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**"BE YE NOT UNEQUALLY YOKED TOGETHER WITH UNBELIEVERS":
A GEOGRAPHY OF SOCIAL INTERACTION IN SOUTHERN ONTARIO, 1871**

by

John G. Buffone

**A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of**

Master of Arts

**Department of Geography
Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
May, 1997**

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The undersigned hereby recommend to
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the acceptance of the thesis,

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A Geography of Social Interaction in Southern Ontario, 1871

submitted by

John G. Buffone, B.A. (Hons)

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ABSTRACT

Intermarriage has been shown to be important in assimilation and culture maintenance. Building methodologically upon Richard's (1991) work this study seeks to contrast the Ontario and Canadian experience in 1871. It does so by extending Richard's analysis to include other ethnic and religious groups.

The results are generally found to follow the national ones. Cross-tabulation of census data using various descriptive statistics and logit regression demonstrates that intermarriage was not a simple phenomenon. Rates of endogamy are shown to vary both with origin and with origin and religion in combination. Generally, Roman Catholic rates were found to be the highest; Protestants, as heirs to the Biblical injunction, not to be "yoked together with unbelievers" were willing to marry across the ethnic boundary but sought co-religionists.

The thesis is written, in part, in simple exploratory mode, and in part, in a more explicitly scientific genre. It is thought to be a substantive contribution to this interesting problem and to the historical geography of Ontario at Confederation.

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Chapter 1

Introduction: The Importance of Marriage in Historical Studies

1.1 The Role of Marriage

The history of marriage as an institution has always been of keen interest to all kinds of historians. As Ward (1990, 3) succinctly states, marriage is an 'intensively private matter...[but] also has a public side that cannot be overlooked'. In the Western tradition, marriage is as much influenced by what two people feel for one another as it is also by circumstances beyond their control but which may bear upon their decisions. These include demography, religious beliefs, expectations for community survival from family and friends, and laws pertaining to the transfer of land. Wells (1971, 168) describes how marriage produces a number of well-known roles including: father, mother, father-in-law and grandmother. Christensen (1958, 58) says marriage performs five basic functions: providing emotional and sexual needs within a sanctioned relationship; economic co-operation between spouses or between parents and children in the division of labour; a socially accepted institution for human reproduction; and finally, for the financial and emotional survival and socialization of the child. Though his comments are highly generalized, Christensen (1958, 45) points out that these functions are not static and much like other life events, they do change through time. Nor are these functions

mutually exclusive.

In studying the historical geography of any area, marriage as a phenomenon is something that should also be considered because it may offer insights into the economic, social, political and demographic composition of an area. Marriage as an institution has affected the composition of past societies in various ways, including aspects of fertility and population growth as described below by Ogden (1973, 3):

"....important relationships can be shown between the timing of marriage and economic characteristics of, or change in, a society; and varying social patterns can be illustrated by reference to age at marriage, the seasonality of marriage through the year, marriage customs, levels of celibacy and of illegitimate births. Moreover, given the basic assumptions that marriage inevitably involves at least short-distance movement of one of the partners, and results usually from a period of extended social contact, mobility associated with marriage is likely to provide a key to the understanding of more general patterns of contact in different communities at different times, and is intimately associated with at least some of the aspects mentioned above."

Others factors which come into play include ethnicity and religion. Different groups have shown different social and geographic patterns, varying rates of mobility and levels of celibacy. Work acknowledging the importance of marriage could indeed strengthen studies of the settlement process, including social, economic, political and demographic aspects. This thesis seeks to assist in this way.

1.2 Marriage and Historical Geography

The work of Little (1992) and Brunger (1986, 1990) provides an introduction into the role that marriage can play

in studying society in nineteenth century Canada. Little (1992) looks at differing Scottish and French-Canadian family survival strategies, including marriage, in Winslow Township, Quebec. He comments on how historical geographers have shown a keen interest in the 'homogenizing impact of the frontier environment' (Little:1992, 289). Homogenization is seen as part of the rural settlement process and the question is how did past immigrants adapt, if at all, to their new surroundings. He goes on to summarize the two basic schools of thought on this subject; one fostered by Lemon (1978, 1980) and Wynn (1983, 1986) holds that specific traditions broke down on the frontier; the other, promoted by Harris (1990, 369) holds that the "'disjointed' geography of Canada fostered distinctive localized cultures" although he does allow for different communities to show similar tendencies. Of course, homogenization can result from different processes other than those studied by Little; one of these is assimilation.

This idea of assimilation is also hinted at in the work of Brunger (1986, 1990) wherein he discusses the population distribution of various ethnic groups as part of the settlement process. The spatial distribution of these groups, shown in a series of maps, reveals the effects of several processes, including the timing of settlement and the effect of immigration laws. Brunger (1990, 256) further suggests that other factors can be considered in interpreting these distributions, most notably those concerning the importance of

social or economic structures and the roles which institutions can play. One such institution that has social and economic significance and plays a large role in the study of cultural maintenance is marriage. As previously noted, different ethnic groups exhibit different patterns of behaviour in terms of this state. The role that intermarriage may play has been addressed for Canada in the work of Richard (1991).

Richard (1991) compares ethnic marriage patterns in 1871 to those a century later for Canada as a whole. She provides a comprehensive summary of various aspects of intermarriage in Canada at Confederation. As previously mentioned, her scale of study was national. She includes within it a review of hypotheses which should be considered in assessing and interpreting intermarriage, including those relating to age, origin, religion, occupation, nativity, population structure, residency and literacy. She uses Gordon's (1964) concept of marital assimilation, the most important step in his seven step theory of the assimilation of minorities. According to Gordon (1964, 71), marital assimilation is linked to 'cultural' and 'structural' assimilation which then leads to other forms of assimilation. Cultural assimilation, referred to by Gordon as "acculturation", occurs when the new group changes its patterns to that of the host society. But structural assimilation will only occur when these groups are allowed entry into local cliques, clubs, and institutions at a large-scale. This can occur while the acculturation process

is also going on. It is at this stage that marital assimilation will likely occur because the opportunities for intermarriage are greatest. After intermarrying, the assimilative process continues. As barriers between the host society and the new arrivals lessen, discrimination and prejudice decrease. This structural approach is conducive to a large scale historical study of assimilation, though it is quite easily seen that the 'private' nature of marriage alluded to by Ward earlier, is not obvious in such an approach. Intermarriage, in historical studies, can be easily recognized within historical records whereas such phenomena as dress and language use may not be.

1.3 Purpose of Study

This thesis examines ethno-religious intermarriage in Ontario in 1871, in a broadly similar manner to Richard's work but it differs from it in several regards. First the sampling technique used is different. The data are drawn from those who answered 'yes' to the question "Were you married in the previous 12 months?" on Schedule 1 in the 1871 Census of Canada (Census of Canada 1871: Manual for Instructions, 22). This is different from the sampling technique used to gather data for The Canadian Historical Project which provides the basis of Richard's work (Richard:1991, 36). The approach used here is thought to be a better measure of intermarriage at Confederation for it provides data on the group of people who got married at this time as opposed to those who were married

in previous years. The sample provides a sizable cross-section of marriages at one point in time, at one point in the family life-cycle, to provide a glimpse of what choices were made in terms of mate selection. In 1871, the couples had been married for at least one year and thus the processes alluded to earlier had either passed or were just starting to play themselves out.

The geographic scale is also different. This work will focus on Southern Ontario only. In this way it provides for a comparison to the national levels of intermarriage reported by Richard. Though the province of Ontario differs from the other three provinces in Confederation at this time in terms of its own settlement history, it would be interesting to analyze any substantive differences between the provinces but this lies beyond the scope of the present study. Similarly, different areas within Ontario were settled by people with the same ethnic origin but at different times. In light of Harris' (1978, 120) comments, it is worth investigating if there is any difference in marriage behaviour within the constituent parts. For example, does the French-Canadian population, which in 1871 had only recently settled along the Ottawa River, show any difference to its culturally similar counterparts settled for a longer time in the Windsor or Penatanguishene region? Following Richard, the study differentiates between marriages in rural and urban contexts. "Urban" is defined here as in the Census, as an "incorporated place". But further analysis can

be performed between urban areas to see if patterns can be distinguished within the emerging urban system.

In a similar manner Moore (1990, 26) has argued that fertility control can be seen as one descends the urban hierarchy. This is not to say that intermarriage could work in the same manner in all places; rather different patterns could result because of the different social geographies of urban areas. In fact, Harris (1972: 374) discusses in the aforementioned article how different urban areas had their own 'character', much of it due to the origins of the people who helped establish these areas. Though he writes about the turn of the nineteenth century, it is not unreasonable to argue that this process continued. It would be interesting to see if any differentiation can be seen seventy years later since Ontario had changed within that time from an agrarian based colony to a still emerging industrial economy (McCallum: 1980). In southern Ontario, the frontier by 1871 could be defined in terms of a rural/urban dichotomy or a rural developed/rural undeveloped division, as further attempts were made to encourage settlement on the Canadian Shield. The economic structure of these northern communities, on the agricultural and mineral frontier (Lower: 1929; McCalla:1993), may also have had a profound effect on marriage patterns because of the nature of the work involved and its effects upon family formation. In these communities, the rural/urban differences may not have had the same meaning as in more

settled areas. This is something that should always be kept in mind; even though this study is primarily focused on ethnicity and religion, there are other important considerations which will be discussed later.

The study will also incorporate the notion of seasonality of marriage, because it has been seen to be an indicator of adherence to religious values. Marriage is not allowed or highly discouraged at certain times of the year in some denominations. The most obvious time is the penitential period of Lent. If ethnic cohesion is one of the purposes for not allowing outmarrying then one might expect a difference in the timing of marriage between those who marry 'in' to those who marry 'out'. By marrying 'in', this could be an indication that community pressures are having some effect on reinforcing cultural maintenance.

This study will also differ from Richard in that other ethno-religious groups will be considered. It is perplexing and troublesome to see that two of the largest religious groups that contributed to the social development of Ontario, the Baptists and Methodists, are ignored by Richard. This may be due to the fact that the groups she ignores are those that have traditionally received the most attention, French-Canadian Roman Catholics and English Anglicans. These other groups should be considered because if intermarriage is occurring then these churches may be losing members to those churches which had just as long a tradition in Ontario.

In short, this thesis examines marriage in Ontario in 1871. It does this with the view to consider inferentially how social variables such as ethnic origin and religion may have affected the decision to marry. It seeks to establish the spatial distribution of movement across religious and ethnic lines, in the belief that this may reflect a geography of opportunity. Additionally, it aims to see if marriage differences at the provincial level differ from those in Canada as a whole.

1.4 Organization of Study

Following the general introduction to marriage, the role it can play in past societies and an outline of the purpose of the study in Chapter 1, Chapter 2 reviews the broad literature on the social and historical geography of Ontario and that specifically concerned with marriage. Chapter 3 deals with the sources and definitions of data. Chapter 4 provides a description and analysis of patterns of intermarriage seen from various manipulations of the data. This is generally done in reference to Richard's national study; and provides comparison between the national and provincial scales. Other aspects not used by Richard but linked with ethnicity and religion are also addressed, for example the seasonality of marriage, because they too may be indicative of the importance of ethnicity and religion in cultural maintenance. Chapter 5 summarizes the findings and discusses the implications of the findings in relation to society in post-Confederation Ontario.

Chapter 2

The Settlement Process in Ontario in Review

2.1 Introduction to the Literature Review

This chapter summarizes the literature and is split into two parts. The first section shows how the literature in historical geography has in the past focused on more economic and political forces affecting the settlement process while the social component has been less studied. The second section deals with the literature on one social aspect of the settlement process that should be of interest to geographers concerning marriage. This includes a review of Richard's (1991) work on intermarriage in nineteenth-century Canada which constitutes the only comprehensive study of the phenomenon for this time period.

2.2 Overview of the Settlement Process in Ontario

Various factors have been used to explain the settlement process within Ontario in the nineteenth century. A survey of the literature indicates that the physical environment, and economic and political forces, have been important. The perception of the environment by the settlers is seen to be a key by Clarke (1970, 1978), Brunger (1972), Kelly (1974), Weldon (1980), Gordanier (1982), Clarke and Finnegan (1984) and Finnegan (1984). For example, Kelly (1974) believes that there was ample knowledge available to the new settler in the surveyors' notes where vegetation information was recorded in great detail. This would help in the decision in choosing a

piece of land. In contradistinction, Gentilcore (1972) believes settlement to have been indiscriminate of the physical environment and instead emphasizes government policy in terms of military and economic considerations. The effects of government policy certainly had a marked effect on economic infrastructure. This was most noticeable in the building of roads and canals along the Welland and Rideau rivers, built to circumvent close contact with the Americans.

Other factors affecting the settlement process include the actions of corporate land speculators such as the Canada Company. Gentilcore points out that the high migrations of the 1830s and the 1840s contributed to the success of the company and justified both its [speculative] policies and those of the Crown (Gentilcore 1972, 30). Clarke's (1975) study showed that there was a close correspondence between land acquisition and speculation among members of the power structure in Essex County. This power structure can be seen as an attempt to reinforce British aristocratic values in a Canadian setting. These values were perpetuated through an interlocking system of alliances, linking the centralised oligarchy, referred to as the Family Compact, to local elites in every part in the province, a system described by Saunders (1975, 38), Wise (1967, 62) and Clarke (1975, 30). Johnson (1975) studies this in respect to the development within the Home District. Land policy -- for instance the endowment of the Loyalists and their children with land, the creation of the Crown and Clergy

Reserves and the payment of surveyors with land -- was part of the mechanism for populating Upper Canada. It was also used by prominent local individuals such as James Buchanan, William Allan, Richard Cartwright and Samuel Sherwood (Johnson: 1971, 50) to suit their own needs by the accumulation of land. Clarke (1975) explores this political aspect by studying the actions of the Askin and Baby families in the Western District. For instance, John Askin Senior gained influence among different groups of people by marrying both himself and his children into these groups. He gained access to the local Indian and French communities by marrying first a local Indian woman and secondly Marthe Archange Barthe, a member of a locally prominent and economically powerful family (Clarke: 1975, 21). Similarly, Gagan (1978) studies land speculation in the Home District in terms of interaction between influential families, for example, the Jarvis family, and particular individuals, for instance, James McGill.

Though the behaviour of settlers is a necessary step to interpret the settlement process in the emerging province, since it affected individuals, it is necessary to know more about government land policy itself. Upper Canadian land policy is studied extensively by Wilson (1968) and Gates (1968). Wilson writes about the history of the Clergy Reserves in Upper Canada. One-seventh of all townships had been laid aside for the development of the Established Church in the province. Wilson argues that the Reserves had problems at the

fiscal, administrative, executive and political levels. By the first decade of the nineteenth century the Clergy Reserves had become a source of discontent. For the longest time only the Church of England benefited from the revenues derived from these lands while other denominations were excluded. Additionally, the manner in which the Reserves were laid out in townships in a checker board format was seen as a hindrance by settlers who wished to settle near one another. As can be seen, the Clergy Reserves became a problem at different levels from the state to the individual.

Gates (1968) conducted a comprehensive study of land policy in Upper Canada. She deals with the origins of the government's land policy in relation to the development of Ontario and how land policy changed through time. This includes the description and analysis through time of land patenting, Crown and Clergy Reserves, land speculation, school lands, settlement duties, the rights of Loyalists, and squatters. She shows how in the beginning Upper Canada was to be run as other British colonies and describes the changes produced in the 1820s when the British government sought to make its colony more fiscally independent, as well as changes in the 1830s, 1840s and 1850s as the Upper Canadian economy adjusted to changed political and economic circumstances.

Besides these studies concerned only with individuals or the role of oligarchies in the early life of Ontario, more nomothetic studies sought even greater generalisations at the

aggregated township level. In an early work in this vein, Norton (1964) studied land prices at the lot level in Simcoe County in 1860. Clarke and Brown (1982) also discussed the role of land speculation while focusing on land prices in Essex County. Multiple regression analyses showed that accessibility and size of holding, and acreage cultivated, represented the best indicators of land prices. Yet more of the variance was left unexplained than was explained by these variables. A study of the residuals indicated that land speculation was also a factor in land prices (Clarke:1982, 300). In a subsequent study, Clarke and Brown (1987) studied land prices explicitly in tenure terms. Three classes were recognized: resident owner and tenants, non-residents and speculator. It was hypothesized that the first two groups would demonstrate no difference amongst themselves but that the speculators would behave differently. However, a stepwise regression showed all three groups behaved in a similar fashion. As in their previously mentioned article, land prices were seen to be influenced by the same variables though accessibility was replaced by the variable "total acreage sold" as the best determinant of land prices (Clarke and Brown: 1987, 173). In a methodologically similar vein to Clarke and Brown, Clarke and Buffone (1996) studied what influenced the price of vacant land in 1825. Of the three land values investigated -- land sales, credit sales in the previous five years and the assessors' own personal estimates

-- regression analysis showed that seventy percent of the variance explained was related to population density while the number of mills was also shown to be important. Analysis of residuals showed a distribution that reflected Whebell's (1968) concepts of core regions. These areas of political and economic concentration were found in the surrounding areas of cities such as Niagara, Kingston and Cornwall. Other areas with distinct settlement histories such as the Peter Robinson settlement in Peterborough County also appeared among the residuals. The pattern of the residuals would seem to reinforce the role that political and social decisions had on land values in particular areas and the settlement process of Ontario in general.

An important economic issue in relation to the settlement process has been the supposedly central role of wheat in the economy. This view has been argued by McCallum (1980) but has been disputed by both McInnis (1984, 1989, 1992) and more recently by McCalla (1983, 1993). McCalla, using a variety of sources, argues for the existence of an exchange economy from the establishment of the colony to Confederation. He refutes any notion that the Ontario economy was driven by the growing of wheat exclusively for the purposes of export. He (1993: 242) argues that the state of the economy was in constant flux. This was because of technological change, changes in the forest economy, the growth of towns and cities and the end of the period of extensive growth. Agriculture, he believes,

was diverse and the interpretation of wheat as the sole motor of the economy is clearly too simplistic.

Marr and Patterson (1980) also examine economic forces that influenced agricultural development in Canada from the time of the first French settlement to 1914. These factors include changes in the Corn Laws, changes in technology, the availability of land and labour, land holding systems, the external market and the actions of land companies and government. These factors demonstrated how initially agriculture did not produce an exportable agricultural surplus but how this trend was later reversed (Marr and Patterson: 1980, 75).

This brief survey of the literature shows that environmental, political and economic factors, in some manner, have affected the settlement process in Ontario. They are not necessarily independent of each other. For instance, the role of government in the building of roads and canals, for the defence of the colony and its economic development, was a catalyst in the early settlement process of Ontario (Gentilcore: 1972, 335). However, the settlers' perceptions of land quality influenced their choice. Gentilcore (1972, 30) reinforces this point by stating that by the 1830s one third of Lanark County's population had left their settlement because of unfavourable agricultural land.

Though this brief literature review has shown that quite a wide variety of factors were been influential in the

settlement process, a relatively ignored component in studying the settlement process has been the social aspects. It is to this that the chapter now turns.

2.3. The Settlement Process in Ontario: The Social Literature

As the following synthesis of the social literature will show, historical geographers and other academics have made contributions to the social aspects of the settlement process. Among the themes studied have been population distribution and the role of ethnicity, religion, occupational and family structures and propinquity. Marriage is not central to any of these works. These have been studied at various scales, from the national down to the individual, depending on the focus of the particular author. Needless to say, observations made at one scale may not be relevant at other scales. The focus here is simply on the results obtained from their analysis; comparisons between different scales should not be made.

