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Out-Migration from the Maritime Provinces, 1860 - 1900:

Some Preliminary Considerations*

Within the comparatively recent growth of Canadian social history came the adoption of a regional approach, which in turn was followed by numerous county, city, and township studies.[1] Unfortunately, to date, these undertakings have been so local that in many instances the region has been totally forsaken. The contraction has usually resulted in emphasis being placed on isolated, separate communities with no regional or national frame of reference. Questions of social structure, and social and geographical mobility have been raised; but the answers have focused on geographic units rather than on the individual life cycles of the persons populating them. Consequently, we have detailed persistence/turnover-rate figures for numerous towns and counties, but only conjecture as to the origins and destinations of their migrating populations. Further, by concentrating on single, geographically small areas, such studies have tended to "lose" the migrants of their period and be heavily biased toward immobile elements — elements which were a minority in a century of "perpetual motion".[2]

While few historians dealing with internal community structure have engaged in linking individual migrants over time and space, those with broader perspectives appear to have shunned the highly detailed approach of new urban historians and historical demographers. This applies particularly to the field of nineteenth-century Canadian emigration. With the exception of the disenchanted emigrants returning to Europe or moving on to Australia and New Zealand, the vast majority of emigrants from English-speaking Canada during the nineteenth century went to the United States. However,

* I would like to express my thanks to Dr. Philip A. M. Taylor of the University of Hull (England), who acted as my M.A. supervisor when the material for this paper was collected.

1 For example, see Herbert J. Mays, "Canadian Population Studies Group: Report of Research in Progress," *Social History* (May 1974), pp. 165-73; *Urban History Review* (November 1972, October 1974 and June 1975).

2 Stephan Thernstrom and Peter R. Knights, "Men in Motion: Some Data and Speculations about Urban Population Mobility in Nineteenth Century America," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* 1 (Autumn 1970), pp. 7-35; Stephan Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880-1960* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), ch. 9.

only a few inadequate studies of this movement exist.[3] In the 1940s companion volumes by Marcus Lee Hansen and J. B. Brebner, and L. E. Truesdell were published as part of the Carnegie series — the former, in particular, suffering from "Continentalist" biases.[4] After a thirty-year lapse, Yolande Lavoie, *L'émigration des Canadiens aux Etats-Unis avant 1930* (Montreal, 1972), has appeared, as well as an article by economists R. K. Vedder and L. E. Gallaway.[5] Yet all these efforts have taken a far-too-general approach. In fairness, the subtitle of Lavoie's monograph, *Mésure du Phénomène,* indicates an introductory methodological motive.

Migration is a highly selective and differentiating process and should be studied as such. Equal and individual consideration must be paid to each phase of a migrant's life cycle, from birth to death, as well as to the communities through which he passed.[6] As noted by Everett S. Lee, migration involves three distinct phases: place of origin (and characteristics of perspective migrants at that place), intervening obstacles, and place of destination (with characteristics of migrants at that place).[7] By applying this concept at a general level to the out-migration from the Maritimes 1860 - 1900, I hope to offer not only some preliminary considerations of that movement, but also to lend support to the call for a more comparative approach.[8]

3 This deficiency does not apply to the case of nineteenth-century French-Canadian out-migration which has received much better treatment. See James P. Allen, "Migration Fields of French Canadian Immigrants to Southern Maine," *Geographical Review,* 62 (1972), pp. 366-83; Ralph D. Vicero, "Immigration of French Canadians to New England, 1841-1900: A Geographical Analysis" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Wisconsin, 1968).

4 M. L. Hansen and J. B. Brebner, *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples, 1604-1938* (New Haven, 1940); L. E. Truesdell, *The Canadian-born in the United States, 1850-1930* (New Haven, 1943).

5 Richard K. Vedder and Lowell E. Gallaway, "Settlement Patterns of Canadian Emigrants to the U.S. 1850-1960," *Canadian Journal of Economics,* 3 (1970), pp. 476-86. See also Nathan Keyfitz, "The Growth of Canadian Population," *Population Studies,* 4 (1950-1), pp. 47-63; Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics [hereafter DBS], *The Maritime Provinces since Confederation* (Ottawa, 1927), pp. 3-34; Canada, DBS, *The Maritime Provinces in their Relation to the National Economy of Canada* (Ottawa, 1934), pp. 3-31, for general accounts of Maritime population trends using net emigration figures.

6 See Peter R. Knights, "Internal Migration: Native-born Bostonians in the Late 19th Century" (paper given at the Organization of American Historians, 20 April 1974) and "The Boston Internal-Migration Study" (unpublished paper, York Univ., 1973); Karl E. Taeuber, "Cohort Migration," *Demography,* 3 (1966), pp. 416-22.

7 Everett S. Lee, "A Theory of Migration", *Demography,* 3 (1966), pp. 47-57. See also Joseph J. Mangalam, *Human Migration: A Guide to Migration Literature in English, 1955-1962* (Lexington, Ky., 1968), pp. 1-20.

8 I am presently linking 2,807 families from the Canadian census schedules to those of the U.S. (1851-1900) in an attempt to reconstitute the out-migration from the Maritimes via Boston. The findings will subsequently be subjected to computer analysis, providing a more detailed, microscopic account of the movement.

The Maritime Provinces in the second half of the nineteenth century experienced an out-migration that was strongly motivated by economic factors. Although relatively prosperous in the 1850s and 60s, the regional economy was severly disrupted in succeeding decades. Not only did the end of the American Civil War undercut a burgeoning demand for Maritime products in the U.S. — lumber, fish, foodstuffs, and coal — but the termination of reciprocity in these articles a year later destroyed the likelihood of any revival.[9] Confederation, in 1867, began the transfer of Maritime allegiance from Great Britain and the ocean to central Canada and the land. These factors, combined with the earlier removal of colonial preference, the gradually diminishing returns in the timber trade, and the decline in the significance of the wooden sailing ship in the international carrying trade after mid-century, assured the complete collapse of the Maritimes' traditional economy. The last four decades of the nineteenth century were ones of rigorous transition from, as D. A. Muise has termed it, the age of "wood, wind and sail" to one of "iron, coal and rail".[10] The completion of the Intercolonial Railway in 1876 and the institution of the National Policy in 1879, while stimulating new industrial development in some communities, also served to increase the region's subjection to alien and often unsympathetic central Canadian metropolitan domination, and to accelerate the decline of the outports. During the 1880s and 90s the consolidation and centralization involved in this process of industrialization totally recast the internal economic structure of the region.[11] The Intercolonial Railway network also thrust the farmers of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island into a continental market increasingly dominated by foodstuffs from the fertile West, often compelling them to adapt to the production of specialities such as apples, dairy goods, and fur. The persistent depression and economic dislocation which characterized these years (1860-1900) in much of the Maritimes provided the overriding motives for out-migration.

The first half of the nineteenth century had been a filling-up period for the Maritime Provinces. At a provincial level, population was increasing throughout the 1840s and 50s (Table 1). By mid-century, this movement was essentially over, and population increase rates began to decline. Nova Scotia's rate of growth changed from 27% in the 1840s to 16% in the 50s. In Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick the decline began in the 1860s. The Island's

9 Stanley A. Saunders, "The Maritime Provinces and the Reciprocity Treaty," reprinted in G. A. Rawlyk, ed., *Historical Essays on the Atlantic Provinces* (Toronto, 1967), pp. 168-76.

10 D. A. Muise, "Parties and Constituencies: Federal Elections in Nova Scotia, 1867-1896," *Canadian Historical Association Report for 1972,* pp. 83-101 and "Elections and Constituencies: Federal Politics in Nova Scotia, 1867-1878" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Western Ontario, 1971).

11 T. W. Acheson, "The National Policy and the Industrialization of the Maritimes, 1880-1910," *Acadiensis,* I (Spring 1972), pp. 3-28.

increase was 25% in the 40s and remained at 22% in the 50s, yet the growth in the latter decade was largely accounted for by the native-born, the numbers of foreign-born in the province actually declining by 5%.[12] In the 60s, the Island's population change was reduced to 14%. The growth rate in New Brunswick was halved from a 23% increase in the 1850s to a 12% change in the 60s. A second regional slump in population growth occurred in the 1880s, when the increases of the three provinces dropped to 2% in Nova Scotia, to 0.2% on the Island, and 0.01% in New Brunswick. In the 90s Nova Scotia held at 2% and New Brunswick experienced a minimal increase of 3%, but the Island's growth rate continued its slide, to −5%.

Some emigration had always taken place from the Maritime Provinces, but it is evident from these population figures that the take-off point for large-scale out-migration did not occur until the 1860s and, if we are to accept the significance of the events of 1865-79, not until after 1865. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics has made an attempt to estimate the extent of the out-migration from the region during the second half of the nineteenth century. Although noting that there are "no reliable vital statistics for the Maritime Provinces which go back to 1861," it concluded that 239,000 native-born inhabitants emigrated between 1860 and 1900: 15,000 in the 60s, 40,000 in the 70s, 91,000 in the 80s, and 93,000 in the 90s.[13] More recently, also using the residual method to indicate net out-migration flow, Yolande Lavoie has estimated that for the shorter period 1871-1901, a total of 264,000 individuals (native- and foreign-born) left the region: 51,800 departing in the 70s, and 111,600 and 101,000 in the succeeding two decades, respectively.[14] Even when allowing for the inclusion of foreign-born out-migrants in Lavoie's figures, it is clear that a discrepancy exists between her estimates and those of the D.B.S. If any inaccuracy is inherent in either figures, however, it is one of under-representing the true volume of the out-migration from the Maritimes, for net-migration estimates, by definition, exclude a substantial proportion of the dynamic element – those who constantly flitted to and fro across the border and went uncounted between decennial censuses. Nonetheless, even as an underestimation, the out-migration of a quarter of a million persons during the years 1861-1901 from a region where the recorded population was only 893,953 in 1901 must be considered indicative of a substantial outward movement.

