada Land Books (photostats). Records of the Executive Council relating to land. They are lettered alphabetically and have been cited as "Land Books: with the appropriate letter indicated.

R.G. 21, Municipal Records.

G.S. 3519, Assessment and Collector's Rolls, 1874, 1881, 1891 (microfilm).

G.S. 3521, Minutes of the Municipal Council, 1857-1916 (microfilm).

G.S. 3523-3, Abstract to Deeds, Toronto Gore Township, 1819-1958 (microfilm).

G.S. 3525-7, Copy Books of Deeds, 1826-1881 (microfilm).

R.G. 22, Government Records Section.

Series 6-1, Probate Court Records, 1793-1859.

Surrogate Court Records (microfilm). G.S. Ontario 1-Reels 561-585, Peel County Registers and Wills, 1867-1900.

Reels 944-1083, York County Registers and Wills.

Manuscript Collections.

MS. 248, Reel 2, Marriage Registers, Home District, 1840-1848, vol. 2 (microfilm).

Reel 1w, Marriage Registers, Peel County, 1858-1887, 2 vols.

James Reid Correspondence, 1822-1861.

Perkins Bull Collection. An extensive collection of primary materials relating to Peel County. The collection includes: pamphlets, books, genealogies, newspaper clippings, baptismal and cemetery records.

Series A, Families of Peel County.

Series B, Towns and Villages of Peel County.

Series C, Cemeteries of Peel County.

B. PRINTED SOURCES

1. Documents

Canada, Census, 1851-52, Personal Census, Vol. 1. Quebec: Queen's Printer, 1853.

-----, Census, 1860-61, Personal Census, Vol. 1. Quebec: Queen's Printer, 1863.

-----, Census, 1870-71, Personal and Agricultural Census, Vols. 1, 3. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1875.

-----, Census, 1880-81, Personal Census, Vol. 3. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1884.

-----, Census, 1890-91, Personal Census, Vol. 1. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1893.

-----, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Seventh Census of Canada, 1931. Census Monographs, Vol. XII.

Ontario, Ontario Agricultural Commission, Report of the Commissioners, Vol. 2. Toronto, 1881.

2. Directories [listed chronologically]

Walton, George. The City of Toronto and the Home District Commercial Directory and Register with Almanack and Calendar for 1837. Toronto: T. Dalton, 1837.

Brown, George. Brown's Toronto City and Home District Directory, 1846 1847. Toronto: George Brown, 1846.

Armstrong, J., ed. Rowell's City of Toronto and County of York Directory for 1850-51. Toronto: Henry Rowell, 1850.

Mitchell & Co.'s General Directory for the City of Toronto, and
Gazeteer of the Counties of York and Peel, for 1866.

The Union Publishing Co.'s Farmers and Business Directory for the
Counties of Dufferin, Peel and York for 1888. Ingersoll:
Union Publishing Co., 1886.

3. Newspapers

The Christian Guardian, 1830-1860.

Brampton Standard, 1855-57.

Brampton Times, 1854-1884.

Brampton Herald, 1859.

Brampton Conservator, 1877.

4. Contemporary Sources

Catermole, William. Emigration. The Advantages of Emigration to Canada.
London: Simpkin & Marchall, 1831; reprint ed., Toronto: Coles,
1970.

Clarke, Charles. Sixty Years in Upper Canada. Toronto: William
Briggs, 1908.

Craig, Gerald, ed. Early Travellers in the Canadas, 1791-1867.
Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada Ltd., 1955.

-----, Lord Durham's Report. Toronto: McClelland and
Stewart, 1963.

Gourlay, Robert F. Statistical Account of Upper Canada with A View
to a Grand Scheme of Emigration. 3 vols. London: Simpkin
& Marshall, 1822; reprint ed., New York: Johnson Reprint
Corp., 1966.

Haight, Caniff. Life in Canada Fifty Years Ago. Personal Recollections
and Reminiscences of a Sexagenarian. Toronto: Hunter & Rose,
1885.

Howison, John. Sketches of Upper Canada, Domestic, Local and
Characteristic. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1821; reprint
ed. New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1965.