Brunger (1982) examines geographical propinquity among Roman Catholic Irish settlers in Canada in 1825 in terms of the social characteristics transferred by the settlers to their new environment. He argues that the antecedent community, the community in Ireland from which the settlers emigrated, played an important part in future settlement patterns. He assumed that the settlers had a choice in where they might settle, but also acknowledged that the government could have directed settlement in terms of the emigrants' social background, for example, the segregation of people by

religion. Four of six of the antecedent communities examined by Brunger (1982, 275) were found to exert some influence on propinquitous settlement in the Newcastle region of Ontario. The social institution of kin was not a major influence because their numbers (of those that can be identified) were few. Where he found such kin links, he argues that geographical propinquity was a factor in settlement location. The role of the family was found to be most important with 68.6 percent of settlement being contiguous, as measured by straight-line distances between lots held by members of the same family (Brunger: 1982, 275).

Brunger further describes propinquity in terms of frontier zones. These were areas delineated by physical features in the Newcastle District, as opposed to the political boundaries which Brunger described as rigid. Propinquity was seen to influence settlement in two of these three zones, while the third showed a minor influence (Brunger: 1982, 279). He mentions that land quality and the amount of land obtained might have also influenced propinquity in these frontier zones.

The same author (1986,1990) looks at the population distribution of the three largest ethnic groups that comprised the population of Ontario at mid-nineteenth century: English, Irish and Scottish. Using location quotients at the township and urban level and based on census data for 1851, 1861 and 1871, he interprets the different patterns that are revealed

in a series of maps. These patterns relate to time of settlement. For example, newly opened areas in northern Grey and Bruce Counties were dominantly Scottish; Scottish settlement occurred in an extensive zone. In contrast, discrete concentrations of the English were to be found in high concentrations along Lake Ontario centring on Toronto. Brunger suggests that these distributions are a result of settlement processes in general and events specific to each group, for example, the Irish Famine. As he reasonably surmises, there are other institutions at work but he does not mention which institutions to consider (Brunger:1990, 257). This thesis will look at one such institution, marriage. Intermarriage data, for instance, would have been valuable in such work in interpreting such segmented ethnic distributions especially if it is to be seen as a form of cultural maintenance. This could well have led to a better understanding of the settlement process as a whole.

Parkinson (1988) examines propinquity in Peterborough County in 1851 and 1861. His work differs from others in that he pursues the relationship between propinquity and agricultural productivity. He studies propinquity in respect to persons of English, Scottish, Irish origin and belonging to either the Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian or Methodist churches. Using nearest neighbour analysis, he shows that Irish Catholics were the most clustered while their Protestant counterparts were the most dispersed. Overall, all ethnic

groups showed a high degree of clustering. Though they did not cluster in a similar manner their particular patterns remained unchanged during the decade stated. His explanation for these patterns lies in government controlled settlement programs, the block arrival of cultural groups and settler preference for settling near kin (1988, 151). A series of agricultural productivity curves showed a similar pattern among the groups implying that there was "uniform adaptation" through time. Though the patterns were similar regardless of which group classes were used, the Scottish, Presbyterians and Scottish Presbyterians ranked highest in terms of land improvement and farm values. Conversely the Irish, Catholics and Irish Catholics ranked the lowest. Parkinson (1988, 135) whose primary interest focused on agricultural prowess used distance to nearest neighbour as a measure of propinquity and found that this was not influential in determining farming success in 1851. The situation had changed by 1861 when there was a relationship observed between propinquity and land improvement. Parkinson (1988, 155) believes this may be the result of co-operative land clearing amongst communities of similar origins, living in close proximity to one another. Parkinson's contribution lies in the use of propinquity as a variable to study other non-social aspects of settlement, in this case farming success.

Clarke (1991) studied propinquity in terms of location and interaction measured by land transactions. These were

found to be important in Essex County and to reflect a series of processes described by Steeves (1976), though Clarke does recognize that other institutions could have been considered. Patterns were found among different ethnic, religious and kinship groups indicating that Essex County in 1850 had never fully integrated within itself or had just begun the process of integration (Clarke: 1991, 412).

Working at the provincial scale, Clarke and Buffone (1996) study regionalization using its ethnic, religious and age-structured components. Recognizing that regions evolve through time, the authors were able to delimit seven areas. They did so using principal components and cluster analysis on 88 variables for 344 townships and 34 urban areas, taken from the 1851-1852 Census of Canada. These regions reflect processes already discussed in this chapter, such as government land policy and the desire for propinquitous settlement (Clarke and Buffone: 1996, 212). The qualities of these regions were then analyzed using nuptiality (number of women married aged 15-50/total number of women aged 15-50) and marital fertility ratios (number of children under 10/number of women aged 15-50). Each region was found to have distinctive qualities. For instance, in the region characterized as dominantly German Mennonites and Lutherans had the highest nuptiality rates. Overall, the comparison of the nuptiality and marital fertility ratios did not always produce complete agreement. For instance, the Scottish areas

had the lowest nuptiality rates but high marital fertility ratios (see also Marr:1986, 18). The regions described as 'Older Ontario' had the lowest marital fertility ratios which suggested that the lack of availability of land was an important consideration because land provided the economic security needed before establishing a family. Thus, economic consideration once again reinforced the idea that any study of the settlement process should consider other factors.

The idea of regions as emerging cores and frontiers within the provincial population structure has been addressed by Clarke, Taylor and Wightman (1978). Using census and provincial data, the authors (1978, 27) study 'the spatial structure of expanding population systems' in decennial years from 1831 to 1891. By mapping three variables: population density, the percentage change in absolute numbers and the relative growth compared to the total system growth, the authors were able to identify the advancing frontier. The role of the Reserved Lands, the Canada Land Company and land speculation were seen as important factors. The increase in city size within the core accompanied the advancing frontier. Between these two, another region developed. This was probably influenced by migration to urban areas, newly opened areas of northern Ontario and Western Canada and in the United States.

Darroch and Ornstein (1983) focus on co-residence. Co-residence was defined as households which were shared by two or more unrelated families and marital units (Darroch and

Ornstein: 1983, 30). They come to the conclusion that co-residence in Canada in 1871 was much more complex and prevalent than hitherto assumed. Cross-Canada differences showed that the Maritimes had more cases of family co-residence than the rest of the country. Rural households were less likely to be multiple households than their urban counterparts. Lack of housing and the need to care for people in dire straits were seen to influence the composition of these households. However, other patterns emerged that suggested that the above two factors were not sufficient explanatory variables. People of common ethnic origins were found to reside with one another, implying strong social networks. Co-resident families included members of all occupational groups and at all stages of the family life-cycle, implying that these specific variables were not important.

Occupational groups are considered in a different yet significant light in another study by Darroch and Ornstein (1980). They attempt to study social stratification within Canada, using a sample from the 1871 Census of Canada. They found no difference between major religious groups and occupational status except for the ethnic sub-group of Irish Catholics who were distinctly urban labourers. These results suggest that any cleavage between groups was not as large as has been thought. To Darroch and Ornstein it suggests that these groups as a whole have achieved, to some degree, what

sociologists call 'institutional completeness' though the authors admit the strength of this can vary across communities.

Clarke and Skof (1985) describe how place of origin, religion, age, size of family and occupation can be related to ethnic origin in the Ontario of 1851. The authors found that religion and origin produced strong co-relationships. For example, most of the French were Roman Catholic. The Americans were found to be the oldest, mostly labourers and with small families. The Scottish were similar to the Americans yet differed in terms of religious affiliation. The Irish, in general, were similar to the French in terms of age, religion, family size and occupation; yet, differences were noted because a proportion of the Irish population were members of other denominations. The English had smaller families, worked as skilled professionals and were mostly Anglican. This was suggestive of various forces at work including the timing of emigration.

To this point, the literature supports the notion that settlement in southern Ontario was affected by a number of factors and was driven by no single force. It was governed by colonial land policy which directed settlement to areas that had been opened up. It was affected by changing rules which made the acquisition of land more difficult at some times more than others. In the final analysis, government policy sought to promote the operation of a land market by the

institutionalization of a land policy. Differential land prices would encourage or retard immigrant settlement. In relative terms, the role of government and economics has received considerable treatment. In contrast, the social factor has not received the same treatment, although Clarke and Brunger have contributed with their work on propinquity and ethnicity, as have Darroch and Ornstein in their work on co-residence and occupational structure.

Implied in this work on the social component on the settlement process, is the role that marriage can play, in building community, in the transfer of land and in social relations.

2.4 A Literature Review of Selected Aspects of Marriage

This review is limited to those areas of study relating to marriage that should be of interest to historical geographers and historians in general: "marriage distance", age at marriage, and the seasonality of marriage. Unlike the literature reviewed above, the geographical and temporal scopes of these works are broader because the literature on these subjects in Ontario is rather thin. They will, however, illustrate that any aspect of marriage can vary due to local circumstances and vary across time as well.

Additionally, as seen in chapter one, marriage can illuminate a variety of other topics including migration, fertility, political alliances and land transference in the study of past societies. Only the three mentioned above,

marriage distance, age at marriage and seasonality of marriage, will be addressed here.

The role of geographical distance in mate selection was first examined by sociologists who focused on urban areas. Brossard (1932) in his introductory work, used 5000 consecutive marriage licences in Philadelphia and found two-thirds of marriage participants lived within twenty blocks of one another. He admitted that his tabulation and cumulative percentage technique were very simple. However, it was adequate for its purpose which was to introduce the role of what Brossard and other sociologists would call residential propinquity. Using Brossard's techniques, Davies and Reeves (1944) performed a similar study in New Haven, Connecticut. They used 935 marriage licences from 1931. Their study produced similar results, but also dealt with the relationship between propinquity and residence. Using a simple cross-tabulation of marriages within what they describe as "ecological areas", the authors note that marriages among the foreign-born, mixed nativity, or the native-born tended to show distinct spatial patterns. In Duluth, the work of Marches and Turberville (1952) showed similar results except that the rate of decline of marriage with distance was not as pronounced. The authors used the Spearman rank-correlation method on Brossard's results and their own, producing a statistically significant value of 0.78 (Marches and Turberville: 1952, 544). The authors believe that population

density and increased mobility due to national, military and industrial emergencies, following upon the Second World War, may explain the slightly different results.

Studies pertaining to the rural United States were also produced. McClusky and Zander (1940) looked at Branch County, Michigan between 1927 and 1937. They aspired to compare their results to Brossard's but found that his distance classification was too small for a pre-dominantly rural county. Adjusting the distance measures for differing circumstances, they found that within four distance categories, Brossard's distance-decay relationship held. The Depression and liberal marriage laws which raised the overall number of marriages in the adjacent state of Indiana were thought to influence the results. For instance, the more liberal marriage laws in Indiana encouraged people to travel there to get married. Mitchell (1941) compared marriage distance values for Carver and Scott counties in Minnesota with the aforementioned Branch County, Michigan. A difference of means test showed no difference between the two Minnesota counties, but differences did appear between Michigan and Minnesota. Proximity to a major metropolitan area was one suggested explanation for the difference.

Sociologists have done less research on non-Western societies in terms of residential propinquity. Korson (1968) studied residential propinquity in Karachi, Pakistan for the time period of 1961-1964. He questioned the role of

residential propinquity in a society where marriage is arranged, usually involving no pre-marriage contact between the bride and groom. Korson's study differed from the others in two respects. When tabulating distance, he did not use equal class intervals. He divided the couples into three income classes: low, middle and upper, based upon building lot size. Through cumulative percentages he showed that his distance distribution was similar to that of Brossard, Davies and Reeves at a distance of two miles. In terms of social class, the lower the social class, the greater the propinquity. He explained this in terms of the negotiating of marriage contracts in Muslim societies. The lower class cannot afford the cost of travel and entertainment that is essential for arranging distant contacts. The upper class, and to a lesser degree the middle class, can afford these and have added benefits of access to better transportation and communication means such as telephones and automobiles. This would explain the higher percentage of out-of-city marriage distances. Cultural tradition also helps to explain the high percentage of same-address marriages among the upper class in terms of their maintaining patrilocal residences.

In the geographic literature, residential propinquity studies have focused on the use of distance decay functions to construct mean information fields. Mean information fields are individual information fields considered collectively. Aggregated to the group level, mean information fields show

the probability of movement based upon distance or rate of adoption for a particular phenomenon. Such fields result from a certain regularity in the spatial pattern of movement (Morrill and Pitts: 1967, 405). Morrill and Pitts (1967) reviewed a number of studies in which migration and marriage distances were fitted to three theoretical models. Each model is simple to understand because distance is the only factor considered in influencing the field of interaction. Areas studied included: Cleveland, Cedar Rapids and Seattle in the United States; Asby, Sweden and Kagawa, Japan. Morrill's (1967: 401) studies of Kagawa, Asby and Seattle used marriage distance values while the other areas were considered in terms of migration and day-to-day contact. The authors conclude that depending on the type of movement, different models would be more appropriate. The Pareto function, based on the gravity model, was found to be best suited for contacts not involving permanent or costly moves. It is more appropriate for movements that have some purpose behind them. To the authors, the Pareto function showed a measure of attractiveness over various sets of distances. Exponential functions proved more useful in determining migration and marriage distances. They were more useful for movements that occurred "accidentally" because successive movements were correlated with length and direction. Using the same model, Shannon and Nysten (1976) demonstrated that marriage distance was a better descriptor of the location of urban social contacts in Detroit, Michigan.

Coleman and Haskey (1986) studied marriage distances in England and Wales for 1979. Among the factors considered were prior living arrangements, age, social class and the "direction" of marriage. The first three factors are self-explanatory. The direction of marriage can be considered for large marriage distances because marriages occur in relation to population density which may be distributed in a particular direction. Over one-half of all the marriage distances were found to be within three miles of the residence of the bride and groom. Distances varied from one social class to another. Social class was defined by the husband's occupation. Marriages among the higher social class showed the largest marital distance between partners (Coleman and Haskey: 1986, 337). In terms of the age of first marriage, marriage distance was found to rise to age 30, remain stable between 30 and 40 and decrease after age 40. The Raleigh test of uniformity was used to test for preferred direction of marriages. The Raleigh test is a likelihood ratio test (Coleman and Haskey: 1986, 342). The null hypothesis for this test is that angles subtended in paired observations within a sample, in this case marriage directions, are uniformly distributed around a circle. A preferred direction is suggested when angles are clustered around a mean angle (Coleman and Haskey: 1986, 350). A north-west tendency was shown for the larger marriage distances. No preference was shown for shorter distances of less than 10 miles. The latter suggests the role of population

density in mate selection, the probability of obtaining a spouse being directly related to it. For some, distance to marriage was found to be zero which was interpreted in terms of modern views of cohabitation.

In a historical context, Perry (1969) studied marriage distances in 27 parishes in West Dorset between 1837 and 1936. Other characteristics studied included rural isolation and the mobility of the rural class. The number of intra-parochial marriages was used as an index of isolation. Distance and direction of marriage of the extra-parochial marriages were used as an indices of mobility. Within the overall time frame, the period up to 1886 was distinct. Using step-wise regression, the author correlated the percentage of intra-parochial working class marriages to variables describing total population, regional setting, literacy pattern, pattern of settlement, distance from the nearest road, railway station and town and finally proximity to other parishes. The most reliable indicator was regional setting, a dichotomous variable based on the type of agriculture in a parish, classified either as a "vale" or "chalk" parish. Of the remaining seven variables, only distance to road and pattern of settlement were not statistically significant when appropriate substitutions were made in the equation (Perry: 1969, 128). Upon examination of the residuals, differences could be explained in terms of local peculiarities in communications, topography and parochial boundaries (Perry:

1969, 129). Extra-parochial marriages in this time period were analyzed in terms of two linear relationships by partitioning the cases at a critical value of four miles which Perry describes as the average distance a person walks to work and back home in a given day. This differs from other studies which transform the leptokurtic curve to produce a linear relationship. The period following 1886 showed a radical change in distance values. Perry, in part, uses improvements in transportation, especially the introduction of the bicycle, to explain his shorter distance values.

In Ontario there are few studies known of the effects of distance upon the selection of marriage partners. Population density may have influenced marriage distances amongst the larger religious denominations in Lanark County (Buffone:1990, 23). The influence of the circuit riders among the Methodists could be seen in cartographic distributions of place of residence of the spouse. Economic factors such as the extension of the railway into the northern portions of the county may explain the northward shift in the direction of marriage.

These studies in residential propinquity show that physical distance is an important factor in finding a marriage partner, but they also show that it should not be considered on its own, because other factors, mainly social and demographic, influence mate selection regardless of time period or geographic locale.

Another aspect of the study of marriage is the age at which marriage took place. It is helpful in gaining insight into family formation and fertility. For instance, the longer a woman remains single, the lower her sanctioned reproduction is, as procreation in most societies is legitimized by marriage. Hajnal (1965) describes age of marriage in terms of "European" and "non-European" pattern. The "European" marriage pattern is defined by two characteristics: a high age at first marriage and a high proportion of people who never marry at all. It can be traced at least as far back as the seventeenth century (Hajnal: 1965, 134). Its origins would then lie in the sixteenth century, which implies to Hajnal that industrialization and modernization played no role in creating the two patterns. Evidence from the Middle Ages and the ancient world showed the "non-European" pattern, characterized by: a low age at marriage and few people remaining single in the group aged 40-49. Hajnal's results are produced from a comprehensive descriptive analysis of a variety of records from tombstones in Ancient Rome to English Poll Tax Returns of 1377 through to twentieth century national censuses. To aid his descriptive analysis in countries with no system for registering marriages, Hajnal (1965, 108) used the "singulate mean age at marriage" to produce a value for age at first marriage. This indirect measurement is based on the proportion of the population that is single in consecutive age cohorts - usually 20-24 and 25-29 years of age. The proportion

who never married is measured by the proportion who remained single aged 40-44 compared to all individuals aged 40-44. Using this method, the age at marriage method for women in countries within the "European" pattern was at least 23 and usually above 24 (Hajnal: 1965, 108). Hajnal's analysis for the difference in the age at marriage patterns focused upon the influence of sex ratios, migration, laws concerning marriage and land inheritance systems.

Dixon (1971) studied 57 countries around 1960 using Hajnal's methods. She concludes that the distinction between "European" and "non-European" (she uses the term traditional for "non-European") is still apparent for females but not for males. Using step-wise regression, she finds that the feasibility and desirability of marriage explains most of the variance in marriage age patterns. Feasibility is measured in terms of the financial and residential independence of the newlyweds and by the availability of resources, land, savings and income, for meeting these obligations (Dixon: 1971, 222). Desirability is measured by the availability of social and institutional alternatives to marriage and childbearing. For instance, if a society had penalties for people who did not get married, the age at marriage was found to be low. A third variable considered was the availability of mates, measured by the sex ratio, but this proved to have little significance in the regression equation. Both Hajnal and Dixon discuss the nature of the data used at a global scale and noted that such

data should be handled carefully, considering the broad scale and temporal factors.

In terms of Canada, Gee (1982) used Hajnal's "singulate mean age at marriage" formula to study marriage in the nineteenth century. She uses the censuses of 1851, 1861, 1871, 1881 and 1891 as her data source and concludes that Canada showed a "European" pattern in the nineteenth century. Economic factors, migration and sex ratios were seen to influence this pattern. Gee also studied this phenomenon at the regional level and found a distinct east-west difference. The western Canadian provinces exhibited a "non-European" pattern as opposed to the eastern provinces with their "European" pattern. These differences were explained in terms of the cultural origin of the settlers and the availability of land. For instance, the west was settled primarily by people whose countries of origin exhibited "non-European" marriage patterns themselves.

