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**Grassroots Consumption:
Ontario Farm Families' Consumption Practices, 1900-45**

by

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THESIS/DISSERTATION

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Doctor of Philosophy in History

Wilfrid Laurier University

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Abstract

Popular culture and academic perceptions typically view farmers of the past in one of two ways. On the one hand, we tend to emphasize their roles as producers of agricultural commodities, and marginalize or underemphasize their roles as consumers. On the other, we might believe that farmers were simply the passive recipients of broader societal trends and developments, and think that they followed in the footsteps of their urban counterparts. A small but growing number of scholars are engaging with these views, as they examine the consumption practices of rural North America. This historiography, however, is largely centered in the American context, and the key works north of the border concentrate on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Rural residents, however, continued to account for a sizable minority of the Canadian population into the mid-twentieth century.

In order to begin to redress this gap, this study focuses on Ontario from 1900 to 1945. In terms of geographical location, Ontario is a logical choice, as it had the largest rural population of all the provinces in this period, and also had the most occupied farms. In contrast to the tendency to focus on broad, overarching sources, this study builds on the historiographical push to search for the voices of consumers. Specifically, it analyzes diaries and account books kept by farm families in the prime agricultural areas of Ontario. This central source base is supplemented by a range of other primary sources, including memoirs, the farm press, and the annual reports of the Women's Institute, an influential rural women's organization. The study argues that these families blended a myriad of provisioning practices, including household production, local exchange, participation in co-operative ventures, and formal purchasing to acquire the food and

textiles they desired for their households. Their purchases document their connections to a complex marketplace, and demonstrate that farm families were active and discerning shoppers. Their decisions were shaped by seasonal, individual, and familial factors. Specifically rural consumption practices thus existed into mid-twentieth-century Ontario.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my grandmothers, Marion Esther Gal and Sophia Bradley. Both Esther and Sophia spent their childhoods on Ontario farms in the 1930s and 1940s, and Esther subsequently operated a tobacco farm with her husband, Alexander.

Acknowledgements

In the writing of this thesis, I received support from a myriad of individuals. First, thank you to my dissertation committee. My supervisor, Dr. Adam Crerar, has always been enthusiastic about my work, and has encouraged me to remember the bigger picture in my analysis of daily agrarian Ontario life. Similarly, my committee members, Dr. Cynthia Comacchio and Dr. Catharine A. Wilson have provided valuable feedback and advice each step along the way. Dr. Wilson has also been a lovely travelling companion for conferences; I will certainly remember, among the rigorous academic panels, our day trip during the AHS conference in the summer of 2014. Dr. R.W. Sandwell was an attentive external examiner, and provided helpful suggestions for the future development of my work. Dr. Douglas McCalla helped to cultivate my interest in rural consumption practices in a course at the Master's level. Kenny Kroeker provided invaluable assistance in ensuring my maps were polished and professional. I am grateful, too, for financial support from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), the Ontario Graduate Scholarship (OGS), and Wilfrid Laurier University.

Central to works of academic history, of course, are the sources on which they are based. Archivists and volunteers throughout the province have supported my research endeavours. They have also been patient with my seemingly endless attempts to decipher all possible information about the families included in this study. Janet Hilliker, Kate Jackson, Jenna Leifso, Shelley Respondek, Susan Schlorff, and Darlene Wiltsie are deserving of particular mention. My research also benefitted enormously from the many rural Ontario families who shared their stories and records. Discovering such privately-held collections was a thrill, and contributed greatly to the development of this project.

Finally, I must thank my family for their support. My parents, John and Karen, as well as my sister, Jessica, have been my own private cheering squad, and contributed to my hunt for sources. My partner, Oleksa Drachewych (with the help of Monica), has helped me to balance work and life. Thanks again to everyone who helped me to navigate through this process.

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Introduction

Reflecting on his childhood on a farm in Elgin County, Ontario, prior to the outbreak of the First World War, H.B. Disbrowe stressed that “[t]he farm still produced most of the family food and fuel.”¹ He explained that “home-grown wheat, buckwheat, and corn flour were the staples from which bread, flapjacks, and johnny cake were made; and, in the fall, cellars and shelves bulged or were weighed down with bins of winter vegetables and rows of preserved fruit and vegetables.”² Families raised pigs and chickens, gathered eggs, processed and preserved their own meat, and supplied their own tables with milk, cream, and butter.³ Disbrowe’s memories strike a chord with us because they cohere with a prevailing perception of the farmers of the past as locally-oriented, self-sufficient, and self-provisioning producers.

In the first half of the twentieth century, Ontario farmers certainly engaged in the household production of many of the goods Disbrowe remembers. But, as this study explores, such production is only part of the story. Farm families were far-from-isolated consumers, as they purchased items ranging from tropical fruit to British Columbia canned salmon. They consumed both homemade and store-bought bread, and wore both homemade and readymade clothing. Even when families made food and textiles within the home, they depended on purchased supplies and inputs, such as flour for their bread, and fabric for their clothing. Indeed, we must see the purchase of these inputs, and the use of the final products, each as acts of consumption. One simply cannot understand rural Ontario in these years without grappling with the ways in which farm families’ daily lives were shaped by the intertwining nature of production and consumption.

Consumption is a fundamental aspect of life; indeed, some of us would even see it as tied up inextricably with the definition of self. Implicitly or explicitly, we often try to present a specific image of ourselves through the clothes we wear, the vehicles we drive, and the neighbourhoods in which we live. Some of us even shape our identities through our choices of food. We might believe we can show our cosmopolitan attitudes or experiences through our knowledge and consumption of an array of “authentic” ethnic cuisines. We might think that our decisions to purchase local or organic foods demonstrate our commitment to our health and the environment. Clearly, what we choose to buy or not buy often has a myriad of meanings, over and above the basic utilities of the goods.

Scholars, too, see the broad-reaching implications and influences of consumption practices, and have increasingly turned to a study of the places, items, and ideologies of consumption in the past. The development of the department store in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for example, has received considerable attention. Scholars such as Susan Porter Benson, Henry Klassen, and Donica Belisle explore the factors that contributed to their emergence, and how they shaped and reinforced gender and class structures.⁴ Other scholars investigate the production, marketing, dissemination, and use of new technologies, such as the automobile and hydroelectricity and its associated appliances. Notable works in this area include those of Susan Strasser, Ruth Schwartz Cowan, Virginia Scharff, and David E. Nye.⁵ Still others address the relationship between consumption and the state, as evidenced by such historians as Lizabeth Cohen, Catherine Carstairs, and Meg Jacobs.⁶ These disparate branches of the consumption historiography

provide insights into gender and class relations, changing economic conditions, and the relationship between the state and its citizens.

While considerably strengthening our understanding of the past, this consumption historiography has largely focused on the experiences of urban residents. Rural residents, however, remained a key component of the North American population into the mid-twentieth century. In the Canadian context, for example, rural Canadians formed just under half of the total population as late as 1941, and slightly more than half of these rural Canadians resided on farms.⁷ According to the 1941 Census, rural Canada included unincorporated areas and incorporated areas with fewer than 1,000 residents.⁸

Under this rural umbrella, farm families present a particularly interesting and compelling case, given their unique role as both producers of agricultural commodities and consumers of a wide range of goods. Presumably, this unique role helps to shape the range of popular and academic perceptions surrounding farm families' consumption practices. On the one hand, as in memoirs and reminiscences such as Disbrowe's, we often see past farmers simply as producers of agricultural commodities, and marginalize or underemphasize their roles as consumers.⁹ Such an emphasis suggests that farm families remained outside of the marketplace, removed from the benefits (or lures, depending on the source) of urban society. Similarly, organizations such as the Women's Institute (WI), an influential, government-supported rural women's group, taught early twentieth-century rural women methods for the effective consumption of purchased goods.¹⁰ These educational efforts implied that farm families simply did not know how to "properly" consume. Even some scholars have shared this view of these families as first and foremost producers; some early works argued that farm families "bec[ame]

consumers” with an apparent mid-nineteenth century rural transition to capitalism, at least in the northern United States.¹¹

This notion of farm families “becoming consumers” bridges into the second central view of their consumption practices. According to this view, these families were simply the passive recipients of broader societal trends and developments. They followed in the footsteps of their urban counterparts, incorporating aspects of the new consumer culture as they became available. In this view, for example, they eagerly adopted the telephone and radio to counter their isolation and to access the broader urban culture. Such a view undercuts the agency of these families, minimizing the significance of their abilities to choose whether or how to utilize new products and conveniences on their farms and in their homes. Historian David Blanke, for example, explains that nineteenth-century Midwestern American farmers worked to balance “communal sensibilities” and individual “access to high-quality goods,” through such institutions as cooperatives.¹² During the early twentieth century, however, he argues that rural consumerism was “defeated,” as farm families “now worked to obtain and spend money rather than to advance their society”; farmers focused much more narrowly on their individual needs.¹³

In contrast to these arguably simplistic views, some Canadian historians have explored the experiences of rural families as consumers. Béatrice Craig, for example, in her study of the Madawaska region of Eastern Canada between the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, highlights the range of goods families purchased in local stores.¹⁴ She argues that, by the mid-nineteenth century, “what became desirable was no longer possessing a few treasured items, but acquiring novelties before everyone else, and acquiring a large number of goods.”¹⁵ Similarly, Douglas McCalla focuses on the

consumption practices of rural residents, examining purchases made in Upper Canadian stores prior to Confederation.¹⁶ He highlights the gradual evolution in consumption practices, stressing an overarching continuity in these practices over the nineteenth century.¹⁷ Notably, too, he counters the artificial division between household production and market engagement, arguing that such production necessitated “deep engagement in the international world of goods.”¹⁸ Both Craig and McCalla give detailed insights into rural consumption practices in the early period of Canadian history, and document the agency of these consumers.¹⁹

Did this rural agency, however, continue into the twentieth century? The urban consumption historiography highlights the importance of this period, associating it with the development of mass consumption and public leisure.²⁰ The advertising industry, working largely through the press, helped to ensure consumers were informed of the array of new products available for purchase.²¹ Cities, the state, and corporations took on increasing political and economic significance.²² Notably, too, developments in the rural context suggest potential shifts with regard to consumption practices. Agricultural extension workers, and speakers and leaders with rural organizations, such as the WI, strove to teach farm families to adhere to the ideals of urban businessmen and homemakers.²³ For women, at least in theory, this meant a decrease in their productive work on the farm, and an increase in their role as consumers, with expanded formal purchases.²⁴ In this initial overview, certain factors could have helped to fundamentally shift or redefine rural consumption practices.

In the American context, some rural scholars have addressed this issue. Historian Hal S. Barron, for example, in his study of the northern United States between 1870 and

1930, stresses that rural families were able to incorporate elements of the developing culture, goods, and technology into their lifestyles and existing value systems.²⁵ He discusses, for example, rural perceptions of the automobile, explaining that farm families distinguished their purchase and use of cars from urban families' "frivolous" purchases of vehicle, which were seen to be used for "joy riding."²⁶ Farm families saw their automobiles as agricultural machinery, which was used to transport agricultural goods and to allow for efficient and economical purchasing.²⁷ Similarly, studying farm families' adaptation of new technologies between 1900 and 1960, historian Ronald R. Kline argues that they "resisted, modified, and selectively used these technologies to create new rural cultures, [and] new forms of rural modernity – many of which were individual modernities."²⁸ Both Barron and Kline see rural cultures and values persisting into the twentieth century, even as these families adopted supposedly "urban" technologies and goods. Barron highlights the reconfiguration of "more traditional notions of localism, independence, and agrarianism into new forms."²⁹ Specifically rural radio programs, for example, helped to foster a rural popular culture that extended beyond the local community, while "farmers' nights" in local towns enabled farmers to combine socialization and shopping.³⁰

Moving north of the border, however, scholars have yet to discuss rural consumption practices in the twentieth century, despite the persistence of a sizable rural minority in Canada.³¹ In order to begin to redress this historiographical gap, I focus on Ontario, specifically between the years 1900 and 1945. In terms of geographical location, Ontario is a logical choice, as it had the largest rural population of all the provinces in this period.³² It also had the most occupied farms of all the provinces.³³ This study of

agrarian Ontario consumption practices helps more generally to extend the rural North American historiography, which, with regard to the twentieth century, has largely focused on the United States, as well as the Canadian prairies.³⁴

In terms of the time frame, the first half of the twentieth century was a relatively cohesive period for Ontario agriculture. There were some developments with regard to technology; by the early 1940s, Ontario farm families commonly had radios, telephones, and automobiles, and a minority adopted tractors.³⁵ A surprising degree of continuity, however, existed throughout the period.³⁶ Despite increased use of the automobile and, to a lesser extent, the tractor, horses remained a central source of power.³⁷ Families had relatively few household amenities, such as running water, flush toilets, and electrification and its associated appliances, by the early 1940s.³⁸ Farms were generally mixed, meaning that families raised a variety of livestock, grew cash crops, such as wheat, and grew fodder crops, such as oats and corn.³⁹ Some families began to specialize their operations, but this typically worked alongside their more general farm production.⁴⁰ Families also continued to blend their roles as producers and consumers; they grew, raised, and processed a range of fruits, vegetables, meats, and dairy products on-farm that were subsequently eaten by the household. Indeed, as late as 1941, they received 20 per cent of their income “in kind,” including much of their food.⁴¹ The study ends in 1945, as the post-Second World War period is often associated with a shift towards commodity specialization in modern agribusiness; it is likely farm families’ production for household use declined in this period, as they no longer engaged in such a broad range of production for marketplace sales.⁴²

Central to shaping this study, too, is a definition of consumption, and there has been much discussion on this topic in the historiography. Some historians, such as Donica Belisle, take a narrow view of the topic, arguing that consumption is associated with formal purchases in the capitalist marketplace.⁴³ In this vein, as discussed by David Steigerwald and David Blanke, some scholars connect consumption simply with “goods not strictly necessary to biological existence.”⁴⁴ The historiography has perhaps consequently focused mainly on the “most spectacular and transgressive aspects” of consumption, such as new technologies, and new venues for shopping, such as the department store.⁴⁵ Proponents of this perspective often disassociate production and consumption.⁴⁶ Presumably, this can be at least partially attributed to the fact that such consumer goods were produced and consumed in different geographical settings; many of these goods were produced in factory settings, but ultimately consumed in individual households. Another reason for this historiographical division could be the fact that the desires of producers and consumers did not always align; producers often focused on balancing profits and achieving market saturation, while consumers were concerned with such issues as cost, usability, and desirability. Perhaps as a result, scholars have tended to focus on the ideology and actions of either, but not both, producers or consumers.

A range of other scholars, including Frank Trentmann and Joy Parr, however, highlight the need to broaden our understanding of consumption. They challenge the narrow association of consumption with capitalistic or commercial purchases alone by highlighting that there are a range of provisioning practices, such as bartering and participation in co-operative ventures.⁴⁷ In this broadened view of consumption, scholars such as Trentmann, Parr, T.H. Breen, and John Brewer (and, as mentioned, McCalla and

Craig for the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Canada) argue for the abolition of the binary division between production and consumption, and the need to study the topics together.⁴⁸ Parr, for example, discusses the differences in the production, marketing, consumption, and use of wringer-washers and automatic washers in postwar Canada. She explains that the latter were mass-produced, and often marketed to mothers with babies, given the sheer volume of diapers to wash.⁴⁹ She argues, however, that women often preferred to purchase wringer-washers, as these machines were more durable, more economical, and used less water than their automatic counterparts.⁵⁰ Women's purchasing decisions were thus shaped by their perceptions of the best use of goods, technology, and time, and their priorities did not necessarily align with the production and marketing techniques of the washing machine industry. In this study, I build on the underpinnings of Parr, Trentmann, Breen, Brewer, McCalla, and Craig to consider the range of methods farm families used to provision their households, and to unite a study of agrarian production and consumption. In taking such an approach, this study focuses on goods utilized within the home, whether produced or processed on the farmstead, or purchased or acquired through another method.

Another central factor shaping, and reflecting, my methodological approach is my source base. Typically, historians of consumption work with broad, overarching sources. Print media, advertisements, government records, company records, and trade journals are central to these studies, as the work of scholars such as Donica Belisle, Keith Walden, and Graham Broad attests.⁵¹ Indeed, as Joy Parr highlights, “we know more about Mr Eaton than about Mr Eaton's customers, and are tempted to infer what Mr Eaton's customers thought from what Mr Eaton thought.”⁵² Such “top-down” studies certainly

address the socioeconomic context that shaped the availability of goods and the changing methods of advertising and retailing. These studies, however, are simply unable to fully capture the experiences of consumers.

Increasingly, some scholars have worked with a broader range of sources to try to reach the voices of consumers. Hal S. Barron and Susan Porter Benson, for example, analyze early twentieth century surveys and studies, typically conducted by such professionals as social workers, economists, and rural sociologists.⁵³ Barron also incorporates late twentieth-century oral history projects into his study. Such surveys and oral histories certainly provide information on a broad segment of the consuming public, whose voices and experiences can be difficult to unearth. Their stories were filtered, however, by the professionals and interviewers, who often had particular research questions or agendas driving their work. Scholars such as Steve Penfold, in contrast, remove one level of separation from their source base by conducting interviews themselves.⁵⁴

Other scholars have tried to reach a grounded understanding of consumption practices through a study of the account books and day books of storekeepers. This trend is particularly evident in the rural historiography, as demonstrated by scholars such as Douglas McCalla, Béatrice Craig, Elizabeth Mancke, and Allan Greer.⁵⁵ These store records give insights into the purchasing patterns of communities, and their wider market networks. As acknowledged by McCalla, however, families were not reliant on a single store; the use of store records gives only a partial understanding of the range of purchases made by these families.⁵⁶

In an effort to expand this “bottom-up” study of consumption practices, I searched for diaries and account books kept directly by farm families. Notably, few collections in either Library and Archives Canada or the Archives of Ontario were suitable.⁵⁷ Rather, many of the relevant collections were held in local and county archives. As families often continue farming over multiple generations, and I myself am active in the agrarian community, I also searched for collections remaining in private holdings. I circulated requests for information through the contemporary farm press, including both the *Ontario Farmer* and the *Rural Voice*.⁵⁸ I used word of mouth and handouts to inform the local community of my research interests. I was fortunate to receive a number of phone calls and emails on the subject, and many families invited me into their homes to discuss their histories and to share their records. Some of the private collections incorporated into this work include those of the Duckwiths of Peel County, the McGowans of Huron County, the Robinsons of Middlesex County, and a range of families from Oxford County, where my fourth-generation family farm is located.⁵⁹

Turning first to a discussion of farm accounts, farm men typically kept these records.⁶⁰ At least one woman in this study, however, Ida Hawley of Lennox and Addington County, also completed this task.⁶¹ In contrast to storekeeper records, farm account books rarely specified purchasing locations, nor did they identify which family members made the individual purchases. The farm record keepers did, however, provide a more detailed understanding of the full range of purchases made by their families, including food and textiles, as well as inputs used for the production of such goods within the home. The account books also provided glimpses into their families’ agricultural production, through records of both income and purchases of equipment and/or

agricultural inputs. A few families, including the Leeders of Bruce County, specified their purchasing locations, and, rarely, even the shops at which these purchases were made. Farm account books allowed for a more complete understanding of what families bought and sold than the transactions encapsulated in store records.⁶² A total of twenty-two account book collections were incorporated into this study.

Market engagement, so clearly documented in account books, presented only part of the story; families also produced a significant quantity of goods for household use.⁶³ Consequently, findings from the accounts were read alongside a study of diaries kept by farm families. A few individuals, including John Graham Weir of Peterborough County, and James Adam Glen of Middlesex County, kept both diaries and accounts.⁶⁴ Mrs. C.J. (Alice) Treffry of Oxford County and Mary Ann King of Welland County also wove some account-keeping into their diaries.⁶⁵ Typically, however, these farm record keepers chose either the more narrative form of diaries or the more quantitative form of accounts to detail important activities or transactions in their daily lives; they did not provide insights into the individualized or familial meanings of consumption.

Women generally kept the diaries incorporated into this study, although in the case of the Perkins household of Oxford County, Fred and Elma (a recently married husband and wife) shared the diary.⁶⁶ Farm diarists often recorded the weather and the work completed on the farm; the female diarists included in this study moved beyond the fields and the barnyards to detail the work completed in the gardens, the orchards, and the home. Less frequently, diarists noted special purchases made in town or through mail order catalogues. These farm diaries gave detailed insights into the production of food and textiles within the home, the individuals responsible for these tasks, and the seasonal

shifts in this workload. While many of the goods produced in the home were subsequently consumed by the family, the diarists provided fewer insights into when, exactly, food was eaten and textiles were used; these insights were extrapolated from the available information, and shaped by an understanding of the basic qualities of the specific goods. A total of twenty diary collections were incorporated into this project. While women's and rural historians have long incorporated an analysis of diaries into their work, this study is one of the first to utilize diaries as a key source to understand farm families' consumption practices.⁶⁷ Taken together, farm diaries and account books complement one another for a grounded study of consumption practices. Basic genealogical and land occupancy information on the families in this study were drawn from census, birth, marriage, and death records, alongside assessment rolls and land abstracts.

The collections as a whole provided detailed evidence for the full forty-five-year time span examined in this study. Sources from the first decade of the twentieth century, for example, included the King collection, the Atkins collection of Brant County, and the Pearce collection of Elgin County.⁶⁸ Towards the end of the period of analysis, sources that extended into the 1940s include the Ferrier collection of Wellington County, the Robertson collection of Middlesex County, and the John Cameron Topham collection of Oxford County.⁶⁹ Some collections provided only a brief snapshot in time, covering a year or two; the Innes collections of Oxford County, the Allen collection of Lennox and Addington County, and the Brown collection of Carleton County were some such examples.⁷⁰ More commonly, records spanned multiple years, such as those of the McQueens of Huron County, the Glens of Middlesex County, and the Leeders of Bruce

County.⁷¹ A few of the collections covered a substantial portion of the period; the Kelly accounts of Oxford County, for example, spanned from 1904 to 1939, while the Hawley accounts spanned from 1900 to 1944.⁷² These many and disparate diaries and accounts provided extensive evidence for an analysis of changes and continuities over the first half of the twentieth century.

The collections were from families located across southern Ontario, in a total of nineteen counties as illustrated in red in the accompanying map (Figure 1). The highest proportion of families was located in the most heavily populated region of agrarian Ontario, which was the central area of southwestern Ontario. Families from some of the province's eastern counties, such as Lennox and Addington, and Prince Edward, were also included. Geographically, the prime agricultural areas of Ontario in the first half of the twentieth century were well represented.⁷³

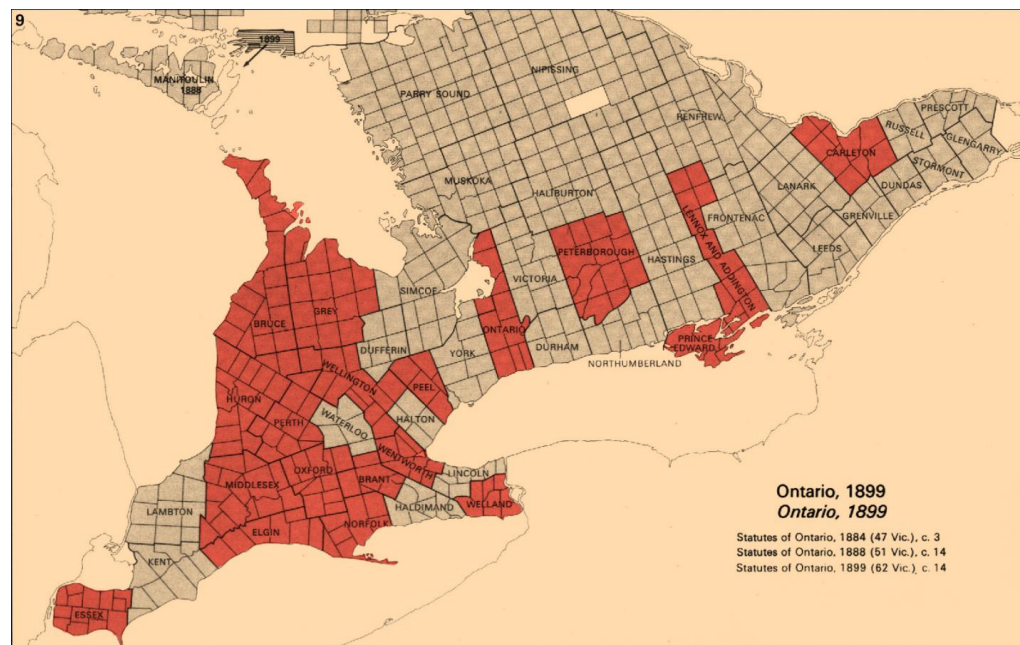


Figure 1: Map of Ontario Counties, showing in red the counties represented by diarists, account book keepers, memoirists, and beef ring shareholders.

Source: "Ontario Districts and Counties, 1889," scanned by the Archives of Ontario from W.G. Dean, editor, and G.J. Mathews, cartographer, *The Economic Atlas of Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Government of Ontario, 1969), <http://www.archives.gov.on.ca/en/maps/textdocs/districts1899big.aspx>. Shading done by author.

In terms of the families themselves, a broad cross-section is reflected, particularly in terms of stage in the life cycle. A few of the record keepers were recently married, such as Elma and Fred Perkins, and Ira McIntosh of Bruce County.⁷⁴ Some families had young children, such as the Crawforths of Ontario County, the Cowans of Oxford County, and the McGowans of Huron County.⁷⁵ Some couples had been married longer-term, and some of their adult children had established their own households, while others remained at home; the James Adam Glen, Sr., household, the Treffry household, and the Potts household of Norfolk County were some such examples.⁷⁶ Similarly, there were records from adult farm sons and daughters still residing at home with their parents, such as William R. Shand of Norfolk County, and Emily Duckwith of Peel County.⁷⁷ Some diarists, such as Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins, Velma Beaton of Wellington County, and Cora Tunis of Wentworth County, remained single and stayed in the family home.⁷⁸ Couples such as the Weirs of Peterborough County and the Whites of Prince Edward County never had children.⁷⁹ Finally, some households were headed by women. The King household, for example, consisted of two single women and a young male hired hand for much of the period under analysis, and the Green household of Huron County consisted of widowed Janet and her adult daughter, Bella.⁸⁰ This range of living situations is important to note, as stage in the life cycle and the makeup of the household were central to consumption practices.⁸¹

Overwhelmingly, male household heads were identified as farmers in relevant census and marriage records. A few families clearly engaged in occupational pluralism; the Simmons family of Lennox and Addington County, for example, farmed and the male household head, Archie, also worked as a miller.⁸² Similarly, both John Graham Weir and

D.H. Kelly supplemented their families' farming incomes with the sale of dressed beef, veal, pork, and/or lamb.⁸³ There were also some unusual family arrangements, helping to broaden our notion of farm families. The Hill family of Wellington County, for example, consisted of Thomas A., and his second wife, Annie, as well as children Milton, Albert, William, and Eva.⁸⁴ Annie and the children resided in the village of Fergus, in Wellington County, while Thomas farmed in Saskatchewan and returned to Ontario to spend the winters with his family.⁸⁵ Despite these atypical living arrangements, the family relied on its agricultural income, and followed the broader agrarian consumption practices. The prevalence of male household heads in identifying as farmers, alongside a bit of occupational pluralism, was in keeping with the broader agrarian experience in Ontario in this period.⁸⁶

In terms of the socioeconomic position of these families, I am influenced by sociologist Gordon Darroch, who highlights the centrality of a "middling" class of farm families in the 1860s and 1870s.⁸⁷ Darroch identifies farm holdings as one such marker of "middling" status. According to the Canadian Censuses, over the first half of the twentieth century the majority of Ontario farm families held between 51 and 200 acres.⁸⁸ The broad range can be attributable to a number of different factors, including the quality of the soil, as well as the amount of land cleared. Acreage, too, can be connected to developing areas of specialization, amidst the broader endurance of mixed farming; families focused on market gardening, for example, needed less land than those focused on beef cattle production. Such "middling" families presumably maintained a comfortable existence from their agricultural incomes.

I gathered information on the landholdings of families in this study largely from assessment rolls and land abstracts, held in a myriad of locations across the province.⁸⁹ As documented in Table 1, below, I found information on 37 of the 42 families in this study.⁹⁰ In terms of tenancy, it appears that the Glen households, as well as those of two of the missing families, may have rented their land.⁹¹ The overwhelming majority of families in this study, however, owned their farms, which is in keeping with the provincial trends.⁹² The majority of these families, too, held between 51 and 200 acres, placing them firmly in the “middling” category. A quarter of families in the study held fewer than 51 acres, and families in this category typically operated farms between 40 and 50 acres. Indeed, these families were presumably bordering on “middling” status, as they had sufficient acreage to engage in a range of agricultural production. Only two families had very small holdings. The aforementioned Simmons household, in which Archie was both a miller and a farmer, owned six acres; its smaller holdings can perhaps be associated with Archie’s occupational pluralism.⁹³ Similarly, the Green household, which lacked a male household head, owned approximately three acres.⁹⁴ The Green’s small landholdings, as well as the lack of an adult male labourer, presumably placed the family in a more marginal socioeconomic position.

Only two of the families held more than 200 acres. The Shields family of Peel County expanded its farm size from 100 to 300 acres in 1927; notably, Oliver, the male household head, ultimately granted these properties to his sons Hugh and William, reflecting the practice of expanding holdings in an effort to establish subsequent generations on the land.⁹⁵ The Ferrier family also farmed a larger operation, owning 250 acres between the 1930s and early 1940s.⁹⁶ These larger holdings suggest that the

families were more prosperous than their middling counterparts, or that they were working to support multiple generations. Overall, however, families in this study were reflective of the broader Ontario farming population in the period, with the majority in the middling category, and a few operating on either end of the scale. Despite some familial nuances in consumption patterns, it is still feasible, and useful, to talk of shared agrarian consumption practices in the first half of the twentieth century.

Table 1: Landholdings of Farm Families in this Study⁹⁷

Name	Approximate Years	Acres	County
Treffry	1900	100	Oxford
Pearce	1900-06	175	Elgin
Weir	1900-20	90	Peterborough
Glen, Sr.	1900-21	50	Middlesex
Pollard	1900-37	100	Oxford
Robinson	1900-38	100-160	Middlesex
Hawley	1900-44	140	Lennox & Addington
Leeder, Nathaniel Edward	1902-37	45	Bruce
Cowan, J.D.	1903-12	200	Oxford
McGowan	1903-20	100	Huron
Poole	1904	100	Brant
Kelly	1904-39	50	Oxford
Crawforth	1905, 1917-31	40-47.5	Ontario
White	1910-19, 1930-35	86	Prince Edward County
Innes, Elsie	1911-12	100	Oxford
Shand	1911-17	100	Norfolk
Brown	1912-13	100	Carleton
Leeder, Jemina Hannah	1913-26	45	Bruce
Green	1914-19	3	Huron
Miller	1916-41	200	Lennox & Addington
Potts	1917-27	90	Norfolk
Simmons	1918-45	6	Lennox & Addington
Duckwith	1919-21	100	Peel
Glen, Jr.	1921-26	50	Middlesex
Cowan, Wm. H.	1921-29	200	Oxford
McQueen	1922-32	100	Huron
Tunis	1922-37	95	Wentworth
McIntosh	1923-28	49.5	Bruce
Shields	1926-27	100-300	Peel
Topham, William Casimer	1926-31	100	Oxford
Allen	1929-30	148	Lennox & Addington
Meyer	1930-45	100	Perth
Beaton	1931-45	100	Wellington
Innes, Russell	1933-34	100	Oxford
Ferrier	1933-45	250	Wellington
Robertson	1943-45	100	Middlesex
Topham, John Cameron	1945	100	Oxford

The analysis of these diaries and accounts was supplemented by a study of a range of other primary sources. A handful of memoirs from the period were incorporated. While beneficial in providing a narrative and anecdotal frame, these memoirs were necessarily read alongside other sources, given their sometimes nostalgic portrayals of life.⁹⁸ Some of the prescriptive literature from the period was also incorporated, in the form of both articles and advertisements in the farm press and the Annual Reports of the WI. The farm press reached a sizable portion of rural Ontario, and gave insights into the wider views of the agricultural community and leadership.⁹⁹ To streamline the process of sifting through these vast publications, this project relied largely on the invaluable *Ontario Rural Society, 1867-1930: A Thematic Index of Selected Agricultural Periodicals*, compiled by Edwinna von Bayer.¹⁰⁰ The research from this index was supplemented with studies of the Toronto-based *Farmers' Sun* and the London-based *Farmer's Advocate and Home Magazine*, completed for an earlier project, as von Bayer did not index every topic covered in this study.¹⁰¹ Both the *Sun* and *Advocate* reached a sizable portion of rural Ontario,¹⁰² and were targeted to middling farm families. The yearly subscription rates for both newspapers were quite low; in 1920, for example, the annual subscription for the *Advocate* was only \$1.50, and each weekly issue averaged approximately 44 pages.¹⁰³ Each edition also included extensive advertising, suggesting that the agricultural press itself was shaped by the consumer culture; advertising was presumably the central source of revenue for the papers.¹⁰⁴ By late 1917, the women's section of the *Sun*, known as "The Sun Sisters' Page," was edited by Emma Griesbach, the first provincial secretary of an agrarian women's organization known as the United Farm Women of Ontario (UFWO).¹⁰⁵ Griesbach was generally more liberal than her

contemporaries,¹⁰⁶ and the strengths of the UFWO, as perceived by its leadership, were its involvement in politics and its emphasis on the cooperative movement for lessening the workloads of farm men and women. A study of the *Sun*, alongside the *Advocate*, gives insights into a broader cross-section of the agrarian community.

Another key element of the prescriptive literature was the WI Reports, which were an outgrowth of its annual meetings. These reports included the papers and speeches given by leaders, demonstration-lecturers, and members. As with some of the newspaper analysis, these reports were analysed for an earlier project, and cover the years from 1900 to 1925. This study also drew on the records of three beef rings, which were agrarian organizations that enabled their members to access fresh beef weekly during the summer months. Taken together, this range of sources helped to contextualize the findings drawn from the detailed reading of farm diaries and account books.

In this study of farm families' consumption practices, I have necessarily concentrated on some goods to the exclusion of others. Agricultural inputs and implements were not addressed, as I focused on goods ultimately used in the home. General household goods, such as stoves, dishes, and lamps, were not discussed, as they were durable goods that often could be used for multiple years. Similarly, "big ticket" items, including new technologies and furniture, were also purchased relatively infrequently and thus omitted from this study; the American historiography provides considerable insights into the rural adoption of the telephone, the radio, and the automobile, etc.¹⁰⁷ Studies of small personal items, such as watches and combs, and "cultural products," such as pianos and books, are left for later works.

Rather, in response to the call from Trentmann and Brewer for the study of quotidian consumption practices,¹⁰⁸ this study examines the items farm families acquired and used on a regular basis in the home. Food, of course, was central to daily life; this study addresses farm families' consumption of meat, eggs, dairy products, fruits, vegetables, and baked goods. Such goods were a key component of farm families' diets.¹⁰⁹ Notably, families could, and did, produce many of these goods themselves, although household production worked in tandem with purchasing, as will be highlighted throughout. Families also periodically bought a range of other foodstuffs, including spices, coffee, tea, candy, and readymade breakfast cereals.¹¹⁰ Many of these goods, however, were purchased relatively infrequently, and the extent of such purchases could vary markedly by family; consequently, it did not seem practical to branch out into these topics. Textiles were another central aspect of daily life; this study examines farm families' consumption of clothing, footwear, and accessories, as well as household textiles, such as curtains, quilts, and rugs. Given the tendency of diaries and account books to focus more heavily on production and purchasing, respectively, consumption practices are extrapolated from this grounded information on daily life.

In terms of structure, a straight chronological approach did not suit this project; the First and Second World Wars and the Great Depression did not lead to fundamental shifts in relation to the topics examined here. Rather, this work focuses on the broader experiences and practices of farm families, addressing the impacts of the wars and Depression when applicable.¹¹¹ Consequently, the contents of this study are organized thematically, first considering food and then textiles. Nuanced shifts and developments in consumption patterns are most evident when looking at the specific consumer goods.

We begin with a discussion of a seemingly quintessential aspect of agrarian self-sufficiency: meat. This first chapter explores the range of poultry, pork, beef, lamb/mutton, fish, and game consumed by families. It focuses on the meat processed within the household, as well as that purchased locally. The next chapter builds on this topic through case studies of three fresh beef associations that operated in early twentieth-century rural Ontario. Chapter three moves on to a discussion of other products of animal husbandry: dairy products and eggs. The main types of dairy products farm families consumed in this period were milk, butter, cheese, and, perhaps surprisingly, ice cream. Chapter four brings us to a study of an array of foodstuffs derived from plants, bushes, and trees, including vegetables, fruits, nuts, and maple syrup. It also examines the consumption of preserved and canned fruits and vegetables. The final chapter in this discussion of food explores the production and purchasing of baked goods, including bread and desserts. Together, these five chapters address the central groupings of the foods which families consumed.

Next, we turn to a discussion of textiles. The first chapter in this section examines farm families' purchasing and production of clothing, accessories, and footwear. The next chapter extends beyond women's sewing of clothing to consider the sewing of household textiles, as well as knitting, fancy work, and quilting. As will become evident in the reading of these chapters, the topics cannot be completely divorced; women knitted some articles of clothing, such as socks and sweaters, for example, but this work is discussed in the chapter on household textiles, as opposed to the one on clothing. After careful consideration, however, it seemed logical to keep all knitting, fancy work, and quilting together, rather than to separate it artificially along the lines of the type of the item being

produced. Such work was also more limited than the ubiquitous clothing production. The final chapter brings together some of the overarching arguments presented throughout the work.

Overall, this study provides a strong and detailed sense of Ontario farm families' quotidian consumption practices, and gives insights into the patterns of daily life for these families in the first half of the twentieth century. These families engaged in the considerable household production of goods, which were used for familial consumption. Complementing such production, families exchanged goods and services with extended kin, neighbours, and friends, without attaching a strict price to the trade. They also participated in co-operative ventures. Finally, they made purchases from salespeople on farm, in stores, and through mail order catalogues. Significantly, agrarian consumption practices endured throughout this period, as families blended the consumption of home-produced food and textiles with items purchased in the marketplace.

¹ H.B. Disbrowe, *Down on the Farm (1901-1925): A nostalgic glimpse of farm life in Western Ontario during the First Quarter of the 20th Century* (London, ON: Phelps Publishing Co., 1981), 61.

² Disbrowe, 61.

³ Disbrowe, 61-62.

⁴ See, for example, Susan Porter Benson, *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890-1940* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986); Henry Klassen, "T.C. Power & Bro.: The Rise of a Small Western Department Store, 1870-1902," *Business History Review* 66, 4 (Winter 1992), 671-722; and Donica Belisle, *Retail Nation: Department Stores and the Making of Modern Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011).

⁵ Susan Strasser, *Never Done: A History of American Housework* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982); Ruth Schwartz Cowan, *More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave* (New York: Basic Books, 1983); Richard S. Tedlow, "Putting America on Wheels: Ford vs. General Motors," in *New and Improved: The Story of Mass Marketing in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1990), 112-181; Virginia Scharff, *Taking the Wheel: Women and the Coming of the Motor Age* (New York: The Free Press, 1991); Ronald R. Kline, *Consumers in the Country: Technology and Social Change in Rural America* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2000); Stephen Davies, "'Reckless Walking Must Be Discouraged': The Automobile Revolution and the Shaping of Urban Canada to 1930," *Urban History Review* 18, no. 2 (October 1989), 123-38; David E. Nye, *Electrifying America: Social Meanings of a New Technology, 1880-1940* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990); and James C. Williams, "Getting Housewives the Electric Message: Gender and Energy Marketing in the Early Twentieth Century," in *His and Hers: Gender, Consumption, and Technology*, eds. Roger Horowitz and Arwen Mohun (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998), 95-114.

⁶ Elizabeth Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Vintage Books, 2003); Catherine Carstairs, *Jailed for Possession: Illegal Drug Use, Regulation, and*

Power in Canada, 1920-1961 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006); Catherine Gilbert Murdoch, *Domesticating Drink: Women, Men, and Alcohol in America, 1870-1940* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1998); Lara Campbell, "Militant Mothers and Loving Fathers: Gender, Family, and Ethnicity in Protest," in *Respectable Citizens: Gender, Family and Unemployment in Ontario's Great Depression* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 149-183; Craig Heron, *Booze: A Distilled History* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2003); John C. Burnham, *Bad Habits: Drinking, Smoking, Taking Drugs, Gambling, Sexual Misbehaviour and Swearing in American History* (New York: New York University Press, 1993); Suzanne Morton, *At Odds: Gambling and Canadians, 1919-1969* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003); Meg Jacobs, *Pocketbook Politics: Economic Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005); and Tracey Deutsch, *Gender, Politics, and American Grocery Stores in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

⁷ Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Eighth Census of Canada, 1941, Volume I: General Review and Summary Tables* (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1947), 36; and Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Eighth Census of Canada, 1941, Volume II: Population by Local Subdivisions*, 177. See also R.W. Sandwell, "Notes Toward a Rural History of Canada, 1870-1940," in *Social Transformation in Rural Canada: Community, Cultures, and Collective Action*, ed. John R. Parkins and Maureen G. Reed (Vancouver and Toronto: University of British Columbia Press, 2013), 23-24, 27, and 35.

⁸ See Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Eighth Census of Canada, 1941, Volume I*, 36.

⁹ See, for example, Disbrowe, 61-62; and Janine Roelens-Grant, ed., *From This Place: Recollections of the Lives of Women in the 20th Century* (Guelph, ON: Moffitt Print Craft Limited, 2000). See also Douglas McCalla, *Consumers in the Bush: Shopping in Rural Upper Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 5.

¹⁰ See, for example, "The Formation of the Women's Institute," *Women's Institutes from the Report of the Superintendent of the Farmers' Institute of the Province of Ontario, 1900* (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1901), 4; and Miss Blanche Maddock, "Domestic Science," *Women's Institutes from the Report of the Superintendent of the Farmers' Institute of the Province of Ontario, 1900*, 9.

¹¹ See Allan Kulikoff, *The Agrarian Origins of American Capitalism* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992), 13-15.

¹² David Blanke, *Sowing the American Dream: How Consumer Culture Took Root in the Rural Midwest* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2000), 7, 214, 217, and 219.

¹³ Blanke, *Sowing the American Dream*, 214, 217, and 219-20.

¹⁴ Béatrice Craig, *Backwoods Consumers and Homespun Capitalists: The Rise of a Market Culture in Eastern Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 199-220.

¹⁵ Craig, *Backwoods Consumers and Homespun Capitalists*, 218.

¹⁶ McCalla, *Consumers in the Bush*, 34, and 158. See also Douglas McCalla, "A World Without Chocolate: Grocery Purchases at Some Upper Canadian Country Stores, 1801-1861," *Agricultural History* 79, no. 2 (2005), 147-72.

¹⁷ McCalla, *Consumers in the Bush*, 22, and 150.

¹⁸ McCalla, *Consumers in the Bush*, 153.

¹⁹ McCalla, *Consumers in the Bush*, 148-49; and Craig, *Backwoods Consumers and Homespun Capitalists*, 218.

²⁰ See, for example, Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Katrina Srigley, *Breadwinning Daughters: Young Working Women in a Depression-era City, 1929-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010); and Cynthia R. Comacchio, *The Infinite Bonds of Family: Domesticity in Canada, 1850-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 75-76.

²¹ See, for example, Russell Johnston, "The Industry Takes Shape, 1900-1921," in *Selling Themselves: The Emergence of Canadian Advertising* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 101-141; Comacchio, 78; and Craig Heron, *Lunch-Bucket Lives: Remaking the Workers' City* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2015), 153-54, and 171.

²² Hal S. Barron, *Mixed Harvest: The Second Great Transformation in the Rural North, 1870-1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 243-44.

²³ See, for example, Jeffery Taylor, *Fashioning Farmers: Ideology, Agricultural Knowledge and the Manitoba Farm Movement, 1890-1925* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1994); Lu Ann Jones,

Mama Learned Us to Work: Farm Women in the New South (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Margaret C. Kechnie, *Organizing Rural Women: The Federated Women's Institutes of Ontario, 1897-1919* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003); Linda M. Ambrose and Margaret Kechnie, "Social Control or Social Feminism?: Two Views of the Ontario Women's Institutes," *Agricultural History* 73, no. 2 (1999), 222-37; and Monda Halpern, *And On That Farm He Had a Wife: Ontario Farm Women and Feminism, 1900-1970* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).

²⁴ Kechnie, 21. See also Carolyn M. Goldstein, *Creating Consumers: Home Economists in Twentieth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012); and Comacchio, 76, 83, and 100-101.

²⁵ Barron, 243-44. Gerald L. Pocius has similar findings regarding the importance of the use of new items when considering their impact and significance for a community. See Gerald L. Pocius, *A Place to Belong: Community Order and Everyday Space in Calvert, Newfoundland* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 14-15.

²⁶ Barron, 196.

²⁷ Barron, 197.

²⁸ Kline, 7.

²⁹ Barron, 16.

³⁰ Barron, 204-05, 209, 222, and 225.

³¹ One exception to this generalization is Gerald L. Pocius's study of Calvert, Newfoundland. Pocius takes an anthropologic and ethnographic approach to his work, and argues the community "is basically a nonmaterial culture." His study focuses largely on the community's use of space in its homes and surrounding landscape. See Pocius, xiii-xiv, 7, and 285.

³² Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Eighth Census of Canada, 1941, Volume II*, 177.

³³ Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Eighth Census of Canada, 1941, Volume I*, 516.

³⁴ Halpern, 21; and D.A. Lawr, "The Development of Ontario Farming, 1870-1914: Patterns of Growth and Change," *Ontario History* 64 (December 1972), 239. See, for example, Paul Voisey, *Vulcan: The Making of a Prairie Community* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988); Angela E. Davis, "'Country Homemakers': The Daily Lives of Prairie Women as Seen through the Woman's Page of the Grain Growers' Guide, 1908-1928," in *Canadian Papers in Rural History, Volume VIII*, ed. Donald H. Akenson (Gananoque, ON: Langdale Press, 1992), 163-74; Mary Kinnear, "'Do you want your daughter to marry a farmer?': Women's Work on the Farm, 1922," in *Canadian Papers in Rural History, Volume VI*, ed. Donald H. Akenson (Gananoque, ON: Langdale Press, 1988), 137-53; Kenneth Michael Sylvester, *The Limits of Rural Capitalism: Family, Culture, and Markets in Montcalm, Manitoba, 1870-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001); Royden Loewen, *Diaspora in the Countryside: Two Mennonite Communities and Mid-Twentieth Century Disjuncture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006); Katherine Jellison, *Entitled to Power: Farm Women and Technology, 1913-1963* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Grey Osterud, *Putting the Barn Before the House: Women and Family Farming in Early Twentieth-Century New York* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012); Mary Neth, *Preserving the Family Farm: Women, Community, and the Foundations of Agribusiness in the Midwest, 1900-1940* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1995); Barron, *Mixed Harvest*; Kline, *Consumers in the Country*; and Blanke, *Sowing the American Dream*. See also Sandwell, "Notes Toward a Rural History of Canada," 21.

³⁵ Ian Drummond, *Progress without Planning: The Economic History of Ontario from Confederation to the Second World War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 29, 40-42, and 376. See also Comacchio, 80, and 83; and Heron, *Lunch-Bucket Lives*, 156-58.

³⁶ Drummond, 41-42.

³⁷ Drummond, 40.

³⁸ Drummond, 29, 42, and 376; and Halpern, 20, and 110. This rural experience can be contrasted to working-class urban experiences; according to Craig Heron, for example, working-class residents of Hamilton typically had cold running water and indoor toilets by the First World War, and had electric lights by the 1920s. See Heron, *Lunch-Bucket Lives*, 64-65.

³⁹ See Margaret Derry, *Ontario's Cattle Kingdom: Purebred Breeders and Their World, 1870-1920* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 6-7; Lawr, 246; and Drummond, 30-32, and 38.

⁴⁰ Halpern, 20; and Neth, 9.

⁴¹ Drummond, 39. See also R.W. Sandwell, *Contesting Rural Space: Land Policy and the Practices of Resettlement on Saltspring Island, 1859-1891* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 230.

⁴² Elements of this shift, of course, were evident earlier in the twentieth century, as the work of Mary Neth demonstrates. See Neth, 4. See also Sandwell, "Notes Toward a Rural History of Canada," 36-38.

⁴³ Belisle, *Retail Nation*, 9; and Donica Belisle, "Towards a Canadian Consumer History," *Labour/Le Travail* 52 (Fall 2003), 183-84. See also David Blanke, "Consumer Choice, Agency, and New Directions in Rural History," *Agricultural History* (2007), 183-85.

⁴⁴ David Steigerwald, "All Hail the Republic of Choice: Consumer History as Contemporary Thought," *The Journal of American History* 93, no. 2 (September 2006), 385. See also Blanke, "Consumer Choice," 183.

⁴⁵ See, for example, Kline's discussion of the automobile: Kline, 55-86. See also Steve Penfold, *The Donut: A Canadian History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 11.

⁴⁶ Belisle, "Towards a Canadian Consumer History," 183-84.

⁴⁷ Frank Trentmann, "Beyond Consumerism: New Historical Perspectives on Consumption," *Journal of Contemporary History* 39, no. 3 (2004), 377-78; Parr, 6; John Brewer, "The Error of our Ways: Historians and the Birth of Consumer Society," *Cultures of Consumption Working Paper Series* (June 2014), 6; Cynthia Wright, "'Feminine Trifles of Vast Importance': Writing Gender into the History of Consumption," in *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History*, ed. Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 232; and Michelle Craig McDonald, "Transatlantic Consumption," in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2012), 124.

⁴⁸ Trentmann, "Beyond Consumerism," 387; Parr, 6; T.H. Breen, "Will American Consumers Buy a Second American Revolution?," *The Journal of American History* 93, no. 2 (September 2006), 406; and Brewer, 18-19.

⁴⁹ Parr, 227-31.

⁵⁰ Parr, 235-42.

⁵¹ Some of these scholars have attempted to reach the consumer voice; Broad, for example, incorporates some oral histories, diaries, and letters, but relies largely on more "traditional" sources. See Belisle, *Retail Nation*; Keith Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); Keith Walden, "Speaking Modern: Language, Culture, and Hegemony in Grocery Window Displays, 1887-1920," *Canadian Historical Review* 70, no. 3 (September 1989), 285-310; and Graham Broad, *A Small Price to Pay: Consumer Culture on the Canadian Home Front, 1939-45* (Toronto: University of British Columbia Press, 2013), 11-12.

⁵² Joy Parr, *Domestic Goods: The Material, the Moral, and the Economic in the Postwar Years* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 7.

⁵³ Barron, 287-88.

⁵⁴ Penfold, 14.

⁵⁵ McCalla, *Consumers in the Bush*; Craig, *Backwoods Consumers and Homespun Capitalists*; Elizabeth Mancke, "At the Counter of the General Store: Women and the Economy in Eighteenth-Century Horton, Nova Scotia," in *Intimate Relations: Family and Community in Planter Nova Scotia, 1759-1800*, ed. Margaret Conrad (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1995), 167-81; Allan Greer, *Peasant, Lord, and Merchant: Rural Society in Three Quebec Parishes, 1740-1840* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985); and Ann Smart Martin, *Buying into the World of Goods: Early Consumers in Backcountry Virginia* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2008).

⁵⁶ McCalla, *Consumers in the Bush*, 17-20, 33, and 87. See also Martin, *Buying into the World of Goods*, 159-60.

⁵⁷ The single collection from either the Archives of Ontario or Library and Archives Canada was the Mabel Brown Diary, covering the short period of December 1912 to June 1913. See Diary of Mabel Brown, Manotick, Ontario, Dec 1912 – June 1913, File 1-5, Moffatt Family Papers, 1860-1918, Library & Archives Canada, MG30 C222.

⁵⁸ See, for example, June Flath, "Looking at How We Used to Shop," *Ontario Farmer*, March 20, 2012.

⁵⁹ The families in Oxford County were: the Tophams, the Cowans, the Kellys, and the Inneses. Notably, some of these families even had records from multiple generations.

⁶⁰ Nancy Grey Osterud, "The Valuation of Women's Work: Gender and the Market in a Dairy Farming Community during the Late Nineteenth Century," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 10, no. 2 (1988), 20.

