Acadiensis

ACADIENSIS

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Volume 22, numéro 1, autumn 1992

URI : https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/acad22_1art03

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Éditeur(s)

The Department of History of the University of New Brunswick

ISSN

0044-5851 (imprimé)
1712-7432 (numérique)

Découvrir la revue

Citer cet article

Beattie, B. (1992). "Going Up to Lynn":: Single, Maritime-Born Women in Lynn, Massachusetts, 1879-1930. *Acadiensis*, *22*(1), 65–86.

BETSY BEATTIE

"Going Up To Lynn": Single, Maritime-Born Women in Lynn, Massachusetts, 1879-1930

IN THE SPRING OF 1871 HANNAH RICHARDSON, age 27, travelled from Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, to Lynn, Massachusetts, where she found work as a stitcher in P.P. Sherry's shoe shop.[1] More than 50 years later another Nova Scotia woman, Vera Ditmars, came to Lynn seeking work and took a secretarial position in the city's large General Electric facility.[2] Throughout the intervening years thousands of young, single women from all three of the Maritime Provinces took similar journeys "up" to Lynn, and a rare few left brief records of their experiences in the form of diaries, letters, or anecdotes remembered by children and grandchildren. These scattered impressions alone offer only fragments of individual experiences. However, combined with supporting evidence from censuses and other primary and secondary materials, they open a window onto the world of single, Maritime-born women in New England, and thus expand our perspectives on Maritime out-migration.

In the years between 1870 and 1930 the Maritime Provinces experienced two serious economic dislocations: the ultimate failure of indigenous industrial development and the net out-migration of nearly 500,000 of its population. Historians who have addressed the subject of Maritime out-migration have understandably connected the two phenomena and, as a result, they have focused their research on the relationship between declining employment in the region and the departure of its youth. For example, scholars such as Marcus Hansen, J. Bartlett Brebner and Alan Brookes have argued that the decline of the region's shipbuilding, fishing and farming economies was a major force impelling young men to look for work in Central and Western Canada and the United States. More recently, Patricia Thornton has added a new dimension to the debate. Reversing cause and effect, she maintains that the loss of a large number of enterprising youth was itself a factor contributing to the economic decline of the Maritimes.[3]

1 Information about Hannah Richardson was taken from two different copies of selections from her 1872 diary. The first is a typescript version owned by Toni Laidlaw, a professor at Dalhousie University. The second is a shorter version with an introductory text, which was included in Margaret Conrad, Toni Laidlaw and Donna Smyth, eds., *No Place Like Home: Diaries and Letters of Nova Scotia Women, 1771-1938* (Halifax, 1988), pp. 153-67. The diary itself is owned by Mrs. Wyndham Morton of Framingham, Massachusetts.

2 Information about Vera Ditmars was taken from a letter written by Dale A. Young of Middleton, Nova Scotia, to Betsy Beattie, 2 November 1988. Vera Ditmars was the sister of Walter Ditmars, a friend of Dale Young.

3 See Marcus Lee Hansen and John Bartlett Brebner, *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples* (New Haven, 1940); Alan Alexander Brookes, "The Exodus: Migration from the Maritimes

Betsy Beattie, ""Going Up To Lynn": Single, Maritime-Born Women in Lynn, Massachusetts, 1879-1930", *Acadiensis,* XXII, 1 (Autumn 1992), pp. 65-86.

The historical analysis of out-migration resulting from this preoccupation with regional decline has been illuminating but limited. These studies have ignored important aspects of the subject: gender differences, attitudes about leaving, relationships to families back home and changes in the nature of out-migration over the period. Moreover, these analyses have failed to place Maritime out-migration in the broader context of population movements in other parts of the world. Studying the experiences of young Maritime women who went to New England can shed light on these unexplored topics and, when set against research from other regions, can contribute to a more complete understanding of the relationship of migration patterns to economic change.

On Saturday, 30 March 1872, Hannah Richardson wrote in her diary: "Fine. [Felt] Better and to the shop....Tonight I put $25 in the Bank".[4] Later that year, on 18 September, she made another entry: "To the shop all day. Earned $3.40 cents...."[5] Throughout 1872, the year she kept her journal, Hannah never directly mentioned why she had selected Lynn as her destination, but comments like these suggest why the city might have attracted young, single women looking for wage work in the late 19th century. Clearly, wages were sufficient to allow Hannah to pay her own room and board and still save money from her weekly pay to put into a bank account. Furthermore, a day's hard work during the busy season at P.P. Sherry's shoe shop in 1872 could earn one $3.40, a sum impressive enough to Hannah to be mentioned in her diary.

In fact, by finding work as a shoe stitcher in Lynn, Massachusetts, Hannah Richardson had placed herself in one of the highest paying factory positions available to women at that time. According to a study of women and work by Hull House researcher Edith Abbott, women shoe fitters and stitchers in the early 1870s were earning from $7 to $14 a week.[6] By contrast, wages for women in the sewing trades in Massachusetts ranged from $5 to $8 a week and for female cotton textile operatives, from $3.50 to $8 a week.[7]

Wages were high in Lynn in 1872 because the city's industries were prosperous and growing. A community of 28,000 people, Lynn was the centre of the shoe industry in Massachusetts and the acknowledged leader throughout North America in the production of fine women's footwear. Located about 15 miles north of Boston and connected to the city by frequent rail service, Lynn thrived on its proximity to Boston's large market and position as a major hub of transportation. Even the depression of 1873 did not alter Lynn's ranking as a manufacturing leader, and by 1880 the city employed over 17,000 shoe workers in more than 170 factories.[8]

to Boston During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century", Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Brunswick, 1978 and Patricia Thornton, "The Problem of Out-Migration from Atlantic Canada, 1871-1921: A New Look", *Acadiensis*, XV, 1 (Autumn 1985), pp. 3-34.

4 Hannah Richardson, diary, 1872, typescript copy of diary selections owned by Toni Laidlaw, Dalhousie University, p. 6.

5 Hannah Richardson, diary, p. 19.

6 Edith Abbott, *Women in Industry: A Study in American Economic History* (New York, 1969), p. 173.

7 Abbott, *Women in Industry*, pp. 226, 336-9.

8 John T. Cumbler, *Working-Class Community in Industrial America: Work, Leisure, and Struggle in Two Industrial Cities, 1880-1930* (Westport, Conn., 1979), p. 17.