Langton, H. H. ed. A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada: The Journals of
Anne Langton. Toronto: Clarke Irwin, 1967.

- Arensberg, Conrad M., and Kimball, Solon T. Family and Community in Ireland. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940.
- Aries, Philippe. Centuries of Childhood. A Social History of Family Life. Translated by Robert Baldick. New York: Vintage Books, 1962.
- Bailyn, Bernard. Education in the Forming of American Society. New York: Random House, 1960.
- Berger, Carl, ed. Approaches to Canadian History. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967.
- Berkhofer, Robert. A Behavioral Approach to Historical Analysis. New York: Basic Books, 1969.
- Bogue, Allan G. From Prairie to Corn Belt: Farming on the Illinois and Iowa Prairies in the Nineteenth Century. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963.
- Burnet, Jean. Ethnic Groups in Upper Canada. Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1972.
- Caniff, William. The Settlement of Upper Canada. Introduction by Donald Swainson. Toronto: Dudley and Burns, 1869; reprint ed. Belleville: Mika, 1971.
- Careless, J. M. S. The Union of the Canadas, 1841-1857. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967.
- Christiensen, Harold J. Handbook of Marriage and the Family. Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1964.
- Chisholm, Michael. Rural Settlement and Land Use. New York: Aldine, 1962.
- Coale, Ansley J. Methods of Estimating Basic Demographic Measures from Incomplete Data. New York: United Nations Publications, 1967.
- , and Zelnik, Melvin. New Estimates of Fertility and Population in the United States. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961.
- Conzen, Michael P. Frontier Farming in an Urban Shadow. Madison: Wisconsin State Historical Society, 1971.
- Cowan, Helen. British Emigration to British North America: The First Hundred Years. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961.

- Lynch, John. "Agricultural Report of the County of Peel, 1853." J.T.B.A.U.C., I (Oct., 1855), pp. 339-354.
- Magrath, T. W. Authentic Letters from Upper Canada. Toronto: Macmillan & Co., 1967.
- Moodie, Susanna. Life in the Clearings. Edited with Introduction by Robert L. McDougall. Toronto: Macmillan & Co., 1959.
- . Roughing It In the Bush. London, 1852; reprint ed., Toron to: McClelland and Stewart, 1962.
- Scott, A. F. "Agricultural Report for the County of Peel, 1853." J.T.B.A.U.C., I (Oct., 1855), pp. 354-364.
- [Sherk, Michael Gonder]. Pen Pictures of Early Pioneer Life in Upper Canada. Toronto: William Briggs, 1905; reprint ed. Toronto: Coles Canadiana Collection, 1972.
- Smith, W. H. Canada: Past, Present and Future, being a Historical, Geographical, Geological and Statistical Account of Canada West. 2 vols. Toronto: Thos. MacLear, 1852.
- . Smith's Canadian Gazetteer, comprising Statistical and General Information Respecting all Parts of the Upper Province, or Canada West. Toronto: W. H. Rowsell, 1846; reprint ed. Toronto: Coles Canadiana Collection, 1972.
- Strachan, James. A Visit to the Province of Upper Canada in 1819. London: Oliver & Boyd, 1820; reprint ed. New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1965.
- Strickland, Samuel. Twenty-Seven Years in Canada West, or the Experience of an Early Settler. London, 1853; reprint ed. Edmonton: M. G. Hurtig Ltd., 1970.
- Traill, Catherine Parr. The Backwoods of Canada: Being Letters from the Wife of an Immigrant Officer Illustrative of the Economy of British Norther America. London: Charles Knight, 1836; Toronto: Coles Canadiana Collection, 1971.

C. SECONDARY SOURCES

1. Books

- Anderson, Michael. Family Structure in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971.