⁶¹ Early entries in the accounts document purchases made for the male household head, Mark, as well as for children Don and Jennie. A May 1920 entry gives further evidence of this supposition; the account-keeper "bought a dress for self." The accounts continue in the same hand and become more detailed in the post-April 1932 period, suggesting that Ida was even more conscientious of her family's finances after the death of her husband. See, for example, December [no date], 1903, April 12-13, 1912, April 26, 1913, November 17, 1913, April 29, 1916, May 27, 1916, May 1, 1920, and May 8, 1920, Account Books – Farm & House Expenses, Hawley Farm Fonds, Lennox & Addington County Museum & Archives, 1995.108 [hereafter Hawley Farm Accounts]; and "Mark Hawley," Kingston, Frontenac County, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Deaths, 1869-1938, Archives of Ontario, MS 935, 440, 343, April 28, 1932.

⁶² See also Kendra Smith-Howard, *Pure and Modern Milk: An Environmental History since 1900* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 39; and Blanke, *Sowing the American Dream*, 248.

⁶³ See also R.W. Sandwell, "The Limits of Liberalism: The Liberal Reconnaissance and the History of the Family in Canada," *The Canadian Historical Review* 84, no. 3 (September 2003): 423-50. <http://proquest.com> (accessed October 3, 2015); and Sandwell, "Notes Toward a Rural History of Canada," 22, and 32.

⁶⁴ See James Adam Glen, Sr., Diaries, Diaries of James Adam Glenn, Farmer, Westminster Township, c. 1866-1924, Archives and Research Collections Centre, Western University, B4822; and John Graham Weir Diaries, Trent Valley Archives.

⁶⁵ Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diary, Norwich & District Historical Society, Shelf 19, 83-A-X11-28; and Miss Mary A. King, Chippawa, Diaries, Niagara Historical Society Museum, Vault Box 50. 993.5.380-993.5.382, 993.5.384-993.4.387 [hereafter Mary A. King Diaries].

⁶⁶ A few collections, however, were denoted, either directly in the diaries themselves, or when accessioned, as belonging to the male household head. See, for example, William Joshua Crawford Diaries, Whitby Archives, Whitby Public Library; Arthur McQueen Diaries, Huron County Archives, Huron County Museum, Unaccessioned; and April 29, 1936, September 18, 1936, September 23, 1936, December 10-11, 1936, December 15, 1936, December 17, 1936, December 25, 1936, June 3, 1937, June 16, 1937, July 31, 1937, September 2, 1937, September 12, 1937, October 11, 1937, October 28, 1937, November 3, 1937, March 16-17, 1938, April 14, 1938, June 13, 1938, June 16, 1938, June 18, 1938, June 22, 1938, June 24-25, 1938, July 15, 1938, August 17, 1938, August 21, 1938, September 7, 1938, October 6-7, 1938, October 15, 1938, October 19, 1938, October 21, 1938, November 28, 1938, December 13-14, 1938, December 23-24, 1938, December 27, 1938, December 30, 1938, January 27, 1939, March 3, 1939, March 14, 1939, May 3, 1939, May 19-20, 1939, May 26, 1939, May 31, 1939, June 27, 1939, June 30, 1939, July 13, 1939, August 13, 1939, October 11, 1939, October 13, 1939, October 23, 1939, November 19, 1939, December 6-8, 1939, December 12-13, 1939, December 15, 1939, September 21, 1940, October 16, 1940, October 24-26, 1940, and October 28, 1940, 5 Year Diary, 1936-40, Books donated by Fred Perkins, Norwich & District Historical Society, 2001.006, Range F, 2, B11 [hereafter Fred Perkins Diary].

⁶⁷ See, for example, Nancy Grey Osterud, *Bonds of Community: The Lives of Farm Women in Nineteenth Century New York* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991); Catharine A. Wilson, "Reciprocal Work Bees and the Meaning of Neighbourhood," *Canadian Historical Review* 82, no. 3 (September 2001), 431-64; Royden Loewen, ed., *From the Inside Out: The Rural Worlds of Mennonite Diarists, 1863 to 1929* (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1999); and Kathryn Carter, ed., *The Small Details of Life: 20 Diaries by Women in Canada, 1830-1996* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).

⁶⁸ Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce, Backus-Page House; Mary A. King Diaries; and Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries, Box 5, Crombie Family Fonds, The William Ready Division of Archives and Research Collections, McMaster University.

⁶⁹ Jean Ferrier Diary, West Garafraxa Township, 1933-1952, Wellington County Museum & Archives, A1997.133 MU 237; Farm Accounts, Gordon F. Robertson Family Fonds, Elgin County Archives, R7 S1 Sh5 B2 F1-F2 [hereafter Gordon F. Robertson Farm Accounts]; and John Cameron Topham Accounts, Private Collection.

⁷⁰ Elsie Innes Accounts, Private Collection; Russell Innes Accounts, Private Collection; Florence (Allen) Tompkins Diaries, Florence (Allen) Tompkins Fonds, Lennox & Addington County Museum & Archives, 2001.199; and Diary of Mabel Brown.

⁷¹ Arthur McQueen Diaries; James Adam Glen, Sr., Diaries; Nathaniel "Ed" Leeder Accounts, The Leeder Family Fonds, Bruce County Museum & Cultural Centre, A991.047; and Nathaniel Leeder Sr., Account Book, 1902-20, The Leeder Family Fonds. (While the latter accounts are accessioned under Nathaniel Leeder, Sr., Jemina Hannah Leeder subsequently used the blank spaces to keep accounts for the family from 1913 to 1926; consequently, the accounts are hereafter referred to as the Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts.)

⁷² David H. Kelly Accounts, Private Collection; and Hawley Farm Accounts.

⁷³ See, for example, G.E. Britnell and V.C. Fowke, *Canadian Agriculture in War and Peace, 1935-50* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), 6.

⁷⁴ "Ira Earl McIntosh and Meata Dorothy Widmeyer," Bruce County, Ontario, Canada, Registration of Marriages, 1869-1928, Archives of Ontario, MS 932, 676, September 3, 1924; McIntosh Family Accounts, 1923-1925, University of Guelph Archives & Special Collections, XR1 MS A370; and March 25, 1936, Fred Perkins Diary.

⁷⁵ "William Crawford," Whitby Township (West), Ontario County (South), Ontario, Sixth Census of Canada, 1921, Series RG31, Statistics Canada Fonds, Library & Archives Canada, 1, 4 [hereafter Census of Canada, 1921]; "William Joshua Crawford," William Joshua Crawford Diaries; "James Cowan," Blenheim Township, Wentworth and Brant Counties (North), Ontario, Canada, Census of Canada, 1901, Series RG31-C-1, Statistics Canada Fonds, Library & Archives Canada, 3, 32; "James Cowan," Blenheim Township, Oxford County (North), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, Series RG31-C-1, Statistics Canada Fonds, Library & Archives Canada, 3, 26; "William Cowan," Blenheim Township, Oxford County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 1, 5; J.D. Cowan Accounts, Private Collection; Wm. H. Cowan Accounts, Private Collection; "Robert C. McGowan," Wawanosh Township (West), Huron County (West), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 10, 92; "Rob RC McGowan," Wawanosh Township (East), Huron County (East), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 5, 48; "Robert C McGowan," Wawanosh Township (East), Huron County (North), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 10, 105; and Robert C. McGowan Accounts, Private Collection.

⁷⁶ "George Potts," Woodhouse Township, Norfolk County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 6, 63; "George Potts," Woodhouse Township, Norfolk County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 9, 118; "Percy L. Potts," Woodhouse Township, Norfolk County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 9, 117; Potts Family Farm Diaries, 1917-1927, Volumes I and II, Eva Brook Donly Museum & Archives, Fam P # 13; "Charles J. Treffry," Norwich Township (North), Oxford County (South), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 6, 55; Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diary; "A. James Glenn," Westminster Township, Middlesex County (South), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 9, 91; "James A. Glen," Westminster Township, Middlesex County (East), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 12, 134; "Marie R. Campbell," Westminster Township, Middlesex County (East), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 13, 147; "Mary A. White," Westminster Township, Middlesex County (East), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 11, 125; and James Adam Glen, Sr., Diaries.

⁷⁷ "Harvey Shand," Woodhouse Township, Norfolk County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 10, 112; Account Books, Wm. R. Shand, Woodhouse, Local Account Books, 1830-1924, Eva Brook Donly Museum & Archives, ARV S164 [hereafter Wm. R. Shand Accounts]; "George Duckworth," Caledon Township, Peel County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 13, 141; and Emily Duckwith Diaries, Private Collection.

⁷⁸ "Thomas Beaton," Puslinch Township, Wellington County (South), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 11, 117; "Velma Beaton, Puslinch Township, diaries, 1930-1988," Wellington County Museum and Archives, <http://wcm.pastperfect-online.com/39564cgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=F246EC16-D746-4504-9172-507434308556;type=301>; Velma Beaton Diaries, 1930-1988, Wellington County Museum & Archives, A2010.40 MU 976; "Geo. T. Atkins," Dumfries Township (South), Wentworth and Brant Counties (North), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 1, 2; "George G. Atkins," South Dumfries Township, Brant County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 6, 48; "Vivian [sic] Atkins," Hamilton, Wentworth County, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Deaths, 192, 466, 036747, September 27, 1913; Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries; "Jacob Tunis," Flamborough Township (West), Wentworth County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 6, 63; and Cora Tunis Diaries, Box 1, Cora Tunis Fonds, Dundas Museum & Archives, F.17.

⁷⁹ "Graham Weir," Otonabee Township, Peterborough County (East), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1891, Series RG31-C-1, Statistics Canada Fonds, Library & Archives Canada, 11, 51; "John Graham Weir," Otonabee Township, Peterborough County (East), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 1, 2; John Graham

Weir Diaries; "Homer White," Hallowell Township, Prince Edward County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 2, 18; "Homer White," Hallowell Township, Prince Edward County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 1, 2; France Forrester Walker Stenberg, *The Noxon Family in North America (Revised Edition): Volume Two* (Wyandotte, OK: The Gregath Publishing Company, 1990), 221; and Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries, Prince Edward County Archives, A1991.092.

⁸⁰ "Jennie Green," Colborne Township, Huron County (West), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 1, 6; "Jennett Green," Colborne Township, Huron County (North), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 5, 49; B.A. Green Diary, November 9, 1914 to May 19, 1919, Huron County Archives, Huron County Museum, 1978.37.1; "William King," Willoughby Township, Welland County, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Deaths, 99, 628-29, 027993, September 6, 1900; "Mary King," Willoughby Township, Welland County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 3, 21; "Mary King," Willoughby Township, Welland County, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Deaths, 104, 129-30, December 3, 1901; "Mary Ann King," Welland County, Ontario, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Deaths, 159, 101, 033618, February 24, 1910; and Mary A. King Diaries.

⁸¹ Veronica Strong-Boag, *The New Day Recalled: Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919-1939* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1993), 4; and Heron, *Lunch-Bucket Lives*, 149-50.

⁸² "Archie Hartley Simmons and Ruby Mavis Thompson," Earnestown Township, Lennox and Addington County, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Marriages, 423, April 4, 1917; "Archie Hartley Simmons," Earnestown Township, Lennox and Addington County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 5, 63; "Archie Simmons," Prince Edward-Lennox, Ontario, Canada, Voters Lists, Federal Elections, 1935-1980, Library & Archives Canada, R1003-6-3-E (RG113-B), 1935, 2, 290; "Archie Simmons," Prince Edward-Lennox, Ontario, Canada, Voters Lists, Federal Elections, 1940, 2, 245; "Archie Simmons," Prince Edward-Lennox, Ontario, Canada, Voters Lists, Federal Elections, 1945, 2, 222; and Ruby Simmons Diary, 1918-1981, Lennox & Addington County Museum & Archives, 2007.20. See also R.W. Sandwell, "Rural Reconstruction: Towards a New Synthesis in Canadian History," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 27, no. 53 (1994), 13-15; and Sandwell, "Notes Toward a Rural History of Canada," 30.

⁸³ See, for example, January 19, 1901, December 31, 1904, March 4, 1905, January 26, 1907, January 21, 1911, December 21, 1911, March 23, 1912, January 2, 1913, August 12, 1914, March 3, 1915, September 4, 1915, December 9, 1916, December 19, 1917, November 2, 1918, January 1, 1919, and February 2, 1920, John Graham Weir Diaries; and June 13, 1906, March 1, 1907, February 27, 1908, January 15, 1909, March 29, 1910, July 27, 1911, January 13, 1913, January 10, 1914, February 4, 1915, January 26, 1916, January 22, 1917, January 18, 1918, May 31, 1920, March 3, 1921, October 29, 1921, November 25, 1922, March 13, 1923, January 7, 1924, October 26, 1925, February 15, 1926, August 22, 1927, July 30, 1928, May 13, 1929, December 8, 1930, December 17, 1930, October 13, 1931, March 9, 1932, July 19, 1933, December 28, 1934, March 30, 1936, February 1, 1937, and April 4, 1938, D.H. Kelly Accounts.

⁸⁴ Milton and Albert were from Thomas's previous marriage. Only William and Eva resided at home in Wellington County with Annie by the time of the 1921 Census. See "Milton Stanley Hill," Guelph, Wellington County, Ontario, Canada, Registration of Births and Stillbirths – 1869-1913, Archives of Ontario, MS 929, 124, 22, July 19, 1894; "Griffin Albert Hill," Guelph, Wellington County, Ontario, Canada, Delayed Registrations and Stillbirths, "50" Series, 1869-1911, Archives of Ontario, MS 930, 21, August 3, 1896; "William Drury Hill," Fergus, Wellington County, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Births and Stillbirths, 22, 539, 16, April 20, 1908; "Eva Hill," Fergus, Wellington County, Ontario, Canada, Registration of Births and Stillbirths, 215, 285, 051967, January 9, 1907; "Thomas A. Hill," Fergus, Wellington County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 7, 84; "Annie Hill," Fergus, Wellington County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 5, 71; and Diary of Annie Hill (nee Drury) of Fergus, Ontario, 1912-1923, Wellington County Museum & Archives, A1996.112, MU 325.

⁸⁵ December 3, 1912, March 24, 1913, December 8, 1913, March 24, 1914, December 21, 1914, March 29, 1915, December 20, 1915, March 22, 1917, December 24, 1917, March 20, 1918, March 24, 1919, December 19, 1919, March 27, 1920, November 30, 1920, March 19, 1921, December 12, 1921, April 1, 1922, November 25, 1922, February 16, 1923, and April 2, 1923, Diary of Annie Hill; "Thomas Albert Hill," Battleford, Saskatchewan, Census of Canada, 1911, 2, 18; "Thomas Hill," Antelope Park, Kindersley, Saskatchewan, Canada, Census Returns for 1916 Census of Prairie Provinces, Statistics of Canada Fonds, Record Group 31-C-1, Library & Archives Canada, 11, 127 [hereafter Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, 1916]; and "Thomas A. Hill," Antelope Park, Kindersley, Saskatchewan, Census of Canada, 1921, 6, 82.

⁸⁶ Gordon Darroch, "Scanty Fortunes and Rural Middle-Class Formation in Nineteenth-Century Central Ontario," *Canadian Historical Review* 79, no. 4 (December 1998), 621-59.

<http://search.proquest.com/index> (accessed August 21, 2015).

⁸⁷ Darroch, "Scanty Fortunes and Rural Middle-Class Formation in Nineteenth-Century Central Ontario."

⁸⁸ Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Fifth Census of Canada, 1911, Volume IV: Agriculture* (Ottawa; J. de L. Taché, 1914), 7; Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Sixth Census of Canada, 1921, Volume V – Agriculture* (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, 1925), 4; Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Seventh Census of Canada, 1931, Volume VIII – Agriculture* (Ottawa: J.O. Patenaude, 1936), xlii; and Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Eighth Census of Canada, 1941, Volume VIII – Agriculture, Part II*, 868.

⁸⁹ Land Abstracts for Burford Township, Brant County, Brant Historical Society; Bruce County Abstract Index Books, Saugeen Township, Volume 1, Bruce County Museum & Cultural Centre, GSU 172176; Bruce County Abstract Index Books, Carrick Township, Volume 2, Bruce County Museum & Cultural Centre, GSU 172117; North Grower Township Assessment Roll, 1912, City of Ottawa Archives, Rideau Branch; Dunwich Township Assessment Roll, 1900, Elgin County Archives, 1028-29; Dunwich Township Assessment Roll, 1905, Elgin County Archives, 1028-30; Colborne Township, Land Registry Copy Book Index Book, Huron County Archives; Stanley Township, Land Registry Copy Book Index Book, Huron County Archives; Wawanosh Township, Land Registry Copy Book Index Book, Huron County Archives; Lennox & Addington County Land Abstract Index, Land Registry 2258, Richmond Township 1, Lennox & Addington County Archives, MF1520; Lennox & Addington County Land Abstract Index, Land Registry 2261, Ernestown Township A & B, Lennox & Addington County Archives, MF1526; Ernestown Township, Assessment Rolls, 1933 & 1941, Lennox & Addington County Archives; Camden Township, Assessment Rolls, 1939-40, Lennox & Addington County Archives; Westminster Township, Middlesex County, Land Abstracts, Middlesex Land Registry Office; Caradoc Township, Middlesex County, Land Abstracts, Middlesex Land Registry Office; Delaware Township, Middlesex County, Land Abstracts, Middlesex Land Registry Office; Woodhouse Township, Abstract of Deeds, 1797-1958, M Land 18 v 1, Book A, D 13, Eva Brook Donley Museum & Archives; LRO #37 Norfolk, 37E55, Woodhouse A, Norfolk Land Registry Office; Ontario County Abstract Index, Township of Whitby, Whitby Public Library, Ref. 346.7130438 Ont, Reel 19; South Norwich Township Land Abstracts, Oxford Historical Society; North Norwich Township Land Abstracts, Oxford Historical Society; Blenheim Township Land Abstracts, Oxford Historical Society; West Zorra Township Land Abstracts, Oxford Historical Society; Chinguacousy Township, Abstract Index to Deeds, Volume B, Peel Land Registry Office Collection, Peel Art Gallery, Museum, & Archives, 2005.102.15; Chinguacousy Township, Abstract Index to Deeds, Volume C, Peel Land Registry Office Collection, Peel Art Gallery, Museum, & Archives, CH 92; Caledon Township, Abstract Index to Deeds, Volume B, Peel Land Registry Office Collection, Peel Art Gallery, Museum, & Archives; Caledon Township, Abstract Index to Deeds, Volume C, Peel Land Registry Office Collection, Peel Art Gallery, Museum, & Archives; Jim Hagarty, *Country Roads: The Story of South Easthope: South Easthope Township, 1827-2000* (South Easthope History Book Committee, 2000), 246; Otonabee Township Land Abstracts, Books 2A-3A, Trent Valley Archives; Hallowell Township Land Abstracts, Books 2A-3A, Prince Edward County Archives; West Flamborough Assessment Rolls, 1895-1933, Local History & Archives, Hamilton Public Library, Microfilm #163; Puslinch Township Land Abstract Index, Volume 1, Part 2, Wellington County Museum & Archives; and West Garafraxa Township, Tax Assessment Rolls, 1935-1945, Wellington County Museum & Archives.

⁹⁰ I have been unable to locate the records pertaining to the Atkins, Hill, Jones, King, and Perkins farms.

⁹¹ It is hypothesized that the Atkins and Perkins families rented land, as they have not been found on the land abstracts in their respective areas. The assessment rolls for South Dumfries Township, Brant County, and East Oxford Township, Oxford County have not been located to confirm this. See also Lot 17, Concession 8, Westminster Township, Middlesex County, Land Abstracts.

⁹² Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Fifth Census of Canada, 1911, Volume IV*, 56; Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Sixth Census of Canada, 1921, Volume V*, 4; Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Seventh Census of Canada, 1931, Volume VIII*, 488; and Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Eighth Census of Canada, 1941, Volume VIII – Agriculture, Part II*, 868.

⁹³ "Archie Simmons," Ernestown Township, Assessment Rolls, 1933, 5, 714; and "Archie Simmons," Ernestown Township, Assessment Rolls, 1941, 7, 1469.

⁹⁴ Lot 16, West Division, Colborne Township, Land Registry Copy Book Index Book.

⁹⁵ Lot 18, Concession 2 East, Chinguacousy Township, Abstract Index to Deeds, Volume B, 95; Lot 18, Concession 2 East, Chinguacousy Township, Abstract Index to Deeds, Volume C, 103; and Lot 28, Concession 1 East, Chinguacousy Township, Abstract Index to Deeds, Volume C, 55.

⁹⁶ "Wilbert Ferrier," West Garafraxa Township, Tax Assessment Rolls, 1935, 401; "Wilbert Ferrier," West Garafraxa Township, Tax Assessment Rolls, 1940, 392; and "Wilbert Ferrier," West Garafraxa Township, Tax Assessment Rolls, 1945, 432.

⁹⁷ Generally, the information from these records was quite clear, but in a few cases the number of acres occupied by individual families is an approximate value. In the case of both the Glen, Sr., and Glen, Jr., households, it is unclear whether the family owned or rented their 50-acre farm. It is also important to note that farm families' land holdings were not static. The Robinson family, for example, held 160 acres until 1931; that year, it sold a 60 acre parcel, dropping the farm size to 100 acres. The Crawford family expanded its farm from 40 acres to 47.5 acres in 1918. Similarly, the Shields family expanded its holdings in 1927 from 100 acres to 300 acres. Due to the fragmentary nature of land abstracts, assessment rolls, etc., for the period, it is possible that not all such expansions and contractions in farm sizes have been documented.

⁹⁸ See, for example, Disbrowe, *Down on the Farm (1901-1925)*.

⁹⁹ J.J. Talman, "Reading Habits of the 1917 Ontario Farmer," in *2nd Annual Agricultural History of Ontario Proceedings*, ed. T.A. Crowley (Guelph: University of Guelph, 1977), 66-87.

¹⁰⁰ Edwinna von Baeyer, *Ontario Rural Society: A Thematic Index of Selected Ontario Periodicals* (Ottawa: n.p., 1985).

¹⁰¹ Specifically, von Bayer did not index topics related to baked goods or textiles.

¹⁰² See *The Canadian Newspaper Directory, Fourteenth Edition* (Toronto: A. McKim, 1921), 44, and 83; and Talman, 86.

¹⁰³ See, for example, *Farmer's Advocate*, January 1, 1920, 1; and *Farmer's Advocate*, December 30, 1920, 2249. There were a total of 2278 pages over the year, hence the average presented.

¹⁰⁴ For more information on developments with regard to the press and advertising in early twentieth-century Canada, see, for example, Johnston, *Selling Themselves*.

¹⁰⁵ In April 1918, the newspaper officially became associated with the United Farmers of Ontario, a male agrarian organization that eventually formed a coalition provincial government from 1919 to 1923. See Halpern, 91-92; Kerry Badgley, *Ring in the Common Love of Good: The United Farmers of Ontario, 1914-1926* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 4-5, 140, and 264; and *Weekly Sun*, April 2, 1918, 1.

¹⁰⁶ Due to Griesbach's more liberal viewpoints and her focus on achieving equality between the genders, Monda Halpern argues that Griesbach can be seen as an "equity" feminist. See Halpern, 105.

¹⁰⁷ See, for example, Steve Craig, "'The More They Listen, the More They Buy': Radio and the Modernizing of Rural America, 1930-1939," *Agricultural History* 80 (Winter 2006), 1-16; Reynold M. Wik, "The Radio in Rural America during the 1920s," *Agricultural History* 55 (October 1981), 339-50; Randall Patinode, "'What These People Need Is Radio': New Technology, the Press, and Otherness in 1920s America," *Technology and Culture* 44 (April 2003), 285-305; Barron, *Mixed Harvest*, 16, 194-204, 206, 209-10, 215-25, and 239-41; Neth, 123, 197-201, 203-04, 206, 211, 245-49, 252-55, and 259-62; Kline, 23-86, and 113-27; and Jellison, 33-66.

¹⁰⁸ Trentmann, "Beyond Consumerism," 400; and Brewer, 6.

¹⁰⁹ Fuel is another such topic currently being explored by other rural scholars; Josh MacFayden, for example, is studying wood, and R.W. Sandwell is studying kerosene.

¹¹⁰ See, for example, January 15, 1923, March 19, 1923, March 24, 1923, March 26, 1923, August 15, 1923, October 19, 1923, May 23, 1924, April 31, 1924, June 10, 1924, July 8, 1924, and September 26, 1924, "Household Expenses," McIntosh Family Accounts; January 22, 1904, June 1, 1904, July 6, 1904, October 24, 1904, November 12, 1904, November 22, 1904, January 17, 1905, January 25, 1905, February 24, 1905, March 9, 1905, April 5, 1905, July 25, 1905, October 5, 1905, October 7, 1905, October 11, 1905, October 24-25, 1905, November 10, 1905, November 20, 1905, December 4, 1905, December 27, 1905, January 23, 1906, April 24, 1906, May 22, 1906, June 12, 1906, July 16, 1906, November 8, 1906, November 16, 1906, March 19, 1907, May 9, 1907, May 22, 1907, June 14, 1907, July 27, 1907, August 8, 1907, August 14, 1907, September 7, 1907, September 17, 1907, September 28, 1907, February 1, 1908, May 28, 1908, June 1, 1908, June 13, 1908, June 25, 1908, December 1, 1908, December 12, 1908, January 15, 1909, February 13, 1909, July 20, 1909, October 2, 1909, January 3, 1910, February 19, 1910, April 22,

1910, October 11, 1910, October 27, 1910, February 15, 1911, September 9, 1911, October 10, 1911, October 14, 1911, January 13, 1912, February 16, 1912, February 24, 1912, May 14, 1912, September 13, 1912, September 17, 1912, October 2, 1912, October 30, 1912, November 2, 1912, November 18, 1912, November 28, 1912, January 14, 1913, January 23, 1913, July 15, 1913, October 7, 1913, January 10, 1913, January 29, 1914, February 2, 1914, February 21, 1914, April 9, 1914, April 28, 1914, June 30, 1914, July 18, 1914, September 1, 1914, September 11, 1914, September 15, 1914, September 23, 1914, October 15, 1914, October 26, 1914, October 29, 1914, November 14, 1914, November 28, 1914, December 8, 1914, January 26, 1915, January 29, 1915, February 8, 1915, April 3, 1915, December 23, 1915, January 15, 1916, March 11, 1916, March 28, 1916, April 11, 1916, May 14, 1916, May 19, 1916, July 15, 1916, July 22, 1916, August 30, 1916, January 27, 1917, March 17, 1917, April 21, 1917, May 5, 1917, June 2, 1917, June 16, 1917, June 23, 1917, June 30, 1917, July 7, 1917, July 21, 1917, August 18, 1917, December 14, 1917, April 18, 1918, April 20, 1918, April 22, 1918, December 21, 1918, March 15, 1919, April 12, 1919, May 17, 1919, May 20, 1919, May 30, 1919, September 6, 1919, November 15, 1919, January 8, 1920, April 12, 1920, April 24, 1920, May 15, 1920, June 15, 1920, June 29, 1920, July 20, 1920, November 17, 1920, December 4, 1920, February 8, 1921, March 15, 1921, September 27, 1921, April 6, 1922, May 16, 1922, January 16, 1923, April 17, 1924, October 24, 1925, January 19, 1926, April 7, 1926, December 17, 1927, March 23, 1929, and March 19, 1936, D.H. Kelly Accounts.

¹¹¹ See also Strong-Boag, 4; Denyse Baillargeon, *Making Do: Women, Family and Home in Montreal during the Great Depression*, trans. Yvonne Klein (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999), 168-69; Harvey A. Levenstein, *Revolution at the Table: The Transformation of the American Diet* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 194-96; and Broad, 3-4, and 193.

2

Meat

A 1919 *Canadian Countryman* article, entitled “Preparing Pork on the Farm,” had a seemingly romanticized and nostalgic opening, asking readers to reflect back on their childhoods. Specifically, it wanted readers to remember the “day when to our minds something ‘specially interesting’ was to happen which we thought to be of sufficient importance to ask our parents if we ‘could stay home from school to-day.’”¹ The days when their fathers were going to slaughter pigs were said to be such days for boys; “[i]nstantly the small boy’s mind was thrown into a turmoil wondering if he would be able to ‘stay home,’ or not.”² Apparently, boys were often put to work on butchering days, and they learned valuable skills for when they presumably would have their own farms. The article suggested not only that farm families processed their own meat, but also the gendered nature of the work; after all, boys, and not girls, were excited, and kept home from school, to assist.

This chapter explores Ontario farm families’ consumption of meat, and delves into some of the themes addressed in the 1919 article. Specifically, the chapter examines the household processing of meat, including the timing of this work, the gendered division of labour, and preservation practices. It addresses the key types of meat processed on-farm, including poultry, pork, beef, and lamb/mutton; indeed, due to the prevalence of mixed agriculture in this period, the former three types of animals, in particular, were common.³ Next, the chapter explores families’ hunting and fishing. Families were not, however, simply reliant on their barnyards, woodlands, and local waterways for their meat and fish; rather, this household production worked in tandem

with purchases of meat. Consequently, the chapter turns to an analysis of the fish, meat, and even seafood purchased by families. It examines the timing of purchases, before addressing the impact of cold storage on household provisioning practices in the 1930s and early 1940s. While clearly influenced by broader North American dietary trends, Ontario farm families had specifically agrarian patterns of meat consumption until at least 1945. They blended household processing and purchasing, and periodically received meat from neighbours and extended kin, enabling them to balance concerns over preservation, cost, variety, and taste.

First, let us begin with an examination of the most ubiquitous type of animal on farms during the period: poultry.⁴ Given the relatively small size of a chicken, and the fact that it could also be processed relatively easily and quickly, it could be consumed on an “as needed” or “as desired” basis.⁵ Consequently, families ate a range of poultry processed on-farm throughout this period.⁶ The overwhelming majority of diarists specified having chicken dinners, or slaughtering a single chicken or two at one time, suggesting that the fowl was consumed shortly thereafter.⁷ Presumably, at least some of these dinners may have been of “star boarding hens,” or hens which were no longer laying eggs.⁸ Periodically, families consumed chickens on special occasions, or when friends and/or extended family members visited. Mrs. C.J. Treffry of Oxford County, for example, had a chicken dinner on October 8, 1900, when threshers worked on her family farm, another ten days later when she had company, and, finally, a third on Christmas day when her extended family visited.⁹ Similarly, Bella Green of Huron County and her mother ate chicken on her birthday in 1915, on Thanksgiving in 1916, and again on her

birthday in 1917.¹⁰ Chicken dinners were a common occurrence on farms during this period, as the meat was easily accessible.

Families did not, however, confine themselves simply to chicken dinners. Rather, many consumed a broader range of poultry, including turkeys, ducks, geese, and even guinea fowl. Loretta (Talcott) White of Prince Edward County, for example, ate each of these types of poultry in the 1910s and the early 1930s. Typically, she ate turkey and goose dinners in the months of December or January, often consuming these meals when she was out visiting or when she had company over.¹¹ Similarly, she attended two guinea fowl dinners, both held in the month of January.¹² Significantly, however, the White household does not appear to have raised any of these types of fowl itself; rather, the family ate many of these fowl dinners out and purchased or were given turkeys and geese.¹³ The records of other households, such as the Greens, and the Potts of Norfolk County, reinforce this image of families only consuming some types of poultry for important events, when the fowl was purchased or gifted, or when attending meals out.¹⁴ This association between some types of poultry and special events is part of a longer-term North American trend, evidenced as early as the eighteenth century, with turkey dinners at Christmas in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.¹⁵

In keeping with the early twentieth-century notion that poultry raising was a female branch of agriculture, women typically processed poultry for their households.¹⁶ Generally, women noted “picking” or “plucking” poultry, and “dressing” or “cleaning” the bird. The small size of the animals meant the work did not require an extreme amount of strength, seen to be a male attribute in this period. In the Duckwith household of Peel County, for example, the female household head, Alice, and her daughters generally

completed the processing work in the late 1910s and early 1920s; only two entries noted the involvement of George, the male household head.¹⁷ Similarly, Florence Allen of Lennox and Addington County became the sole female in her household after her parents moved into the local town of Yarker in 1929, and her sister married in October of that same year.¹⁸ In November 1930, she recorded in her diary that “I had to clean two fowls which I didn't like very well. It being the first time I had ever done it but I did a good job on it.”¹⁹ Allen had developed the knowledge from observing and assisting other family members in completing the task, and was able to tackle it herself when necessary.²⁰

Periodically, however, extended female kin, female neighbours, and male family members participated in the work, particularly when the family processed a larger number of poultry. Loretta White, for example, typically processed the fowl within her household, sometimes with female assistance.²¹ Her husband, Homer, and her father also became involved in some cases, generally when the household processed significant numbers of birds for longer-term preservation.²² Similarly, Elma Perkins's mother and a Mrs. Taylor helped Elma of Oxford County process twenty chickens on October 6, 1936.²³ Elma provided reciprocal labour over the next few days, assisting Mrs. Taylor in processing five chickens that night, and assisting her mother with thirteen chickens shortly thereafter.²⁴ Poultry processing is a good example of the working relationship amongst farm families and their local communities; while it was typically conducted in the female preserve in the family unit, kin and neighbours assisted with the work on an as-needed basis.

As has been suggested by the frequency with which families had poultry dinners, poultry was a relatively convenient meat. Chickens, in particular, could be processed

within a relatively short time, did not need to be left hanging before consuming, and, due to their small size, could be eaten within a meal or two. As such, temperature was not a significant factor in shaping poultry processing decisions. Some families, however, chose to can chicken in large quantities in the fall and winter months, so that it was readily available throughout the year.²⁵ The McQueen family of Huron County, the White family, and the Potts family all completed such work, beginning as early as 1910 in the case of the Whites.²⁶ Canned chicken was tender, and could be part of a “dainty meal” for family and visitors; Loretta White, for example, periodically served pressed chicken to company, and also enjoyed it when visiting others.²⁷ Such a preservation method also made the chicken easier to ship as gifts to out-of-town family and friends. White, for example, included canned chicken in boxes that were packed in the mid-1910s, and Potts even canned a chicken in 1917 to send to her son, William, who was serving overseas during the First World War.²⁸ Interestingly, the practices of Ontario families can be contrasted with those in Augusta County, Virginia; there, farm women were largely uninterested in this method of preservation, and the canning of meat only peaked briefly in the 1930s.²⁹ Whether processed fresh, or pulled out of a jar or can for a quick meal option, poultry was an integral aspect of the diets of families.

Household-processed pork was also a central aspect of farm families’ diets throughout the period;³⁰ perhaps a contributing factor was that pigs could be fed relatively cheaply, as they often ate scraps and unwanted skim milk. The work of scholars such as Roger Horowitz, Susan Strasser, and Lorena S. Walsh demonstrate that this practice of consuming such pork was part of a longer-term trend among North American farm families.³¹ In contrast to poultry, which could be processed relatively easily and

quickly, pork processing was a much more time-consuming task, due both to the size of the animal and the work necessary to preserve the meat. Consequently, this work was undertaken less frequently; for many families, pork processing was completed at least once a year, whether on their own farms or on those of neighbours.³² The Potts household, for example, generally slaughtered at least one pig yearly over the decade of 1917 to 1927, and the Perkins household usually processed one pig yearly in the late 1930s and early 1940s.³³ In contrast to the butchering of poultry, however, temperature played an influential role in shaping the timing of pork slaughtering. Typically, families completed this processing between mid- to late fall and early spring; according to Helen M. Dixon of Norfolk County, “[s]laughtering took place as soon as the weather thought about freezing.”³⁴ In the 1920s and early 1930s, Arthur McQueen, for example, slaughtered pork between the months of November and March.³⁵ This timing also provided a sufficient window for pigs born in the spring to fatten; according to the farm press, the ideal time for slaughter was when pigs were between “six and eight months old.”³⁶

As rural electrification, and, thus, on-farm refrigeration, did not become widespread until the post-Second World War period, farm families developed a range of methods for on-farm food preservation.³⁷ This was particularly evident in the case of pork, as families used a number of preservation methods to safely keep the meat up to a year.³⁸ Many households, such as those of Velma Beaton of Wellington County, James Glen, Sr., of Middlesex County, and Arthur McQueen, specified salting pork.³⁹ Evidence from the American context suggests farm families had a longstanding history of preserving meat with the use of salt.⁴⁰ Less commonly, some Ontario families smoked

pork. Mary Ann King of Welland County completed such work a few times in the early 1900s, while Glen “put a smoke lotion on Pork” in June 1919.⁴¹ Perhaps the evident preference for salting, as opposed to smoking, can be connected to logistics. Pork cured with the former method could be rubbed with the dry salt mixture and left hanging, or stored in a barrel with brine.⁴² Curing pork by smoking, in contrast, presumably required a dedicated smokehouse, such as the one used by the King household, although some families also used liquid smoke.⁴³ Beyond simply salting or smoking, a few families canned pork by the late 1910s; Mary Potts canned sausage and/or meat in the late 1910s and 1920s, while Elma Perkins canned sausage and/or side meat in the late 1930s.⁴⁴ This range of preservation methods made storage temperature less of an issue for household-processed pork. As such, there is some evidence of pork processing in the late spring and early summer months, as temperatures began to rise. Bella Green, for example, typically noted pork processing between the months of November and February, but she also noted that a neighbour butchered pigs on May 1, 1917.⁴⁵ The farm press stressed the need to keep flies off the meat, and to pay close attention to the brine to ensure that it did not spoil, in the warmer months of the year.⁴⁶ Pork was commonly processed at least once a year on Ontario farms, typically in the fall and winter months, although the range of preservation methods provided a degree of flexibility in this.⁴⁷

Perhaps not surprisingly, and in keeping with findings in the American context, there were gendered divisions in the processing of pork.⁴⁸ Given the highly physical nature of the work, and perhaps the messiness of the chore, men typically slaughtered and cut up the pigs, as the experiences of the Duckwith and Beaton households suggest.⁴⁹ Rarely, women were involved in the latter task; the journalist E. Cora Hind suggested in a

1905 article that women should be able to do the work, and Bella Green and her mother, Janet, “cut up [a] pig” in November 1915.⁵⁰ According to the Census, however, there was no adult male in the Green household, suggesting that Bella and Janet completed such work out of necessity.⁵¹

In contrast to the largely household-centered poultry processing, extended family and neighbours were often involved in pork processing, perhaps due to the fact that at least two men were necessary to complete the physically-demanding work.⁵² Over the entire span of her diaries, which included extensive entries regarding butchering between 1916 and 1930, Kathleen Crawforth of Ontario County, for example, only noted three cases of pork butchering that did not involve men outside of her household.⁵³ Typically, a relatively small core group of men exchanged labour for butchering; William Joshua Crawforth, for example, often worked with a Mr. Mcallister and a Mr. Arksey, although a few other men were also periodically involved.⁵⁴ Slaughtering pigs was a task for men, given contemporary associations of physical strength with masculinity.

Once pigs were butchered and cut up, farm women generally took the central role in processing pork.⁵⁵ Head cheese was a relatively popular dish, and it endured throughout the period.⁵⁶ Both the households of Mrs. C.J. Treffry, and Merinda Pearce of Elgin County, for example, made head cheese in 1900, and the Beaton household made it in the early 1940s.⁵⁷ Similarly, some families made sausage and rendered lard throughout the period.⁵⁸ A few women even made mince meat, pickled feet, liverwurst, and pork cake.⁵⁹ Men periodically assisted in these tasks, such as the meat Thomas Beaton and George Rollins ground and chopped in the late 1930s and early 1940s, and the pig entrails Allen helped Cora Tunis of Wentworth County clean in 1933.⁶⁰ Farm women

were skilled at processing pork in a variety of methods, adding variety to the pork dishes available for their households. While certainly labour intensive, processing and preserving pork ensured that families had easy access to a range of economical meats for longer-term consumption.

Beyond household-processed pork and poultry, families also consumed locally-processed beef. In contrast to the assumption of some historians that beef was an “inconvenient” meat for farm families, a detailed analysis of familial records indicates that beef was actually a staple in the diets of Ontario farm families.⁶¹ These families were frequently involved in processing beef, whether within the household or in the local community. As will be discussed in greater detail in the subsequent chapter, fresh beef associations allowed farm families access to weekly shares of fresh beef during the summer months. Families included in this study who resided in the counties of Bruce, Huron, and Oxford, for example, participated in local beef rings.⁶² Significantly, while shareholders received substantial amounts of beef during the operating season, most families supplemented their beef consumption with other types of meat.⁶³

Robert McGowan of Huron County presents a particularly interesting and compelling case; his accounts suggest that he participated in a local beef ring as a full shareholder from approximately 1905 to 1920.⁶⁴ The McGowan household was relatively large, containing six individuals for most of this period.⁶⁵ The family did not rely solely on beef from its local ring to meet its desired range of meat consumption. Rather, this beef was often supplemented with other meats between June and October. Typically, McGowan purchased salmon, but he periodically bought pork, sausage, a few other types of fish, and even a few cuts of beef.⁶⁶ McGowan also processed a range of poultry and

some pork on-farm, although it is uncertain how much of this meat was consumed during the summer months.⁶⁷ The case of the McGowan household suggests that farm families consumed considerable amounts of meat, and that they were interested in maintaining variety in their diets, even when they had access to their own weekly beef shares.

Beyond summer access to beef through participation in a beef ring, some families processed beef or veal themselves, in the winter months.⁶⁸ There is evidence of such processing into at least the 1930s, as demonstrated by the Simmons household of Lennox and Addington County and the Ferrier household of Wellington County.⁶⁹ A number of account books, such as those of the Innes families of Oxford County, and the Jones family of Elgin County, recorded the sale of beef, veal, and/or hides, suggesting that the households might have consumed at least some of this meat processed at home.⁷⁰ In contrast to the summer slaughtering found in beef rings, such household processing was more in line with the on-farm slaughter of pork, typically occurring in the late fall and winter months.⁷¹ Ideally, according to a 1913 *Farmer's Advocate* article, beef was slaughtered at “thirty to forty months old,” while veal was slaughtered at “about ten weeks old.”⁷² Generally, men completed the formal butchering tasks, while women helped to preserve the meat.⁷³ And, as was often the case with pig butchering, extended family members and neighbours usually assisted in slaughtering beef, since it was a very labour-intensive task. The Potts family, for example, butchered at least one heifer or cow per year between 1919 and 1925, and, in the majority of these cases, other men helped with the work.⁷⁴ Some families preserved beef through canning, although brine, smoke, or salt was also used, albeit much less frequently.⁷⁵ James Glen, Sr., for example, used brine and salt to preserve beef in the 1900s, and Loretta White canned beef in the 1910s,

and smoked beef in the 1930s.⁷⁶ Beef could also be stored on-farm during the winter.⁷⁷

Perhaps the male involvement in the preservation of beef, in contrast with pork, can be attributed to the fact that pork processing required more time and skill in the kitchen than did beef processing, as the making of head cheese and sausage attests. In any event, families had access to locally butchered beef, either through beef rings in the summer or on-farm processing in the winter.

Less common than the consumption of poultry, beef, and pork was the consumption of home-processed lamb and/or mutton.⁷⁸ Only two families directly noted the butchering of sheep or lamb.⁷⁹ The Pearce family slaughtered lambs in the winters of 1900, 1902, and 1905.⁸⁰ Similarly, Jean Ferrier fried mutton in March 1936, and her husband, Wilbert, killed a sheep in December of that same year.⁸¹ Albeit on a very small scale, these cases of mutton or lamb processing align with larger trends in pork and beef processing; farm families completed this work in the late fall and winter months, and had gendered tasks, with men slaughtering the animals and women helping to process the meat.⁸² The sale of sheep or lamb skins by the James Glen, Sr., household, the J.D. Cowan household of Oxford County, and the D.H. Kelly household of Oxford County, suggests that these families might also have butchered lamb or mutton for household consumption.⁸³ This limited household processing can be connected to the fact that farm families were less likely to keep sheep than poultry, pigs, and cattle, as evidenced by both familial and census records.⁸⁴ Presumably, the relative infrequency of sheep husbandry can be connected with the problems in the industry, such as the low autumn prices for lamb.⁸⁵

The on-farm processing of poultry, pork, beef, and lamb/mutton was not limited simply to household use. Rather, for many families, the sale of dressed meat, or meat which had been processed and was ready to cook, was an important source of income, as it had also been for earlier North Americans.⁸⁶ Poultry, in particular, was frequently sold by families, either at local markets, or perhaps directly to individual customers.⁸⁷ James Glen, Sr., for example, processed chickens, a few geese, and a few turkeys for sale, often at the market, in the first two decades of the twentieth century; his son continued the practice, selling dressed chickens, as well as a few ducks, into the mid-1920s.⁸⁸ Farm families sold dressed poultry into at least the 1940s, as the cases of the Perkins and the Beaton families suggest.⁸⁹ The spring hatching of poultry meant that it would be ready for processing by the fall; such timing might help to account for the large amounts of poultry dressed in the fall and winter months by the Perkins family and the Atkins family of Brant County.⁹⁰

Less frequently, some families sold dressed beef and pork.⁹¹ John Graham Weir of Peterborough County (depicted in Figure 2), for example, sold beef and/or pork between 1901 and 1920, while D.H. Kelly sold beef, veal, and/or pork between 1906 and 1938.⁹² Kelly is also the only farmer with clear evidence for the sale of dressed lamb, making a few sales in the years 1911, 1921, and 1930.⁹³ Indeed, men such as Weir and Kelly

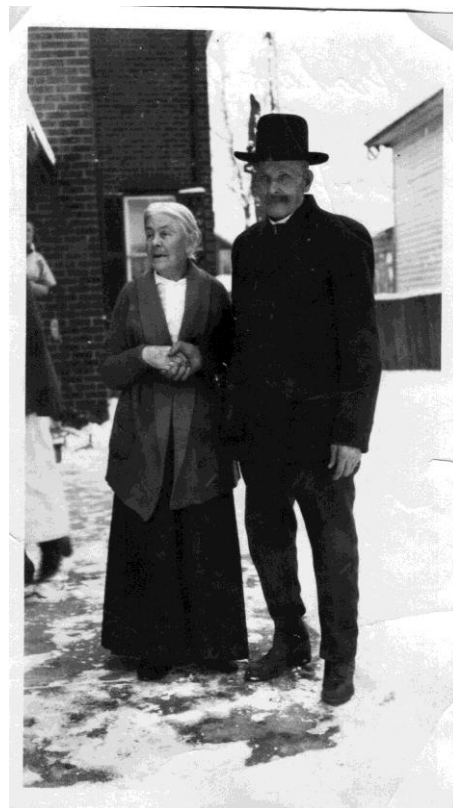


Figure 2: Photograph of John Graham & Lovina Weir.
Source: Karen Howard & Bert Mitchell.

could even be seen as combining multiple sources of income, blending their roles as farmers and butchers.⁹⁴ The household processing of poultry, and, to a lesser extent, beef, pork, and lamb provided families with another source of income.

Giving their location in rural areas, farm families also, at least theoretically, had access to wild game and fish. Interestingly, only a dozen families documented evidence of hunting. In a number of cases, record keepers simply noted the purchase of guns or hunting equipment. John Graham Weir, for example, bought shooting supplies, a trap, and gun caps between the mid-1900s and mid-1910s, and Gordon Robertson of Middlesex County purchased shells in the early 1940s.⁹⁵ Not surprisingly, given the longstanding and historiographical associations of hunting with masculinity, only men hunted, either individually or in small groups.⁹⁶ Typically, they hunted for small game, such as rabbits, squirrels, and a range of fowl.⁹⁷

In keeping with Douglas McCalla's findings in rural Upper Canada, the nature of the entries suggests that hunting was more for recreational purposes, as opposed to purely for sustenance.⁹⁸ After all, hunting was time-consuming, and participants did not always achieve tangible results, in the form of wild game or birds. Accordingly, some of the diarists simply recorded that the men were shooting, and did not detail whether or not they were successful in their hunt. In the early 1900s, for example, Merinda Pearce documented two instances of a group of men visiting to shoot and to join the household for dinner.⁹⁹ Other diarists noted the type of game men hunted; Roy Tunis pursued rabbits in 1904, and Ruby Simmons noted the duck hunting seasons in the fall of 1936 and 1937.¹⁰⁰ Such limited entries suggest that the short excursions were more about the activity, as opposed to the results (in terms of the amount of game brought home).

Even when the hunters brought home some game, it was typically only enough for a single special meal. The White household, for example, had a pigeon supper in the winter of 1911, and periodically had dinners of wild duck, either at home or when out visiting.¹⁰¹ Similarly, the Ferrier household had a partridge supper in the fall of 1938.¹⁰² Such meals added variety to the diets of families.¹⁰³ The recreational nature of the activity is further underscored by the fact that farm families typically recorded only a few instances of hunting or shooting; these families were not relying on game meat as a central source of food. While men did not commonly hunt, the activity was a small-scale leisure opportunity for some, and it allowed them to expand their families' palates.

More common than the consumption of wild game was the consumption of fish.¹⁰⁴ A number of men, such as Robert McGowan, D.H. Kelly, and Howard Jones, purchased fishing equipment or tackle.¹⁰⁵ As with the household processing of meat, there was a seasonal rhythm to fishing; individuals fished between April and September.¹⁰⁶ Fishing provided relatively inexpensive, local mini-excursions; while some men, such as William Joshua Crawforth, and George Rollins of Wellington County, went fishing by themselves, people often fished in groups.¹⁰⁷ Interestingly, while men typically were the ones who fished, women and children also sometimes participated.¹⁰⁸ On August 9, 1901, for example, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins noted that "Mrs Baldwin, Miss Armstrong & B.[aldwin?] kids came down in afternoon & we all went fishing."¹⁰⁹ Harold Crawforth first went fishing with both of his parents, William and Kathleen, in 1924, when he was about five years old, and fished periodically, both alone and with others, thereafter.¹¹⁰ Ralph Smith of Perth County also remembered fishing with his grandfather in the 1930s and 1940s.¹¹¹ These mini-excursions, of course, also provided tangible

benefits, such as the “mess of Mixed fish & a Carp” that Paul Peterson of Welland County caught in May 1909, and the “6 [pound] pike” Homer White caught in June 1933.¹¹² Interestingly, some working-class men also went fishing in hopes of supplementing their families’ diets, despite increasing government regulations against such activities in the late nineteenth century.¹¹³ Fishing provided farm men, as well as some women and children, with the opportunity to escape the usual work routine, and the chance to bring home fresh fish for a nice meal.¹¹⁴

Beyond relying on their own skills and luck, many families also purchased fish. Interestingly, according to historian Lara Campbell, fish “was often cheaper than meat” in Ontario during the Great Depression.¹¹⁵ Throughout the first half of the century, this fish could have been fresh, salted, or canned.¹¹⁶ A variety of fish, including whitefish, lake trout, and herring, were commercially fished in the Great Lakes in the early twentieth century and shipped to a range of markets.¹¹⁷

By approximately the 1930s, species such as pickerel, carp, and perch became more prevalent.¹¹⁸ This fish added variety to the diets of families; William Casimer Topham of Oxford County, for example, (depicted in Figure 3), purchased fish up to three times a month in the 1920s and early 1930s.¹¹⁹ Notably, this fish consumption cannot be linked to religious practices; none of the families in this study were Catholic.¹²⁰ (For religious reasons, Catholics abstained from meat on Fridays and could eat fish as a substitute.)



Figure 3: Photograph of William Casimer Topham.
Source: Norwich & District Historical Society.

While many families simply noted the purchase of fish, others suggested a variety in types. In the first two decades of the twentieth century, for example, James Glen, Sr., purchased cod, salmon, herring, and haddock.¹²¹ Glen even specified that some of the purchases of the latter three types of fish were canned; the salmon, for example, presumably was processed in British Columbia.¹²² Most commonly, farm families purchased salmon and herring.¹²³ They also purchased a broader range of fish, including cod, white fish, trout, and sardines; presumably, the cod would have been salted and shipped from the East coast, while the white fish and trout could have been fresh from the Great Lakes.¹²⁴ The purchases of fresh and processed fish indicate that these families were involved in the larger consumer culture, purchasing both locally- and nationally-sourced goods.