12 See also Andrew H. Clark, *Three Centuries and the Island: A Historical Geography of Settlement and Agriculture in Prince Edward Island, Canada* (Toronto, 1959), p. 121.

13 Canada, DBS, *The Maritime Provinces since Confederation,* p. 20.

14 Lavoie, *L'émigration des Canadiens,* p. 39.

Table 1. Population of the Maritime Provinces, 1841 - 1901. *

Prov.	*B.*	*1841*	*Ch*	*1851*	*Ch*	*1861*	*Ch*	*1871*	*Ch*	*1881*	*Ch*	*1891*	*Ch*	*1901*
N.S.	N%	na.	na.	na.	na.	90%	16%	92%	14%	94%	3%	94%	3%	95%
	F%	na.	na.	na.	na.	10%	−3%	8%	−14%	6%	−5%	6%	−7%	5%
	T	202,575	27%	276,854	16%	338,857	15%	387,800	12%	440,572	2%	450,396	2%	459,574
N.B.	N%	na.	na.	79%	23%	79%	19%	86%	15%	90%	3%	93%	4%	95%
	F%	na.	na	21%	23%	21%	−24%	14%	−22%	10%	−29%	7%	−18%	5%
	T	156,162	19%	193,800	23%	252,047	12%	285,594	11%	321,233	0%	321,263	3%	331,120
P.E.I.	N%	67%	28%	70%	30%	78%	25%	89%	16%	91%	3%	94%	−4%	96%
	F%	33%	18%	30%	−5%	22%	−43%	11%	−7%	9%	−33%	6%	−34%	4%
	T	47,042	25%	62,678	22%	80,857	14%	94,021	14%	108,891	0%	109,078	−5%	103,259

* Key: B.=Birthplace; N=Native-born; F=Foreign-born; T=Total Population; Ch=Change during decade; na.=not available.

Sources: Canada Dept. of Agriculture, *First Census* (1871), IV, pp. 125, 129, 132; and Canada, DBS, *Seventh Census* (1931), I, pp. 517-20.

Population decline was widespread throughout the Maritimes between 1860 and 1900, although constant local variations to this pattern did occur (Table 2). If one takes 14% as the minimum decadal growth necessary for a retention of natural increase,[15] only five counties in a total of 36 were losing population in the 1850s. In the 1860s the number rose to 13 counties, and to 19 in the 70s, reaching a peak of 32 during the 80s and 90s. Older, well-settled counties that had been heavily involved in the "wood, wind and sail" economy were among the early losers in the 1860s: Northumberland, Charlotte, Saint John, and the river counties of Kings, Queens, and Sunbury in New Brunswick; Pictou, Annapolis, and Queens, Nova Scotia; and Queen's County, P.E.I. Although some of these counties, particularly Saint John and Charlotte, were to experience industrial growth during the period 1860 to 1900, it appears that the transition involved was too difficult for certain inhabitants. But many more of the counties to begin losing population in the 1860s were predominantly rural, farming and fishing areas which remained so, offering few alternatives to rural decline. Richmond and Antigonish fell into this category as well as the Saint John River counties. This trend continued with similar areas showing signs of population loss by the 1870s: Inverness and Victoria, C.B.; Hants and Kings, close to the industrially developing county of Halifax in Nova Scotia; and the next Saint John River county in line, York. Rural King's and Prince Counties, P.E.I., still with unsettled lands on their coastal fringes at the beginning of the period did not begin contributing to the out-migration stream until the 80s.

By the 1880s, the exodus had taken on the characteristics of a mass migration, spreading into rural areas not previously affected and even to industrializing urban centres of the region. In this decade, inhabitants of Cape Breton, Colchester, Halifax, Lunenburg, Shelburne, and Digby in Nova Scotia, and Albert, Westmorland, Kent, Carleton, Victoria, and Northumberland, New Brunswick, were clearly contributing to the out-migration, and before the end of the century had been joined by residents of Cumberland and Gloucester counties. Only sparsely-settled Madawaska and Restigouche in northern New Brunswick were to show constant increases in population throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. Intermittently, those counties investing in "iron, coal and rail" development were able to combat the out-migration trend. Westmorland and Halifax, with the establishment of strategic points on the Intercolonial at Moncton and Halifax city, recorded gains of 29% and 19% in the 1870s. Cumberland's coal developments stimulated a growth in population of 26% in the 80s, and Cape Breton's steel one of 44% in the 90s. Yet these were obviously exceptions to the rule.

15 Canada, DBS, *Seventh Census* (1931), I, p. 109 and *The Maritime Provinces since Confederation*, p. 21.

Table 2. Percentage change of the population of the counties of the Maritimes, by decade, 1851 - 1901.

Counties	*1851-61*	*1861-71*	*1871-81*	*1881-91*	*1891-1901*
PEI	29.00	16.28	15.82	0.18	−5.34
Kings	29.21	15.74	14.59	0.76	−7.16
Prince	41.34	32.25	21.36	6.18	−2.93
Queens	23.09	7.91	12.80	−4.44	−6.18
N.S.	19.51	17.21	13.60	2.23	2.04
Annapolis	17.27	8.17	13.67	−6.06	−2.62
Antigonish	10.43	11.03	9.38	−10.78	−15.50
Cape Breton	10.86	26.78	17.11	9.55	43.58
Colchester	29.38	16.39	14.53	1.65	−8.32
Cumberland	36.22	20.40	16.37	26.17	4.75
Digby	20.40	15.50	16.69	0.08	2.14
Guysborough	17.28	30.22	7.57	−3.44	6.54
Halifax	22.82	16.20	19.23	5.07	4.63
Hants	21.84	22.00	9.66	−5.60	−9.05
Inverness	18.03	17.27	9.55	0.50	−5.53
Kings	32.49	14.84	9.11	−4.18	−2.45
Lunenburg	19.74	21.40	19.93	8.72	4.23
Pictou	12.50	11.56	10.65	−2.80	−3.13
Queens	29.06	12.70	0.22	0.31	−3.62
Richmond	21.45	13.18	5.98	−4.77	−6.14
Shelburne	0.43	16.39	20.10	0.29	−5.04
Victoria	10.86	17.66	9.91	−0.31	−14.97
Yarmouth	17.53	20.10	14.74	4.38	2.94
N.B.	30.05	13.13	12.48	0.09	3.07
Albert	49.60	13.00	15.53	−11.02	−0.42
Carleton	47.40	21.77	17.19	−3.58	−4.03
Charlotte	18.68	9.38	0.79	−8.95	−5.63
Gloucester	28.81	24.77	14.91	15.19	12.21
Kent	38.95	20.48	18.41	5.42	0.47
Kings	23.57	5.63	4.16	−9.88	−6.20
Madawaska	42.40	51.15	19.93	21.16	17.11
Northumberland	24.81	6.99	24.82	2.41	11.01
Queens	25.63	3.65	1.23	−13.31	−8.02
Restigouche	17.14	14.38	26.60	17.71	27.42
Saint John	27.15	6.54	1.62	−6.40	4.41
Sunbury	14.26	12.66	−2.54	−13.37	−0.57
Victoria	42.40	51.18	59.07	9.91	14.54
Westmorland	41.73	16.19	28.58	9.88	1.48
York	32.70	16.02	12.00	1.92	2.07

Source: Canada, DBS, *The Maritime Provinces in their Relation to the National Economy of Canada* (Ottawa, 1948), pp. 12-3.

Like much of the western world, the Maritime region was experiencing an internal rural-to-urban movement between 1860 and 1900, which added a further complexity to the out-migration process. Urbanization was apparently greatest in Nova Scotia. From a 92% rural and an 8% urban population in 1861, the proportions moved to 72% rural and 28% urban in 1901.[16] New Brunswick had only 13% of its population defined as urban by the census of 1861; but by the 1901 enumeration, the figure had reached 23%. Even in the predominantly agricultural province of Prince Edward Island, the proportion of "urban" rose from 9% to 14%. In April of 1871, the *Acadian Recorder* printed an editorial entitled, "As bad as emigration", in which it complained of rural depopulation and the tendency "of the sons and daughters of farmers to make escape . . . [and] to flock into towns here." In October the same newspaper commented on the large number of young men and women from the country who were crowding into small hotels in Halifax.[17]

Despite the increase in urban population and the sporadic growth of population in counties with large towns, some urban as well as rural areas of the Maritime Provinces were losing population between 1861 and 1901, or at least failing to hold their natural increase. Saint John, for example, declined from 41,353 to 39,179 in the 80s, and Lunenburg from 4,044 to 2,916 in the 90s, while Moncton's dynamic growth rate of 74% in the former decade was cut to 3% in the latter.[18] Thus something a little more complex than a straightforward internal rural-to-urban movement seems to have been occurring in the region. T. W. Acheson has outlined the intricate local migration patterns in Charlotte County, New Brunswick:

> By 1880 a growing stream of migrants was moving from the country . . . In the town areas of the county, about one half of the population under the age thirty emigrated in each generation after 1875 . . . .
> . . . . While many rural emigrants left the county, the more common method was a two-generation pattern of emigration. In the first generation the son of the farm moved to one of the county towns; in the second his children made the final transfer from the county itself.[19]

16 Canada, DBS, *Seventh Census* (1931), I, pp. 364-5. According to M. C. Urquhart and K. A. H. Buckley, eds., *Historical Statistics of Canada* (Toronto, 1965), p. 5: "In 1941 and in all earlier (Canadian) censuses, the population living in all incorporated cities, towns, and villages of any size was counted as urban. The rest of the population was rural."