The age at which people marry may be seen to be indicative of various components of the settlement process even at these broad spatial scales. In the present work, the age at which people marry in Ontario will be addressed, keeping in mind that other factors must be considered when attempting to interpret this measure.

Another aspect of marriage that should be of interest to historical geographers is its seasonality. The choice of when a couple wishes to have their marriage ceremony solemnized can

be indicative of the social and economic composition of an area. The main focus of most studies of seasonality has been the effect of religion and/or the economy on the temporal distribution of marriages. The method usually utilized is counts of monthly frequency. These may or may not be standardised. Bradley (1972) suggests three main components to interpreting marriage seasonality: fundamental, localised and accidental. Fundamental factors include seasonal labour demands and dominant church doctrines for discouraging marriages. Regional differences may result from local factors such as local customs and specific labour practices. "Accidental" factors are used by Bradley to account for anomalies in marriage patterns. These may be of interest to the local historian, as Bradley suggests, but it may be prudish on his part to dismiss them as usually having no demographic significance. These 'accidental' patterns may be of greater significance because of their uniqueness and reasons for occurring. In dealing with marriage, Lent as a period of avoidance for marriage seems to have been observed for the parishes in his study. The second period of avoidance, Rogation, occurring in May did not seem to produce the same level of adherence. Finally, during Hilary, occurring in December and early January, there seem to be no adherence at all. Actually, during some periods, January was the most popular month of all. Two patterns were observed: marked peaks in particular decades and in particular parishes during the

mid-seventeenth century in the months of March and September. Bradley suggests studying the religious histories of these parishes at the relevant times. Similar peaks during the next century may be related to unsuccessful attempts to have these prohibited periods abolished. The common trend of summer avoidance is found but Bradley questions if there is any direct link with the role of agricultural labour practices.

Edwards (1972) studied marriage seasonality in Shropshire parishes from 1761-1810. He noted that the avoidance of marriage in Lent was strong until the early years of the nineteenth century. The degree of avoidance appeared to be related to the size of the parish and if there was an urban area involved, in this case the market town of Wem. He mentions that these results conform with those for other English parishes. Yet another time for discouraging marriages established by the Church was two weeks in May between Rogation and Trinity but curiously this is when the highest indexes were found by Edwards (1972, 25). Other studies suggest to Edwards that there may be a more regional explanation to this pattern than the purely ecclesiastical. In this case, the Shropshire May fairs may have contributed to higher levels of marriage by encouraging further contact between people. Finally, the prohibited time period surrounding Christmas, showed no adherence at all. The summer months showed the recognized trend of avoidance, usually associated with agricultural labour practices; there was, once

again, evidence to suggest this was also related to parish size. Thus local factors as well as larger regional, for instance agricultural makeup, are of importance.

Seasonal variation in marriages was also shown by Fisher (1980) who studied the marriage market of the Soviet Union and Russia. Using monthly frequency distributions he demonstrated that the harvest season and various religious beliefs of Russians (including Russian Orthodox, Jewish and Muslim people) had various effects on the timing of marriage. In the period prior to the Revolution, the pattern was typically rural. From a religious point of view, since the timing of Passover is important for both the Orthodox and Jewish people, avoidance of marriage was marked was found during this period. Increases in urbanization and promotion of state propaganda were seen to influence patterns, especially after the observed change of marriages from the winter to the summer months. Fisher believes that the inclusion of Central Asian Moslems Republics might have affected the pattern, it would show a different pattern during these periods. The Muslim period of fasting; Ramadhan, can vary from one year to the next, unlike those of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches. Ramadhan did not exert any measurable effect whatsoever on the overall seasonality of marriage. It would have been interesting to know what proportion of the Soviet population was Moslem at this time. However, Fisher does recognize that there are regional differences and for the two areas for which he has

data, Ukraine and Byelorussia, he found such differences. He speculates that the cultural significance of Easter is stronger in the Ukraine than in the more Russian dominated area of Byelorussia. Generally, the effect of religion on marriage timing is less prominent in the latter than the former. However, are lasting vestiges in both areas, stronger in Ukraine than in Byelorussia, despite the 'propagation of atheism' from the state. People may also have married at certain times because of regulations concerning residence, especially for students in university who wanted to remain in Moscow. Another consideration for students was not to get married during the examination period in May. Thus, it can be seen that in the Soviet Union, a combination of factors must be considered.

The role of the state on the timing of marriage is described by Houillard (1977) in his work dealing with the timing of marriage during the French Revolution. The actions of the new revolutionary government against the established Roman Catholic church were seen to greatly affect the number of marriages before, during and after the Revolution. The method used once again was a monthly standardized frequency count of the number of marriages. The authors also provide a regional distribution of the data. The Paris Basin, the area most affected by dechristianization, showed the highest increase in the index of marriage seasonality. The more traditional area of France, such as Brittany, showed a lower

index. Houillard also looked at the role of folklore in attempting to interpret low incidence in August and May going back to ancient periods. His interesting observation, that the French managed to maintain their marriage patterns even during the persecutions of the Roman Catholic clergy is significant, as it may be indicative of public attitudes towards the new regime. Once again, there were regional differences.

The role of the harvest season is not scrutinised at all in these articles. Gunn (1990), in an intriguing article, compares the behaviour of immigrants before and after their arrival in Van Diemen's Land. He tries to connect the seasonality of marriage to agricultural productivity cycles. He determines production cycles by factor analyzing produce prices and finds three types of agricultural cycles. By examining orthogonal plots of the factors to find clusters, he explains seasonality of marriage in terms of the land use associated with each of the various clusters. A calendrical reversal pattern of marriages over that in the British Isles was observed. This meant that maintenance of the seasonal pattern was being preserved, suggesting to the author that the difference can only be attributed to changes in the productivity cycle. For instance, where wheat was the predominant crop, there was marriage avoidance in summer because of the harvest, and in late winter and early spring, because of ploughing and seeding. When wheat growing was combined with sheep herding, the nuptiality pattern was less marked with

shearing accounting for some early spring avoidance.

The only work done by a geographer on seasonality is by Zelinsky (1994). He utilized marriage registers and vital statistics for the states and provinces of the United States and Canada respectively from 1844. He first develops a six tier typology in which the gradual shift of marriages from the fall-early winter months to the summer becomes apparent. This change appears regularly down to 1890 but had disappeared by 1960. Unlike other researchers, Zelinsky looked at the day of the week and found another similar shift. Fall-early winter marriages showed marriages occurring during the week as opposed to the emerging shift to weekend weddings. Zelinsky also notes, with the exception of Valentine's Day, that the twentieth century has seen the general avoidance of church and national holidays as days for marriage. The change can be due to the fact that there is more leisure time from work and/or school, and also summer is a pleasant time to go on a honeymoon. The nature of work has also been changed to a weekly format as opposed to an agricultural time frame. At the regional scale, the Fall-early winter pattern lasted longest in the Southeastern and Southwestern States, the Prairies and the Maritimes (Zelinsky: 1994, 142). This suggests to Zelinsky that these areas would hold on to their traditions longer because they were the least-developed economically, mostly agricultural and less urbanized. The regional component for the summer patterns show parallels to the spread of

socioeconomic development in a classical diffusion manner starting from the northeast, then moving westward. The only exceptions were Florida and British Columbia which showed this behaviour sooner than other states and provinces. No possible explanations for this are given. Why August becomes popular is not evident to Zelinsky who notes that there is no clear spatial pattern to the phenomenon. September's popularity seems to be entrenched in areas in which it first appeared for fifty years, only to have disappeared by the 1970s. Reasons for this eludes Zelinsky who questions if the people were even aware of the pattern.

Zelinsky then looks at various factors which may help to interpret such patterns. The role and change in mass communications including etiquette books, television, movies, phonographic records and contemporary bridal magazines did not seem to produce any hints of popularizing certain time periods. He recognized that the commercialization of weddings, and the planning and financial stakes involved can be considered, but not at this spatial level. Zelinsky concludes that the shift of society from what he calls the Early Modern period to the Advanced period, with the changes that occur at a societal and economic level, will produce a shift in the timing of marriage but not at a uniform rate across North America. The role of ethnicity or religion was not considered but given his broad scale of study this is understandable. His major contribution is his observance of the days of the week

at which weddings were performed.

Seasonality of marriage can be useful to studying the settlement process because of the role that clergy and community can play. Though the concept has not been studied in a rigorous manner, except for Gunn's work (1990), it is surprising that no attempt has been made to see if religious avoidance of certain months will differ among different ethnic groups sharing the same religion. For instance, would co-religionists such as the French and Irish Roman Catholics in Ontario show the same pattern in seasonality considering the different settlement histories of each group? If there are differences, why might this be?

Several ideas mentioned above have been addressed by Richard (1991) in her book concerning marital choices and assimilation among cultural groups in Canada for 1871 and 1971. She provides a comprehensive summary of the literature on assimilation and other structural components of intermarriage. She distils the following characteristics for the American literature: racial intermarriage occurs least frequently, ethnic intermarriage occurs more frequently than religious intermarriage though the latter shows high rates as well. The relative size of the group is inversely related to its rate of intermarriage except for those of Jewish background. Intermarriage increases with succeeding generations usually peaking at the third generation. People with higher occupational attainment, an additional indicator

of status, and those with 'unconventional' occupations such as actors and musicians show high intermarriage rates. In terms of birth order, the youngest in a family is most likely to marry outside it; the older are less likely.

As noted by Richard, American studies of intermarriage are hindered by the fact that most of the sources do not contain variables on ethnic origin or religion. A survey of the much smaller Canadian literature shows similar results mentioned in the previous paragraph. Exogamy increased in the twentieth century. Jews consistently showed the lowest intermarriage rates while Scandinavians, Germans and the Dutch showed the highest. Ethnic intermarriage occurred more than marriages across religious affiliations and birthplace. Size of group, sex ratio, regional concentrations and residential segregation showed negative statistical associations while education, occupation, income and urban residence showed positive associations. Richard concludes from this that Canada has a single 'melting pot' as opposed to the United States triple 'melting pot'.

Though she considers such factors as sex ratio, population density, propinquity, age and settlement history in her study of the characteristics of intermarriage in both time periods, the strength of her research lies in the idea that ethnicity and religion should not be considered as separate entities. The two are invariably linked and as previously mentioned, different ethnic groups may share the same religion

but that does not mean they will behave in the same way. Once again are Irish Catholics different from French Catholics? Richard believes that different ethnic-religious combinations may provide more insight into studying assimilation but that also other religious combinations within ethnic groups should be considered beyond those popularly studied. For example, English Anglicans are usually studied but why are not English Methodists?

The scale of her work is national with propinquity measured at the county level. She does some preliminary cross-tabulations of various social variables to see if any patterns result in terms of the factors mentioned above which may affect mate selection. She concludes that the English were the most desirable group if anyone thought to improve their lot by marrying 'up' because of their higher occupational status, literacy rates and predominantly Anglican religion.

In terms of marriage, she starts with those between ethnic groups only and finds an overall endogamous rate of 82 percent with the French and the Irish showing the highest rates. Broken down by nativity, the native-born French show the highest rates of all. Richard (1991, 109) also claims the English rated high but they have the same rate as the Irish native-born and do not lag too far behind the Scottish or Germans. Endogamy was highest for the foreign-born except for the French and English whose native-born endogamy rate was seen to be higher; however, one has to be careful because the

sample size for the foreign-born French was small ($n = 14$). At the same time, Richard's study is Canada wide and the French could find spouses in Quebec. It would be interesting to know where these individuals were at this time to see what choices could be made. Richard's next step was to do the same cross-tabulation using the following well known ethnic and religious combinations: English Anglican, Irish Catholic, French Catholic, Scottish Presbyterian and German Lutheran (Richard: 1991, 116). This resulted in higher endogamous rates except for the English Anglicans. The native-born Scottish Presbyterians also had the highest rates while the German Lutherans had the highest among the foreign-born. Thus combining ethnicity and religion has an overall dampening effect on the intermarriage rate.

A further breakdown of the data shows that when outmarrying occurred, the largest move was to find someone of similar religion, especially among the three British ethno-religious groupings. Richard shows that a large number of husbands did not seemingly care about ethnicity or religion; she makes no comments on wives. A cross-tabulation by native-born and foreign-born showed results following the same general order implying nativity does not play a role though the table is not given because the sample size is small (Richard: 1991, 120). This further supports Richard conclusion that Canada has been a single melting pot.

Spearman's rank order correlation was used to see how

strong certain factors were with propensities for ethnic intermarriage. Occupational status had no relationship with ethnic intermarriage. Richard (1991: 132) concludes this may mean that in the nineteenth century occupational mobility was more fluid than today. If seen as a measure of status a similar conclusion may be drawn. The highest correlation coefficient (Rho) was for group size (the percentage of the ethnic group within the whole province) at -0.77 which means the larger the group size, the less likely husbands would look elsewhere for a wife. This is supported further by the fact that the two largest groups, the Irish and French, had the lowest rates of outmarriage as described above. The next highest value was -0.61 with percentage urban. Richard mentions that this runs contrary to other findings in other research which suggests outmarriage is more likely in a urban area. This might mean that the urban system had not fully emerged at that time but was still in an embryonic state and that the population of Ontario was still predominantly rural (77.73 percent, see Table 3.1). Her coefficients for residential segregation, percentage native-born, percentage ethnic religion, sex ratio (the only variable with a positive association) and percentage illiterate suggest other influences. However, low coefficients of -0.37 to +0.16 put these interpretations in doubt. Furthermore, the sample size is unknown and thus the validity of the results is uncertain.

It is necessary to recall that the above analysis was

performed on aggregated ethnic group statistics. Richard then proceeds to use logit regression on her data. Logit regression uses dichotomous independent variables. The dependent variable was the linear transformation of the odds of marrying out from one's ethnic group. The independents were: age (>65 or 15-24); nativity (native or foreign born); residence (urban or rural) and literacy (literate - reading and writing or illiterate). Literacy showed the highest effect, native-born was next and finally residence. The correlations were all positive. This supports what is found in the wider literature though these results did not figure highly, if at all, with studies at the group level. Age showed no influence at all. This result prompted the author to redefine her age variable in hopes of testing the idea that older people were more conservative. These produced the following results: native-born intermarriage was high and for the foreign-born, literacy increased the odds of outmarrying especially with the older members of this group.

To see if assimilation actually occurred, Richard (1991, 138) studied men who married women of British or French origin. In general, most exogamous marriages were to English brides which might be likely if the English are considered the most attractive group. Native-born Germans and men of 'Other' ethnic backgrounds had high rates of exogamy. Though the Irish, Scottish and French had themselves high rates but though similar to marriages to Irish wives, among French and

Scottish husbands. The former may result from religious similarities while the latter might result from ethnic similarities. The foreign-born, especially those of German and Irish origin, also favoured English brides. Interestingly, foreign-born Scottish were just as likely to outmarry as their native-born brethren. French brides were not generally popular, except with native-born Germans, suggesting these Germans may be Catholic (Richard:1991, 145) or perhaps from Alsace (Johnson:1946, 300). Considering that the sample size is small, Richard could have checked her inferences on religion by actually referring back to the census to determine the actual religion of the husband. From a geographical point of view, an analysis of where these people were located might help in the interpretation. For instance, if the Germans who married French wives were in the Waterloo area of Ontario, then this pattern may be explained by the immigration patterns to this area.

Richard's study provides an overall summary of the study of intermarriage within the context of assimilation, though it should be kept in mind that the results reported here are for 1871 only and are at the national level.

2.5 Conclusion in Light of the Literature and of Richard's Work in Particular

The focus of this present work is on the southern portion of the province of Ontario. Nonetheless, benefits accrue from positioning Ontario with respect to Canada as a whole. The work mirrors that of Richard in its structure and

objectives although modifications have been introduced to suit the particular characteristics of Ontario. And consideration is given to the concept of seasonality because of its intrinsic interest.

Like Richard's work, the themes studied include: ethnic intermarriage, propensity for intermarriage, ethno-religious intermarriage and the possible effects of certain variables on these patterns. Further insight may be gained by the cartographic representation of intermarriage and the graphical presentation of the seasonality of intermarriage which in addition to its inherent interest, bears upon ideas of cultural and religious maintenance in terms of adherence to cultural "norms" and religious adherence.

It is surprising that two large religious denominations were excluded from Richard's study, the Methodists and the Baptists. These two groups have had as significant a role as other groups studied by Richard within the history of Ontario - not to mention Canada. For instance, consider the dispute between the Anglican Church and other religious denominations to gain the right to solemnize marriages (Riddell:1921, 232). When discussing to whom people are outmarrying, all groups should also be considered. By 1871, Methodism was establishing churches of its own even though the circuits were still in use indicating that, as a Church, it had expanded to the level of being one of the largest denominations of the day (Grant:1988, 224). Since this is a major omission, in this author's opinion, this thesis addresses the notion of observing how

many people chose these groups as opposed to the more 'established' churches of Anglicanism, Roman Catholicism and Presbyterianism. Also by looking at the province of Ontario as opposed to Richard's national focus, the province of Quebec is removed from this study. Its inclusion may have exaggerated any statistical associations because of its dominantly French Catholic culture. The role of Quebec within the Canadian Confederation cannot be denied but the role of areas outside Quebec populated by French Canadians is just as important, especially in the context of cultural maintenance. There are French communities in Ontario, with varying histories, from the older settlements in Essex County and Penatanguishene to the more recently settled areas of Eastern Ontario. Their patterns may prove interesting to observe. Finally, the other difference, related to the above, is the sampling procedure. Whereas Richard's data were randomly selected from the 1871 Census, this thesis will take information only from those individuals who answered the question "Were you married in the previous year" on Schedule 1 of the 1871 census. This is thought to give a clearer indication, at one point in time, as to who is marrying whom. Finally, the emphasis here is on the spatial as well as the sociological. This work is exploratory rather than narrowly scientific.

Chapter 3

Sources and Definition of Data

3.1 Introduction

This third chapter will discuss the primary data source used in this study of intermarriage in post-Confederation Ontario. How the data were collected, organized and compared to other potential sources will also be addressed. The chapter also provides definitions of the primary variables used in this study of intermarriage.

3.2 Sources

The primary source of data for this study was the enumeration returns of the 1871 Census of Canada for the southern portion of the province of Ontario. These are found on 135 microfilm reels sequentially numbered from C-9888 TO C-10023 at the National Archives of Canada (Tillman: 1987). Two major reasons influenced this choice. The first was that this census is considered to be the best preserved of the nineteenth century censuses (Hillman: 1987, ix). The second consideration stems from the fact that it allowed for direct comparisons with Richard's work but at the provincial scale.

Using the same source allowed for easier comparison of intermarriage rates across the province. The difference lay with the sampling procedure. Richards' sample was derived from a data set used within the context of the Canadian Historical Mobility Project conducted by Darroch and Ornstein (Richards,

1991, 11). The number of households randomly selected was based on the proportion of the townships in the population as a whole.

The sample used for this project is more specific to the questions being addressed about intermarriage than those collected by Richard. The information was obtained from the first of nine schedules of the 1871 census which focused primarily on the personal characteristics of individuals. Within the first schedule of the census, a question directed at those who indicate that they are married asks: "Were you married in the previous year?" (1871 Census of Canada, Manual for Instructions, 22). If there was a positive response, other personal information available in Schedule One was then transcribed. The data recorded included ethnic origin, religion, birthplace, age, and the literacy of the spouses. In most cases, the month of the marriage ceremony was given with even a few instances where the actual date was recorded. In the remaining cases, a slash, a checkmark or the word 'yes' indicated newly-married couples, hitherto referred to as newlyweds even though they may have been married for over a year. For these responses an adequate sample ($n = 6451$) was obtained to analyze intermarriage, cross-sectionally across southern Ontario. Figure 3.1. provides an example of a copy of the schedule from which the data were drawn. This was taken from the Township of Williamsburg along the St. Lawrence River

(NAC: 1871 Census of Canada, microfilm C-10006). On lines 8 and 9, it is seen that Arthur and Martha Curley were married in November. Arthur is seen to be a farmer who is 21, born in Ontario and a Roman Catholic of Irish ethnic background. His wife Martha, is 25, a Wesleyan Methodist of German background. From the column dealing with instruction (columns 17, 18 and 19) which only applies to those aged 20 and over, both Arthur and Martha appear to be literate.