Farm families' purchases extended beyond fish to include a range of purchased meats. While some memoirs, such as those of Helen M. Nixon, suggest that women were "horrified [by] the price" of meat in local towns and villages, evidence from familial records and prescriptive literature clearly demonstrates that farm families purchased meat.¹²⁵ As was the case with fish, while some families simply noted the purchase of meat, others documented the purchase of a range of types and cuts of meat.¹²⁶ Ida and Donald Hawley of Lennox and Addington County, for example, bought unspecified beef, steak, beef scraps, ham, pork chops, salmon, and white fish.¹²⁷

Beef and/or fish were often in the top categories, in terms of the number of yearly meat purchases. Such purchases were convenient; in the case of beef, families could purchase small amounts, and, in the case of fish, families were "guaranteed" the desired meat in a way not always assured in fishing expeditions. Given the challenges of

preserving fresh meat and fish, particularly in the warmer months of the year, it is assumed that frequency of purchase correlates closely with frequency of consumption. Beef overwhelmingly ranked as the top category of meat purchases for the Cowan family, for example, from approximately 1903 to 1912, and some type of fish ranked in the top three categories for five of these years.¹²⁸ The Cowan household also bought steak, sausage, ham, and beef tongue, and attended oyster suppers.¹²⁹ Similarly, beef and salmon typically ranked in the top three categories of yearly meat purchases for the McGowan household over the period of 1903 to 1920, although it also bought a goose, oysters and pork.¹³⁰ Farm families consumed a range of purchased meat, including notable quantities of beef and fish.

A number of families also bought mutton or lamb. Typically, however, these families made relatively few purchases of lamb, suggesting that when they did so they were adding a bit of variety to their diets.¹³¹ The White household, for example, ate lamb up to six times per year in the 1910s and early 1930s, enjoying such dishes as pot pie, lamb chops, and Irish stew.¹³² Similarly, between 1900 and 1920, John Graham Weir made up to five purchases per year of lamb.¹³³ In the case of Weir, however, he commonly made larger purchases of meat, meaning that his household would have eaten lamb more frequently than the number of transactions, in and of themselves, suggest.¹³⁴

While there is limited evidence of mutton or lamb consumption throughout the year, it was weighed more heavily in the second half of the year.¹³⁵ Weir, for example, made all of his purchases between June and December, typically in the months of September and October.¹³⁶ Similarly, the White household made the majority of its purchases in the second half of the year.¹³⁷ This timing is in keeping with the seasonal

nature of the industry, as lambs matured in September and October for market sales.¹³⁸

Concerns about preservation also impacted purchasing practices; typically, families made larger purchases of mutton or lamb, often in the form of quarters of lamb, in the fall or winter months, when the meat could be stored on farm with fewer concerns over spoilage.¹³⁹ D.H. Kelly, for example, bought a quarter of a lamb on October 7, 1929, and purchased another third about a week and a half later.¹⁴⁰ Overall, however, mutton and lamb remained a supplemental meat source, only periodically purchased by some families, generally between late summer and early winter.

Beyond the purchase of a range of cuts of beef, pork, and lamb/mutton, many farm families also bought processed or prepared meats. While many households, as heretofore discussed, made their own sausages, a number of families purchased them. The J.D. Cowan household, the Hawley household, and the McIntosh household of Bruce County, for example, all bought sausages.¹⁴¹ Indeed, the purchase and household manufacture of sausages were not mutually exclusive: both Velma Beaton and J.H. Leeder of Bruce County noted at least one instance of each making and buying sausages over the course of their records.¹⁴²

Some farm families also periodically purchased bologna and wieners. Both the J.D. Cowan and the Mary A. King families, for example, bought bologna in the first decade of the twentieth century.¹⁴³ Families appear to have purchased and consumed wieners less frequently, with most entries falling in the 1920s or 1930s.¹⁴⁴ The Simmons family, and the Hill family of Wellington County, both attended wiener roasts, suggesting a social, and perhaps even novelty, element to the consumption of this type of meat.¹⁴⁵ This finding is in keeping with historian Roger Horowitz's argument that, in early

twentieth century America, “hot dogs’ primary appeal was as a food eaten away from home.”¹⁴⁶ These wieners, and perhaps even the bologna, were presumably made by large meatpacking firms as one of the “byproduct branches” of pork and beef processing.¹⁴⁷ The relatively common purchases of sausage and bologna, and the more sporadic consumption of wieners, demonstrate that farm families were active in the larger consumer culture, periodically buying meats that were convenient, and that were manufactured by the larger meatpacking industry.

Beyond the consumption of a broad range of meats and fish, some farm families also consumed oysters, further demonstrating ties with larger North American dietary trends.¹⁴⁸ Families periodically ate oysters in social settings, at a variety of suppers. Mary A. King, for example, noted an oyster party in the winter of 1902, Howard Jones went to a supper in the winter of 1912, and James Adam Glen, Sr., attended or held a number of suppers with friends and family for early twentieth-century Christmas celebrations.¹⁴⁹ In at least some cases, these special suppers reinforced pre-existing community bonds and connections; Chauncey Poole of Brant County went to an oyster supper held in conjunction with a cheese factory meeting in 1904, D.H. Kelly participated in a Class supper in 1913, and Arthur McQueen attended a beef ring supper in the winter of 1922.¹⁵⁰ According to curator Dorothy Duncan, these suppers originated in the nineteenth century, and men typically prepared the oysters.¹⁵¹ Such meals were a feature of community socialization, and were a special treat for attendees.

Many other families purchased oysters for household consumption, such as the Joneses, the McGowans, and the Pollards of Oxford County.¹⁵² Oysters were a seasonal delicacy, typically consumed in the late fall and winter months; perhaps the cold weather

helped to facilitate shipments from Canada's West or East Coasts.¹⁵³ Loretta White, for example, recorded up to six entries per year for the purchase or consumption of oysters in the 1910s and early 1930s, typically between the months of November and March.¹⁵⁴ The fact that oysters were a special treat is underscored by the frequency of consumption; farm families generally only ate oysters a few times a year, and often did not purchase them each and every year. D.H. Kelly, for example, noted only twelve purchases of oysters over the thirty-five year span of his accounts.¹⁵⁵

Significantly, only one exception was found to this general trend of the limited consumption of oysters. James Glen, Sr., kept detailed records from 1900 to early 1921, and only had a total of ten entries for oysters between 1900 and 1918.¹⁵⁶ In 1920, however, his oyster consumption expanded significantly, as he made sixteen purchases between late May and late December.¹⁵⁷ The exact reason for this sudden increase in Glen's oyster consumption is uncertain; perhaps it is connected to the expanded availability of the product in his locale, as he documented the purchase of six cans of oysters on May 29, 1920.¹⁵⁸ (Prior to this, Glen simply noted purchases by dollar values or volume, suggesting that the oysters were fresh.) Overall, however, oysters were a seasonal delicacy, adding a bit of variety to the diets of some families in the late fall or winter months, and connecting these families to broader North American trends.

As suggested by Glen's purchase of oysters, meat too, of course, could be bought in a range of quantities. While families generally made small purchases of meat, which were presumably consumed shortly thereafter, many also periodically bought larger amounts.¹⁵⁹ In some cases, families made these larger purchases to feed the expanded labour force on the farm, often around harvest.¹⁶⁰ The J.D. Cowan family, for example,

periodically made larger purchases of beef, or simply “meat,” to feed workers at threshing time, between the mid-1900s and early 1910s.¹⁶¹ About three decades later, this trend remained evident; Gordon Robertson, for example, bought meat for silo filling in September 1944, and for threshing in August 1945.¹⁶² In a number of other cases, the timing of meat purchases suggests that the larger amounts of meat were preserved on-farm for longer-term consumption in the colder months of the year. James Glen, Sr., for example, made a number of large purchases of beef between 1901 and 1905, and again in 1912, typically between the late fall and early spring.¹⁶³ Similarly, Nathaniel “Ed” Leeder of Bruce County bought half a pig in December 1918, bought 22.5 pounds of mutton in November 1919, and made large purchases of beef in January 1921 and February 1932.¹⁶⁴ These seasonal purchasing practices continued into the early 1940s, as the purchase of a quarter of beef by Ruby Simmons in January 1943 and again in December 1945 demonstrates.¹⁶⁵ During the winter, of course, meat could be stored more easily, and for longer periods, on the farm.¹⁶⁶ The size of families’ meat purchases often shifted over the course of the year, shaped by work patterns on the farm, as well as by season.

The frequency of meat purchases also appears to have shifted over the seasons, influenced by storage temperatures and the on-farm availability of meat. On average, the Cowan household, for example, bought meat approximately three times per month between 1904 and 1912. This average, however, hides a more complex picture. In 1907, the family made seven purchases of meat in June, but bought no meat in the months of January through April and November.¹⁶⁷ The 1907 case suggests a larger trend within the Cowan household, as the frequency of its meat purchases typically declined late in the fall through the winter, and increased late in the spring through until the fall. The shifting

meat purchasing pattern within the Cowan household roughly aligns with the earlier discussion of meat processing; the family's sale of beef and sheep hides, typically in the winter months, suggests that it may have slaughtered some of its own beef and mutton.¹⁶⁸ While not formally captured in the accounts, the family may also have slaughtered some of its pigs.¹⁶⁹ Similarly, purchases in the Glen, Sr., household also appear to have shifted by the season, increasing in the summer through the fall, and decreasing in the winter through the spring.¹⁷⁰ Glen processed a pig or two for household use approximately every other year, in the winter and early spring months, and also periodically made large purchases of beef in the late fall and winter months.¹⁷¹

The accounts of the Cowan and Glen households suggest that, for some families, there was a correlation between season, butchering practices, and purchasing. Household-processed meats were a more central component of rural diets from the fall through until the late spring. The colder months of the year, of course, facilitated the on-farm preservation of meats, and fall slaughtering allowed sufficient time for chicks and piglets born in the spring to fatten. Some families' purchases increased late in the spring or early in the summer through until the subsequent fall, as meat slaughtered at the end of the previous season dwindled and on-farm preservation became more of a challenge.¹⁷² This evidence of seasonal shifts complicates Horowitz's argument that nineteenth century American farm families were particularly reliant on home-processed chickens "in the summer months when fresh pork and beef were not available."¹⁷³

In terms of purchasing location, farm families had a range of options, with some variation by the type of item. The Kelly and Leeder households provide the clearest evidence of this range, as they often recorded from whom they made such purchases.

Most straightforwardly, families bought meat from butchers, and it appears they had a few options within close proximity; in the 1920s, for example, D.H. Kelly purchased meat from both John Avey and Reg Hopkins, whose shops were located in Norwich.¹⁷⁴ Fish, in contrast, was often purchased in local general stores and grocery stores.¹⁷⁵ In the early twentieth century, the Leeder family, for example, purchased fish in three different stores in Port Elgin.¹⁷⁶ Given the ongoing prevalence of rural butchering, families also bought meat from local farmers; Kelly, for example, made a range of such purchases. Some of these purchases, such as those from Joseph Woodrow in 1906 and from Elgin Palmer in 1916, were of small cuts of beef.¹⁷⁷ Other purchases, in contrast, were of larger amounts, such as the quarter beef purchased from William Kelly in 1925, and the 125 pounds of beef bought from Harry H. Scott in 1936.¹⁷⁸ More rarely, families even bought fish from area farmers, as Nathaniel “Edward” Leeder did in 1902, and D.H. Kelly did in 1910 and 1912.¹⁷⁹ Farm families also purchased meat and fish from peddlers and “fish men;” interestingly, a woman even called at the Crawforth household to sell fish in August 1928 and March 1930.¹⁸⁰ Finally, the Jemina Hannah Leeder household placed a single order for canned pilchards through the United Farmers Cooperative Company.¹⁸¹ Families purchased their meat from butchers and their fish from general and grocery stores, but also made purchases from local farmers and peddlers.

As the discussion heretofore has suggested, families’ meat consumption and preservation practices remained relatively constant in the years between 1900 and 1945. Their diets consisted of purchased meat as well as of meat processed and preserved on-farm. Beginning in the 1930s, however, families had more options for shaping this blended consumption pattern, as cold storage became available in towns and villages.¹⁸²

The White, Perkins, and Simmons families all noted the use of cold storage lockers, presumably in local towns.¹⁸³ The Perkins family, for example, used a local cold storage locker between 1937 and 1940. Elma and Fred processed both chickens and pigs on-farm and took the meat into town to their locker.¹⁸⁴ The timing of their poultry processing aligned with that completed earlier in the century, after the year's growing season.¹⁸⁵ Similarly, two of the Perkins' entries for pork processing fell towards the end of the usual household slaughtering window, in March of 1937 and 1938.¹⁸⁶ Significantly, however, the couple also appears to have processed a pig in June 1940, which was later than the usual season.¹⁸⁷ The White family also used a locker to preserve purchased meat, in this case turkeys, in 1932 and 1935.¹⁸⁸ Cold storage gave farm families a bit more flexibility in meat preservation, purchasing, and consumption practices, but families largely continued to follow their long-established practices. Notably, there does not appear to have been a significant shift in agrarian consumption practices during the Second World War; processing for household consumption was not formally regulated by the government, although farm families were asked to "live within the spirit of the ration."¹⁸⁹

Overall, a complex picture of Ontario farm families' meat consumption emerges for the first half of the twentieth century. Families processed a range of poultry, pork, beef, and, to a lesser extent, lamb, for household consumption. Notably, ethnicity did not appear to have been a key factor in shaping the types of meat dishes families prepared. Typically, families processed meat in the fall and winter months, due to concerns over temperature and preservation. Depending on the type of meat, however, there was a degree of flexibility to this, as the year-round chicken dinners attest. Gendered divisions in this work were evident; while women typically slaughtered poultry, men completed

this task for pork, beef, and lamb, given the size of the animals. Butchering days often involved extended kin and neighbours, showing the persistence of reciprocal labour in rural Ontario. Families could preserve the meat through a range of methods, including cold weather, salting, smoking, canning, and, later, cold storage facilities. The home-processed meat was used to supply the family table, and was also periodically sold to generate income for the family. These agrarian experiences can be contrasted with those of urban residents. According to historian Bettina Bradbury, for example, working-class residents of Montreal largely were unable to undertake such household provisioning practices by the end of the nineteenth century, due to local bylaws banning livestock, and a lack of space.¹⁹⁰ Bylaws may have been more flexible with regard to poultry, given their size; Craig Heron notes that some working-class families in Hamilton, for example, kept chickens or even pigeons.¹⁹¹

Some farm families also tried their luck with fish and wild game. Fishing was the more common activity, and men, women, and children all participated. Hunting, in contrast, appears to have occurred more rarely, and remained firmly as a male preserve. Both activities, however, allowed participants to escape from the usual work routine with local, mini excursions, and had the added benefit of a potential reward, in the form of fish, fowl, or meat, to add a bit of variety to the family's diet.

This hunting, fishing, and household processing worked in conjunction with formal purchases made in local towns or villages, or from butchers and "fish men" who visited farms.¹⁹² Farm families purchased a range of meats, although beef and fish were the most frequently bought. Their connections to the larger market are evident in the purchase of processed meats, such as bologna, sausage, and wieners. For some, there

were seasonal trends to their purchasing that increased in the late spring and summer, and declined with household processing in the fall. Families also bought specific goods, such as oysters, at certain times of the year. Ontario farm families clearly and actively engaged in the market, and had unique consuming habits, reflecting their dual roles as producers and consumers.

¹ "Preparing Pork on the Farm," *Canadian Countryman*, November 29, 1919, 4.

² "Preparing Pork on the Farm," 4.

³ See Derry, *Ontario's Cattle Kingdom*, 6-7; Lawr, 246; Drummond, 30-32; Halpern, 20-21; Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Eighth Census of Canada, 1941, Volume VIII*, 970; and Ian MacLachlan, *Kill and Chill: Restructuring Canada's Beef Commodity Chain* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 165. See also *The 1927 Edition of the T. Eaton Co. Limited Catalogue for Spring and Summer* (Toronto: The Musson Book Company, 1971), 223, and 369. For more information on meat processing in Canada more generally during these years, see David L. MacFarlane, "Agriculture," in *Historical Statistics of Canada*, eds. M.C. Urquhart and K.A.H. Buckley (Toronto: The Macmillian Company of Canada, 1965), 373; and G.I. Trant, "Agriculture," in *Historical Statistics of Canada, Second Edition*, ed. F.H. Leacy (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1983), M321-330. For information on the per capita disappearance of various meats in Canada, see Trant, M428-445.

⁴ In terms of total numbers for the province, there was more poultry on Ontario farms in 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, and 1941 than any other type of livestock. Similarly, more poultry was slaughtered on-farm in 1920, 1930, and 1940 than cattle, swine, or sheep. (The 1941 Census provided separate numbers for animals slaughtered for sale and for home consumption, but poultry topped both categories.) See Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Sixth Census of Canada, 1921, Volume V*, 26-27, and 52-53; Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Seventh Census of Canada, 1931, Volume VIII*, 388; and Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Eighth Census of Canada, 1941, Volume VIII – Agriculture, Part II*, 852, and 970. See also Sandwell, *Contesting Rural Space*, 58.

⁵ "The Summer's Meat Supply on the Farm," 787.

⁶ See also Neth, 31; Barron, 228; Margaret Dow Gebby, *Farm Wife: A Self-Portrait, 1886-1896*, ed. Virginia E. McCormick (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1990), 85; Disbrowe, 62; Rebecca Sharpless, *Fertile Ground, Narrow Choices: Women on Texas Cotton Farms, 1900-1940* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 131; Diana, "A Primitive Idea," *Farmers' Sun*, January 15, 1919, 6; Roelens-Grant, ed., 70, and 157; and Scripture, 28.

⁷ See, for example, January 7, 1904, Vivien Maud Agnes Atkins Diaries; November 19, 1930, Velma Beaton Diaries; September 24, 1905, and February 17, 1931, William Joshua Crawforth Diaries; October 26, 1919, and January 18, 1920, Emily Duckwith Diaries; September 26, 1915, B.A. Green Diary; April 3, 1936, Jean Ferrier Diary; August 23, 1936, and November 15, 1936, Fred Perkins Diary; June 30, 1918, and April 14, 1922, Potts Family Farm Diaries; and February 5, 1904, Frances Poole, 1904 Diary, Norwich & District Historical Society, X79A-XX1-15 [hereafter Frances Poole Diary]. See also Roelens-Grant, ed., 1, and 95.

⁸ Dr. Helen Nixon, "Tales of a Grandmother," Eva Brook Donly Museum & Archives, Fam N 11, 77; and Allan G. Bogue, *The Farm on North Talbot Road* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 136.

⁹ October 8, 1900, October 18, 1900, and December 25, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diary.

¹⁰ September 1, 1915, October 9, 1916, and September 1, 1917, B.A. Green Diary.

¹¹ See, for example, December 26, 1910, January 3, 1912, January 23, 1913, December 12, 1915, January 1, 1916, January 7, 1917, February 1, 1917, December 27, 1918, December 25, 1919, December 23, 1930, December 25, 1931, December 28, 1932, January 23, 1933, October 7, 1934, and September 9, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries. See also Roelens-Grant, ed., 70.

¹² January 11, 1930, and January 23, 1931, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

¹³ See, for example, December 16, 1912, January 13, 1917, December 20, 1930, October 28, 1931, December 24, 1932, December 19, 1933, April 11, 1934, and December 19, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

¹⁴ See, for example, December 24, 1915, December 22, 1916, and December 24, 1917, B.A. Green Diary; and November 26, 1920, December 25, 1920, December 25, 1923, December 25, 1924, December 23-24, 1925, and December 30, 1926, Potts Family Farm Diaries.

¹⁵ James T. Lemon, "Household Consumption in Eighteenth-Century America and its Relationship to Production and Trade: The Situation Among Farmers in Southeastern Pennsylvania," *Agricultural History* 41, no. 1 (1967): 61-62.

¹⁶ See, for example, December 18, 1911, January 26, 1913, January 20, 1914, November 23, 1914, January 18, 1915, November 15, 1916, January 3, 1917, June 22, 1917, July 6, 1917, January 15, 1918, February 2, 1918, February 14, 1918, May 10, 1918, August 16, 1918, November 28, 1918, March 4, 1919, February 3, 1931, May 11, 1931, March 1, 1933, November 8, 1933, January 23, 1934, February 5, 1934, May 23, 1934, October 6, 1934, and February 14, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries; September 18, 1906, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries; March 7, 1930, Velma Beaton Diaries; January 25, 1936, November 23, 1936, and December 26, 1936, Jean Ferrier Diaries; January 3, 1922, February 19, 1923, January 24, 1929, January 6, 1930, and December 21, 1931, Arthur McQueen Diaries; Comacchio, 44; Mrs. D. McTavish, "The Education of Our Daughters," *Report of the Women's Institute of the Province of Ontario, 1906*, 110; Mrs. H.J. Scripture, "East Northumberland," *Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1909, Part I*, 28; Mrs. W.W. Farley, "The Day's Work," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1910* (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1911), 41; Prof. R.W. Graham, "Up-to-Date Poultry Raising," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1914*, 65; Mrs. L.A. Hamilton, "Rural Industries for Women – Fruit Growing," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1914*, 129-30; Miss Marion S. Hill, "Rural Industries for Women – Poultry Raising," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1914*, 130; Mrs. R. G. Leggett, "Report of the Standing Committee on Agriculture," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1920 and 1921*, 79; Emily J. Guest, "Income Earning Features for Girls and Women on the Farm," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1922* (Toronto: Clarkson W. James, 1923), 73; Mrs. K.S. Aitken, "Income Earning for Farm Women," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1922*, 83; Mrs. M.J. Nixon, "Women's Place in Agriculture," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1923*, 21; Mrs. H.M. Aitken, "Women in Agriculture," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1924*, 63; and Geo. A. Putnam, "Women's Institute of Ontario, 1925," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1925*, 5. For information on processing, see "Killing Fowls," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 15, 1908, 1586; "Killing Poultry," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 29, 1925, 155; JDL, "Methods of Killing Poultry," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, October 19, 1916, 6; and Bogue, *The Farm on North Talbot Road*, 136. For information on making a good knife for processing poultry, see "A Poultry Killing Knife," *Farmer's Advocate*, September 10, 1914, 1618. See also Neth, 23.

¹⁷ According to the 1911 Census, the Duckwith family resided in Peel County. The family could not be found in the 1921 Census. See, for example, January 11, 1919, March 28, 1919, October 18, 1919, December 22, 1919, January 10, 1920, November 20, 1920, December 8, 1920, and November 11, 1921, Emily Duckwith Diaries; and "George Duckworth," Caledon Township, Peel County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 13, 145.

¹⁸ "Biographical Sketch," Florence (Allen) Tompkins Fonds.

¹⁹ November 9, 1930, Florence (Allen) Tompkins Diaries, Florence (Allen) Tompkins Fonds.

²⁰ October 21, 1929, and December 19, 1929, Florence (Allen) Tompkins Diaries.

²¹ See, for example, September 21, 1910, October 27, 1912, October 27, 1925, and June 2, 1916, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

²² See, for example, November 27-28, 1913, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries. Loretta referred simply to "Ma" and "Pa," but they are assumed to be her parents, rather than Homer's, as his father died in 1911. See "John Stanley White," Hallowell Township, Prince Edward County, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Deaths, 168, 339, 026662; and Roelens-Grant, ed., 25, and 40.

²³ This was the largest number of chickens Elma specified processing on a single day. See October 6, 1936, Fred Perkins Diary.

²⁴ See October 6, 1936, and October 9, 1926, Fred Perkins Diary.

²⁵ For information on the process of canning chickens, see “Can Your Hens for Winter Use,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, August 9, 1917, 1256; “Canning Chicken in the Home Kitchen,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, February 17, 1916, 262; “Home Canning,” *Canadian Countryman*, August 5, 1916, 1031; and Miss. Ethel M. Chapman, *Women’s Institutes, Bulletin 252: The Preservation of Food – Home Canning* (Toronto: Ontario Department of Agriculture, 1917), 22-24. See also Farley, 42-43.

²⁶ See, for example, January 3-4, 1922, January 16, 1923, February 20, 1923, February 2, 1925, February 10, 1925, November 6, 1925, November 24, 1925, February 1, 1928, February 21, 1928, January 9, 1929, January 20, 1929, January 25, 1929, January 7, 1930, January 22, 1931, January 4, 1932, January 6, 1932, and January 23, 1932, Arthur McQueen Diaries; December 6, 1910, December 28-29, 1911, January 21, 1914, November 19, 1915, November 18, 1918, December 30, 1919, May 12, 1931, November 28, 1932, March 6, 1933, February 5, 1934, and December 9, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries; and October 27, 1917, November 5, 1917, November 22, 1917, February 19, 1918, October 5, 1918, November 13, 1918, November 25, 1919, December 3, 1919, December 16, 1920, January 11, 1922, January 16, 1923, December 2, 1924, and January 12, 1926, Potts Family Farm Diaries.

²⁷ “Home Canning,” *Canadian Countryman*, August 5, 1916, 1031; and August 1, 1917, August 26, 1918, and March 1, 1934, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

²⁸ Although not specified, presumably the chicken Mary sent William in 1918 was also canned, as he was still serving overseas. See December 15, 1913, October 5, 1915, and October 27, 1916, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries; October 27, 1917, and December 23, 1918, Potts Family Farm Diaries; “William Earnest Potts,” *Soldiers of the First World War (1914-1918)*, Library and Archives Canada, Record Group 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 4930 – 35; Jeanne Hornby, comp., *Information of Soldiers WWI*, Volume 1. 1914-1917, 94; and Jeanne Hornby, comp., *Information of Soldiers WWI*, Volume 2. 1917-1919, 704, 714-715, and 733. See also Ian Mosby, *Food will Win the War: The Politics, Culture, and Science of Food on Canada’s Home Front* (Toronto: UBC Press, 2014), 113-14; Linda M. Ambrose, *For Home and Country: The Centennial History of the Women’s Institutes in Ontario* (Erin, ON: Boston Mills Press, 1996), 77; Happy Farmerette, “The Overseas Ties,” *Weekly Sun*, October 16, 1918, 6; Geo. A. Putnam, “Women’s Institutes of Ontario, 1917,” *Report of the Women’s Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1917* (Toronto: A.T. Wilgress, 1918), 10; and “County of Middlesex WI and Red Cross Canning Centre,” *Report of the Women’s Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1917*, 152.

²⁹ Ann E. McCleary, “‘I Was Really Proud of Them’: Canned Raspberries and Home Production During the Farm Depression,” *Augusta Historical Bulletin* 46 (2010): 36-37.

³⁰ Some of the account keepers only hinted at the processing of pork, as they recorded the sale of dressed pork. See, for example, November 27, 1913, and March 2, 1914, Unknown Farm Account Book Believed to be that of Howard Jones of Malahide, Aylmer Museum & Archives [subsequently referred to as Howard Jones Accounts]; February 27, 1908, January 10, 1914, May 31, 1920, and November 25, 1922, D.H. Kelly Accounts; April 30, 1904, Nathaniel “Ed” Leeder Accounts; February 15, 1941, February 22, 1941, March 1, 1941, March 8, 1941, March 15, 1941, March 22, 1941, and March 29, 1941, Farm 1916, 1937 and Accounts 1941, Peter Miller Fonds, Lennox & Addington County Museum & Archives [hereafter Miller Accounts], 1997.99a; 1907, Edwin Robinson Accounts, Private Collection; and November 20, 1904, March 4, 1905, October 25, 1910, January 31, 1911, February 18, 1911, March 28, 1911, March 31, 1911, October 7, 1911, March 23, 1912, January 2, 1913, August 12, 1914, August 28, 1914, September 4, 1915, December 9, 1916, and November 2, 1918, John Graham Weir Diaries. See also Sharpless, 110, and 114-15; Neth, 31; Barron, 228; Gebby, 85; Roelens-Grant, ed., 32, 36, 60, 80, 132, and 139; Scripture, 28; Megan J. Davies, “Stocking the Root Cellar: Foodscapes in the Peace River Region,” in *Edible Histories, Cultural Politics: Towards a Canadian Food History*, ed. Franca Iacovetta, Valerie J. Korinek, and Marlene Epp (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 98; and MacLachlan, 124.

³¹ Lemon, 61-62; Lorena S. Walsh, “Feeding the Eighteenth-Century Town Folk or Whence the Beef,” *Agricultural History* 73, no. 3 (1999): 274; McCleary, 26; Sarah Francis McMahon, “‘A Comfortable Subsistence’: A History of Diet in New England, 1630-1850” (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 1982), 43; Roger Horowitz, *Putting Meat on the American Table: Taste, Technology, and Preservation* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2006), 13, and 43-44; Strasser, 14; and Richard Osborn Cummings, *The American and His Food* (New York: Arno Press, 1970), 15-16.

³² For information on the processing methods, see: Vance W. McCray, “Filling the Family Pork Barrel,” *Farmers’ Magazine*, October 13, 1921, 3, and 12; Eslie Carter, “Butchering and Meat Curing at Any Season,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, December 17, 1914, 2167; Wm Carruthers, “Carrying and Hanging Hog

Carcasses," *Farmer's Advocate*, May 1, 1902, 341; "Curing Meat for Summer Use," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 15, 1920, 81; "Curing Pork for Use Year Round," *Farmer's Advocate*, November 30, 1916, 1956; "Making the Scalding Water Just Right," *Farmer's Advocate*, November 11, 1909, 1767; "Slaughtering Meat Animals for Home Consumption," *Farmer's Advocate*, December 6, 1917, 1880-81; "Recipes for Curing Pork," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 6, 1921, 6; "Butchering Time on the Farm," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 22, 1925, 98; E. Terrill, "Hog Killing and Pork Curing," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, December 30, 1909, 5; "Device for Hanging a Pig," *The Farming World and the Canadian Farm and Home*, March 16, 1903, 126; "Home Killing and Curing of Pork," *Canadian Farm*, February 6, 1918, 4; L.D. Humes, "Dressing Hogs on the Farm," *Canadian Countryman*, September 11, 1915, 14; "Slaughtering Hogs and Home Curing of Pork," *Canadian Countryman*, March 1, 1919, 3, and 36-37; "Preparing Pork on the Farm," 4, and 32-34; W.H. Underwood, "Butchering on the Farm," *Canadian Countryman*, November 19, 1921, 5, and 37; and Bogue, *The Farm on North Talbot Road*, 143-45. See also Strong-Boag, 129; and Helena (McCaugherty) Diary, Miller Reasoner Writings, Lennox & Addington County Museum & Archives, 4, and 4a.

³³ Potts recorded butchering at least one pig every year except 1924. Perkins clearly recorded butchering at least one pig between 1937 and 1939. Although she does not specify the slaughter of a pig in 1940, a few of her entries suggest that this may have been the case; in February someone from the household "cut pigs," and in June the couple sold half of a pig, put half in cold storage, and made head cheese. Perkins had no entries suggesting the slaughter of a pig in 1936, which was her first year of marriage. See December 3, 1917, December 31, 1918, January 25, 1919, December 16, 1919, January 12, 1920, February 3, 1920, January 5, 1921, January 17, 1921, December 18, 1921, January 24, 1922, December 11, 1922, March 5, 1923, January 13, 1925, March 3, 1925, March 25, 1926, and March 22, 1927, Potts Family Farm Diaries; and February 3, 1937, March 29, 1937, February 9, 1938, March 8, 1938, January 12, 1939, March 24, 1939, December 11, 1939, December 18, 1939, February 8, 1940, June 14, 1940, and June 17, 1940, Fred Perkins Diary.

³⁴ "Curing Pork for Use Year Round," 1956; Dixon, 97; McCalla, *Consumers in the Bush*, 127; and Disbrowe, 62.

³⁵ There are gaps in the McQueen diaries for the years of 1924, 1926, and 1927. See January 12, 1922, November 21, 1922, December 19, 1922, December 11, 1923, February 2, 1925, December 1, 1925, December 10, 1928, December 18, 1928, January 9, 1929, March 21, 1929, December 14, 1929, January 20, 1930, December 4, 1930, February 2, 1931, and January 27, 1932, Arthur McQueen Diaries.

³⁶ See "Supplying Meat for the Farm," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 2, 1913, 8; and Underwood, "Butchering on the Farm," 5.

³⁷ Halpern, 20, and 110.

³⁸ Horowitz, 45; Gebby, 85; Cummings, 16; Sharpless, 115; Roelens-Grant, ed., 25, 127, 132, and 139; and Chapman, *Women's Institutes, Bulletin* 252, 26-29.

³⁹ According to Vance W. McCray in a 1921 *Farmer's Magazine* article, the use of a dry cure preserved pork better over the summer months than did a brine cure. See January 4, 1927, December 6, 1930, and "To cuor meat," William Joshua Crawford Diaries; March 24, 1941, March 26-27, 1941, April 1, 1942, April 4, 1942, May 19, 1943, May 22, 1943, June 3, 1943, February 28, 1944, and February 8, 1945, Velma Beaton Diaries; February 24, 1900, December 18, 1903, December 6, 1906, May 4, 1909, December 29, 1914, March 15, 1919, February 3, 1920, James Glen, Sr., Diaries; and January 25, 1930, and December 6, 1930, Arthur McQueen Diaries. See also "Curing Meat," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 10, 1919, 690; "Curing Pork for Use Year Round," 1956; "Home Cured Bacon and Ham," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 21, 1912, 527; E. Cora Hind, "Home Cured Bacon," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 23, 1905, 261-62; "The Summer's Meat Supply on the Farm," *Farmer's Advocate*, May 10, 1917, 786-87; E. Terrill, "Curing Pork for Domestic Use," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 3, 1921, 154-55; "Curing Meat," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 17, 1924, 586; "Butchering Time on the Farm," 98; "Hog Killing Time," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 19, 1928, 78; A.W. Orr, "Shall We Cure Pork on the Farm?," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, November 26, 1914, 4; Geo. B. Ellis, "Brine Curing of Pork," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, November 4, 1915, 5; J.A. Simms, "The Home Curing of Pork," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, October 17, 1918, 2; "Curing Meat on the Farm," *Canadian Farm*, October 6, 1916, 4; "Home Killing and Curing of Pork," 4; B.C. Tillet, "The Home Cured Bacon and Country Ham," *Canadian Countryman*, November 6, 1915, 4; "Curing Pork for Home or Market," *Canadian Countryman*, August 12, 1916, 1043; "How to Cure Pork for Home

Use,” *Canadian Countryman*, March 8, 1919, 4, and 38; and “Preparing Pork on the Farm,” 32-34. See also Gypsy, “To Fry Salted Pork,” *Farmers’ Sun*, April 16, 1919, 6.

⁴⁰ Lemon, 66; McCray, 12; Carter, “Butchering and Meat Curing at Any Season,” 2167; and Martin, *Buying into the World of Goods*, 83.

⁴¹ June 20, 1919, and June 27, 1919, James Glen, Sr., Diaries. See also Sharpless, 118-19.

⁴² Ralph Smith remembered his family keeping its preserved meat in the cellar in the 1930s and 1940s. See, for example, March 26-28, 1941B, February 7-8, 1942B, and February 16, 1942B, Velma Beaton Diaries; January 23, 1939, March 11, 1939, and December 20, 1939, Fred Perkins Diary; “To cuor meat,” William Joshua Crawford Diaries; “Preserving Meats,” *The People’s Home Library: A Library of Three Practical Books* (Toronto: Imperial Publishing Co., 1917), 194-95; Dixon, 97; Ralph E. Smith, *Childhood Memories of the 1930’s and 1940’s: Anecdotes of life as I remember it while a child on a farm in Perth County, Ontario* (Markham: Stewart Publishing & Printing, 2003), 39; and Helena (McCaugherty) Diary, 4a.

⁴³ According to a 1920 article in the *Farmer’s Advocate*, liquid smoke “is much more convenient and less expensive than using the smoke-house, and many who have tried both methods cannot tell the difference in the flavor or keeping qualities of the meat.” See “Curing Meat for Summer Use,” 81; “Home Cured Bacon and Ham,” 527; “How You Can Smoke Your Summer Meat,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, March 2, 1916, 347; McCray, 12; March 22-23, 1901, April 1, 1901, April 10, 1901, March 20, 1902, April 1, 1902, April 10, 1902, March 5, 1903, and April 4-5, 1904, Mary A. King Diaries; and June 20, 1919, and June 27, 1919, James Glen, Sr., Diaries.

⁴⁴ For instructions on preserving fried pork in crocks or pails, see: Mrs. Isaac Baker, “Curing and Keeping Pork,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, April 27, 1911, 741; Hyacinth, “A New Method of Curing Meat,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, February 18, 1915, 240; and “The Summer’s Meat Supply on the Farm,” 787. For information on the design of smoke houses, see: “Curing Meat for Summer Use,” 81; “The Summer’s Meat Supply on the Farm,” 787; “Recipes for Curing Pork,” 6; “How to Smoke Meats,” *Canadian Farm*, January 12, 1917, 6; and “Home Smoking of Meats,” *Canadian Farm*, October 9, 1918, 5. See also January 4, 1919, January 27, 1922, March 7, 1923, and March 24, 1927, Potts Family Farm Diaries; April 8, 1937, March 10, 1938, March 17, 1938, January 13, 1939, January 14, 1939, and January 16, 1939, Fred Perkins Diary; March 10, 1933, Cora Tunis Diaries; November 29, 1934, and December 2, 1937, Ruby Simmons Diary; Boyle, 113; Neth, 30; Roelens-Grant, ed., 40; Farley, 42; Steven D. Reschly, and Katherine Jellison, “Production Patterns, Consumption Strategies, and Gender Relations in Amish and non-Amish Farm Households in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1935-1936,” *Agricultural History* 67, no. 2 (1993): 160; and Chapman, *Women’s Institutes, Bulletin* 252, 22-24. Finally, for a discussion of sausage preservation methods, see Horowitz, 77.

⁴⁵ See, for example, November 24, 1914, November 28, 1914, November 15, 1915, November 18, 1915, November 22, 1915, November 28, 1916, December 1, 1916, May 1, 1917, and February 25, 1918, B.A. Green Diary.

⁴⁶ Carter, 2167; “Curing Meat,” 586; and Tillet, “The Home Cured Bacon and Country Ham,” 4.

⁴⁷ See also Sharpless, 116.

⁴⁸ Horowitz, 44.

⁴⁹ For information on the process of cutting up the pork, see: Hind, 261-62. See also December 3, 1919, November 30, 1920, and December 3, 1920, Emily Duckwith Diaries; December 8, 1937, February 2, 1938, March 13, 1941, January 31, 1942, February 10, 1944, and January 31, 1945, Velma Beaton Diaries; and Sharpless, 112, and 117.

⁵⁰ November 18, 1915, B.A. Green Diary; and Hind, 261-62.

⁵¹ “Jennie Green,” Colborne Township, Huron County (West), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 1, 6; and “Jennett Green,” Colborne Township, Huron County (North), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 5, 49.

⁵² Carruthers, 341; and McCray, 3. See also Neth, 56-57; Gebby, 85; Sharpless, 116; and Roelens-Grant, ed., 127, and 132.

⁵³ See, for example, October 26, 1916, February 14, 1917, January 3, 1918, November 27, 1922, February 16, 1923, June 23, 1924, February 5, 1925, July 27, 1926, November 11, 1926, March 28, 1927, April 17, 1928, November 23, 1929, and December 2, 1930, William Joshua Crawford Diaries.

⁵⁴ See, for example, January 23, 1905, November 21, 1905, December 13, 1905, December 15, 1916, February 14, 1917, January 3, 1918, November 27, 1922, December 15, 1922, November 9, 1923, January 10, 1924, June 23, 1924, December 8, 1925, December 17, 1926, March 28, 1927, November 25, 1927,

February 23, 1928, December 13, 1928, November 23, 1929, December 4, 1929, November 27, 1930, and December 3, 1930, William Joshua Crawford Diaries.

⁵⁵ See also Roelens-Grant, ed., 116.

⁵⁶ Head cheese was made using the less desirable parts of a freshly slaughtered pig, such as the head, the feet, and the tongue. The meat was boiled, spiced, and pressed into a pan. The loaf was cut into slices to serve. For a recipe, see "Head Cheese," *The People's Home Library*, 195. See also Helena (McCaugherty) Diary, 4a; Disbrowe, 62; Sharpless, 118; Roelens-Grant, ed., 36; and Farley, 42.

⁵⁷ December 12, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diary; February 2, 1900, Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce; and April 8, 1942A, April 11, 1942B, May 21-22, 1943, March 1, 1944, March 3, 1944, March 2, 1945, and March 5, 1945, Velma Beaton Diaries. See also "The Summer's Meat Supply on the Farm," 787; and Simms, 2.

⁵⁸ See, for example, December 1-2, 1903, December 6, 1903, November 17, 1904, and November 19, 1904, Mary A. King Diaries; November 23-24, 1922, December 12-13, 1923, December 3, 1925, January 10, 1929, January 20, 1930, January 22, 1930, December 4, 1930, December 6, 1930, and January 29, 1932, Arthur McQueen Diaries; March 23-24, 1931, October 20-21, 1937, March 18-19, 1938, March 21-23, 1938, December 16, 1942B, February 3, 1943, February 11, 1943, February 1, 1945, February 3, 1945, February 8, 1945, and February 24, 1945, Velma Beaton Diaries; January 21, 1904, Frances Poole Diary; and December 22, 1916, and January 12, 1920, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts. See also: "Home-Made Sausage," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 1, 1920, 20; Mrs. E.C.S., "Bologna Sausage," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 15, 1925, 68; McCray, 3, and 12; "Curing Meat," 690; "Curing Meat for Summer Use," 81; "The Early Butchering," 1665-66; "The Summer's Meat Supply on the Farm," 787; Simms, 2; Neth, 56; Sharpless, 117-20; Roelens-Grant, ed., 36, and 85; and Chapman, *Women's Institutes, Bulletin* 252, 28.

⁵⁹ See, for example, December 11-12, 1900, December 19, 1900, December 3, 1902, December 30, 1902, February 10, 1903, and November 5, 1908, Mary A. King Diaries; January 12, 1904, Frances Poole Diary; and December 19, 1916, December 17, 1918, December 16, 1924, December 15, 1925, and December 18, 1928, William Joshua Crawford Diaries. See also Cummings, 13; and Chapman, *Women's Institutes, Bulletin* 252, 28.

⁶⁰ March 8, 1933, Cora Tunis Diaries; and March 18, 1938, February 28, 1944, and February 3, 1945, Velma Beaton Diaries.

⁶¹ Horowitz, 18. See also Gebby, 85; Sharpless, 142-43; and MacLachlan, 124.

⁶² These families were those of: J.D. Cowan, William H. Cowan, Bella Green, Russell Innes, Ira McIntosh, D.H. Kelly, Nathaniel "Ed" Leeder, Robert McGowan, and Arthur McQueen. See January 7, 1911, J.D. Cowan Accounts; November 20, 1922, January 3, 1923, June 6, 1923, November 6, 1923, October 1924, August 10, 1926, December 1, 1926, and December 30, 1926, Wm. H. Cowan Accounts, 10, 12, 21, 39, 45, and 78-79; December 31, 1914, B.A. Green Diary; September 1933, "Expenditure Household," Russell Innes Accounts; October 2, 1934, "Receipts 1934," Russell Innes Accounts; January 25, 1926, McIntosh Family Accounts; November 23, 1905, January 1, 1907, and November 15, 1919, D.H. Kelly Accounts; October 1916, and November 1917, Nathaniel "Ed" Leeder Accounts; August 13, 1906, August 16, 1907, October 11, 1907, November 8, 1907, September 19, 1908, and May 23, 1917, "Miscellaneous," Robert McGowan Accounts, 27, 28, 43, and 92; September 20, 1905, August 7, 1906, May 21, 1907, c. May 1908, October 17, 1909, c. 1911, c. September 1912, c. 1913, September 1, 1914, April 3, 1915, c. August 19, 1916, July 11, 1917, c. 1918, c. 1919, and c. 1920, "Cattle," Robert McGowan Accounts, 474-478; and February 8, 1922, July 26, 1922, May 27, 1922, December 14, 1922, January 23, 1923, June 27, 1923, March 20, 1925, August 18, 1925, September 23, 1925, December 16, 1925, January 23, 1928, February 1, 1928, May 28, 1928, May 30, 1928, June 6, 1928, July 4, 1928, June 18, 1929, July 10, 1929, October 23, 1929, March 12, 1930, June 30, 1930, October 21, 1930, December 10, 1930, January 30, 1931, June 9, 1931, June 15, 1931, July 7, 1931, September 15, 1931, August 8, 1932, and August 30, 1932, Arthur McQueen Diaries.

⁶³ With the exception of Bella Green of Huron County and Russell Innes of Oxford County, all diarists or account keepers noted at least one entry for the purchase or processing of other meat between the months of June to September in the years they participated in their local beef rings. Green followed the traditional diary format, and rarely noted purchases; it is possible the family did, indeed, purchase some type of meat during the 1914 beef ring season. Similarly, the accounts of Innes are a bit sporadic, meaning that the family could have purchased or processed meat in the 1933 beef ring season and simply did not record it. See, for example, June 4, 1910, June 10, 1910, June 13, 1910, June 23, 1910, June 26, 1910, June 30, 1910,

July 5, 1910, July 8, 1910, July 12, 1910, July 15, 1910, July 18, 1910, July 20, 1910, July 23, 1910, July 30, 1910, August 1, 1910, August 8, 1910, August 11, 1910, August 15, 1910, August 23, 1910, September 7, 1910, September 19, 1910, September 25, 1910, and September 29, 1910, J.D. Cowan Accounts; June 17, 1922, May 1, 1923, and September 18, 1923, W.D. Cowan Accounts; June 1, 1925, July 4, 1925, June 20, 1925, June 30, 1925, July 29, 1925, August 11, 1925, and August 17, 1925, McIntosh Family Accounts; September 5, 1905, September 27, 1905, September 18, 1906, September 21, 1906, September 24, 1906, September 27, 1906, September 28, 1906, and July 15, 1919, D.H. Kelly Accounts; June 14, 1916, July 4, 1916, June 5, 1917, and September 20, 1917, Nathaniel "Ed" Leeder Accounts; and June 13, 1923, August 22, 1923, June 12, 1929, August 26, 1929, September 2, 1929, and July 2, 1931, Arthur McQueen Diaries.

⁶⁴ McGowan's accounts begin in 1903, and cover the years up to and including 1920 in notable detail. McGowan noted payment from or to the beef ring for the years 1905 to 1909 and 1911 to 1920. McGowan sold a hide from the beef ring in the majority of years, suggesting that he was a full shareholder. See August 13, 1906, August 16, 1907, October 11, 1907, November 8, 1907, September 19, 1908, and May 23, 1917, "Miscellaneous," Robert McGowan Accounts, 27, 28, 43, and 92; and September 20, 1905, August 7, 1906, May 21, 1907, c. May 1908, October 17, 1909, c. 1911, c. September 1912, c. 1913, September 1, 1914, April 3, 1915, c. August 19, 1916, July 11, 1917, c. 1918, c. 1919, and c. 1920, "Cattle," Robert McGowan Accounts, 474-478.

⁶⁵ There were a total of six people listed in the McGowan household in the 1901 and 1911 Censuses. The household size declined slightly by the 1921 Census, as McGowan's oldest daughter, Mary, was married on October 22nd, 1919. See, "Robert C. McGowan," Wawanosh Township (West), Huron County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 10, 92; "Robert C. McGowan," Wawanosh Township (East), Huron County (East), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 5, 48; "Robert C. McGowan," Wawanosh Township (East), Huron County (North), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 10, 105; and "Mary Murray McGowan and Charles Russell Caulter," Huron County, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Marriages, 491, October 22, 1919.

⁶⁶ See, for example, June 16, 1905, July 3, 1905, July 24, 1905, August 25, 1905, September 13, 1905, July 6, 1907, July 8, 1907, July 13, 1907, July 25, 1907, August 17, 1907, September 28, 1907, October 9, 1909, October 18, 1909, August 5, 1912, August 24, 1912, August 30, 1912, and October 14, 1912, "Miscellaneous," Robert McGowan Accounts.

⁶⁷ See, for example, 1913, 1914, and 1916, "Ducks," Robert McGowan Accounts, 395; 1917, "Eggs," Robert McGowan Accounts, 588; and 1920, "Hens and Chickens," Robert McGowan Accounts, 594.

⁶⁸ For information on processing beef, see: "Slaughtering Meat Animals for Home Consumption," 1880-81. See also Helena (McCaugherty) Diary, 4; Neth, 31; Roelens-Grant, ed., 36, 60, and 139; Scripture, 28; Davies, "Stocking the Root Cellar," 98; and J.B. Spencer, *Beef Raising in Canada*, 3rd ed. (Ottawa: Dominion of Canada, 1915), 107.

⁶⁹ January 6, 1938, January 12, 1938, and December 29, 1938, Jean Ferrier Diaries; and January 7, 1918, April 9, 1934, and April 15, 1935, Ruby Simmons Diary.

⁷⁰ The Cowan, McGowan, Elsie Innes, and Russell Innes households also sold beef hides, suggesting that they slaughtered some cattle themselves. In the case of the McGowan household, these hide sales were typically connected with his participation in the beef ring. (The shareholder supplying the heifer or steer for the week would get the hide of the beef returned after slaughter.) Russell Innes also participated in a beef ring, but his entries for the sale of beef and a hide were in January and February 1933, which was presumably "off-season" for the ring. Similarly, only one of Cowan's entries regarding the sale of beef hides aligns with the beef ring season. Elsie Innes did not specify the timing of her sale of a beef hide, and there is no indication that her family participated in a beef ring. The Jones, Kelly, and Weir households sold hides, as well as dressed beef and/or veal. A few entries in the Atkins, Perkins, and White diaries suggest that these families could have processed veal, but this was never clearly stated. See, for example, "Rules & Regulations Governing the Members of the Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association," Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association; September 20, 1905, August 7, 1906, May 21, 1907, August 1908, August 24, 1909, 1911, September 1912, September 1, 1914, April 3, 1915, August 19, 1916, July 11, 1917, 1919, and 1920, "Cattle," Robert McGowan Accounts, 474-478; October 2, 1934, "Receipts," Russell Innes Accounts; January 14, 1933, January 28, 1933, and February 18, 1933, "Miscellaneous Receipts," Russell Innes Accounts; June 5, 1904, December 23, 1909, and January 20, c. 1910, "Income," J.D. Cowan Accounts; "Sold 1912," Elsie Innes Accounts; March 6, 1901, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries; April 19, 1939, Fred Perkins Diary; May 21, 1909, and September 1914, Howard Jones Accounts; May 3, 1905, June 13,

1906, May 12, 1908, May 6, 1909, June 14, 1912, December 15, 1913, May 12, 1914, March 24, 1917, May 11, 1920, April 30, 1921, November 17, 1925, January 3, 1926, June 9, 1930, August 8, 1933, and December 28, 1934, D.H. Kelly Accounts; January 19, 1901, December 31, 1904, March 31, 1906, January 26, 1907, February 30, 1915, December 23, 1916, December 19, 1917, February 27, 1918, January 4, 1919, and February 2, 1920, John Graham Weir Diaries; and April 21, 1916, and December 18, 1917, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

⁷¹ See, for example, February 3, 1919, December 12, 1919, February 9, 1920, February 7, 1921, February 21, 1922, January 22, 1923, January 9, 1924, and February 12, 1925, Potts Family Farm Diaries; February 3, 1905, and January 24, 1923, William Joshua Crawforth Diaries; and January 6, 1938, January 12, 1938, and December 29, 1938, Jean Ferrier Diaries.

⁷² "Supplying Meat for the Farm," 8.

⁷³ See, for example, February 4, 1913, Diary of Mabel Brown; December 12, 1900, December 22, 1902, and February 2, 1903, Mary A. King Diaries; April 1, 1910, April 22, 1916, and April 26, 1916, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries; and "Preserving the Summer Beef," *Farmer's Advocate*, July 5, 1923, 1003.

⁷⁴ February 3, 1919, December 12, 1919, February 9, 1920, February 7, 1921, February 21, 1922, January 22, 1923, January 9, 1924, and February 12, 1925, Potts Family Farm Diaries.

⁷⁵ For information on preserving beef, see "Curing Meat for Summer Use," 81; "Recipes for Picking Beef," *Farmer's Advocate*, November 9, 1916, 1838; "The Summer's Meat Supply on the Farm," *Farmer's Advocate*, May 10, 1917, 786-87; E. Terrill, "Curing Beef for Summer Use," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 3, 1921, 155; "Preserving the Summer Beef," 1003; "Cutting, Curing, and Smoking Meats," *Canadian Farmer*, November 6, 1914, 5; "Curing Meat on the Farm," 4; Roelens-Grant, ed., 25, 127, and 139; Farley, 42-43; and Chapman, *Women's Institutes, Bulletin* 252, 22-24. See also MacLachlan, 124.