17 *Acadian Recorder* (Halifax), 11 April and 8 October 1872. See also Phyllis R. Blakeley, *Glimpses of Halifax, 1867-1900* (Halifax, 1949), p. 30.

18 Canada, Dept. of Agriculture, *First Census* (1871), I, p. 328; Canada, Census Office, *Fourth Census* (1901), I, p. 22.

19 T. W. Acheson, "A Study in the Historical Demography of a Loyalist County," *Social History,* I (April 1968), pp. 63-4.

At this stage of historical inquiry, it is not certain whether the people leaving the towns and cities of the Maritimes were onward-migrants, originally from the countryside, or whether they were natives of the cities, forced or lured onward to larger metropolises by the influx of rural in-migrants.[20] With regard to regional internal migration, it is most likely that a combination of the two situations occurred: an individual moved through points B, C, . . . N, forcing or coaxing others at each point to journey on to their individual destinations, where they would assume the places of people who had previously moved on.[21] In Charlotte at least, some system of chain migration encompassing rural-to-urban movement was involved in the process of out-migration. Perhaps owing to the failure of the Maritimes to develop a "viable regional metropolis" during the second half of the nineteenth century, internal migrants were frequently lured into becoming emigrants.[22] Thus, if a migration chain did exist, it extended beyond regional boundaries.[23]

Internally, the Maritimes were characterized by extreme social and economic diversification throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, and ethnic and religious segregation was a marked feature of the region.[24] In Nova Scotia, for example, those of Scots origin comprised 86% of the population of Victoria in 1871, but only 3% in Lunenburg and Yarmouth. Catholic clustering in New Brunswick in the same year ranged from

20 From preliminary findings of a current study being conducted by Peter R. Knights, "The Boston Internal-Migration Project," and completed work by Michael Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire* (Cambridge, Eng., 1971), it appears that the second circumstance was evident in northern New England and in Preston, Lancashire, where Anderson observed that "The most noticeable feature [of place of origin] is the large proportion of migrants born in other towns" (p. 97).

21 For a brief, impressionistic account of both internal and external movements, see J. W. Grant, "Population Shifts in the Maritime Provinces," *Dalhousie Review,* XVII (1937/8), pp. 282-94.

22 See T. W. Acheson, "The National Policy," *passim;* J. M. S. Careless, "Aspects of Metropolitanism in Atlantic Canada," in Mason Wade, ed., *Regionalism in the Canadian Community, 1867-1967* (Toronto, 1972), pp. 117-29; C. N. Forward, "Cities: Function, Form and Future," in Alan G. Macpherson, ed., *Studies in Canadian Geography: The Atlantic Provinces* (Toronto, 1972), pp. 137-76.

23 Stanley A. Saunders, *Studies in the Economy of the Maritime Provinces* (Toronto, 1939), pp. 258-9. It would appear logical that if the out-migrants were displaced artisans of the "wood, wind and sail" economy unwilling to adapt, they would not want to migrate to Maritime urban centres which were expanding only in the "iron, coal and rail" sector. See Canada, DBS, *The Maritime Provinces in their Relation to the National Economy,* pp. 13, 16, 19-20, and especially 21-2.

24 For an excellent summary of the significance of this fragmentation in Maritime history, see E. R. Forbes, "The Maritime Rights Movement, 1919-1927: A Study in Canadian Regionalism" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Queen's Univ., 1975), ch. 1. Also Andrew H. Clark, "Old World Origins and Religious Adherence in Nova Scotia," *Geographical Review,* L (1960), pp. 317-344.

85% in Gloucester to 8% in Albert. Even on the Island, with only three counties, the Scots could still show a variance from 61% in King's to 34% in Prince in 1881.[25] Topographical and transportation barriers further heightened fragmentation among groups as distinct as Ulster Orangemen and Highland Catholics, and to most, the family and kinship ties remained strong within the local frame of reference. Occupationally, a minority of the region's inhabitants were exposed to factory work and urban living, especially in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, but in a region so predominantly rural, the experience of most must have been limited to various types of farming, fishing, lumbering, shipbuilding, sailing, and/or traditional rural crafts. However, a wide range of experiences was encompassed within this second sphere. Farming on the rock piles of Cape Breton or northern New Brunswick was a very different proposition from farming in the Annapolis-Cornwallis Valley or central Queen's County, P.E.I. Levels of fishing activity were similarly diverse, while shipbuilding, lumbering, and particular crafts, like the newer manufacturing industries or mining, might be confined to particular locales.

As population decline was geographically widespread, it is not illogical to presume that the exodus claimed followers from all sections of Maritime society. Ethnically, however, it is apparent that the Irish and Scots were most heavily represented among the out-migrants. Between 1871 and 1901, those of Irish origin declined by 18% in New Brunswick and by 13% in Nova Scotia. Over the shorter period 1881-1901, the numbers claiming Irish origin fell by 13% on the Island. For the same periods, the Scots increased minimally by 18% in New Brunswick, and by only 9% in Nova Scotia, while declining by 15% on the Island. In contrast, the French grew by 78%, 37%, and 29%, respectively, in the three provinces, reflecting possibly a greater resistance to outward movement as well as the effects of an in-migration to northern New Brunswick from Quebec. Between the Irish and Scots and the French extremes, the English registered gains of 25%, 41%, and 12% for the three provinces, respectively, indicating a failure, in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island at least, to retain all of their natural increase.

In aggregate figures the growth in numbers of French Catholics tended to balance or outweigh the decline of Irish Catholics, Church of Rome adherents as a whole increasing by 24% in New Brunswick, 27% in Nova Scotia, and 13% on the Island. With both Scots and Irish out-migrating, the losses of Presbyterians were more overt, with only 2% and 3% increases over thirty years in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and 4% during the twenty years 1881-1901 on the Island. Anglicans changed by −8%, 20% and 8%, probably losing by conversion to the Methodists (20%, 41%, and 21%) and the Baptists (15%, 13%, and 35%), as well as by emigration.

25 All figures on religions and origins are from Canada, Dept. of Agriculture, *First Census* (1871), I, pp. 214-249 and 316-333; *Second Census* (1881), I, pp. 100-1 and 206-7; *Fourth Census* (1901), I, pp. 146-7, 150-1, 290-313, and 350-3.

Needless to say, local variations on these general ethnic and religious patterns were extreme. Scots were increasing by 57% (1871-1901) in Cumberland County, while simultaneously declining by 19% in Antigonish. The numbers of English origin grew by 161% and 105% in Restigouche and Victoria, yet were reduced by 5% in Charlotte and 3% in Sunbury and Queens. Baptists expanded their flocks by 39% in Halifax County, but in the Bay of Fundy counties of Yarmouth, Annapolis, Kings, and Hants the changes were −7%, 0.3%, 0.5%, and −0.9% over the thirty-year period. While such figures are suggestive of internal shifts, provincial totals indicate that a wide, if unbalanced, variety of ethnic and religious groups were moving beyond the region.

A similar diversity of characteristics was apparent among the ages and occupations of the out-migrants, with a bias in favour of the young and the rural and "wood, wind and sail" elements. The emphasis placed on an out-migration of "restless" young people was repeated incessantly in the newspapers of the day.[26] However, there is evidence of a change in the character over time, the movement beginning with the young single people, often on a seasonal basis, in the 1860s and 70s,[27] and later embracing older, more stable elements and whole families as the exodus took on a more permanent complexion, reaching its climax in the 1880s and 90s. By the mid-80s, the Rev. G. W. McPherson was able to note on a train journey from New Glasgow to Boston,

> one of the most pathetic sights I have ever witnessed. Men, old men, and old women, with gray heads, and young men and women of every age, and children and babies, some of them whole families, the poorer people of the eastern Provinces, all going away to the States . . . . I did not place any blame upon the poor who were trying to better their circumstances. I was one of them.[28]

A more detailed study of the age, sex, and occupations of out-migrants was provided by the *Acadian Recorder,* which in April 1873 published figures on the Nova Scotians entering the United States during the previous summer. From a total of 1,524 (693 males and 831 females), it found 411 persons (139 males and 272 females) were under 15 years of age, 923 (450 males and 473

26 For example, see *New Brunswick Reporter and Fredericton Advertiser* (Fredericton), 9 April 1869; *Eastern Chronicle* (New Glasgow), 12 May 1870; *Acadian Recorder,* 20 September 1871.

27 C. Bruce Fergusson, ed., *Uniacke's Sketches of Cape Breton and Other Papers Relating to Cape Breton Island* (Halifax, 1958), pp. 161-2; *Eastern Chronicle,* 12 May 1870; *Acadian Recorder,* 20 September 1871, 10 April 1872, 24 April 1873.

28 G. W. McPherson, *A Parson's Adventures* (Yonkers, N.Y., 1925), pp. 71 and 73.

females) were between 15 and 40, and only 190 (104 males and 86 females) were over 40.[29] The 61% in the 15-to-40 age-group was indicative of the significant amount of manpower which Nova Scotia and the Maritime Provinces in general were losing. The larger number of children involved (the under-15 category) suggests that even by 1872 families had joined young, single people in the out-migration stream. Among those of working age, the number of semi-skilled and unskilled, many probably from rural areas, immediately stood out: 102 farmers, 109 mariners, 127 servants, 17 seamstresses, 416 "over-15-years" who did not state occupations, and 64 labourers. Next in importance came the displaced artisans previously employed in the traditional "wood, wind and sail" economy, probably in the outports and rural areas: 72 carpenters, 3 painters, and 11 blacksmiths. There was also a strong element of skilled craftsmen, who could have come from the larger towns of the province: 10 tailors, 9 shoemakers, 6 masons, 3 bakers, and most notably 33 merchants, reflecting the dullness of trade during the lasting depression. The presence of 2 lawyers, 2 physicians, and one teacher illustrates that the migration did in fact encompass a wide spectrum of occupational as well as ethnic and religious groups.