Moreover, the major drawback to shoe work — long layoffs during the summer and winter slack seasons — did not affect the young, single migrant as severely as it did permanent residents with dependents. Daughters such as Hannah Richardson simply went home during the slow summer months. It is not surprising, then, that single women migrants chose Lynn as a place to work and that by 1885 there were more women from the Maritime Provinces living in Lynn than in any other manufacturing city in Massachusetts. Only Boston and its sister city Cambridge outranked Lynn as a destination for female Maritimers.[9]

High wages were not the only factor that set Lynn apart from most other manufacturing cities in New England. By the 1880s, while mill towns such as Lowell and Fall River, Massachusetts, were rapidly being transformed into immigrant cities of Irish, French Canadians and Southern and Eastern Europeans, Lynn remained a Yankee enclave. According to historian Mary Blewett, in 1880 "the female workforce in Lynn were still overwhelmingly young, single, native-born New Englanders", and "even the foreign-born from Nova Scotia with Scottish and English backgrounds shared basically similar cultural values with the Yankees".[10] Hannah Richardson would likely have concurred with Blewett's assessment of shared Yankee and Nova Scotia values. Her dearest friend in Lynn, whose poems of affection she wrote in the back of her diary, was Abby Moody, a shoe worker from Rumford, Maine. Hannah and Abby worked together at times, attended Methodist prayer meetings together, and travelled together to Boston for special occasions.

Thus, the shoe industry made Lynn uniquely suited for single Maritime women who sought high-paying factory jobs with congenial co-workers. More than one-third of these women in Lynn (37.8 per cent) were employed in shoemaking, a percentage that would certainly have been higher if census data had not been gathered in summer, a season of low employment in the industry (see Table One).

Another popular choice of employment, however, was not unique to Lynn but was common among Maritime women in any New England city where they migrated. An examination of the occupations listed in the 1880 U.S. census for Lynn reveals that more than half the single, Maritime-born women who worked were employed in some type of personal service — as family servants, boarding house workers, hotel waitresses or laundresses. Of these, over 90 per cent were in domestic service. Although these figures likely underestimate the number of Maritime women shoe workers and, thus, artificially inflate the percentage of servants, it is clear that far more Maritime-born single women were employed in domestic service than in any occupation outside the shoe industry. These findings match those for other New England cities. In Portland, Maine, for example, about 80 per cent of the single, Maritime-born women who listed an occupation in the 1880 census claimed to be

9 According the 1885 Massachusetts State Census, the five cities with the most Maritime-born women, in rank order, were: 1) Boston - 14,481; 2) Cambridge - 1,879; 3) Lynn - 1,878; 4) Chelsea - 1,365; and 5) Somerville - 1,236. See Carroll D. Wright, *The Census of Massachusetts: 1885* , 3 vols. (Boston, 1888), vol. II, pt. 1, pp. 489

10 Mary Blewett, *Men, Women, and Work: Class, Gender, and Protest in the New England Shoe Industry, 1780-1910* (Urbana, Ill., 1988), p. 343.

domestics or housekeepers. In Boston, according to Alan Brookes' research, "overwhelmingly, the 4,374 Maritime women employed" were in service.[11]

Table One
Occupations of Single, Maritime-Born women in Lynn, Massachusetts, 1880

Occupation	#	Occupational Group	#	% of total
Trained Nurse	1			
Artist	1			
Teacher	3	Professional	6	2.1
Music Teacher	1			
Domestic	117			
Family Cook	5			
Housekeeper	7	Domestic Service	132	45.4
Servant (Not live-in)	3			
Servant - Boarding House	8			
Servant - Hotel	2			
Waitress - Restaurant	2	Servant-Institution	17	5.8
Waitress - Saloon	1			
Saloon Laundress	4			
Shoe Worker - General	102	Shoe Work	110	37.8
Shoe Stitcher	8			
Baker	1	Other Manufacturing	4	1.4
Boxmaker	3			
Dressmaker	11			
Seamstress	2	Sewing Trades	22	7.6
Tailoress	9			
Total	291	Total	291	*100.1

* May not add up to 100 per cent because percentage figures are rounded off.

Source: 1880 United States Manuscript Census for Lynn.

11 Betsy Beattie, "Dutiful Daughters: Maritime-Born Women in New England in the Late Nineteenth Century", *Retrospection* 2 (1989), p. 22, and Brookes, "The Exodus", p. 127.

What did shoe work and domestic service — two very different occupations in the late 19th century — have in common that attracted single Maritime women? It was certainly not working or living conditions. On the one hand, while shoe workers had their evenings and Sundays to themselves, a domestic commonly began her working day before sunrise, worked until well after nightfall, and often was asked to sacrifice her time off for special occasions.[12] Servants' working conditions also varied to a greater extent than shoe workers', depending on the size and wealth of the household and the demands of its occupants. Some women even considered domestic service of such low status that they felt their sense of dignity was sacrificed when they put on the uniform of the family maid.[13] On the other hand, a woman who accepted the rigours and confines of domestic service was assured room and board, sometimes in a more comfortable home than the one she had left, while the shoe worker had to provide for her own housing and meals.

According to Daniel Sutherland, however, one benefit of domestic service was a wage that enabled "the thrifty to save respectable sums of money".[14] If Hannah Richardson's experience was typical, wages high enough to permit savings were also characteristic of shoe work in Lynn. In fact, the most likely reason that Lynn stands alone among manufacturing cities for attracting single Maritime women is that its shoe factories offered the only jobs outside domestic service that paid enough to allow a woman to cover her room and board and still have money left over for herself.

But why was it so important for these daughters of Maritime farmers, woodsmen, fishermen and artisans to find paid employment at all?[15] In the first part of the 19th century most young women in Canada had stayed home until marriage to help with domestic production — weaving cloth, making clothes, preparing and preserving food, helping with farm chores or mending nets.[16] Those who did leave seldom

12 For a general description of the daily work of a domestic servant in the United States in the late 19th century, see David Katzman, *Seven Days a Week: Women and Domestic Service in Industrializing America* (New York, 1978), pp. 122-3.

13 Alice Kessler-Harris quotes one young woman who typified how some women viewed domestic service: "Very slowly I buttoned my apron, the badge of the servant. I knew Minnie and Sadie and all the other girls who worked in shops and factories would stop associating with me. I had dropped out of their class". See Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work: A History of Wage Earning Women in the United States* (New York, 1978), p. 135.

14 Daniel Sutherland, *Americans and Their Servants: Domestic Service in the United States from 1800 to 1920* (Baton Rouge, 1981), p. 110.

15 To find information on occupations of fathers of Maritime-born single women in Lynn, I traced as many names of these women as I could find back to their families of origin through available censuses, vital statistics and baptism records in the archives of the three Maritime Provinces. For the 2,039 women found in the Lynn censuses from 1870 to 1910, I could confirm only 100 families of origin, a testament to the difficulty of tracing single women in public records. The fathers of these women worked in the following occupations: farmers — 44, artisans — 19, mariners — 7, merchants — 7, fishermen — 6, labourers — 5, miners — 1, and those claiming more than one occupation (e.g., farmer/fisherman).