⁷⁶ March 20, 1903, and January 23, 1906, James Glen, Sr., Diaries; and April 1, 1910, April 22, 1916, April 26, 1916, and April 3, 1933, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries. For further examples of canning beef, see February 6-7, 1919, February 11-13, 1920, February 9-10, 1921, February 16, 1921, February 23, 1922, January 23, 1923, January 11, 1924, February 18-19, 1925, and February 9-10, 1926, Potts Family Farm Diaries; January 11, 1928, January 19, 1933, January 23, 1933, April 11, 1934, April 16-17, 1935, and April 13, 1936, Ruby Simmons Diary; and January 17, 1900, February 20, 1900, and November 23, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diary. For further examples of preserving beef in brine, see February 11, 1903, January 29, 1908, and February 6, 1906, Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce.

⁷⁷ "Curing Meat for Summer Use," 81; and Spencer, *Beef Raising in Canada*, 107.

⁷⁸ On November 12, 1943, Ruby Simmons of Lennox and Addington County recorded that "Russell [her son] took lamb to locker." Due to the limited nature of these diaries, it is uncertain whether the Simmons family processed this lamb themselves, or purchased it dressed. In his analysis of eighteenth century Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, James Lemon notes no evidence of mutton consumption, suggesting that the limited consumption of mutton may have been a longer-term trend in North America. See July 7, 1922, and November 12, 1943, Ruby Simmons Diary; and Lemon, 62. See also Helena (McCaugherty) Diary, 4.

⁷⁹ For information on processing lamb, see "Cutting, Curing, and Smoking Meats," 5; W.H. Underwood, "Slaughtering Sheep," *Canadian Farmer, Dairyman and Stockbreeder*, February 11, 1922, 3; London MacQueen Douglas, "Mutton on the Farm," *Canadian Farmer, Dairyman and Stockbreeder*, November 11, 1922, 5, and 11; and W.H. Underwood, "Killing and Dressing Sheep," *Canadian Countryman*, November 23, 1918, 1467, and 1490. For information on preserving lamb, see "Curing Mutton or Lamb," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 18, 1923, 1493; and Douglas, 5, and 11.

⁸⁰ November 1, 1900, November 3, 1902, and November 11, 1905, Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce.

⁸¹ The Ferriers also killed a lamb in 1941, but it is uncertain if they would have eaten the meat, as the lamb had an infection in its leg. See March 13, 1936, December 9, 1936, and June 22, 1941, Jean Ferrier Diary.

⁸² November 3, 1903, and November 11, 1905, Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce; and March 13, 1936, and December 9, 1936, Jean Ferrier Diary.

⁸³ Only Kelly directly noted the sale of lamb from these skins. See December 30, c. 1903, December 8, 1906, December 15, 1906, December 5, 1910, December 27, 1910, November 22, 1911, February 5, c. 1912, and February 17, c. 1912, "Income," J.D. Cowan Accounts, 110-116; December 31, 1918, James Glen, Sr., Diaries; and December 20, 1911, December 21, 1911, March 3, 1931, October 29, 1921, December 23, 1925, March 30, 1927, and December 8, 1930, D.H. Kelly Accounts.

⁸⁴ See, for example, June 14, 1901, January 2, 1904, March 23, 1904, April 14, 1905, and April 18, 1905, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries; January 30, 1904, June 9, 1905, December 8, 1906, December 16,

1907, November 5, 1908, November 1, 1909, September 29, 1910, and February 5, 1911, "Income," J.D. Cowan Accounts, 110-116; May 21, 1919, Emily Duckwith Diaries; November 24, 1933, March 1, 1934, May 8, 1934, June 23, 1934, September 6, 1934, October 10, 1934, December 12, 1934, April 22, 1935, May 12, 1935, May 16, 1935, June 15, 1935, June 27, 1935, November 14, 1935, December 2, 1935, February 11, 1936, June 4, 1936, September 9, 1936, October 26, 1936, November 30, 1936, February 23, 1937, May 3, 1937, May 10-11, 1937, December 3, 1937, October 16-19, 1938, October 19, 1938, December 8, 1938, May 2-3, 1939, May 11, 1939, June 9, 1939, June 8, 1940, April 21, 1941, June 4, 1941, June 22, 1941, April 24, 1942, June 17, 1942, May 21-22, 1943, May 1, 1944, April 2, 1945, and November 5, 1945, Jean Ferrier Diaries; December 31, 1918, James Glen, Sr., Diaries; September 28, 1942, December 5, 1942, December 10, 1942, December 16, 1942, December 22, 1942, June 21, 1943, November 29, 1943, May 16, 1944, May 26, 1944, and June 22, 1944, Hawley Farm Accounts; December 13, 1912, December 14, 1922, and December 16, 1922, Diary of Annie Hill; June 10, 1911, October 14, 1911, December 19, 1911, November 15, 1917, February 19, 1919, June 14, 1919, September 26, 1919, March 13, 1920, May 14, 1921, May 16, 1923, November 17, 1924, October 23, 1925, January 15, 1926, December 6, 1926, December 15, 1927, May 13, 1929, October 23, 1929, September 30, 1930, and May 26, 1939, D.H. Kelly Accounts; "Receipts 1912," and "Receipts 1913," Nathaniel "Ed" Leeder Accounts; "Sheep," Robert McGowan Accounts, 416-418; May 31, 1900, June 11, 1900, June 2, 1902, July 1, 1902, June 29, 1903, June 22, 1904, June 28, 1905, and October 27, 1905, Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce; October 1909, August 23, 1910, and October 5, 1910, George and John Pollard Papers, 1892-1941, Norwich & District Historical Society, 1993.013, Range D, 4, P7 [hereafter John Pollard Accounts]; April 20, 1904, Frances Poole Diary; May 2, 1925, Ruby Simmons Diary; June 13, 1904, and August 20, 1904, John Graham Weir Diaries; Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Sixth Census of Canada, Volume V*, 26-27, and 52-53; Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Seventh Census of Canada, 1931, Volume VIII*, 388; and Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Eighth Census of Canada, 1941, Volume VIII – Agriculture, Part II*, 852, and 970.

⁸⁵ M.A. Jull, "Some Phases of Mutton Production," *O.A.C. Review and Alumni News*, February 1908, 262; "The Summer's Meat Supply on the Farm," 787; J. B. Spencer, "A Drive for Mutton Consumption," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 20, 1922, 538; and "Canada's Sheep and Mutton Supply," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 2, 1913, 7-8.

⁸⁶ Walsh, "Feeding the Eighteenth-Century Town Folk," 277.

⁸⁷ The farm press periodically discussed how to best raise and dress poultry for the market. See, for example, Graham, 147; "Quality Chicken Meat," *O.A.C. Review and Alumni News*, June 1917, 428; J.E. Bugg, "The Christmas Chicken," *O.A.C. Review and Alumni News*, December 1913, 147-48; "Fattening and Preparing Fowl for Market," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 5, 1916, 1652-53; "How to Dress Chickens," 1835-36; "Killing and Plucking Poultry," *Farmer's Advocate*, September 4, 1919, 1590; "Killing, Dressing, & Cooling Poultry," *Farmer's Advocate*, July 10, 1913, 1223; "Properly Fledged Fowl Top the Market," *Farmer's Advocate*, September 27, 1917, 1516-17; "Scalding a Disadvantage," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 15, 1908, 1586; "Killing and Preparing Fowls for the Market," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 27, 1921, 1647; "Preparing Chickens for Market," *The Farming World and the Canadian Farm and Home*, November 1, 1906, 766; A.E.V., "Preparing Geese for Market," *Canadian Farm*, December 10, 1909, 8; "Appealing to the Customer's Eye," *Canadian Countryman*, November 20, 1915, 29-30; M.A.J., "Killing Market Poultry," *Canadian Countryman*, December 7, 1918, 1541-42; M.A. Jull, "Preparing Dressed Poultry for Market," *Canadian Countryman*, November 4, 1922, 4; and W.H. Underwood, "Butchering and Curing Hogs on the Farm," *Canadian Countryman*, December 8, 1923, 4, and 30. See also Bogue, *The Farm on North Talbot Road*, 45, 136, and 139-40; One of the U.F.W.O., "An Appeal for Help," *Weekly Sun*, August 28, 1918, 6; United Farmerette, "The Work and Waste," *Farmers' Sun*, April 16, 1919, 6; Mrs. Howard A. Clark, "The Women's Institute: Education of a Farmer's Wife," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 19, 1915, 1323; Miss Bertha A. Duncan, "Household Expenses," *Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1907* (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1907), 62; Roelens-Grant, ed., 6, 70, 115, and 154; and Mrs. James Bogue, "The Raising of Poultry," *Report of the Farmers' Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1901, Part II: Women's Institutes* (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1902), 106-07.

⁸⁸ See, for example, January 6, 1900, January 20, 1900, February 3, 1900, February 10, 1900, March 14, 1900, September 8, 1900, September 22, 1900, October 27, 1900, November 17, 1900, January 1, 1901, January 12, 1901, April 13, 1901, April 22, 1901, September 14, 1901, September 21, 1901, September 28, 1901, November 6, 1901, February 21, 1902, May 10, 1902, May 22, 1902, May 31, 1902, Sept 6, 1902, September 12, 1902, October 31, 1902, December 22, 1902, January 16, 1903, July 31, 1903, November

25-26, 1903, December 4, 1903, December 18, 1903, January 17, 1908, May 27, 1908, June 5, 1908, February 10, 1911, February 17, 1911, January 7, 1914, October 13, 1916, January 31, 1919, and December 22, 1920, James Glen, Sr., Diaries; and January 13, 1922, January 10-11, 1923, January 19-20, 1923, February 2-3, 1923, December 14-15, 1923, January 18-19, 1923, February 1-2, 1924, February 8-9, 1924, March 7-8, 1924, November 28-29, 1924, January 23, 1925, and January 30, 1925, James Glen, Jr., Diaries, Diaries of James Adam Glenn, Farmer, Westminster Township, c. 1866-1924, Archives and Research Collections Centre, Western University, B4822. See also Helena (McCaugherty) Diary, 6-7, and 2a.

⁸⁹ See, for example, October 6-7, 1936, October 20, 1936, November 2, 1936, April 12, 1937, January 11, 1940, and October 3, 1940, Fred Perkins Diary; and March 7, 1930, April 18, 1930, October 31, 1930, November 3, 1930, November 28, 1930, January 16, 1931, January 26, 1931, December 29-30, 1941B, December 29-31, 1942B, and March 30-31, 1945, Velma Beaton Diaries.

⁹⁰ See, for example, W.R. Graham, "Christmas Poultry," *O.A.C. Review and Alumni News*, December 1904, 145-47; "How to Dress Chickens," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 22, 1914, 1835-36; J.F. Sykes, "Christmas Turkey," *O.A.C. Review and Alumni News*, December 1928, 121-22; Diana, "Feathers," *Farmers' Sun*, October 15, 1921, 6; December 11, 1900, December 13-14, 1900, October 4, 1901, November 13, 1901, December 17, 1901, March 17, 1903, November 18, 1903, December 3, 1903, October 21, 1904, November 15, 1904, December 26, 1904, October 24, 1905, November 2, 1905, October 16, 1906, November 20, 1906, December 5, 1907, March 22, 1908, October 29, 1908, November 13, 1908, March 9, 1909, October 27, 1909, November 27, 1909, December 17, 1909, October 12, 1910, November 26, 1910, and December 7, 1910, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries; October 6-7, 1936, October 9, 1936, October 20, 1936, October 26, 1936, November 2, 1936, November 15, 1936, January 12, 1937, January 28, 1937, January 30, 1937, April 7, 1937, October 10, 1937, November 18, 1937, November 11, 1939, November 19, 1939, December 23, 1939, January 11-12, 1940, January 22-23, 1940, March 2, 1940, April 24, 1940, October 3, 1940, December 2, 1940, and December 14, 1940, Fred Perkins Diary; March 27, 1919, March 31, 1919, April 17-18, 1919, and May 23, 1919, Potts Family Farm Diaries; May 13, 1930, February 28, 1941, May 28, 1941, March 3, 1942, May 15, 1942, February 24, 1943, May 11, 1943, March 22, 1944, May 1, 1944, May 29, 1944, February 23, 1945, March 17, 1945, and April 14, 1945, Velma Beaton Diaries; and April 26, 1941, January 31, 1942, March 21, 1942, April 23, 1942, April 10, 1943, February 14, 1944, February 17, 1944, February 19, 1944, February 26, 1944, March 7, 1944, March 31, 1944, and May 4, 1944, Hawley Farm Accounts.

⁹¹ For a discussion of the beef market, see, for example, "Beef Cuts," *Farmer's Advocate*, November 17, 1910, 1810-11; "The Beef Question," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 15, 1914, 86; "Relative Prices for Different Cuts in a Carcass of Beef," *Farmer's Advocate*, November 9, 1916, 1839; "The Retail Cuts of Beef – Their Relative Cost and Economy," *Farmer's Advocate*, May 22, 1913, 943-44; "Smaller Cuts and Quicker Turnover," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 5, 1925, 170; H.S. Arkell, "Putting Beef Back on the Dinner Table," *Farmer's Advocate*, September 5, 1929, 1329, and 1348; "Conditioning and Ripening Beef," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 9, 1930, 67-68; WH Tomhave, "The Dressing and Marketing of Veal Calves," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, October 2, 1913, 6-7; and J.W. Sangster, "Loin Roasts – Or Nothing," *Canadian Countryman*, August 14, 1915, 3 and 18. For a discussion of the pork market, see: S.E. Todd, "Soft and Oily Pork," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 27, 1925, 1198; "Hog Killing Time," 98; and B.C. Tillet, "From Live Porkers to Wilshire Sides," *Canadian Countryman*, November 3, 1917, 1351, and 1373-74. Finally, see also: "Plan for 1925 Business," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 15, 1925, 67; "Consumers Demand Small Cuts of Meat," *Farmer's Advocate*, December 27, 1928, 1958; and J.W. Sangster, "Sirloins and Saddles for the Christmas Trade," *Canadian Countryman*, November 6, 1915, 22.

⁹² See, for example, January 19, 1901, December 31, 1904, March 4, 1905, January 26, 1907, January 21, 1911, March 23, 1912, January 2, 1913, August 12, 1914, March 3, 1915, September 4, 1915, December 9, 1916, December 19, 1917, November 2, 1918, January 1, 1919, and February 2, 1920, John Graham Weir Diaries; June 13, 1906, March 1, 1907, February 27, 1908, January 15, 1909, March 29, 1910, July 27, 1911, January 13, 1913, January 10, 1914, February 4, 1915, January 26, 1916, January 22, 1917, January 18, 1918, May 31, 1920, November 25, 1922, March 13, 1923, January 7, 1924, October 26, 1925, February 15, 1926, August 22, 1927, July 30, 1928, May 13, 1929, December 17, 1930, October 13, 1931, March 9, 1932, July 19, 1933, December 28, 1934, March 30, 1936, February 1, 1937, and April 4, 1938, D.H. Kelly Accounts; and Boyle, 15-16.

⁹³ For some discussion of raising lamb and mutton for market, see Jull, 262; R.H. Harding, "The Profitable Production of Mutton," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, January 6, 1916, 3-4; "Wool Sheep vs. Mutton Sheep," *The Farming World*, May 7, 1901, 936; "What is Good Mutton?," *The Farming World and the Canadian Farm and Home*, July 1, 1905, 507; "Growing Demand for Mutton and Lamb," *Canadian Farm*, March 24, 1911, 4; J.W. Sangster, "Crown Roasts, Mint, and Brown Gravy," *Canadian Countryman*, August 21, 1915, 4, and 21; and "Winter vs. Fall Marketing of Lambs," *Canadian Countryman*, November 6, 1920, 4, and 32. See also December 21, 1911, March 3, 1921, October 29, 1921, and December 8, 1930, D.H. Kelly Accounts.

⁹⁴ R.W. Sandwell highlights the centrality of occupational pluralism to rural Canadian homes, particularly in the nineteenth century. See Sandwell, "Rural Reconstruction," 13-15.

⁹⁵ October 23, 1906, August 9, 1913, and June 5, 1915, John Graham Weir Diaries; and June 1943, and January 11, 1944, Gordon F. Robertson Farm Accounts.

⁹⁶ For examples of individual men hunting alone, see: November 12, 1923, Arthur McQueen Diaries; and November 27, 1919, and April 26, 1921, Emily Duckwith Diaries. For examples of small group outings, see: January 8, 1917, and January 6, 1923, William Joshua Crawford Diaries. See also Davies, "Stocking the Root Cellar," 99-101; and Pocius, 67, 92, and 131. Finally, for a more detailed exploration of the association between masculinity and hunting, see: Tina Loo, "Of Moose and Men: Hunting for Masculinities in British Columbia, 1880-1939," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (2001): 296-319; and McMahon, 36.

⁹⁷ See, for example, January 6, 1923, William Joshua Crawford Diaries; April 26, 1921, Emily Duckwith Diaries; September 30, 1938, Jean Ferrier Diaries; May 5, 1913, D.H. Kelly Accounts; October 1, 1936, November 3, 1936, and October 1, 1937, Ruby Simmons Diary; and February 18, 1911, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

⁹⁸ McCalla, *Consumers in the Bush*, 106-07.

⁹⁹ October 18, 1900, and October 15, 1903, Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce.

¹⁰⁰ Roy Tunis was an older brother of diarist Cora Tunis. See January 1, 1904, Cora Tunis Diaries; "Roy Tunis," Flamborough (West) Township, Wentworth County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 5, 52; and October 1, 1936, November 3, 1936, and October 1, 1937, Ruby Simmons Diary.

¹⁰¹ See, for example, November 24, 1910, February 18, 1911, November 9, 1913, December 29, 1918, October 24, 1930, October 23, 1931, August 28, 1932, September 25, 1933, and October 26, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White diaries.

¹⁰² September 30, 1938, and October 1, 1938, Jean Ferrier Diaries. See also Gebby, 86.

¹⁰³ Craig Heron suggests that some working-class men in Hamilton tried to supplement their families' diets by hunting ducks. See Heron, *Lunch-Bucket Lives*, 112.

¹⁰⁴ For information on the per capita disappearance of fish in Canada, see Trant, M428-445.

¹⁰⁵ May 13, 1905, and July 5, 1906, Robert McGowan Accounts; May 23, 1907, D.H. Kelly Accounts; and May 20, 1909, Howard Jones Accounts.

¹⁰⁶ See, for example, July 11, 1918, October 8, 1922, June 16, 1924, July 2, 1924, July 24, 1939, June 30, 1934, July 12, 1934, and April 18, 1943, Ruby Simmons Diary.

¹⁰⁷ Diaries kept by women in the Beaton family noted that "Geo" fished. Presumably, this was George Rollins, who married Velma Beaton's sister, Olive, circa 1935. See, for example, August 29, 1916, April 4, 1917, April 8-9, 1917, May 10, 1923, April 8, 1924, April 23, 1924, April 10, 1928, August 9, 1929, and May 10, 1930, William Joshua Crawford Diaries; May 19, 1938, May 4, 1941, September 24, 1941, October 26, 1941, February 10, 1942, May 3, 1942, and June 3, 1945, Velma Beaton Diaries; Wellington County Museum & Archives, "Rollins family, Nassagaweya Twp., 1899-1988," <http://wcm.pastperfect-online.com/39564cgi/mweb.exe?request=record:id=C8A7A630-0396-48DF-A0C9-554225436990:type=301>; and Wellington County Museum & Archives, "Velma Beaton, Puslinch Township, diaries, 1930-1988," <http://wcm.pastperfect-online.com/39564cgi/mweb.exe?request=record:id=F246EC16-D746-4504-9172-507434308556:type=301>. See also Disbrowe, 22; and Davies, "Stocking the Root Cellar," 99.

¹⁰⁸ See, for example, April 24, 1918, April 22, 1922, April 25, 1924, April 14, 1925, May 6, 1926, July 4, 1926, August 2, 1926, September 26, 1926, July 31, 1927, May 9, 1929, April 28, 1930, and July 4, 1930, William Joshua Crawford Diaries; May 10, 1924, Potts Family Farm Diaries; Boyle, 140-41; and Roelens-Grant, ed., 77.

¹⁰⁹ August 9, 1901, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries.

¹¹⁰ Interestingly, it appears that Kathleen only went fishing once, when she went with her family for Harold's first fishing experience. Harold started fishing alone in 1929, when he was eleven. See August 30, 1927, September 5, 1927, April 18, 1928, March 29, 1929, April 10, 1929, April 12, 1929, May 9, 1929, May 24, 1929, August 13, 1929, August 23, 1929, March 31, 1930, April 14, 1930, July 4, 1930, July 11, 1930, and August 2, 1930, William Joshua Crawford Diaries.

¹¹¹ Smith, *Childhood Memories*, 96.

¹¹² Paul Peterson was the hired boy who worked for Mary King. See May 5, 1909, Mary A. King Diaries; "Paul Peterson," Willoughby Township, Welland County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 3, 21; and June 20, 1933, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

¹¹³ Heron, *Lunch-Bucket Lives*, 112.

¹¹⁴ See, for example, March 27, 1939, Velma Beaton Diaries.

¹¹⁵ Campbell, 29.

¹¹⁶ According to Susanne Feidberg, fresh fish can be kept "for up to three weeks" on ice, depending on the type. See Susanne Feidberg, *Fresh: A Perishable History* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), 238. See also Levenstein, 28.

¹¹⁷ See A.B. McCullough, *The Commercial Fishery of the Canadian Great Lakes* (Ottawa: National Historic Parks and Sites, Environment Canada, 1989), 45, 47, and 77-82; and Margaret Beattie Bogue, *Fishing the Great Lakes: An Environmental History, 1783-1993* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin University Press, 2000), 251, 256-57, 274-75, 297, and 330.

¹¹⁸ Bogue, *Great Lakes*, 279.

¹¹⁹ Fish or salmon ranked in the top three in the William Casimer Topham household in each of the years covered in the accounts: 1926 to 1928, and 1931. See, for example, February 3, 1926, March 20, 1926, April 6, 1926, June 15, 1926, July 27, 1926, August 21, 1926, September 24, 1926, October 19, 1926, November 6, 1926, December 22, 1926, January 22, 1927, April 1, 1927, May 28, 1927, June 24, 1927, July 18, 1927, August 6, 1927, September 21, 1927, November 8, 1927, December 20, 1927, January 18, 1928, February 3, 1928, March 7, 1928, May 23, 1928, June 16, 1928, July 9, 1928, August 11, 1928, and February 3, 1931, William Casimer Topham Accounts, Private Collection.

¹²⁰ The Topham household was Baptist. See "W. Casimer Topham," North Norwich Township, Oxford County (South), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 4, 37.

¹²¹ See, for example, October 6, 1900, January 26, 1901, July 13, 1901, January 2, 1902, March 3, 1903, August 5, 1903, February 2, 1904, December 4, 1907, August 2, 1909, April 30, 1912, November 17, 1913, April 4, 1914, June 25, 1915, and January 14, 1916, James Glen, Sr., Diaries.

¹²² All of the haddock was canned. A few entries also simply noted the purchase of canned fish. See November 1, 1902, June 8, 1903, August 12, 1908, February 22, 1911, April 8, 1911, June 28, 1911, September 11, 1912, June 7, 1915, November 17, 1915, December 1, 1916, and January 30, 1917, James Glen, Sr., Diaries, and McCullough, 45. For further information on the salmon canning industry, see Dianne Newell, "Salmon-Canning Industry," in *The Oxford Companion to Canadian History*, ed. Gerald Hallowell (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2006), 564; Feidberg, 244-48; Gladys Young Blyth, *Salmon Canneries: British Columbia North Coast* (Lantzville, BC: Oolichan Books, 1991); and Dianne Newell, ed., *The Development of the Pacific Salmon-Canning Industry: A Grown Man's Game* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989).

¹²³ See, for example, August 3, 1909, February 4, 1913, August 11, 1915, and June 1, 1917, Howard Jones Accounts; April 13, 1905, December 31, 1906, and October 7, 1913, D.H. Kelly Accounts; February 24, 1901, September 29, 1904, January 9, 1909, February 25, 1909, and April 6, 1909, Mary A. King Diaries; June 11, 1903, August 25, 1906, July 15, 1908, February 8, 1912, April 25, 1913, December 6, 1913, February 9, 1916, May 12, 1917, March 6, 1918, March 12, 1921, and June 9, 1931, Robert McGowan Accounts; December 24, 1924, Ruby Simmons Diary; April 26, 1905, June 11, 1907, June 19, 1908, August 23, 1909, May 21, 1910, and May 23, 1911, J.D. Cowan Accounts; and July 26, 1913, December 24, 1914, May 19, 1915, November 1, 1917, June 27, 1918, May 1-2, 1922, and May 31, 1923, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts.

¹²⁴ See, for example, June 15, 1926, William Casimer Topham Accounts; February 17, 1917, and March 24, 1917, D.H. Kelly Accounts; June 16, 1911, April 2, 1913, and July 10, 1917, Howard Jones Accounts; February 23, 1901, January 5, 1902, April 15, 1904, and March 25, 1909, Mary A. King Diaries; October 6, 1900, January 26, 1901, and July 13, 1901, James Glen, Sr., Diaries; February 24, 1900, and August 15, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Accounts; "Miscellaneous 1912," Elsie Innes Accounts; April 4, 1914, John

Graham Weir Diaries; November 12, 1917, April 22, 1919, June 25, 1931, June 16, 1933, and August 24, 1934, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries; March 23, 1901, Hawley Farm Accounts; August 8, 1917, John Pollard Accounts; and Bogue, *Fishing the Great Lakes*, 251, and 256-57.

¹²⁵ See, for example, September 3, 1907, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries; May 18, 1915, March 26, 1916, January 19, 1918, and February 22, 1918, B.A. Green Diary; September 20, 1919, Potts Family Farm Diaries; June 3, 1926, August 26, 1926, and May 10, 1929, William Joshua Crawforth Diaries; March 11, 1919 and February 16, 1921, Emily Duckwith Diaries; November 25, 1922, Cora Tunis Diaries; October 13, 1936, Jean Ferrier Diaries; Nixon, "Tales of A Grandmother," 77; Prof. R. Harcourt, "Food Adulteration," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1906*, 133-37; Duncan, "Household Expenses," 63; Miss N.L. Pattinson, "Meats – Their Selection and Preparation," *Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1907*, 71; Scripture, 28; Mrs. S.G. Kitchen, "A Country Housekeeper's Ideas," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1911* (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1911), 30; Miss Hattie M. Gowsell, "Meats – Chemical Composition and Cooking," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1911*, 116-18; and "Rations for War Time," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1916* (Toronto: A.T. Wilgress, 1917), 118.

¹²⁶ See, for example, June 15, 1923, July 3, 1923, July 7, 1923, July 21, 1923, July 31, 1923, August 4, 1923, August 11, 1923, August 15, 1923, September 1, 1923, September 5, 1923, September 8, 1923, September 22, 1923, September 28, 1923, October 1, 1923, October 25-26, 1923, November 6, 1923, November 10, 1923, November 16, 1923, and November 24, 1923, McIntosh Family Accounts; and January 22, 1927, January 29, 1927, February 5, 1927, February 12, 1927, February 23, 1927, March 5, 1927, April 2, 1927, April 9, 1927, April 16, 1927, April 23, 1927, April 28, 1927, May 5, 1927, May 12, 1927, May 17, 1927, May 21, 1927, and May 26, 1927, Duckworth & Shields Diary and Accounts, 1862-1927, University of Guelph Archives & Special Collections, XR1 MS A030 [hereafter Shields Accounts].

¹²⁷ According to Horowitz, the value placed on steak was evident, at least in the American context, "since the eighteenth century." See, for example, September 1, 1900, March 23, 1901, October 26, 1901, August 8, 1902, August 6, 1904, March 14, 1905, January 14, 1908, September 23, 1911, June 29, 1929, May 13, 1933, May 18, 1934, September 21, 1936, and August 18, 1944, Hawley Farm Accounts; Horowitz, 18; and J.W. Sangster, "Some Pointers on the Beef Carcass," *Canadian Farm*, May 20, 1910, 4.

¹²⁸ Beef ranked second in 1905. Salmon ranked third in 1908, fish ranked third in 1909 to 1910, canned fish and salmon tied for second in 1911, and fish ranked second in 1912.

¹²⁹ See, for example, September 17, 1904, December 7, 1904, November 14, 1905, September 5, 1906, May 17, 1907, May 25, 1907, January 24, 1911, May 8, 1911, September 4, 1912, and September 25, 1912, J.D. Cowan Accounts. See also Roelens-Grant, ed., 80, and 127.

¹³⁰ Beef ranked in the top three categories of meat purchases for all years except 1917 to 1919. Interestingly, McGowan did not specify the purchase of any beef in these three years. Salmon ranked in the top three categories of meat purchases for all years except 1908, 1909, 1912, and 1920. McGowan still, however, made some purchases of fish in 1908, 1912, and 1920. For some of the less common types of purchases, see, for example, December 30, 1903, March 15, 1904, March 26, 1904, November 2, 1904, March 13, 1906, October 18, 1906, July 8, 1907, April 14, 1908, July 15, 1908, September 19, 1908, May 21, 1909, November 13, 1911, February 23, 1912, April 2, 1912, April 4, 1912, February 13, 1914, August 3, 1914, October 6, 1917, March 1, 1920, May 4, 1920, and [no date] December 1920, "Miscellaneous," Robert McGowan Accounts.

¹³¹ Sometimes, it is difficult to determine whether an entry simply for "lamb" was for dressed meat or a live animal. James Glen, Sr., of Middlesex County, for example, recorded the purchase of "lamb" for \$0.60 in 1911; other entries demonstrate that he did keep sheep, and also had made an earlier purchase of mutton. The accounts of the Miller family of Lennox and Addington County also show the purchase of "lamb" for \$1.00 in 1916; in this case, there is no evidence of the family keeping sheep, suggesting this purchase was of meat. See February 8, 1902, and March 2, 1911, James Glen, Sr., Diaries; March 22, 1913, June 25, 1913, and August 2, 1913, Howard Jones Diaries; February 16, 1909, Mary A. King Diaries; November 21, 1919, Nathaniel "Ed" Leeder Accounts; October 1916, Miller Accounts; and December 14, 1907, John Pollard Accounts.

¹³² August 6, 1910, August 18, 1912, August 20, 1912, August 6, 1913, August 21, 1913, August 22, 1913, January 27, 1915, August 8, 1915, November 26, 1915, August 12, 1916, September 21, 1916, February 6, 1919, July 12, 1919, October 21, 1919, November 8, 1919, July 13, 1930, August 12, 1930, September 21, 1930, August 4, 1931, August 24, 1931, November 3, 1931, December 15, 1931, February 28, 1932, July

17, 1932, September 25, 1932, January 8, 1933, March 12, 1933, May 7, 1933, July 9, 1933, September 24, 1933, February 18, 1934, April 22, 1934, October 28, 1934, April 14, 1935, June 2, 1935, July 28, 1935, August 11, 1935, November 11, 1935, and November 12, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

¹³³ December 12, 1900, October 16, 1901, August 23, 1902, September 3, 1902, July 29, 1903, September 5, 1903, September 22, 1903, September 26, 1903, October 10, 1903, July 12, 1904, August 8, 1904, October 21, 1905, September 8, 1906, August 27, 1907, September 17, 1907, October 5, 1907, October 3, 1908, October 10, 1908, September 4, 1909, October 9, 1909, July 16, 1910, July 8, 1911, July 29, 1911, September 30, 1911, June 29, 1912, September 7, 1912, July 26, 1913, November 21, 1914, November 6, 1915, October 6, 1917, September 6, 1919, October 11, 1919, and November 22, 1919, John Graham Weir Diaries.

¹³⁴ Entries for the purchase of lamb ranked or tied for second, in terms of specified meat purchases, in the years 1903, 1905, 1907, 1913, 1915, and 1919.

¹³⁵ As suggested by a 1920 article, lamb in the off-season was presumably frozen. See "Offsetting Sharp Declines in Autumn Lamb," *Canadian Farm*, September 29, 1920, 6.

¹³⁶ Weir made a total of ten of his 33 lamb purchases over the span of his diaries in September, and made nine of the purchases in October. See December 12, 1900, October 16, 1901, August 23, 1902, September 3, 1902, July 29, 1903, September 5, 1903, September 22, 1903, September 26, 1903, October 10, 1903, July 12, 1904, August 8, 1904, October 21, 1905, September 8, 1906, August 27, 1907, September 17, 1907, October 5, 1907, October 3, 1908, October 10, 1908, September 4, 1909, October 9, 1909, July 16, 1910, July 8, 1911, July 29, 1911, September 30, 1911, June 29, 1912, September 7, 1912, July 26, 1913, November 21, 1914, November 6, 1915, October 6, 1917, September 6, 1919, October 11, 1919, and November 22, 1919, John Graham Weir Diaries.

¹³⁷ August 6, 1910, August 18, 1912, August 20, 1912, August 6, 1913, August 21, 1913, August 22, 1913, January 27, 1915, August 8, 1915, November 26, 1915, August 12, 1916, September 21, 1916, February 6, 1919, July 12, 1919, October 21, 1919, November 8, 1919, July 13, 1930, August 12, 1930, September 21, 1930, August 4, 1931, August 24, 1931, November 3, 1931, December 15, 1931, February 28, 1932, July 17, 1932, September 25, 1932, January 8, 1933, March 12, 1933, May 7, 1933, July 9, 1933, September 24, 1933, February 18, 1934, April 22, 1934, October 28, 1934, April 14, 1935, June 2, 1935, July 28, 1935, August 11, 1935, November 11, 1935, and November 12, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

¹³⁸ H.S. Arkell, "Offsetting Sharp Declines in Autumn Lamb Markets," *Farmer's Advocate*, September 30, 1920, 1704.

¹³⁹ The exception to this general trend is found in the Weir Diaries. He noted the purchase of quarters of lamb in August 1902, July 1910, July 1911, and June 1912. He did not note the purchase of any meat subsequently for anywhere from five to thirteen days after these large purchases, suggesting that the household relied on the lamb during these periods. See August 23, 1902, September 2, 1902, July 16, 1910, July 27, 1910, July 8, 1911, July 13, 1911, July 29, 1911, August 11, 1911, June 29, 1912, and July 8, 1912, John Graham Weir Diaries.

¹⁴⁰ Similarly, T.A. Hill processed a sheep he bought in December of 1913, and another in December of 1920, when he was back in Wellington County with his family after farming out west for the year. See October 7, 1929, and October 18, 1929, D.H. Kelly Accounts; and December 12-13, 1913, and December 10-11, 1913, Diary of Annie Hill.

¹⁴¹ September 4, 1912, J.D. Cowan Accounts; July 10, 1924, McIntosh Family Accounts; and August 6, 1932, October 28, 1937, November 2, 1937, November 6, 1937, December 30, 1937, April 25, 1938, May 5, 1938, November 21, 1939, and October 12, 1942, Hawley Farm Accounts.

¹⁴² See, for example, February 23, 1918, January 12, 1920, May 21, 1921, February 23, 1925, and February 23, 1926, J.H. Leeder Accounts; and April 11, 1931, October 20-21, 1937, March 21-23, 1938, September 26, 1938, February 3, 1943, February 3, 1945, February 8, 1945, February 13, 1945, and March 2, 1945, Velma Beaton Diaries.

¹⁴³ See, for example, August 27, 1904, October 10, 1908, January 19, 1909, July 31, 1909, August 9, 1909, and August 21, 1909, Mary A. King Diaries; and August 29, 1904, April 22, 1905, April 29, 1905, August 14, 1905, May 17, 1907, and May 31, 1907, J.D. Cowan Accounts.

¹⁴⁴ Mary A. King of Welland County also appears to have purchased one pound in May 1902. See August 26, 1933, September 19, 1933, Hawley Farm Accounts; September 19, 1921 and September 14, 1922, Diary of Annie Hill; March 4, 1902, Mary A. King Diaries; April 17, 1926, and June 18, 1926, Shields Accounts; September 1, 1939, Ruby Simmons Diary; and August 23, 1931, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

¹⁴⁵ September 19, 1921, and September 14, 1922, Diary of Annie Hill; and September 1, 1939, Ruby Simmons Diary.

¹⁴⁶ Horowitz, 91

¹⁴⁷ Horowitz, 82.

¹⁴⁸ See Matthew Morse Booker, "Oyster Growers and Oyster Pirates in San Francisco Bay," *Pacific Historical Review* 75, no. 1 (February 2006): 75, and 87. See also Gebby, 89.

¹⁴⁹ January 8, 1902, Mary A. King Diaries; February 1, 1912, Howard Jones Accounts; and December 25, 1913, December 25, 1917, December 25, 1918, and December 25, 1920, James Adam Glen, Sr., Diaries. See also Roelens-Grant, ed., 1.

¹⁵⁰ February 27, 1904, Frances Poole Diary; January 22, 1913, D.H. Kelly Accounts; and February 8, 1932, Arthur McQueen Diaries.

¹⁵¹ Dorothy Duncan, *Canadians at Table: A Culinary History of Canada* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2006), 160-63.

¹⁵² See, for example, March 15, 1904, March 26, 1904, March 13, 1906, and February 13, 1914, Robert McGowan Accounts; February 26, 1913, Howard Jones Accounts; and November 3, 1922, John Pollard Accounts.

¹⁵³ Oysters were harvested on the East and West Coasts of Canada, as well as American locations, such as Puget Sound, Washington, and San Francisco, California. According to Matthew Morse Booker, canned Californian oysters were shipped globally. Finally, New York City oysters also reached national and international markets, but this oystering ended by the late 1920s. See, for example, January 12, 1901, February 8, 1901, and January 18, 1902, Hawley Farm Accounts; January 2, 1904, January 16, 1904, and February 27, 1904, Frances Poole Diaries; December 1916, Miller Accounts; February 8, 1922, and January 31, 1923, Arthur McQueen Diaries; "Oyster," *Canadian Encyclopedia*, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/oyster/>; Booker, 75; Drew Smith, *Oyster: A World History* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2010), 196, 200, and 207; and Mark Kurlansky, *The Big Oyster: History on the Half Shell* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2006), xvii, and 264.

¹⁵⁴ January 10, 1910, January 13, 1910, February 5, 1910, November 19, 1910, December 10, 1910, December 17, 1910, January 21, 1911, December 21, 1912, January 9, 1915, January 26, 1915, January 8, 1916, January 11, 1916, January 20, 1916, March 4, 1916, March 24, 1916, December 30, 1916, January 19, 1917, December 17, 1917, February 10, 1919, January 29, 1930, February 7, 1931, February 14, 1931, March 16, 1931, November 4, 1931, December 23, 1931, December 26, 1931, January 11, 1932, January 31, 1932, February 20, 1932, March 23, 1932, January 9, 1933, November 17, 1933, December 11, 1933, January 1, 1934, January 5, 1934, January 20, 1934, January 31, 1934, March 1, 1934, December 31, 1934, and December 1, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

¹⁵⁵ January 25, 1905, December 28, 1906, January 14, 1913, January 22, 1913, February 11, 1916, February 21, 1916, January 20, 1917, February 10, 1917, January 22, 1912, February 15, 1921, March 1, 1926, and March 5, 1927, D.H. Kelly Accounts.

¹⁵⁶ December 11, 1905, December 13, 1907, February 11, 1910, March 10, 1910, February 5, 1913, December 25, 1913, December 22, 1917, December 25, 1917, December 24, 1918, and December 25, 1918, James Glen, Sr., Diaries.

¹⁵⁷ May 25, 1920, May 29, 1920, June 1, 1920, June 17, 1920, June 21, 1920, June 26, 1920, July 5, 1920, September 21, 1920, October 5, 1920, October 9, 1920, October 19, 1920, October 23, 1920, October 30, 1920, November 11, 1920, December 2, 1920, December 16, 1920, and December 23, 1920, James Glen, Sr., Diaries.

¹⁵⁸ May 29, 1920, James Glen, Sr., Diaries.

¹⁵⁹ See, for example, February 22, 1918, B.A. Green Diary; February 3, 1912, Elsie Innes Accounts; March 4, 1909, and November 4, 1920, Mary A. King Diaries; c. February 15, 1930, Edwin Robinson Accounts; and January 13, 1900, February 14, 1900, April 3, 1900, and May 15, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diary.

¹⁶⁰ See also McCalla, *Consumers in the Bush*, 82.

¹⁶¹ Cowan periodically noted the purchase simply of meat, rather than specifying the type and/or cut. See, for example, September 7, 1904, August 26, 1905, August 28, 1906, November 8, 1906, September 15, 1908, August 29, 1911, and March 2, 1912, J.D. Cowan Accounts.

¹⁶² September 1944, and August 1945, Gordon F. Robertson Farm Accounts.

¹⁶³ Large purchases in the Glen, Sr., household were those of 20 pounds and over. By 1914, Glen, Sr., rarely specified the weight of the meat he purchased, so these larger purchases may have continued into this

period, but were not captured in this discussion. See, for example, February 1, 1901, March 20, 1901, October 29, 1901, December 11, 1901, November 8, 1902, December 9, 1902, January 26, 1903, March 9, 1903, May 5, 1903, January 19, 1904, February 8, 1904, February 16, 1904, March 26, 1904, February 2, 1905, and February 8, 1912, James Glen, Sr., Diaries.

¹⁶⁴ December 3, 1918, November 21, 1919, January 1921, and February 1932, Nathaniel “Ed” Leeder Accounts.

¹⁶⁵ January 8, 1943 and December 1, 1945, Ruby Simmons Diary.

¹⁶⁶ Simmons used a cold storage locker; it is uncertain if the two purchases, noted above, were stored directly on the farm or taken to the locker. See, for example, January 8, 1943, May 12, 1944, and December 1, 1945, Ruby Simmons Diary.

¹⁶⁷ June 11, 1907, June 15, 1907, June 16, 1907, June 22, 1907, June 28, 1907, and June 29, 1907, J.D. Cowan Accounts.

¹⁶⁸ December 30, c. 1903, June 5, 1904, December 8, 1906, December 15, 1906, December 23, 1909, January 20, c. 1910, December 5, 1910, December 27, 1910, November 22, 1911, February 5, c. 1912, and February 17, c. 1912, “Income,” J.D. Cowan Accounts, 110-116.

¹⁶⁹ Cowan specified the sale of hogs in the majority of years. According to the 1901 Census, there were nine people in the Cowan household, and, by the time of the 1911 Census, there were seven people in the household. Thus, the family could quite easily have consumed a full pig themselves, particularly with the wide range of options available for preserving pork. See, for example, October 18, 1904, October 4, 1905, October 25, 1906, October 3, 1907, September 30, 1909, April 3, 1910, and January 22, c. 1912, “Income,” J.D. Cowan Accounts; “James Cowan,” Blenheim Township, Wentworth & Brant Counties (North), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 3, 32; and “James Cowan,” Wolverton Village, Blenheim Township, Oxford County (North), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 3, 26.

¹⁷⁰ See, for example, January 26, 1903, February 20, 1903, March 3, 1903, March 7, 1903, March 9, 1903, March 12, 1903, April 11, 1903, April 18, 1903, May 2, 1903, May 5, 1903, May 8, 1903, May 12, 1903, May 16, 1903, May 19, 1903, May 22, 1903, June 2, 1903, June 6, 1903, June 8, 1903, June 9, 1903, June 13, 1903, June 16, 1903, June 25, 1903, June 29, 1903, June 30, 1903, July 2, 1903, July 4, 1903, July 7, 1903, July 10, 1903, July 14, 1903, July 21, 1903, July 24, 1903, July 28, 1903, July 31, 1903, August 4, 1903, August 5, 1903, August 7, 1903, August 11, 1903, August 14, 1903, August 18, 1903, August 21, 1903, August 25, 1903, August 28, 1903, September 8, 1903, September 12, 1903, September 15, 1903, September 18, 1903, September 25, 1903, September 29, 1903, October 2, 1903, October 6, 1903, October 9, 1903, October 13, 1903, October 17, 1903, October 20, 1903, October 23, 1903, October 27, 1903, October 30, 1903, November 3, 1903, November 6, 1903, November 7, 1903, November 8, 1903, December 7, 1903, December 9, 1903, December 10, 1903, December 17, 1903, and December 24, 1903, James Glen, Sr., Diaries.

¹⁷¹ See, for example, February 22-24, 1900, April 23, 1900, February 1, 1901, March 20, 1901, October 29, 1901, December 11, 1901, November 8, 1902, December 9, 1902, December 12, 1902, January 26, 1903, March 9, 1903, May 5, 1903, January 19, 1904, February 8, 1904, February 16, 1904, March 26, 1904, April 1, 1904, April 5, 1904, February 2, 1905, January 8, 1906, May 3-4, 1909, April 18-19, 1910, February 8, 1912, November 18-19, 1912, October 15-17, 1914, December 21, 1914, December 23, 1914, January 21-22, 1916, February 28, 1919, March 1, 1919, January 30, 1920, and February 3-4, 1920, James Glen, Sr., Diaries.

¹⁷² Other families, however, do not appear to have followed these same trends; no clear pattern is evident, for example, in the accounts of the McGowan household of Huron County, or those of the Hawley household of Lennox and Addington County. The accounts of the McIntosh and Cowan households suggest that the purchase of meat may have declined, or even temporarily stopped, when the families consumed meats processed on-farm. This does not, however, appear to have been the case with the McGowan household; as heretofore discussed, McGowan often purchased meat in the months he would have received weekly shares from his local beef ring. In the case of the Hawley household, in contrast, the accounts focused on purchases, and give no indication of the household processing of meat. See also McCalla, *Consumers in the Bush*, 118.

¹⁷³ Horowitz, 105.

¹⁷⁴ January 4, 1902, November 3, 1902, “James Coffey,” Nathaniel “Edward” Leeder Accounts; January 5, 1904, February 20, 1904, “Thomson Brs. Butchers,” Nathaniel “Edward” Leeder Accounts; March 5, 1904, April 9, 1904, September 24, 1904, October 1, 1904, October 8, 1904, October 15, 1904, October 29, 1904,

November 12, 1904, November 26, 1904, December 10, 1904, "I.N. White Butcher," Nathaniel "Edward" Leeder Accounts; April 15, 1905, April 29, 1905, "White & Cragy [sic], Butchers," Nathaniel "Edward" Leeder Accounts; May 22, 1907, June 4, 1907, March 23, 1909, March 27, 1909, March 30, 1909, "Eaton Brothers butchers," Nathaniel "Edward" Leeder Accounts; October 17, 1918, Nathaniel "Edward" Leeder Accounts; "James Coffey," Port Elgin, Bruce County (West), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 13, 153; *1910 Bruce, Grey & Simcoe Farmers and Business Directory*, 606; September 16, 1913, October 17, 1918, and April 21, 1922, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts; May 4, 1906, September 18, 1906, September 21, 1906, September 24, 1906, September 28, 1906, October 5, 1906, October 23, 1906, December 22, 1906, May 9, 1907, June 11, 1907, July 22, 1907, August 7, 1907, August 27, 1907, September 17, 1907, October 16, 1907, August 12, 1908, September 25, 1908, October 6, 1908, October 14, 1909, December 1, 1908, August 10, 1909, August 17, 1909, September 14, 1909, May 10, 1910, May 26, 1910, June 2, 1910, June 9, 1910, July 26, 1910, August 23, 1910, August 30, 1910, September 14, 1910, June 30, 1911, July 8, 1911, July 26, 1912, August 16, 1912, October 8, 1912, November 5, 1912, April 15, 1916, March 31, 1925, June 3, 1925, August 17, 1925, September 15, 1925, November 25, 1925, November 27, 1925, October 16, 1926, November 22, 1926, April 11, 1927, November 15, 1927, February 11, 1928, and May 23, 1929, D.H. Kelly Accounts; "John Avey," Norwich, Oxford County (South), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 16, 251; H. Reg Hopkins, Norwich, Oxford County, Ontario, Canada, Voters Lists, Federal Elections, 1953, 1, 126; *Vernon's Farmers and Business Directory for the Counties of Brant, Elgin, Norfolk, and Oxford, for the Year 1915* (Hamilton, ON: Henry Vernon & Son, 1915), 333, 339, and 341; and *Bradstreet's Book of Commercial Ratings: Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba, Ontario, Saskatchewan, and Yukon* (New York: The Bradstreet Company, 1906), 269.

¹⁷⁵ April 13, 1905, December 31, 1906, March 20, 1909, October 27, 1910, October 7, 1913, March 11, 1916, March 24, 1917, and June 18, 1918, D.H. Kelly Accounts; and *Vernon's Farmers and Business Directory for the Counties of Brant, Elgin, Norfolk, and Oxford, for the Year 1915*, 333, and 339-40.

¹⁷⁶ See April 1, 1905, January 4, 1902, February 12, 1902, March 22, 1902, March 25, 1905, February 27, 1904, January 15, 1909, Nathaniel "Edward" Leeder Accounts; August 14, 1914, July 26, 1913, August 2, 1913, August 18, 1913, August 1, 1914, August 29, 1914, November 7, 1914, December 24, 1914, February 27, 1915, March 3, 1915, July 29, 1915, June 27, 1918, and September 18-19, 1918, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts; *1910 Bruce, Grey & Simcoe Farmers and Business Directory* (Ingersoll, ON: Union Publishing Company, 1910), 608; and "David Ross," Saugeen Township, Bruce County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 3, 26.

¹⁷⁷ December 4, 1906, and November 4, 1916, D.H. Kelly Accounts; "Joseph Woodrow," North Norwich Township, Oxford County (South), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 3, 26; and "Elgin Palmer," North Norwich Township, Oxford County (South), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 1, 8.

¹⁷⁸ January 26, 1909, January 2, 1925, March 20, 1931, March 28, 1931, May 23, 1933, and March 7, 1936, D.H. Kelly Accounts; "Geo. E. Kelly," North Norwich Township, Oxford County (South), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 5, 44; "William Kelly," North Norwich Township, Oxford County (South), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 2, 22; "Joseph Lemon," North Norwich Township, Oxford County (South), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 2, 20; "Cecil Merrill," Norwich, Oxford County (South), Census of Canada, 1921, 13, 191; and "Harry H. Scott," North Norwich Township, Oxford County (South), Census of Canada, 1921, 6, 68.

¹⁷⁹ August 5, 1902, Nathaniel "Edward" Leeder Accounts; "David Ross," Saugeen Township, Bruce County (West), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 3, 26; May 3, 1910, and June 10, 1912, D.H. Kelly Accounts; *Vernon's Farmers and Business Directory for the Counties of Brant, Elgin, Norfolk, and Oxford, for the Year 1915*, 289; and "Geo. Kelly," North Norwich Township, Oxford County (South), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 5, 44.

¹⁸⁰ See Smith, *Childhood Memories*, 99; November 8, 1922, June 8, 1923, August 9, 1928, and March 20, 1930, William Joshua Crawford Diaries; November 21, 1930, January 15, 1931, November 3, 1938, September 11, 1941, and February 27, 1942, Velma Beaton Diaries; November 20, 1915, and November 22, 1915, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts; January 10, 1928, Arthur McQueen Diaries; May 21, 1900, Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce; November 12, 1917, and May 7, 1918, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries; June 18, 1907, November 4, 1909, November 11, 1909, September 10, 1912, and August 30, 1913, D.H. Kelly Accounts; and November 20, 1915, and November 22, 1915, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts.

¹⁸¹ Jemina Hannah Leeder recorded placing her order with the U.F.O., or United Farmers of Ontario; the United Farmers Cooperative Company would presumably have processed the order. See March 5, 1926, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts. See also Heron, *Lunch-Bucket Lives*, 163.

¹⁸² See also Cummings, 182.

¹⁸³ John Graham Weir of Peterborough County also recorded “I went to town this morning and I brought out geese from the cold storage” on December 28, 1909, and paid McDonald a total of 50 cents for the use of this facility. This was the only such entry over the entire scope of his diaries, kept while he was on the farm, and the nature of this facility is uncertain. See December 28, 1909, John Graham Weir Diaries; September 8, 1932, December 30, 1932, and January 7, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries; November 12, 1943, May 12, 1944, and October 29, 1945, Ruby Simmons Diary; and February 13, 1937, March 30, 1937, April 24, 1937, November 20, 1937, March 12, 1938, November 11, 1939, June 14, 1940, June 24, 1940, and December 14, 1937, Fred Perkins Diary.