In sum, the Maritimes were a highly fragmented region during the years 1860-1900 and striking differences in ethnic origin, religion, age, and occupation existed among the inhabitants of the three provinces. Yet the exodus cut across these divisions and selected its following — albeit far from equally — from a wide variety of social and economic backgrounds. The changing nature of the migration during the period can be separated into three categories embracing both sexes, and all ages, religions, and ethnicities. The first group to leave consisted of young, single males and females whose departures were often on a seasonal or temporary basis. The intermediary category was of newly-weds and young couples with no or very few children who began married life by deciding to set up home in a locality with better prospects for advancement.[30] The third group embraced older people, over thirty-five years of age, who migrated either as whole families or as elderly parents given an offer to join successful offspring elsewhere. To all groups, emigration was a local, family, or individual affair, in which previous experiences were to count heavily in choice of destination.

29 *Acadian Recorder,* 24 April 1873.

30 See Alan A. Brookes, "Migration from the Maritime Provinces to Boston, Massachusetts, 1860-1900" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Univ. of Hull, 1974), pp. 234-9. Of all Maritime-born male-headed households in Boston in 1860 (739), 21% had no children. A further 55% had their eldest child born in Massachusetts. The corresponding percentages for Maritime-born male-headed households in the city in 1880 (1,969) were 18% and 55%, respectively.

The period 1860-1900 was one in which "perpetual motion . . . was a persistent characteristic."[31] "This was not a frontier phenomenon, or a big-city phenomenon, but a national phenomenon."[32] It was also a continent-wide phenomenon. Nova Scotians, New Brunswickers, and Islanders were a part of this, distributing themselves, according to M. L. Hansen, in a random and widespread way: "The emigration from the Maritimes of young people and of the parents who followed them was not directed toward any one American community nor did they find employment in any single line of economic activity."[33] More recently, economists Vedder and Gallaway have attempted to attribute some specific principles to Canadian out-migration patterns. Their model for Canadian migration to the United States has indicated that "distance from place of origin was inversely proportional to the number of migrants in the different areas of the U.S., but became increasingly less important with time" and that, while settlement along the Canada-U.S. border was constantly an important factor, the number of immigrants to a given area was directly proportional to job opportunities, the per capita income, and the population density of those areas.[34] Unfortunately, as with the earlier attempt of L. E. Truesdell, such an approach allows little for regional or local variations. Furthermore, "positive correlations between net in-migration and levels of economic activity may obscure what happened to many, perhaps even most, of the men (and women) who were moving about in the period."[35]

Table 3. Percentage distribution of Nova Scotians, New Brunswickers, and Prince Edward Islanders elsewhere in Canada, 1881-1901.

Place	*Prov.*	*1881*	*1891*	*1901*
Elsewhere in Maritime	N.S.	60%	40%	34%
Provinces (outside	N.B.	55	48	45
native province)	P.E.I.	75	66	57
Ontario and Quebec	N.S.	32	33	24
	N.B.	39	31	27
	P.E.I.	22	20	18
Western Canada	N.S.	8	17	42
	N.B.	6	21	28
	P.E.I.	3	14	25
Numerical Totals	N.S.	14,401	18,475	18,941
	N.B.	10,622	13,695	16,602
	P.E.I.	5,813	6,717	9,091

Source: Canada, DBS, *Seventh Census* (1931), I, pp. 1182-3.

31 David Gagan and Herbert Mays, "Historical Demography and Canadian Social History: Families and Land in Peel County, Ontario," *Canadian Historical Review,* LIV (1973), p. 46.

32 Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians,* p. 227.

33 Hansen, *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples,* p. 164.

34 Vedder and Gallaway, "Settlement Patterns," pp. 482-4.

35 Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians,* p. 231.

Because of data uniformity difficulties, it is necessary to show the percentage distribution of Nova Scotians, New Brunswickers, and Islanders in Canada (outside their native provinces) and the U.S. separately, and not for North America as a whole. The percentage distributions within Canada for all three groups substantiate the view that migration was increasingly out of, and not merely within, the native region (Table 3).[36] The distributions do reveal an inverse relation between numbers of out-migrants and distance from province of origin. Of the three provinces, New Brunswick was nearest the rest of Canada; the Island the furthest away. In 1881, 45% of New Brunswickers outside their native province were living in Ontario, Quebec and western Canada. The corresponding figure for Nova Scotians was 40%, and 25% for Islanders. By the end of the century, considerable numbers of Maritimers had removed to western Canada, in response to the opening of that region in the late 1880s and 90s. The proportion of Maritime out-migrants in the Canadian West was increased at the expense of central Canada (Ontario and Quebec), as well as the native Maritime region. The attraction of the western provinces was particularly noticeable among Nova Scotians. Between 1881 and 1901 the distribution of Nova Scotian migrants changed from 60% to 34% living elsewhere in the Maritimes, 32% to 24% in central Canada, and 8% to 42% in the West.

However, the numbers of Maritime out-migrants in the rest of Canada never reached the same proportions as in the U.S. In 1880/81, the only year when an accurate picture of Maritimers elsewhere in North American as a whole can be constructed, 100,485 (76%) were in the U.S. and 30,876 (24%) elsewhere in the Dominion (outside their native provinces). The republic to the south was expanding rapidly after 1865 and in need of immigrant labour, while simultaneously the Maritimes were experiencing economic depression and stagnation. Copper mines in Michigan and gold in California had initially lured away adventurous North American youths. Silver and lead mining in Colorado and the last days of the "wild West" in the 70s and 80s perpetuated the appeal. The 1862 Homestead Act and the advertising campaigns of railroad companies and state governments furnished strong enticements for more stable farming elements to join in the westward trek. But it was the streets of gold in the American republic which proved to be the strongest and, in many cases, not-too-distant magnets. Between 1860 and 1890 the population of New York almost doubled to reach 1.5 million. Philadelphia grew from .5 million to one million, and Boston from 175,000 to 450,000 in the same period. In the 1880s alone, when the Maritime exodus was at its height, Kansas City expanded two and a half times; Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Denver tripled; and

36 For internal migration in Canada, see Leroy O. Stone, *Migration in Canada: Regional Aspects* (Ottawa, 1969); M. V. George, *Internal Migration in Canada: Demographic Analyses* (Ottawa, 1970), as well as Keyfitz, "Growth of Canadian Population."

Omaha quadrupled its population. At mid-century Chicago had been a town of under 30,000; forty years later it was America's second-largest city, with over a million inhabitants.[37]

The precise figures of Maritimers in the U.S. are, unfortunately, difficult to discern. Only in 1870 and 1880 did the U.S. Census Office distinguish natives of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island from other Canadians. In 1860, 1890, and 1900 the respective, appropriate categories were "British North America", "Canada and Newfoundland", and "Canada and Newfoundland (English)". When looking at the 1870 and 1880 percentages for "total Canadians" (all Canadians) by region, they appear to adhere to the patterns established by the 1860, 1890, and 1900 figures (Table 4). The only marked exception was caused by a large increase of French Canadians in New England during the decade 1880-90. Thus, we may postulate that the 1870 and 1880 figures for Nova Scotians, New Brunswickers, and Islanders are suggestive of a more general 1860-1900 Maritime trend.

If one accepts Vedder and Gallaway's national principle that distance is inversely proportional to the number of migrants, the differences between Maritime and "total Canadian" regional distribution in the U.S. for 1870 and 1880 appear to be superficially explained. That is to say, we might expect more Maritimers to be in New England than the figures for Canadians as a whole in that region would suggest. Similarly, if we were to trace migrants from Ontario and Quebec, we would find a larger percentage of them in New York state or Michigan than the national percentage implies. When the migration becomes one of greater distance, the percentage differences between out-migrants of one region (or province) and another become less — as in the west-central U.S. region — until they ultimately disappear and balance out — as in the west and south U.S. regions. This and other national principles, however, do not explain several significant regional and local peculiarities. Why did Nova Scotians and Islanders, for example, cluster so excessively in Massachusetts, and why did New Brunswickers prefer Maine to the Bay State? Why did the representation of Islanders in Massachusetts decline by 16% between 1870 and 1880, and why were the Islanders the only ones to record a significant clustering in Iowa?

By the 1860s a world-wide network of transportation and communication had been established, of which the Maritimes were an integral part. The telegraph and railway were significant to this general system; but in the Maritimes, at least as far as out-migration was concerned, the ubiquitous sailing ships and the steamer services of the region's "wood, wind and sail" economy were of greater consequence.[38] This shipping network connected

37 U.S., Census Office, *Eleventh Census* (1890), Population-Part I, pp. 434-7.

38 Edward C. Kirkland, *Men, Cities and Transportation: A Study in New England History, 1820-1900* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), II, p. 130.

Table 4. Percentage distribution of Nova Scotians, New Brunswickers, Prince Edward Islanders, and total Canadians in the U.S., 1860-1900.