- Craig, Gerald M. Upper Canada: The Formative Years 1784-1841. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963.
- Cross, Michael S., ed. The Workingman in the Nineteenth Century. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.
- Curti, Merle. The Making of an American Community. A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier Community. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959.
- de Mause, Lloyd, ed. The History of Childhood. New York: Harper and Row, 1975.
- Demos, John. A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Dollar, Charles M., and Jensen, Richard J. Historian's Guide to Statistics. Quantitative Analysis and Historical Research. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971.
- Easterbrook, W. T., and Aitken, H. G. Canadian Economic History. Toronto: MacMillan & Co., 1963.
- Elkin, Frederick. The Family in Canada: An Account of Present Knowledge and Gaps in Knowledge about Canadian Families. Ottawa: Canadian Conference on the Family, 1964.
- Firestone, O. A. Canada's Economic Development, 1867-1953. London: Bowes & Bowes, 1958.
- Floud, R. An Introduction to Quantitative Methods for Historians. London: Methuen & Co., 1973.
- Foster, Colin, and Tucker, G. S. L. Economic Opportunity and White Fertility Ratios, 1800-1860. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972.
- Fowke, V. C. The National Policy and the Wheat Economy. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957.
- Gates, Lillian F. Land Policies of Upper Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968.
- Glass, D. V., and Eversley, D. E. C., eds. Population in History. Essays in Historical Demography. London: Edward Arnold, 1965.
- Goody, Jack. The Developmental Cycle in Domestic Groups. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962.

- Greven, Philip J. Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts. Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1970.
- Glazebrook, G. P. de T. Life in Ontario: A Social History. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968.
- Guillet, E. C. Pioneer Life: Early Life in Upper Canada. Toronto: Ontario Publishing Co., 1933.
- Hareven, Tamara K., ed. Anonymous Americans: Explorations in Nineteenth-Century Social History. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1971.
- Hartz, Louis. The Founding of New Societies. Studies in the History of the United States, Latin America, South Africa, Canada and Australia. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1964.
- Heyes, Esther. Etobicoke: From Furrow to Burough. Etobicoke: Burough of Etobicoke, 1974.
- . The Story of Albion. Bolton, Ont.: 1961.
- Hollingsworth, T. H. Historical Demography. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969.
- Hsien-Chui, Hu. The Common Descent Group in China and Its Functions. New York: Viking Fund, 1948.
- Hutchinson, John. Dominance and Dependency: Liberalism and National Policies in the North Atlantic Triangle. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978.
- Jones, Robert L. History of Agriculture in Ontario 1613-1880. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1946.
- Johnson, Keith, ed. Historical Essays on Upper Canada. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975.
- Johnson, Leo. History of the County of Ontario, 1615-1875. Whitby: The Corporation of the County of Ontario, 1973.
- Katz, Michael. The People of Hamilton, Canada West. Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975.
- Keyfitz, N., and Flieger, W. Population: Facts and Methods of Demography. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman & Co., 1971

- Klinck, Carl F., ed. Literary History of Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.
- Laslett, P., and Wall, R., eds. Household and Family in Past Time. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972.
- . The World We Have Lost. London: Methuen & Co., 1971.
- Levy, Marion, Ed. Aspects of the Analysis of Family Structure. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965.
- Lizars, Robina and Kathleen. In the Days of the Canada Company: The Story of Settlement of the Huron Tract and a View of the Social Life of the Period, 1825-50. Toronto: William Briggs, 1896.
- Lockridge, Kenneth. A New England Town: The First Hundred Years. Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736. New York: William Norton & Co., 1970.
- Lower, A. R. M. Canadians in the Making. A Social History of Canada. Toronto: Longmans, Green & Co., 1958.
- Macdonald, Norman. Canada: Immigration and Colonization, 1841-1903. Toronto: Macmillan & Co., 1966.
- MacDougall, John. Rural Life in Canada. Reprint ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973.
- Morgan, Edmund S. The Puritan Family. New York: Harper and Row, 1966.
- Morton, W. L., ed. The Shield of Achilles/Le Bouclier d'Achille. Toronto: Mc Clelland & Stewart, 1968.
- Nie, Norman H.; Hull, C. H.; Jenkins, J. G.; Steinbrenner, K.; Bent, D. H. Statistical Package for the Social Sciences. 2nd. ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975.
- Parsons, Talcott, and Bales, Robert. Family, Socialization and and Interaction Process. New York: Free Press, 1955.
- Patterson, Gilbert C. "Land Settlement in Upper Canada, 1783-1840." Sixteenth Report of the Department of Archives for the Province of Ontario. Toronto: King's Printer, 1921.
- Porter, John. The Vertical Mosaic. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.
- Ontario Historical Society. Profiles of a Province. Studies in the History of Ontario. Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1967.