¹⁸⁴ March 30, 1937, November 20, 1937, March 12, 1938, November 11, 1939, June 14, 1940, and December 14, 1940, Fred Perkins Diary.

¹⁸⁵ November 20, 1937, November 11, 1939, and December 14, 1940, Fred Perkins Diary.

¹⁸⁶ March 30, 1937, and March 12, 1938, Fred Perkins Diary.

¹⁸⁷ June 14, 1940, Fred Perkins Diary.

¹⁸⁸ As discussed earlier in this chapter, it appears that the family purchased, as opposed to raised, the turkeys they consumed. See September 8, 1932, December 30, 1932, and January 7, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

¹⁸⁹ Mosby, 5, and 75. See also Broad, 35, and 41; and Britnell and Fowke, 162-63.

¹⁹⁰ Bettina Bradbury, *Working Families: Age, Gender, and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 164-166; and Bettina Bradbury, “Pigs, Cows, and Boarders: Non-Wage Forms of Survival among Montreal Families, 1861-91,” *Labour/Le Travail* 14 (Fall 1984), 17, 19, and 45-46. See also: Cowan, *More Work for Mother*, 72; and Ewa Morawska, *For Bread with Butter: The Life-Worlds of East Central Europeans in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, 1890-1940* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 135, 198, and 218.

¹⁹¹ Heron, *Lunch-Bucket Lives*, 112, and 167.

¹⁹² According to a 1916 article, butchers called “two or three times weekly.” See “How You Can Smoke Your Summer Meat,” 347. See also Disbrowe, 43; and Roelens-Grant, ed., 115, and 126.

Co-operative Consuming: Ontario Beef Rings, 1899-1945

In the previous chapter, we explored how farm families blended household processing and formal purchasing to supply themselves with a variety of meats. Beef, however, proved to be a bit of a challenge for on-farm processing and preservation, given the sheer amount of meat in a dressed steer or heifer, and the seemingly limited use of brine, salt, and smoke to preserve it. Families certainly could, and did, purchase beef, but, as periodically discussed in the farm press, there was a considerable difference in the price per pound farmers received for the sale of a fattened steer, and the price per pound they paid for dressed beef.¹ According to a 1914 article in the *Canadian Farm*, for example, farmers sold their fattened steer for about \$6.50 to \$8.00 per hundredweight (or per 100 pounds), and bought beef at about eighteen cents a pound.² Such disparities were presumably vexing to these producers. In an effort to overcome the challenges of preservation and cost, many Ontario farm families participated in a specifically agrarian institution of household provisioning known as the fresh beef association.³

More commonly referred to as the beef ring, this institution provided families with a co-operative resource to ensure weekly access to beef during the summer months. Beef rings originated in approximately the mid-1880s and were relatively common in early to mid-twentieth-century southern Ontario. They ranged from Lambton County in the west to Renfrew County in the east, and the Bruce peninsula in the north to the Grand River Valley in the south.⁴ Notably, J.B. Spencer of the Dominion Department of Agriculture even addressed the formation and functioning of beef rings in his 1915 bulletin entitled *Beef Raising in Canada*, further underscoring the prevalence of such

organizations.⁵ The original records of these beef rings rarely were preserved or donated to local archives; nevertheless, the records of three of these organizations have been found, and an analysis of these records forms the basis of this chapter. The Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association was located in Glenelg Township, Grey County, and operated from approximately 1899 to the early 1960s. The Brant and Bentinck Beef Ring ran for much of the same period, operating from 1897 until 1960, and was located in an area spanning part of Bentinck Township, Grey County, and Brant Township, Bruce County.⁶ Finally, the Blenheim Centre Beef Syndicate was located in Blenheim Township, Oxford County, and operated from 1914 until at least 1929.⁷ This chapter explores the rules and regulations regarding beef rings, and how they functioned. It also examines basic statistical information on the shareholders and the factors that influenced their participation. Focusing on the period from about the turn of the twentieth century to the end of the Second World War, this chapter argues that Ontario beef ring shareholders blended notions of co-operation and market relations to create stable, healthy, and long-lasting institutions. Through participation in these rings, shareholders accessed a variety of cuts of fresh beef to sustain their families through their heavy summer workloads.

As described in the by-laws of the Blenheim ring, the association's "object shall be to furnish each member his quota of fresh beef weekly."⁸ Over the course of the season, each full shareholder took a turn supplying a young heifer or steer to be butchered and split between all members.⁹ The length of the season varied slightly among rings, depending on the number of full shares; the Edge Hill ring, for example, typically had 16 full shares, while the Blenheim ring had 20 full shares.¹⁰ The typical season lasted from June to late September or mid-October, providing shareholders with fresh meat during

the most challenging season for food preservation.¹¹ Each week, members picked up their shares at the place of slaughter, which, in the case of the Edge Hill ring, was the property of longstanding member Robert Ector.¹² Shareholders ultimately received the full range of cuts over the course of the season;

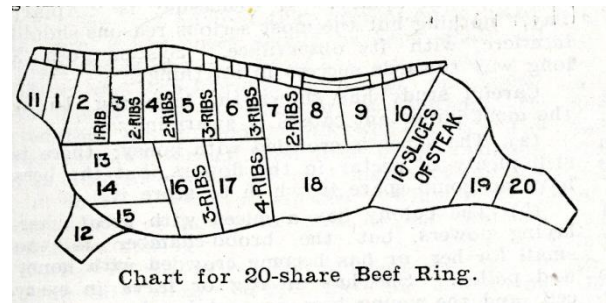


Figure 4: Chart for a 20-share beef ring.

Source: "Beef Rings," *Farmer's Advocate*, May 19, 1910, 843, Archival and Special Collections, University of Guelph Library.

typically, full shareholders in rings with 20 shares received "a roast, a boil, and a slice of steak" each week.¹³ (A "boil" would be a tougher piece of beef that would be cooked in boiling water to tenderize the meat.) Depending on the final dressed weight of the supplied animal for the week, full shareholders could expect approximately 18.75 to 25 pounds of beef per week, while half shareholders could expect approximately 9.38 to 12.5 pounds.¹⁴

A number of factors converged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to allow for the creation of beef rings. In the warmer months of the year, according to the farm press, families seeking meat were often forced to rely on cured pork preserved on the farm.¹⁵ It helped too, that, given the frequency with which farm families purchased meat, beef ring prices were set "at cost."¹⁶ This meant that shareholders received beef at market prices, as opposed to the more expensive retail prices in butcher shops. Finally, concerns over quality may also have been a factor; some families may have questioned the quality of meat purchased from butchers, and shareholders had a grounded knowledge of the quality of meat from the ring.¹⁷ Through

participation in beef rings, farm families were able to “supply themselves during hot weather with fresh and wholesome meat economically.”¹⁸

The farm press also frequently touched on the co-operative nature of the institution. For example, a 1926 article stressed that beef rings were “a co-operative concern and [could] only succeed when built on mutual understanding and mutual benefit.”¹⁹ This co-operative element of beef ring participation echoed other, more formalized co-operative efforts in the agricultural community in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, associated with the Patrons of Husbandry (more commonly known as the Grange), mutual insurance companies, co-operative creameries, and, from 1914, the United Farmers’ Co-operative Company.²⁰ Beef rings built on this co-operative ethos evident in rural Ontario to meet a clear desire for fresh beef in the summer.

The butcher, of course, was central to the operation of the ring. He was a formal employee who received weekly payments for his services, amounting to about a day’s work per week.²¹ Often the butcher was also a shareholder himself, as was the case with Thomas Turnbull, L. E. Peterson, Chris Engel, and Herman Engel.²² Some of these men, such as Edge Hill butchers Thomas Turnbull and Clifford McCracken, worked for other rings.²³ Others, such as Brant and Bentinck butcher Chris Engel, even sold beef privately, interweaving the beef ring accounts into personal meat accounts.²⁴

Butchering was not, however, the primary vocation of these men; rather, they engaged in occupational pluralism, identifying themselves as farmers and processing meat to supplement their agricultural incomes.²⁵ Farmer-butchers continued to play an important role in a niche, rural market into the mid-twentieth century. This evidence adds a valuable caveat to the argument found in the North American historiography that, by

the early twentieth century, slaughtering had largely passed from butchers working at a local level to the packing industry.²⁶

Upon first inspection, the relationship between members and the butcher clearly followed the dictates of the market economy. The butcher was paid weekly upon delivery of the animal for butchering by the supplying shareholder.²⁷ During its first year of operation, the Edge Hill association passed an amendment that allowed the butcher to sell the beef hide and keep his wages out of this sale if he had not received full payment by the morning the meat was to be distributed.²⁸ This amendment underscores the central role of the butcher in the smooth operation of the ring and the desire to ensure he received prompt payment. The butcher's significance is further highlighted by the willingness of the Blenheim ring to be flexible on slaughter dates in the 1920 season for the convenience of its long-standing butcher.²⁹ In all three rings, the same men continued in the position of butcher for much of the operation of the ring; L. E. Peterson held the Blenheim position for the full span of years covered in the minutes, Thomas Turnbull held the Edge Hill position until approximately the end of the 1927 season, and Clifford McCracken largely held the Edge Hill position from the 1930 season to 1945.³⁰ In the case of the Brant and Bentinck ring, the role of butcher stayed within a single family for almost the whole period of analysis; Chris Engel held the role for 37 years before his brother Herman took over for another nine years.³¹

The relationship between the butcher and shareholders, however, was not purely defined in economic terms. A study of the Edge Hill ring demonstrates the importance of a strong connection between butcher and shareholders to facilitate the smooth operation of the ring.³² The employment and payment rates of its first butcher, Turnbull, received

relatively little attention in the annual meetings during his years of service, suggesting that Turnbull and the membership had reached what both parties perceived to be a fair arrangement. The close connection between the two parties was also evident at the time of Turnbull's death, despite the fact that he had not worked as the ring's butcher since the 1928 season.³³ At the 1933 annual meeting, shareholders decided to purchase flowers to present to his widow, which cost slightly more than the year's operating expenses.³⁴ Although the relationship between Turnbull and the association had been a formally paid position, a number of the members continued to feel a connection with their former butcher, honouring his position in their organization and the wider community.

Turnbull may also have been remembered positively because of the seemingly more tenuous relationship between shareholders and their subsequent butcher, Clifford McCracken. The issue of payment was discussed extensively at a number of meetings in the early 1930s, and McCracken actually refused the offered price for the 1934 season, leading to the employment of Henry Watts for the year.³⁵ While McCracken had been rehired by the 1936 season, a committee was again formed to hire a butcher for 1943, suggesting discontent on the part of McCracken or the shareholders regarding their arrangements.³⁶ McCracken was not a shareholder in the ring, unlike the other longstanding butchers; perhaps, as a result, he did not have the same sense of loyalty to the association. The tensions between the shareholders and McCracken suggest the importance of a strong working relationship to help support and strengthen the more formal economic arrangements between the butcher and shareholders.

In contrast to the weekly payments made to the butcher, money only exchanged hands between shareholders at the year-end meeting. The butcher kept records of the

dressed weight of the animal supplied by each shareholder and the total amount of meat each shareholder received over the course of the season.³⁷ If the amount of meat they received exceeded the amount they had contributed (in terms of the dressed weight of the animal provided for slaughter), members paid the difference to the association.

Conversely, if the amount they had contributed exceeded the amount they received, members were paid the difference. All shareholders made or received yearly settlements, as some difference between the amount of meat put into and taken out of the ring could not be avoided.³⁸ These fees provided a way to “even out” the yearly variations for shareholders and were based on that season’s price per pound of beef. Year-end settlements were more convenient for the operation of the ring than weekly settlements; the butcher or treasurer only had to calculate the individual accounts once a season and each shareholder only had to make a single account settlement. This arrangement necessitated a level of trust and co-operation among members.

Typically, shareholders settled on the cost of beef per pound at the annual meeting held at the close of the preceding season. Direct price comparisons between at least two of the rings can be made for thirty of the years under analysis.³⁹ In fully half of these years of overlap, the price per pound of beef was the same.⁴⁰ In another seven years, the difference in price only ranged from half a cent to one full cent.⁴¹ The prices of the Blenheim and Edge Hill rings also reached their respective peaks only two years apart, in the late 1910s.⁴² These peaks correspond with inflation and the wholesale prices of fresh meat; significant war-related increases in prices began in approximately 1917 and peaked in 1920.⁴³ Similarly, the peak price in the available records for the Brant and Bentinck ring was reached in 1928 and lasted to 1930. Again, this peak corresponds with the

wholesale prices of fresh meat, which significantly increased from 1928 to 1930, dropping again in 1932 with the economic depression.⁴⁴ These findings are in keeping with the prescriptive literature of the farm press, which stressed that the price per pound of beef in the rings was “at actual cost.”⁴⁵

In addition to confirming the cost per pound of beef, members of the Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association implemented a structure of fines in 1905 for animals that did not reach the minimum dressed weight of 400 pounds, and these fines were amended periodically.⁴⁶ In the 1906 season, for example, members who supplied a young heifer or steer that dressed under the minimum were fined an extra two cents a pound.⁴⁷ In the 1930s and early 1940s, another regulation was occasionally discussed regarding the collection of fines on animals dressing over the maximum weight.⁴⁸ Perhaps shareholders were trying to limit the extent of their direct cash outlay, given the economic situation in the 1930s, or perhaps, as suggested by a 1923 article in the *Farmer's Advocate*, some were concerned about being unable to consume these larger weekly shares.⁴⁹ The inclusion and ongoing revision of fine structures and the formal collection of fines suggest the association had some difficulty ensuring all shareholders contributed an appropriately-sized animal.⁵⁰ The fine structure demonstrates concern on the part of other shareholders to obtain acceptable compensation in lieu of the expected amount of fresh beef.

Periodically, the rings discussed motions and implemented regulations to help prevent problems that can be loosely grouped under the categories of settling accounts and the quality of meat. In their original regulations, all three rings stipulated that shareholders could not leave before the end of a season without settling their accounts

and without the consent of a majority of shareholders.⁵¹ Early departure does not appear to have been a significant issue, however, as only two cases were noted overall of shareholders requesting at year-end meetings that the ring find replacements for them before the start of the upcoming season.⁵²

Some members appear to have been concerned about the fair collection of outstanding fees. In the Blenheim ring, for example, a motion stipulating “that [each] shareholder must make provision for his overdraft and the drawing of his number[,] or he will forfeit his share in the ring” was successfully passed in 1919.⁵³ In all of the rings, however, only two problem cases were noted. In the 1930 Edge Hill financial statement, there was an outstanding fine of sixteen cents from 1929.⁵⁴ A more substantial case was found in the Brant and Bentinck records, as Bert Logie had an outstanding account of \$16.77 at the close of the 1940 season.⁵⁵ The secretary did not detail the reason for the outstanding account, nor did he document whether Logie ever settled his account. Rather, Christopher Engel provided the money for year-end settlement, and “the Ring [was] to stand good on this amount if not collected.”⁵⁶ According to the minute books and the butcher’s ledger, Logie did not participate for the rest of the period under analysis. Overall, it appears that community bonds and economic ties were strong enough to help informally regulate concerns over shareholders “completing” the season and to ensure the collection of fees and fines.

Another significant potential issue was the quality of beef, both in terms of a degree of uniformity in taste and tenderness, and in terms of ensuring that meat from a diseased animal was not distributed. All of the rings had regulations regarding the acceptable age range for furnished animals; according to the Edge Hill Fresh Beef

Association, for example, cattle had to be less than three years old.⁵⁷ Presumably, these specifications related to concerns over quality; younger beef is typically assumed to be more tender. The regulations of both the Edge Hill and Brant and Bentinck rings also specified a preference for heifers, which can perhaps be tied to market influences.⁵⁸ The use of heifers in the ring allowed farmers in these predominately beef cattle counties to keep their higher grade steers for market sale.⁵⁹

Through regulations, the rings worked to ensure that shareholders did not receive diseased meat. Each ring had an inspection process; typically, an elected committee of shareholders worked as inspectors, and they made the final decision regarding the “fitness of [an] animal for slaughtering.”⁶⁰ The rings also periodically passed motions regarding the health of supplied animals. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for example, the Brant and Bentinck Beef Ring specified that “no beast be brought in with lumps on,” while the Edge Hill ring stated in 1944 that “beef delivered by truck must be able to walk into the slaughterhouse or not be accepted.”⁶¹ Through these regulations, the rings worked to ensure that the animals were healthy and that the quality of beef was relatively standard.

Both the Edge Hill and Blenheim rings implemented regulations regarding animals found to be sick or diseased, and these regulations demonstrated co-operative values. According to Blenheim’s original by-laws, the supplying shareholder was given an extra week to supply another animal if the original one was found to be unfit before butchering. In this case, the shareholder who was supposed to supply a heifer or a steer for the following week would simply supply it a week early. If the inspectors did not decide the animal was unfit until after it was slaughtered, the contributing member was

given until the end of the season to supply another.⁶² In this case, either shareholders received no meat for one week partway through the season, or shareholders who were supposed to supply the subsequent animals had their dates moved up by a week. These bylaws suggest a degree of empathy for the shareholder supplying the unfit meat and the perception that it was not the “fault” of this shareholder. Consequently, to assist this member, alternative arrangements provided a degree of inconvenience for other shareholders.

In a new regulation in 1928, Blenheim shareholders extended their support to the owner of an unfit animal even further. This regulation stipulated that, in cases where the animal was declared “unfit for human consumption” after slaughter, it would be destroyed, and “each share [would] be assessed two dollars[,] which [would] be paid to the loser of the beef.”⁶³ Presumably, this was an amendment on the original bylaw, with the ring at large offsetting the financial burden on the single shareholder. Such an arrangement meant that the ring at large “stood” the loss of the “extra” animal, rather than leaving the burden on the supplying shareholder.

The Edge Hill ring also implemented regulations concerning the issue of unfit beef. Shareholders successfully passed a motion in 1915 that “the Ring [would] stan[d] the loss” if the animal was declared unfit after slaughter.⁶⁴ Presumably, this meant that the farmer who supplied the animal was not expected to provide another and that shareholders missed a week of fresh beef.⁶⁵ The farm press discussed a similar regulation, suggesting a broader desire to protect individual shareholders.⁶⁶ In handling cases of diseased animals in such a co-operative manner, the rings were reminiscent of the mutual insurance companies in which English Canadian farmers had participated since

approximately the 1830s.⁶⁷ Such regulations ensured members shared the benefits and risks of the organization.

In all of the minutes, only two cases were noted regarding “unfit beef,” both in the Edge Hill ring. In 1942, \$2 was added to the organization’s accounts, presumably the amount left over after the sale of the condemned animal’s hide and payment of the butcher.⁶⁸ A special meeting was held in September 1944 to address another case, in which it was decided that “the ring would stand the loss of the beef of Mr. F. Staples the same as if it were diseased beef.”⁶⁹ Overall, however, the loss of beef appears to have been relatively rare, given the number of animals butchered each season and the length of the study.⁷⁰ As with the collection of fees and fines, it appears that the co-operative ties helped to regulate informally the quality of supplied animals. Indeed, A. A. Werner, writing to the *Farmer’s Advocate* in 1925, suggested that such quality issues were rare, as “most men, having a good reputation to uphold, furnish choice animals – animals such as they like to have furnished.”⁷¹

The regulations and operations of the beef rings thus exhibited a blending of co-operative values and market relations, and shareholders participated over a number of years. The records of the Edge Hill and Blenheim rings suggest a relative stability of membership.⁷² Blenheim shareholders participated on average for five years.⁷³ The average was longer in the Edge Hill ring, which can presumably be related to the longevity of its operation. On average, Edge Hill members participated as “full” shareholders for six years. This average, however, does not include years of participation on half shares, which appear to have been settled informally outside the scope of the minutes.⁷⁴ It can be hypothesized that families who provided an animal every other year

actually had half shares and took turns with their half-share partners in supplying animals. If single-year gaps between the “full” memberships of some families are factored into the calculations, the average total years of Edge Hill participation could be extended to ten years. The relative stability of membership within the ring is further suggested by the sibling and father-son relationships found between approximately 40 per cent of Edge Hill participants for the seasons of 1899 to 1929.⁷⁵ Long-standing membership, as well as familial connections, might also have contributed to the co-operative relations and smooth functioning of the rings.

Basic statistical information was collected for shareholders in each of the rings at 10-year intervals. In the case of the Edge Hill and Brant and Bentinck rings, this analysis covered the 1900 to 1940 seasons.⁷⁶ Given the narrower time frame for the Blenheim ring, this analysis focused on the 1920 season.⁷⁷ The statistical information was drawn from the relevant township assessment rolls, land abstracts, land instruments, and the 1901, 1911 and 1921 censuses.⁷⁸

In all three rings, the overwhelming majority of shareholders resided on family-owned properties, although a few tenant farmers participated.⁷⁹ Typically, the shareholder was the household head, although farmers’ sons periodically attended on behalf of their families.⁸⁰ In keeping with the male dominance of the beef cattle industry, shareholders were overwhelmingly male.⁸¹ Female participation was typically limited to widowed farm women continuing their late husbands’ participation.⁸² The overwhelmingly male shareholders can be seen as following the trend, both in their respective townships and in the province, of owning the land that they occupied.⁸³

In terms of landholding patterns, the shareholder figures were compared with the respective township and county figures from the 1921, 1931, and 1941 censuses.⁸⁴ Overall, the two categories of 51 to 100 acres and 101 to 200 acres accounted for the overwhelming majority, or approximately 88 to 95 per cent, of shareholders.⁸⁵ Small farmers with fewer than 51 acres typically did not join beef rings; perhaps such farmers did not have large enough beef cattle herds, with sufficient animals in the acceptable age range, to participate.⁸⁶ Shareholders with 201 or more acres accounted for a small proportion (about 5 to 13 per cent) of the total number of participants. Shareholders in the three rings were typically reflective of the “middling” and “well-to-do” farmers in their townships and counties.⁸⁷

The assessment rolls also included basic demographic information on township residents, allowing further insight into the characteristics of Edge Hill and Brant and Bentinck shareholders.⁸⁸ Shareholders were typically middle-aged, which can perhaps be seen as in keeping with their status as landowning household heads. On average, shareholders had five people in their households, although the average was slightly higher for both rings in 1900 and slightly lower for the Edge Hill ring in 1940.⁸⁹ A core group of shareholders in each ring had the same religious affiliation; the largest group of Brant and Bentinck shareholders, for example, identified themselves as Lutheran.⁹⁰ There were always, however, a few participants of different faiths, such as Catholics, Presbyterians, Methodists, and even Mennonites. Shareholders had established families large enough to consume the weekly shares of meat and were more united by proximity and economic stability and security than by cultural attributes such as religious

affiliation; these demographic factors may have fostered the blending of co-operative values and market relations.

The maps showing the locations of agrarian shareholders further support these arguments.⁹¹ (See Figures 5 through 7, below.) Shareholders were geographically clustered within a relatively small segment of their respective townships. Edge Hill shareholders, for example, typically resided in the southwest part of Glenelg Township, north of Durham, while Blenheim shareholders resided in the southern part of the township. Such relative proximity makes sense, given the fact that shareholders needed to have easy access to their weekly meat shares and to make the delivery of a heifer (or steer).⁹²

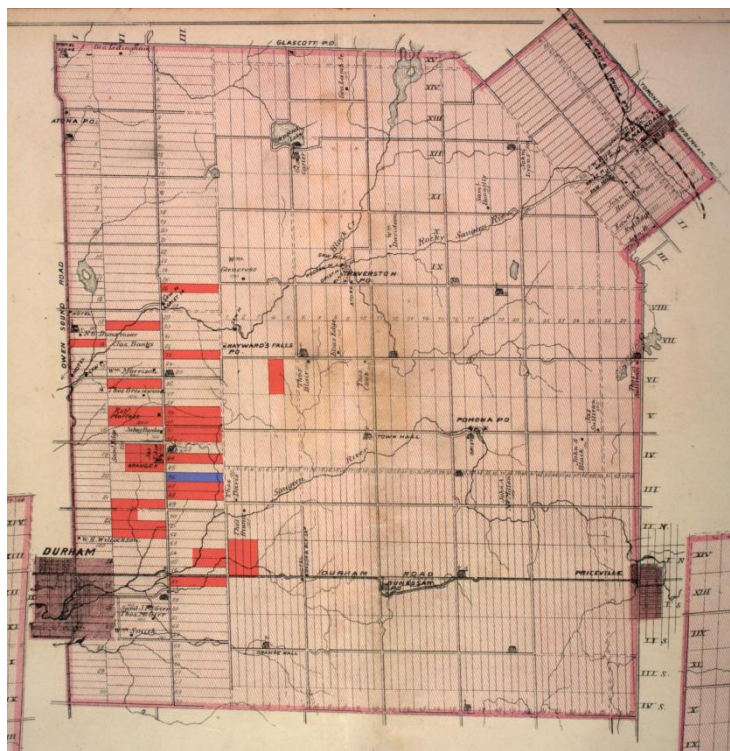


Figure 5: Map of Glenelg Township for the 1920 season. The farms of shareholders are depicted in red, while the farm of the butcher is depicted in purple.

Source: The Canadian County Atlas Digital Project, "Township of Glenelg," <http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/countyatlas>, Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University Library. Shading done by author.

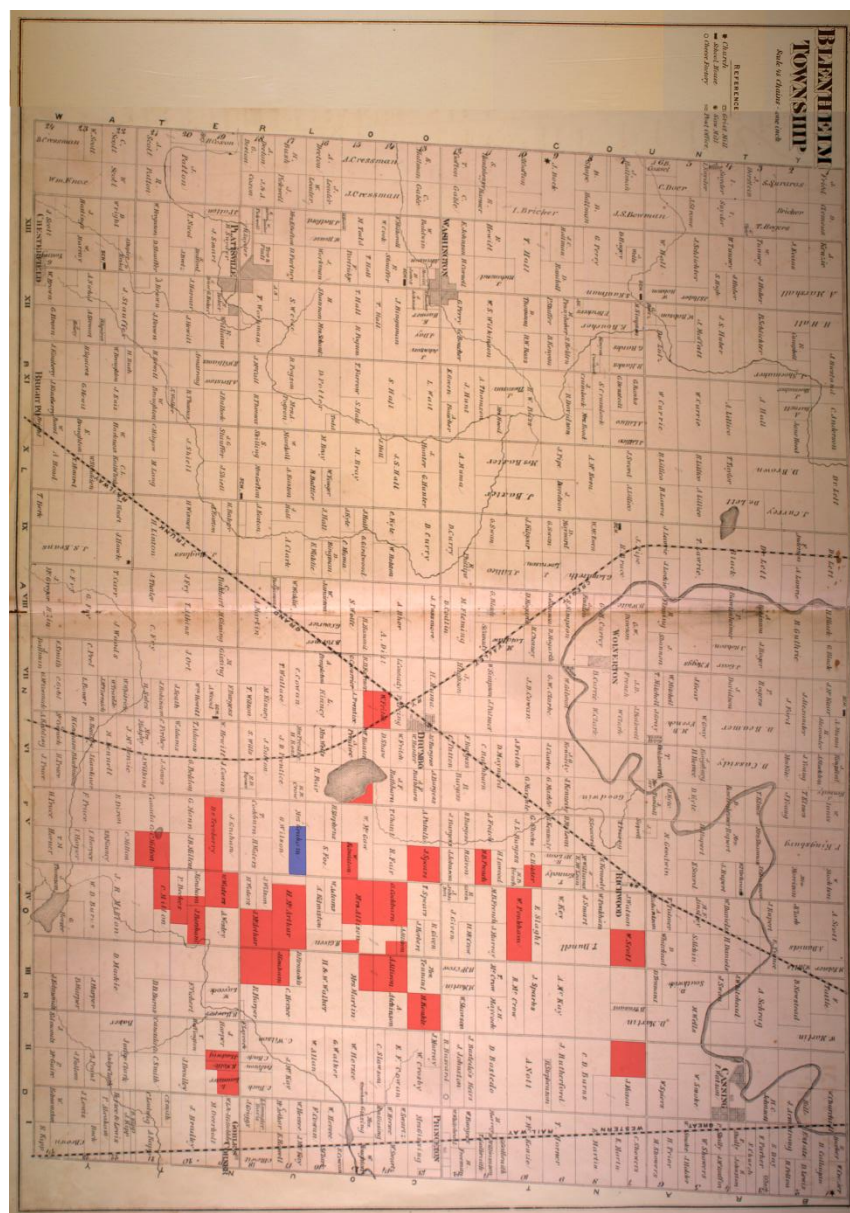


Figure 6: Map of Blenheim Township for the 1920 season. The farms of shareholders are depicted in red, while the farm of the butcher is depicted in purple. E. Richardson was not included on this map, as he owned only 1.2 acres.
 Source: The Canadian County Atlas Digital Project, "Township of Blenheim," <http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/countyatlas>, Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University Library. Shading done by author.



Figure 7: Map of Brant and Bentinck Townships for the 1920 season. The farms of shareholders are depicted in red, while the farm of the butcher is depicted in purple. The thick black line shows the main geographic area of the Brant and Bentinck Beef Ring.

Source: The Canadian County Atlas Digital Project, "Township of Brant" and "Township of Bentinck," <http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/countyatlas>, Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University Library. Shading done by author.

Not all farmers within close geographic distance to the slaughterhouses, however, participated in the rings. To examine possible reasons for non-participation, basic demographic data was collected at 10-year intervals on non-shareholders residing within the same geographic area as Brant and Bentinck shareholders.⁹³ The differences between the average ages, household sizes, and farm sizes of non-shareholders and shareholders were small, further supporting the argument that shareholders were generally reflective of the “middling” and “well-to-do” farmers in the area. Farmers’ non-participation could be linked to their slightly younger age and smaller household size, coinciding with the argument that shareholders were typically middle-aged farmers with families that were both large enough and old enough to consume the weekly shares.⁹⁴ This hypothesis is further reinforced by the fact that approximately one-third to one-half of non-shareholders identified for each year may have participated in the ring at another time.⁹⁵ The rings thus do not appear to be socially-exclusive; rather, shareholders entered and exited the ring depending on their families’ sizes, ages, and requirements for meat.

Table 2: Shareholders and Non-Shareholders in Brant and Bentinck, 1900-1940

Year	Age of Shareholders	Age of Non-Shareholders	Average Household Size of Shareholders	Average Household Size of Non-Shareholders	Average Farm Size of Shareholders	Average Farm Size of Non-Shareholders	Percentage of Non-Shareholders Who May Have Participated in Other Years
1900	43	43	6	4	109	104	46.15
1910	44	43	5	5	118	94	31.82
1920	46	44	5	4	139	107	43.86
1940	51	49	5	4	140	122	50.00

Source: Census of Canada and Brant Assessment Rolls, Brockton Heritage Committee. The owners of two lots could not be found in the 1920 Brant Assessment Roll. No vital statistics were recorded for 10 of the non-shareholders. In a number of cases, these individuals were also listed as non-residents, which would be a significant factor for their lack of participation. In a number of cases, ages or household sizes were not recorded in the Assessment Rolls.

Other central figures in the local agrarian and rural community had some limited involvement in the organizations. A few Brant and Bentinck shareholders continued to participate once they had retired to local villages or transitioned to other types of employment. James Anderson and John Black, for example, remained shareholders when they moved into Elmwood, and Andrew Milne remained a shareholder after he became a postmaster.⁹⁶ Perhaps more noteworthy is the apparent, albeit relatively short-term, participation of two merchants and two ministers.⁹⁷ Finally, in the case of the Blenheim ring, E. Richardson, a blacksmith, was involved in the ring for essentially the entire 14-year period covered by the minutes. Richardson was even elected to the position of recruiter to help fill empty shares.⁹⁸ Blacksmiths were, of course, important members of the local community, as they repaired agricultural machinery and made horseshoes. These non-farming shareholders desired weekly access to fresh, locally-processed beef; presumably, they held part shares, and had arrangements with their farming part-share counterparts to supply the animals.⁹⁹ While shareholders were not exclusively engaged in farming, “outsiders” who participated had a history of membership within the agrarian community or made significant contributions to it, in terms of material and spiritual services.

To better understand how much meat shareholders received, the average weekly amount of meat consumed by each person in shareholding families was calculated for the Brant and Bentinck ring. On average, for the years 1900, 1910, 1920, and 1940, each person in full shareholding households consumed three to six pounds of beef per week, while those in part shareholding households consumed two to four pounds of beef per week.¹⁰⁰ According to the *Historical Statistics of Canada, Second Edition*, the domestic

disappearance of beef per capita was 57.4 pounds in 1920, and 54.5 pounds in 1940. Part shareholders in the Brant and Bentinck ring received at least 70 per cent of this yearly total simply from seasonal participation in beef rings. Remarkably, full shareholders exceeded these per capita figures over the sixteen- to twenty-week season of their ring.¹⁰¹ This information demonstrates that fresh beef was at least a seasonal staple in the diet of shareholding families, challenging the suggestion in the historiography that farm families did not have easy access to beef.¹⁰² Indeed, according to a 1923 article in the *Farmer's Advocate*, some families allegedly left beef rings because they “became so tired of the steady beef diet which is necessary when the full share is consumed fresh weekly.”¹⁰³

Participants in beef rings blended co-operative relations, built upon pre-existing community networks and a co-operative ethos, with market-oriented values to create organizations that often lasted for generations within the local community. As such, beef rings had similarities to the work bees discussed by Catharine Wilson, in which farm families engaged in reciprocal labour to increase their own prosperity.¹⁰⁴ Beef rings allowed shareholders to transcend challenges in the preservation of fresh beef and to gain access to such meat in the busy summer months, and are a clear demonstration of the survival of specifically rural consumption practices into mid-twentieth-century Ontario.

Beef rings appear to have declined in rural Ontario in the 1950s or early 1960s.¹⁰⁵ Local histories attribute their decline to the availability of cold storage and, later, on-farm refrigeration facilities.¹⁰⁶ The decline in this rural institution, however, was not simply a result of technological innovation, as cold storage facilities were available in local towns by the late 1930s, a decade or two before the beef rings disappeared.¹⁰⁷ Arguably, transitions in agricultural production also played a role, as, following the Second World

War, Ontario farms increasingly shifted away from mixed farming and towards specialization.¹⁰⁸ Participation in a beef ring was not attractive to those families who specialized in another type of agricultural production and accordingly would have had to purchase a heifer or steer. The availability of refrigeration and the increased specialization of agricultural production together contributed to the decline of a rural institution that had existed for approximately 80 years.

¹ See, for example, "Cutting, Curing, and Smoking Meats," 5; and "How You Can Smoke Your Summer Meat," 347.

² "Cutting, Curing, and Smoking Meats," 5.

³ See Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Eighth Census of Canada, 1941, Volume II*, 177.

⁴ Local histories, museum collections, farm diaries, and the farm press note the existence of beef rings in such counties as Bruce, Durham, Grey, Halton, Huron, Lambton, Northumberland, Ontario, Oxford, Renfrew, Simcoe, Victoria, Wellington, and Waterloo. See Mildred Young Hubbert, *Split Rail Country: A History of Artemesia Township* (Owen Sound, ON: Stan Brown Printers Limited, 1986), 22-23, 45, 82, and 189; Laura M. Gateman, ed., *The History of the Township of Brant, 1854-1979* (Owen Sound, ON: RBW, 1979), 368; *Lambton Heritage Museum*, <http://www.lclmg.org/lclmg/?TabId=113>; Ross Museum, *Self-Guided Tours: Westmeath*, http://www.rossmuseum.ca/sgt_we_kennys.htm; Scugog Shores Museum Village, *Greenbank: The Heart of Reach Township – The Beef Ring*, http://www.museevirtuel-virtualmuseum.ca/sgc-cms/histoires_de_chez_nous-community_memories/pm_v2.php?id=story_line&lg=English&fl=0&ex=412&sl=3085&pos=1; Pickering Museum Village, *Beef Ring Barn*, <http://www.picnet.org/pmv/beefringbarn.htm>; [Ring to Begin its Operations in May], *Daily Packet & Times*, March 14, 1912, 4, <http://images.ourontario.ca/orillia/1718646/data?n=1>; July 1 and 7, 1914, December 3, 1914, and February 6, 1915 "Rosmead Diary," James Ross Diaries Fonds, A1996.42, MU 322, Wellington County Museum and Archives, 14, 16, 65, and 88; 1892 Account Book, Isador B. Snyder Collection, Mennonite Archives of Ontario, Hist.Mss.1.229.3; Account Book of Russell Innes, 1933-1934; "The Popular Beef Ring," *Farmer's Advocate*, June 29, 1911, 1087; and "Beef Rings," *Farmer's Advocate*, July 1, 1926, 989. See also MacLachlan, 124.

⁵ Spencer, *Beef Raising*, 107-13. See also "The Beef Ring," *Alberta History* 38, no. 4 (Autumn 1990), 29-30.

⁶ The minutes are missing from 1911 to 1924.

⁷ While Bruce and Grey Counties focused on beef cattle production, Oxford County has a long history of dairy production; as Margaret Derry argues, however, at least in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, beef was often a "by-product of the dairy industry." See Derry, *Ontario's Cattle Kingdom*, 110.

⁸ [February 24, 1914], The Beef Ring and Woman's Foreign Mission, Binder M1, Princeton Museum. The records of the Blenheim Centre Beef Syndicate are archived with the records of the Woman's Foreign Mission; they were two separate organizations. No clear date was provided for the meeting at which the bylaws were enacted; from the context of the previous minutes, the presumed date for this meeting was February 24, 1914.

⁹ See [February 24, 1914], The Beef Ring and Woman's Foreign Mission; "Rules & Regulations Governing the Members of the Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association," Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association, PF 75, Grey Roots Museum & Archives; and [Original Regulations], Brant and Bentinck Beef Ring Minutes 1897-1911, Bruce County Museum and Cultural Centre, AX2011.114.001.

¹⁰ While the Brant & Bentinck ring began with 16 shares, it expanded to 20 shares in 1910. The ring was so popular that there were multiple rings running within the organization for the years 1918 to 1926, 1934, and 1936 to 1938. See, for example, "Rules & Regulations Governing the Members of the Edge Hill Fresh Beef

Association,” June 2, 1941, September 21, 1941, and September 30, 1942, Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association; [February 24, 1914], The Beef Ring and Woman’s Foreign Mission; [Original Regulations], and [1910 Meeting], Brant and Bentinck Beef Ring Minutes; Brant and Bentinck Beef Ring Butcher Ledger, 1918-1926, Bruce County Museum & Cultural Centre, AX2011.114.006, 1934, and 1936-1938, 160-163, 166-203, 242-245, and 248-269; “Fresh Meat of Choice Quality Every Week,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, April 13, 1916, 652; and “Beef Rings,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, July 1, 1926, 989.

¹¹ The date for the commencement of the new season was decided at the annual meeting, held at the close of the preceding season. According to the farm press, a late May or early June start date enabled farmers to have access to fresh beef for their silo-fillings and threshings. See, for example, October 21, 1932, Brant and Bentinck Beef Ring Minutes; “Fresh Meat of Choice Quality Every Week,” 652; and “Summer Meat Supply at Cost Price,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, May 16, 1918, 856.

¹² See, for example, [February 24, 1914], The Beef Ring and Woman’s Foreign Mission; and “Rules & Regulations Governing the Members of the Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association,” October 17, 1900, Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association.

¹³ According to Mrs. Chester Allan, presumed to be of Wellington County, half shareholders received “a roast one week and a boil and steak the alternate week.” See, for example, “Beef Rings as they are Conducted,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, March 15, 1900, 158-159; “Advantages of a Beef Ring,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, April 14, 1921, 599; Mrs. Chester Allan, “Recollections of a Local Beef Ring” in Greenock Women’s Institute, ed., *Tweedsmuir History*, 129, <http://www.wellington.ca/en/discover/tweedsmuirhistory.asp>; “How to Set Fresh Meat on the Farm,” *The Farming World & the Canadian Farm & Home*, May 15, 1906, 344; and “The Beef Ring,” *Alberta History*, 29-30.

¹⁴ The farm press typically specified 400 pounds as the ideal dressed weight. See, for example, “Rules & Regulations Governing the Members of the Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association,” June 9, 1899, October 30, 1901, October 31, 1902, November 7, 1903, October 27, 1905, and October 17, 1906, Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association; [February 24, 1914], The Beef Ring and Woman’s Foreign Mission; [Original Regulations], [1910 Annual Meeting], and October 23, 1925, Brant and Bentinck Beef Ring Minutes; “Beef Rings,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, May 19, 1910, 843; and “Fresh Meat at Cost Price,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, May 29, 1924, 818.

¹⁵ A. A. Werner of Haldimand County, in contrast, suggested that an early June start time also aligned with “[w]hen the pork barrel [was] empty.” See A.A. Werner, “Fresh Beef at Cost,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, May 7, 1925, 718. Perhaps families that relied on pork for the full duration of the summer processed multiple pigs for the year, while those who “ran out” in June processed a single pig. Pork could be cured more easily than beef. See Horowitz, 18-19, and 45; Dean Robinson, ed., *Historically Bound: Embro and West Zorra, 1820-2007, vol. 1* (Aylmer, ON: The Aylmer Express Ltd., 2008), 507; “Summer Meat Supply at Cost Price,” 856; “Fresh Meat at Cost Price,” 818; Vina Rose Ufland, *History of Sydenham Township: Centennial Project* (Owen Sound, ON: R. Bond & Wright, 1967), 733-734; Alma Women’s Institute, “The Beef Ring,” 292; Allan, “Recollections of a Local Beef Ring,” 130; Spencer, *Beef Raising*, 107; and “The Beef Ring,” *Alberta History*, 29.

¹⁶ The farm press suggested that some farm families were unhappy with the quality of meat available in butcher shops or that some households were beyond the weekly routes of local butchers. See “The Summer’s Meat Supply on the Farm,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, May 10, 1917, 786-787; “Summer Meat Supply at Cost Price,” 856; “Advantages of a Beef Ring,” 599; “Fresh Meat at Cost Price,” 818; Werner, “Fresh Beef at Cost,” 718; “Beef Rings,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, May 19, 1910, 843; Russell Linn, “The Beef Ring & its Advantages,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, February 29, 1912, 374; “How You Can Smoke Your Summer Meat,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, March 2, 1916, 347; “Fresh Meat of Choice Quality Every Week,” 652; and “Beef Rings,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, July 1, 1926, 989.

¹⁷ Linn, “The Beef Ring & its Advantages,” 374; “Fresh Meat of Choice Quality Every Week,” 652; and Spencer, *Beef Raising*, 107.

¹⁸ Interestingly, a 1923 article advocated for the formation of lamb rings to add a bit of variety to the meat procured from beef rings, but this suggestion does not appear to have attracted considerable attention. Presumably, as discussed in the previous chapter, this can be at least partially attributed to the fact that lamb was not as popular a meat for Ontario farm families as pork, beef, and poultry. See “The Popular Beef Ring,” 1087; and “Why Not a Lamb Ring,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, June 21, 1923, 906.

¹⁹ “Beef Rings,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, July 1, 1926, 989.

²⁰ See, for example, Ian MacPherson, *Each for All: A History of the Co-operative Movement in English Canada, 1900-1945* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1979), 8-11, and 19; Badgley, 142-169; and Louis Aubrey Wood, *A History of Farmers' Movements in Canada: The Origins and Development of Agrarian Protest, 1872-1924* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), 75-85, 276, and 312-313.

²¹ "Summer Meat Supply at Cost Price," 856; Werner, "Fresh Beef at Cost," 718; and Allan, "Recollections of a Local Beef Ring," 129.

²² Edge Hill Fresh Beef Ring 1912, Members 1914, and Membership 1916, Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association; The Beef Ring and Woman's Foreign Mission; and Brant and Bentinck Beef Ring Ledger, 1889-1928 and 1934-1943, 112-119, 122-149, 152-155, 158-163, 166-207, 210-213, 242-269, and 272-281.

²³ Mary Ann Neville, ed., *A History of Glenelg Township* (Owen Sound, ON: Stan Brown Printers, 1985), 46-47; and October 9, 1929, Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association.

²⁴ See Brant and Bentinck Beef Ring Butcher Ledger, 1-109.

²⁵ R.W. Sandwell highlights the centrality of occupational pluralism to rural Canadian homes, particularly in the nineteenth century. See Sandwell, "Rural Reconstruction," 13-15; and R. Marvin McInnis, *Perspectives on Ontario Agriculture, 1815-1930* (Gananoque, ON: Langdale Press, 1992), 93-94. See, for example, "Thomas Turnbull," Glenelg Township, Grey County (South), Census of Canada, 1901, 1, 13; "Thomas Turnbull," Glenelg Township, Grey County (South East), Census of Canada, 1921, 1, 5; "L. E. Peterson," Blenheim Township, Canning Village, Oxford County (North), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 3, 33; "L. E. Peterson," Blenheim Township, Oxford County (North), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 7, 72; "Chris Engel," Brant Township, Bruce County (East), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 1, 8; "Christian Engel," Brant Township, Bruce County (South), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 3, 32; "Christ Engel," Brant Township, Bruce County (South), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 2, 21; "H. Engel," Township of Brant Assessment Roll, 1935, Brockton Heritage Committee, 741, 45; "H. Engel," Township of Brant Assessment Roll, 1940, 526, 46; "John Engel," Township of Brant Assessment Roll, 1945, 44 and 55; "Clifford McCracken," Township of Sullivan Assessment Roll, 1929, Grey Roots Museum & Archives, 259; "Clifford McCracken," Sullivan Township, Grey-Bruce, Ontario, Canada, Voters Lists, Federal Elections, 1940, M-4769, 1; "The Popular Beef Ring," 1087; "Summer Meat Supply at Cost Price," 856; and Werner, "Fresh Beef at Cost," 718. See also "The Beef Ring," *Alberta History*, 29.

²⁶ See Derry, *Ontario's Cattle Kingdom*, 144-145; and Freidberg, 66-72. MacLachlan highlights the growth of industrial-scale beef processing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but also notes the continued endurance of on-farm meat processing into the post-Second World War period. See MacLachlan, 7, 124, 159-60, 165, 168-70, and 185.

²⁷ [February 24, 1914], The Beef Ring and Woman's Foreign Mission; and "Rules & Regulations Governing the Members of the Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association," Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association.

²⁸ Typically, the hide, heart, liver, head, and "rough part" of the beef were returned to the supplying member. See, for example, "Rules & Regulations Governing the Members of the Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association," and June 9, 1899, Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association; "Beef Rings," *Farmer's Advocate*, May 19, 1910, 843; and "The Summer's Meat Supply on the Farm," 786-787.

²⁹ [1919 Minutes], The Beef Ring and Woman's Foreign Mission.

³⁰ See October 19, 1927, October 17, 1928, October 18, 193[3], October 17, 1934, and September 30, 1942, Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association.

³¹ Gateman, ed., 368.

³² Similarly, a 1916 article by W.G.O. stressed the integrity of an Oxford County beef ring butcher, E. B. Palmer, and his ability "to [keep the ring] running harmoniously" for over two decades. See W.G.O., "Integrity in the Beef Ring," *The Farm & Dairy & Rural Home*, October 19, 1916, 5.

³³ Presumably, Turnbull's final season as butcher was in 1928; at the annual meeting that fall, shareholders passed a motion to thank Turnbull, and the president and secretary were appointed to find a butcher for the 1929 season. See October 19, 1927, October 17, 1928, and October 9, 1929, Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association.

³⁴ These operating expenses included two gallon pails, a wooden bucket, a broom, and the inspection fees for a Dr. Wolfe. See October 18, 193[3], and October 17, 1934, Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association.

³⁵ October 18, 193[3], Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association.

³⁶ McCracken was rehired for the 1944 and 1945 seasons. See September 30, 1942, October 20, 1943, and October 10, 1944, Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association.

³⁷ “Rules & Regulations Governing the Members of the Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association,” Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association; [Original Regulations], Brant and Bentinck Beef Ring Minutes; [February 24, 1914], The Beef Ring and Woman’s Foreign Mission; and “Beef Rings,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, May 19, 1910, 843.

³⁸ “How to Get Fresh Meat on the Farm,” *The Farming World & the Canadian Farm & Home*, May 15, 1906, 344; and “The Beef Ring,” *Alberta History*, 29.

³⁹ Direct price comparisons cannot be made from 1939 through 1944, as the Brant and Bentinck ring arranged a committee to set the final price near the end of the “current” season. See [Original Regulations], October 22, 1937, October 20, 1939, October 25, 1940, [Minutes for 1941], Minutes for 1942, [Minutes for 1943], and Minutes for 1944, Brant and Bentinck Beef Ring Minutes. See also Spencer, *Beef Raising*, 107.

⁴⁰ The price of beef per pound in the Brant and Bentinck and Edge Hill rings was 14 cents in 1928, but was 16 cents in the Blenheim ring. There were similarities in pricing with some of the rings discussed in the farm press. See “The Popular Beef Ring,” 1087; [1910 Meeting], Brant and Bentinck Beef Ring Minutes; and George J. Lowe, “A Thirty-five-year-old Beef Ring,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, October 16, 1930, 1519-1520.

⁴¹ These years were 1901, 1903 to 1907, and 1932.

⁴² November 8, 1917, Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association; and Minutes of Annual Meeting of Blenheim Beef Ass[ociation] for 1919, The Beef Ring and Woman’s Foreign Mission.

⁴³ See MacFarlane, 361; and Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond, and John English, *Canada, 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 181.

⁴⁴ See MacFarlane, 361; and Kenneth Norrie and Douglas Owram, *A History of the Canadian Economy* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1991), 475.

⁴⁵ See, for example, “How to Get Fresh Meat on the Farm,” 344; and “Summer Meat Supply at Cost Price,” 856.

⁴⁶ See, for example, October 12, 1916, November 8, 1917, November 13, 1918, October 30, 1919, 1920, October 13, 192[1], November 13, 1922, October 25, 1923, and November 5, 1924, Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association.

⁴⁷ October 27, 1905, Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association.

⁴⁸ October 18, [1933], October 17, 1934, October 7, 1936, October 27, 1937, and September 30, 1942, Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association Minutes.

⁴⁹ “Preserving the Summer Beef,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, July 5, 1923, 1003.

⁵⁰ Fines were collected in the years 1909 to 1922, 1924 to 1932, and 1936.

⁵¹ “Rules & Regulations Governing the Members of the Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association,” Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association; [Original Regulations], Brant and Bentinck Beef Ring Minutes; and [February 24, 1914], The Beef Ring and Woman’s Foreign Mission.

⁵² November 8, 1917, and October 5, 1932, Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association.

⁵³ December 8, 1919, The Beef Ring and Woman’s Foreign Mission.

⁵⁴ October 9, 1929, Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association.

⁵⁵ October 25, 1940, Brant and Bentinck Beef Ring Minutes; and Brant and Bentinck Beef Ring Butcher Ledger, 1940, 274-275.

⁵⁶ October 25, 1940, Brant and Bentinck Beef Ring Minutes.

⁵⁷ See, for example, “Rules & Regulations Governing the Members of the Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association,” Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association; “Fresh Meat of Choice Quality Every Week,” 652; and “Advantages of a Beef Ring,” 599.

⁵⁸ See “Rules & Regulations Governing the Members of the Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association,” and October 19, 1909, Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association; and [Original Regulations], Brant and Bentinck Beef Ring.

⁵⁹ For more information on the grading of beef cattle, see Derry, *Ontario’s Cattle Kingdom*, 90, and 99.

⁶⁰ It appears that, for two seasons in the early 1930s, the Edge Hill ring paid a Dr. Wolfe to inspect the beef, but returned to a reliance on its own inspectors shortly thereafter. See [February 24, 1914], The Beef Ring and Woman’s Foreign Mission; October 1, 1897 to October 18, 1901, and October 16, 1903 to 1944, Brant and Bentinck Beef Ring Minutes; and “Rules & Regulations Governing the Members of the Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association,” Annual Meeting 1932, October 18, 193[3], September 30, 1942, October 20, 1943, and October 10, 1944, Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association.

⁶¹ A similar regulation regarding lumps was passed at yearly Brant and Bentinck meetings until at least 1907. Perhaps these regulations referred to cattle affected by warble flies; not only did the grubs of these flies ruin the beef hide, but they also affected the meat. See, for example, October 18, 1898, Brant & Bentinck Beef Ring; October 10, 1944, Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association; "Ox Warble Very Prevalent this Year," *Canadian Farm*, April 30, 1915, 3; and C. S., "Warbles in Cattle Cause Heavy Loss," *Farmer's Advocate*, July 12, 1928, 1098.

⁶² [February 24, 1914], The Beef Ring and Woman's Foreign Mission.