16 Describing the pre-industrial family economy in Canada, historian Chad Gaffield wrote, "Women and children were active producers within families, and material security could only be achieved through collective labour". In a more recent study of the farm economy in 19th-century Ontario, Marjorie Griffin Cohen also stressed the centrality of women's work in domestic production.

travelled farther than neighbouring farms where they worked as hired girls.[17] This pattern of limited outside work by daughters was also the rule in the Maritimes, according to recent research by Rusty Bittermann on the region's rural economy in the same period. While he points out the extent to which heads of households and their sons left home to find wage work — in the woods, mines, fisheries and shipyards — daughters, like their Central Canadian and American counterparts, either worked at home or as servants.[18] What changes had occurred in the region by the mid-19th century which altered family relations to the point that daughters, too, were travelling long distances to find paying jobs? Why were young women who a generation ago would have remained on their own or their neighbour's farm now stitching shoes or working as domestics in Lynn, Massachusetts?

Hannah Richardson did not consider her motives for leaving home worth mentioning in her diary, and her working life rarely rated more comment than the brief phrase "to the shop". She never wrote about conditions in the factory, nor did she describe her work as a career. In fact, it is likely that she knew when she came to Lynn that she would stay for only a short time and then return to Yarmouth to marry her fiancé, Sam Bains. However, at the end of her diary Hannah did include a careful accounting of her finances, and here, among the assets and debits, she left a clue as to her reasons for leaving home to work in the "States". First of all, her bank deposits show that she was carefully saving money, possibly as a hand-up for her married life. But in addition to savings Hannah also sent money home to her father, most likely to help with family expenses.[19]

While no full study has yet been done on the transformation of the family economy in the Maritimes, in other parts of rural North America economic changes had altered the foundations of the family in the years between Hannah's mother's youth and her own. Jobs women had traditionally done at home — especially carding wool, spinning yarn and weaving cloth — were among the first replaced by factory

"Female labour's primary responsibility", she wrote, "was to meet the immediate needs of the family by producing clothing, food, household articles, and services for the maintenance of individuals in the family". See Chad Gaffield, "Wage Labour, Industrialization, and the Origins of the Modern Family", in Maureen Baker, ed., *The Family: Changing Trends in Canada* (Toronto, 1984), p. 24, and Marjorie Griffin Cohen, *Women's Work, Markets, and Economic Development in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto, 1988), p. 67.

17 There was one important exception to the rule that daughters in pre-industrial families remained at home. According to Faye Dudden, in her study of household service in 19th-century America, young girls sometimes worked as "help" or "hired girls". Hired girls usually worked for neighbours in small towns or rural areas, lived and ate with the families for whom they worked, and laboured alongside the mistress of the household. Being included as members of the family meant that the role of hired girl, unlike that of the domestic in the late 19th century, was closer to surrogate daughter than servant. See Faye E. Dudden, *Serving Women: Household Service in Nineteenth-Century America* (Middletown, Conn., 1983).

18 Rusty Bittermann, "Farm Households and Wage Labour in the Northeast Maritimes in the Early 19th Century" (unpublished manuscript, 1991). The one example of available outside wage work for daughters that Bittermann mentions in his essay is an advertisement, dated July 1849, seeking young women to work in a textile mill in New England. The apparent scarcity of these opportunities and the mid-century date of the advertisement suggest that it was uncommon for single women to work outside a domestic setting.

19 Conrad et al., *No Place Like Home*, p. 154.

production.[20] Evidence suggests that these changes were also taking place in all three Maritime provinces. For example, farm yields of cloth in the region decreased over the last three decades of the 19th century.[21] As household production declined, so did the economic contribution of home-bound daughters, and apparently some responded by leaving farms for the city. The likelihood that this migration took place is borne out by census data; by 1871, in both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, single men outnumbered single women in rural regions while single women outnumbered single men in urban areas (see Table Two).

In these same years capitalist development was transforming the economy of the region. Completion of the Intercolonial Railway in 1876 strengthened economic ties between the Maritimes and Central Canada, thereby matching the political ties of Confederation. By the 1880s the high tariffs of the National Policy further integrated the Maritime economy with Canada, while also supporting regional industrial development and urban growth. The impact of these changes on the independent Maritime producer was considerable: greater access to factory-produced goods and higher urban demand for farm produce were met with increased competition from larger, more heavily capitalized, Central Canadian enterprises. If the behaviour of farmers is indicative, the response of individual Maritime producers was to expand their operations and gear their production more to the demands of external markets. Thus, the total area of land improved for agriculture expanded through the second half of the 19th century, from 1,443,000 acres (584,415 ha) in 1851 to 4,222,000 acres (1,709,910 ha) in 1891.[22] On that land farmers grew more commercial crops such as apples and dairy products and less grain, which could be grown more profitably on the larger farms in Central Canada and the Prairies.[23]

20 In Central Canada, for example, Marjorie Griffin Cohen has documented the decline of domestic cloth production by the mid-19th century. In the United States the process evidently began earlier. Alice Kessler-Harris notes a decline in the domestic manufacture of cloth, candle, and brooms by the 1830s. See Griffin Cohen, *Women's Work*, p. 81; Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work*, pp. 26-7.

21 Between 1871 and 1891 domestic cloth production declined as follows: New Brunswick — 1,056,828 yds. to 486,465 yds.; Nova Scotia — 1,476,003 yds. to 760,218 yds.; and Prince Edward Island - 44,770 yds. (1881; 1871 data unavailable) to 402,144 yds. Sources: 1871, 1881 and 1891 Canadian censuses.

22 M.C. Urquhart and K.A.H. Buckley, *Historical Statistics of Canada* (Toronto, 1965), p. 352.

23 According to census data, grain production (the combined totals of winter and summer wheat, barley, oats, rye, buckwheat and corn) declined throughout the Maritimes from 1871 to 1891: in New Brunswick, from 4,602,133 bushels to 4,449,925 bu.; in Nova Scotia, from 3,005,139 bu. to 2,177,989 bu.; and in Prince Edward Island, from 4,315,941 bu. (1881; 1871 data unavailable) to 3,771,128 bu. Across the same period production of certain commercial crops increased. Production of apples rose dramatically, from 126,395 bu. to 259,615 bu. in New Brunswick, from 342,513 bu. to 1,051,592 bu. in Nova Scotia, and from 31,881 bu. (1881) to 52,018 bu. in Prince Edward Island. The number of dairy cattle increased in New Brunswick from 83,220 to 106,649 head and in Nova Scotia from 122,688 to 141,684 head. (In Prince Edward Island the number of head declined very slightly between 1881 and 1891, from 45,895 to 45,849; no data are available from 1871.) The amount of butter produced also rose, from 5,115,947 lb. to 7,798,268 lb. in New Brunswick, from 7,161,867 lb. to 9,001,118 lb. in Nova Scotia, and from 1,1688,690 lb. (1881) to 1,969,213 lb. in Prince Edward Island. Sources: *Census of Canada 1870-71*, III, various paging, *Census of Canada 1880-81*, III, passim; and *Census of Canada 1890-91*, IV, passim.