Though this may not be spatially representative compared to Richard's sample, the procedure used in this study is more appropriate to the substantive understanding of intermarriage as these couples have indicated their choice to marry was made in 1870 or 1871. These couples would provide more accurate insights into intermarriage unlike those in Richard's sample because her couples may have been married one, five, ten years previously. The data obtained were also checked for accuracy in some cases, using the computerized 1871 census produced by the Ontario Genealogical Society (OGS) in conjunction with the National Archives of Canada. This check occurred if either of the spouses was the "head" of the household or a "stray" or non-member, within a household. These were the criteria used by the OGS in producing their useful genealogical reference. It should also be observed that even though the question (on being newlyweds) was asked during enumeration, these data were not tabulated in the published volumes of the 1871 census.

The data set differs from Richard's for other reasons.

For example, it does not contain all the marriages solemnized within the previous year. The census was taken in early April of 1871 in most parts of Ontario and the question asked if they had been married in the "previous" twelve months. In some instances, it was evident that some enumerators and/or respondents assumed the "previous year" in the question to go as far back as January 1870. Newlyweds may have migrated from their townships to the United States or out west and thus were gone when the enumerators visited. Migration further complicated matters considering some of the foreign-born newlyweds may have been married outside Ontario. Their mate choices would then be influenced by factors in their country of origin as opposed to those in Ontario. In Schedule 2, the enumeration of the dead, the same question concerning marital status was asked about the deceased. These individuals (n = 33) were also included in the sample when their widows or widowers could be located in the first schedule. Spouses, living alone at the time of enumeration were also included. They may have been alone for various reasons including: employment outside their home, visiting friends or family and maybe wife abandonment. Due to the inclusion of these two latter two groups, the totals in cross-tabulations that follow in the subsequent analysis may not always be equal. Table 3.1 shows how representative the data set is for southern Ontario. It is quite comparable to the 1871 Census except for the underrepresentation of Roman Catholics and the

Table 3.1. Percentage of selected variables in the Aggregate Census and in the Sample of Newly-Married.

Variable	1871 Census of Canada: Southern Ontario		Sample of Newly-Married ¹	
	n	Percent	n	Percent
Age²				
16-21	174630	19.52	2275	17.94
21-31	259805	29.05	8364	65.94
31-41	175683	19.64	1372	10.82
41-51	127161	14.22	377	2.97
51-61	82748	9.25	153	1.21
61-71	48502	5.42	54	0.43
71-81	20486	2.29	17	0.13
81-91	4828	0.54	0	0.00
>91	598	.07	0	0.00
Total	894441	100.00	12684	100.00
Ethnicity³				
English & Welsh	437808	27.19	3837	30.57
Irish	558042	34.65	4046	32.23
Scottish	327816	20.36	2465	19.64
French	73861	4.59	626	4.99
German	158252	9.83	1168	9.31
Dutch	19924	1.24	175	1.39
African	13420	0.83	69	0.55
Other	21250	1.31	93	0.74
Total	1610373	100.00	12552	100.00
Religion⁴				
Roman Catholic	265242	16.47	1564	12.47
Anglican	326037	20.25	2614	20.85
Methodist	460851	28.62	4245	33.85
Presbyterian	353779	21.97	2775	22.13
Baptist	101951	6.33	582	4.64
Lutheran	32131	2.00	234	1.87
Other	70383	4.37	453	3.61
Total	1610373	100.00	12540	100.00
Residence⁵				
Rural	1256190	78.01	9640	77.73
Urban	354183	22.99	2762	22.27
Total	1610373	100.00	12402	100.00

¹ Computations of the Author, *1871 Census of Canada*

² *1871 Census of Canada, Vol. 2, Table 2*

³ *1871 Census of Canada, Vol. 1, Table 3*

⁴ *1871 Census of Canada, Vol. 1, Table 2*

⁵ *1871 Census of Canada, Vol. 2, Table 2*

overrepresentation of Presbyterians, but these differences do not appear to be significant. The younger age categories are most highly skewed, especially for the population aged 21-31. This is not an unexpected occurrence since it is in these cohorts in which most marriages occur.

A better indicator of the number of newlyweds would have been the civil registration carried out by the government under new legislation enacted in 1869 (Emery: 1983, 468). As Emery points out, in the nineteenth century, there were many problems with the registration of vital events including marriages. Administrative problems with regards to registrars having more than one position and being paid small amounts led to low morale and a lackadaisical attitude towards their civil registration duties. For instance, the Registrar-General noted how county registrars submitted returns from the municipal registrars without correction (Emery:1993, 32). Correction was necessary because of the possibility of errors being made at various levels of transcription. In the County of Brant, some marriage notices came on small slips of defective paper, with no explanatory letter. This made the local registrar wonder how easy it would be for someone to provide false information or even to play a practical joke (Emery: 1993: 32). Emery also notes that only two-thirds of marriages were recorded in 1870 and that the quality of the information varied across the province. Changes were made in 1875 to the registration system but these were too late for any consideration in this study.

Although the Public Archives of Ontario has produced a computerized reference configured by the name of the bride and groom and place of marriage, it is unfortunate, in terms of this study, that it begins four years after the date on which this study is based.

Nevertheless, an attempt was made to link the marriages found in the census with those in the vital statistics records of 1870 and 1871 because these records include additional information. For example, place of residence for the bride and groom is given as is the exact date of marriage, information which would enhance this study of intermarriage. For Leeds and Grenville Counties, a data file based on the county registry of marriages was made. These counties were chosen because they are among the oldest settled areas and for the practical reason that the data were easily accessible. These ledgers contain marriages listed by surname of the bride and groom. They are organized geographically by county, with page references to the copy of the marriage registration record. All marriages for 1870 and 1871 as opposed to those that occurred one year before the enumeration date were recorded because the census includes some people who married in the last 15 months. After compiling, sorting and correcting the list, an attempt was made to link marriages with those in the census. This resulted in 13 percent of matches ($n = 85$). The facts are, however, that with all the shortcomings of the registration, only thirteen percent of the marriages in 1870

are captured in the census. Yet this shortcoming is offset by the fact that the census required reporting on one specific day as opposed to a more variable time frame for the registration process. Considering the time needed for the transcription and linkage of the registration records for all of 1870 and the first four months of 1871, as well as the qualitative comments of the registrars, the merger of the two sources was abandoned. As previously mentioned, no computerized list exists for the early years which might have made the process quicker.

Emery (1993) also offers an important point relating to the nature of the census. The Census and legislation requiring the collection of vital statistics were part of a large statistical movement in the nineteenth century. The census and vital registration data were organized and manipulated within administrative units by a group of statisticians working for the government (Woods and Rees: 1986, 1). Governments required more information because people were becoming more interconnected and interdependent. For instance, changes in the social and environmental conditions of cities resulted in health problems which governments were forced to address (Emery:1993, 29). This means to Emery that the collection of numerical data was a social construct, because the data are a cultural phenomenon (Emery:1993, 3). Emery recognizes two components of the nature of the data:

"the external component - the ideologies, concerns,

and process 'out there' in society and acting on civil registration officials; and an internal component - the way officials went about organizing civil registration"

This is not to say that the data are not useful for historical studies but that any researcher must be wary and careful of the reasons why the data were collected and who collected it; because data collection was not necessarily an objective, neutral process; biases and silences could be present.

The census also provided essential personal information with which any study of intermarriage is concerned. A description and definition of these variables will now be provided.

3.3 Definition of Ethnicity

The data for ethnicity were collected from the Census. The definition of ethnicity has always been problematic (Isajwi:1985, 6; Richard:1991, 10). This study incorporates Richards' use of Gordon's (1964) definition of ethnicity. His concern is with the notion that some people's ideas of ethnicity are tied to ethnic origin alone. He argues that religion as well as race (he is writing about the United States but his ideas are still pertinent) should also be included. Gordon says these omitted groups are not all the same and that they form subsocieties within American society (Isajwi:1985, 12). The literature review in Chapter two showed how intermarriage, measured in view of this ethno-religious

approach, may be more enlightening in terms of what structural forces are at work. The 1871 Census attempted to distinguish between 'origin' and 'citizenship and nationality' (Richard:1991, 164). Akenson (1984, 27) notes that ethnicity was most strongly associated with self-ascription. Presumably respondents answered in terms of how they perceived themselves. Thus a third-generation Scot might define himself as Scots, while a first-generation might refuse to label himself as belonging to any ethnic group. Though Akenson may be right in his contention, his idea that there were no arbitrary or imposed external criteria may be disputed. The 'problem' with many Canadian censuses is that they refuse to accept 'Canadian' as an answer for ethnicity. This was the case in 1871. Yet, frequently in the personal schedules, one finds 'Canadian' cancelled out and replaced with an ethnic assignment. The enumerators wanted to keep nationality out of their responses.

In terms of religion, the published census clearly shows the religious polyglot that existed in Ontario in 1871. Forty-three denominations were included in the published census (Census of Canada 1871, vol. 1: Table 2). This does not even include the atheist, deists and 'no religion' group designated as 'without creed'. As with ethnic origin, the enumerators were supposed to write what the respondents told them. They were instructed to do this despite concerns that several denominations had similar sounding names; enumerators were

supposed to record their answers carefully (Census of Canada, Manual for Instructions, 1871). Appendix 1 shows that over 50 denominations were found among newlyweds taken in this sample. A classification of religious denominations modified for the OGS Project by Brown and Clarke but based upon increasing sectarianism was used. This aggregated groupings to a more manageable form while stressing position along the sectarian continuum.

3.4 Conclusion

The 1871 Census of Canada provides information on sufficient groups and numbers within those groups to permit a study of intermarriage within southern Ontario society. There are however some difficulties with using a single data source. Marriage vital statistic records would have been another useful source of information. They would have given more detailed information of couples including place of birth, residence when married, previous marital status, age at marriage and date and place of marriage. This information combined with census data would have allowed for a more detailed study of intermarriage. A low success rate with the integration of vital registration data with census data and the time needed for this procedure led to the decision of not combining both sources. Nevertheless, the census provides sufficient information for a cross-sectional study that may provide useful insights into the historical geography and demography of the province.

Chapter 4

Dimensions of Inter-marriage in Ontario, 1871

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will analyze the census data that were described in Chapter 3. It addresses similar issues concerning the patterns of intermarriage addressed by Richard (1991): the pattern of ethnic intermarriage alone and the influence of religion, if any, on ethnic intermarriage, as well as the personal characteristics of those who intermarried. Whenever possible, comparisons will be made between national and provincial rates to observe any differences.¹ As stated earlier, the major difference with Richard's work is that the data concern those who married within a year of the census of 1871 in southern Ontario. The cartographic distribution of intermarriages and seasonality trends will also be examined to see if they reveal or imply other processes at work.

4.2 A Pattern of Ethnic Inter-marriage

Table 4.1 summarizes ethnic intermarriage for southern Ontarians following Confederation together with corresponding values for Canada. While not totally compatible with Richard's results, it does offer a reference point for comparison. The first difference between the provincial percentage of endogamous marriages and the national is that the former is lower by 16.5 percent. The national figure of 82.9 percent

Table 4.1. Percentage Distribution of Ethnic Endogamous and Exogamous Marriages and Nativity of Husband for Canada and Ontario, 1871

Total for Canada ¹											
Ethnic Origin of Husband	All Husbands			Native-Born Husbands			Foreign-Born Husbands				
	Endo- gamous	Exo- gamous	Per Cent	n	Endo- gamous	Exo- gamous	Per Cent	n	Endo- gamous	Exo- gamous	Per Cent
English	72.9	27.1	100.0	879	73.0	27.0	100.0	465	72.7	27.2	100.0
Irish	82.9	17.1	100.0	873	73.0	27.0	100.0	315	88.5	11.5	100.0
Scottish	76.2	23.8	100.0	549	69.9	30.1	100.0	246	81.2	18.8	100.0
French	96.7	3.3	100.0	1133	96.9	3.1	100.0	1119	78.4	21.6	100.0
German	72.9	27.6	100.0	237	66.1	33.9	100.0	158	86.6	13.4	100.0
Other	72.4	27.6	100.0	85	69.4	30.6	100.0	61	79.8	20.2	100.0
Total	82.9	17.1	100.0	3757	83.4	16.6	100.0	2364	79.8	20.2	100.0
Total for Ontario ²											
Ethnic Origin of Husband	All Husbands			Native-Born Husbands			Foreign-Born Husbands				
	Endo- gamous	Exo- gamous	Per Cent	n	Endo- gamous	Exo- gamous	Per Cent	n	Endo- gamous	Exo- gamous	Per Cent
English	63.5	36.5	100.0	1891	64.3	35.7	100.0	1150	62.1	37.9	100.0
Irish	71.6	28.4	100.0	1916	69.7	30.3	100.0	1238	75.1	24.9	100.0
Scottish	63.3	36.7	100.0	1195	62.2	37.8	100.0	715	64.8	35.2	100.0
French	75.8	24.2	100.0	318	77.2	22.8	100.0	302	50.0	50.0	100.0
German	62.4	37.6	100.0	585	60.2	39.8	100.0	470	71.3	28.7	100.0
Dutch	53.8	46.2	100.0	78	54.7	45.3	100.0	75	33.3	66.7	100.0
African	83.8	16.2	100.0	37	87.5	12.5	100.0	16	80.9	19.1	100.0
Other	52.1	47.9	100.0	71	58.5	41.5	100.0	53	66.7	33.3	100.0
Total	66.4	33.6	100.0	6091	65.9	34.1	100.0	4019	67.3	32.7	100.0

Source: *Ethnic Groups and Marital Choices* (1991), Table 10

²Calculations of the Author, 1871 Census of Canada

includes the relatively homogenous province of Quebec whose inclusion would have the effect of pushing the endogamy rate much higher. A comparison of the two tables does, however, show that the levels of endogamy along ethnic lines follow a similar ranking, that is, the Irish and the French rank highest with "Other ethnicity" being the lowest and the remaining groups clustered close together. As Richard (1991: 108) suggests, the Irish and French rates most likely result from two main factors: their large population size and large numbers of adherents to the Roman Catholic Church. While the religious interpretation is easily acceptable, the population size is not an argument that could be used in the case of the French. As seen in Table 3.1, they are the fourth largest group in southern Ontario, but only have 4.58 percent of the population in Ontario. The issue of size becomes even more apparent when the intramarriage rates for the Dutch and Africans, who would have been included in Richard's "Other" category, are considered. As seen in Table 3.1 these two groups are numerically smaller than the French, but the Africans quite easily displace the French with the highest value and the Dutch and "Other" groups become much lower. Though these observations are based on a small sample size, these results also support previous findings (Draschler:1921, 234; Hurd: 1934, 28).

As stated in the previous chapter, there were notable differences between the foreign-born and native-born groups of

similar ethnic background with respect to intermarriage. The overall provincial endogamous rate of 66.4 percent is not much different for the foreign-born or native-born at 65.9 and 67.3 percent respectively (Table 4.1). This observation is shared at the national level though the figures are obviously higher. Another similarity is that the French remain ranked the highest among the native born and the Irish ranked second. The remaining husbands are grouped closely with "Other" being last. At the national level, foreign-born husbands exhibited the expected pattern of higher endogamous rates except for the French and the English who show little difference at all. At the provincial level this is not necessarily true. The Germans and Irish foreign-born show the expected higher levels of endogamy but the Scots show a similar tendency to the English. Is this representative of some sort of perception of the Scots as being almost as acceptable as the English? The lowest values are for the smallest groups which makes for some possible dubious interpretation though, as Richard suggests, foreign-born French would have problems finding French wives outside of Quebec. Once again the Africans, provide a high endogamous rate whether they were foreign or native-born but these results are based on a small sample size. Unlike the other groups, their racial background is presumably of more importance in this respect.

This initial comparison between national and provincial levels of endogamy show interesting similarities and

differences. The rank order is essentially the same, perhaps not too surprising considering that Ontario was the largest of the four provinces at the time, comprising 50 percent of the population (Census 1873). While group size obviously plays a role in intermarriage as reflected in the exogamous rates of small groups like the French, Africans and the Dutch, it is clearly not the only factor because, while generally low, the intermarriage rates of these groups are very different.

4.3 Propensities for Intermarriage

The propensity for intermarriage is a measure that allows for the comparison of different intermarriage rates that controls for group size and sex ratios. It compares the actual rate of intermarriage to that which could have emerged if all the people who had intramarried had in fact married 'out' of their respective group (Richard: 1991, 112, Yinger: 1969, 99). This 'actual' to 'possible' ratio is preferred to the 'actual' to 'expected' ratio because the final result is a value ranging from 0 to 1 whereas the other has no fixed range. Zero indicates no ethnic intermarriage and one represents that maximum amount of intermarriage possible. Table 4.2. summarizes these propensities for Ontario as well as Canada. With respect to 'All' husbands a comparison between the national and provincial levels shows general agreement, if ranked in terms of propensity values, except for the Irish who appear once again second last but much closer to the French at the provincial level. The French are lowest but not as low as

at the national level where the score was 0.07. This could be once again be indicative of the 'Catholicness' of these two groups. The inclusion of the Dutch and Africans into the scenario provided quite illuminating contrasts in spite of the small sample sizes. The Africans once again show the least

Table 4.2. Propensities for Intermarriages as a Ratio of 'Actual' to 'Possible' by Nativity of Husband for Canada and Ontario, 1871

Total for Canada ¹						
Ethnic Origin of Husband	All Husbands	n	Native-born Husbands	n	Foreign-born Husbands	n
English	.39	879	.40	465	.37	415
Irish	.33	873	.47	315	.23	557
Scottish	.41	549	.48	246	.34	303
French	.07	1133	.06	1119	.59	14
German	.40	237	.45	158	.30	79
Other	.40	85	.44	61	.33	25
Total for Ontario ²						
Ethnic Origin of Husband	All Husbands	n	Native-born Husbands	n	Foreign-born Husbands	n
English	.22	1891	.22	1150	.23	741
Irish	.17	1916	.18	1238	.14	678
Scottish	.23	1195	.23	715	.21	480
French	.14	318	.13	302	.33	16
German	.23	585	.25	470	.17	115
Dutch	.30	78	.29	75	.50	3
African	.09	37	.07	16	.11	21
Other	.32	71	.26	53	.50	18

Source: ¹*Ethnic Groups and Marital Choices* (1991), Table 12

²Calculations of the Author, *1871 Census of Canada*

likelihood to outmarry while the Dutch show the highest. The African value is reflective of the high endogamous rate as seen in Table 4.1 in much the similar manner that the French were in Canada. The rates for the native-born are similar to that for all husbands. This is not surprising considering over

70 percent of the population is native-born in the sample area. The similarities end there. At the national level all the native-born husbands have higher propensities except for the French. The picture becomes more muddled at the provincial level. The large difference between native-born and foreign-born French remains. The Africans and the Dutch show a similar tendency to the French. However, if reference is made to Figure 4.1. it is seen that the Africans were over 50 percent foreign-born while the Dutch were over 95 percent native-born. Place of residence might also factor into these propensity values as seen in Figure 4.2. where the Africans are most likely to be urbanized while the Dutch are the most rural. The three British groups have roughly the same rates even though the low values for the Irish remain regardless of nativity. This may be reflective of the negative perceptions of the Irish that were held at this time (Akenson:1984, 26). Overall the propensity measures show rates favouring low rates of intermarriage though certain groups show lower rates than others.