Region	*Prov.*	*1860*	*1870*	*1880*	*1890*	*1900*
New	N.S.	—	70%	70%	—	—
England	N.B.	—	63	65	—	—
	P.E.I.	—	82	57	—	—
	T.C.a	28%	32	34	39%	30%
Mid-	N.S.	—	9	7	—	—
Atlantic	N.B.	—	6	5	—	—
	P.E.I.	—	3	5	—	—
	T.C.	24	19	14	11	14
East	N.S.	—	8	6	—	—
Central	N.B.	—	15	11	—	—
	P.E.I.	—	5	16	—	—
	T.C.	34	34	33	28	31
West	N.S.	—	6	7	—	—
Central	N.B.	—	9	9	—	—
	P.E.I.	—	6	11	—	—
	T.C.	8	11	13	13	13
West	N.S.	—	6	10	—	—
	N.B.	—	7	9	—	—
	P.E.I.	—	4	9	—	—
	T.C.	4	4	6	8	11
South	N.S.	—	1	1	—	—
	N.B.	—	1	1	—	—
	P.E.I.	—	0	1	—	—
	T.C.	2	1	1	1	1
Numerical	N.S.	—	33,558	51,160	—	—
Totals	N.B.	—	26,737	41,788	—	—
(U.S.)	P.E.I.	—	1,361	7,537	—	—
	T.C.	249,970	493,464	717,157	980,938	787,798b

Sources: U.S., Census Office, *Eighth Census* (1860), I, p. xxix; *Ninth Census* (1870), I, pp. 336-7; *Tenth Census* (1880), I, pp. 492-5; *Eleventh Census* (1890), I, pp. 606-7; *Twelfth Census* (1900), I, p. 732.

Regions are those defined by U.S., Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1945* (Washington, 1949), p. 14.

a = total Canadians.

b = French Canadians amounted to an additional 395,427.

almost all places that stood by water (and most cities and towns in the Maritimes *did*) with other communities near and far.[39] During the 60s and 70s, in the hey-day of the wooden sailing ships, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New Orleans were as familiar to many Maritimers as Halifax and Saint John. For those who were not able to work on the wooden sailing ships (females) or for those who preferred not to, there was a constant stream of information regarding foreign ports. Fathers, brothers, and cousins brought home tales, as well as gifts, from other towns and other countries. News of jobs, wages, living conditions, and manufactured luxuries in the

39 Brookes, "Migration from the Maritime Provinces to Boston," pp. 160-70.

American republic were carried by word of mouth to the more remote corners of the Maritime Provinces. The inhabitants of Saint John and Halifax might have caught the "California fever" or the "Leadville excitement" before the inhabitants of Magaguadavic and Shubenacadie, but it was probably a difference of only days, if not hours.

These transportation and communication factors most readily explain the clustering of Maritimers in Massachusetts (Table 5). Before the American Civil War, Boston had extended its pull as far as northern New England with the construction of the Eastern, and Boston and Maine Railroads; after that time, its pull advanced to include the Maritime Provinces.[40] The timing was crucial. The Maritime economy entered its period of dislocation and depression just as one of two adjacent regions was rapidly expanding. The failure of the Maritimes to develop its own regional metropolis merely added to the significance of the Massachusetts city. After the Civil War, cabin fare from Portland to Boston was just $2.00.[41] From Charlottetown, Halifax, and Saint John the cost was less than $10.00 one way.[42] Even a first-class cabin on a Cunard steamer between Boston and Halifax could be purchased for $20.00.[43] By 1865 regular steam packets operated from Boston to Halifax, Yarmouth, and Liverpool, Saint John, and Charlottetown.[44] From these Maritime centres connections could be made by rail or stagecoach to the region's numerous small ports and inland towns and villages. By 1880, the Eastern Railroad was advertising northern New England and the Maritimes as vacation spots for Bostonians in its pamphlet, *Open Season and Resting Retreats, Northern Maine and New Brunswick;* while a report by the U.S. Census Office was estimating that about 45,000 steamship passengers travelled back and forth between Boston and the Maritimes (excluding Newfoundland) during the year.[45]

More important than the railroads and the steamers in linking the Maritimes to Boston were the numerous schooners, occasional brigs and barks,

40 See Albert J. Kennedy, "The Provincials," *Acadiensis,* IV (Spring 1975), p. 89; D. Campbell and R. A. MacLean, *Beyond the Atlantic Roar: A Study of the Nova Scotia Scots* (Toronto, 1974), pp. 109 and 185-6.

41 Kirkland, *Men, Cities and Transportation,* II, p. 130.

42 W. F. Rae, *Newfoundland to Manitoba: Guide through Canada's Maritime, Mining and Prairie Provinces* (London, 1881), p. 103; M. F. Sweetser, *Osgood's Maritime Provinces: A Guide* (Boston, 1883), p. 6; *Daily Morning News* (Saint John), 1 July 1870; *Morning Chronicle* (Halifax), 2 June 1879; *Examiner* (Charlottetown), 7 June 1869.

43 *Boston Directory, embracing the city record, a general directory of the citizens, and a business directory. For the year commencing July 1, 1865* (Boston, 1865), p. 554.

44 *Ibid.,* p. 553.

45 Eastern Railroad, *'Open Season'* . . . (Boston, 1880). A timetable on the back page gave the 726-mile journey from Halifax to Boston as taking 39.5 hours. "Report of T. C. Purdy," as quoted in Kirkland, *Men, Cities and Transportation,* II, p. 131.

Table 5. Rank order percentage distribution of Maritimers in selected states and territories of the U.S., 1860-1900.

Year	*Group*	*Total N*	*Percentage and State/Territory*						
1860	B.A.a	249,970	22% N.Y.,	15% Mich.,	11% Mass.,	8% Ill.,	7% Wisc.,	7% Me.	
1870	N.S.	33,558	58% Mass.,	6% Me.,	5% N.Y.,	4% Calif.,	3% R.I.		
	N.B.	26,737	33% Me.,	26% Mass.,	7% Wisc.,	6% Minn.,	4% Calif.,		
			4% Mich.,	3% N.Y.,	3% Ill.				
	P.E.I.	1,361	66% Mass.,	9% Me.,	5% R.I.,	4% Calif.,	4% Iowa		
1880	N.S.	51,160	57% Mass.,	7% Me.,	5% Calif.,	4% N.Y.,	3% Minn.,	3% R.I.	
	N.B.	41,788	33% Me.,	29% Mass.,	6% Minn.,	5% Calif.,	5% Wisc.,	4% Mich.,	4% N.Y.
	P.E.I.	7,537	50% Mass.,	6% Iowa,	6% Wisc.,	6% Calif.,	5% Me.,	4% Ill.	
1890	Canada (inc.Nfld.)	980,938	21% Mass.,	18% Mich.,	10% N.Y.,	5% Me.,	5% N.H.,	4% Minn.,	4% Ill.
1900	Canada—English (incl.Nfld.)	787,798	20% Mass.,	19% Mich.,	11% N.Y.,	5% Ill.,	5% Me.,	5% Minn.	

Sources: U.S., Census Office, *Eighth Census* (1860), I, p. xxix; *Ninth Census* (1870), I, pp. 336-7; *Tenth Census* (1880), I, pp. 492-5; *Eleventh Census* (1890), I, pp. 606-7; *Twelfth Census* (1900), I, p. 732.

a = British Americans.

and the few sloops that plied between the American metropolis and the Maritime ports.[46] Even when they carried only a few passengers, or none at all, these vessels tied the Maritimes to the Boston market and the Boston network of influence.[47] During the second half of the nineteenth century, approximately four or five such vessels were arriving from and as many clearing to Maritime ports daily.[48] Cargoes were often small, and sometimes

46 This is contrary to the misleading impression created by Arthur L. Johnson in "Boston and the Maritime Provinces: A Century of Steam Navigation" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of Maine at Orono, 1971) and in two subsequent articles, "From 'Eastern State' to 'Evangeline': A History of the Boston-Yarmouth, Nova Scotia Steamship Services," *American Neptune,* XXXIV (1974), pp. 174-87 and "The International Steamship Service," *American Neptune,* XXXIII (1973), pp. 79-94. Johnson appears to be promoting the view that the steamships were not only the most important, but also the only links.

47 See William H. Bunting, *Portrait of a Port: Boston, 1852-1914* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), pp. 356, 222, 217-9, 88, and 78.

48 Brookes, "Migration from the Maritime Provinces to Boston," pp. 166-8.

personal. This was a classic metropolitan pattern of trade. The Maritimes supplied the industrial centre of Boston with staples from land and sea: eggs, butter, vegetables, and fish. In turn, Boston's manufactured and processed goods were sent out to the Maritimes: fancy goods, hardware, glassware, agricultural implements, paper, steam engines, and tobacco.[49] Such exchanges were crucial in determining the interdependent relationship between the Massachusetts city and its international hinterland. First goods, then news and information, then people moved from the Maritime Provinces to Boston.[50]

A second group of distribution factors, other than distance (transportation and communication), can be termed intervening obstacles. The only such obstacles that might have checked the natural flow of Maritime out-migration to the U.S. were the international boundary and any ethnic prejudices native-Americans held against Canadians. It would not be unfair or inaccurate to suggest that throughout the nineteenth century, with the exception of a few years, the international boundary was a minor obstacle to the movement of peoples between the two nations. Although recognition of the boundary was more marked in the east than in the western half of the continent, American immigration regulations tended to encourage rather than discourage the southward movement of Canadian labour.[51] Moreover, to some Maritimers, especially the reformers of "wood, wind and sail" affiliation, continental union was occasionally advanced as a viable alternative to Confederation or Maritime independence.[52] When hard times and depression prevailed in Canada, the subject came to the fore. In periods of relative prosperity it was less popular. Yet, in spite of seemingly close affinities, it is apparent that Maritimers were more acceptable in certain cities and areas of the U.S. than in others. The contiguity and close relations of the people of New England and the Maritimes made Nova Scotians, New Brunswickers, and Islanders more welcome in New England than in other American regions. Similarly, Maritimers enjoyed a readier welcome in Boston than in any other U.S. city. They were affectionately nicknamed "down-easters", "herring chokers", and neighbours from "the ice"; while in other American regions they were unknown outsiders, if not foreigners and immigrants.[53]

49 See *ibid.*, Appendix A.

50 See letter from Yarmouth in "Nova Scotia's Problems. With Special Reference to Exodus," *Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature,* XIII (1899), p. 468.