Table Two
Single Men and Women in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia
Living in Rural and Urban Areas of the Provinces, 1871

	Rural Areas		**Urban Areas	
	#	% of total	#	% of total
Single Men	223,217	52.4	23,918	48.3
Single Women	202,777	47.6	25,627	51.7
Total	425,994	*100.0	49,545	*100.0

* May not add up to 100 per cent because percentage figures are rounded off.
** Urban areas include the three largest cities in each province: Saint John, Fredericton and Moncton in New Brunswick; Halifax, Dartmouth and Truro in Nova Scotia.

Source: *Census of Canada 1870-71.*

However, expansion of operations, specialization of production and increased dependence on factory-produced goods all meant a growing need for cash — to buy land, implements and household items. The conjunction in these years of a rising demand for cash, the declining economic contribution of home-bound daughters, and the higher percentage of single women in urban than rural areas suggests that some Maritimers had adopted new family strategies to cope with new economic conditions: sending daughters to work in cities to help supply needed money at home. Perhaps the experience of Jennie Peck in 1878 was typical. According to her son, she went to work in New England in 1878, to "get cash, much of which was sent back to buy fertilizer and plows".[24]

In fact, the transfer of a daughter's labour from home to wage work seems to have been a common response of families wherever capitalist development had an impact on the traditional family economy. Patricia Thornton noted that in the 1870s and 1880s the majority of out-migrants from the Maritime Provinces were young, single females who went to work in nearby cities.[25] One hundred years earlier the geographer E.G. Ravenstein had made a similar observation about Western Europe: that short-distance, rural-to-urban migration in the 19th century was dominated by

24 Interview by Betsy Beattie with Edgar McKay, Orono, Maine, 5 May 1986.
25 Thornton, "The Problem of Out-Migration", p. 20.

women.[26] More recently, two scholars of women's work in Europe, Louise Tilly and Joan Scott, built on Ravenstein's findings by documenting the relationship between female migration to cities and family responses to industrial development. Observing that European families sent daughters out to work to bring home cash wages, they named this new stage of family economic behaviour the "family wage economy". They argued that daughters who left home to work did so as part of their duty to parents, just as their mothers, when single, had helped with household production.[27]

It is impossible to know whether all the single, Maritime-born women working in Lynn in the late 19th century dutifully sent a portion of their wages back home or whether they viewed their work in New England as a filial duty. As her diary reveals, Hannah Richardson delighted in spending some of her money on gifts, excursions and treats such as ice cream. If working in Lynn was a filial duty, it was apparently not an onerous one. Nevertheless, Hannah also carefully saved part of her wages and sent some home to her parents. The other occupation single Maritime women in Lynn chose most often — domestic service — also suggests that saving money was an important concern. Domestic work was ideally suited for such a purpose. Long hours of work, constant supervision in a family setting, and the provision of room and board meant few opportunities to spend surplus earnings. Furthermore, studies of another immigrant group dominated by single women, the Irish, reveal that they chose domestic service expressly to earn enough money to send back to their families in Ireland.[28] It seems likely that Maritime-born daughters who came to Lynn in the late 19th century to work as shoe stitchers and servants acted with a similar purpose in mind.

The migration of daughters from Maritime farm and town to New England city continued well into the 20th century, long after Hannah Richardson and her contemporaries had married and had children of their own. The first generation of women migrants forged links between the two regions that would influence the behaviour and attitudes of the next generation. However, industrial capitalist development had transformed both the Maritime Provinces and the cities of eastern New England in the intervening years.

In the Maritimes many fledgling industrial enterprises had failed by the early 20th century in the face of competition from larger concerns outside the region.[29] Those

26 E.G. Ravenstein, quoted in Everett Lee, "A Theory of Migration", *Demography*, 3 (1966), pp. 47-8.

27 Louise A. Tilly and Joan Scott, *Women, Work, and Family* (New York, 1978), pp. 104-5.

28 Carole Groneman, "Working-Class Immigrant Women in Mid-Nineteenth Century New York: The Irish Women's Experience", *Journal of Urban History*, 4 (1978), p. 260. Hasia Diner, in her study of Irish women migrants, also notes that single Irish women who went to the United States sent money back to families in Ireland but argues that the money sent was used to bring other family members to America. See Hasia R. Diner, *Erin's Daughters in America: Irish Immigrant Women in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore, 1983), pp. 36-7.

29 The subject of economic decline and the failure of indigenous industrial development is a topic frequently addressed by historians of the Maritime Region. They disagree about both the cause and the timing of that decline, but share the opinion that by 1930 the Maritimes lagged far behind Central Canada in industrial output and had surrendered much of their industrial base to external ownership. A good general discussion of the subject, with statistics to demonstrate the region's economic decline, is David Alexander's "Economic Growth in the Atlantic Region, 1880 to 1940",

entrepreneurs still in business expanded their operations in order to survive, becoming a small group of producers who hired larger numbers of wage workers.[30] In agriculture the amount of land that was improved for cultivation increased until the 1890s, then declined steadily as Maritimers abandoned family farms or lost them to creditors.[31] The farms that survived were increasingly those devoted to commercial production and located in regions favourable to the growth of specialized crops such as the Annapolis Valley.[32] Meanwhile, in the more remote parts of the Maritimes such as Cape Breton Island, the quasi-subsistence life of the farmer/fisherman/jack-of-all-trades persisted, but only if families did without the consumer goods so tantalizingly displayed in the mail-order catalogues of Sears Roebuck and Eaton's.[33] In resource industries such as pulp and paper production or coal mining, the Maritimer was most often the labourer, not the owner, and appalling working conditions led to repeated strikes, radical political movements and attempts to reorganize economic activity into more equitable, locally owned co-operatives. In the face of such conditions, increasing numbers of youths left the region. While Canada as a whole experienced a net in-migration of over 800,000 between 1901 and 1921, the Maritime Region suffered a net out-migration of more than 150,000 of its residents.[34] "What Shall We Do?" demanded the headline of the 2 December 1902 Halifax *Herald*, "to Keep Our Young Men at Home?"[35]

Acadiensis, VIII, 1 (Autumn 1978), pp. 47-76. For a range of interpretations about the causes of regional decline, note the following articles and their respective positions in the debate: Stanley A. Saunders, *Economic History of the Maritime Provinces* (Fredericton, 1984) — an interpretation stressing misuse of staples and the region's "hinterland" relationship to Central Canada; Henry Veltmeyer, "The Capitalist Underdevelopment of Atlantic Canada", in Robert J. Brym and R. James Sacouman, eds., *Underdevelopment and Social Movements in Atlantic Canada* (Toronto, 1979), pp. 17-35 — a Marxist analysis stressing capitalism's tendency to create uneven regional development; T. William Acheson, "The National Policy and the Industrialization of the Maritimes, 1880-1910", *Acadiensis*, I, 2 (Spring 1972), pp. 3-28 — a study that attributes decline to the failure of the region's entrepreneurs; and Thornton, "The Problem of Out-Migration" — an article suggesting that out-migration from the Maritimes of the young and talented contributed to economic decline.