4.4. Ethnic-religious Patterns of Marriage

Many studies of intermarriage use only the ethnic variable as a component of intermarriage (Johnson:1942; Burma: 1963). Richard, building on Gordon's concepts, believes that culture should also incorporate religion with ethnicity. Religion is thought to reinforce ethnic behaviour including the choosing of marriage partners (Richard: 1991, 115). Ethnic

Figure 4.1 Percentage Distribution of Ethnic Groups by Nativity: Ontario, 1871

Figure 4.2 Percentage Distribution of Ethnic Groups by Place of Residence: Ontario, 1871

Source: 1871 Census of Canada

Table 4.3. Percentage Distribution of Ethno-Religious Endogamous and Exogamous Marriages and Nativity of Husband for Canada and Ontario, 1871

Ethno-Religious Origin of Husband	Total for Canada ¹									
	All Husbands					Native-Born Husbands				
	Endo- gamous	Exo- gamous	Per Cent	n		Endo- gamous	Exo- gamous	Per Cent	n	
English Anglican	70.5	29.5	100.0	302		69.4	30.6	100.0	111	
Irish R. Catholic	90.9	9.1	100.0	327		79.3	20.7	100.0	71	
Scottish Presbyterian	83.6	16.4	100.0	359		83.0	17.0	100.0	124	
French R. Catholic	97.3	2.7	100.0	1118		97.5	2.5	100.0	1108	
German Lutheran	89.8	10.2	100.0	38		73.2	26.8	100.0	9	
Total	90.1	9.9	100.0	2144		93.0	7.0	100.0	1423	
	Total for Ontario ²									
	70.0	30.0	100.0	111		71.1	28.9	100.0	190	
	90.9	9.1	100.0	327		94.1	5.9	100.0	256	
	83.6	16.4	100.0	359		84.0	16.0	100.0	236	
	97.3	2.7	100.0	1118		83.7	16.3	100.0	10	
	89.8	10.2	100.0	38		95.0	5.0	100.0	29	
	90.1	9.9	100.0	2144		84.6	15.4	100.0	721	

Ethno-Religious Origin of Husband	Total for Ontario ²									
	All Husbands					Native-Born Husbands				
	Endo- gamous	Exo- gamous	Per Cent	n		Endo- gamous	Exo- gamous	Per Cent	n	
English Anglican	54.0	46.0	100.0	618		53.2	46.8	100.0	299	
Irish Anglican	60.9	39.1	100.0	532		60.9	39.1	100.0	350	
English Baptist	51.2	48.8	100.0	125		43.3	56.7	100.0	90	
English Methodist	64.7	35.3	100.0	897		65.6	34.4	100.0	582	
Irish Methodist	61.9	38.1	100.0	575		61.8	38.2	100.0	440	
German Methodist	53.0	47.0	100.0	247		54.1	45.9	100.0	229	
Dutch Methodist	46.8	53.2	100.0	47		47.8	52.2	100.0	46	
African Methodist	76.0	24.0	100.0	25		75.0	25.0	100.0	12	
Irish Presbyterian	52.3	47.7	100.0	353		51.4	48.6	100.0	220	
Scottish Presbyterian	65.4	34.6	100.0	846		65.9	34.1	100.0	450	
German Lutheran	86.0	14.0	100.0	100		81.8	18.2	100.0	44	
Irish R. Catholic	86.5	13.5	100.0	385		85.5	14.5	100.0	173	
French R. Catholic	85.0	15.0	100.0	260		85.9	14.1	100.0	248	
Total (above)	63.8	36.2	100.0	5010		63.7	36.3	100.0	3183	

Source: *Ethnic Groups and Marital Choices* (1991), Table 14; ²Calculations of the Author, *1871 Census of Canada*

endogamy should increase when ethnic groups are broken down into smaller ethnic-religious groupings if religion does reinforce ethnic behaviour. Table 4.3. reports Richard's results using selected ethno-religious groups for both Canada and Ontario. Methodists and Baptists, conspicuously absent from Richard's study, have been added for Ontario. Richard's reason for her groupings were that they provided an adequate sample sizes of sample and are frequently used in the literature. In 1871 Ontario, the Methodists were the largest group and the Baptists, though small in number (4.64 percent, see Table 3.1), have had a long history in Ontario as well as Canada (Grant:1988, 44). Figure 4.3 gives the denominational distribution of ethnic groups and provides yet another reason for the inclusion of groups. Studies of the Irish usually focus on a Catholic/Protestant split but it is seen here that the number of Irish Anglicans and Irish Methodists are larger than their Catholic counterparts. Not only would the inclusion of these groups provide some insight between various Irish groups' marriage behaviour, but also, for example, between Irish and English Anglicans. Because they constitute a large proportion of the German population, German Methodists are also included.

A comparison of national rates to provincial rates shows a familiar trend of lower values for the province. In Ontario, almost two-thirds of newlyweds were in endogamous marriages as opposed to the 90 percent at the national level. It is

Figure 4.3 Denominational Distribution of Ethnic Groups: Ontario, 1871

Source: 1871 Census of Canada

important to note that the total rate given in Table 4.3. is only for the groups in the table. At first glance, the inclusion of other ethno-religious groups may have lowered the provincial values. However, when the two geographical scales are compared, the first striking observation is the low endogamous values for English Anglicans and Scottish Presbyterians. Is this a sign of moderation that was espoused by some Anglicans in this period, that it was acceptable to intermarry into other groups. Though there is no way of assessing this, the pattern may have been influenced by differences between 'high' and 'low' Anglicanism. English Anglicans may have been the preferred group to marry into because of their status in society of the time (Richard: 1991, 128). Their rather even split between endogamous and exogamous marriage behaviour might also result from the fact that they represent only 28 percent of the English population (Table 3.1) which may put them in danger of losing adherents because of small numbers even with their high social status. This demographic explanation would not hold for Scottish Presbyterians. However they may have been internal differences within the church. The issue of marrying out will be addressed later.

The purpose of combining ethnicity and religions was to observe the effect, if any at all, of the former on the latter. By comparing Table 4.1 to 4.3, at the national scale, religion appeared to enhance the endogamous level except for

the English Anglicans. In Ontario, a different pattern emerges. With the exception of the Catholics and German Lutherans, who show a marked increase in endogamous rates, religion appears to have a little effect on endogamous marriages. This runs contrary to the literature (Lieberson: 1969, Richard: 1991). It should be noted, however, that a dampening effect on endogamy is less pronounced among some of the ethnic groups that contained a large number of Methodists. This might indicate that the Protestant groups are not as cohesive as those based on ethnic origin alone (Richard:1990, 119). Or this might be evidence that the Methodist churches were in fact gaining converts from the two denominations that had endeavoured to become the 'established' churches of the province, that is the Anglicans and the Presbyterians. This is tentatively supported by the observation that Irish and French Catholics and German Lutherans had exogamous rates of less than 15 percent. In this respect there seems to be a Catholic/Protestant differentiation. Even within these two broad groupings the percentages of endogamous marriages do not vary much. The Catholic groups have values around 85 percent. The Protestant groups have endogamous rates of 46 and 64 percent. The only exception amongst the Protestant groups is a relatively high rate of endogamous marriages among the African Methodists whose numbers, however, are small. Ontario was a dominantly Protestant place even after the influx of Famine Irish Catholics. Could the plethora of religious

epithets within the larger denominations have encouraged exogamy?

In terms of nativity, there is not much variation between the intermarriage rates of the native and foreign-born except for English Baptists and German Lutherans. They may have been married before they arrived but once again there is no way of testing this notion. Or perhaps for the majority of individuals involved, the place of origin was quite simply not a factor at all. Who they were may have been more important than where they were from.

4.4.1. Ethnic-Religious Patterns of Intermarriage

Richard (1991: 119) adopted Gordon's multidimensional definition of ethnicity in order to construct an index for marital assimilation. In this scheme there are four groupings that can result by combining ethnicity and religion. The first occurs where ethnicity and religion are the same for the newlyweds, indicating no assimilation. At the other extreme both are different, indicating possible total assimilation into society. In between, of course, partial assimilation may be indicated by one of either ethnicity or religion being different for each spouse. The last three groupings are indicative of assimilative behaviour. As seen in Table 4.1, husbands tended to marry within their own ethnic group. While this relationship basically held for ethno-religious groupings, there is a disparity in the range of values. Nevertheless, the pattern of exogamy of the three marital

types thought to be indicative of assimilation and identified above, could still prove illuminating. Table 4.4 is similar to Table 4.3 except that the overall exogamy value has been split into the three basic components identified above. Richard did not publish her breakdown by nativity because of the small number of cases but discusses the patterns in retrospect. The pattern, Richard (1991: 120) contends, is that outmarrying will occur across ethnic lines while maintaining the religious affiliation. Table 4.4 shows this to be true across Canada as well as in the province of Ontario. Yet, the number of people choosing partners of different ethnicity and religion is quite high at both these spatial scales. In terms of ethno-religious groupings, the patterns show little variation between the national and provincial scales with the exception that Irish Catholics in Ontario, like English Anglicans, were willing to chose Irish spouses of various religions. For the Irish, this may be indicative of their varied religious distributions as seen in Figure 4.3. This may not apply to the French who were predominantly more Catholic but willing to marry out to other non-French Catholics. As for the English Anglicans, their relatively unchanged values (58.0 percent for Canada compared to 56.3 percent in Ontario) may support the notion that the moderates may well have been having some influence. Alternatively, if the small English Anglican population actually did compose part of the elite, then this may be indicative of their initiatives in preserving their own

economic well-being.

Several interesting groupings along the religious continuum can be observed within southern Ontario. The ethnic groups sharing Methodist affiliations show the highest tendencies of choosing wives who were Methodist but of different ethnic origin, with the exception of African Methodists who still appear with a impressive endogamous rate of 66.7 percent. This is followed by the Presbyterian groups with values in the low 60 percent range, followed by the Anglicans and the Baptists and the Lutherans. This supports Ward's (1990, 28) comments about Methodists that they:

"...relaxed these [rules of outmarriage] somewhat, advising members to consult their most serious brethren before taking steps toward matrimony and admitting the possibility of marriage outside the faith, as long as the intended spouse possessed the form and sought the power of godliness."

The lower values for the Anglican and Presbyterian groups may be seen in light of comments made in the previous paragraph as well as a difference between the Irish Catholics (57.7 percent) and the French Catholics (74.4 percent), though the size of sample warrants caution. Though Table 4.2 showed that the effect of combining religion with ethnicity had not the expected effect of increasing endogamy amongst the Protestant ethnic groups, in terms of exogamy it appears to be of some importance. This may support the views of Houston and Smyth (1988, 229), further developed by Heald (1995, 130) that Protestant churches were "'ethnic agents' serving as 'forums

of ethnic fusion'. The Irish, English and Scottish were attracted to various strains of Protestantism, Methodism, Anglicanism and to some extent Presbyterianism. In this way the sphere of contact with other ethnic groups was widened.

Though no real difference between endogamous and exogamous rates could be found between native-born and foreign born groups with the two exceptions mentioned previously, the same cannot be said for the sub-groups representing exogamy. Though the population sizes are low for some groups in southern Ontario, some tentative comments can be made. Native-born husbands, with the exception of the English Baptists (43.1 percent), clearly show higher rates when choosing a spouse of similar origin but different religion. This implies that religion was more important to the native-born, though caution should be considered here because the foreign-born rates are also relatively high. Also intriguing are the one third of the foreign-born English Anglicans and Scottish Presbyterians who married to a different ethnicity and religion. It is clear that these individuals have increased the overall values for exogamy in these two groups (Table 4.3). Could these two most socially attractive groups, for purposes of intermarriage, have had difficulty integrating with their native-born counterparts? If the small native-born English Anglican, and to a lesser extent the Scottish Presbyterian populations, actually form part of an elite, then this may yet be another indication of initiatives on their

part to sustain themselves. They could have been married before they came to Canada. In which case, factors in their country of birth may be of more importance. In the final analysis, the overall provincial value does not differ substantially from Richard's national figures; she states the overall rate was roughly 20 percent of native-born husbands and 30 percent of foreign-born husbands having no concern for ethnic heritage or religious affiliation.

4.5. Individual Factors influencing Inter marriage Patterns

The odds of personal characteristics favouring certain mate selection patterns can be assessed through logit regression as discussed by Richard (1991: 131). The dependent variable is the linear transformation of the odds on outmarrying. The effects of the independent variables are expressed as weighted least-square coefficients. The dependent variable is always dichotomous while independent variables are usually dichotomous but can also be continuous. As opposed to the multiple regression model which is more popular in geography (Wrigley:1976, 3), logit regression uses the likelihood chi-square as opposed to r^2 to give a measurement of the goodness of fit. It utilizes maximum likelihood ratios through iterations to compare expected to observed data points. Table 4.5 illustrates Richard's national models and the provincial models of this study. Two models are given for each. The first is shown to illustrate the main effects of the single independent variables, while the second allows for

interactions between the independent variables. The only difference between the variables at the national/provincial scales is that the age value for Ontario was not placed into a binary format. It was left as a continuous variable because, from a statistical viewpoint, information is lost when data are reduced. Rather than presuming that some specific age cut-off distinguishes between conservatism and non-conservatism in terms of the probability of marrying outside the immediate group, a continuous age variable simply looks for some trend of changing exogamy as age increases.

As seen in Table 4.5 the results for couples in Canada and Ontario are quite similar. The first model shows the odds of outmarrying are increased for the literate, urban resident and being foreign-born. The difference, of course, is that age is significant in Ontario but not in Canada which means the likelihood of outmarrying increases with age in Ontario but not in Canada. Richard wondered why age did not factor into her equation and hypothesized that it was correlated with the other independent variables. This led to the second attempt at modelling the Canadian data (Model II, Table 4.5). The result in Model I for Ontario nevertheless supports the hypothesis that intermarriage increases with age. A second model was also estimated for Ontario to see if the interaction of age with the other independents affected the odds of marrying out in Ontario. The second model produces essentially the same results as the first except for the replacement of the

nativity variable with the age-nativity interaction variable. Thus the odds for exogamy increased if one was literate, older and resided in an urban area. The interaction variable shows that the age effect is different for the native-born and the foreign-born. The age effect for native-born is, in the

Table 4.5. Logit Regression Results for the Likelihood Effects of Age, Nativity, Residence and Literacy on Ethno-Religious Intermarriage: Canada and Ontario, 1871

Independent Variables	Canada:1871 ¹		Ontario:1871 ²	
	Model I	Model II	Model I	Model II
Age ³	.13 (.14)	-2.05* (.27)	.01* (.00)	.01* (.00)
Nativity ⁴	.30* (.14)	-.97* (.19)	.13* (.06)	2.19 (.14)
Residence ⁵	.45* (.18)	.47* (.18)	.14* (.06)	.14* (.06)
Literacy ⁶	.94* (.17)	.30 (.17)	.44* (.12)	.44* (.12)
Age X nativity		1.79* (.22)		.01* (.00)
Age X residence		-.13 (.24)		.03 (.85)
Age X literacy		1.12* (.22)		.90 (.34)
Constant	-2.53	-1.01	-.631	-.722

Source: ¹*Ethnic Groups and Marital Choices* (1991), Table 20

²Calculations of the Author, 1871 Census of Canada

Notes: () - Standard Errors of Coefficients

* - $p < .05$

3 - Age: 1 = 65+, 0 = 15-24 (for Canadian models only)

4 - Nativity: 1 = foreign-born; 0 = native-born

5 - Residence: 1 = urban; 0 = rural

6 - Literacy: 1 = literate; 0 = illiterate

terminology of logit-regression, also one of the main effects was (0.01). However, for the foreign-born, the age effect is the sum of the main effect of age and the age-nativity effect ($0.01+0.01 = 0.02$). In other words, the odds of outmarrying increases with age for the native-born, but it doubles for the foreign-born as age increases. This may be an indication of the maturation of the foreign-born. They may have had some advantages over the native-born in terms of their mate selection. Another difference between the models with interaction variables is the significance at the national scale of the literacy-age interaction variable. This may be due to the sampling procedure utilized for both data sets. For Ontario, the couples were all married in the previous year and thus most of them went to school in the same time period. For the Canadian sample, these individuals could have been married a month, year or decade and thus have gone to school, if at all, in different time periods.

4.6. Outmarriage and Ethnicity in Ontario

Richard describes how Hurd's (1929,1942,1964) research emphasized the importance of intermarriage in the assimilation of ethnic minorities into the two dominant social groups of Canada; the British and the French. Certain minorities were more likely to marry into these groups, such as Northern Europeans, while others did not. The British can be considered as an ethnic group but exogamous behaviour can be observed in the sub-group of Irish, Scottish, and most especially the

Table 4.6. Exogamous Marriages by Ethnic origin of Husband and Wife by Nativity of Husband: Canada and Ontario, 1871 (NB = native-born; FB = foreign-born)

		Ethnic Origin of Canadian Wives ¹								
Ethnic origin <i>NB</i> Husbands	English	Irish	Scottish	French	German	Other	Percent	n		
English		51.5	28.6	7.4	9.6	3.0	100.0	126		
Irish	39.5		39.4	6.1	11.9	3.1	100.0	85		
Scottish	40.0	41.3		5.4	6.9	6.4	100.0	74		
French	31.4	37.5	20.6		5.9	4.6	100.0	35		
German	40.9	22.6	10.8	23.5		2.2	100.0	54		
Other	42.2	5.5	27.3	13.2	11.9		100.0	19		

		Ethnic Origin of Canadian Wives ¹								
Ethnic origin <i>FB</i> Husbands	English	Irish	Scottish	French	German	Other	Percent	n		
English		49.5	36.2	5.3	2.1	3.0	100.0	113		
Irish	45.1		39.5	7.3	2.0	3.1	100.0	64		
Scottish	42.4	42.2		3.0	2.5	6.4	100.0	57		
French	73.8	26.2	0.0		0.0	4.6	100.0	3		
German	60.3	16.8	20.3	0.0		2.2	100.0	11		
Other	12.9	68.9	0.0	11.1	2.6		100.0	6		

		Ethnic Origin of Ontario Wives ²										
Ethnic origin <i>NB</i> Husbands	English	Irish	Scottish	French	German	African	Dutch	Other	Percent	n		
English		50.2	28.8	2.9	15.1	0.0	2.2	0.7	99.9	410		
Irish	51.5		32.3	2.4	10.4	0.0	3.2	0.3	100.1	375		
Scottish	37.0	49.6		2.9	8.2	0.0	1.5	0.7	99.9	270		
French	23.2	33.3	15.9		23.2	0.0	2.9	1.4	99.9	69		
German	42.4	25.4	25.4	6.2		0.0	0.0	0.6	100.0	177		
African	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0		0.0	0.0	100.0	2		
Dutch	35.3	32.4	23.5	0.0	5.9	0.0		2.9	100.0	34		
Other	31.8	31.8	22.7	4.5	9.1	0.0	0.0		99.9	22		

		Ethnic Origin of Ontario Wives ²										
Ethnic origin <i>FB</i> Husbands	English	Irish	Scottish	French	German	African	Dutch	Other	Percent	n		
English		50.9	32.4	3.2	10.7	0.4	1.8	0.7	100.1	281		
Irish	54.4		31.9	2.4	6.5	0.0	2.9	1.8	99.9	169		
Scottish	45.6	47.3		1.2	3.6	0.0	0.0	2.4	100.1	169		
French	12.5	37.5	12.5		37.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	8		
German	54.5	30.0	12.1	3.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	99.9	33		
African	75.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0		0.0	0.0	100.0	4		
Dutch	0.0	50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		0.0	100.0	2		
Other	41.7	25.0	16.7	8.3	8.3	0.0	0.0		100.0	12		

Source: ¹ *Ethnic Groups and Marital Choices* (1991), Table 20;

² Computations of the Author, *1871 Census of Canada*

NB = Native-born

FB = Foreign-born

English, who have been identified in the literature as the most likely into which group people would wish to marry (Richard: 1991; Porter: 1965). Table 4.6 cross-tabulates the ethnic origin of the husbands with that of their wives. As usual, national and provincial figures are given. The patterns are very similar between the two. Husbands overwhelmingly chose wives of British origin with the English being the most popular choice regardless of ethnic origin of the husband. The only exception was native-born Scottish who chose Irish wives slightly more frequently and the French who showed a slightly higher preference for women of Irish origin (49.6 percent and 33.3 percent respectively). Perhaps cultural and religious affiliations as discussed in section 4.1 may account for this observation.