51 For example, in 1872 Massachusetts abolished the payment of head money which gave an impetus to emigration from the Maritimes. See *Acadian Recorder,* 3 April 1872.

52 See Donald F. Warner, *The Idea of Continental Union: Agitation for Annexation of Canada to the United States, 1849-1893* (Lexington, Ky., 1960), pp. 67-70, 72-3, 80-3, 196-8, and 211.

53 See Clark, *Three Centuries and the Island,* p. 122; John Robinson and George F. Dow, *The Sailing Ships of New England* (Salem, Mass., 1924), II, p. 14.

A third group of distribution factors, the variables of prior economic (occupational) and social experience, were of greatest importance in determining out-migration streams from the Maritime Provinces. Vedder and Gallaway quite rightly stressed job opportunity and per capita income in determining places of destination, but they ignored the characteristics of out-migrants at their places of origin. In 1870, 33% of the New Brunswickers in the U.S. were in Maine, and another 17% in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota (Table 5). The proportions of Nova Scotians and Islanders in these states were significantly lower. Together they could only muster 15% in Maine and had no observable clusterings in the other states preferred by New Brunswickers. Maine, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota were not merely border states, they were also states in which lumbering was an important industry. With the importance of lumbering in New Brunswick and the incessant problems confronting the native industry after 1840, it is hardly surprising that numbers of New Brunswickers transferred their lumbering activities from the Saint John and Miramichi to Maine, Michigan, and Minnesota.[54] The small proportions of Nova Scotians and Islanders in Maine reflects a lesser interest in lumbering in their native provinces. Although both these groups were highly concentrated in Massachusetts, it is worth noting that Islanders — to whom agriculture and the ownership of land were important issues in their native province — were the only provincial element to record a clustering in Iowa. Similarly, Islanders relocated in Illinois and Wisconsin where agricultural activity was also significant.

As occupations, not merely job opportunities and per capita income, seem to have been more than a coincidental factor in linking migrants at place of origin with migrants at places of destination, a more detailed examination of Massachusetts in 1880 may be instructive.[55] As well as demonstrating the

54 Robert E. Pike, *Tall Trees, Tough Men: An Anecdotal and Pictorial History of Logging and Log-Driving in New England* (N.Y., 1967), pp. 54-5. David C. Smith, *A History of Lumbering in Maine, 1861-1960* (Orono, 1972), pp. 19-21, provides an account of "Provincemen" in Maine lumbering — many of whom are described as seasonal labourers from New Brunswick. For other references to the out-migration of New Brunswick lumbermen, see Peter Fisher, *History of New Brunswick* (reprinted Saint John, 1921), p. 87; A. R. M. Lower, *Settlement and the Forest Frontier in Eastern Canada* (Toronto, 1936), p. 36; Harold A. Davis, *An International Community on the St. Croix (1604-1930)* (Orono, 1950), pp. 69, 186-7, 251-2; Isaac Stephenson, *Recollections of a Long Life, 1829-1915* (Chicago, 1915), pp. 80, 104-5; Richard G. Wood, *A History of Lumbering in Maine, 1820-1861* (Orono, 1935), pp. 226-35; George B. Engberg, "Who Were the Lumberjacks?" *Michigan History,* XXXIII (1948), pp. 238-246.

55 This is made possible by an excellent, highly detailed compilation: Carroll D. Wright, *Census of Massachusetts, 1880* (Boston, 1883).

importance of the occupational variable,[56] such an analysis may help explain why 57% of the Nova Scotians, 50% of the Islanders, and 29% of the New Brunswickers in the U.S. were inside the Bay State in that year. Of the 29,307 Nova Scotians, 12,006 New Brunswickers, and 3,613 Islanders in Massachusetts in 1880,[57] there was no specific cluster west of the city of Worcester. Clearly, Maritimers did not move to Massachusetts to farm. In Gloucester, a town almost totally dependent on its fishing fleet, there were 2,383 Nova Scotians, 195 Islanders, and only 110 New Brunswickers in a total population of 19,329.[58] A similar pattern of settlement was evident in sea-faring Newburyport with only 24 New Brunswickers as compared to 50 Islanders and 193 Nova Scotians in the town's population of 13,538. The numbers of Nova Scotians and New Brunswickers, although small, nevertheless significantly exceeded those of Islanders in the manufacturing centres of Lowell, Lawrence, Haverhill, and Fall River, indicating their greater previous exposure to industrial environments than the farming and fishing Islanders.[59]

Perhaps most famous in Massachusetts were the Nova Scotia "hatchet and saw men" who turned from building wooden ships to wooden houses, and by 1880 comprised over 20% of all carpenters in the cities of Boston and Worcester. In that year, the two main clusterings of Maritimers within the city of Boston were in East Boston, for wooden shipbuilding, and in Dorchester, for suburban housebuilding in wood. This was a period of physical growth and Nova Scotians, Islanders, and to a lesser extent New Brunswickers were lured into transferring their skills and locations to the city.

> [I]n Boston the electrification of the streetcar system occurred at a time when large numbers of immigrants from the Maritime Provinces of Canada were arriving in the city. These Maritime Canadians, unused to urban congestion, had a predilection for the more open housing of the streetcar suburbs and, unlike later immigrants from Russia and Italy, the Maritimers had the economic means to take immediate advantage of

56 To date, the examination of life-cycle career patterns of individuals in specific occupations has been a factor much neglected in nineteenth-century community studies, the only exception being Clyde Griffen, "Occupational Mobility in Nineteenth-Century America: Problems and Possibilities," *Journal of Social History,* 5 (1972), pp. 310-30. The advantages of such an approach are suggested by Frank Thistlethwaite, "The Atlantic Migration of the Pottery Industry," *Economic History Review,* 11 (1958/9), pp. 264-78.

57 Wright, *Census of Massachusetts,* p. 89.

58 All subsequent figures on distribution within Massachusetts are from *ibid.,* pp. 37-87.

59 In 1880 there were 468 Nova Scotians, 460 New Brunswickers, and 61 Islanders in Lowell; 207, 153, and 49 in Lawrence; 271, 54, and 16 in Haverhill; and 196, 71, and 12 in Fall River, respectively.

suburban residences. Indeed, Maritime Canadians dominated the house building industry in Boston.[60]

Many of the vocations followed by Provincials in Boston called for little adaptation from their previous experience (Maritime farm boys could easily adapt from driving teams around their native countryside to driving streetcars along Boston's thoroughfares); and it is a striking facet of the exodus that as economic events were destroying the traditional "wood, wind and sail" economy and way of life in the Maritimes, opportunities in the Wisconsin forests and Boston craft shops were simultaneously offering a chance to continue the old pattern of existence. A significant proportion of the out-migrants from the Maritimes emigrated to preserve their "wood, wind and sail" way of life — not to find a new existence in a different "promised land".[61]

Unlike the French Canadians of Quebec, Maritimers shunned the unskilled labour offered by milltowns such as Lowell and Lawrence.[62] Maritimers overwhelmingly preferred Boston, because it was a commercial rather than an industrial or manufacturing centre. Traditional crafts such as cabinet-making, blacksmithing, shoemaking, and coopering were as evident in Boston as in the towns of their native provinces. Females could readily transfer their housekeeping skills and enter "service" in respectable Beacon Hill and Back Bay families.[63] In Boston, they could receive financial rewards for tasks

60 David Ward, "A Comparative Historical Geography of Streetcar Suburbs of Boston, Massachusetts and Leeds, England: 1850-1920," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* 54 (1964), p. 482. See also Sam B. Warner, Jr., *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900* (reprinted N.Y., 1970), pp. 129-30. Here Warner actually goes as far as to suggest that the "strong rural background (of the housebuilders) may well have had an effect upon the architecture of the city itself . . . . [T]he new streetcar suburbs looked like an enormous proliferation of the small town" (p. 129). Also Kennedy, "The Provincials," p. 89.

61 This is contrary to the traditional contention that rural-to-urban migration is "innovating". See Dennis H. Wrong, *Population and Society* (N.Y., 1969), pp. 84-5. Hopefully, the studies being conducted by new urban historians will show that, at least down to 1900, many cities were in their first- or second-generation in-migrant stage of urbanization and were only large agglomerations of country people, still possessing many of their rural values. See Herbert Gans, *Urban Villagers* (N.Y., 1962), chs. 10 and 11; Herbert Gutman, "Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America, 1815-1919," *American Historical Review,* 78 (1973), pp. 531-88; Tamara K. Hareven, "The Laborers of Manchester, New Hampshire, 1912-22: The Role of Family and Ethnicity in Adjustment to Industrial Life," *Labor History,* 16 (1975), p. 265.

62 Compare the numbers of Maritimers in Lowell and Lawrence with the 7,758 and 3,067 "Canadians", the vast majority of whom will have been French-speaking. Wright, *Census of Massachusetts,* pp. 66 and 50.