⁶³ December 10, 1928, The Beef Ring and Woman's Foreign Mission.

⁶⁴ See, for example, October 25, 1915, November 8, 1917, and October 25, 1923, Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association.

⁶⁵ Although payment for the hide traditionally went to the supplying farmer, in this case, the payment would have been used to cover the cost of butchering, and any remaining funds would "go to the ring." Certainly, however, the price for the hide, especially when the butcher's fees had been subtracted, would not have been enough to supplement the cost of the fresh beef. See October 25, 1915, Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association.

⁶⁶ "Fresh Meat of Choice Quality Every Week," 652; "The Summer's Meat Supply on the Farm," 786-787; "Advantages of a Beef Ring," 599; Werner, "Fresh Beef at Cost," 718; and Hubbert, 23.

⁶⁷ See, for example, MacPherson, *Each for All*, 10; Badgley, 151; and Wood, 83-85.

⁶⁸ See October 25, 1915, and September 30, 1942, Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association.

⁶⁹ September 1, 1944, Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association.

⁷⁰ A. A. Werner had a similar impression from beef rings in his area. See Werner, "Fresh Beef at Cost," 718.

⁷¹ Werner, "Fresh Beef at Cost," 718.

⁷² An analysis of years of participation for Brant and Bentinck shareholders could not be undertaken, as the minutes of the organization are missing for the years 1911 to 1925, and there is a gap in the butcher's accounts.

⁷³ The average might have been slightly higher for participants in the Blenheim ring, as only the shareholders providing animals were listed for the 1914, 1920, 1922, and 1923 seasons. The "adding" of half shares (as discussed in the case of the Edge Hill ring) was only possible for the 1920 season. Years of participation in this paragraph have been rounded to the nearest whole number.

⁷⁴ Minutes did occasionally mention the settling of half-share accounts. See, for example, October 17, 1900, October 30, 1901, October 31, 1902, October 17, 1906, and October 14, 1914, Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association.

⁷⁵ Similarly, George J. Lowe highlighted that there were "several sons of the original members in places occupied by their fathers" in the 35-year-old Mutual Fresh Beef Supply Company. See Lowe, "A Thirty-five-year-old Beef Ring," 1519-1520.

⁷⁶ In the case of Edge Hill shareholders, the analysis was limited to those supplying animals listed in the minutes. In the case of Brant and Bentinck shareholders, the butcher's accounts were used, as they listed both full and part shareholders. The subscription list from the October 24, 1929, meeting was used for the 1930 shareholders, however, as there was a gap in the butcher's accounts. The subscription list only included the names of shareholders supplying animals.

⁷⁷ While the Blenheim minutes typically included the names of part shareholders, the list of 1920 shareholders only included the names of the men supplying animals for the season. See December 8, 1919, The Beef Ring and Woman's Foreign Mission.

⁷⁸ The subsequent analysis, tables, and maps present all available information, drawn from these sources. If a specific figure was omitted from the assessment rolls, the shareholder was not included in the given calculations. Similarly, if there were multiple men with the same name in the township, the shareholder was not included in the given calculations or maps. A total of five men, three of whom were Edge Hill shareholders and two of whom were Brant and Bentinck shareholders, could not be found in the assessment rolls or local histories. The sources are as follows: Township of Glenelg Abstract Books 1-2, Grey Roots Museum & Archives; Township of Glenelg Assessment Rolls, 1899, 1909, 1919, 1929, and 1939, Grey Roots Museum & Archives; Township of Bentinck Assessment Rolls, 1900, 1911, 1920, 1930, and 1940, Grey Roots Museum & Archives; Township of Bentinck Abstract Books 2A-3, Grey Roots Museum & Archives; Township of Brant Assessment Rolls, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, and 1940, Brockton Heritage Committee; Township of Brant Abstract Books Volumes 1-3, Bruce County Museum & Cultural Centre;

Township of Blenheim Collector's Roll, 1919, Norwich & District Historical Society; and Blenheim Township Land Abstracts, Oxford Historical Society. (The 1911 Township of Bentinck Assessment Roll was used, as the 1910 Roll is unavailable.) Individual land abstracts, held by the Grey Roots Museum & Archives, Bruce County Museum & Cultural Centre, and the Oxford Historical Society, were consulted as needed to clarify the ownership of properties and the locations of part lots.

⁷⁹ If the shareholder was listed as part of the household of the property owner, he was not classified as a tenant. A total of six men, one of whom was an Edge Hill shareholder and five of whom were Brant and Bentinck shareholders, were clearly listed as tenants.

⁸⁰ With the possible exceptions of two men, all of these shareholders went on to purchase or inherit farms. In two cases in the Brant and Bentinck ring, female family members owned the farms, but their adult male relatives participated in the ring. As discussed by Catharine Wilson, different family members might attend or participate in co-operative activities on behalf of their families. See Wilson, "Reciprocal Work Bees and the Meaning of Neighbourhood."

⁸¹ See Gebby, 46-52 and 91-98; and Margaret Derry, "Gender Conflicts in Dairying: Ontario's Butter Industry, 1880-1920," *Ontario History* 90, no. 1 (1998), 31-47.

⁸² There were a total of ten female participants, three of whom were Edge Hill shareholders and seven of whom were Brant and Bentinck shareholders. Eight of these shareholders appear to have been widowed farm women continuing their late husbands' participation. Similarly, women did not participate in the annual meetings of the Mutual Fresh Beef Supply Company until approximately 1928, when the ring incorporated a supper and social programme into its annual meetings. See Lowe, "A Thirty-five-year-old Beef Ring," 1519-1520.

⁸³ The land abstract records, collector's rolls, and assessment rolls most clearly show land ownership, meaning that some of the participants may also have rented some land. See Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Fifth Census of Canada, 1911, Volume IV*, 56, 62, and 66; *Sixth Census of Canada, 1921, Volume V*, 222, 224, 226, and 236; *Seventh Census of Canada, 1931, Volume VIII*, 17, 392, 394, 488, and 492; and *Eighth Census of Canada, 1941, Volume VIII*, 868, and 870.

⁸⁴ This information was not compiled in the 1901 or 1911 agricultural censuses. In 1921, the calculations were done at the township level, but, beginning in 1931, the calculations were done at the county level. The subsequent comparisons between the township or county data and shareholder data focus on the shareholders who farmed; the few cases of shareholders employed in other types of work are addressed later.

⁸⁵ Given the availability of records from the three rings, the landholding patterns of the Blenheim shareholders were compared only to the 1921 data, while the landholding patterns of the Edge Hill shareholders and the Brant and Bentinck shareholders were compared to the 1921, 1931, and 1941 data. The landholdings of both the Edge Hill and Blenheim shareholders were calculated in the years of subscription, but typically remained the same in subsequent seasons.

⁸⁶ Only twice did farmers with fewer than 51 acres participate, and both men were shareholders in the Brant and Bentinck ring. See "Chris Sacks" and "William Sacks," Bentinck Township, Grey County, Census of Canada, 1891, 68, 16.

⁸⁷ I am influenced by Gordon Darroch's study of nineteenth-century Ontario farm families, in which he highlights the centrality of a "middling" class. See Darroch, "Scanty Fortunes and Rural Middle-Class Formation in Nineteenth-Century Ontario."

⁸⁸ The 1919 collector's roll for Blenheim Township did not include this information.

⁸⁹ In 1899, Edge Hill shareholders had an average of seven people in their households, while, in 1900, Brant and Bentinck shareholder households had an average of six people. In 1939, Edge Hill shareholders had an average of four people in their households.

⁹⁰ This finding is in keeping with the religious profiles of Brant and Bentinck Townships, which had sizeable Lutheran populations, as well as a mix of other Christian denominations. See Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Fourth Census of Canada, 1901, Volume I: Population* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, 1902), 188-189, and 194-95; *Fifth Census of Canada, 1911, Volume 2: Religions, Origins, Birthplace, Citizenship, Literacy, & Infirmities, by Provinces, Districts, and Sub-Districts*, 46-47, and 52-53; *Sixth Census of Canada, 1921, Volume I: Population*, 672-673, and 678-679; *Seventh Census of Canada, 1931, Volume III: Population by Areas*, 606-607, and 612-613; and *Eighth Census of Canada, 1941, Volume II*, 592, and 595.

⁹¹ Given the complexity of the divisions of the original 200-acre lots, the Blenheim map shows approximate locations. Three small part lots (under 20 acres), as well as village properties, were not included on the Brant and Bentinck maps.

⁹² Anecdotal evidence suggests farmers in the early twentieth century may have walked their cattle to the slaughterhouse; by the mid-twentieth century, farmers could also truck their animals there. See October 10, 1944, Edge Hill Fresh Beef Association.

⁹³ This analysis was not undertaken for the 1930 season, as the full list of shareholders was unavailable. Similarly, such an analysis could not be undertaken in the case of the Blenheim and Edge Hill rings, as complete lists of shareholders were unavailable. As has been noted, in a number of cases, multiple men with the same name resided within the geographic area of the ring. When “filling in the blanks” of non-shareholders, such men were omitted from the calculations to ensure the data was not skewed. The main geographic area of the ring is outlined in black on the map in Figure 7.

⁹⁴ There were two exceptions when the calculations were rounded to the nearest whole number: the average age of shareholders and non-shareholders was the same in 1900, as was the average household size of shareholders and non-shareholders in 1910. It is hypothesized that the slightly smaller farm sizes of non-shareholders can be connected to their slightly younger ages; often, when shareholders were tracked through the assessment rolls, it became apparent that they acquired more land over time. See Table 2 for a comparison between the shareholders and non-shareholders residing within the geographic area of the ring.

⁹⁵ The lists of non-shareholders were compared to the butcher’s ledger for the whole period of analysis (1898 to 1945). If the first initial and last name of one of these men were found in the butcher’s ledger, he was noted as potentially being a shareholder in another year.

⁹⁶ See October 20, 1939, and [1941 Annual Meeting], Brant and Bentinck Beef Ring Minutes; Brant and Bentinck Beef Ring Ledger, 1899, 1901-1906, 1909-1910, 1940-1945, 116-119, 122-133, 138-141, and 274-285; “James Anderson,” Township of Brant Assessment Roll, 1900, 1006, 45; “James Anderson,” Township of Bentinck Assessment Roll, 1900, 530; “John Black,” Township of Bentinck Assessment Roll, 1900, 557; “John Black,” Township of Bentinck Assessment Roll, 1910, 972, 62; Township of Bentinck Land Abstracts, Book 3, 41; and “Andrew Milne,” Township of Brant Assessment Roll, 1940, 498 and 572, 43 and 50.

⁹⁷ See Brant and Bentinck Beef Ring Ledger, 1900, 1910, and 1917-1921, 118-119, 140-141, 158-163, 170-171, 176-177, and 180-181; “Daniel and Neil Sullivan,” Township of Brant Assessment Roll, 1900, 8, 44; “Rev. Alex Leslie,” Township of Brant Assessment Roll, 1910, 969, 62; “Rev. Ernest Denief,” Township of Brant Assessment Roll, 1920, 535, 28; and “Ernest Pries,” Township of Brant Assessment Roll, 1920, 785, 41.

⁹⁸ Richardson was listed as a shareholder for every year except the 1922 season. The minutes from December 21, 1921, however, do not include the names of part shareholders. See December 21, 1921, January 3, 1928, and December 10, 1928, The Beef Ring and Woman’s Foreign Mission.

⁹⁹ As heretofore discussed, bylaws increasingly limited urban families from keeping large livestock. See, for example, Bradbury, *Working Families*, 164-166; and Bradbury, “Pigs, Cows, and Boarders,” 17, 19, and 45-46.

¹⁰⁰ The butcher recorded the amount of meat each shareholder received over the course of the season. The household size of each shareholder was found in the Brant and Bentinck assessment rolls. This average could not be calculated for the 1930 season, given the lack of dates in the butcher’s ledger for this period.

¹⁰¹ See Trant, M428-445. These figures present “what [was] available for consumption on the average year by the total Canadian population,” rather than exact estimates of amounts actually eaten. Presumably, average consumption of meat could vary by such factors as socioeconomic position and age.

¹⁰² Horowitz, for example, suggests that beef was an “inconvenient” meat for farm families, since it could not be easily preserved. See Horowitz, 18.

¹⁰³ Similarly, A. A. Werner explained that “[g]etting too much meat seems to be the cause of most dissatisfaction.” See “Preserving the Summer Beef,” 1003; and Werner, “Fresh Beef at Cost,” 718.

¹⁰⁴ Wilson, “Reciprocal Work Bees and the Meaning of Neighbourhood.”

¹⁰⁵ See *Lambton Heritage Museum*, <http://www.lclmg.org/lclmg/?TabId=113>; and October 4, 1957, September 26, 1958, April 27, 1959, September 18, 1959, and September 30, 1960, Brant and Bentinck Beef Ring Minutes.

¹⁰⁶ See, for example, Hubbert, 23; Alma Women’s Institute, ed., “The Beef Ring,” *Tweedsmuir History*, 292, <http://www.wellington.ca/en/discover/tweedsmuirhistory.asp>; Scugog Shores Museum Village,

Greenbank: The Heart of Reach Township – The Beef Ring, http://www.museevirtuel-virtualmuseum.ca/sgc-cms/histoires_de_chez_nous-community_memories/pm_v2.php?id=story_line&lg=English&fl=0&ex=412&sl=3085&pos=1; Pickering Museum Village, *Beef Ring Barn*, <http://www.picnet.org/pmv/beefringbarn.htm>; and Robinson, ed., *Historically Bound*, 507.

¹⁰⁷ See, for example, March 30, 1937, November 20, 1937, March 12, 1938, November 11, 1939, June 14, 1940, and December 14, 1940, Fred Perkins Diaries; and Robinson, ed., *Historically Bound*, 507.

¹⁰⁸ Halpern, 110.

Dairy Products & Eggs

On January 18, 1904, Frances Poole of Brant County (depicted in Figure 8) addressed the routine nature of work with livestock on Ontario farms. Poole explained that “We are now milking six heifers and one old cow three years old. We have 35 head of cattle[,] five horses & colts besides hogs; and its chore in the morning and chore at noon and chore



Figure 8: Photograph of Frances, Bruce, Florence, and Chauncey Poole.

Source: Norwich & District Historical Society.

Note: Bruce and Florence were the children of Frances and Chauncey.

at night. [A]nd that work gets rather monotonous in a dairy.”¹ Other diarists apparently shared Poole’s sentiment, as they rarely detailed their daily chores. Some diarists only recorded the completion of barnyard chores if they deviated from the typical routine, whether finishing them up late, as noted by the Beaton women of Wellington County, or being interrupted or hurried by stormy weather, as noted by Mary Ann King of Welland County.² Given the prevalence of cattle and chickens on Ontario farms, as discussed in Chapter 2, it could be hypothesized that farm families relied on household-produced dairy goods and eggs. Indeed, many of these goods were commonly produced and consumed on-farm. Women remained active in dairy production, thus complicating the historiography, which often highlights the devaluation of women’s work and the decline of farm butter production. Dairy production was, however, often seasonal, and impacted

by life-course transitions within the household. Consequently, farm families were not fully self-sufficient with regard to dairy products and eggs. Rather, their household production was supplemented with purchases from neighbours, extended kin, local shopkeepers, and cheese and butter factories. This chapter begins with an examination of the production, purchase, and consumption of dairy products, including milk, butter, cheese, and ice cream, before turning to an examination of eggs.

First, let us begin with the most basic of dairy products: milk. Farm families commonly produced milk, as evidenced by the sale of milk and/or cream by the Shields household of Peel County in the 1920s, and the John Cameron Topham household of Oxford County in the early 1940s.³ This income was an important aspect of farm revenue, as demonstrated by discussions in the farm press.⁴ Similarly, Harry Boyle, reflecting on his childhood on a Huron County farm in the 1920s and 1930s, stressed the significance of this income, safeguarded by his mother in an old teapot, for the smooth functioning of his family's farm and household.⁵ There was a seasonal element to this work; typically cows "freshened" (or produced milk after calving) in the spring.⁶ Families producing milk for marketplace sales did shift "freshening" seasons for parts of their herds by breeding cows at different times, but a winter slump in milk production continued, at least in the United States, into the post-Second World War period.⁷

Both farm men and women participated in dairy work, as in the Atkins household of Brant County, the White household of Prince Edward County, and the Perkins household of Oxford County.⁸ Similarly, the early twentieth-century prescriptive literature suggests the ongoing involvement of farm women, alongside men, in the dairy, completing such tasks as separating cream, cleaning separators, and milking.⁹ In keeping

with Nancy Grey Osterud's findings in New York, evidence from Ontario farm diaries suggests that the division of dairy chores shifted amongst family members, depending on other demands for their time.¹⁰ This flexibility was most evident in the McQueen household of Huron County; both Art and Jean shared the milking work, but either individual could pick up the "slack," depending on the couple's broader itinerary. Art finished milking on September 14, 1923, so that Jean could go to London, for example, and Jean completed the chore on April 9, 1925, so that Art could finish some fieldwork.¹¹ Typically, families appeared accustomed to this mixed gender dairy work, although a disgruntled woman named Gertrude, writing to the *Farmer's Advocate* in 1905, argued that "a woman's hands are full with her house alone, without working in the barn or barnyard."¹² Similarly, Helen Nixon of Norfolk County noted that she "once tried to milk by hand but I was no good;" her daughters, later, however, learned how to use the family's milking machine.¹³

Overall, the shared and flexible nature of this work complicates Margaret Derry's arguments that women's labour in the farm dairy was devalued in the early twentieth century, and that women became simply helpers of men.¹⁴ Perhaps this continued flexibility can be at least partially attributed to the fact that the dairy income typically constituted only one component of total revenue for the families in this study, as opposed to being the sole focus of the farm.¹⁵ Families produced milk and cream throughout the period, with men and women sharing and shifting the dairy workload, depending on larger farm and family activities. Such flexibility suggests the prevalence of at least a degree of mutuality between men and women, as they all contributed to the smooth operation of their farms.

Presumably, since dairy production was such an integral part of farming operations in the period, families depended largely on household-produced milk.¹⁶ Perhaps because this was such a commonplace feature of daily life, milk consumption was rarely noted. Some sources do, however, hint at this on-farm consumption. Ralph Smith's memoirs of life on a Huron County farm in the 1930s and 1940s, for example, indicate a reliance on farm-produced milk.¹⁷ Similarly, James Glen, Sr., of Middlesex County kept "milk at home" in November 1913, and in April 1915 he noted "2 qts of milk" as both received and spent, suggesting the household used this milk produced on-farm.¹⁸ The centrality of household production to families' milk consumption is supported by the fact that diarists or account keepers rarely noted purchasing or getting milk from others. The Green family of Huron County, for example, produced milk and dairy products in the mid- to late 1910s, and only recorded two instances of getting milk from William Graham, presumably another local farmer.¹⁹ Similarly, the Crawford family of Ontario County produced cream and butter in the early twentieth century, and only noted a handful of instances of getting milk, typically from their neighbours, Alex and Pauline McAllister.²⁰ Such evidence suggests families may have turned to neighbours, on an infrequent basis, to supplement low supplies of on-farm milk. Rarely did farm families make formal purchases of milk in the marketplace; the few examples are of modified milk products, such as the canned or evaporated milk bought by the Hawleys of Lennox and Addington County in 1936, and the chocolate milk purchased by Gordon Robertson of Middlesex County in 1944.²¹

Farm families also incorporated butter into their diets.²² Many families churned, worked, and printed butter themselves, demonstrating the persistence of this aspect of

dairy processing in the farm home into the mid-twentieth century.²³ The Atkins household, for example, carried out such work in the first decade of the twentieth century, while the Beaton household did so in the 1930s and early 1940s.²⁴ Other families purchased items used in butter production, such as churns, butter paper, and butter colour.²⁵ (The latter was a type of dye used to ensure that butter had an “even, gold shade.”²⁶) Such purchases are another example of families consuming to produce in order to consume a homemade product. Typically, one woman within the household churned and made the butter, as was done by Kathleen Crawforth of Ontario County, Jean McQueen of Huron County, and Merinda Pearce of Elgin County.²⁷ These main butter makers were periodically assisted by others; Kathleen Crawforth, for example, was assisted by her husband, William Joshua Crawforth, Mrs. Sonley (a neighbour), and a woman named Ivy.²⁸ A few advertisements in the early twentieth century also made explicit reference to the centrality of women in household butter production.²⁹ This largely female production was in keeping with longer-term trends,³⁰ but there is also evidence of one male household head taking responsibility for this chore. Homer White was the primary butter maker in his household in the 1910s, suggesting families made individualized decisions based on preference and notions of the best use of their time.³¹ Families commonly produced at least some butter for household consumption, often (but not always) delegating the responsibility for this task to a female family member.³² Notably, this evidence of women’s continued household production complicates some of the information presented in the farm press, as well as in the historiography, which traditionally highlights its decline and devaluation in this period.³³

Butter churning could be quite time-consuming; both the White and the King families noted the chore taking, at its extreme, upwards of two or three hours.³⁴ According to writer Margaret Visser, both temperature and churning method were important to ensure the work could be completed in a timely manner.³⁵ In conjunction with the stamina necessary for the chore, the process of churning could be physically demanding; writing to the *Farmers' Sun* in 1919, "Onlooker" explained that "many times twenty to thirty pound[s] of butter I have lifted from the old back-breaking dash churn."³⁶ Even if the worker devoted a considerable amount of time to the task, she or he did not necessarily achieve results. Both White and King recorded instances of simply being unable to produce butter from a specific churning.³⁷ Despite such difficulties in household production, many families clearly desired this homemade butter.

Beyond the household production of butter, a number of households purchased butter locally. As was the case with meat, some families combined household production with formal purchasing to meet their needs, as evidenced by the Treffry family of Oxford County in 1900, the Elsie Innes family, also of Oxford County, in the early 1910s, and the John Graham Weir family of Peterborough County in the first two decades of the century.³⁸ For some families, butter production may have been seasonal; in the 1920s and early 1930s, Jean McQueen, for example, typically made butter between the months of June and October.³⁹ Such production roughly corresponds with the aforementioned spring freshening of cows, and winter decline in milk production. McQueen may have purchased butter, or may have preserved some of this homemade butter, for her household for the rest of the year.⁴⁰ Similarly, some families made seasonal purchases in

the fall through the late spring. This was the case, for example, with the Kelly household of Oxford County, the Weir household, and the Beaton household.⁴¹

The transition from homemade to purchased butter was not simply a straightforward seasonal one, however, as evidence of limited purchases throughout the year, in the cases of the Kelly and Treffry families, documents.⁴² In late September 1900, Treffry noted, for example, the “boys seperated [sic] the eve’s milk as we are near out of butter & can’t get any[.] it is 25 cts [per] lb...Ma scrubbed [the] churn & butter bowl as they had been down [in the] cellar all summer & were mouldy.”⁴³ The family thus had not churned recently, but resorted to household production because of the unavailability (and presumably high price) of store-bought butter in the early fall. The necessity for household production appears to have been a relatively short window for the Treffry family, as it again purchased butter in mid-October.⁴⁴ Farm families blended the household production and purchasing of butter, with their decisions shaped by shifting seasonal availability and cost.

The records of other households, such as the Nathaniel Edward Leeder household of Bruce County and the James Glen, Sr., household of Middlesex County, suggest that some families may have moved towards a reliance on purchased butter over the period.⁴⁵ In the case of Glen, for example, his household appears to have stopped butter production by the early 1910s; both of his daughters had established their own homes by this time, and his wife, in her early seventies, might already have been suffering from rheumatism.⁴⁶ There does not, however, appear to have been an overarching transition from homemade to purchased butter during this period; the Beaton household, the Ferrier household of Wellington County, and the Meyer household of Perth County all made

butter into the late 1930s and early 1940s.⁴⁷ Decisions regarding the production and consumption of butter were shaped by familial-level concerns, impacted by seasonal production patterns and even life-course transitions within the household.

When purchasing butter, farm families had a range of options. Commonly, families bought butter from nearby neighbours and extended kin.⁴⁸ James Glen, Sr., for example, purchased butter from his married children, Rose Campbell, Annie White, and William Glen, as well as neighbours William and Grace Shore, and Egerton and Emma Stonehouse.⁴⁹ Similarly, Jemina Hannah Leeder of Bruce County purchased butter from the Krauths, Guyers, and Eidts, who were all neighbouring families.⁵⁰ Butter could also be bought in local markets, as demonstrated by the Bogue family of Middlesex County in the 1920s and 1930s.⁵¹ As many families expanded their dairy production, another option was to purchase butter “back” from the local creamery or dairy to which they sold cream.⁵² Indeed, Glen, W.H. Cowan of Oxford County, and the Millers of Lennox and Addington County all recorded the deduction of the price of butter from their cream incomes.⁵³ Writers in the farm press, such as Sister Diana of the *Farmers’ Sun*, periodically extolled the benefits of such a system, as it reduced the workload in the home.⁵⁴ Finally, families purchased butter in local general stores and grocery stores, such as those frequented by David H. Kelly into the mid-1920s.⁵⁵ At least in the early twentieth century, this store-bought butter could still have been made on individual farms; Mary A. King, for example, sold butter to local shops for store credit.⁵⁶ Notably, the continued evidence of these local sales complicates the historiography, which emphasizes their decline in the late nineteenth century.⁵⁷ The range of purchasing

locations demonstrates farm families' complex market connections, shaped by their roles as producers and consumers, as well as their community ties.

Cheese, of course, was another common dairy product, and many families specified the consumption of cheese.⁵⁸ While the farm press periodically printed instructions for making cheese at home in the early twentieth century, families overwhelmingly chose to purchase it instead.⁵⁹ Presumably, this can be related to the fact that the manufacture of cheese was a lengthy and time-consuming process, requiring technical knowledge and skill. This finding is in keeping with the broader historiography.⁶⁰ Only Loretta (Talcott) White specified making cottage cheese, while a range of families, including the Russell Innes family of Oxford County, the Meyer family of Perth County, and the Robinson family of Middlesex County, all bought cheese.⁶¹ Typically, families made relatively small purchases of cheese. Jemina Hannah Leeder, for example, often bought up to two pounds of cheese at a time, although she also made some larger purchases in the fall.⁶² She made up to two purchases of cheese a month, suggesting that her family consumed a relatively small amount of it. While some families, such as the Hawley family of Lennox and Addington County, bought cheese relatively frequently, others, such as the McIntosh family of Bruce County, only made a few purchases over the entire span of their records.⁶³ The notable differences in purchasing patterns for the two households suggest differences in taste; presumably, the Hawleys enjoyed cheese, typically making between one to four purchases per month in the 1930s. In the case of the McIntosh household, in contrast, perhaps the family only had occasional cravings for cheese, or simply incorporated it into a few special meals, as the family only made up to two purchases per year in the 1920s.

Interestingly, according to a 1916 article in the *Canadian Countryman* by H.H. Dean, cheese provided more calories than beef, when comparing the amount of each that could be purchased for one dollar.⁶⁴ Dean also stressed the benefits of fats in dairy products for human health.⁶⁵ Mrs. C.H. Burns, speaking at the 1912 WI annual meeting, even suggested cheese should be considered “as a possible cheap staple food.”⁶⁶ Farm families frequently purchased beef, suggesting that cheese was not outside of their financial means. Loretta White’s diary entries suggest that at least some of this cheese was eaten with fruit or dessert, at the end of meals, while other cheese was incorporated into prepared dishes, such as macaroni and cheese, and cheese soufflé.⁶⁷ Such dishes suggest farm women’s interests in, and connections to, broader cooking trends. Families bought and consumed cheese, but the frequency of purchase could vary notably by household, shaped by personal taste and preference.

As with the purchase of butter, families could acquire cheese from a local dairy or factory as part of their payment on account for shipping milk.⁶⁸ Such an arrangement was clearly evident in the case of James Adam Glen, Sr., in the first two decades of the twentieth century.⁶⁹ The Treffry and White families, as well as the Simmons family of Lennox and Addington County, could have had similar arrangements, as they attended cheese meetings, and made shipments of milk to cheese factories.⁷⁰ At least some Ontario cheese factories were co-operatively owned and operated by local farmers, and they demonstrated the blending of co-operative relations and market-oriented values evident in the earlier discussion of beef rings.⁷¹ In contrast to the rings, however, cheese factories had higher operating expenses, and mainly marketed their products to the broader public, at times even exporting their cheese to England.⁷² Other farm families bought cheese in

local stores; the Leeders, for example, purchased cheese from D. Geddes and Co., a general store in Port Elgin.⁷³ Cheese was readily accessible in rural Ontario, whether from a cheese factory, or a local store.

Farm families also consumed ice cream throughout the period. Typically, they ate ice cream between mid-spring and early fall, although there is some evidence of consumption in the colder months of the year.⁷⁴ The Hawley household, for example, generally consumed ice cream up to three times a year between May and September.⁷⁵ As suggested by the Hawley accounts, and as demonstrated by many other households, including the Beatons and the McIntoshes, families typically ate ice cream only a handful of times each year.⁷⁶ Presumably, farm families' ice cream consumption did not reach the broader American per capita consumption figures, which were approximately a quart in 1900 and a gallon in 1915.⁷⁷ Ice cream was a welcome treat during warm weather; the Poole family, for example, ate ice cream on May 3, 1904, and, according to Frances, it was "a cool off after yesterday's heat."⁷⁸ Indeed, some diarists and account keepers clearly noted the special nature of this snack; Howard Jones of Elgin County, for example, recorded ice cream in his "1910 Finery" accounts, and Loretta White sometimes treated others, or was treated to, ice cream in the 1910s and early 1930s.⁷⁹ Ice cream was often consumed in social settings, whether visiting more informally with family and friends, or as part of special celebrations. In the first decade of the twentieth century, Merinda Pearce, for example, ate ice cream at socials, when company visited, and at her daughter's wedding.⁸⁰

This ice cream could be made at home, as evidenced in the Simmons and White households; according to food history writer Jeri Quinzio, it had become feasible for

Americans to make ice cream at home in the late nineteenth century due to improvements in ice cream makers “and more affordable ingredients.”⁸¹ Seemingly more frequently, it could also be purchased in local towns, as was done by the William H. Cowan and the James Glen, Sr., families.⁸² Ice cream was available in a range of local stores; Annie Hill of Wellington County bought ice cream from A.H. Foot, a baker and confectioner in Fergus, while David H. Kelly of Oxford County bought ice cream from William Kirkpatrick, a general storekeeper in Burgessville.⁸³ Given the challenges of preservation, ice cream would have been consumed within a relatively small window after household production or purchasing, suggesting families carefully planned time to enjoy this special treat. Families’ leisure activities, as demonstrated by the consumption of ice cream, were evident even at the apparent height of the agricultural season.

As with cattle and some dairy products, farm families commonly kept chickens and produced eggs.⁸⁴ For many households, eggs constituted one aspect of their income throughout the period.⁸⁵ The Crawforth family, for example, sold eggs in 1905, as did the Beaton family in the late 1930s and early 1940s.⁸⁶ These eggs could be marketed in a range of venues. At least in the early twentieth century, families sold eggs directly to local stores, as the experiences of the Treffry, Poole, and King households demonstrate.⁸⁷ They also sold eggs in markets, and to neighbouring families, as evidenced in the Poole and Beaton households.⁸⁸ In an effort to ensure better marketing, other families established co-operatives to collect and sell eggs, and the farm press periodically discussed how such co-operatives should function.⁸⁹ Finally, by the mid-twentieth century, some families sold eggs to larger companies; the Hawley family, for example, sold eggs to Swift Canada.⁹⁰ Presumably, families kept sufficient quantities of eggs to

provision their households.⁹¹ Again, only glimpses are evident of such household consumption. Nathaniel Edward Leeder, for example, specified the number of eggs his family used in the early twentieth century, even recording their market value.⁹² Similarly, home-produced eggs “were a basic part of the family menu” for the Bogues in the 1920s and 1930s.⁹³ Families produced and marketed eggs in a range of local and broader-ranging markets, and retained enough to supply their own homes for baking and direct consumption.

Egg output shifted by the season and hence families also preserved or purchased eggs. Loretta White documented this most clearly in her 1917 diary, as she recorded the number of eggs her family collected from its hens each day. Its egg production varied markedly over the year, peaking at over fifty eggs per day by March, and slipping to under ten eggs per day in October.⁹⁴ According to geographer Susanne Freidberg, egg production typically reached its height in the spring, “[r]esponding to changes in temperature and day-length.”⁹⁵ Presumably, the frequency and extent of egg sales reflected these seasonal changes. In terms of household consumption during periods of decreased egg production, families had a few options. They could have preserved eggs to ensure sufficient reserves for household consumption in the fall and winter months, as suggested by Freidberg and contemporary advice literature.⁹⁶ The farm press periodically also provided suggestions for substitutions for eggs in recipes in times of scarcity.⁹⁷ Some families supplemented their household production with purchases, as suggested by the Jemina Hannah Leeder household.⁹⁸ Similarly, Ira McIntosh sold eggs in the 1920s, but also made a few purchases in the colder months of the year, when his household

production would have declined.⁹⁹ Families relied on eggs produced on-farm, but at times supplemented their supplies with eggs purchased locally.

Household agricultural practices may also have shifted over time, depending on family and economic circumstances. In the case of the Hawley family, for example, it presumably relied on eggs produced on-farm into the early 1930s; the record-keeper noted the sale of eggs throughout this period, and did not note the purchase of “table” eggs.¹⁰⁰ In late April of 1932, the male household head, Mark, died, leaving a widowed female household head, Ida, alongside two young adult children.¹⁰¹ The family purchased eggs relatively frequently between 1933 and August 1941, suggesting that its household production declined, if not altogether ceased.¹⁰² Beginning in August of 1941, the family resumed considerable egg production; perhaps Ida’s 32-year-old son, Donald, was ready for an expanded agricultural operation.¹⁰³ The number of eggs the family collected during this period exceeded the number it sold, suggesting that these unsold eggs were consumed by the family; this argument is further substantiated by the fact that it no longer recorded the purchase of eggs. For the Hawleys, egg production rose and fell in accordance with family and farm transitions. Families shifted their agricultural production for household use and market sales, depending on the larger family circumstances and perhaps even economic conditions.

The historiography suggests that the centrality of the household production of milk, butter, and eggs for farm families can be contrasted with the experiences of urban families. Bettina Bradbury and Susan Strasser, for example, highlight that some urban residents engaged in small-scale dairy production to supply their own households in the early to mid-nineteenth century.¹⁰⁴ These opportunities, however, had largely declined by

the end of the century.¹⁰⁵ The situation with regard to eggs appears to have been a bit more complex; while residents of some urban areas relied on purchased eggs, Craig Heron's work documents that families in other urban areas may have been able to keep chickens in this period.¹⁰⁶ Thus, while farm families combined household production with purchasing to acquire the dairy products and eggs they desired, their urban counterparts had more limited options, depending on their specific geographical locations.

Overall, Ontario farm families blended household production and purchases to supply their households with a range of dairy goods and eggs. Families commonly produced milk and cream, sharing the work in the dairy amongst female and male family members. Presumably, these families relied on milk produced on-farm, given the scant evidence of milk purchases. They also produced butter, with this chore generally falling to female members of the household. They supplemented this household production with purchases of butter from neighbours, local stores, and the factories to which they shipped cream. Farm families generally consumed cheese purchased from either local cheese factories or stores. The frequency of such purchases varied markedly by family, providing glimpses into the role of taste and preference in the realm of dairy consumption. Families also periodically consumed ice cream, generally buying it as a treat in warmer months of the year. While families commonly produced eggs, they often supplemented on-farm eggs with formal purchases, and shifted the nature and extent of their agricultural production depending on changes in the family structure. Ontario farm families thus combined household production and purchasing to supply themselves with the dairy products and eggs they desired.¹⁰⁷

¹ January 18, 1904, Frances Poole Diary. See also Boyle, 36, 114, and 211; and Smith, *Childhood Memories*, 53-54, and 56-60.

² July 13, 1907, July 19, 1943, July 31, 1943, June 30, 1944, July 19, 1944, July 22, 1944, July 30, 1944, and August 1, 1944, Velma Beaton Diaries; and February 9, 1901, August 21, 1901, May 6, 1902, July 28, 1902, September 9, 1902, March 20, 1903, and May 23, 1904, Mary A. King Diaries.

³ January 10, 1926, February 12, 1926, March 12, 1926, April 13, 1926, May 12, 1926, June 5, 1926, June 12, 1926, June 16, 1926, June 30, 1926, July 13, 1926, August 12, 1926, September 14, 1926, October 13, 1926, November 19, 1926, December 13, 1926, January [no date], 1927, March 12, 1927, April 13, 1927, May 11-12, 1927, and May 18, 1927, Shields Accounts; and July 10, 1945, August 10, 1945, September 10, 1945, October 10, 1945, November [no date], 1945, and December 10, 1945, John Cameron Topham Accounts. For a discussion of the typical transition from shipping milk to shipping cream, see Keach Johnson, "Iowa Dairying at the Turn of the Century: The New Agriculture and Progressivism," *Agricultural History* 45, no. 2 (April 1971): 99-100.

⁴ See, for example, "The Royal Bank of Canada," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 5, 1920, 1395; One Interested, "When Purse Strings are Tight," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 15, 1925, 67; Diana, "Concerning Butter," *Farmers' Sun*, August 13, 1921, 6; and United Farmerette, "The Work and Waste," *Farmers' Sun*, April 16, 1919, 6. See also Marjorie Griffin Cohen, *Women's Work, Markets and Economic Development in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 101; Patrick Nunnally, "From Churns to 'Butter Factories': The Industrialization of Iowa's Dairying, 1860-1900," *The Annals of Iowa* 49 (Winter 1989), 568; Judith N. Moyer, "From Dairy to Doorstep: The Processing and Sale of New Hampshire Dairy Products, 1860s to 1960s," *Historical New Hampshire* 58, no. 3-4 (Fall/Winter 2003), 105; Robert E. Ankli, "Ontario's Dairy Industry, 1880-1920," in *Canadian Papers in Rural History, Volume VII*, ed. Donald H. Akenson (Gananoque, ON: Langdale Press, 1992), 273; Smith-Howard, 24, and 37; Disbrowe, 12, and 32-34; Duncan, "Household Expenses," 62; Guest, "Income Earning Features," 73; Nixon, "Women's Place in Agriculture," 21; and Aitken, "Income Earning for Farm Women," 83. The farm press also frequently discussed the best methods for producing, handling, and storing milk and cream; see, for example, Edgar L. Vincent, "Care of Milk and Cream on the Farm," *Canadian Farm*, November 26, 1909, 6; "Care of Milk and Cream in Cold Weather," *Canadian Farm*, March 4, 1910, 6; W.H. Underwood, "Essentials in Clean Milk Production," *Canadian Farm*, May 15, 1914, 4; "Economy of Clean Milk Production," *Canadian Farm*, March 26, 1915, 4; "The Dairy Stable and Clean Milk," *Canadian Farm*, May 19, 1916, 4; "Care of Milk," *Canadian Farm*, May 25, 1917, 5; W.F., "Importance of Cleanliness in Handling Milk," *Canadian Farm*, August 10, 1917, 4; Annie Scott, "Sanitation of Milk," *O.A.C. Review and Alumni News*, April 1916, 317-18; "Keeping Milk in Summer," *Farmer's Advocate*, June 1, 1900, 325; "Cleanliness in Handling Milk," *Farmer's Advocate*, July 1, 1901, 435; Jas. Stonehouse, "Care of Milk on the Farm," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 1, 1902, 257; "Caring for Milk on the Farm," *Farmer's Advocate*, June 22, 1905, 921; "Where Trouble Starts for Buttermakers," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 16, 1906, 1283; H.H. Dean, "The Sanitary Handling of Milk and Milk Products," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 2, 1908, 10; H.H. Dean, "Clean Milk to Eat and Drink," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 27, 1908, 344-45; H.H. Dean, "Milk, and the Sanitary Handling of Milk," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 20, 1908, 1303; "Certified or Clean Milk," *Farmer's Advocate*, June 10, 1909, 950; Feminine Observer, "A Clean-Milk Campaign," *Farmer's Advocate*, November 11, 1909, 1769-70; "Ontario's Milk Supply," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 3, 1910, 357; C.F. Whitley, "Good Milk," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 22, 1912, 1461; "Methods of Producing Pure Milk," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 8, 1914, 46; H.H. Dean, "Winter Care of Milk," *Farmer's Advocate*, December 3, 1914, 2050; H.H. Dean, "The Fall Care of Cream and Milk," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 7, 1915, 1588-89; John H. Mohler, "Handling of Cream and Milk," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 9, 1919, 1814; "Producing Clean Milk," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 23, 1919, 1942; "Practical Methods of Cooling Milk on the Farm," *Farmer's Advocate*, June 3, 1920, 1057-58; "Keeping the Milk Clean," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 2, 1922, 154; Geo. W. Hofferd, "A Study of Milk," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 9, 1922, 190; "Care of Milk on the Farm," *Farmer's Advocate*, May 11, 1922, 643-44; "Clean Milk of Good Flavor," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 11, 1923, 44; "Producing Clean Milk," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 8, 1923, 188; H.H. Dean, "Fall Care of Milk and Cream," *Farmer's Advocate*, September 27, 1923, 1372; "Clean Milk and Cream," *Farmer's Advocate*, May 29, 1924, 820; W.F. Jones, "How to Keep Milk 'Clean and Cold,'" *Farmer's Advocate*, October 9, 1924, 1471; W.A.C., "Care of Milk Simplified," *Farmer's Advocate*, July 8, 1926, 999; George W. Muir, "Clean Milk Production," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 24, 1927, 291; Grant Lockhead, "What is Clean Milk,"

Farmer's Advocate, May 19, 1927, 803; A.G. Lochhead, "Minor Sources of Contamination," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 23, 1928, 291; "Preparing for Clean Winter Milk," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 31, 1929, 1594; and "Sanitation in Handling Milk," *Farmer's Advocate*, November 14, 1929, 1666.

⁵ Boyle, 36-38. See also John Burnett, *Liquid Pleasures: A Social History of Drinks in Modern Britain* (London: Routledge, 1999), 34, and 42; and Sandwell, "Notes Toward a Rural History of Canada," 34.

⁶ E. Melanie DuPuis, *Nature's Perfect Food: How Milk Became America's Drink* (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 28, and 132.

⁷ DuPuis, 28, and 132; and Deborah Valenze, *Milk: A Local and Global History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 258.

⁸ February 25, 1901, February 26-27, 1901, March 3-4, 1901, March 6-9, 1901, March 13, 1901, March 16, 1901, April 12, 1901, April 17, 1901, June 1, 1901, June 10, 1901, July 5-6, 1901, September 8, 1901, October 2, 1901, February 25, 1902, February 27, 1902, March 4, 1902, March 6, 1902, March 9-12, 1902, September 3, 1905, August 9, 1906, August 13, 1906, September 19, 1906, and October 5, 1906, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries; August 25, 1914, June 10, 1916, December 15, 1916, April 4, 1917, April 8, 1917, April 19, 1917, May 1, 1917, May 13, 1917, July 17, 1917, September 8, 1917, May 10, 1918, September 17, 1918, September 30, 1918, October 10, 1918, July 3, 1919, December 26-27, 1919, June 5, 1930, August 3, 1930, August 16, 1930, November 8, 1930, February 16, 1931, June 22, 1931, August 16, 1931, August 26, 1931, October 12, 1931, October 29, 1931, November 15, 1931, December 3-4, 1931, February 10, 1932, May 4, 1932, May 28, 1932, June 12, 1932, June 24, 1932, June 30, 1932, July 20, 1932, July 29, 1932, October 3, 1932, October 16-17, 1932, November 13, 1932, March 21, 1933, June 10, 1933, June 12-13, 1933, June 26, 1933, July 10, 1933, July 30, 1933, August 19, 1933, October 29, 1933, June 22, 1934, August 4, 1934, September 26, 1934, October 8, 1934, November 4, 1934, July 18, 1935, and August 24, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries; and May 28, 1936, August 17, 1936, September 9, 1936, October 11, 1936, August 2, 1937, July 30, 1938, and September 24, 1938, Fred Perkins Diary. See also Bogue, *The Farm on the North Talbot Road*, 50-51, and 56; "Dairying from a Woman's Point of View," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 2, 1900, 179; Kinnear, 146; Neth, 19-21, 23, 26, 29-30, and 210; Roelens-Grant, ed., 43, 45, 52, 63, 69, 80-81, 96, 112, 116-17, 119, 131, 139, 142-43, 147, 168, and 171; and McTavish, 109.

⁹ See, for example, "Sharples Tubular Separators," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 6, 1905, 496; "For Evening Work," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 24, 1905, 1190; "A Big Difference," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 31, 1905, 1242; "Dish Pan Evidence," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 6, 1910, 24; Sister in Haliburton Co., "She Raises Pigs," *The Weekly Sun*, January 9, 1918, 6; M.W.C., "Girl for Housework," *The Weekly Sun*, April 24, 1918, 6; Sister E., "Sister E. Up in the World," *The Weekly Sun*, August 28, 1918, 6; One of the U.F.W.O., "An Appeal for Help," *The Weekly Sun*, August 28, 1918, 6; United Farmerette, "The Work and Waste," 6; Sister Evelyn, "A Homey Letter," *Farmers' Sun*, April 30, 1919, 6; "De Laval the Everlasting Cream Separator," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 24, 1920, 4; "Woman's Work is Never Done," *Farmers' Sun*, August 7, 1920, 6; Diana, "The Housewife's Vocation," *Farmers' Sun*, August 14, 1920, 6; "A De Laval will bring prosperity to your farm," *Farmers' Sun*, April 2, 1921, 5; "The Woman God Forgot," *Farmers' Sun*, April 13, 1921, 6; and "A Busy Farm Woman's Week in September," *Farmers' Sun*, October 12, 1921, 6. See also Kinnear, 149; Berniece McLean Yerge, *The Farmer's Daughter: Remembrances of My Youth, 1906-25*, Essex & Community Historical Research Society, 929.2 TRE McL. 16; "Care of Milk and Cream for Cheese Factories and Creameries," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1906*, 125-26; Miss Laura Rose, "Women's Part in the Pure Milk Program," *Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1909, Part I*, 61-64; Miss Laura Rose, "Stumbling-Stones in the Road to Dairy Progress," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1910*, 68-69; Miss Laura Rose, "Notes on Dairying," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1911*, 119; Farley, 40; Dr. Margaret Patterson, "Rural Hygiene," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1918* (Toronto: A.T. Wilgress, 1919), 131; and J.H. Scott, "Value and Care of Milk," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1918*, 134-35.

¹⁰ Osterud, "The Valuation of Women's Work," 19. See also Marjorie Griffin Cohen, "The Decline of Women in Canadian Dairying," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 17, no. 34 (November 1984), 334.

¹¹ September 14, 1923, and April 9, 1925, Arthur McQueen Diaries.

¹² Gertrude, "A Word for the O.A.C. Boys," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 6, 1905, 514. See also Cohen, *Women's Work*, 117.

¹³ Nixon, "Tales of a Grandmother," 79, 90, and 95.

¹⁴ Derry, "Gender Conflicts in Dairying," 33-4, 37-40, and 44-45; and Margaret Derry, "Patterns of Gendered Labour and the Development of Ontario Agriculture," in *Ontario Since Confederation: A Reader*, ed. Edgar-André Montigny and Lori Chambers (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 8-11. See also Cohen, *Women's Work*, 93-94; Cohen, "The Decline of Women in Canadian Dairying," 322; Moyer, 103; Kechnie, 81, 88, 90, and 98; and Comacchio, 36.

¹⁵ Cohen, "The Decline of Women in Canadian Dairying," 334.

¹⁶ See also Levenstein, 181-82; Andrea S. Wiley, *Cultures of Milk: The Biology and Meaning of Dairy Products in the United States and India* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), 39; A City Farmer's Wife, "Thanks to Contributors," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 13, 1905, 555; Moyer 119; *The 1927 Edition of the T. Eaton Co. Limited Catalogue for Spring and Summer*, 329, and 374; Neth, 31; Gebby, 96; Sharpless, 136-7; Kitchen, 29-30; Britnell and Fowke, 282; Davies, "Stocking the Root Cellar," 98; Stacey Zembrzycki, "'We Didn't Have a Lot of Money, but We Had Food': Ukrainians and Their Depression-Era Food Memories," in *Edible Histories, Cultural Politics*, 132; MacFarlane, 374; and Trant, M331-342. For information on the per capita disappearance of milk in Canada, see Trant, M428-445.

¹⁷ Smith, *Childhood Memories*, 109, 113, and 118. See also Roelens-Grant, ed., 31, 60, and 114; F.C. Knowles, "Produce Clean Milk," *Canadian Countryman*, July 5, 1919, 5; and "Economy of Clean Milk Production," 4.

¹⁸ November 30, 1913, and April 30, 1915, James Adam Glen, Sr., Diaries.

¹⁹ A farmer named William Grayham was found in the township in the 1921 Census, but his proximity to the Green household is uncertain. See April 30, 1915, May 3, 1915, May 10, 1915, May 13, 1915, May 17, 1915, August 16, 1915, October 25, 1915, October 30, 1915, November 6, 1915, December 18, 1915, March 15, 1916, April 1, 1916, April 11, 1916, May 5, 1916, May 27, 1916, June 2, 1916, September 23, 1916, September 26, 1916, October 10, 1916, January 5, 1917, January 22, 1917, January 30, 1917, February 7, 1917, February 17, 1917, March 10, 1917, April 20, 1917, May 23, 1917, May 29, 1917, June 20, 1917, September 21, 1917, September 25, 1917, December 15, 1917, March 11, 1918, March 25, 1918, April 6, 1918, June 9, 1918, July 9, 1918, February 25, 1919, March 27, 1919, April 5, 1919, and April 25, 1919, B.A. Green Diary; and "William Grayham," Colborne Township, Huron County (North), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 3, 33. See also Roelens-Grant, ed., 85.

²⁰ See, for example, September 6, 1916, February 13, 1917, January 7, 1918, June 18, 1918, July 21, 1922, November 15, 1922, February 14, 1923, August 30, 1923, March 28, 1924, July 2, 1924, August 25, 1924, January 8, 1925, December 8, 1926, April 20, 1927, August 18, 1927, June 9, 1928, July 19, 1928, February 25, 1929, March 21, 1929, April 9, 1929, September 29, 1929, May 30, 1930, October 9, 1930, and April 14, 1931, William Joshua Crawford Diaries.

²¹ October 17, 1936, and December 22, 1936, Hawley Farm Accounts; and May 6, 1944, Gordon F. Robertson Farm Accounts.

²² For information on the per capita disappearance of butter in Canada, see Trant, M428-445.