The foreign-born show higher rates of exogamy than the native-born for Canada or Ontario. The French were not a popular choice for anyone in Ontario. It is Richard's (1991: 139) interpretation that the French are so concentrated in Quebec and under-represented elsewhere there are few to choose from. Negative attitudes towards the French probably influenced this pattern. After all, this has been described to be one of the most tumultuous periods of English-French conflict (Murphy: 1993, xxii). This is something to be considered even with small population numbers because the French are clustered in certain areas of Ontario and, as previously shown, possess one of the lowest propensities to

outmarry.

Of the three non-British groups in Ontario, the Germans appear to have been the most popular choice. This is marked especially for English and French husbands regardless of nativity, though a small number of cases for foreign-born French ($n = 8$) should be noted. Roughly one-tenth of native-born Irish husbands also had German wives. Richard's suggestion that some of these Germans may have been Catholic may support these observations. Or they may have been Irish Palatines who showed a high level of outmarriage in Ontario (Heald:1996, 124). The Germans may have been favoured over other non-British ethnic minorities because they, with the sole exception of Americans, were favoured in terms of immigration policy. The British Isles in this period was the preferred source of immigrants but northern and western Europeans were accepted into Canada because it was thought they would have little difficulty adapting to the climate, customs and institutions (Richard 1991, 97; Kalbach and McEvey 1973, 124; Lehmann: 1986, 48). This is reflected in the fact that they were the fourth largest ethnic group, representing 9.31 percent of the sample Ontarian population.

4.7. Age at Inter-marriage

In section 4.5. the logit model estimated that age could increase the odds of individuals marrying out in Ontario. The older the individual, the more likely they would outmarry. Another component of age structure not considered by Richard

Table 4.7. Average Age of Current Marriage for Husbands (H) and Wives (W) in Ontario in 1871

Ethnic Origin		All Marriages		Endogamous Marriages		Exogamous Marriages	
		H	W	H	W	H	W
African Methodist	$\bar{x} =$ $n =$	29.7 25	26.9 22	29.7 19	25.8 19	29.7 6	33.7 3
Dutch Methodist	$\bar{x} =$ $n =$	26.9 47	22.9 42	25.7 22	22.3 22	27.8 25	23.6 20
English Anglican	$\bar{x} =$ $n =$	28.5 613	23.8 517	28.5 280	23.3 333	28.4 333	24.7 184
English Baptist	$\bar{x} =$ $n =$	28.1 124	24.8 108	26.6 64	23.4 60	29.6 64	26.9 44
English Methodist	$\bar{x} =$ $n =$	27.4 896	23.2 869	27.2 58.	23.1 58.	27.8 316	23.5 289
French Catholic	$\bar{x} =$ $n =$	26.0 256	21.8 238	25.7 217	21.7 218	28.0 39	22.9 20
German Lutheran	$\bar{x} =$ $n =$	27.9 100	23.9 97	27.8 86	23.9 86	28.7 14	24.5 11
German Methodist	$\bar{x} =$ $n =$	26.7 247	22.7 74	25.3 131	21.5 131	28.4 111	24.2 116
Irish Catholic	$\bar{x} =$ $n =$	29.4 385	24.3 421	29.4 333	24.2 333	29.7 52	23.9 88
Irish Anglican	$\bar{x} =$ $n =$	28.4 530	23.6 528	28.3 324	23.2 324	28.5 206	24.2 204
Irish Methodist	$\bar{x} =$ $n =$	28.2 571	23.7 647	28.2 352	23.7 352	28.1 219	23.7 295
Irish Presbyterian	$\bar{x} =$ $n =$	28.8 350	23.3 355	28.4 186	23.5 186	29.3 164	23.1 169
Scottish Presbyterian	$\bar{x} =$ $n =$	29.8 845	24.5 770	30.2 553	24.6 552	29.3 292	24.2 218

Source: Calculations of the Author, 1871 Census of Canada

is the average age at marriage. Age of marriage as discussed previously has been shown to be of demographic importance in terms of understanding fertility levels, demographic shifts and family formation. Were different types of marriage behaviour marked by different average ages at intermarriage for certain groups?

Table 4.7 reports the average age of marriage for all husbands and wives by endogamous and exogamous marriages. It must be noted that these are not ages of *first* marriage as conventionally used in demographic studies. Though it is safe to assume that most of these are indeed first marriages, there are no doubt re-marriages included in the data set, especially among the older couples. Re-marriage itself is a topic worth discussion on its own (Ward: 1994, 236). However the Census of 1871 does not allow for the immediate recognition of re-marriage. The statistic used here should be referred to as the "age at current marriage". All marriages are considered here, as the topic is intermarriage in 1871 and the logit model has indicated it may be a factor across the age continuum. Before referring to Table 4.7, some general observations of age of current marriage can be made. The average for males was 28.2 years and for females was 23.6 years. This high age at current marriage is comparable to Gee's (1988, 124) value for age at first marriage calculated using Hajnal's techniques discussed in chapter 2. The conclusion Gee reached, also supported by this finding, is that it fits the 'European' pattern. This

should not be too surprising considering that Canadian immigrants at this time came from similar European origins. The average age of current marriage for the foreign-born was higher than that for the native-born (31.3 to 26.6 for husbands and 26.5 to 22.7 for wives). This supports the logit regression results that nativity could influence the odds of marrying out. This may also reflect the timing of immigration of the foreign-born. Such people might have taken even longer to establish themselves before committing themselves to family formation. They may also have been older than others when they arrived in Ontario. However, the effect of age on residence was not significant in the logit equation (Table 4.5). This can also be seen in terms of the average age when computed by place of residence. For rural husbands, the average age was 28.3 as opposed to their urban counterparts at 27.9. The wives respectively married at 23.5 and 23.8 years of age.

Sex ratios also affect age at marriage as shown by Gagan (1978, 310) and Gee (1982, 318). It also influences intermarriage (section 4.3). There was also a decline in immigration in the 1860s; Canada's population was still increasing by high reproduction (Darroch and Soltow: 1995, 215). In terms of the sex ratio, this resulted in there being more men than women. This forced men to remain bachelors longer because the number of women available for marriage was low. Gagan (1976, 183) summarizes this: "Marriage out in the bush is the first duty in life, 'young emigrants were advised

in 1871 with the warning, however, that 'gallant young farmers' of Ontario were hard pressed to do their duty. The reason, very simple, was a scarcity of young women." In terms of marriage, the sex ratio limits the number of prospective mates but it would have also probably had an impact on the timing of when a couple decided to marry.

Table 4.7 provides the average ages for all marriages and for endogamous and exogamous marriages. The three highest average ages at marriage were the Scottish Presbyterians, African Methodists and the Irish Catholics. At the opposite end of the spectrum, not too surprisingly, the French Catholics had the lowest age. The Scottish have shown tendencies to marry late as compared to persons of other ethnic origins (Tepperman:1972, Little:1993). The African Methodists came from the United States and, presumably, were a distinct minority. Their late average age of marriage could have been influenced by small population numbers and by their particularly different history as a people. The Irish Catholics showed a trend similar to post Famine-Ireland even though they are Catholics which is usually associated with early marriages (Table 4.7). The Irish Protestant groups also had similar average ages in similar ranges. A series of t-tests confirmed this observation; the Irish of all denominations were found not to be significantly different from one another.² But as Akenson (1988: 27) succinctly points out, the trend of late marriages in Ireland still

continued well past the Famine. Yet African Methodists and French Catholics showed very high rates of endogamy, while the Scottish Presbyterians were among the lowest, albeit at 66 percent (Table 4.3). A high rate of endogamy with a corresponding high age of current marriage may be indicative of conservatism of a group in maintaining ethnic cohesion. Obviously, factors not associated with religion come into play here, especially in reference to the Scottish Presbyterians. One factor was the availability of land acquired through inheritance in Peel County as demonstrated by Gagan (1978:308). Shortage of land has been also offered as one reason for high ages in marriage in the Highlands of Scotland (Smout:1986 172). In terms of endogamy and exogamy there appears to be little difference between the two average ages. This may be an indirect measure of the non-importance of the average age at marriage as seen by the ethno-religious age patterns. A series of t-tests revealed the only group that showed a significant difference between average age at current marriages for husbands in endogamous and exogamous marriages was the German Methodist group.³ A similar test for wives produced similar results. In terms of exogamy, the percentage is similar to the rest but for endogamy they have the lowest age of intermarriage. Is this yet another indication of their willingness to marry out or might it be reflective of the type of Methodism that Germans may have adhered to?

Age at current marriage is clearly an important variable

for various reasons and for intermarriage it did produce some meaningful observations. Yet age of marriage also reflects economic conditions, including the availability of land.

4.8. Urbanism and Intermarriage

The logit model in section 4.5 estimated the influence of residence as defined in terms of a rural/urban dichotomy. The odds for marrying out were seen to increase if the place of residence was urban. This supports the hypothesis that intermarriage will increase because the opportunities for finding partners of a different group would be easier in densely populated areas (Kalbach:1975, 56). Although in 1871 Ontario was still witnessing the emergence of an urban system, the population was still predominantly rural (77.73 percent). Table 4.8 gives the urban distribution for the ethnic groups under discussion here using standardised location quotients (SLQ) as a reference class. Similar to Richard's utilization of the index of relative concentration, it is a measure that allows for the comparison of different groups to each other, in this case at one time. It has been used by MacLeod (1972) and subsequently by Brunger (1986, 1990) to study the population distributions of the English, Irish and Scottish in the mid-nineteenth century. It is used here to indicate the degree of concentration of ethnic groups and to place marriage types into the basic classes derived from its calculation to see if any patterns result. Its calculation is based on the standardization of the ratio of an area's population to that

Table 4.8 Standardized Location Quotients of the Distribution of Marriages Type within Urban Area

African Origin									
Dutch Origin					English Origin				
SLQ	All n	Endogamous n	Exogamous n	%	All n	Endogamous n	Exogamous n	%	Exogamous n
< -1	0	0.0	0.0	0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0
-1 to 0	1	6.7	100.0	0	3	60.0	0	0.0	3
0 to 1	7	47.0	6	85.7	2	40.0	1	50.0	1
1 to 2	4	27.0	3	75.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0
> 2	3	20.0	3	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0
French Origin									
SLQ	All n	Endogamous n	Exogamous n	%	All n	Endogamous n	Exogamous n	%	Exogamous n
< -1	7	1.5	1	14.3	6	85.7	0	0.0	0
-1 to 0	63	13.0	33	52.4	30	47.6	16	16.0	7
0 to 1	287	60.0	184	64.1	108	35.9	6	6.0	5
1 to 2	119	25.0	81	68.1	38	31.9	7	7.0	6
> 2	6	1.2	3	50.0	3	50.0	71	71.0	61
German Origin									
SLQ	All n	Endogamous n	Exogamous n	%	All n	Endogamous n	Exogamous n	%	Exogamous n
< -1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0
-1 to 0	46	61.0	18	39.1	28	60.9	180	44.7	102
0 to 1	7	9.2	3	42.9	4	57.1	183	44.9	149
1 to 2	9	12.0	5	55.6	4	44.4	29	7.2	27
> 2	14	18.0	11	78.6	3	21.4	5	1.2	0
Irish Origin									
SLQ	All n	Endogamous n	Exogamous n	%	All n	Endogamous n	Exogamous n	%	Exogamous n
< -1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	83.8	1
-1 to 0	46	61.0	18	39.1	28	60.9	180	44.7	102
0 to 1	7	9.2	3	42.9	4	57.1	183	44.9	149
1 to 2	9	12.0	5	55.6	4	44.4	29	7.2	27
> 2	14	18.0	11	78.6	3	21.4	5	1.2	0
Scottish Origin									
SLQ	All n	Endogamous n	Exogamous n	%	All n	Endogamous n	Exogamous n	%	Exogamous n
< -1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0
-1 to 0	120	47.0	58	48.3	62	51.7	120	54.4	78
0 to 1	97	37.8	55	56.7	42	43.3	183	44.9	149
1 to 2	17	6.6	10	58.8	7	41.2	29	7.2	27
> 2	22	8.6	20	90.6	2	9.1	5	1.2	0

Source: Computations by the Author: 1871 Census of Canada

of the province. It is expected that intermarriage will increase in areas with low SLQs. Conversely, in areas with high SLQs, very little intermarriage is expected because there would be sufficient numbers to draw from if one chooses to inmarry. This represents an attempt to measure the influence of propinquity as discussed in Chapter 2.

Caution should be used in reading this table because two pieces of information are given, the percentage of marriages within each SLQ class and the endogamous and exogamous percentage for each class. Thus under the column "All" the percentages should be read vertically. For the other two, they should be read horizontally. Referring to the distribution of the number of marriages within each SLQ category, several patterns can be noted. The Africans, English and Irish showed a bell-shaped distribution. The Scottish show a quickly declining distribution of marriages. The French and German lie both below and above their Ontario average. This could mean that they are concentrated in only a few urban areas. For the French this would be in urban areas in the Ottawa Valley or in Essex County. For the Germans, similar concentrations in urban areas are in Waterloo County, for instance, New Hamburg. These overall general patterns of the urban distribution of marriages by ethnicity might also be indicative of the timing of immigration. A series of chi-square tests (except for the Africans and the Dutch due to small sample sizes) showed that the distribution of all marriages within zones of

concentration probably could not have occurred by chance.⁴ Were there in fact differences between endogamous and exogamous marriages? By marital type, and with the exception of the Africans, the other ethnic groups show an increase in endogamy and a subsequent decrease in exogamy by increasing SLQ (Table 4.8). For the Irish and the English, the only two groups with marriages in the under negative one category, there is an increase from the average rate. The range is from 48 percent for the English to 61 percent for the Germans. However, the English and Scottish appear to lose in outmarriage more in the urban areas where they are concentrated more (43 and 38 percent respectively). This again supports the notion that these two groups are the preferred choice and that this loss may be further accentuated by increased interaction in an urban setting. The decline for the Irish and the French is quite dramatic and this may be yet another indicator of the Catholic orientation of these two groups.

4.9. The Spatial Distribution of Inter-marriage

The map has always been a basic tool of geographers. Brunger (1990: 250) suggests that assimilation, among other social phenomena, may be addressed with respect to the clustering of ethnic groups. This section will focus on the cartographic distribution of endogamous and exogamous ethnic marriages.

Figure 4.4 provides an initial point of introduction by

FIGURE 4.4: CRUDE NEWLYWED MARRIAGE RATE: ONTARIO,

Source: 1871 Census of Canada

mapping out the number of newlywed couples for Ontario. It is expressed as a rate per 1000 population. In this sense, it can be thought of as a crude newlywed marriage rate. Though there is no clear pattern, a general pattern can be seen where the rate of marriages begins to increase in Toronto's hinterland to the Georgian Bay area and seems to peak on the Canadian Shield in the Muskoka region. A less than average rate can be seen along the Ottawa Valley and in Grey and Bruce Counties. This is reminiscent of the literature dealing with nuptiality on the frontier begun by Easterlin (1976, 1978) and represented in Ontario by the work of Marr (1986: 17) and Clarke and Buffone (1995, 214). This theory stresses the importance of land availability on various demographic phenomena, including marriage. Nuptiality can be measured in various ways and the simplest is the crude marriage rate, that is the number of marriages per 1000 population, which is the approximate measure here. The pattern seen here suggests that this relationship to land may be occurring in Southern Ontario in 1871. It appears that newlyweds are arriving on the only agriculture frontier left in Southern Ontario at this time. In the 1860s, the Canadian government had an ambitious settlement policy towards this area because the good land in the southern portions of the province was already occupied. This is not to say that the older areas of Ontario were markedly devoid of new couples, for instance in Essex and Lambton County. In these particular cases, drainage schemes may have helped to

FIGURE 4.4.1: DISTRIBUTION OF EXOGAMOUS MARRIAGES: ONTARIO,

FIGURE 4.4.2: DISTRIBUTION OF ENDOGAMOUS MARRIAGES: ONTARIO,

Source: 1871 Census of Canada

induce settlement towards these areas hitherto ignored (Kelly: 1975, 279) It should be noted that the actual number of marriages in the townships is very small and thus any observations must be cautionary. If anything is to be gained from this map, it is that other forces are at work when newlyweds decide to marry.

What about the distribution of exogamous and endogamous marriages? Figures 4.4.1 and 4.4.2 show these distributions for both urban and rural areas by quartiles respectively. Once again it must be re-iterated that small sample sizes for urban and rural areas contributed to the values given. Clearly no striking patterns emerge though some comments can still be made. For endogamous marriages, there are low rates along the Lake Ontario shore and along the St. Lawrence between Kingston and Cornwall as well as in the northern hinterland of Toronto. The Canadian Shield shows a relatively high incidence of endogamy as well as areas along the Ottawa Valley. The distribution of exogamous marriages shows a basically mirror image of endogamy though it appears more scattered. This may be not too surprising considering that two-thirds of the marriages were endogamous and thus the remainder could be expected to be scattered. Could the large values of endogamy along the Ottawa Valley be a reflection of the newly arrived French Canadians who were placed in this region by actions of the Catholic Church of Quebec? (Cartwright: 1977, 1) Can a similar comment be made for the Scottish population of

Glengarry County or the Germans of Waterloo County?

The English population, according to Brunger (1986, 338), clustered in three main areas: Toronto and its hinterland, Norfolk County to the city of London and rural areas of Muskoka and Peterborough counties. They do appear in large numbers in Eastern Ontario and the Bruce Peninsula. Any attempts to understand the distribution of people of English background is difficult because they have not been studied in as much depth as the Irish and the Scottish. Brunger sums up English settlement as the preference of the English to acquire land in the developed areas of Ontario (Brunger:1986, 340). Additionally, the English were more prone to be found in skilled, non-agricultural, and non-labouring occupations. These, of course, were not found in remote rural areas but in parts of the province with some developed urban infrastructure. Could this, with the previously noted behaviour of high outmarriage for the English irrespective of religious affiliation, explain the concentrated pattern of the English seen along Lake Erie? Figure 4.5 which shows this concentration in marriages illustrates this point and the general difficulty in interpreting such patterns in purely spatial terms. Nonetheless, this map of English marital patterns is representative of the major British groups and is simply included here for purpose of illustration. The pattern for this group like that of other groups is not totally clear largely because of the small absolute numbers in census

FIGURE 4.5: DISTRIBUTION OF ENGLISH MARRIAGES, ONTARIO:

FIGURE 4.5: DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION OF GERMAN ORIGIN,

Source: 1871 Census of Canada

enumeration areas. At the other end of the spatial continuum are those ethnic groups, represented in only a few townships. The Germans have been selected to represent this category.