63 Fergusson, ed., *Uniacke's Sketches,* contains a mid-nineteenth-century letter from Inverness County which mentions that "Servant girls, are an article of exportation, they ship by the dosin [sic] to Boston . . . " (p. 173).

that in the native region had returned only the drudgery of farm life. For more flexible Maritimers (both male and female), jobs as clerks, salesmen, agents, accountants, bookkeepers, typists, and stenographers were available, positions which were being created by the rise of bureaucracy and the commercial sector. In Boston, Nova Scotians, New Brunswickers, and Islanders were able to fit into a convenient niche at the high-blue/low-white-collar level, between the Irish who tended to occupy the poorest positions and the northern New Englanders and native-Massachusetts peoples who had arrived in the city before them and assumed the better white-collar jobs. Unlike the stereotyped immigrants, clustering in lower-paid jobs and dwelling in lower-class areas near the central business district or the waterfront, Maritimers assumed a wide range of better jobs and were residentially distributed accordingly. The opportunities available to "down-easters" at this middle level persuaded large numbers of them at least to pass through New England and particularly Boston.[64]

Prior social characteristics of migrants, as well as economic ones, were important in determining distribution patterns. Unfortunately, the only examples available are from Boston, but these qualitatively demonstrate the point. At home, Maritimers had diverse ethnic origins and religions: different families had different customs and different habits. It is hardly remarkable that this social fragmentation should continue at place of destination. Edward Kennedy, for example, was a forty-five-year-old Nova Scotian, married to an Irish girl, and living at 39 K Street, South Boston, in 1880. He was working as a hostler for the South Boston Railroad at the time, and almost certainly voted Democrat. In contrast, Benjamin F. Campbell, who was also a Nova Scotian, was forty-six years old in 1880 and employed as a surgeon. He had graduated from Harvard Medical School and studied medicine in London, Edinburgh, and Paris. He had served as a surgeon-general in the U.S. Army at Parmentry River, Virginia, during the Civil War, before returning to establish a practice in East Boston. In 1882/3 Campbell was a Republican member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives and chairman of the committee on water supply. In 1889/90 he became a member of the State Senate and chairman of the committee on education. When his biography was written for *Boston of Today*, Campbell was President of the Garfield Club in East Boston, of the Harrison Club, and of the East Boston Citizens Trade Association.[65] We may safely assume that Benjamin Campbell and

64 For annual turnover rates of Maritimers in Boston, see Brookes, "Migration from the Maritime Provinces to Boston," pp. 214-5, 219-20, and 330-46.

65 U.S. Census, 1880, Population Schedules, Boston, microfilm at Massachusetts State Archives; Richard Herndon and E. M. Bacon, *Boston of Today: A Glance at its History and Characteristics, With Biographical Sketches and Portraits of Many of its Professional and Businessmen* . . . (Boston, 1892), pp. 168-9.

Edward Kennedy were not intimate friends. Although their births occurred in the same province, almost in the same year, they each had at least one Maritime-born parent, and each subsequently chose to migrate to Boston, yet they probably never knew of the other's existence, for their ways of life and their spheres of influence were very different.

Maritimers chose and were able to mix with native-Americans or with people of their own ultimate ethnic origin (first-generation Irish, Scots, or English). Some readily adopted American ways of life and social institutions, took American wives, and blended so completely into their new environment that they were soon indistinguishable from other Americans.[66] The names of Nova Scotians, New Brunswickers, and Islanders frequently appear on the lists of members of the British Charitable Society and the Scots' Charitable Society of Boston and no doubt other Maritimers joined Irish groups, masonic societies, and the innumerable institutions and clubs catering to personal business interests in Boston.[67] The only unmistakable expression of a cohesive Maritime social identity in Boston during the period 1860-1900 was the *American Canadian.* This newspaper maintained an office in the city's principal Maritime community, East Boston, as well as downtown. In order to secure a Maritime readership the paper adopted a very broad framework,[68] but almost predictably it failed to unite and interest the varied Provincial ranks, ceasing publication in 1876 after only two years of service. The Maritimers of English and Scottish-Protestant origins no doubt continued to read the Boston *Transcript*, while those of Irish and Scots-Catholic descent probably returned to the *Post* and *Pilot.* Group identity thus reverted to the local level it had always assumed. Certain Provincials continued to hold their own dances, stroll together on Sunday afternoons, or exhibit their Loyalist background by encouraging their children to ask embarrassing questions of American history teachers.[69] A consciousness of being a separate entity persisted among some Maritimers, even in Boston, but it was never a unified one.

Nova Scotians, New Brunswickers, and Islanders may have lacked group cohesiveness, but these forces of localism and the family were evident in their Boston settlement patterns. The example of Donald McKay, a native of

66 Kennedy, "The Provincials," p. 97; Brookes, "Migration from the Maritime Provinces to Boston," pp. 282-6.

67 British Charitable Society, *Constitution and By-Laws . . . Together with a List of Members and Donors* (Boston, 1880), pp. 24-6; Scots' Charitable Society, *Constitution and By-Laws . . . With a List of Members and Officers, and Many Interesting Extracts from the Original Records of the Society* (Boston, 1896), pp. 81-124.

68 *American Canadian* (Boston), 21 November 1874. The first edition was published on 3 July 1874, which was significant since it appeared at a time when the first full effects of the exodus were reaching Boston.

69 Kennedy, "The Provincials," p. 87.

Shelburne, N.S., who moved to East Boston, is illustrative of the significance of kinship factors among Maritime out-migrants.

> One of the pleasant features of his life in East Boston was the fact that he gathered about him other members of his family. His father and mother came there to live and die. His brother Laughlan, who so successfully commanded the "Sovereign of the Seas", lived in East Boston for many years. Hugh, David and John, older brothers, lived there and engaged in shipbuilding, and Nathaniel, the youngest brother, became a boiler maker and founded the well known Atlantic Works.[70]

The Woodsides of Murray Harbour, P.E.I. had four separate family groups in Boston in 1860. In that year David Woodside and family lived at 18 White St., East Boston; Joseph and family at 136 Bennington St., E.B.; and Andrew and family at 235 Havre St., E.B., with Benjamin and family next door at 237 Havre. Benjamin was married to Mary Marquand, also of Murray Harbour, P.E.I.; and her father and mother were living with brother James at 82 Princeton St., E.B. A second brother, John S. Marquand, lived in another part of the same three-family house with his wife Susan from Nova Scotia.[71]

One important variable in explaining the distribution of Maritime out-migrants remains to be examined. The *modus operandi* of the out-migration was a key factor in determining settlement patterns, and explains how emigration from the Maritime Provinces between 1860 and 1900 occurred. In order to more clearly understand the process of migration, an analysis was made of the geographical mobility of one-hundred individuals whose biographies appear in the book *Imprint of the Maritimes.*[72] Although not representative of all Maritimers by virtue of their unqualified career successes, these individuals are not necessarily atypical since only questions of geographical mobility are being posed. In fact, other research has indicated that successful elements were likely to be less mobile than the unsuccessful, in which case the *Imprint* example may be an underestimation of the migration characteristics of Maritimers in general. 48% of the *Imprint* group made their first move within the Maritime region, although none remained there (Table 6). Of the 25% who made New England their first destination, only 3% did not

70 Robinson and Dow, *The Sailing Ships of New England,* II, pp. 19-20.

71 U.S. Census, 1880, Population Schedules, Boston, microfilm at Massachusetts State Archives.

72 J. Ernest Kerr, *Imprint of the Maritimes: Highlights in the Lives of 100 Interesting Americans whose Roots are in Canada's Atlantic Provinces* (Boston, 1959). The one-hundred biographies are each between one and two pages in length. The time period is broad: 1840-1940. Although all those included were successful in the U.S., their occupations were varied. All except four of the 36 counties in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, P.E.I., and Newfoundland are represented among places of origin; subsequent activities scattered the group through 38 of the United States.

move on. In all 91 moves were made within New England, but only 30 were final ones. Just 6% of the group used the mid-Atlantic region as a U.S. starting point, but 41% settled there permanently. A similar trend is evident in the mid-West and West, with only 6% using the former as their first stage and 5% the latter. However, 16% and 8%, respectively, eventually arrived and settled permanently in the two regions. When the group is taken as a whole, just 7%

Table 6. Distribution, by areas, of out-migrants from the Maritime Provinces as recorded in *Imprint of the Maritimes.*

Area	*1*	*1F*	*2*	*2F*	*3*	*3F*	*4*	*4F*	*5*	*5F*	*6+*	6+ F	Final moves in area	Total No. & % of all moves
New England	22	3	18	7	13	7	5	5	2	6	1	2	30	91 24%
Atlantic	4	2	9	6	9	7	11	7	4	9	6	10	41	84 22%
South	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	4 1%
Mid-West	5	1	5	5	10	4	4	3	5	0	2	3	16	47 12%
West	4	1	5	3	1	1	4	1	1	2	3	0	8	26 7%
Maritime Provinces	48	0	17	0	7	0	4	0	0	1	1	1	2	79 21%
Other Canada	9	0	9	0	2	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	23 6%
Europe	1	0	8	0	7	0	5	0	2	0	1	0	0	24 6%
Other Foreign	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	3 1%
Totals	93	7	71	21	50	20	35	16	17	18	15	18	100	381 100%

Source: Compiled from the one-hundred biographies in J. Ernest Kerr, *Imprint of the Maritimes* (Boston, 1959).

N.B. Provincial origins were: Nova Scotia, 61; New Brunswick, 17; Prince Edward Island, 20; Newfoundland, 2.