²³ For more information on the process of making butter, see Margaret Visser, *Much Depends on Dinner: The Extraordinary History and Mythology, Allure and Obsessions, Perils and Taboos, of an Ordinary Meal* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986), 86-87. See also Smith, *Childhood Memories*, 109; Duncan, *Canadians at Table*, 134; Cowan, *More Work for Mother*, 78; Loewen, *Diaspora in the Countryside*, 127; Derry, "Patterns of Gendered Labour and the Development of Ontario Agriculture," 10; Derry, "Gender Conflicts in Dairying," 32; Cohen, *Women's Work*, 109-10; Cohen, "The Decline of Women in Canadian Dairying," 324, and 334; Sandwell, *Contesting Rural Space*, 132, and 209; Alexandra, "Buttermaking," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 12, 1905, 57; A City Farmer's Wife, "Thanks to Contributors," 555; Holly, "Re Butter Bowls," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 13, 1905, 555; Girlie, "Answer to Martha," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 13, 1905, 555; Mrs. Howard A. Clark, "The Women's Institute: Education of a Farmer's Wife," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 19, 1915, 1323; "Household Hints," *The Weekly Sun*, April 3, 1918, 6; Diana, "The Community Idea," *Farmers' Sun*, August 13, 1919, 6; Onlooker, "The Round of Toil," *Farmers' Sun*, October 29, 1919, 6; McTavish, 109; Duncan, "Household Expenses," 62; Farley, 40; Mr. G.H. Unwin, "Co-operation," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1910*, 93; Kitchen, 29; "Mother's Meeting," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1913* (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1913), 49; Aitken, "Income Earning for Farm Women," 83; Aitken, "Women in Agriculture," 22; Davies, "Stocking the Root Cellar," 98; G.L. McKay, "Farm Butter Making," *Canadian Countryman*, August 29, 1914, 10; H.H. Dean, "The Making of Butter on the Farm," *Canadian Countryman*, May 24, 1919, 4, and 33; H.H. Dean, "How to Make High Quality Butter on the Farm,"

Canadian Countryman, April 2, 1921, 9, and 39; Edgar L. Vincent, "Making Butter on the Farm," *Canadian Farm*, October 29, 1909, 6; P.A.B. Cherry, "Butter Making on the Farm," *Canadian Farm*, August 5, 1910, 4; P.A.B. Cherry, "Some Good Hints on Farm Butter-Making," *Canadian Farm*, August 26, 1910, 4; H.H. Dean, "Making Butter on the Farm," *Canadian Farm*, February 24, 1911, 5; Mrs. W.C. Palmer, "Making Butter on the Farm," *Canadian Farm*, January 9, 1914, 3; Agricola, "Butter Making on the Farm," *Canadian Farm*, June 15, 1917, 4; "Making Butter on the Farm," *Canadian Farm*, October 9, 1918, 6; "Correct Temperatures Necessary for Best Churning Results," *Canadian Farmer, Dairyman and Stockbreeder*, November 11, 1922, 8; Lillian Carter, "Making the Home Butter," *Farmer's Magazine*, September 1916, 50-51; Lillian C. Crummy, "Practical Home Butter Making," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, October 10, 1912, 4, and 18; Mrs. Benjamin Lester, "Butter Making on the Farm," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, April 6, 1916, 25; Alice Hollingworth, "Butter Making," *The Farming World*, September 25, 1900, 145; Alice Hollingworth, "Butter Making," *The Farming World*, October 2, 1900, 163-64; Alice Hollingworth, "Butter Making," *The Farming World*, January 14, 1902, 36-38; Robert Ireland, "Some Points on Butter-Making," *The Farming World*, March 4, 1902, 199; Laura Rose, "Questions Asked About Butter Making," *The Farming World*, July 15, 1902, 62; Laura Rose, "Butter – From the Stable to the Table," *Farmer's Advocate*, May 15, 1900, 297; Laura Rose, "Butter – From the Stable to the Table," *Farmer's Advocate*, June 1, 1900, 324-25; Laura Rose, "Butter – From the Stable to the Table," *Farmer's Advocate*, June 15, 1900, 353-54; A.R., "How to Make Good Butter," *Farmer's Advocate*, July 15, 1901, 467; Farmer's Wife, "Home Buttermaking," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 15, 1901, 536-37; "Butter: From the Stable to the Table," *Farmer's Advocate*, May 26, 1904, 747-48; E.H., "Buttermaking," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 2, 1905, 299; Laura Rose, "Precautions in Summer Buttermaking," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 3, 1905, 1091; Laura Rose, "Buttermaking Inquiries," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 27, 1908, 345; R.H.C., "Good Butter, and How to Produce It," *Farmer's Advocate*, September 10, 1908, 1402-03; A.E. Wahn, "Buttermaking on the Farm," *Farmer's Advocate*, December 21, 1908, 2032-33; Laura Rose, "Problems of the Dairy," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 7, 1909, 13; L.B. Gregory, "Butter Making on the Farm," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 19, 1916, 1738; "Things to Consider When Making Dairy Butter," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 9, 1917, 1255; "Farm Butter-Making," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 10, 1918, 1632-33; "Making Butter on the Farm," *Farmer's Advocate*, June 16, 1921, 1003; Mrs. J.D. Jewison, "Farm Butter Making Pointers," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 15, 1926, 559; Smith-Howard, 40; Neth, 30; Sharpless, 136-37; Kechnie, 81, 88, and 90; Helena (McCaugherty) Diary, 4; Gebby, 91, and 94; Disbrowe, 62; Roelens-Grant, ed., 6, 25, 41, 45, 48, 60, 86, 95, 116, 133, and 154-55; MacFarlane, 374-75; and Trant, M331-342. Eaton's also sold a range of supplies for making butter; see, for example, *The 1927 Edition of the T. Eaton Co. Limited Catalogue*, 234, 254, and 374.

²⁴ December 6, 1900, February 7, 1901, February 15, 1901, February 25, 1901, March 4, 1901, March 14, 1901, May 20, 1901, May 22, 1901, May 27, 1901, June 6, 1901, June 10, 1901, June 13-14, 1901, June 17-18, 1901, July 2, 1901, July 6, 1901, July 8-9, 1901, July 13, 1901, September 3, 1901, September 5, 1901, September 23, 1901, September 25, 1901, September 27, 1901, September 30, 1901, October 4, 1901, October 7, 1901, October 9, 1901, October 11, 1901, October 14-15, 1901, October 17, 1901, October 24, 1901, November 1, 1901, November 4, 1901, November 9, 1901, November 12, 1901, November 15, 1901, November 18, 1901, November 25, 1901, November 29, 1901, December 14, 1901, December 20, 1901, January 29, 1902, February 11, 1902, February 17, 1902, March 3, 1902, March 7, 1902, March 10, 1902, March 14, 1902, March 18, 1902, March 21, 1902, April 3, 1902, April 28, 1902, May 2, 1902, May 9, 1902, May 15, 1902, May 17, 1902, May 22, 1902, May 27, 1902, June 2, 1902, June 6, 1902, June 9, 1902, June 13, 1902, June 16-17, 1902, June 20, 1902, June 23-24, 1902, July 2, 1902, July 5, 1902, July 8, 1902, July 10, 1902, July 12, 1902, July 17, 1902, July 21, 1902, July 23, 1902, July 28, 1902, August 1, 1902, August 5, 1902, August 7, 1902, August 11, 1902, August 15, 1902, August 18, 1902, August 28, 1902, September 1, 1902, September 3, 1902, September 5, 1902, September 11, 1902, September 17, 1902, September 19-20, 1902, September 22, 1902, September 26, 1902, October 1, 1902, October 4, 1902, November 7, 1902, November 10, 1902, November 13, 1902, November 17, 1902, November 28, 1902, December 5, 1902, December 8, 1902, December 16-17, 1902, January 10, 1903, January 12, 1903, January 16, 1903, January 19, 1903, January 23, 1903, January 27, 1903, February 6, 1903, February 18, 1903, February 27, 1903, March 4, 1903, March 13, 1903, April 4, 1903, April 8, 1903, April 25, 1903, May 1, 1903, May 30, 1903, June 6, 1903, June 10-11, 1903, June 13, 1903, June 23, 1903, June 26, 1903, June 30, 1903, July 3, 1903, July 7, 1903, July 11, 1903, July 13, 1903, August 5, 1903, August 11, 1903, August 19, 1903, August 22, 1903, August 25, 1903, August 31, 1903, September 4,

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²⁵ May 9, 1912, J.D. Cowan Accounts; October 7, 1903, July 7, 1906, February 22, 1908, July 14, 1909, October 25, 1910, September 12, 1911, September 12, 1912, January 9, 1913, March 15, 1913, December 23, 1913, April 24, 1914, November 17, 1914, January 13, 1915, August 14, 1915, October 4, 1915, April 25, 1917, and March 25, 1918, Robert McGowan Accounts; and May 13, 1911, April 25, 1912, February 9, 1914, January c. 25, 1915, April 21, 1917, and May 19, 1917, Howard Jones Accounts. See also "Cheese and Butter," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 2, 1900, 212; "Windsor Salt is the Salt for Butter-Makers," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 20, 1905, 573; "Get Top Prices for Your Butter," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 10,

1905, 1117; “Windsor Butter Salt,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, April 7, 1910, 600; “Windsor Dairy Salt,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, August 11, 1910, 1295; “Windsor Cheese Salt,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, August 25, 1910, 1371; “Windsor Dairy Salt,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, October 6, 1910, 1606; “Better Butter – Bigger Profits!,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, January 28, 1915, 112; “Prize Butter is Made,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, April 29, 1915, 736; “Color Sells Butter,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, January 29, 1920, 170; “Adds Much to the Flavor,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, August 5, 1920, 1400; “Color Your Butter,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, January 1, 1925, 19; “Adds Quality to Every Pound of Butter,” *The Weekly Sun*, April 17, 1918, 2; “Three Requirements for Good Butter,” *Farmers’ Sun*, April 23, 1919, 3; and “That Excellent Flavor is Due To,” *Farmers’ Sun*, October 22, 1919, 6.

²⁶ “Color Sells Butter,” 170.

²⁷ August 30, 1916, September 6, 1916, September 18, 1916, September 28, 1916, October 13, 1916, October 27, 1916, November 22, 1916, November 29, 1916, December 28, 1916, February 13, 1917, March 1, 1917, March 8, 1917, March 29, 1917, April 13, 1917, April 26, 1917, May 17, 1917, May 22, 1917, May 26, 1917, June 4, 1917, June 8, 1917, June 13, 1917, June 19, 1917, June 22, 1917, June 27, 1917, July 2, 1917, July 17, 1917, August 1, 1917, August 20, 1917, September 13, 1917, October 19, 1917, October 26, 1917, November 12, 1917, November 19, 1917, November 21, 1917, November 23, 1917, December 26, 1917, January 7, 1918, January 24, 1918, February 11, 1918, March 11, 1918, March 18, 1918, April 5, 1918, April 17, 1918, May 6, 1918, May 16, 1918, May 20, 1918, May 24, 1918, May 29, 1918, July 10, 1918, February 1, 1922, March 13, 1922, March 18, 1922, April 3, 1922, April 10, 1922, April 13, 1922, April 20, 1922, April 27, 1922, May 5, 1922, May 11, 1922, May 17, 1922, May 22, 1922, June 5, 1922, June 15-16, 1922, July 27, 1922, October 13, 1922, October 19, 1922, November 7, 1922, November 15, 1922, November 21, 1922, November 30, 1922, January 2, 1923, January 9, 1923, January 16, 1923, January 23, 1923, January 30, 1923, February 5, 1923, February 14, 1923, February 20, 1923, February 26, 1923, March 13, 1923, March 17, 1923, March 23, 1923, March 27, 1923, April 3, 1923, April 10, 1923, April 17, 1923, April 23, 1923, April 30, 1923, May 5, 1923, May 11, 1923, June 4, 1923, June 8, 1923, June 15, 1923, June 20, 1923, June 25, 1923, September 23, 1923, October 17, 1923, November 1, 1923, November 6, 1923, November 13, 1923, December 3, 1923, December 10, 1923, December 28, 1923, January 14, 1924, January 17, 1924, January 23, 1924, January 26, 1924, February 7, 1924, February 12, 1924, February 22, 1924, February 26, 1924, March 3, 1924, March 10, 1924, March 13, 1924, March 18, 1924, March 26, 1924, April 1, 1924, April 7, 1924, April 15, 1924, April 28, 1924, May 13, 1924, May 20, 1924, May 26, 1924, June 12, 1924, June 26, 1924, July 2, 1924, July 25, 1924, October 20, 1924, October 25, 1924, October 31, 1924, November 12-13, 1924, November 27, 1924, December 9, 1924, December 16, 1924, December 23, 1924, January 8, 1925, January 16, 1925, January 22, 1925, January 29, 1925, February 6, 1925, February 12, 1925, February 18, 1925, March 6, 1925, March 11, 1925, March 17, 1925, March 24, 1925, April 13, 1925, April 21, 1925, April 27, 1925, May 8, 1925, May 14, 1925, May 26, 1925, June 1, 1925, June 5, 1925, June 12, 1925, June 19, 1925, June 24, 1925, June 30, 1925, July 14, 1925, July 21, 1925, August 26, 1925, September 2, 1925, September 9, 1925, September 22, 1925, September 28, 1925, October 7, 1925, October 21-22, 1925, October 29, 1925, November 6, 1925, November 11, 1925, November 17, 1925, November 25, 1925, December 2, 1925, December 8, 1925, December 15, 1925, December 21, 1925, December 29, 1925, January 5, 1926, January 12, 1926, January 26, 1926, February 4, 1926, February 17, 1926, February 23, 1926, March 1, 1926, March 16, 1926, March 20, 1926, April 15, 1926, May 3, 1926, May 14, 1926, June 8, 1926, June 11, 1926, June 16, 1926, June 25, 1926, July 6, 1926, July 9, 1926, July 13, 1926, July 19, 1926, July 30, 1926, August 5, 1926, August 17, 1926, August 24, 1926, September 13, 1926, October 6, 1926, October 14, 1926, October 20, 1926, November 23, 1926, November 30, 1926, December 8, 1926, December 29, 1926, January 12, 1927, January 18-19, 1927, January 25, 1927, February 2, 1927, February 7, 1927, February 15, 1927, February 24, 1927, March 3, 1927, March 10, 1927, March 17, 1927, March 23, 1927, March 30, 1927, April 4, 1927, April 14, 1927, April 20-21, 1927, April 26, 1927, May 10, 1927, May 18, 1927, May 25, 1927, June 7, 1927, June 16, 1927, June 27, 1927, July 2, 1927, July 8, 1927, July 14, 1927, July 27, 1927, August 1, 1927, August 15, 1927, August 22, 1927, September 2, 1927, September 8, 1927, September 20, 1927, September 26, 1927, October 1, 1927, October 6, 1927, October 12, 1927, October 19, 1927, October 31, 1927, November 15, 1927, November 30, 1927, December 7, 1927, December 26, 1927, January 7, 1928, January 12, 1928, January 19, 1928, February 3, 1928, February 16, 1928, March 1, 1928, March 14, 1928, March 21, 1928, March 27, 1928, April 10, 1928, April 17, 1928, April 24, 1928, April 30, 1928, May 7, 1928, May 14, 1928, May 21, 1928, May 29, 1928, June 9, 1928, June 13, 1928, June 18,

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June 27, 1922, October 13, 1922, October 17, 1922, October 23, 1922, October 28, 1922, November 2, 1922, November 7, 1922, November 14, 1922, November 16, 1922, June 21, 1923, October 1, 1923, October 1911, 1923, October 16, 1923, October 20, 1923, October 22, 1923, October 26, 1923, June 15, 1925, June 20, 1925, June 26, 1925, September 26, 1925, October 1, 1925, October 4, 1925, October 12, 1925, October 17, 1925, October 24, 1925, October 30, 1925, November 6-7, 1925, November 14, 1925, May 12, 1928, June 23, 1928, June 28, 1928, July 3, 1928, October 11, 1928, October 17, 1928, October 24, 1928, October 29-30, 1928, November 1, 1928, November 7, 1928, May 13, 1929, May 15, 1929, June 15, 1929, June 19, 1929, June 22, 1929, June 25, 1929, June 29, 1929, October 10-11, 1929, October 14, 1929, October 17-18, 1929, October 21, 1929, October 23, 1929, October 25, 1929, October 28, 1929, June 11, 1930, June 14, 1930, June 16, 1930, June 24, 1930, June 26, 1930, June 28, 1930, October 29, 1930, November 11, 1930, November 19-20, 1930, May 2, 1931, June 6, 1931, June 12, 1931, June 17, 1931, October 15, 1931, October 21, 1931, October 26, 1931, November 2, 1931, November 4, 1931, November 10, 1931, November 16, 1931, November 18, 1931, November 23, 1931, June 11, 1932, June 13, 1932, June 15, 1932, June 18, 1932, June 23, 1932, June 25, 1932, October 11, 1932, October 15, 1932, October 20, 1932, October 24, 1932, October 26-27, 1932, October 29, 1932, and November 3, 1932, Arthur McQueen Diaries; and January 29, 1900, February 9, 1900, February 19, 1900, February 27, 1900, March 9, 1900, March 20, 1900, March 23, 1900, April 4, 1900, April 9, 1900, April 13, 1900, April 18, 1900, April 24, 1900, April 28, 1900, May 8, 1900, May 24, 1900, May 28, 1900, June 16, 1900, July 9, 1900, July 20, 1900, July 23, 1900, September 24, 1900, October 9, 1900, October 23, 1900, November 5, 1900, November 12, 1900, November 16, 1900, November 22, 1900, December 7, 1900, March 25, 1902, April 18, 1902, May 19, 1902, May 21, 1902, July 4, 1902, August 2, 1902, October 10, 1902, October 22, 1902, December 22, 1902, February 23, 1903, March 5, 1903, March 9, 1903, March 23, 1903, April 22, 1903, May 9, 1903, May 13, 1903, May 18, 1903, May 25, 1903, June 2, 1903, June 8, 1903, June 19, 1903, July 17, 1903, August 31, 1903, September 29, 1903, October 15, 1903, October 27, 1903, December 10, 1903, December 14, 1903, December 21, 1903, January 25, 1904, March 19, 1904, May 11, 1904, July 11, 1904, August 1, 1904, August 22, 1904, September 29, 1904, October 4, 1904, October 11, 1904, October 15, 1904, October 21, 1904, November 2, 1904, December 6, 1904, December 14, 1904, December 17, 1904, January 9, 1905, January 24, 1905, February 15, 1905, April 20, 1905, May 2, 1905, May 18, 1905, June 7, 1905, August 14, 1905, October 18, 1905, October 23, 1905, November 1, 1905, November 25, 1905, December 1, 1905, and December 22, 1905, Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce. See also Boyle, 91; Sharpless, 139-40; and Joan M. Jensen and Mary Johnson, "What's In a Butter Churn? Objects and Women's Oral History," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies* 7, no. 1 (1983): 104-06.

²⁸ January 21, 1917, August 6, 1917, April 26, 1918, April 30, 1918, June 13, 1918, May 3, 1927, August 8, 1927, February 9, 1928, and June 18, 1929, William Joshua Crawforth Diaries; and “Rachel Sonley,” Whitby Township (West), Ontario County (South), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 1, 1.

²⁹ See, for example, “Windsor Butter Salt,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, 600; “Windsor Dairy Salt,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, 1295; and “Prize Butter is Made,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, 736.

³⁰ Moyer, 102; Nunnally, 556; and Ankli, 263.

³¹ February 9, 1910, June 8, 1910, July 16, 1910, August 2, 1910, August 10, 1910, August 15, 1910, September 10, 1910, September 19, 1910, June 1, 1910, January 18, 1912, January 30, 1912, February 3, 1912, February 14, 1912, February 19, 1912, February 21, 1912, February 25, 1912, March 2, 1912, March 6, 1912, March 8, 1912, March 12, 1912, March 15, 1912, March 19, 1912, March 21, 1912, March 25-26, 1912, March 29, 1912, April 2-4, 1912, April 8-9, 1912, April 12, 1912, April 16, 1912, April 18, 1912, April 22, 1912, June 21, 1912, July 9, 1912, July 13, 1912, July 15, 1912, August 31, 1912, September 18, 1912, September 21, 1912, September 24, 1912, October 19, 1912, October 23, 1912, November 28, 1912, December 3, 1912, December 19, 1912, December 24, 1912, January 8, 1913, January 17, 1913, February 24, 1913, March 7, 1913, March 19, 1913, March 31, 1913, April 8, 1913, April 14, 1913, April 28, 1913, May 9, 1913, May 13, 1913, May 24, 1913, May 31, 1913, June 5-6, 1913, June 8, 1913, June 15, 1913, June 21, 1913, June 28, 1913, July 5, 1913, July 10, 1913, July 26, 1913, July 29, 1913, August 9, 1913, August 23, 1913, August 30, 1913, September 1, 1913, September 6, 1913, September 8, 1913, September 13, 1913, September 22, 1913, October 17, 1913, October 23, 1913, November 25, 1913, December 5, 1913, December 12, 1913, December 22, 1913, March 23, 1914, April 6, 1914, April 16, 1914, April 21, 1914, May 14, 1914, May 16, 1914, May 20, 1914, May 23, 1914, May 26, 1914, May 29, 1914, June 2, 1914, June 9, 1914, June 15, 1914, June 20, 1914, June 24, 1914, June 29, 1914, July 3, 1914, August 1, 1914, August 12, 1914, August 17, 1914, August 21, 1914, August 26, 1914, September 5, 1914, September 8, 1914, September 14, 1914, September 19, 1914, September 26, 1914, October 1, 1914, October 22, 1914, October 28, 1914, November 10, 1914, November 17, 1914, November 27, 1914, December 18, 1914, January 2, 1915, January 9, 1915, January 21, 1915, February 4, 1915, March 17, 1915, April 21, 1915, June 11, 1915, June 19, 1915, July 3, 1915, July 6, 1915, July 12, 1915, July 19, 1915, July 21, 1915, July 30-31, 1915, August 2, 1915, August 21, 1915, August 23, 1915, September 3, 1915, September 23, 1915, October 15, 1915, November 12, 1915, November 20, 1915, December 1, 1915, December 16, 1915, December 28, 1915, January 7, 1916, January 20, 1916, February 12, 1916, February 26, 1916, March 21-22, 1916, April 12-13, 1916, April 27, 1916, May 2, 1916, May 9, 1916, May 13, 1916, May 16, 1916, May 23, 1916, May 25, 1916, May 27, 1916, May 29, 1916, May 31, 1916, June 2-3, 1916, June 7-8, 1916, June 10, 1916, June 13, 1916, June 17, 1916, June 19, 1916, June 21, 1916, June 23, 1916, June 25, 1916, June 27-29, 1916, July 1, 1916, July 3, 1916, July 6, 1916, July 8, 1916, July 11, 1916, July 15, 1916, July 21, 1916, July 25, 1916, July 27, 1916, July 30-31, 1916, August 2, 1916, August 5-6, 1916, August 14, 1916, August 16, 1916, August 19, 1916, August 24, 1916, August 26, 1916, August 30, 1916, September 1, 1916, September 13, 1916, September 20, 1916, September 23, 1916, September 25, 1916, October 6, 1916, October 14, 1916, October 16, 1916, October 25, 1916, October 31, 1916, November 3, 1916, November 24, 1916, December 2, 1916, December 9, 1916, December 16, 1916, December 24, 1916, January 4, 1917, January 13, 1917, January 24, 1917, April 1, 1917, April 7, 1917, April 12, 1917, April 15, 1917, April 19, 1917, April 21, 1917, April 28, 1917, May 1, 1917, May 4-5, 1917, May 8, 1917, May 11, 1917, May 15-16, 1917, May 20, 1917, May 23, 1917, May 27, 1917, May 29-30, 1917, June 2-3, 1917, June 6, 1917, June 10, 1917, June 14, 1917, June 17, 1917, June 21-22, 1917, June 25, 1917, June 29, 1917, July 2, 1917, July 5, 1917, July 9, 1917, July 19, 1917, July 22, 1917, July 25, 1917, July 28, 1917, August 8, 1917, August 10-11, 1917, August 14, 1917, August 21, 1917, August 24-25, 1917, August 28, 1917, September 7, 1917, September 11, 1917, September 14, 1917, September 18-19, 1917, September 22, 1917, October 2, 1917, October 4, 1917, November 15, 1917, November 30, 1917, December 15, 1917, January 25, 1918, February 20, 1918, March 27, 1918, April 4, 1918, April 12, 1918, April 19, 1918, May 7, 1918, May 11, 1918, May 16, 1918, May 18, 1918, May 23, 1918, May 28, 1918, May 30, 1918, June 6, 1918, June 10, 1918, June 12, 1918, June 17-18, 1918, June 25, 1918, June 27, 1918, June 30, 1918, July 4, 1918, July 8, 1918, July 10-11, 1918, July 14, 1918, July 17, 1918, July 21-22, 1918, July 24, 1918, July 27, 1918, July 30, 1918, August 7, 1918, August 9, 1918, August 16, 1918, August 21, 1918, August 23, 1918, August 27, 1918, September 1, 1918, September 11, 1918, September 13, 1918, September 17, 1918, September 23, 1918, September 28, 1918, October 16, 1918, October 23, 1918, October 29, 1918, November 17, 1918, November 27, 1918, December 10, 1918, December 24,

1918, March 5, 1919, April 4, 1919, April 23, 1919, May 1, 1919, May 28, 1919, November 21, 1919, November 25, 1919, December 4, 1919, December 8, 1919, and December 24, 1919, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

³² Boyle, 113, and 184; and Strasser, 46.

³³ Nunnally, 559, 561-62, 567, and 569; Moyer, 104; Drummond, 36; Dean, "How to Make High Quality Butter on the Farm," 9; Agricola, 4; Crummy, 4; E.H., 299; Laura Rose, "Problems of the Dairy," *Farmer's Advocate*, December 31, 1908, 2029; "Cream Gathering and Home Buttermaking," *Farmer's Advocate*, July 22, 1909, 1174; "Things to Consider When Making Dairy Butter," 1255; "Farm Butter-Making Problems," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 7, 1918, 197; and "The Cost of Making Farm Dairy Butter," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 20, 1921, 1594.

³⁴ January 30, 1912, and December 16, 1915, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries; and September 8, 1902, October 27, 1902, December 31, 1902, January 3, 1903, January 9, 1903, and January 14, 1903, Mary A. King Diaries. See also Yerge, 16; H.H. Dean, "Farm Butter-Making Problems," *Agricultural Gazette of Canada*, February 1918, 156-58; H.H. Dean, "Churning on the Farm in Hot Weather," *Canadian Countryman*, August 19, 1916, 1069, and 1086; Percival B. Walmsley, "Why Churn All Day," *Canadian Countryman*, January 19, 1918, 75; H.H. Dean, "Difficult Churning," *Canadian Countryman*, February 2, 1918, 156; "Difficulties in Churning," *Canadian Farmer, Dairyman and Stockbreeder*, January 19, 1924, 6; "Hints on Churning," *Canadian Farmer, Dairyman and Stockbreeder*, March 15, 1924, 6; Rose, "Questions Asked About Butter Making," 62; Laura Rose, "Difficulties Encountered in Winter Butter," *The Farming World and the Canadian Farm and Home*, March 2, 1903, 81; Dairy Maid, "Churning Temperatures," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 1, 1902, 256; Laura Rose, "Remedy for Long-Churning and Creamy Buttermilk," *Farmer's Advocate*, July 16, 1908, 1163; Laura Rose, "Problems of the Dairy," *Farmer's Advocate*, December 31, 1908, 2029-30; H.H. Dean, "Hot Weather Difficulties in Churning," *Farmer's Advocate*, July 22, 1915, 1167-68; "Overcoming Difficulties in Churning," *Farmer's Advocate*, November 23, 1916, 1925; "Farm Butter-Making Problems," 197; "A Few Churning Difficulties," *Farmer's Advocate*, June 3, 1920, 1058-59; "When the Butter Won't Come," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 20, 1924, 428; and N.B., "Some Butter-Making Experiences," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 8, 1926, 515.

³⁵ Visser, 86-87.

³⁶ Onlooker, "The Round of Toil," 6.

³⁷ January 20-21, 1919, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries; and December 17, 1902, December 31, 1902, January 3, 1903, and January 9, 1903, Mary A. King Diaries.

³⁸ February 5, 1900, February 19-20, 1900, March 6, 1900, March 9, 1900, March 19, 1900, April 6, 1900, April 20, 1900, April 23, 1900, April 27, 1900, May 29, 1900, June 22, 1900, September 29, 1900, October 2, 1900, October 13, 1900, November 2, 1900, November 14-15, 1900, November 21, 1900, November 26, 1900, December 3-5, 1900, December 10-11, 1900, and December 19, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diary; "Messlanious 1912," "1911 & 1912 Butter," and "Butter for 1912," Elsie Innes Accounts; and March 30, 1901, April 16, 1910, March 30, 1912, December 31, 1912, January 25, 1913, February 3, 1913, December 29, 1913, January 14, 1914, January 17, 1914, March 14, 1914, March 28, 1914, October 17, 1914, February 16, 1918, March 30, 1918, June 22, 1918, July 6, 1918, July 19, 1918, August 9, 1918, September 7, 1918, September 28, 1918, October 5, 1918, October 18, 1918, November 9, 1918, March 29, 1919, April 6, 1919, April 19, 1919, April 26, 1919, May 10, 1919, May 31, 1919, June 6, 1919, June 21, 1919, July 3, 1919, September 13, 1919, September 20, 1919, October 18, 1919, November 1, 1919, November 8, 1919, November 22, 1919, November 29, 1919, and March 13, 1920, John Graham Weir Diaries. See also Nunnally, 558, and 565.

³⁹ June 19, 1922, June 22, 1922, June 27, 1922, October 13, 1922, October 17, 1922, October 23, 1922, October 28, 1922, November 2, 1922, November 7, 1922, November 14, 1922, November 16, 1922, June 18, 1923, June 21, 1923, October 1, 1923, October 11, 1923, October 16, 1923, October 20, 1923, October 26, 1923, June 15, 1925, June 20, 1925, June 26, 1925, September 26, 1925, October 1, 1925, October 4, 1925, October 12, 1925, October 17, 1925, October 24, 1925, October 30, 1925, November 7, 1925, November 14, 1925, June 20, 1928, June 28, 1928, July 3, 1928, October 11, 1928, October 17, 1928, October 24, 1928, October 29, 1928, November 1, 1928, November 7, 1928, May 13, 1929, June 15, 1929, June 19, 1929, June 22, 1929, June 25, 1929, June 29, 1929, October 10, 1929, October 14, 1929, October 18, 1929, October 23, 1929, October 28, 1929, June 11, 1930, June 14, 1930, June 19, 1930, June 24, 1930, August 15, 1930, October 29, 1930, November 5, 1930, November 11, 1930, November 19, 1930, May 2, 1931, June 6, 1931, June 12, 1931, June 17, 1931, June 22, 1931, October 15, 1931, October 21, 1931,

October 26, 1931, November 2, 1931, November 10, 1931, November 16, 1931, November 23, 1931, June 11, 1932, June 15, 1932, June 18, 1932, June 25, 1932, October 11, 1932, October 15, 1932, October 20, 1932, October 24, 1932, October 27, 1932, and November 3, 1932, Arthur McQueen Diaries. See also Nunnally, 564.

⁴⁰ “To Keep Butter for Winter Use,” *The People’s Home Library*, 202; and “Packing Butter on the Farm for Home Use,” *Canadian Farmer, Dairyman and Stockbreeder*, October 6, 1923, 7.

⁴¹ January 14, 1904, January 22, 1904, February 20, 1904, March 7, 1904, March 15, 1904, March 25, 1904, April 2, 1904, April 11, 1904, April 14, 1904, April 22, 1904, May 3, 1904, May 12, 1904, May 20, 1904, June 1, 1904, June 6, 1904, August 27, 1904, October 1, 1904, October 8, 1904, October 12, 1904, October 20-21, 1904, October 29, 1904, November 3, 1904, November 10, 1904, November 21-22, 1904, December 2, 1904, December 12, 1904, May 20, 1905, June 1, 1905, June 17, 1905, June 24, 1905, July 4, 1905, July 14, 1905, September 5, 1905, September 12, 1905, September 26, 1905, October 7, 1905, October 11, 1905, October 17, 1905, October 24, 1905, November 2, 1905, November 10, 1905, November 20, 1905, November 23, 1905, December 4, 1905, December 27, 1905, August 21, 1906, October 4, 1906, October 8, 1906, October 18, 1906, October 23, 1906, October 31, 1906, November 16, 1906, November 30, 1906, December 3, 1906, December 15, 1906, January 3, 1907, January 7, 1907, January 12, 1907, February 11, 1907, April 5, 1907, April 18, 1907, April 20, 1907, May 17, 1907, May 23, 1907, July 30, 1907, August 17, 1907, August 21, 1907, September 6, 1907, October 2, 1907, October 10, 1907, October 17, 1907, November 9, 1907, November 23, 1907, November 28, 1907, December 3, 1907, April 6, 1908, June 9, 1908, August 12, 1908, August 14, 1908, September 17, 1908, October 26, 1908, November 21, 1908, December 1, 1908, December 8, 1908, December 15, 1908, January 15, 1909, August 6, 1909, September 4, 1909, September 7, 1909, October 6, 1909, October 30, 1909, November 9, 1909, November 11, 1909, November 17, 1909, February 19, 1910, February 22, 1910, March 15, 1910, March 23, 1910, June 1, 1910, June 13, 1910, September 13, 1910, October 22, 1910, November 8, 1910, November 14, 1910, November 19, 1910, November 30, 1910, December 22, 1910, December 31, 1910, January 27, 1911, June 14, 1911, July 7, 1911, October 16, 1911, October 31, 1911, November 3, 1911, November 6, 1911, November 15, 1911, November 27, 1911, December 15, 1911, December 19, 1911, December 27, 1911, January 13, 1912, January 19, 1912, January 25, 1912, February 5, 1912, February 13, 1912, March 17, 1912, April 5, 1912, April 29, 1912, August 22, 1912, October 7, 1912, October 9, 1912, October 12, 1912, October 16, 1912, October 26, 1912, November 5, 1912, November 12, 1912, November 26, 1912, December 2, 1912, December 5, 1912, December 19, 1912, January 18, 1913, August 16, 1913, February 14, 1914, February 21, 1914, February 23, 1914, April 30, 1914, May 8, 1914, August 31, 1914, January 21, 1916, January 29, 1916, February 3, 1916, February 15, 1916, February 23, 1916, February 29, 1916, March 4, 1916, April 19, 1916, May 9, 1916, June 19, 1916, June 28, 1916, July 15, 1916, July 20, 1916, September 15, 1916, October 11, 1916, November 13, 1916, December 5, 1916, December 15, 1916, January 11, 1917, January 13, 1917, January 20, 1917, January 27, 1917, February 2, 1917, February 5, 1917, February 15, 1917, February 21, 1917, March 3, 1917, March 10, 1917, March 17, 1917, March 24, 1917, March 31, 1917, April 14, 1917, April 21, 1917, June 23, 1917, June 26, 1917, June 30, 1917, July 27, 1917, August 24, 1917, September 15, 1917, September 22, 1917, November 21, 1917, December 14, 1917, January 17, 1918, February 19, 1918, February 22, 1918, March 1-2, 1918, March 9, 1918, March 16, 1918, March 18, 1918, March 20, 1918, March 23, 1918, March 30, 1918, April 1, 1918, April 9-10, 1918, April 13, 1918, April 18, 1918, April 22, 1918, May 16, 1918, May 27, 1918, June 21, 1918, August 31, 1918, September 21, 1918, October 30, 1918, November 5, 1918, November 7, 1918, November 9, 1918, November 20, 1918, December 9, 1918, December 12, 1918, December 21, 1918, December 31, 1918, January 17, 1919, January 20, 1919, January 23, 1919, January 25, 1919, February 13, 1919, March 14, 1919, March 27, 1919, April 5, 1919, April 15, 1919, April 17, 1919, June 6, 1919, June 17, 1919, July 24, 1919, August 19, 1919, October 29, 1919, December 6, 1919, December 13, 1919, January 12, 1920, January 19, 1920, May 4, 1920, May 22, 1920, May 25, 1920, June 7, 1920, September 9, 1920, September 13, 1920, November 13, 1920, November 25, 1920, December 1, 1920, December 4, 1920, January 1, 1921, January 13, 1921, January 20, 1921, February 28, 1921, March 4, 1921, November 21, 1921, January 28, 1922, March 15-16, 1922, March 21, 1922, March 28, 1922, April 1, 1922, April 4, 1922, April 10, 1922, April 15, 1922, April 20, 1922, April 27, 1922, May 16, 1922, May 20, 1922, September 16, 1922, November 11, 1922, December 16, 1922, December 19, 1922, December 26-27, 1922, January 16, 1923, March 8, 1923, March 10, 1923, March 13, 1923, March 15, 1923, March 17, 1923, March 24, 1923, March 27, 1923, April 3, 1923, May 9, 1923, November 21, 1923, December 15, 1923, December 31,

1923, January 14, 1924, January 23, 1924, February 18, 1924, February 29, 1924, March 18-19, 1924, March 31, 1924, April 14, 1924, September 2, 1924, January 15, 1925, February 24, 1925, March 9, 1925, March 16, 1925, April 17, 1925, October 20, 1925, October 28, 1925, November 11, 1925, November 18, 1925, December 17-18, 1925, December 30, 1925, January 19, 1926, January 25, 1926, January 30, 1926, March 1, 1926, March 5, 1926, March 22, 1926, March 29, 1926, April 16, 1926, April 19, 1926, May 10, 1926, May 19, 1926, October 16, 1926, October 25, 1926, November 19, 1926, November 22, 1926, October 15, 1927, December 17, 1927, January 31, 1928, February 11, 1928, November 16, 1928, March 14, 1929, March 21, 1929, April 9, 1929, April 20, 1929, April 27, 1929, May 13, 1929, February 15, 1930, June [no date], 1937, and October 15, 1937, "Cash Expended," D.H. Kelly Accounts; December 11, 1907, December 21, 1907, December 23, 1907, January 29, 1908, February 1, 1908, February 4, 1908, February 12, 1908, February 16, 1911, and December 24, 1915, "Cash Received," D.H. Kelly Accounts; April 1, 1905, April 16, 1910, April 27, 1912, December 31, 1912, January 25, 1913, February 3, 1913, December 29, 1913, January 14, 1914, January 17, 1914, March 14, 1914, February 28, 1916, September 13, 1919, September 20, 1919, October 18, 1919, November 1, 1919, November 8, 1919, November 22, 1919, November 29, 1919, January 29, 1920, and February 7, 1920, "Paid," John Graham Weir Diaries; March 30, 1901, March 30, 1912, March 28, 1914, October 17, 1914, February 16, 1918, March 30, 1918, June 22, 1918, July 6, 1918, July 19, 1918, August 9, 1918, September 7, 1918, September 28, 1918, October 5, 1918, October 18, 1918, November 9, 1918, March 29, 1919, April 6, 1919, April 19, 1919, April 26, 1919, May 10, 1919, May 31, 1919, June 6, 1919, June 21, 1919, July 3, 1919, and March 13, 1920, "Received," John Graham Weir Diaries; and March 24, 1930, April 16, 1930, April 23, 1930, May 1, 1930, June 17, 1930, July 8, 1930, August 7, 1930, October 24, 1930, November 18, 1930, November 25, 1930, January 13, 1931, February 19, 1931, April 27, 1931, June 8, 1931, March 8, 1938, January 19, 1939, November 21, 1941A, March 14-15, 1941B, March 28, 1941B, May 10, 1941B, June 4, 1941B, June 11, 1941B, June 13, 1941B, July 10, 1941B, August 1, 1941B, August 20, 1941B, September 4, 1941B, October 2, 1941B, October 11, 1941B, December 5, 1941B, December 24, 1941B, January 18, 1942B, February 16, 1942B, May 8, 1942B, July 2, 1942B, and August 4, 1943, Velma Beaton Diaries.

⁴² February 5, 1900, February 19-20, 1900, March 6, 1900, March 9, 1900, March 19, 1900, April 6, 1900, April 20, 1900, April 23, 1900, April 27, 1900, May 29, 1900, June 22, 1900, September 29, 1900, October 2, 1900, October 13, 1900, November 2, 1900, November 14-15, 1900, November 21, 1900, November 26, 1900, December 3-5, 1900, December 10-11, 1900, and December 19, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diary; and September 26, 1904, October 25, 1904, October 11, 1906, October 17, 1906, October 25, 1906, November 3, 1906, November 16, 1906, September 25, 1907, October 4, 1907, October 11, 1907, June 29, 1917, July 7, 1917, March 20, 1931, April 23, 1931, May 4, 1931, May 7, 1931, and June 12, 1931, Robert McGowan Accounts.

⁴³ September 29, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diary.

⁴⁴ October 13, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diary.

⁴⁵ "Butter Used 1902," "Butter Used 1904," "Butter Used 1905," "Butter Used 1907," "Butter 1916," "Butter & Cream 1917," "Cows 1918," "Butter Bot 1920," and "Butter & Cream 1920," Nathaniel "Ed" Leeder Accounts; and January 5-6, 1900, January 13, 1900, January 20, 1900, January 27, 1900, February 3, 1900, February 10, 1900, February 17, 1900, February 24, 1900, March 3, 1900, March 10, 1900, March 17, 1900, March 31, 1900, April 14, 1900, April 30, 1900, April 4, 1901, February 1, 1902, March 22, 1902, March 29, 1902, June 6, 1902, August 1, 1902, August 15, 1902, September 12, 1902, February 14, 1903, June 6, 1903, October 20, 1903, October 28, 1903, November 4, 1903, November 10, 1903, November 14, 1903, November 18, 1903, November 24, 1903, December 11, 1903, June 8, 1904, July 23, 1904, August 3, 1904, August 22, 1904, August 29, 1904, September 21, 1904, September 29, 1904, October 14, 1904, January 7, 1905, June 9, 1905, August 23, 1905, August 25, 1905, August 30, 1905, October 11, 1905, November 23, 1905, December 29, 1905, January 3, 1906, February 22, 1906, June 25, 1906, July 26, 1906, August 1, 1906, August 14, 1906, August 25, 1906, August 29, 1906, September 7, 1906, October 13, 1906, December 8, 1906, January 21, 1907, January 31, 1907, July 27, 1907, August 10, 1907, August 12, 1907, August 20, 1907, September 14, 1907, October 4, 1907, October 27, 1907, November 4, 1907, November 12, 1907, November 29, 1907, December 27, 1907, September 2, 1908, December 22, 1908, January 4, 1909, February 3, 1909, March 3, 1909, April 28, 1909, August 16, 1909, September 3, 1909, September 13, 1909, November 9, 1909, November 25, 1909, March 28, 1910, June 22, 1910, July 16, 1910, March 10, 1911, July 27, 1911, October 13, 1911, October 21, 1911, December 2, 1911, February 8, 1912, February 16, 1912, May 21-22, 1912, December 14, 1912, December 28, 1912,

October 28, 1913, November 18, 1913, November 27, 1913, March 11, 1914, April 25, 1914, September 18, 1914, January 1, 1915, March 25, 1915, April 14, 1915, April 17, 1915, April 30, 1915, May 8, 1915, May 20, 1915, May 20, 1915, May 31, 1915, June 8, 1915, June 14, 1915, June 24, 1915, July 19, 1915, July 29, 1915, August 2-3, 1915, August 9, 1915, October 7, 1915, November 27, 1915, December 10, 1915, January 14, 1916, January 19, 1916, February 11, 1916, February 18, 1916, February 25, 1916, February 28, 1916, March 10, 1916, March 21, 1916, March 25, 1916, April 3, 1916, April 5, 1916, July 8, 1916, July 26, 1916, August 5, 1916, August 15, 1916, September 15, 1916, October 2, 1916, October 16, 1916, October 20, 1916, November 11, 1916, November 21, 1916, November 25, 1916, December 4, 1916, January 9, 1917, February 7, 1917, March 13, 1917, April 7, 1917, April 9, 1917, July 14, 1917, August 17, 1917, September 13, 1917, October 17, 1917, November 17, 1917, December 15, 1917, January 18, 1918, February 18, 1918, February 26, 1918, April 13, 1918, April 17, 1918, May 2, 1918, May 16, 1918, June 15, 1918, June 25, 1918, August 3, 1918, September 7, 1918, September 12, 1918, September 19, 1918, September 25, 1918, October 31, 1918, November 11, 1918, January 4, 1919, February 10, 1919, February 15, 1919, March 13, 1919, March 17, 1919, March 26, 1919, April 15-16, 1919, April 18, 1919, May 3, 1919, May 15-17, 1919, July 5, 1919, July 12, 1919, August 2, 1919, August 5, 1919, August 30, 1919, October 24, 1919, November 15, 1919, December 12, 1919, January 7, 1920, January 19, 1920, February 10, 1920, February 21, 1920, July 15, 1920, August 16, 1920, August 25, 1920, September 14, 1920, October 15, 1920, November 2, 1920, November 16-17, 1920, November 25, 1920, December 8, 1920, and December 15, 1920, James Glen, Sr., Diaries. See also Nunnally, 568.

⁴⁶ January 20, 1900, February 1, 1902, March 29, 1902, February 14, 1903, January 7, 1905, January 3, 1906, January 31, 1907, December 27, 1907, December 22, 1908, April 28, 1909, February 8, 1912, and December 28, 1923, James Glen, Sr., Diaries; "Mary A. White," Westminster Township, Middlesex County (East), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 11, 125; "Marie R. Campbell," Westminster Township, Middlesex County (East), Ontario, Census of Canada, 13, 147; and "Rosa Glenn," Westminster Township, Middlesex County, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Deaths, 256, 235, January 16, 1919.

⁴⁷ The Beaton women also sold or gifted butter to others during this period as well; presumably, they made the butter shortly before these sales/gifts. Similarly, the Ferrier and Meyer households sold butter. See March 24, 1930, April 16, 1930, April 23, 1930, May 1, 1930, June 17, 1930, July 8, 1930, August 7, 1930, October 24, 1930, November 18, 1930, November 25, 1930, January 13, 1931, February 19, 1931, April 27, 1931, June 8, 1931, March 8, 1938, March 15, 1941B, March 28, 1941B, May 10, 1941B, June 4, 1941B, June 11, 1941B, June 13, 1941B, July 10, 1941B, August 1, 1941B, August 20, 1941B, September 4, 1941B, October 2, 1941B, October 11, 1941B, December 5, 1941B, December 24, 1941B, January 18, 1942B, February 16, 1942B, May 8, 1942B, July 2, 1942B, and August 4, 1943, Velma Beaton Diaries; January 23, 1936, July 4, 1936, December 2, 1936, January 21, 1937, March 31, 1937, February 17, 1938, January 8, 1939, and April 26, 1939, Jean Ferrier Diary; and "1919 Butter," Meyer Family, Diaries, Certificates, & Personal Papers, 2006.95, Stratford-Perth Archives, Stratford Branch, 2006.95 [hereafter Meyer Accounts].

⁴⁸ See also Nunnally, 564; Sharpless, 134, and 140-41; Barron, 228; Cohen, "The Decline of Women in Canadian Dairying," 327; Gebby, 94, Roelens-Grant, ed., 85; and R.W. Sandwell, "Showing How Locals Supported the World Economy," *The Canadian Historical Review* 93, no. 1 (March 2012), 93.

⁴⁹ "James A. Glen," Westminster Township, Middlesex County (South), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1891, T-6353, 6, 26; "Mary Ann Glen and George White," Westminster Township, Middlesex County, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Marriages, 82, 220, 007492, March 21, 1894; "Mary A. White," Westminster Township, Middlesex County (East), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 11, 125; "Marie Rose Glen and James Campbell," Middlesex County, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Marriages, 101, 654, January 17, 1900; "Marie R. Campbell," Westminster Township, Middlesex County (East), Ontario, Census of Canada, 13, 147; "William and Louise Glen," Westminster Township, Middlesex County (East), Census of Canada, 1911, 12, 140; "William H. and Grace H. Shore," Westminster Township, Middlesex County (East), Census of Canada, 1911, 12, 133; and "Egerton and Emma Stonehouse," Westminster Township, Middlesex County (East), Census of Canada, 1911, 12, 135. See also, for example, April 1, 1901, June 6, 1902, September 14, 1907, October 13, 1911, December 2, 1911, May 20, 1915, February 11, 1916, September 15, 1916, and May 3, 1919, James Glen, Sr., Diaries.

⁵⁰ "Louis and Catharine Krauth," Saugeen Township, Bruce County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 2, 22; "Charles and Perscilla Guyer," Saugeen Township, Bruce County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 2, 21; "Edward and Laura Eidt," Saugeen Township, Bruce County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 2, 16;

and September 4, 1920, September 18, 1920, September 24, 1920, June 24, 1923, December 15, 1923, January 28, 1924, September 1, 1924, September 15, 1924, and September 20, 1924, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts. See also Jeffrey A. Keshen, *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers: Canada's Second World War* (Toronto: UBC Press, 2004), 108.

⁵¹ Bogue, *The Farm on North Talbot Road*, 56; Smith-Howard, 37; and "Butter: From the Stable to the Table," *Farmer's Advocate*, May 26, 1904, 748.

⁵² For more information on the creamery system, see, for example, Nunnally, 559-60; and J. Ian Way, "A Day's Work in Buttermaking," *O.A.C. Review and Alumni News*, February 1919, 268, and xxxviii. See also Smith-Howard, 37, and 42; MacFarlane, 374-75; and Trant, M331-342, and M343-356.

⁵³ July 20, 1925, August 10, 1925, August 17, 1925, September 9, 1925, September 16, 1925, September 23, 1925, September 30, 1925, October 6, 1925, October 14, 1925, October 19, 1925, October 22, 1925, November 16, 1925, December 1, 1925, and December 15, 1925, Receipts, W.H. Cowan Accounts; January 5, 1900, October 14, 1904, February 18, 1918, February 15, 1919, March 17, 1919, April 15, 1919, May 15, 1919, January 19, 1920, August 16, 1920, August 25, 1920, September 14, 1920, October 15, 1920, November 2, 1920, November 16-17, 1920, and December 15, 1920, James Adam Glen, Sr., Diaries; July to November, 1941, Acme Farmers Dairy Limited Statements, Miller Accounts; and Cohen, *Women's Work*, 109-10.

⁵⁴ See, for example, Diana, "Well What ARE We Going to Do?," *Farmers' Sun*, August 27, 1919, 6; St. Vincent Woman, "Rural Problems," *Farmers' Sun*, April 17, 1920, 6; and Diana, "What is the Best Form of Help for Farm Women," *Farmers' Sun*, October 1, 1921, 6.

⁵⁵ January 14, 1904, March 25, 1904, April 2, 1904, April 11, 1904, April 22, 1904, May 3, 1904, May 12, 1904, June 6, 1904, August 27, 1904, October 12, 1904, October 20-21, 1904, October 29, 1904, November 10, 1904, November 21-22, 1904, December 2, 1904, December 12, 1904, May 20, 1905, June 17, 1905, June 24, 1905, September 5, 1905, September 12, 1905, October 11, 1905, October 17, 1905, October 21, 1905, August 21, 1906, October 4, 1906, October 18, 1906, October 23, 1906, October 31, 1906, November 16, 1906, December 3, 1906, December 15, 1906, January 7, 1907, January 12, 1907, July 30, 1907, August 17, 1907, November 9, 1907, June 9, 1908, August 12, 1908, August 14, 1908, October 26, 1908, December 8, 1908, December 15, 1908, January 15, 1909, September 4, 1909, October 30, 1909, February 19, 1910, February 22, 1910, March 15, 1910, June 1, 1910, June 13, 1910, September 13, 1910, October 22, 1910, November 8, 1910, November 14, 1910, November 19, 1910, November 30, 1910, December 22, 1910, October 16, 1911, October 31, 1911, November 3, 1911, November 6, 1911, December 19, 1911, December 27, 1911, February 5, 1912, February 13, 1912, April 5, 1912, October 26, 1912, February 14, 1914, February 21, 1914, April 30, 1914, January 29, 1916, February 15, 1916, February 23, 1916, February 29, 1916, April 19, 1916, June 19, 1916, June 28, 1916, July 15, 1916, July 20, 1916, January 13, 1917, January 20, 1917, January 27, 1917, February 2, 1917, February 5, 1917, February 15, 1917, March 10, 1917, March 17, 1917, March 24, 1917, March 31, 1917, April 21, 1917, June 23, 1917, August 24, 1917, November 21, 1917, February 19, 1918, November 5, 1918, November 7, 1918, November 20, 1918, December 9, 1918, December 21, 1918, December 31, 1918, January 20, 1919, January 23, 1919, March 27, 1919, April 17, 1919, October 29, 1919, December 6, 1919, December 13, 1919, January 12, 1920, January 19, 1920, May 4, 1920, September 13, 1920, December 4, 1920, January 1, 1921, January 13, 1921, February 28, 1921, March 4, 1921, March 21, 1922, April 15, 1922, December 27, 1922, January 19, 1926, January 25, 1926, March 5, 1926, and April 19, 1926, David H. Kelly Accounts; *The Union Publishing Company's Farmers and Business Directory for the Counties of Brant, Elgin, Norfolk, and Oxford, Volume XIII* (Ingersoll, ON: Union Publishing Company, 1902), 356; and *Vernon's Farmers and Business Directory for the Counties of Brant, Elgin, Norfolk, and Oxford, for the Year 1915*, 333, and 340. See also Nunnally, 564-65.