As Figure 4.6 illustrates, the Germans in Ontario in 1871 were spatially clustered. Different waves of immigration have produced these regions. The groups surrounding Augusta Township in the east together with those in the Bay of Quinte area and the Niagara region, are the results of Loyalist settlements from the late eighteenth century, following the American Revolution. In 1803, two families moved along the Grand River to help begin the establishment of the most concentrated Ontario group of Germans in Waterloo County (Lehmann: 1986, 66). The German population grew without much influence from British migrants because they owned large tracts of land which they were unwilling to sell to migrants of British origin (Lehmann: 1986, 69). Small concentrations to the north and west of Waterloo were settled primarily by Germans from the Waterloo area. In Renfrew County, there is a group of Germans who migrated over in the 1860s as a result of the Canadian government's attempts to populate the Canadian Shield. In areas of high concentration, such as Waterloo County, there appear to be high levels of endogamy. Outside these areas, the reverse seems to be true. In Figure 4.6.1 this is seen from the distribution along Yonge Street, Georgian Bay area and west of cities of London and Kingston. These differences appear more marked than for the largest

FIGURE 4.6.1: DISTRIBUTION OF GERMAN MARRIAGES, ONTARIO,

1871

Source: 1871 Census of Canada

Table '4.9 The Distribution of Marriages by Marriage Type by Date of First Settlement

Year	African Origin						Dutch Origin					
	All			Endogamous			All			Endogamous		
	n	%	n	n	%	%	n	%	n	n	%	%
< 1800	16	64.0	13	81.3	3	18.7	40	54.9	28	70.0	12	30.0
1800-1820	2	8.0	2	100.0	0	0.0	12	16.4	6	50.0	6	50.0
1821-1840	6	24.0	5	83.3	1	16.7	14	19.2	5	36.0	9	64.0
1841-1860	1	4.0	1	100.0	0	0.0	5	6.8	2	40.0	3	60.0
> 1860	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	2.7	0	0.0	2	100.0
Year	English Origin						French Origin					
	All			Endogamous			All			Endogamous		
	n	%	n	n	%	%	n	%	n	n	%	%
< 1800	502	33.2	345	68.7	157	31.3	109	50.0	83	76.0	26	0.0
1800-1820	346	23.6	207	59.8	139	40.2	40	18.3	31	78.0	9	56.0
1821-1840	432	29.0	277	64.1	155	35.9	54	24.6	37	69.0	17	17.0
1841-1860	129	8.8	69	53.5	60	46.5	14	6.4	10	71.0	4	14.0
> 1860	49	3.4	34	69.4	15	31.6	1	0.5	1	100.0	0	0.0
Year	German Origin						Irish Origin					
	All			Endogamous			All			Endogamous		
	n	%	n	n	%	%	n	%	n	n	%	%
< 1800	233	46.2	143	61.4	90	38.6	370	24.0	245	66.0	125	34.0
1800-1820	122	24.2	81	66.4	41	33.5	398	26.0	303	76.0	95	23.0
1821-1840	77	15.3	49	63.6	28	36.4	481	31.0	364	76.0	117	23.0
1841-1860	68	13.5	55	80.9	13	19.1	238	16.0	160	67.0	78	33.0
> 1860	4	0.8	3	75.0	1	25.0	46	3.0	32	70.0	14	30.0
Year	Scottish Origin											
	All			Endogamous								
	n	%	n	n	%	%						
< 1800	271	28.0	166	61.3	105	18.7						
1800-1820	212	22.0	135	63.7	77	36.3						
1821-1840	286	30.0	190	66.4	96	33.6						
1841-1860	167	17.0	119	71.3	48	29.6						
> 1860	24	2.5	14	58.3	10	41.7						

Source: Computations by the Author: 1871 Census of Canada

ethnic groups. Exogamy appears quite marked for Germans in urban areas but then the Germans were predominantly situated in rural areas with the exceptions of towns in Waterloo County and the Bay of Quinte area. There is a discernible pattern here and reasons for this pattern will be further discussed in the conclusion.

4.10 Date of First Settlement and Inter-marriage

As the German and English examples show, and the distribution of total, endogamous and exogamous marriages suggest, the date of first settlement may be useful in studying marriage behaviour. Table 4.9 summarizes the marriage distribution by SLQ and by date of first settlement for each ethnic group. There is not much variation between time periods for any of the groups with the exceptions of the Dutch, who show a general increase in exogamy through time, and the Germans who also increased their endogamous rate in the post-1840 era. For the Dutch, this may be the result of their initial settlement in the earliest time periods. As Loyalists from the American Revolution, their small population base would not be reinforced until much later in the nineteenth century. For the Germans, this pattern may have resulted from the fact that the initial areas of German settlement were reaching capacity as previously described and thus they were forced to migrate to other areas including Bruce County and the upper Ottawa Valley. It must be re-iterated that there was not much variation in marriage behaviour through time for most

of the groups. Thus, using date of first settlement as a surrogate of immigration patterns and frontier development, shows little support for the distribution of marriages, though it may be more indicative of the role that land availability plays in marriage behaviour (Gagan:1978b, 318). It also may indicate that other factors were more important like the Orange Order. The Orange Order, concerning itself with Irish Protestants, showed a dispersion pattern similar to Irish immigration patterns (Houston and Smyth:1976, 12). The organization was helpful for newly arriving immigrants and were protectors of Protestants wherever they were settled. They were even known to expel members who had married Catholics (Smyth and Houston:1976, 26).

4.11 Rural Inter-marriage

What of the couples who lived in rural areas? Did their patterns show any different patterns from their urban counterparts? Table 4.10 summarizes endogamous and exogamous rural distributions for each SLQ as was done for the urban areas in section 4.8. A chi-square test shows that the frequency of marriage was not equal and could not have occurred by chance, as in the urban case.⁵ Endogamous marriage clearly rises as the relative concentration increases for each ethnic group. Exogamy is seen to decrease within increases of relative concentrations. The range is interesting as the English have the lowest endogamous rate in the highest SLQ category and the French have the highest. All the other

Table 4.10 Standardized Location Quotients of the Distribution of Marriage Type within Rural Area

African Origin									
Dutch Origin									
SLQ	All n	%	Endogamous n	%	Exogamous n	%	All n	%	Exogamous n
< -1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0
-1 to 0	4	18.0	3	75.0	1	25.0	5	6.8	4
0 to 1	5	23.0	4	80.0	1	20.0	9	12.3	7
1 to 2	1	4.5	1	100.0	0	0.0	15	20.6	5
> 2	12	54.5	10	83.3	2	16.7	44	60.3	16
English Origin									
French Origin									
SLQ	All n	%	Endogamous n	%	Exogamous n	%	All n	%	Exogamous n
< -1	88	6.2	32	36.4	56	53.6	0	0.0	0
-1 to 0	315	22.0	182	57.8	133	42.2	56	26.0	32
0 to 1	565	40.0	357	63.2	208	36.8	31	14.0	12
1 to 2	388	28.0	286	73.7	102	26.2	21	9.6	3
> 2	53	3.8	41	77.4	12	32.6	110	49.4	9
German Origin									
Irish Origin									
SLQ	All n	%	Endogamous n	%	Exogamous n	%	All n	%	Exogamous n
< -1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	96	6.3	52
-1 to 0	107	21.0	51	47.7	56	52.3	442	29.2	171
0 to 1	164	33.0	93	56.7	71	43.3	513	33.3	133
1 to 2	96	19.0	66	68.8	30	31.2	269	17.8	46
> 2	132	26.0	118	89.4	14	10.6	194	13.4	22
Scottish Origin									
SLQ	All n	%	Endogamous n	%	Exogamous n	%	All n	%	Exogamous n
< -1	13	1.4	6	46.2	7	53.8			
-1 to 0	357	38.0	194	54.3	163	45.1			
0 to 1	250	27.0	163	65.2	87	34.8			
1 to 2	132	14.0	89	67.4	43	32.6			
> 2	188	20.6	161	85.6	27	14.4			

Source: Computations by the Author: 1871 Census of Canada

groups are closely grouped between these extremes. This differs from the urban areas mentioned previously. All the groups had higher rates in rural areas except for the Scottish. Is this indicative of a status difference of rural Scots from their urban counterparts? In terms of the British/non-British categories, Table 4.8. shows that no marriages occurred at all in areas with less than one standard deviation for the areas of non-British groups. This may be an indicator of the strength of cultural maintenance of the Germans, French and African populations. This interpretation could be supported by their high rates of endogamy seen for these groups (Table 4.1) As the map for Germans clearly shows, there is some overlap between areas of high concentration and thus certain tendencies towards outmarriage may be inferred. For instance, in the Waterloo area, outmarriage of minorities should be towards the Germans while in Glengarry it should be directed towards the numerically dominant Scots. This was partly addressed in section 4.6 which considered who married British brides because they were the 'desired' group. As seen in Table 4.6, British wives, followed by Germans, were the popular choice for husbands of all ethnic types when marrying out. Once again, any conclusions based on the maps presented here requires qualification because of the small sample sizes involved.

4.12 Seasonality of Marriage

The seasonality of marriage has been a phenomenon that

has been shown to be influenced by religion and economics. In terms of religion, marriage is prohibited for certain periods of the year. In the dominantly Christian area of Southern Ontario, these prohibitions would occur around Lent, Rogation and Advent. As seen in chapter 2, Lent saw the highest period for abstinence, Advent also was seen to be of some significance while Rogation did not have high levels. Thus the seasonality of marriage can give an indication of how important religion is to a group. Can the seasonality of intermarriage suggest any stronger attitudes to cultural maintenance? If ethnicity and religion are important, then it could be expected that those who marry in will follow religious periods for abstinence from marriage more diligently than those who choose to marry out. Figure 4.7 illustrates the seasonality of marriage for selected ethno-religious groups in this study. The other groups were omitted because of their small sample sizes. Three recognizable patterns can be seen. The highest number of marriages occur in the late winter, followed by early winter, with a lull between December and January. There is a marked drop between February and March. The summer months are relatively flat amongst the groups. This is similar to Zelinsky's pattern for the late nineteenth century in North America. He has a four month high period from Fall to early winter, corresponding to the last four months of the year. In Ontario this is 'pushed' forward with a lull in December which is a clear indication that Advent might play a

Figure 4.7. Seasonality of Marriage for Selected Ethno-Religious Groupings: Ontario, 1871

Source: 1871 Census of Canada

role. A similar drop towards April may be the influence of Easter while the flat summer trend is indicative of the largely agricultural population at this time. Time was needed for work. The actual influence of Lent and Christmas is hard to measure directly because the data are given in months and not days. This would have been more appropriate because Lent is derived from a lunar cycle - it occurred on April 17th in 1870 - while Christmas occurs on December 25th. However, the general tendencies for a decline in these periods is obvious from the Figure 4.7 Of the groups given, there is a difference in relation to the ranking, especially in terms of the Lent and Christmas. Notice that the two Catholic groups have the fewest number of marriages during these time periods while the ethno-Protestant groups are higher. This might yet be another indicator how religion may have been more important for the Irish and French Catholics in terms of the marriage behaviour (Table 4.3). This difference is also pertinent when the sudden decrease to April commences for both Catholic groups from February while for the others it occurs in March. It is unfortunate that the actual date of marriage is not known for the English Anglicans because a more precise indication of Lent could be measured. Their pattern could suggest either the importance or non-importance of Lent. Figure 4.7 shows that in March, they rank third in the least marriages performed but in April they rank the highest. The actual date of marriage would allow for a better estimation of the role of Lent, if any.

Figure 4.7.1 Seasonality of Inter-marriage for Selected Ethno-Religious Groupings by Marital Type: Ontario, 1871

Source: 1871 Census of Canada

Figure 4.7.1 shows the seasonality of intermarriage for selected ethno-religious groups. There appears to be no difference between endogamous and exogamous marriage temporal patterns. They follow the general pattern noted above with a few notable exceptions. These include the large percentage of English Methodist marriages during Christmas and the unimodal peaked French Catholic distribution at the beginning of the year. When couples took their vows apparently was not influenced by whether they outmarried or inmarried. This suggests other factors should be considered, for instance, the economic structure of the time which the literature on seasonality also emphasizes -- for example see Gunn (1990) and Edwards (1977). For instance, the French Canadian pattern may have been influenced by the fact that they were concentrated partly along the Ottawa River where the main industry at this time was lumbering (Gaffield:1979, 55).

4.13 Summary

This analysis of the data showed similar trends in Ontario as those seen at the national level. The addition of two ethnic groups, the Dutch and Africans, and two religious groups, the Methodist and Baptists, produced additionally illuminating patterns of intermarriage to those seen in Richard's work. The provincial rate for ethnic endogamy was 16.5 percent lower than the national. The inclusion of the dominantly French Catholic province of Quebec would push the national endogamous rate higher. The rankings between the two

geographical scales remained the same as the French and Irish ranked highest in terms of endogamy. Africans also rated high in endogamous behaviour. The propensity of intermarriage, used to control for group size, showed low overall patterns of intermarriage though some groups were lower than others. In terms of ethnicity and religion, Catholic ethnic groups showed higher levels of endogamy while their Protestant counterparts for the most part had much lower levels. Including religion with ethnicity produced an expected result that in the case of the Catholic ethnic groups, endogamy increased, but an unexpected result amongst the Protestant denominations, it remained the same or even lowered it! In terms of different types of exogamy among ethnic-religious groups, an interesting pattern emerged. The most popular type of exogamy involved finding a spouse of similar religion but different ethnicity. There was a marked clustering by the Protestant groups irrespective of ethnicity. The Methodists ranked the highest, followed by the Presbyterians, Anglicans and finally the Baptists. French and Irish Catholics differed greatly in this respect though one should keep their high endogamous rates in mind. English and Irish Anglicans differed in terms of outmarrying to another group involving a different religion but within their own ethnic group. Surprisingly, the second most popular type of exogamous behaviour was choosing a spouse of a totally different ethnic and religious background. This was also the case at the national level. Maps and tables

summarizing spatial distributions at the rural and urban scales showed an increase in endogamy in areas with increasing relative concentrations of ethnic groups. However, they did lend support to the role that propinquity would play in studying intermarriage. Moreover, the maps showed that other factors are to be considered when studying spatial marriage patterns. This was also seen with the average age of intermarriage. Only the German Methodists were found to have significant differences between endogamous and exogamous average ages at marriage. The Irish religious groups did not show any difference which was surprising considering the number of Catholics within the Irish population.

British wives were the most popular choice, with the English ranking the highest, for men who outmarried. The Germans were the next popular group, albeit at a very low level but this might be supportive of the general acceptance of Germans among Northern Europeans as the preferred choice of emigrants at this time. A logit regression found that literacy, residing in an urban area, age and the interaction of age with nativity tended to increase the odds of outmarriage. The role of religion in cultural maintenance could be seen in the abstinence from marriage during Lent but not at other times. Marrying in or out did not seem to factor into what time of the year couples chose to marry. The implications of these findings will be addressed in the conclusion.

Endnotes

1. Figures reported from Richard's work are reported faithfully but show a curious inconsistency in terms of absolute numbers and percentages.

2. The following t-values were calculated using a 99 percent critical level for average age at current marriage for Irish Catholics, Methodists, Presbyterians and Anglicans. In all cases the null hypothesis was accepted.

Irish Husbands

Catholic vs Anglican, $t = 1.16$, $df = 333$
 Catholic vs Methodist, $t = 2.11$, $df = 333$
 Catholic vs Presbyterian, $t = 1.71$, $df = 333$
 Anglican vs Methodist, $t = .63$, $df = 531$
 Anglican vs Presbyterian, $t = -.71$, $df = 351$
 Methodist vs Presbyterian, $t = -1.23$, $df = 351$

Irish Wives

Catholic vs Anglican, $t = 1.85$, $df = 333$
 Catholic vs Methodist, $t = 1.90$, $df = 333$
 Catholic vs Presbyterian, $t = 2.5$, $df = 333$
 Anglican vs Methodist, $t = -.77$, $df = 528$
 Anglican vs Presbyterian, $t = .77$, $df = 356$
 Methodist vs Presbyterian, $t = 1.05$, $df = 356$

3. t value for husbands = 3.45, $df = 115$; wives = 2.70, $df = 110$.

4. The following chi-square values allowed for the rejection (99 percent confidence) of the null hypothesis. Note the degrees of freedom are different because some classes were combined. The calculated values of chi-square for the English was 561.4 with 4 df; the Germans at 52.5 with 3 df; the French with 115.3 with 3 df; the Irish were 411.1 with 4 df and the Scottish with 128.1 with 3 df. The African and the Dutch groups were not tested because chi-square requires a minimum frequency of five in a class category.

5. The African group was not tested because it did not meet the minimum requirement class frequency of chi-square. As with the urban case, the following chi-square values allowed for the rejection (99 percent confidence) of the null hypothesis. The values chi-square for the English was 647.6 with 4 df; the Germans at 21.9 with 3 df; the French with 87.3 with 3 df; the Irish were 394.0 with 4 df; the Scottish with 351.9.1 with 3 df and the Dutch were 51.2 with 3 df.

Chapter 5

Conclusions

Marriage is a public as well as a private matter. However it is approached, it can illuminate various aspects of the nature of society in all time periods. Richard (1991) used intermarriage in an attempt to study assimilation at Confederation. She did so for Canada as a whole and compared her results with those found a century later. This was the first attempt to trace this phenomenon in the nineteenth century using data drawn from the 1871 Census of Canada. Acting for the Canadian Historical Mobility Project, she took advantage of the fact that 1871 Canadian census contained information on ethnicity, religion and nativity. This allowed for a more in-depth analysis unlike that seen in American studies where the collection of religious data was frowned upon because of ideas of the separation of church and state.

Richard (1991: 146) commented that her data permitted little study of provincial differences. This present study attempts to build upon Richard's work by studying intermarriage within the southern portion of the province of Ontario. An important difference between the types of data source was that the provincial data which were collected for only those individuals who answered a question directly on being married within the twelve months prior to the census of 1871. Thus this study of intermarriage in Ontario might be more indicative of any form of assimilation because it is

dealing with a group of people who married within the previous year. This is juxtaposed to Richard's sample which would include couples who may have married two, five, ten, twenty years previously. This would introduce many variables into her study because the social and economic circumstances would have been different for those who married twenty years ago to those who married in 1870. By taking a cross-sectional population as described above for those in Ontario in 1871, some differences may become more apparent. It was also for this reason that other ethnic and religious groups, omitted by Richard, were included for a variety of reasons. The Dutch had been in Ontario since the earliest days of the province and the Africans had fled the United States during the Civil War. Certain religious denominations who played important parts in the religious history of the province, such as the Baptists and the Methodists, were also included. Numerically, the Methodists were the largest denomination in 1871 in Ontario.

When compared to the national level, the newly formed couples in Ontario behaved in a similar manner. The rates of intramarriage were much lower than the national counterparts but the relative rankings were the same. The Irish and French were the highest, with the English ranking the lowest but one important difference was the low levels of intramarriage for the Scottish. At the national level, the concentration of French Catholics in the province of Quebec is thought to drive the low rates of exogamy but this would not hold true in

Ontario where they were a minority. Using propensities which control for group size showed the above pattern basically held true but also reinforced the idea that intramarriage was still high.