The columns 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6+ are for the number of major moves made by individual migrants, which were not final ones. Because of the varying amounts of information given on the individuals, it was decided not to include any minor moves, such as from Boston to Brookline or from Detroit to Pontiac. However, suburban moves of greater distance, such as from Boston to Salem or from Boston to Worcester, were counted. The "F" columns represent final moves. For example, 25 people made their first move to New England. 22 of these people later moved on to other towns, whereas 3 remained permanently in the towns to which they first moved. Moves within a region counted separately, eg., if someone moved first to Boston, he would be counted in the New England "1" column. If he subsequently moved to Worcester, Hartford, and finally to Providence, he would be counted in the New England "2", "3", and "4F" columns. He would not be counted in the "4" column.

remained permanently at their first migration stage. At subsequent stages the chances of terminating migration appeared even.

The behaviour of the *Imprint* group strongly reinforces the earlier suggestions that a system of chain-migration was followed by Maritime out-migrants. The pattern is supported by several additional factors. First, urban centres as well as the countryside of the Maritime Provinces were losing population between 1860 and 1900. Second, results of recent studies have shown high population turnover rates throughout nineteenth-century North America. Third, the gradual increase of Maritimers in western Canada and western U.S. after 1865 would not have occurred if the migrants had moved directly to those areas, rather than in stages.[73]

Vedder and Gallaway also found a significant positive correlation between the location of Canadian out-migrants and population density. It is clear from the newspaper reports and the census figures that many of the region's out-migrants moved from rural environs at home to urban locations abroad. If a chain system of migration existed — one that encompassed a rural-to-urban movement, possibly in a rank-order hierarchy of communities — other variables as well as distance were usually involved. The excessive clustering of Nova Scotians, Islanders, and to a lesser extent New Brunswickers in the greater-Boston area indicates the importance of the rural-to-urban movement (Table 7). The establishment of Boston as a metropolitan centre, and the fact that it often took several stages to reach that centre from a rural place of origin, lend credence to the rank-order chain process. Yet, the fact that a substantial minority of New Brunswickers chose Maine and the lumber states over Massachusetts and the clusterings of certain Maritimers in other states suggests that other types of migration were in practice besides a simple rural-to-urban move.

First, migrants could go directly from A to Z and not in stages. For instance when gold was discovered in California, or lead and silver in Colorado, or when special enticements such as the 1862 Homestead Act were offered, out-migrants might travel directly to their ultimate destination. Or one family member might move four, five, or six stages before finding a suitable location, and then send news to the other members of his family who could move

73 The numbers of out-migrating Nova Scotians (compiled from newspaper listings) to Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Alexandria, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Canada East and West for the period 1815-1851, are perfectly inversely proportional to distance from Halifax. J. S. Martell, *Immigration to and Emigration from Nova Scotia 1815-1838* (Halifax, 1942), p. 111; Susan L. Morse, "Immigration to Nova Scotia, 1839-1851" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Dalhousie Univ., 1946), Appendix I, p. 3. The credence of a chain system of migration is also attested to by a comment in "Nova Scotia's Problems. With Special Reference to Exodus": "Many from the Eastern States move West, and the gaps left are often filled by young people from the Maritime Provinces" (p. 472).

directly to the chosen place. This would successfully nullify any time/distance correlation necessary to indicate a chain process of migration beginning after 1865. Second, we can assume that some rural-to-rural migration took place among Maritime out-migrants. A letter to the *Nova Scotian* in the winter of 1869 extolled the virtues of Minnesota and urged Nova Scotian farmers to move to that "delightful" state.[74] The numbers of Nova Scotians, New Brunswickers, and Islanders in western states and later in western provinces indicate the attraction of better and also "free" farmlands for a certain minority of out-migrants. Even in such rural-to-rural moves, however, a system of chain-migration was often in evidence. This applies particularly to the out-migration of lumbermen from New Brunswick.

Table 7. Distribution of Maritime natives in U.S., 1880, as percentage of total Maritime population in U.S.

Place	*N.S.*	*N.B.*	*P.E.I.*
Boston	20%	14%	20%
Massachusetts (exc. Boston)	38	15	27
New England (exc. Massachusetts)	12	36	10
U.S. (exc. New England)	30	35	43

Source: Carroll D. Wright, comp., *Census of Massachusetts, 1880* (Boston, 1883), pp. 76-9 and 88-9; U.S., Census Office, *Tenth Census* (1880), I, pp. 492-5.

Third, the distribution of Islanders in the U.S. in 1880 strongly indicates the existence of a rural-urban-rural movement (Table 7). If the proportions are speculated as elements in a continuous migration stream, it appears that some Islanders (10%) were passing through northern New England enroute to Boston (20%) and from there the largest element (43%) travelled on to a non-New England destination. Such a movement was tantamount to backflow. Rather than return to the native farms where there was little opportunity for self-improvement, Maritime out-migrants, dissatisfied with urban life, might try farming in the U.S. Other Maritimers interested in taking up land in the West might find it necessary to go into the nearest large English-speaking city (Boston) to work for a short while in order to generate enough funds for the larger move. Even for those who were able to move directly from the Maritime Provinces to the American West, it might have been necessary first to pass through Portland, Boston, or New York City.[75] These cities would then act as distribution points for onward destinations.

74 *Nova Scotian* (Halifax), 13 December 1869. See also *Examiner*, 5 June 1881, for Kansas.

75 See Charlotte Erickson, *Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth Century America* (London, 1972), pp. 41-2. There were numerable advertisements in Maritime newspapers for westward routes via the U.S. throughout the second half of the nineteenth century.

Fourth, a rural-urban-suburban move was a distinct possibility among successful citizens of the 1870s, 80s, and 90s. Suburbanization in many American cities was well under way by this period. In Boston, the trend was particularly important among Maritimers. Carpentry and housebuilding spelled success for substantial numbers of Nova Scotians, and to a lesser extent Islanders and New Brunswickers, and the economic rewards as well as work location redistributed large numbers of Provincials throughout suburbia. The Nova Scotian stream compares very favourably with that of the Islanders (Table 7), until they reach the Boston area (12%, northern New England and 20%, Boston). At this point the patterns diverge and the Nova Scotians tend to relocate in suburbia (38%) rather than outside New England (30%). Despite the rural-to-rural movement and the direct migration stream, rather more migrants passed through stages than went directly to their places of destination.[76] The fact that 20% of the Nova Scotians, 20% of the Islanders, and 14% of the New Brunswickers in the U.S. in 1880 were inside the city of Boston, not counting the neighbouring towns and suburban locations, testifies to the dominance of the rural-to-urban nature of the Maritime out-migration and of the Maritime-Boston stream.

Economic depression and the limited success of industrialization in the Maritime Provinces prompted such a course of events. The force of Boston's economic pull, and the familiarity and strength of associations between the Maritimes and the "hub" city determined that Boston should become the focal point for the majority of Maritime out-migrants. Further, it is evident that characteristics at place of origin, particularly occupational experiences, determined places of destination. The lack of political obstacles or of ethnic prejudices, plus the kinship ties and volume of communication with certain destinations, all served to perpetuate the flow of migrants. Prior advantages then counted heavily in the success or failure of migrants and their subsequent decisions regarding further re-locations.

While the study of this particular example of nineteenth-century migration is far from complete, the preliminary findings make several points clear. If we are to fully understand nineteenth-century communities, we must know something of the nature of their populations. The new urban historians have adequately demonstrated that the nineteenth-century metropolis was often like a railway station, with a constant stream of passengers arriving and departing. This established, we must now ask, "Why?" Even if certain historians are interested only in particular towns and cities, it is essential that they acknowledge the significance of a larger area — the region, nation, or continent — in determining the form of their individual atom. To have examined Maritimers only at their U.S. destinations would have been to tell but half the

76 This is adequately supported by the high turnover rates in nineteenth-century communities. See Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians,* pp. 222 and 226.

story. Possibly Americanized by the second generation, Nova Scotians, New Brunswickers, and Islanders of the first generation were still characterized by their native traits. As journalist R. V. Sharp noted in 1919, Maritimers were "types rather than a type. Each stood in his place with the sole idea of continuing what his father had begun. Today they are found in these provinces by thousands, still what their fathers were — English, Scotch, Irish, French, hard bitten, stubborn pioneers."[77] This applied no less to those unable to resist the exodus, for the hatchet and saw men took more than their bags of tools with them on the Boston boat.

Ultimately, it is apparent that only by tracing the paths of these specific migrants will the jungle of movements and motives which contributed to the "perpetual motion" of the nineteenth century be untangled. Admitting inter-community linkage of large numbers of representative individuals to be a lengthy and tedious exercise, there remains the alternative of using lifetime out-migration trends as indicated by printed decennial censuses. Even a preliminary investigation combining this type of data with information on places of origin reveals a great deal more than previous works. But the realization of the limitations of earlier efforts, the more frequent re-iterations of Frank Thistlethwaite's call for an all-encompassing comparative approach, and work in progress at such places as Memorial and York Universities indicate that the idealistic goal of microscopic, inter-community population studies may yet be attained.[78]

77 *Busy East of Canada* (Sackville), December 1919, p. 10, as cited in Forbes, "The Maritime Rights Movement," 114n, p. 79.

78 See Sune Akerman, "From Stockholm to San Francisco: The Development of the Study of External Migrations," *Annales Academiae Regiae Scientiarum Upsaliensis,* 19 (1975), pp. 3-46; W. G. Handcock, "Spatial Patterns in a Trans-Atlantic Migration Field: The British Isles and Newfoundland during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries" (paper given at British-Canadian Symposium on Historical Geography, Queen's Univ., 24 September 1975); A. Gordon Darroch and Michael D. Ornstein, "Social Mobility in Nineteenth-Century Canada," *Historical Methods Newsletter,* 8 (December 1974), pp. 49-50.