- Rabb, Theodore K. and Rotberg, Robert L., eds. The Family in History: Interdisciplinary Essays. New York: Harper and Row, 1971.
- Reaman, G. Elmore. A History of Vaughan Township. Toronto: George Snider, 1971.
- Reid, W. Stanford. The Scottish Tradition in Canada. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1976.
- Russo, David J. Families and Communities: A New View of American History. Nashville, Tenn.: The American Association for State and Local History, 1974.
- Shorter, Edward. The Historian and the Computer. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1971.
- Shortt, Adam. "Municipal Government in Ontario." University of Toronto Studies in History and Economics. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1903.
- Simpson, A. W. B. An Introduction to the History of the Land Law. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961.
- Smiley, D. V., ed. The Rowell-Sirois Report, Book I. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1963.
- Social Sciences Research Council. The Social Sciences in Historical Study. Bulletin No. 64. New York: Social Sciences Research Council, 1964.
- Spelt, Jacob. The Urban Development in South-Central Ontario. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1972.
- Tavender, George S. From This Year Hence: A History of Toronto Gore, 1818-1967. Brampton: Charters, 1967.
- Taylor, K. W. and Mitchell, H. Statistical Contributions to Canadian Economic History. Vol. II. Toronto: The MacMillan Company Company of Canada, Ltd., 1931.
- Teeple, Gary, ed. Capitalism and the National Question. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973.
- Wells, Calvin. Man and His World. London: John Baker, 1971.
- Wood, J. David., ed. Perspectives on Landscape and Settlement in Nineteenth Century Ontario. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1975.
- Wrigley, E. A. Population and History. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969.

Wrigley, E. A., ed. Nineteenth-Century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972.

-----, ed. An Introduction to English Historical Demography. New York: Basic Books, 1965.

Yashuba, Yasukichi. "Birth Rates of the United States, 1800-1860: An Economic Study." John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Series LXXIX, No. 2, 1961.

2. Articles and Parts of Books

Anderson, Michael. "The Study of Family Structure." In Nineteenth-Century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data. Edited by E. A. Wrigley. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972.

Arenburg, C. M. "American Communities." American Anthropologist, XVII (1955), pp. 1143-1162.

Armstrong, F. H. "The Family: Some Aspects of a Neglected Approach to Canadian Historical Studies." C.H.A.P. (1971), pp. 112-23.

Bailyn, Bernard. "The Beekmans of New York: Trade, Politics and Families." Wm. & Mary Qu., 3rd. ser., XIV (1957), pp. 598-608.

Ball, Rosemary R. "A Perfect Farmer's Wife: Women in Nineteenth Century Rural Ontario." Canada: An Historical Magazine, III (1975), pp. 2-21.

Berkner, Lutz T. "Recent Research on the History of the Family in Western Europe." J.M.F., XXXV (1973), pp. 395-405.

-----, "The Stem Family and the Developmental Cycles of the Peasant Household: An Eighteenth Century Austrian Example." A.H.R., LXXII (1972), pp. 400-440.

Bell, Robert G. "James Malin and the Grasslands of North America." Ag. Hist., XLVI (1972), pp. 414-24.

Bissell, Linda Auwers. "From One Generation to Another: Mobility in Seventeenth Century Windsor, Connecticut." Wm. & Mary Qu., 3rd. ser., XXXI (1974), pp. 79-110.

Blishen, Bernard R. "The Construction of an Occupational Class Scale." C.J.E.P.S., XXIV (1958), pp. 519-31.