30 According to census data, in 1891 there were 15,925 industrial establishments in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia employing 61,808 workers, or 3.9 per establishment. By 1901 the number of individual manufacturers had declined to 2,107 with a total of 45,442 employees, or 21.6 per establishment. See *Census of Canada, 1890-91*, III, pp. 382-3; *Fourth Census of Canada 1901*, 4 vols. (Ottawa, 1902-6), III, pp. 160-1, 166-7.

31 Urquhart, *Historical Statistics of Canada*, p. 352.

32 In his research on agriculture in Nova Scotia, Robert MacKinnon observed that "as agricultural activity declined after 1891...more specialized types of farming (particularly dairying and fruit growing) became concentrated in a 'core area' of central and western Nova Scotia. The counties of Kings, Hants, Cumberland, Colchester, and Pictou, for example, contained 44 percent of the province's improved land in 1891; by 1941 this percentage had increased to nearly 60 percent". See Robert MacKinnon, "A Century of Farming in Nova Scotia: The Geography of Agriculture, 1851-1951", Paper presented to the Atlantic Canada Workshop, Fredericton, New Brunswick, 25 September 1986, p. 13.

33 One woman from Cape Breton who went to work as a domestic in Boston in the 1920s recalled the scarcity of consumer goods in her own family home: "My mother never had her living room furnished. So my brother and I got together. And I said to my brother, 'If you'll buy the carpet rug, I'll get the furniture.' So we sent an order to Eatons and we sent the stuff home to her". See Nan Morrison, "A Visit with Nan Morrison, Baddeck", *Cape Breton's Magazine*, No. 47, p. 5.

34 Urquhart, *Historical Statistics of Canada*, p. 22.

35 Halifax *Herald*, 31 December 1906, p. 1.

Growing concern about male migration from the region overshadowed the fact that large numbers of young women continued to leave as well. While many young men, with the greater independence accorded to sons, headed to the farms and mines of the Canadian and American West, their sisters continued to look for work closer to home — in the cities of New England.[36] Lynn, Massachusetts, remained a popular destination. It is impossible to state precisely how many single women from the Maritime Provinces were living in Lynn because the United States censuses for 1900 and 1910 did not indicate a Canadian's home province. However, figures from the aggregate statistics of the Massachusetts State Census for 1905 do separate those born in the Maritime Provinces from other English-speaking and French-speaking Canadian-born residents, and although no records were compiled just for single women, the ratio of all Maritime women in Lynn to all English-Canadian women in Lynn was 2,880 to 3,926, or nearly three to four. In light of these figures, it seems likely that at least a majority of single English-Canadian women in Lynn five years later were from the Maritime Provinces, and the behaviour of these women can be construed to reflect the behaviour of Maritimers.[37]

Euphemia McFayden, a young woman from Prince Edward Island, was among those Maritime-born women living in Lynn in 1910.[38] She had come to the city the year before, and the Lynn she found in 1909 would likely have startled, even appalled, Hannah Richardson and her generation. From 1870 to 1910, Lynn had more than tripled in size to a population of 89,336. Immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe challenged the dominance of North Americans in the city and its shoe industry.[39] Lynn remained a major centre for the manufacture of women's footwear, employing over 11,000 workers, but increasing mechanization and

36 Albert Kennedy, a settlement house worker who wrote about Maritimers in Boston in the early 20th century, observed: "Then [1885] as now [ca. 1905] the more adventuresome men [from the Maritimes] sought our Western States, as within the last twenty-five years they have gone into their own north-west. Young women, necessarily less capable of pioneering and more attracted to city life, have found Boston the most available field for conquest". While Kennedy's explanation for why women chose city over country is open to question, his assumption of female dominance among Maritime immigrants to New England cities is accurate. According to the Massachusetts state census of 1905, 60,520, or 58 per cent, of the Maritimers living in Massachusetts were women. See Albert J. Kennedy, "'The Provincials'", introduced by Alan A. Brookes, *Acadiensis*, IV, 2 (Spring 1975), p. 90, and Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, *Census of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1905*, 4 vols. (Boston, 1908-10), vol. I, pp. 473-4.

37 Mass. Bu. of Stats. of Lab., 1905 *Census*, vol. I, p. 111. Unfortunately, there are no extant nominal census records for the state of Massachusetts after 1865. N.B.: To compile the total number of English-Canadian women I added the total number of women in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island to the total number of women under the "Canada, English" label. It is likely that the Maritime women included some Acadians or other French-speaking Maritimers, who would *not* have been included in a count of English Canadians in the U.S. census for 1900 and 1910. However, it is unlikely that many Maritime women in Lynn were French, because there were only 763 French-Canadian women married or single in the city in 1905, and Lynn did not attract as many French Canadians as did neighbouring cities such as Lowell or Lawrence, Massachusetts.

38 Information about Euphemia McFayden was taken from census data and a letter from Euphemia to her family on 28 August 1910. The letter is now in possession of Ian MacQuarrie, University of Prince Edward Island.

39 Cumbler, *Working-Class Community*, pp. 23-4.

division of labour in the industry had markedly altered the organization of shoe production.[40] In the 1910 census single English-Canadian women listed 26 different occupations under the umbrella of "shoe worker" (see Table Three). In the words of one contemporary observer, Lynn was "made up of factories — great masses of ugliness, red-brick, many-windowed buildings".[41]

Table Three
Occupations of Single, English-Canadian Women in Lynn, Massachusetts - 1910

Occupation	#	Occupational Group	#	% of total
Nun	3	Religious vocation	3	.4
Trained Nurse	58			
Author	1	Professional	61	8.0
Teacher	2			
Accountant	4			
Bookkeeper	15			
Cashier	6			
Clerical Worker	10	Clerical Work	42	5.5
Correspondent	1			
Stenographer	5			
Telephone Operator	1			
Dry Goods Merchant	1			
Variety Goods Merchant	1			
Storekeeper (unspecified)	1			
Saleswoman-Bakery	3			
Saleswoman-Clothing	1			
Saleswoman-Confectioner	2			
Saleswoman-Dept. Store	1	Sales Work	29	3.8
Saleswoman-Dry Goods	11			
Saleswoman-Grocery	2			
Saleswoman-Hardware	1			
Saleswoman-Hats	1			
Saleswoman-Liquor	1			
Saleswoman-Variety	3			
Domestic	144			
Family Cook	8			

40 Cumbler, *Working-Class Community*, p. 28.

41 Mrs. John Van Vorst and Marie Van Vorst, *The Woman Who Toils: Being the Experiences of Two Gentlewomen as Factory Girls* (New York, 1903), p. 174.