Including religious affiliation was thought to re-inforce marriage behaviour. In Ontario, it had the expected effect of increasing endogamy on the two predominantly Catholic groups - the Irish and the French. But there were decreases for the various Protestant ethno-religious groups. German Lutherans remained relatively unchanged. At the national level, only the English showed little change in intermarriage rates when combined with those of Anglican affiliation. But all other groups showed an increase. When marrying out, the three possible choices -- a partner of either different ethnicity or religion or a partner with both a different ethnicity and religion -- demonstrated similar patterns of behaviour at the national or provincial scale. All groups took the expected route of choosing a mate of similar religion but different ethnic origin. Surprisingly, Richard found that the second popular choice was an indifference towards both ethnicity AND religion which would be an indication of total assimilation. There were differences in terms of nativity unlike the previous ethnic only cross-tabulations. Though the endogamous rates were high for both the native-born and the foreign-born, the native-born showed consistently higher rates with the Irish and English showing especially high levels. In terms of

who they married when husbands married out, all groups predominantly chose wives from the three largest groups, the English, Irish and Scottish. This may be an indication of the melting pot ideas of assimilation, those that deal that with immigrants intermarrying across ethnic lines more so than religious boundaries. These groups were the preferred group in terms of immigration policy. The next highest non-British origin group were the Germans who also ranked heavily in terms of immigrant preferences of the government (Lehmann: 1986, 45).

One way of interpreting the results is to see that religion had the effect of increasing the endogamous behaviours of certain ethnic groups of Catholic persuasion and decreasing, or at best maintaining, it for those groups with Protestant affiliations. Is this supportive of the overall view of a general Catholic/Protestant divide that existed in Canada in the nineteenth century which has been described by Grant (1988)? Relations between Catholics and Protestants in Ontario in the nineteenth century were not as acrimonious in the beginning of the century as they would be later. In the beginning of the century, there were two small clusters of Catholics in the province coincidentally at the geographic extremes of the province. French Catholics had settled in the Windsor region while Scottish Catholics were near the Quebec border in Glengarry County. Because these two groups were remote from one another there was little room for ethnic

clashes. These clashes were alleviated by Alexander MacDonnell who would become the first bishop of the Diocese of Kingston after the formation of the breakup of the diocese of Quebec (Choquette:1993, 9). The Constitutional Act of 1791 which divided the colony into Upper and Lower Canada also gave Catholics in Ontario full political rights as opposed to those in Britain where official anti-Catholicism was still well entrenched (Miller: 1993, 26). As Miller (1993, 28) notes, when Irish immigration greatly increased the numbers of Catholics in Ontario, it was thus spared the necessity of overcoming legal restrictions on its civil and religious freedom. It is important to remember that before the Irish arrived, the Catholic population was very small and any gains made in this respect should be taken into account especially since many of them were made mostly in reference to the French in Quebec. The arrival of the Irish in the 1840s is seen by Miller to be an "encouraging" effect of the increased theological basis of anti-Catholicism in the mid-nineteenth century. These new immigrants were thought to be a menace because their ethnic and religious failings were thought to have resulted in their poor, malnourished state (Miller:1993, 37). These ill-conceived ideas did not help in attempts in the 1850s when public support for denominational schools was sought, even though previous arrangements had been worked out. Irish Catholic prominence in the anti-Confederate party helped keep these prejudices alive in the 1860s (Miller:1993, 38).

This may go a long way in explaining the observed low outmarriage rates for the Catholic groups in 1871.

Implicit in the above is that all Catholics were a unified group. Yet there is another aspect which may explain why there was little outmarriage towards the French in general and by Catholics in particular. After 1840, three main factors purportedly increased tension between the French and English Catholics who before 1840 were in fact largely Scottish. Before the 1840s, the Scottish Catholics played a role that was not terribly disruptive because only a small proportion of the population was Catholic and the two groups were geographically remote from one another. Their actions were helped by the fact that the Catholic Church in Scotland had made some headway with the British authorities in England for various reasons, including which was the Napoleonic War. The Scottish Catholic Church was courted by British authorities who needed institutional support during the war while the Church sought to protect its land holdings in France from which they derived revenue. The Church ceased to be a clandestine underground operation because each group had stakes in France (Bumsted: 1993, 84).

However, the 1837 Rebellion, followed by Durham's Report and the subsequent large Irish immigration, would prove to increase tensions within the Catholic community (Choquette: 1993, 10). New dioceses were created but frequently the bishops chosen were of French origin. Various religious orders

coming into Ontario to establish schools, hospitals, missions and colleges also were predominantly of French origin including the Oblates and Basilians (Choquette: 1993, 11). Though it is important, there were attempts to find appropriate non-French clergy but these were unsuccessful. The French replacements were bilingual though this did not seem to appease the new Catholic immigrants. Choquette (1993: 11) argues that English Catholics like their Protestant brethren believed in "progressivism, British Imperialism, English language superiority and related racist doctrines." The French had their own schools and were being taught in French. The settlement of large numbers of French along in the Ottawa River in the 1860s may have entrenched these anti-French ideas even further in much the same way the arrival of the Famine Irish had on Catholics in general. These new French settlements compounded the tension because their diocesan boundaries were in Quebec while they were politically bounded to Ontario. The bishops in Ottawa reacted negatively to initial attempts at 'appropriation' but this became one of a few drawn out battles. Choquette (1993:12) goes on to describe other events, past the 1871 time scope of this study, that would bring English-French Catholic differences into the public eye. These included the hanging of Louis Riel, Manitoba's 1890 school legislation removing official status of French and confessional schools. Essentially when given a choice, English Catholics would choose to join with their

Protestant counterparts as opposed to their religious counterparts even though they would have felt some discrimination on their own because of their Catholic affiliation. The church to French Catholics, in Ontario and elsewhere, was seen as a protector of its faith and language. Language was not as much as a concern for the English Catholics who were predominantly of Irish origin. This, of course, is not to say that there were leaders who tried to create unity among Catholics throughout Canada. In terms of marriage behaviour, it is reflected in the high endogamous rates for both the Irish and the French.

A logit regression model recognized the importance of one variable that was alluded to above, that is, the role of literacy which in another broader context deals with the issue of schooling. Literacy in the intermarriage literature emphasizes the notion that an individual will chose a mate with a similar literacy background (Glick: 1970, 238). The school is a good place to meet a future spouse if one considers that the exposure to others is greatly increased in such surroundings. The importance of schooling, in terms of cultural maintenance and as a means of assimilation, has been alluded to above especially in terms of its denominational aspects. Intermarriage alone is one form of assimilation and like other factors that may influence it, the effects are compounded.

For instance, Darroch and Soltow (1994, 140) describe two

local studies that discuss how schooling and the interplay of other factors influenced the education experience for the French and the Irish. The first study was by Gaffield who studied the relationship between language and schooling amongst anglophones and francophones in the Ottawa Valley, an area previously discussed in terms of the dispute over diocese boundaries. The second deals with Akenson's study of Irish schooling within Leeds and Lansdowne Township. Both studies are summarized as:

"He [Gaffield] argues that attitudes towards education and school enrolments after mid-century reflected the cultural geography and locational preferences of the two communities, as well as the exigencies of family economics and material security. The Catholic Church's strong support for the growth of the separate schools, to strengthen the Catholic community, was sometimes reinforced and sometimes resisted by the local lay community in their concern for French-language maintenance. But in the end, the relative irrelevance of schooling to economic well-being and the inadequacy of school facilities conspired to produce very limited educational opportunities for francophone Catholic children." (Darroch and Soltow:1994, 140)

Can it be further suggested that marital opportunities could also be limited as seen in this present study? On the other hand Akenson's work is summarized as:

"He [Akenson] argues, the thorough adoption in Canada West of the Irish national system of education, including Irish texts, had the effect of smoothing the adaption of both Irish-Catholic and Irish-Protestant migrants. Moreover, the specific attention given in Ireland to a denominationally neutral, though distinctly Christian, curriculum mitigated local concern with religious conflict. Most important, there were too few Catholics to warrant separate schools and, hence, 'Catholics did not sulkily accept the common schools but adhered to them with as much enthusiasm as did any one

else."(Darroch and Soltow:1994, 140)

In this instance, one could expect more intermarriage to occur across religious lines but this did not occur widely (see Table 4.3). By 1871, there were separate schools and apparently they had the desired effect of cultural maintenance as seen through the intermarriage rates provided here.

Lehmann (1986) has written about the education and related linguistic experiences of another ethnic group in Ontario, the Germans. For example, consider the Germans in one of the oldest settled areas of Ontario: Dundas and Glengarry Counties. The Church of England played a dominant role in the partial assimilation by enticing both Lutheran ministers to convert their congregations. Since the Anglicans believed the pastor, not the congregation, had the right to dispose of church property, these congregations were in trouble. For a decade, until the arrival of another Lutheran minister, they had services in English. Upon the arrival of Reverend Hayunga, several younger members tried to use English thereby making this cleric the first to use German and English. His successors taught only in English. But by 1871, a quarter of the individuals in Stormont and Dundas Counties still identified themselves as Germans. This is attributed by Lehmann (1986, 52) to their Lutheranism as seen in their language use at home and the use of the German Bible. This supports Gordon's assumption of the importance of religion as an reinforcer of culture. Lehmann (1986, 56) then compares

them to other German Loyalists in the Bay of Quinte area who used English as well but also converted to Methodism by the 1840s.

In the Niagara region, the German Catholic population was neglected by Waterloo County priests whose own congregations were increasing sizably in the 1860s. These Catholics joined neighbouring Irish churches while their Lutheran counterparts linked up with the Presbyterians or Methodists (Lehmann:1986, 65). Yet, the Germans in Waterloo County had managed to isolate themselves from British immigrants to the 1850s by effectively controlling the sale of the land to incoming German immigrants (Lehmann: 1986, 71). They maintained their culture and labour supply by selling small parcels of land cheaply to German immigrants. These migrants, upon acquiring the requisite agricultural skills, would then be encouraged to acquire land in neighbouring Wilmot and Wellesley Townships. Due to the German revolutions at mid-century, immigration peaked in this area in the 1850s. This congestion led to massive emigration to the northern counties of Bruce and Grey. But newer German immigrants were now bypassing Waterloo County and heading directly towards Bruce and Grey. This meant that Waterloo County was now being populated by non-Germans, not too surprisingly the Scots, English and Irish (Lehmann: 1986, 73). The significant difference between these Germans and Germans in older settled areas was their successful advocacy of German instruction even in their public schools

(Lehmann:1986, 74). When in sufficient numbers, separate schools were built for Germans of all religious persuasions. Because of a change in laws in 1851, these religious separate schools were seen as equivalent to public school and more importantly, unilingual German teachers could be hired where Germans were the most populous groups in the area. A major difference was that German parents also wished their children to learn some English because it would help them in their future. In 1872, they received a special inspector for their schools in this regard and thus bilingual instruction could be maintained.

What do these developments say about intermarriage? Germans were likely to lose their language but for different reasons and at different times in different parts of Ontario. In Eastern Ontario, they remained German mainly because of their Lutheran background while those in the Bay of Quinte lost their language and original religious affiliation. Those in the Waterloo area were able to reject assimilative measures for a longer period of time because they effectively controlled a large section of the area through land transactions. They appeared to have encouraged bilingualism but still believed in the importance of German as a language. This is supportive of the notions of why the Germans, and other Northwestern European immigrants were preferred because they eventually could become assimilated. Even though German Lutherans showed generally low rates of intermarriage in

Ontario, the lowest rates were concentrated in the most populous German areas of Ontario in 1871 were measures to maintain their ethnic background.

A group of people not considered by Richard, no doubt due to their small population size, but important to any study of intermarriage, are the Africans. It has been an extremely popular group to study in the United States for obvious reasons. Crester and Leon describe how "...at one time, forty of the fifty states had laws which prohibited blacks from intermarrying with whites...that even by 1966, seventeen states had formal prohibitions." (Crester and Leon:1982, 3) Africans in Ontario in 1871 composed less than one percent of the population but ranked sixth overall in terms of total population. The Civil War had just ended in the United States with a large number of Africans fleeing the States for Canada using primarily the "Underground Railway". In this study, African or African Methodist intermarriage was amongst the lowest of the groups which suggests that other factors including discrimination influenced their choice. This is likely, considering they have fled one country for another which had abandoned slavery decades earlier (Hill:1963, 65). Originally in the United States, the evangelical groups, the Baptists and Methodists, attracted many slaves because they offered the freedom to worship and eventual emancipation (Semple:1996, 124). Much like the Irish did in relation to a dominantly French clergy, Africans asked for and received

black ministers with whom they were familiar. This church became independent of the American parent body and adopted the name British Methodist Episcopal to signify its attempts at becoming a "loyal, indigenous church of the British colonies" (Semple:1996, 126).

Stouffer (1992) has written on the anti-slavery movement in Ontario. In his chapter dealing with residents' comments on antislavery seen in newspapers, he demonstrates that racism existed in Ontario even though slavery had long since been abolished in the province. It would also be an indication why the African population in Ontario, even small in number, had the lowest outmarriage rate (Table 4.1). Stouffer (1992, 193) notes the salient features of freedmen and how, when assessing the issue of their future, they were ... "incorrigibly lazy, explosively passionate, pliable and credulous and possessing certain bizarre qualities". This included the notion that is reminiscent of environmental determinism that Africans were "... suited by nature and habit for life in warm climates ..." and thus could not survive in the cold Canadian environment (Stouffer:1992, 198).

More importantly in regards to this thesis, are the views given in the newspapers on social contacts between these two groups. In papers like the Ottawa Citizen it was written that there was supposed to be a natural feeling of repugnance of whites towards blacks and that social mixing would lead to racial conflict. The eventual outcome was that whites would

join against blacks if civil equality would be given to Freedmen in the United States (Stouffer:1992, 194). This, of course, led to comments about why there should be no intermarriage allowed. If given equal rights, blacks would demand entry into "general society". Others commented that the offspring from such unions would be physically inferior (Stouffer:1992, 210). As Stouffer relates comments in the Hamilton Evening Times "... only "kindred races" intermarried, and their offspring were sturdy people with the potential to become "great nations" like England; but when opposites, such as black and white races were alleged to be, violated nature's edict, their progeny were backward people who gradually degenerated and died out" (Stouffer:1992, 200). As disturbingly, even pro-black newspapers shared some of these views. Stouffer (1992, 202) notes that this is not indicative of racial thought of the general population but it does give some insights into the nature of racial thought and one means that helped to shape it. Though a combination of factors may have influenced intermarriage patterns amongst peoples of different origins in post-Confederation Ontario, for this group another component should be considered in the sense of belonging to a group: their racial background. These negative comments should not cause the reader to forget Canadians played a role in helping this group flee the United States. It would have been interesting to note that in Richard's case, the addition of people of African origin in Nova Scotia could

have provided another illuminating insight on intermarriage.

One difference between the national and provincial levels of intermarriage was high intermarriage for the English in general and English Anglicans and Baptists in particular. English Anglicans would be the dominant group to marry into because of their propensity to be in professional occupations. Work by Darroch and Ornstein (1984, 126) shows that, in Ontario, in 1871, the English did show higher frequencies in merchant, manufacturing and artisans occupational groups. But, they were no different from other ethnic groups in that the majority were either farmers or labourers. In fact, except for Irish Catholics in labouring, most ethnic groups showed a variety of occupational attainment that was not significantly different from any other group. There was a fair deal of occupational mobility across status lines most especially from labouring to farming. Does this mean that English Anglicans did not deserve the recognition as the preferred group to marry into, especially if they are really no different than other groups in regards to occupation? It could always be a question of perception because they did have a higher tendency to be in more 'professional' occupations. Also having failed in becoming the 'established' church of the province, coupled with the eclipse of the Family Compact and the disappearance of the military, the Church of England drew most of its members now from first and second generation immigrants from Ireland and England (Grant:1988, 159). Could this somehow

account for their high outmarriage rate? The other intriguing result is that English Baptists also showed high intermarriage rates.

In a recent study by Darroch and Soltow (1995), another indicator of status is related to land and housing ownership. The evangelical groups of Baptists and Methodists when compared to the Anglicans, had an advantage in the amount of land ownership (Darroch and Soltow: 1995, 59). In terms of home ownership, the Baptists were more likely to own more houses and the Anglicans were lowest (Darroch and Soltow: 1995, 95). This relationship was more accentuated when comparisons were made for ownership of more than two houses (Darroch and Soltow: 1995, 97). In terms of property, the Baptists appeared to have more than the Anglicans. But like the Anglicans in this marital study, the English Baptists show a high outmarriage rate. This contradicts Darroch and Soltow's interpretation that inheritance was endogamous (Darroch and Soltow: 1995, 96). Could their low intramarriage rate be seen as an attempt to keep what they have for the moment?

Darroch and Soltow (Darroch and Soltow: 1995, 49) explain this distribution of wealth - among others - in terms of the middle class of Victorian Ontario gaining social respectability by the acquisition of land. For the evangelical groups this was impossible in England. The authors further suggest:

"Apparently in direct contrast to the foregoing interpretations of persistent religious

differences, it has been suggested that the deep liberal and individualistic influences of nineteenth-century Protestantism did not so much distinguish denominational groups as assimilate them. For example, in emphasizing the formative cultural continuity of pre-Confederation Ontario, Harris and Warkentin write, 'In stressing individual freedom before time and community, most Ontarians held values that were liberal in the classic sense...Tradition and community were weakened in such settings, as were value systems that did not emphasize individual initiative of freedom. For this reason groups of different background tended to merge in Ontario'".

This view is further supported, as the authors contend, through the observed increase in the institutionalization of churches and sect, reflected in the appointment of permanent clergy, the territorial concentration of congregations and the building of formal church structures.

This interpretation may also hold for the intermarriage values produced by this study. There did appear to be a general difference between Protestant and Catholic ethnic groups and the lowest values were found with the Protestant groups. This can be supported by recalling that intermarriage did not vary much through areas with different dates of settlement for selected ethnic groups except for a slight increase for the Germans. Religion appeared to reinforce endogamy for the Catholics because even though they enjoyed legal equality, this did not translate to the community level as discussed above. For the Protestant groups, this reinforcement did not occur. Could this be indicative of the assimilative process that is referred to above by Darroch and Soltow?

Marital assimilation as seen in Richard's work in a social aspect shows that it is a complicated phenomenon to study. Richard's work does show that various demographic influences can be influential in the interpretation of marriage but other studies including Darroch and Soltow, show also that economic considerations must be considered.

This work confirms both findings. It also points to the seasonality of marriage viewed in both religious and economic terms. Finally, it was revealed that there was some spatial component in the pattern of intermarriage in Ontario in 1871. This may have been strengthened at a later date, a topic of further investigation.

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Appendix 1

List of Religious Denominations among the Couples in this
Study, Ontario, 1871

Catholic

Roman Catholic

Anglican

Church of England

Episcopalian

Church of Ireland

Lutheran

Lutheran

Baptist

Baptist

Free Will Baptist

Reformed Baptist

C.C. Baptist

Christian Conference Baptist

Union Baptist

Regular Baptist

Tunker

Other Baptist

Methodist

Methodist

Wesleyan Methodist

Episcopal Methodist

Primitive Methodist

New Connexion Methodist

British Methodist

British Episcopal Methodist

J. Methodist E.

I. Methodist E.

Dutch Methodist

Calvinistic Methodist

Bible Christian

Other Methodist

Presbyterian

Presbyterian

Canadian Presbyterian

Church of Scotland

Reformed Presbyterian

American Presbyterian

W. Presbyterian

N. Presbyterian

United (Kirk) Presbyterian

Free Church (Kirk) Presbyterian

Established Presbyterian

Other Presbyterian

Other

Congregationalist

Unitarian

Protestant

United Brethren

Plymouth Brethren

Christian Brethren

Adventist

Seventh Day Adventists

Spiritualist

Universalist

Quaker or Friends

Mennonite

Jew

Swedenborgian

Independent

Evangelical

Evangelical Association

Disciple

Church of Christ

Christian

Calvinist

Pagan

Secular

No Religion

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