- Blishen, Bernard R. "A Socio-Economic Index for Occupations in Canada." C.R.S.A., IV (1967), pp. 41-53.
- Bloomberg, Susan; Fox, Mary; Warner, Robert M.; Warner, Samuel Bass Jr. "A Census Probe into Nineteenth Century Family History: Southern Michigan, 1850-1880." J.S.H., V (1973), pp. 27-45.
- Bogue, Allan G. "Social Theory and the Pioneer." Ag. Hist., XXXIV (1960), pp. 21-34.
- Brookes, Alan. "'Doing the Best I Can:' The Taking of the 1861 New Brunswick Census." H.S./S.H., IX (1976), pp. 70-91.
- Buckley, Kenneth. "The Role of Staple Industries in Canada's Economic Development." J.E.H., XVIII (1958), pp. 439-450.
- Burch, Thomas K. "The Size and Structure of Families: A Comparative Analysis of Census Data." A.S.R., XXXII (1967), pp. 347-363.
- Careless, J. M. S. "'Limited Identities' in Canada." C.H.R., L (1969), pp. 1-10.
- Chambers, Edward. "Late Nineteenth Century Business Cycles in Canada." C.J.E.P.S., XXX (1964), pp. 391-412.
- Coale, Ansley J. "The Effects of Changes in Mortality & Fertility on Age Composition." Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, XXXIV (1956), pp. 79-114.
- Coleman, Peter J. "Restless Grant County: Americans on the Move." Wisconsin Magazine of History, XLVI (1962), pp. 16-20.
- Connell, Keith H. "Land and Population in Ireland, 1780-1845." E.H.R., I (1948), pp. 278-89.
- . "Peasant Marriage in Ireland." E.H.R., XIV (1962), pp. 502-23.
- Cudmore, S. A. "Rural Depopulation in Southern Ontario." Transactions of the Canadian Institute, IX (1912), pp. 261-267.
- Demos, John. "Notes on Life in Plymouth Colony." Wm. & Mary Qu., 3rd ser., XII (1965), pp. 264-86.
- Denton, Frank and George, Peter. "An Exploratory Analysis of Some Socio-Economic Characteristics of Families in Hamilton, Ontario, 1871." H.S./S.H., VI (1973), pp. 16-44.
- Dollard, John. "Needed Viewpoints in Family Research." Social Forces, XIV (1935), pp. 109-113.

- Drake, Michael. "Marriage and Population Growth in Ireland." E.H.R., XVI (1963), pp. 301-313.
- Easterlin, Richard A. "Does Human Fertility Adjust to the Environment?" A.E.R., LXI (1971), pp. 399-421.
- . "Factors in the Decline of Farm Family Fertility in the United States: Some Preliminary Results." J.A.H., LXIII (1976), pp. 600-614.
- . "Population Change and Farm Settlement in the Northern United States." J.E.H., XXXVI (1976), pp. 45-83.
- Elleridge, Silbey. "Some Demographic Clues to Stratification." A.S.R., VII (1942), pp. 322-330.
- Fite, Gilbert C. "The Pioneer Farmer: A View Over Three Centuries." Ag. Hist., L (1976), pp. 275-89.
- Fowke, V. C. "The Myth of the Self-Sufficient Pioneer." T.R.S.C., LVI, Series III (1966), Sect. II; pp. 23-37.
- Gagan, David. "Geographical and Social Mobility in Nineteenth Century Ontario: A Microstudy." C.R.S.A., XIII (1976), pp. 152-163.
- . "The Indivisibility of Land: A Microanalysis of the System of Inheritance in Nineteenth Century Ontario." J.E.H., XXXVI (1976), pp. 126-147.
- . "'The Prose of Life:' Literary Reflection of the Family, Individual Experience and Social Structure in Nineteenth-Century Canada." J.S.H., VIII (1976), pp. 367-81.
- . "The Security of Land: Mortgaging in Toronto Gore Township, 1835-1895." In Aspects of Nineteenth Century Ontario: Essays Presented to James J. Talman, pp. 135-153. Edited by F. H. Armstrong, H. A. Stevenson, J. D. Wilson. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.
- Gagan, David P. and Mays, Herbert. "Historical Demography and Canadian Social History: Families and Land in Peel County, Ontario." C.H.R., LIV (1973), pp. 35-47.
- Graff, Harvey J. "Literacy and Social Structure in Elgin County, Canada West: 1861." H.S./S.H., VI (1973), pp. 25-47.
- . "Notes on Methods for Studying Literacy from the Manuscript Census." H.M.N., V (1971), 11-13.