Companion	1			
Housekeeper	22	Domestic Services	184	24.1
Nurse Girl	3			
Servant (Not live-in)	6			
Boarding-House Keeper	11			
Servant-Boarding House	17			
Cook-Boarding House	2			
Servant-Hotel	1			
Waitress-Hotel	7			
Restaurateur	1			
Cook-Restaurant	2			
Waitress-Restaurant	14	Servant Institution	70	9.2
Servant-Other Institution	4			
Hairdresser	1			
Laundress	8			
Matron-Railroad Station	2			
Dressmaker	23			
Milliner	7			
Pantsmaker	1			
Purse Maker	1	Sewing Trades	45	5.9
Seamstress	4			
Tailoress	9			
Box Maker	2	Other Manufacturing	2	.3
Compositor	2			
Proofreader	1			
Photo Printer	1	Printing Work	5	.7
Retoucher	1			
Shoe Worker—General	21			
In Shoe Factory:				
Binder	1			
Buttonholer	5			
Button Sewer	2			
Cleaner	1			
Closer On	1			
Dresser	2			
Eyeletter	4			
Finisher	1			
Forewoman	3			
Heel Worker	3			
Label Lacer	3			
Laster	1			

Lining Worker	3	Shoe Work	206	27.0
Packer	8			
Presser	7			
Perforator	3			
Room Girl	2			
Shiner	1			
Skiver	1			
Stayer	2			
Stitcher	89			
Tip/Top Stitcher	12			
Table Worker	10			
Trimmer	2			
Turner	4			
Vamper	14			
Electrical Worker-General	14			
In Electrical Factory:				
Assembler	4			
Coil Winder	45			
Connector	1			
Errand Girl	1			
Forewoman	1			
Glass Exhauster	2			
Glass Worker	1			
Inspector	6			
Jewel Polisher	7	Electrical Factory Work	117	15.3
Jewel Setter	1			
Lamp Maker	7			
Lamp Repairer	3			
Lamp Tester	2			
Meter Tester	13			
Paster	2			
Screw Maker	1			
Shellacker	1			
Stainer	1			
Wheel Truer	1			
Wire Coverer	3			
Fortune Teller	1	Miscellaneous	1	.1
Total	765		765	*100.3

* May not add up to 100 per cent because percentage figures are rounded off.

Source: 1910 United States Manuscript Census for Lynn.

Waves of immigration and changes in shoe production transformed not only the industrial centre of the city, but its residential areas as well. Immigrant families crowded into tenement housing in a district close to the shoe factories known variously as the "Brickyard" or "Tenderloin".[42] Meanwhile, the continuing influx of single men and women seeking work in Lynn's factories led to a rapid increase in the construction of boarding and lodging houses. According to John Cumbler's figures, the number of such facilities increased from 192 to 226 between 1908 and 1914.[43]

The proliferation of these houses offered new living options for some single, Maritime-born women who came to Lynn, options that in several ways suggest a decline in paternal control over their behaviour. First, it meant another choice of living arrangement besides boarding with a single family or becoming a domestic servant. In 1880 only 22 single Canadian women, or about seven per cent of the 325 in Lynn, lived in boarding houses (see Table Four). By 1910, 155 single English-Canadian women lived in some type of rooming house, and nearly all of these units rented to both men and women.

Second, of the 155 women in these houses, 128 were listed in the census as lodgers rather than boarders, an important distinction. While a boarder's rent included at least two meals, prepared and eaten on the premises, a lodger rented only a room and ate elsewhere, usually at restaurants. Albert Wolfe, writing in 1913 about the emergence of lodging houses in Boston, described the "old-time" boarding house as having "something of the home element" about it, with landladies who took a "personal interest" in their boarders and residents who "often found themselves becoming a part of the family even against their wills".[44] By contrast, the lodging house was an impersonal place, run as a business, where individuals of varied backgrounds and ages lived with few restrictions and scant supervision so long as rent was paid on time.[45] Wolfe argued that the decline of the boarding house in favour of the newer lodging house was, in part, a response to the desire of boarders for "more freedom", a desire apparent in Lynn as well as Boston by 1910.[46] Moreover, this trend away from boarding appears even among the single English-Canadian women who lived with families. Of the 219 single English-Canadian women living with families in Lynn, according to the 1910 U.S. census, 116, or 53 per cent, described themselves as lodgers. They, too, were simply renting rooms.[47]

42 Cumbler, *Working-Class Community*, p. 3.

43 Cumbler, *Working-Class Community*, p. 24.

44 Albert Benedict Wolfe, *The Lodging House Problem in Boston* (Cambridge, Mass., 1913), p. 47.

45 Wolfe, *Lodging House Problem*, passim. See in particular Chapter XIII, "The Lodger: His Life and Social Condition".

46 Wolfe, *Lodging House Problem*, p. 52.

47 For another discussion of single urban women in the early 20th century who chose the freedom of lodging house life, see Joanne J. Meyerowitz' study of female migrants to Chicago, *Women Adrift: Independent Wage Earners in Chicago, 1880-1930* (Chicago, 1988).

Table Four
Relationship to Head of Household of Single,
English-Canadian Women in Lynn, Massachusetts — 1880, 1910

Relationship to Head of Household	1880 #	1880 % of total	1910 #	1910 % of total
Head	9	2.8	61	7.2
Sister	13	4.0	66	7.8
Sister-in-Law	8	2.5	87	10.3
Niece	6	1.8	41	4.9
Other Relative	3	.9	10	1.2
Boarder/Lodger Private Home	122	37.5	219	25.9
Boarder/Lodger Boarding House	22	6.8	155	18.4
Live-In Servant	142	43.7	205	24.3
Total	325	*100.0	844	*100.0

*May not add up to 100 per cent because percentage figures are rounded off.

Source: 1880 and 1910 United States Nominal Censuses for Lynn.

For single Maritime women the appearance of lodging and lodging houses in early-20th-century Lynn meant not only new choices in living arrangements, but also new employment opportunities. Euphemia McFayden was aware of these opportunities, for when she arrived in Lynn in 1909 she took a job as a chambermaid in a boarding house managed by her brother and sister-in-law. The work was hard, and, being tied to employment in the shoe industry, it had its own busy and dull seasons. Euphemia made reference to these fluctuations in a letter to her family in August of 1910: "Business has been very bad here this summer. Angus and Annie is busy. Plenty to do in their lives, but can hardly keep the house let".[48] The same cycle

48 Euphemia McFayden to her family, 28 August 1910.

of activity and inactivity affected the 70 other English-Canadian women in 1910 who worked in Lynn's boarding houses and other residential institutions. Only domestic service remained unaffected by the work rhythms of the shoe industry, yet the 184 domestics listed in the 1910 census represented only 24 per cent of the 767 single English-Canadian women with jobs (see Table Three). By contrast, nearly half the single, Maritime-born working women in 1880 were family servants.

A closer examination of the occupations listed by single English-Canadian women in the 1910 Lynn census gives a clear idea of just how much the work world had changed from the late 19th century. While in 1880 single Canadian women working in Lynn fell into ten different employment categories, by 1910 single English-Canadian women listed 101 different types of employment. This variety not only reflected the high level of specialization in the shoe industry, where shoe work was now subdivided into tasks such as "eyeletter" and "perforator"; it also included whole clusters of women's jobs that had emerged with the advancement of industrial capitalism. Growth of corporations and expansion of markets led to the creation of new jobs in management, record-keeping and marketing. Women, closed off from positions of authority by powerful social and structural barriers, nevertheless found job opportunities at the bottom of this new service sector — as stenographers, cashiers, sales clerks, telephone operators and receptionists.[49] While Lynn remained a manufacturing city, it now also offered service positions; 72 single English-Canadian women living there in 1910 listed jobs in 20 different clerical and sales positions. Vera Ditmars, who came to Lynn from Nova Scotia in the 1920s, exemplified this new working woman. Educated through high school and trained as an elementary school teacher, she rejected the likely Nova Scotia option of teaching in a rural school for secretarial work at the Hood Company in Lynn.

The extension of secondary education in the Maritime Provinces meant that many of the women who arrived in New England had completed Grade 11. These women not only took clerical positions in Lynn; a growing number also entered professions such as teaching and nursing which involved the care of others and, thus, were deemed appropriate for women.[50] In 1880 only six single Canadian woman in Lynn had held professional positions, but in 1910, 61, or eight per cent, of the single English-Canadian working women listed professional positions in the Lynn census. The overwhelming majority of these women chose nursing, a field so popular among Maritime women in the 1920s that New England hospitals advertised their nurses' training programmes in provincial newspapers.[51]

There was another new source of employment in early-20th-century Lynn that attracted Maritime-born women who lacked the schooling or specialized training

49 Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work*, p. 224.

50 Both Kessler-Harris, examining women's work in the United States, and Veronica Strong-Boag, examining women's work in Canada in the 1920s, point out the predominance of nurses and teachers among women professionals in North America, occupations that Strong-Boag labels "female professions". See Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work*, p. 116, and Veronica Strong-Boag, *The New Day Recalled: Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919-1939* (Toronto, 1988), p. 53.

51 See, for example, the following advertisement in the Halifax *Herald*, 31 July 1926: "Wanted: Student Nurses. High School Education. Apply to Supt. Somerville Hospital, Somerville, Mass".

required for professional or clerical work. In 1892 the Thomson-Houston Company of Lynn merged with the Edison General Electric Company of Schenectady, New York, to form the General Electric Company, one of only two major American corporations manufacturing electrical products.[52] General Electric was the quintessential 20th-century corporation. Born of the new technology of electricity and built with large investments of capital, it served a national market from its inception. Its facilities came to dominate the cities where they were located, and by 1920 it was the largest single employer in Lynn, surpassing the once-dominant shoe industry.[53]

General Electric's rise to prominence had a particularly strong impact on female employment in the city. As immigrant men entered traditionally female jobs such as shoe stitching, and as shoe production in Lynn declined after the First World War, the electrical industry welcomed female operatives. The General Electric plant in Lynn manufactured light bulbs and small machinery such as motors and electric meters — precision work requiring many careful but repetitive tasks, which were paid by the piece at low rates. Management considered women — patient, dexterous and cheap — the ideal workers for such jobs as winding coils for electric motors, making light bulbs, covering wire and testing meters.[54] As early as 1910, when shoe manufacturing still dominated Lynn's economy, 117 single English-Canadian women worked in 21 different factory jobs at General Electric (see Table Three).

From coil winder to stenographer to hospital nurse, the range of occupations of single, English-Canadian women in Lynn in 1910 reveals a work world far more complex than that of 1870 and 1880 when shoe workers and family servants were the norm. Yet it was precisely the appeal of shoe work and domestic service, both of which enabled young women to save money, that likely brought women to Lynn in the first place. What was there about the city in the early 20th century that continued to attract so many Maritime and other Canadian women, and were their motives for leaving home similar to those their 19th-century counterparts apparently had — to earn money for their families back home?

Neither Euphemia McFayden in 1910 nor Vera Ditmars in 1920 left to posterity their own answers to these questions. However, their comments and actions often reflected behaviour patterns of the single, English-Canadian women included in the 1910 census and, thus, can shed light on these issues. Euphemia McFayden, for example, came to Lynn specifically because her brother and sister-in-law were there and could offer her employment. Kinship connections in Lynn, both within and across generations, likely influenced some young women's decisions to go there, no matter what the nature of available employment. Among the 844 single, English-Canadian women in Lynn in 1910, 243, or about one-third, lived with at least one relative (see Table Four). Most lived with sisters or brothers, but 41 listed their relationship to the head of the household as "niece", so lived with an aunt or uncle. Those first-generation Lynn migrants who remained in the city became the Lynn

52 Ronald W. Schatz, *The Electrical Workers: A History of Labor at General Electric and Westinghouse* (Urbana, Ill., 1983), p. 4.

53 Cumbler, *Working-Class Community*, p. 34.

54 Schatz, *The Electrical Workers*, pp. 30-3.

connection for the second generation — knowing the city, offering lodging and providing information on job openings.[55] First-generation migrants who returned to the Maritimes also probably influenced the decisions of their daughters or nieces to go to Lynn. One 20th-century Maritime woman migrant from Cape Breton Island mentioned her own mother's influence on her decision to come to New England in the following passage: "My mother always said she thought that every young girl should go to the States to find out how other people lived and how they did things".[56]

Family connections help account for the continued popularity of Lynn as a destination, but they do not fully explain why young women continued to leave the Maritimes in large numbers until the Depression years. Were these 20th-century migrants a second generation of obedient daughters supporting the family economy with their wages? Or had conditions in both the Maritime Provinces and New England altered family relationships and the way households coped with economic change? While occupation choices alone cannot explain the motives of 844 migrants for coming to Lynn, such decisions can point to possible differences in the nature of migration from the first to the second generation of Maritime women in New England. For example, an examination of the occupations of the 1910 cohort suggests that fewer women in 1910 chose their jobs with family support in mind. On the one hand, women who came to New England to train for nursing sacrificed support for the family farm or business to pursue their own careers, a form of independent action that daughters of the first generation rarely took. As Susan Reverby has noted, women who trained for nursing "had to come from families that could afford to lose either the contribution of a daughter's wages or her help in the household".[57] On the other hand, the young woman in early-20th-century Lynn who toiled all day as a laundress, coil winder or shoe paster barely received enough take-home pay to cover room and board. One middle-class observer, who entered the Lynn shoe shops in 1901 to write about conditions there, described a co-worker, "a ghost of girlhood", who inked the edge of shoes all day while waiting on tables during lunch and dinner so she could eat free restaurant food. Only under such conditions could she claim proudly, "I make my wages clear".[58] If it took two jobs plus free board to save money, it is unlikely that many factory workers, chambermaids or sales clerks could afford to send money home on a regular basis.