- . "Towards a Meaning of Literacy." H.E.Q., XII (1972), pp. 411-431.
- Greven, Philip. "Family Structure in Seventeenth Century Andover, Massachusetts." Wm. & Mary Qu., 3rd. ser., XXIII (1966), pp. 23-56.
- . "Historical Demography and Colonial America." Wm. & Mary Qu., 3 rd. ser., XXIV (1967), pp. 438-54.
- Habakkuk, H. J. "Family Structure and Economic Change in Nineteenth-Century Europe." J.E.H., XV (1955), pp. 1-12.
- Hareven, T. K. and Vinoskis, M. A. "Marital Fertility, Ethnicity and Occupation in Urban Families: An Analysis of South Boston and the South End in 1880." J.S.H., IX (1975), pp. 69-93.
- Hays, Samuel P. "History as Human Behaviour." Iowa Journal of History, LVIII (1960), pp. 193-206.
- Heller, Charles F., and Moore, Stanley. "Continuity in Rural Land Ownership: Western Kalamazoo County, Michigan, 1830-1861." Michigan History, LVI (1972), pp. 233-246.
- Higgs, Robert and Stettlers, H. Louis. "Colonial New England Demography: A Sampling Approach." Wm. & Mary Qu., XXVII (1970), pp. 282-94.
- Homans, G. C. "The Rural Sociology of Medieval England." Past & Present, IV (1953), pp. 32-43.
- James, C. C. "History of Farming." In Canada and Its Provinces. Vol. XVIII, pp. 551-584. Edited by Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty. Toronto: Publisher's Association, 1914.
- Johnson, Charles M. "An Outline of Early Settlement in the Grand River Valley." O.H., LIV (1962), pp. 43-67.
- Johnson, Leo A. "Land Policy, Population Growth and Social Structure in the Home District, 1793-1851." O.H., LXIII (1971), pp. 41-60.
- Kelly, Kenneth. "The Transfer of British Ideas on Improved Farming to Ontario During the First Half of the Nineteenth Century." O.H., LXIII (1971), pp. 103-111.
- Keyfitz, Nathan. "New Patterns in the Birth Rate." In Canadian Population and Northern Colonization, pp. 33-42. Edited by V. W. Bladen. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962.
- Knights, Peter. "Accuracy of Age Reporting in the Federal MS Census of 1850 and 1860." H.M.N., IV (June, 1971), pp. 79-83.

- , "A Method for Estimating Census Under-Enumeration." H.M.N., III (Dec., 1969), pp. 5-8.
- Kollmorgen, William and Harrison, Robert W. "The Search for the Rural Community." Ag. Hist., XX (1946), pp. 1-8.
- Kohl, Seena and Bennett, John W. "Kinship, Succession, and the Migration of Young People in a Canadian Agricultural Community." International Journal of Comparative Sociology, VI (1965), pp. 95-115.
- Lasch, Christopher. "The Family in History." New York Review of Books, November 13, 1975, pp. 33-37.
- Laslett, Peter. "The Comparative History of the Household and Family." J.S.H., IV (1972), pp. 75-86.
- , "Size and Structure of the Household in England Over Three Centuries." P.S., XXIII (1969), 197-223.
- , and Hammel, E. A. "Comparing Household Structure Over Time and Between Cultures." C.S.S.H., XIV (1974), pp. 73-109.
- , and Harrison, John. "Clayworth and Cogenhoe." In Historical Essays 1600-1750: Presented to David Ogg, pp. 157-84. Edited by H. F. Bell and R. Ollard. London: Adam & Chas. Black, 1963.
- Lawr, D. A. "The Development of Ontario Farming 1870-1914." O.H., LXIV (1972), pp. 239-51.
- Lazarsfeld, Paul F. "Evidence and Inference in Social Research." Daedalus, LXXXVII (1958), pp. 99-129.
- Leet, D. R. "The Determinants of the Fertility Transition in Antebellum Ohio." J.E.H., XXXVI (1976), pp. 359-378.
- Lemieux, O. A., et. al. "Factors in the Growth of Rural Population in Eastern Canada," C.P.S.A.P., VI (1934), pp. 196-219.
- Litwak, Eugene. "Geographic Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion." A.S.R., XXV (1966), pp. 385-94.
- Lower, A. R. M. "The Growth of Population in Canada." In Canadian Population and Northern Colonization, pp. 43-68. Edited by V. W. Bladen. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962.
- McInnis, R. M. "Childbearing and Land Availability: Some Evidence from Individual Household Data." Paper presented at Behavioural Models in Historical Demography Conference, Philadelphia, 1974 (mimeographed).