55 Several North American historians have examined the critical role relatives played in helping immigrants to find work, lodging, and both emotional and financial support. See, for example, Tamara Harevan's study of French Canadians in Manchester, New Hampshire, *Family and Industrial Time: The Relationship Between the Family and Work in a New England Industrial Community* (Cambridge, 1982). Chad Gaffield also stresses the importance of kinship in the Canadian family's response to industrialization: "families...relied on kin to help in the search for employment and housing and to support them in times of need". See Gaffield, "Wage Labour", p. 28.

56 Interview with Mary Hart, Northeast Margaree, Nova Scotia, 30 May 1989.

57 Susan M. Reverby, *Ordered to Care: The Dilemma of American Nursing, 1850-1945* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 85.

58 Van Vorst and Van Vorst, *The Woman Who Toils*, pp. 198-9.

Furthermore, the emerging dichotomy between the trained professional and the unskilled or semi-skilled worker may well have reflected the new socio-economic reality of the early 20th century in the Maritimes: a growing division among families between the reasonably successful and the ranks of the poor. In the first half of the 19th century most Maritime families had been independent producers. They had had small farms or shops or fishing vessels and often augmented one source of income by engaging in another — cutting wood, for example, or going to sea.[59] Economic survival, never easy, became more difficult in the second half of the century as more goods were produced in factories and required cash for purchase. The numbers of single women who moved to cities or migrated to New England in those years suggests that the shared impact of this cash economy evoked a common response of placing daughters into the paid work force. By 1910, however, the number of family farms and other small enterprises in the Maritimes was in steep decline, and the growing numbers of youths leaving the region was evidence of the increased difficulty of making it in the old ways. Some family operations did successfully expand and specialize; one father of a student nurse, for example, owned a jewellery store, an eyeglasses business and several apple orchards in the fertile Annapolis Valley.[60] But other families could not compete with larger operations, lost their property and either sought wage work in mines and factories or had to leave the region. One woman from Cape Breton who worked in New England as a domestic reported that her father was gone for long stretches of time because he worked as a miner in New Brunswick.[61] Thus, it is likely that daughters in families that had found some economic security could more easily choose to leave home to pursue their own careers in fields such as nursing, while daughters in families facing economic disaster were more often forced to migrate in search of any wage work to support themselves and not be a burden to their parents.

Louise Tilly and Joan Scott, the scholars who first connected urban migration of single women in 19th-century Europe with family responses to industrialization, also examined single women's work in early-20th-century Europe. While they found that daughters continued to work in cities to help support poor rural and urban families, they also observed changes in the nature both of women's work and parent-daughter relationships, changes that coincided with the economic transformations of advanced capitalist development. Business consolidation, growth of national and international markets, technological innovation, rising consumer demand, the emergence of new sectors of employment in management, clerical fields and sales — all these changes that had transformed Lynn, Massachusetts, between 1870 and 1920, Tilly and Scott observed throughout Western Europe in the early 20th century. They also noted the same changes in the lives and work of single European women that Maritime daughters in Lynn experienced across the period — expansion of occupational choices, extension of schooling, the growth of professions for women, the decline of domestic service and the rising popularity of boarding-and lodging-house living.

59 Bittermann, "Farm Households and Wage Labour in the Northeast Maritimes", passim.

60 Interview with Anita Saunders Campbell, Wolfville, Nova Scotia, 14 January 1989.

61 Interview with Loretta and Mose Chiasson, 30 May 1989.

Tilly and Scott named this new period of family response to economic change the "family consumer economy" and suggested that during this time, while some daughters still worked to help support their parents, others were beginning to act with their own, independent goals in mind. These women were more often choosing jobs based on preference, not just family need; they were living more independently, spending more money on consumer goods and leisure activities, and, in some cases, preparing for life-long careers.[62]

Tilly and Scott are quick to point out that this transformation from the "family wage economy" to the "family consumer economy" was both a slow and an uneven process because capitalist development was uneven across Western Europe.[63] Similarly, the young woman leaving a poor Cape Breton farm or remote timber community in New Brunswick likely had fewer employment options and different goals from those of the young woman whose father owned a store and several productive apple orchards. However, all these women, whatever their occupations, lived and worked in 20th-century Lynn, with its polyglot population, its rooming houses, its department stores and its easy access to Boston's theatres, movie houses, parks and playgrounds. This cosmopolitan world, rich with diversions, could not help but have engendered some sense of independence from home and family. Indeed, Maritimers in these years often expressed resentment, even envy, when a young person returned home from New England with an air of superiority. One woman recalled from her childhood the expression "white-washed Yankee", a derogatory term that referred "to a Maritimer who returned home bragging about how well he or she was doing in the States and of the quality of life enjoyed there".[64]

Leaving home to work in the city had always created feelings of independence, but the unique conditions of rural-to-urban migration in the early 20th century heightened this sense for the second generation of migrant daughters, whether from the Maritime Provinces or rural Europe. For some women, relatives from the first generation of migrants helped ease the transition to a new setting, thus reducing psychological dependence on the family back home. For all women, the urban culture in which they lived and worked was more complex, more divergent from the world they had left than the city had been for migrants 50 years earlier. In this setting single women migrants — not only the professionals, but also the sales clerks, factory workers, waitresses and clerical workers — began to see themselves less as daughters and more as individuals.

Because out-migration from the Maritime Provinces between the 1870s and 1930s took place in the context of the economic decline of the region, scholars have addressed the topic of out-migration in terms of its connection to shrinking employment opportunities. This examination of single women in Lynn points out important aspects of Maritime out-migration that have been overlooked by those who focus only on how underdevelopment affected the region's economy. First, the process involved daughters as well as sons, and different gender expectations meant

62 Tilly and Scott, *Women, Work, and Family*, pp. 149-213.

63 Tilley and Scott, *Women, Work and Family*, pp. 149-213.

64 Letter from Mrs. Clifford Wright of Upper Stewiacke, Nova Scotia, to Betsy Beattie, 22 January 1989.

different choices, destinations and experiences for women versus men. Second, Maritime out-migration, however constant from 1870 to the 1930s, was not a fixed phenomenon. Because out-migration was the product of economic transformations, its character changed as economic conditions changed and demanded new family and individual strategies of adaptation. Finally, the emigration of young people from the Maritime Provinces was neither an isolated nor a unique process. Rather, it mirrored the rural out-migration from other hinterland regions in Europe and North America as industrial capitalist development transformed rural and urban economies in the 19th and early 20th centuries.