- Mackenzie, Ann. "Animal Husbandry in the 1840s as Reflected in the Agricultural Journals of Canada West." O.H., LXVI (1974), pp. 115-128.
- Matthews, Robin. "Susanna Moodie and Pink Toryism." J.C.S., X (1975), pp. 3-14.
- Parsons, Talcott. "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States." American Anthropologist, XLV (1943), pp. 22-38.
- Pentland, H. C. "The Role of Capital in Canadian Economic Development." C.J.E.P.S., XXXVI (1950), pp. 457-74.
- Plankans, Andreja. "Peasant Farmsteads and Households in the Baltic Littoral, 1797." C.S.S.H., XVII (1975), pp. 2-35.
- Prentice, Alison. "Education and the Metaphor of the Family: The Upper Canadian Example." H.E.Q., XII (1972), pp. 281-303.
- Reghr, R. D. "Land Ownership in Upper Canada, 1783-1796." O.H., LV (1963), pp. 40-46.
- Richards, J. H. "Land and Policies: Attitudes and Controls in the Alienation of Lands in Ontario During the First Century of Settlement." O.H., L (1958), pp. 193-208.
- Riddell, R. G. "A Study in the Land Policy of the Colonial Office, 1763-1855." C.H.R., XVIII (1937), pp. 385-403.
- Rothman, David J. "A Note on the Study of the Colonial Family." Wm. & Mary Qu., XXIII (1966), pp. 627-634.
- Saveth, Edward N. "The Problem of American Family History." American Quarterly, XXI (1968), pp. 311-329.
- Schultz, Robert R. "On the Measurement of Income Inequality." A.E.R., XLI (1951), pp. 107-122.
- Studness, Charles M. "Economic Opportunity and the Westward Migration of Canadians During the Late Nineteenth Century." C.J.E.P.S., XXX (1964), pp. 510-584.
- Swierenga, Robert P. "Towards the New Rural History: A Review Essay." H.M.N., VI (1973), pp. 111-122.
- Tepperman, Lorne. "Ethnic Variations in Marriage and Fertility: Canada 1871." C.R.S.A., XI (1974), pp. 324-42.
- Throne, Mildred. "A Population Study of an Iowa County in 1850." Iowa Journal of History, LVII (1959), pp. 305-330.

Uhlenberg, Peter. "Cohort Variation in Family Life Cycle Experience of U. S. Females." J.M.F., XXXVI (1974), pp. 284-92.

Walsh, Margaret. "The Census as an Accurate Source of Information: The Value of Mid-Nineteenth Century Manufacturing Returns." H.M.N., IV (1970), pp. 3-13.

----- . "The Value of Mid-Nineteenth Century Manufacturing Returns: The Printed Census and Manuscript Census Compilations Compared." H.M.N., IV (1970), pp. 41-43.

Watkins, M. H. "A Staple Theory of Economic Growth." In Approaches to Canadian Economic History, pp. 49-73. Edited by W. T. Easterbrook and M. H. Watkins. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1969.

Wells, Robert V. "Family History and Demographic Transition." J.S.H., IX (1975), pp. 1-19.

Wolf, Eric. "Closed Corporate Peasant Communities." South-West Journal of Anthropology, XIII (1957), pp. 1-13.

Wood, David. "Simulating Pre-Census Population Distribution." The Canadian Geographer, XVIII (1974), pp. 250-264.

3. Dissertations

Greven, P. "Four Generations: A Study of Family Structure, Inheritance and Mobility in Andover, Massachusetts, 1630-1750." Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1964.

Kelly, Kenneth. "The Agricultural Geography of Simcoe County, Ontario, 1820-1880.: Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1968.

Pryor, Edward Jr. "Family Structure and Change: Rhode Island 1875 and 1960.) Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Brown University, 1966.

Taylor, Ian C. "Components of Population Change." Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1967.