⁵⁶ July 6, 1900, July 12, 1900, July 14, 1900, July 18, 1900, July 28, 1900, August 11, 1900, August 31, 1900, September 22, 1900, September 29, 1900, October 13, 1900, October 19, 1900, October 24, 1900, October 30, 1900, November 3, 1900, November 10, 1900, November 17, 1900, November 23, 1900, December 8, 1900, December 17, 1900, December 20, 1900, December 29, 1900, January 12, 1901, January 24, 1901, February 15, 1901, February 22, 1901, February 28, 1901, March 9, 1901, April 6, 1901, April 11, 1901, April 17, 1901, April 24, 1901, May 6, 1901, May 9, 1901, May 9, 1901, May 17, 1901, May 25, 1901, June 3, 1901, June 21, 1901, June 29, 1901, July 5, 1901, July 11, 1901, August 2, 1901, August 10, 1901, August 17, 1901, August 21, 1901, December 28, 1901, January 4, 1902, January 10, 1902, January 18, 1902, February 4, 1902, February 14, 1902, February 18, 1902, February 24, 1902,

March 6, 1902, March 12, 1902, March 24, 1902, April 4, 1902, April 12, 1902, April 19, 1902, April 29, 1902, May 8, 1902, May 17, 1902, May 23, 1902, June 6-7, 1902, June 27-28, 1902, July 4, 1902, July 15, 1902, July 21, 1902, July 25, 1902, July 29, 1902, July 31, 1902, August 18, 1902, August 23, 1902, August 27-29, 1902, September 5, 1902, September 12, 1902, September 15, 1902, September 19, 1902, September 27, 1902, October 10, 1902, October 17, 1902, October 22, 1902, October 29, 1902, November 7, 1902, November 10, 1902, November 17, 1902, December 1, 1902, December 15, 1902, February 2-3, 1903, February 12, 1903, February 20, 1903, February 24, 1903, March 3, 1903, March 12, 1903, March 19-20, 1903, March 30, 1903, April 8, 1903, April 17, 1903, April 21, 1903, April 23, 1903, April 28, 1903, May 6, 1903, May 15, 1903, May 26, 1904, May 28, 1904, June 4, 1904, June 8, 1904, June 11, 1904, June 18, 1904, June 22-23, 1904, July 3, 1904, July 9, 1904, July 26, 1904, August 2, 1904, August 5, 1904, August 19-20, 1904, September 8, 1904, September 15, 1904, September 17, 1904, September 26, 1904, October 7, 1904, October 10, 1904, October 18, 1904, October 22, 1904, November 10, 1904, November 12, 1904, November 18, 1904, November 23, 1904, October 6, 1908, October 10, 1908, October 13, 1908, October 17, 1908, November 10, 1908, November 14, 1908, November 21, 1908, November 27, 1908, December 4, 1908, December 14, 1908, December 16, 1908, December 19, 1908, December 29, 1908, January 5, 1909, January 27, 1909, February 1, 1909, February 4, 1909, February 8, 1909, February 25, 1909, March 6, 1909, March 15, 1909, March 23, 1909, April 10, 1909, June 1, 1909, June 7, 1909, June 12, 1909, June 15, 1909, June 26, 1909, June 29, 1909, July 3, 1909, July 9, 1909, July 16, 1909, August 3, 1909, August 11, 1909, August 14, 1909, August 17, 1909, August 24, 1909, and August 28, 1909, Mary A. King Diaries. See also Fred Bateman, "The 'Marketable Surplus' in Northern Dairy Farming: New Evidence by Size of Farm in 1860," *Agricultural History* 52, no. 3 (July 1978): 349; Jensen and Johnson, 104; McCalla, *Consumers in the Bush*, 116; Cohen, "The Decline of Women in Canadian Dairying," 327; "The Price of Butter - - and Other Prices," *Farmers' Sun*, April 30, 1919, 6; Disbrowe, 43; Roelens-Grant, ed., 45; and "Marketing Homemade Butter," *Farmer's Advocate*, June 3, 1909, 913.

⁵⁷ Nunnally, 566.

⁵⁸ See, for example, May 7, 1941B, July 5, 1942B, and May 15, 1943, Velma Beaton Diaries; August 8, 1909, October 8, 1909, November 6, 1909, July 25, 1910, December 2, 1910, July 15, 1912, July 30, 1912, August 19, 1912, August 31, 1912, September 4, 1912, October 31, 1912, and December 17, 1912, J.D. Cowan Accounts; August 22, 1911, June 25, 1913, June 13, 1914, and July 5, 1915, Howard Jones Accounts; October 26, 1917, May 18, 1918, November 17, 1920, and September 2, 1924, D.H. Kelly Accounts; July 26, 1900, August 18, 1900, September 7, 1900, August 23, 1901, August 31, 1901, November 16, 1901, July 4, 1902, August 14, 1902, June 6, 1903, June 11, 1904, August 9, 1904, August 18, 1904, September 10, 1904, September 21, 1904, October 22, 1904, October 13, 1908, December 16, 1908, June 4, 1909, June 12, 1909, July 3, 1909, July 9, 1909, August 3, 1909, August 7, 1909, August 17, 1909, and August 21, 1909, Mary A. King Diaries; August 3, 1903, July 6, 1904, January 23, 1905, September 1, 1906, October 30, 1907, July 11, 1908, May 28, 1909, June 28, 1910, March 3, 1911, September 3, 1912, January 16, 1913, February 28, 1914, December 20, 1915, March 2, 1916, May 12, 1917, November 22, 1918, June 18, 1919, March 1, 1920, March 12, 1921, April 5, 1923, and July 25, 1931, Robert McGowan Accounts; August 1916, September 1916, October 1916, and November 1916, Miller Accounts; August 20-21, 1926, September 24, 1926, November 19, 1926, August 17, 1927, September 10, 1927, September 16, 1927, October 29, 1927, December 7, 1927, January 7, 1928, May 29, 1928, January 20, 1931, and February 13, 1931, William Casimer Topham Accounts; March 5, 1933, Cora Tunis Diaries; and November 7, 1903, December 16, 1905, August 4, 1909, March 5, 1910, December 30, 1911, December 31, 1912, January 20, 1913, August 27, 1914, April 24, 1915, July 14, 1917, December 31, 1917, January 19, 1918, February 23, 1918, February 28, 1918, March 30, 1918, April 13, 1918, May 11, 1918, November 2, 1918, April 19, 1919, August 16, 1919, August 23, 1919, November 1, 1919, November 5, 1919, December 20, 1919, and March 8, 1920, John Graham Weir Diaries. See also MacFarlane, 375; and Trant, M343-356, M357-362, and M363-368. For information on the per capita disappearance of cheese in Canada, see Trant, M428-445.

⁵⁹ "Cheese-Making on the Farm," *Canadian Countryman*, April 24, 1915, 22-23; "Making Cheese on the Farm," *Canadian Countryman*, April 1, 1916, 455, and 459; "Winter Cheese Making," *Canadian Countryman*, February 3, 1917, 149; "Making Cheese," *Canadian Countryman*, May 12, 1917, 637; H.H. Dean, "Making Cheese on the Farm," *Canadian Countryman*, May 14, 1921, 6; H.H. Dean, "How to Make Cheese on the Farm," *Canadian Countryman*, July 12, 1919, 4; P.A.B. Cherry, "Fancy Cheese Making for the Farmer," *Canadian Farm*, April 7, 1911, 7; W.J. Elliott, "Home Cheesemaking," *Canadian Farm*,

October 4, 1912, 3; "Making Cheese in the Farm Home," *Canadian Farm*, June 6, 1913, 4; "Farm Cheese Making," *Canadian Farm*, September 17, 1919, 15; "Farm Dairy Cheese," *Canadian Farmer, Dairyman and Stockbreeder*, November 10, 1923, 6; J.A. Ruddick, "Seasonable Notes on Cheesemaking," *Farmer's Advocate*, May 15, 1900, 296; Bella Millar, "Making Soft and Fancy Cheese for Home Use," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 7, 1915, 1589; Bella Millar, "Making Soft and Fancy Cheese for Home Use," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 21, 1915, 1660; "Cottage and Buttermilk Cheese," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 23, 1917, 1310; "Making Cheese at Home," *Farmer's Advocate*, June 3, 1920, 1058; H.H. Dean, "Utilizing Surplus Milk on the Farm," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 4, 1921, 1224-25; and Belle Millar, "Cottage Cheese," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 31, 1924, 155-56. See also MacFarlane, 375; and Trant, M331-342.

⁶⁰ Cowan, *More Work for Mother*, 78; Sally McMurry, "Women's Work in Agriculture: Divergent Trends in England and America, 1800 to 1930," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34, no. 2 (April 1992): 259; Cohen, *Women's Work*, 108-09; Derry, "Gender Conflicts in Dairying," 32; Cohen, "The Decline of Women in Canadian Dairying," 320; and "Who Makes Farm Cheese," *The Weekly Sun*, January 2, 1918, 6.

⁶¹ March 29, 1915, March 13, 1930, March 18, 1930, March 31, 1930, April 8, 1930, April 23, 1930, August 8, 1930, October 6, 1930, October 15, 1930, December 3, 1930, May 14, 1931, June 27, 1931, October 1, 1931, October 15, 1931, October 29, 1931, January 6, 1932, November 2, 1932, and March 25, 1933, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries; January 21, 1933, and June 10, 1933, Russell Innes Accounts; February 2, 1935, March 15, 1935, May 11, 1935, June 8, 1935, and October 19, 1935, Meyer Accounts; and February [no date], 1930, Edwin Robinson Accounts.

⁶² January 27, 1913, February 17, 1913, March 15, 1913, April 18, 1913, April 28, 1913, May 19, 1913, June 10, 1913, June 28, 1913, July 11, 1913, August 2, 1913, September 16, 1913, October 13, 1913, October 18, 1913, November 13, 1913, December 16, 1913, January 15, 1914, February 3, 1914, March 4, 1914, March 28, 1914, April 13, 1914, April 30, 1914, May 23, 1914, June 20, 1914, July 4, 1914, July 25, 1914, August 24, 1914, September 19, 1914, October 3, 1914, October 17, 1914, November 7, 1914, January 9, 1915, February 12, 1915, July 29, 1915, September 29, 1915, October 4, 1917, December 24, 1917, February 6, 1918, February 21, 1918, March 30, 1918, May 9, 1918, May 30, 1918, June 13, 1918, August 8, 1918, September 11, 1918, October 17, 1918, January 16, 1919, March 26, 1919, May 13, 1919, July 10, 1919, September 18, 1919, November 5, 1919, October 27, 1920, April 30, 1921, June 29, 1921, August 11, 1921, October 8, 1921, November 15, 1921, November 23, 1921, August 25, 1922, September 25, 1922, January 11, 1923, August 30, 1924, September 27, 1924, November c. 25, 1924, November 28, 1924, May 5, 1925, June 20, 1925, July 3, 1925, August [no date], 1925, September c. 9, 1925, and October 10, 1925, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts.

⁶³ March 31, 1923, October 1, 1924, October 23, 1924, January 24, 1925, and October c. 1, 1928, McIntosh Family Accounts; and August 25, 1932, September 17, 1932, September 24, 1932, October 1, 1932, October 13, 1932, October 21, 1932, November 4, 1932, December 9, 1932, December 16, 1932, January 12, 1933, January 21, 1933, February 2, 1933, February 18, 1933, March 16, 1933, March 25, 1933, April 8, 1933, April 22, 1933, April 29, 1933, May 11, 1933, May 20, 1933, May 31, 1933, June 10, 1933, June 16, 1933, June 24, 1933, July 8, 1933, July 19, 1933, August 2, 1933, August 14, 1933, August 18, 1933, September 9, 1933, September 30, 1933, October 7, 1933, October 28, 1933, November 18, 1933, December 1, 1933, December 20, 1933, January 6, 1934, January 27, 1934, February 10, 1934, March 9, 1934, March 29, 1934, April 12, 1934, April 19, 1934, May 5, 1934, May 17, 1934, June 3, 1934, June 19, 1934, June 30, 1934, July 14, 1934, August 4, 1934, August 17, 1934, September 1, 1934, September 8, 1934, September 24, 1934, September 29, 1934, October 6, 1934, October 20, 1934, November 3, 1934, November 21, 1934, November 27, 1934, December 10, 1934, December 20, 1934, January 14, 1935, January 26, 1935, February 15, 1935, March 2, 1935, March 11, 1935, March 25, 1935, April 14, 1935, April 26, 1935, May 11, 1935, May 21, 1935, June 1, 1935, June 15, 1935, June 22, 1935, July 13, 1935, July 20, 1935, July 31, 1935, August 16, 1935, August 28, 1935, September 2, 1935, September 24, 1935, October 22, 1935, October 26, 1935, November 9, 1935, November 15, 1935, November 23, 1935, December 5, 1935, December 14, 1935, December 23, 1935, January 15, 1936, January 27, 1936, February 7, 1936, February 20, 1936, March 3, 1936, March 23, 1936, April 4, 1936, April 18, 1936, May 9, 1936, May 20, 1936, May 30, 1936, June 10, 1936, June 18, 1936, July 3, 1936, July 11, 1936, July 19, 1936, July 24, 1936, August 5, 1936, August 15, 1936, August 22, 1936, September 3, 1936, September 17, 1936, September 26, 1936, October 9, 1936, October 17, 1936, October 27, 1936, November 7, 1936, November 14, 1936, November 16, 1936, November 25, 1936, December 5, 1936, December 15, 1936, December 21,

1936, January 5, 1937, January 14, 1937, January 21, 1937, February 6, 1937, February 20, 1937, March 4, 1937, March 20, 1937, April 1, 1937, April 19, 1937, May 1, 1937, May 15, 1937, May 25, 1937, June 12, 1937, June 26, 1937, July 24, 1937, August 3, 1937, August 20, 1937, September 1, 1937, September 18, 1937, October 2, 1937, October 9, 1937, October 16, 1937, November 2, 1937, November 12, 1937, November 24, 1937, December 11, 1937, December 18, 1937, January 13, 1938, January 27, 1938, February 5, 1938, February 19, 1938, March 5, 1938, March 14, 1938, March 26, 1938, April 16, 1938, May 7, 1938, May 16, 1938, May 25, 1938, June 10, 1938, June 18, 1938, June 28, 1938, July 16, 1938, July 30, 1938, August 10, 1938, August 26, 1938, September 8, 1938, September 19-20, 1938, October 15, 1938, October 29, 1938, November 9, 1938, November 26, 1938, December 15, 1938, January 7, 1939, January 10, 1939, January 25, 1939, February 1, 1939, February 25, 1939, March 27, 1939, May 6, 1939, May 19, 1939, June 3, 1939, June 15, 1939, June 29, 1939, July 11, 1939, July 29, 1939, August 17, 1939, September 12, 1939, September 19, 1939, September 29, 1939, October 14, 1939, October 28, 1939, November 17, 1939, and November 29, 1939, Hawley Farm Accounts.

⁶⁴ H.H. Dean, "Is the Present Price of Cheese too High," *Canadian Countryman*, September 30, 1916, 1245. See also Dean, "Making Cheese on the Farm," 6; "Is Cheese Dear at 16 Cents a Pound," *Farmer's Advocate*, November 22, 1906, 1817; H.H. Dean, "The Outlook for Canadian Cheesemaking," *Farmer's Advocate*, December 11, 1914, 2166-67; and "Do We Use Enough Milk," *Farmer's Advocate*, November 9, 1916, 1844.

⁶⁵ Dean, "Is the Present Price of Cheese too High," 1245.

⁶⁶ Mrs. C.H. Burns, "The Value of Cheese in the Diet," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1912* (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1912), 133.

⁶⁷ August 1, 1917, August 16, 1917, April 6, 1918, August 26, 1918, November 26, 1918, July 1, 1930, August 28, 1918, December 5, 1930, February 7, 1931, June 10, 1931, August 1, 1931, November 22, 1931, February 19, 1932, July 24, 1932, August 14, 1932, November 23, 1932, December 16, 1932, January 15, 1933, July 20, 1934, October 18, 1934, April 15, 1935, April 23, 1935, July 18, 1935, July 26, 1935, August 17, 1935, and August 29, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

⁶⁸ See, for example, Cohen, *Women's Work*, 109-10; Annie McMordie Glenn, "Shall We Patronize the Laundry? Why Not?," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 1, 1925, 10; Diana, "The Community Idea," 6; and Diana, "What is the Best Form of Help for Farm Women," 6. See also Yerge, 14; and MacFarlane, 374.

⁶⁹ March 1, 1900, October 6, 1900, October 27, 1900, November 26, 1902, June 21, 1904, September 16, 1904, October 26, 1904, September 13, 1905, November 27, 1905, September 12, 1906, October 10, 1906, September 9, 1907, October 19, 1907, August 15, 1908, September 26, 1908, October 24, 1908, July 24, 1909, January 5, 1910, August 11, 1910, September 22, 1910, October 19, 1910, November 11, 1910, December 23, 1910, July 15, 1911, August 12, 1911, September 15, 1911, October 12, 1911, November 23, 1911, June 19, 1912, July 13, 1912, August 16, 1912, November 20, 1912, August 22, 1913, October 21, 1913, November 28, 1913, August 21, 1914, September 16, 1914, and October 21, 1914, James Adam Glen, Sr., Diaries.

⁷⁰ March 17, 1920, February 13, 1925, February 3, 1926, March 3, 1926, February 20, 1929, February 26, 1937, February 22, 1939, February 25, 1941, and April 8-9, 1941, Ruby Simmons Diary; February 24, 1900, July 20-21, 1900, and October 5, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diary; and January 22, 1917, March 27, 1917, December 4, 1917, January 28, 1918, January 27, 1919, December 5, 1934, and January 28, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries. For more information on cheese factories, see, for example, Rachel Maines, "Rocky Landscape with Cheese Factory: The Stone Mills Union of LaFargeville, New York, 1896-1925," *New York History* 89, no. 3 (Summer 2008): 256-75; R.C. Tillett, "Organization and Establishment of Cheese Factories," *Canadian Countryman*, January 18, 1919, 22; H.H. Dean, "The Ontario Cheese Factory System," *Canadian Countryman*, July 1, 1922, 3, and 21; "The Manufacture of Cheese in Ontario," *Canadian Farmer, Dairyman and Stockbreeder*, July 22, 1922, 8-9; "Direct Loss to Patrons," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, April 7, 1910, 16; "Cooperation Between Maker and Patrons," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, September 15, 1910, 10; "Education for Patrons," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, October 6, 1910, 10; "The Patron's Problem," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, November 10, 1910, 12; "The Cheese Industry," *The Farming World*, January 6, 1902, 751-52; A.E. Kennedy, "The Cheese Industry," *The Farming World*, January 6, 1902, 757; Bruce E. Johnson, "The Farmer's End of the Cheese Trade," *The Farming World*, January 6, 1902, 757; "Some Pointers for Cheese Makers," *The Farming World*, April 29, 1902, 450-51; G.G. Publow, "Cheesemaking," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 16, 1900, 230; D. Lawrence, "The Duty of the Patron of the Cheese Factory," *Farmer's Advocate*, July 1, 1901, 435; S.P.

Brown, "Secrets of Success in Cheesemaking," *Farmer's Advocate*, September 2, 1901, 570; I.W. Steinhoff, "Rise and Progress of Canada's Cheese Industry," *Farmer's Advocate*, December 13, 1906, 1963; "More Co-operation in Cheesemaking," *Farmer's Advocate*, December 17, 1908, 1954; "The Cheese Factory Patron's Returns," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 13, 1913, 473; and "Cheesemaking," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 19 196, 1167.

⁷¹ See also Heather Menzies, *By the Labour of their Hands: The Story of Ontario Cheddar Cheese* (Kingston: Quarry Press, 1994), 40, and 42-44.

⁷² Menzies, 42.

⁷³ See, for example, 1910 Bruce, Grey & Simcoe Farmers and Business Directory, 608; July 9, 1904, January 11, 1918, and April 3, 1909, Nathaniel "Ed" Leeder Accounts; and August 2, 1913, April 30, 1914, January 9, 1915, October 4, 1917, February 21, 1918, July 10, 1919, and April 30, 1921, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts.

⁷⁴ See also Jeri Quinzio, *Of Sugar and Snow: A History of Ice Cream Making* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 171; H.H. Dean, "Ice Cream – Is It a Food or a Fad?," *Canadian Countryman*, June 30, 1917, 840; H.H. Dean, "Ice Cream Manufacture in Canada," *Canadian Farm*, January 9, 1914, 4; and H.H. Dean, "Ice Cream Manufacture," *Canadian Farm*, July 10, 1918, 4.

⁷⁵ June 22, 1901, August 20, 1901, May 23, 1906, May 8, 1920, May 22, 1920, May 29, 1920, July 10, 1920, July 6, 1920, July 21, 1920, September 13, 1921, September 15, 1921, May 13, 1922, June 10, 1922, June 29, 1922, April 28, 1923, May 19, 1923, June 9, 1923, August 14, 1926, September [no date], 1926, May 5, 1933, September 2, 1933, September 16, 1933, June 7, 1934, June 8, 1935, July 2, 1936, June 19, 1937, August 7, 1937, August 2, 1941, August 16, 1941, August 30, 1941, June 20, 1942, June 3, 1943, June 19, 1943, July 17, 1943, and August 21, 1943, Hawley Farm Accounts.

⁷⁶ June 2, 1937, July 17, 1938, January 27, 1939, May 27, 1941B, July 30, 1941A, August 1, 1941A, August 10, 1941B, October 5, 1941B, December 14, 1941A, December 19, 1941A, February 28, 1942A, March 4, 1942A, April 13, 1942A, and July 25, 1944, Velma Beaton Diaries; and March c. 31, 1923, May 18, 1923, June 18, 1923, July 21, 1923, August 6, 1923, July 6, 1924, July 30, 1924, March 5, 1925, May 9, 1925, July 8, 1925, July 16, 1925, August 1, 1925, August 8, 1925, May 26, 1926, July 3, 1926, July 6, 1926, May 28, 1927, July 1, 1928, July 28, 1928, and September 12, 1928, McIntosh Family Accounts.

⁷⁷ Quinzio, 155, and 160-61. See also Lawr, 249; MacFarlane, 374-75; and Trant, M331-342, M343-356, M357-362, and M363-368. For information on the per capita disappearance of ice cream in Canada, see Trant, M428-445.

⁷⁸ May 3, 1904, Frances Poole Diary. See also Yerge, 5.

⁷⁹ March c. 12, 1910, "1910 Finery," Howard Jones Accounts; May 31, 1913, July 23, 1915, July 11, 1916, September 1, 1917, July 30-31, 1919, July 19, 1930, November 15, 1931, and July 23, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

⁸⁰ September 5, 1900, August 20, 1902, August 12, 1903, and August 5, 1904, Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce. See also Boyle, 145.

⁸¹ November 19, 1933, and December 8, 1934, Ruby Simmons Diary; June 29-30, 1910, July 2, 1910, August 6, 1910, July 4, 1911, and July 18, 1911, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries; Quinzio, xii, and 78-79; Gebby, 83; and Roelens-Grant, ed., 115. See also Dean, "Ice Cream – Is It a Food or a Fad?," 840; and "Ice Cream for the Farmer's Table," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 23, 1923, 1192.

⁸² July 2, 1921, July 17, 1923, and June 6, 1925, William H. Cowan Accounts; June 12, 1905, and June 18, 1906, James Glen, Sr., Diaries; and Smith, *Childhood Memories*, 95. For more information on the process of making ice cream, see Visser, 301-03, and "Ice Cream, Sherbets, and Ices," *The People's Home Library*, 178-81.

⁸³ September 20, 1919, Diary of Annie Hill; "Victoria Bakery," *Fergus News Record*, November 5, 1914, 7; *Province of Ontario Gazetteer & Directory, 1910-1911* (Ingersoll, ON: Union Publishing Company of Ingersoll, 1910), 315; August 24, 1906, D.H. Kelly Accounts; and *Vernon's Farmers and Business Directory for the Counties of Brant, Elgin, Norfolk, and Oxford, for the Year 1915*, 333. See also Bogue, *The Farm on North Talbot Road*, 167, and 178.

⁸⁴ See also Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Sixth Census of Canada, 1921, Volume V – Agriculture*, 26-27, and 52-53; Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Seventh Census of Canada, 1931, Volume VIII – Agriculture*, 388; Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Eighth Census of Canada, 1941, Volume VIII – Agriculture, Part II*, 852, and 970; Roelens-Grant, ed., 25, 60, 95, 112, 115, 131, and 139; Graham, 65-6; Davies, "Stocking the Root Cellar," 98; and Zembrzycki, 132. For more information on the production of eggs for sale and

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⁸⁵ See, for example, Boyle, 179; Bogue, *The Farm on North Talbot Road*, 45, 131, and 136; "Off Ag'in, on Ag'in," *The Weekly Sun*, August 7, 1918, 6; Diana, "A Primitive Idea," *Farmers' Sun*, January 15, 1919, 6; "The Work and Waste of Women," *Farmers' Sun*, April 16, 1919, 6; "Important to all U.F.O. members," *Farmers' Sun*, August 6, 1919, 10; Diana, "The Community Idea," 6; Gebby, 91, and 94; Sharpless, 131, and 134; Loewen, *Diaspora in the Countryside*, 127; Roelens-Grant, ed., 6, 36, 43, 48, 154-55, and 157; Unwin, 92; Guest, 74; Aitken, "Income Earning for Farm Women," 83; Aitken, "Women in Agriculture," 22; Bogue, "The Raising of Poultry," 106-07; Mrs. A. Brown, "On Going to Market," *Report of the Farmers' Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1901, Part II: Women's Institutes*, 108; Sandwell, "Notes Toward a Rural History of Canada," 34; and Sandwell, *Contesting Rural Space*, 58, and 209.

⁸⁶ "In 1905 Sold," February 5, 1905, February 27, 1905, and March 5, 1905, William Joshua Crawforth Diaries; and May 27, 1938, December 2, 1941A, December 6, 1941A, March 28, 1941B, April 14, 1942A, February 26, 1942B, March 6, 1942B, March 21, 1942B, May 9, 1942B, June 10, 1942B, August 1, 1942B, August 27, 1942B, February 20, 1943, March 13, 1943, April 3, 1943, July 27, 1943, August 10, 1943, February 29, 1944, May 15, 1944, February 25, 1945, March 18, 1945, and June 18, 1945, Velma Beaton Diaries.

⁸⁷ January 4, 1900, January 25, 1900, January 29, 1900, February 20, 1900, February 24, 1900, March 19, 1900, March 24, 1900, April 9-10, 1900, April 18, 1900, April 30, 1900, May 9, 1900, May 11, 1900, June 2, 1900, June 6-7, 1900, June 19, 1900, June 30, 1900, July 18, 1900, July 26, 1900, July 30, 1900, August 11, 1900, August 15, 1900, September 4, 1900, September 11, 1900, September 14, 1900, September 17, 1900, September 21, 1900, September 28, 1900, and October 4, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diary; March 31, 1904, and April 7, 1904, Frances Poole Diary; and July 6, 1900, July 12, 1900, July 14, 1900, July 18, 1900, July 28, 1900, August 2, 1900, August 11, 1900, August 18, 1900, August 31, 1900, September 14, 1900, September 22, 1900, October 1, 1900, October 13, 1900, October 24, 1900, October 30, 1900, November 3, 1900, January 12, 1901, January 18, 1901, February 15, 1901, February 22, 1901, February 28, 1901, March 9, 1901, April 6, 1901, April 11, 1901, April 17, 1901, April 22, 1901, April 24, 1901, May 3-4, 1901, May 6, 1901, May 9, 1901, May 17, 1901, May 20, 1901, May 27, 1901, June 6, 1901, June 15, 1901, June 21, 1901, June 29, 1901, July 5, 1901, July 11, 1901, August 2, 1901, August 10, 1901, August 17, 1901, August 21, 1901, August 23, 1901, August 27, 1901, August 31, 1901, September 3, 1901, September 21, 1901, September 24, 1901, September 30, 1901, October 2, 1901, October 17, 1901, October 28, 1901, March 6, 1902, March 12, 1902, April 4, 1902, April 12, 1902, April 14, 1902, April 19, 1902, April 23, 1902, April 29, 1902, May 6-7, 1902, May 10, 1902, May 23, 1902, June 7, 1902, June 27-28, 1902, July 15, 1902, July 21, 1902, July 25, 1902, July 31, 1902, August 4, 1902, August 8, 1902, August 12, 1902, August 14-15, 1902, August 23, 1902, August 27-29, 1902, September 5, 1902, September 12, 1902, September 19, 1902, October 4, 1902, October 17, 1902, October 22, 1902, October 25, 1902, October 29, 1902, November 7, 1902, November 10-11, 1902, November 19, 1902, November 27, 1902, December 6, 1902, December 15, 1902, December 30, 1902, January 3, 1903, January 6, 1903,

January 14, 1903, January 25, 1903, January 29, 1903, February 3, 1903, February 12, 1903, February 20, 1903, March 3, 1903, March 12, 1903, March 19-20, 1903, March 28, 1903, March 31, 1903, April 8-9, 1903, April 17, 1903, April 21, 1903, April 23, 1903, April 28, 1903, May 6, 1903, May 13, 1903, May 15, 1903, April 8, 1904, April 14-15, 1904, April 19, 1904, April 21, 1904, April 23, 1904, April 27, 1904, April 30, 1904, May 3, 1904, May 7, 1904, May 11, 1904, May 14, 1904, May 19, 1904, May 21, 1904, May 26, 1904, June 4, 1904, June 8, 1904, June 11, 1904, June 17-18, 1904, July 3, 1904, July 9, 1904, July 26, 1904, July 28, 1904, August 2, 1904, August 9, 1904, August 18, 1904, September 7-10, 1904, September 17, 1904, September 21, 1904, September 26-27, 1904, October 22, 1904, October 28, 1904, November 1, 1904, November 16, 1904, October 10, 1908, October 17, 1908, November 14, 1908, December 14, 1908, December 16, 1908, December 19, 1908, December 29, 1908, January 20, 1909, February 4, 1909, February 15, 1909, February 18, 1909, February 23, 1909, February 25, 1909, March 6, 1909, March 15, 1909, March 18, 1909, March 25, 1909, March 27, 1909, April 10, 1909, April 15, 1909, April 21, 1909, April 30, 1909, May 13, 1909, May 15, 1909, May 17, 1909, May 20, 1909, May 22, 1909, May 29, 1909, June 1, 1909, June 5, 1909, June 7, 1909, June 12, 1909, June 26, 1909, June 29, 1909, July 9, 1909, July 16, 1909, July 31, 1909, August 7, 1909, August 14, 1909, August 17, 1909, August 21, 1909, August 24, 1909, and August 28, 1909, Mary A. King Diaries. See also Smith, *Childhood Memories*, 100, and 107; McCalla, *Consumers in the Bush*, 116; Disbrowe, 43; and "The Basis of the Egg Business,"

Farmer's Advocate, June 16, 1904, 849.

⁸⁸ March 19, 1904, Frances Poole Diaries; March 21, 1942B, Velma Beaton Diaries; and "Margaret McEdwards," Puslinch Township, Wellington County (South), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 12, 115.

⁸⁹ R.H. Ashton, "Crating and Marketing Eggs," *Canadian Countryman*, April 29, 1916, 583; "Marketing Eggs," *Canadian Countryman*, November 25, 1922, 5, and 23; "Egg Circles the Stepping Stones," *Canadian Farmer, Dairyman and Stockbreeder*, May 10, 1924, 8; "Co-operative Egg Circles Have Been Formed," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, June 9, 1910, 3, and 16; "Egg Circles Have Much to Do," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, December 22, 1910, 10; "Results from Cooperative Egg Circles," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, February 1, 1912, 6, and 27; J.J. King, "Three Years of Egg Circle Success," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, June 25, 1914, 4; Wm. J. Webster, "Cooperative Marketing of Eggs and Poultry," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, June 8, 1916, 5; W.G. Orvis, "An Egg Circle that is Run on the Square," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, February 1, 1917, 7, and 9; "Co-operative Egg Selling," *The Farming World*, March 19, 1901, 708; "Co-operative Egg Selling," *The Farming World*, April 30, 1901, 902-03; W.A. Brown, "Co-operative Egg Circles," *O.A.C. Review and Alumni News*, February 1914, 240-42; "The Basis of the Egg Business," 849; "The Marketing of Eggs," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 3, 1910, 171; "Co-operative Egg Circles Organized," *Farmer's Advocate*, June 9, 1910, 953-54; "More Egg Circles Being Organized," *Farmer's Advocate*, July 14, 1910, 1141-42; "Co-operative Egg Marketing Discussed," *Farmer's Advocate*, July 21, 1910, 1181; John Marcellus, "Co-operative Egg Marketing in Dundas County," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 23, 1913, 1837-38; "Organized Egg Marketing in Oxford County," *Farmer's Advocate*, July 5, 1923, 977, and 998; "Are Egg Circles Worth While," *Farmer's Advocate*, September 11, 1924, 1347; "Market Eggs Satisfactorily," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 19, 1925, 265; "The U.F.O. Egg Pool," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 30, 1925, 700; "Egg Marketing in Central Ontario," *Farmer's Advocate*, September 8, 1927, 1311-12; and "Marketing Eggs and Poultry Co-operatively," *Farmer's Advocate*, September 11, 1930, 1355.

⁹⁰ "Swift Canada," Hawley Farm Accounts.

⁹¹ Mrs. Howard A. Clark, "The Women's Institute: Education of a Farmer's Wife," 1323; Diana, "A Primitive Idea," 6; Barron, 228; Disbrowe, 62; Sharpless, 131; Kitchen, 29; and Guest, 74.

⁹² "Eggs Used, 1902," "Eggs Used 1904," "Eggs Used 1905," "Eggs Used 1907," and "Egg Accounts 1911-14," Nathaniel "Ed" Leeder Accounts. For information on the per capita disappearance of eggs in Canada, see Trant, M428-445.

⁹³ Bogue, *The Farm on North Talbot Road*, 135, and 207. See also Neth, 19, and 31; and Gebby, 91, and 94.

⁹⁴ January 1-31, 1917, February 1-28, 1917, March 1-31, 1917, April 1-30, 1917, May 1-31, 1917, June 1-30, 1917, July 1-31, 1917, August 1-31, 1917, September 1-11, 1917, September 14-30, 1917, October 1-31, 1917, November 1-30, 1917, December 1-24, 1917, and December 26-31, 1917, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

⁹⁵ Freidberg, 88. See also Visser, 130; Sharpless, 132-33; Jas. Armstrong, "Cold Storage Necessary," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, February 3, 1916, 7; P.D. Vaney, "The Production of Winter Eggs," *O.A.C.*

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⁹⁶ Freidberg, 89-90; "Preserving Eggs," and "To Preserve Eggs," *The People's Home Library*, 196-97; W.A. Brown, "The Preserving of Eggs in the Home," *Canadian Countryman*, July 24, 1915, 20; "Preserving Eggs by Water Glass or Limewater," *Canadian Countryman*, May 12, 1917, 631; "Preserving Eggs," *Canadian Countryman*, July 12, 1919, 23-24; "Methods of Preserving Eggs," *Canadian Farmer, Dairyman and Stockbreeder*, June 6, 1925, 6; A.G. Gilbert, "Egg Preservatives," *The Farming World*, October 23, 1900, 218; Frank T. Shutt, "Lime Water for Preserving Eggs," *The Farming World*, May 28, 1901, 1006; F.W., "Preserving Eggs," *The Farming World and the Canadian Farm and Home*, May 1, 1906, 326; Frank T. Shutt, "The Preservation of Eggs," *The Farming World and the Canadian Farm and Home*, June 1, 1906, 398; "Preservation of Eggs," *The Farming World and the Canadian Farm and Home*, October 1, 1906, 694; S.G. Freeborn, "Preserving Eggs," *O.A.C. Review and Alumni News*, June 1915, 397-403; W.R. Graham, "Preservative for Eggs," *Farmer's Advocate*, September 8, 1904, 1214; Frank T. Shutt, "The Preservation of Eggs," *Farmer's Advocate*, May 24, 1906, 852-53; "Preserving Eggs: Waterglass vs. Lime Water," *Farmer's Advocate*, May 9, 1907, 790-91; "Preserving Eggs in Water-glass," *Farmer's Advocate*, June 24, 1909, 1029; "Home Preservation of Eggs," *Farmer's Advocate*, May 19, 1910, 845; "Egg Preservatives," *Farmer's Advocate*, September 18, 1913, 1630; "Preserving Eggs," *Farmer's Advocate*, May 26, 1921, 907; A.J. Madill, "Preservation of Eggs in the Home," *Farmer's Advocate*, May 18, 1922, 714; M. Donaldson, "Preserving Eggs for Home Use," *Farmer's Advocate*, May 25, 1922, 743; and Chapman, *Women's Institutes, Bulletin 252*, 24-25. See also *The 1927 Edition of the T. Eaton Co. Limited Catalogue for Spring and Summer*, 349; and Gebby, 84.

⁹⁷ See, for example, "The Scrap Bag," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 14, 1915, 57.

⁹⁸ June 10, 1915, and February 23, 1926, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts.

⁹⁹ February 16, 1924, November 6, 1924, January 25, 1926, and December 16, 1927, "Household Expenses," McIntosh Family Accounts; and June 14, 1924, July 10, 1924, July 17, 1925, July 25, 1925, May 1, 1926, and "Sold \$29.03 eggs in 1928," "Receipts," McIntosh Family Accounts.

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September 5, 1938, September 13, 1938, September 17, 1938, September 29, 1938, March 16, 1939, March 31, 1939, April 22, 1939, May 3, 1939, May 18, 1939, May 27, 1939, June 9, 1939, June 26, 1939, June 28, 1939, July 3, 1939, July 10, 1939, July 20, 1939, July 26, 1939, July 31, 1939, August 24, 1939, September 16, 1939, October 7, 1939, March 4, 1940, March 10, 1940, March 23, 1940, March 31, 1940, April 7, 1940, April 27, 1940, May 5, 1940, May 11, 1940, July 3, 1940, July 7, 1940, July 14, 1940, July 21, 1940, August 4, 1940, August 15, 1940, August 24, 1940, September 1, 1940, September 14, 1940, September 24, 1940, January 15, 1941, January 31, 1941, March 1, 1941, March 16, 1941, April 8, 1941, May 7, 1941, May 15, 1941, May 31, 1941, June 13, 1941, June 19, 1941, July 1, 1941, July 10, 1941, July 15, 1941, July 21, 1941, and August 2, 1941, Hawley Farm Accounts.

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February 15-16, 1944, February 19, 1944, February 22, 1944, February 25-26, 1944, and February 29, 1944, Hawley Farm Accounts.

¹⁰⁴ Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows, and Boarders," 19, and 25-27; Bradbury, *Working Families*, 165; and Strasser, 16-17.

¹⁰⁵ Bradbury, *Working Families*, 162-63, and 194; and Strasser, 16-17.

¹⁰⁶ Heron, *Lunch-Bucket Lives*, 112, and 167. See also Campbell, 29, and 33; Cowan, *More Work for Mother*, 164; Freidberg, 208; Wiley, 37; Cummings, 104, 206, 217, 220, and 227; and Smith-Howard, 15.

¹⁰⁷ Paul Voisey had similar findings in his study of Vulcan, Alberta, between 1920 and 1940. See Voisey, 93; and Levenstein, 28.

Fruits, Vegetables, Maple Syrup, & Nuts

About ten years ago, Ralph Smith reflected on his childhood on a Perth County, Ontario, farm in the 1930s and 1940s. He described typical meals for his household, explaining that, for dessert at dinner time, his family “always had fruit first and then pie or cake. ...Fruit was usually from a jar that Mother had preserved the fall before. Only during the months when fruit was readily available from our fruit trees did we have fresh fruit. If fresh fruit was available in the store at other times I wasn’t aware of it.”¹ For many of us, this is a familiar narrative; farm families ate produce they cultivated themselves, and older generations of farmers often pride themselves on the past self-sufficiency of their families.

In contrast to this self-reliant and seemingly idyllic image, this chapter demonstrates that such household production was only part of the story. Rather, Ontario farm families blended their roles as producers and consumers of a wide range of produce, as their household production worked in tandem with their purchases. In contrast to meat and dairy purchases, which typically were produced or processed in local or national networks, families’ purchases of produce demonstrate their participation in a complex trade network, stretching into international markets. While clearly involved in the market, and the beneficiaries of the wide range of goods available, farm families had specifically agrarian patterns of fruit and vegetable consumption that remained largely constant throughout the first half of the twentieth century. This chapter examines the trends in the production and consumption of home-grown fruit and vegetables, in the production of maple syrup, and in the gathering of nuts. It explores household canning practices, and

analyzes the purchase of produce, nuts, and readymade preserves. Finally, it addresses the subtle changes in these consumption patterns over time.

First, let us begin with an examination of the consumption of household-produced vegetables. Not surprisingly, given the prevalence of mixed farming during this period, farm families cultivated gardens and grew a broad range of vegetables for household use.² Between 1900 and 1944, the Hawley household of Lennox and Addington County, for example, cultivated some combination of lettuce, tomatoes, cabbage, and corn, as well as a variety of root vegetables.³ Such household provisioning was extolled in the farm press because it was seen to be more economical than straight purchasing, and resulted in better produce, and allegedly even enjoyment for the gardener.⁴ The press also periodically provided suggestions on which varieties of vegetables to plant.⁵ Gardening in urban areas, in contrast, appears to have varied by location; working-class residents in large cities such as Montreal, for example, generally did not have the space for gardens, while working-class families in Hamilton and smaller communities continued to engage in such production.⁶

Gardening necessitated a broad range of inputs, many of which were purchased. At the most basic level, families needed to acquire seeds and plants, and these items could be purchased in local stores, from the Eaton's catalogue, or from specialty seed catalogues.⁷ The McIntosh household of Bruce County, for example, made three purchases of seeds, a purchase of tomato plants, and a purchase of celery plants in the spring and early summer of 1924. Similarly, the McGowan household of Huron County bought fifteen different types of seeds and plants between the early 1900s and 1930s.⁸ Farm families could also, of course, preserve their own seed from the previous year, as

was periodically discussed in the agricultural press, or swap seeds and seedlings with friends and neighbours.⁹ The former practice drew particular attention during the First World War, due to concerns over shortages and reduced imports. Families also bought and used insecticides throughout the period. Paris Green, for example, was typically applied to potatoes; the McGowan family, the J.D. Cowan family of Oxford County, and the Leeder family of Bruce County all used this insecticide in the early twentieth century.¹⁰ Finally, some families bought lime, used to lower soil acidity; they may have applied it to their gardens to improve productivity.¹¹ As the range of gardening inputs suggests, farm families' household production was often connected to market engagement.

Gardening was, of course, seasonal work, completed in the spring, summer, and fall months. Gardens demanded particular attention in the spring, oftentimes May, for planting, and in the mid-summer and early fall for harvest, depending on the types of produce.¹² In the early 1900s, the Atkins household of Brant County, for example, spent the most time working in its garden in the months of May, July, and October. In the month of May, the household planted and weeded a range of vegetables, such as cucumbers, peppers, and tomatoes in 1901, and onions, lettuce, carrots, and beans in 1906.¹³ In the month of July, the family treated some vegetables with insecticide, such as potatoes in 1903; weeded others, such as parsnips in 1907; and harvested some, such as peas in 1910.¹⁴ Finally, the household was occupied with the root crop harvest, and, more particularly, with the potato harvest, in the month of October.¹⁵ The period for working with garden vegetables could be lengthened if families began seeds in a hot-bed in March; a hot-bed was “a bed of soil enclosed in a glass frame, which is heated (typically

by fermenting manure) and used for raising or forcing seedlings.”¹⁶ (The use of a hot-bed enabled households to acquire fresh vegetables earlier in the year.) These cyclical patterns of garden work factored into the broader demands for labour in the farm home, barn, and fields. Interestingly, this extensive evidence of gardening in farm diaries and accounts challenges the perception in the farm press that many families failed to cultivate substantial gardens.¹⁷

While the prescriptive literature periodically discussed men’s exclusion from the garden, evidence from familial records demonstrates that men, women, and children generally all contributed to this type of household provisioning.¹⁸ Men typically worked up the garden soil, whether through plowing, cultivating, or harrowing; such tasks were, of course, in keeping with their work in the fields.¹⁹ Men also completed any necessary repairs to garden fences, and spread manure on the garden. William Joshua Crawforth of Ontario County, Arthur McQueen of Huron County, and men in the Beaton family of Wellington County completed such work throughout the period.²⁰ Rare cases found women assisting in these traditionally masculine tasks, as with Crawforth’s first wife, Lillian, in 1905.²¹ Typically, men and women shared the rest of the labour in the garden, as seen in the Pearce household of Elgin County, the McQueen household of Huron County, and the Allen household of Lennox and Addington County.²² Extenuating circumstances could, however, lead women to undertake most of the work, as demonstrated by the Green household of Huron County, which lacked a male household head.²³ Personal preference may also have been a factor; Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins (depicted in Figure 9), for example, did most of the gardening, even though there were several people in her household.²⁴ The female leadership evidenced in the Green and

Atkins households aligned with the rhetoric of the agricultural press, which suggested that women needed to take the lead in planning and implementing the garden; they encouraged men to work the soil, and often did much of the subsequent work themselves.²⁵ Children were also expected to participate. Harold, the son of William and Kathleen Crawford of Ontario County, for example, started helping when he was about nine, and William, the son of Thomas and Annie Hill of Wellington County, started contributing when he was about ten.²⁶ The importance of children's labour was also highlighted in the agricultural press; the *Farmer's Advocate*, for example, detailed a

potato-growing competition held for Carleton County boys in 1912, and periodically printed instructions for gardening in the "Our School Department" section in the early 1920s.²⁷ Families together worked for a common goal of vegetable cultivation; this finding, of course, is in keeping with the larger historiography regarding farm labour.²⁸

Farm families also cultivated and harvested a variety of fruits for household use.²⁹ They periodically bought fruit production inputs, such as the strawberry plants William R. Shand of Norfolk County purchased in 1914, or the peach and apple trees Russell



Figure 9: Photograph of Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins.

Source: Item 3C, File 2, Box 34, Crombie Family Fonds, The William Ready Division of Archives and Research Collections, McMaster University.

Innes of Oxford County purchased in 1933.³⁰ Typically, this fruit was grown in their own orchards and gardens, and the farm press occasionally provided advice for this endeavour.³¹ The Perkins family of Oxford County, for example, cultivated cherries, citrons, currants, gooseberries, pears, raspberries, rhubarb, strawberries, and watermelon between the mid-1930s and early 1940s.³² Families also picked some fruit in area bushes, or perhaps on the properties of family and friends. On July 13, 1904, for example, Vivien Atkins “went & picked gooseberries at Miss O’Neails [sic],” and, later that month, “went to a bush up the Ayr road & picked berries,” with her sister, Hilda.³³ Families completed this work in the summer and early fall, shaped by the respective harvest dates for the various fruits; berries, for example, typically ripened beginning in June, while tree fruits such as apples and pears typically ripened beginning in August.³⁴

Women took a prominent role in picking fruit for their families, as the examples of the Crawforths of Ontario County, the Perkins of Oxford County, and the Tunises of Wentworth County attest.³⁵ As with the cultivation of vegetables, however, men and children also took an active role in this work. While men periodically assisted with cultivating and picking a range of fruit, they often were involved in picking tree fruit, and, in particular, apples. The male members of the Beaton family of Wellington County, the Duckwith family of Peel County, and the Potts family of Norfolk County all completed such work.³⁶ Perhaps the increased male involvement in harvesting tree fruit can be associated with the more physical nature of this chore, which involved moving heavy bushel baskets and often required ladders to reach the higher branches. The prominence of apples as a cash crop, as will be discussed subsequently, might also have been a factor. As evidenced by the King household of Welland County and the McQueen

household of Huron County, men typically maintained the orchards, trimming, grafting, and removing trees.³⁷ Children also assisted with picking fruit; hired boy Paul Peterson completed such work for the King family in the 1900s, and the Hill children periodically helped their mother, Annie, in the 1910s and early 1920s.³⁸ While women played a key role in cultivating and harvesting fruit for the household, men and children also contributed significant labour to this endeavour.

Beyond simply completing such chores to meet household needs, there was a social element to the work, particularly with berry picking. Women often picked berries with other members of their families, as well as neighbours and friends, since the work was completed in a small geographic area and it could take some time to harvest a desired amount of these small fruits. Between the late 1910s and late 1920s, Kathleen Crawforth, for example, frequently went berry picking with her young son, Harold, and was periodically accompanied by her husband, other women, and even other families.³⁹ Similarly, Jean Ferrier of Wellington County picked berries with others in July 1936.⁴⁰ These outings allowed neighbours and friends to socialize while completing a time-consuming task.

In the first half of the twentieth century, families cultivated a range of fruits and vegetables for household use. They valued this array of fresh produce, and sometimes even specifically recorded when a given item was first available in the year. In August 1900, for example, Mary Ann King noted her family “had our first new potatoes & the hen for dinner,” and in August 1906, Vivien Atkins noted her family “[h]ad [their] first melon out of [the] garden.”⁴¹ Some of this produce, such as apples and strawberries, were eaten fresh.⁴² Other items were cooked and incorporated into meals, such as the

carrots, onions, and potatoes produced and prepared by the King household in the early 1900s.⁴³ Finally, produce was also incorporated into baked goods, including pies.⁴⁴ Simply in 1941, the Beaton household, for example, consumed homemade cherry, apple, and elderberry pies.⁴⁵ Home-grown produce was a key component of farm families' diets.

Some of the fruits and vegetables heretofore discussed have a relatively long shelf life, meaning that they could be kept, usually in cool, dark places, for weeks and even months at a time. Root crops, such as potatoes and onions, and some tree fruits, such as apples and pears, could be stored in such a method.⁴⁶ Farm families stored these fruits and vegetables in cellars or specially dug pits for winter use. In the early 1900s, Merinda Pearce, for example, kept beets, carrots, potatoes, pumpkins, and squash in a cellar and/or pits.⁴⁷ James Glen, Sr., of Middlesex County even noted the use of an apple house, beginning in late 1904.⁴⁸ The farm press frequently provided seasonal advice on the best storage methods for a range of produce, and periodically even provided instructions on how to build specialized storage houses.⁴⁹

Many other types of fruits and vegetables would, of course, spoil quickly if kept in their fresh or raw state. In order to extend the shelf life of this fresh produce, farm families commonly canned a variety of fruits and vegetables;⁵⁰ such efforts can be connected to the on-farm preservation of meat. Speakers at the annual meetings of the WI periodically also discussed the process of canning produce.⁵¹ Many families detailed the purchase of supplies, such as sealers, jar rubbers, and preserving kettles. The J.D. Cowan family, the Leeder family, and the Jones family of Elgin County, all bought such items.⁵² The farm press also periodically published recipes for this household production, and advertisements for canning supplies.⁵³ Home canning was largely a twentieth-century

development, as technological improvements, such as factory-produced glass jars, facilitated the completion of this task.⁵⁴

While, as heretofore discussed, the cultivation and harvest of fresh produce often involved both male and female labour, women were directly responsible for preserving fruits and vegetables for their families. In households with multiple women, they could share the workload. In the summer of 1921, Emily Duckwith, for example, worked with her sister, Edith, to can beans and cucumbers, and worked with her mother to can tomatoes, peaches, and pickles.⁵⁵ In a few rare cases, assistance with canning extended beyond direct family; Florence Allen, for example, helped a woman named Kay to can peaches in September 1930, and a woman named Jean helped Elma Perkins to can citrons in December 1938.⁵⁶ Men were rarely involved in canning; their limited involvement was confined to the making of beverages, including elderberry wine, root beer, and cider.⁵⁷ The most extensive case was found in the Glen, Sr., household, where, in the 1900s and early 1910s, men made cider from apples in their orchard.⁵⁸ Perhaps this can be attributed to the fact that the Glen men undertook the majority of the work with the apples on their farm, and the fact that the cider mill was located outside the home, in the apple house.⁵⁹

Beyond the typical household production of canned goods for familial use, families also periodically received homemade preserves as gifts. A woman named Mary, for example, “brot jelly” to the Leeder family shortly after the death of Jemina’s mother in 1925, and Jim Sullivan brought a “jar of wild strawberries” when he came to visit the Ferrier family in 1938.⁶⁰ Interestingly, there was even some discussion in the farm press in the early twentieth century of establishing co-operative canneries, and the WI operated a “canning center in Parkhill” in 1920.⁶¹ As described by P.E. Culverhouse of Vineland,

such centres were “economically operated,” and local families could use the facilities “to preserve all kinds of perishable food.”⁶² Such a production method was inconvenient, however, as women had to travel to these centres and interrupt their normal household work and childcare routines. Consequently, women generally completed this canning work within their households, rarely working alongside men, extended family members, friends, or neighbours. Presumably, the female and household-centered nature of this work can be attributed to the fact that the chore was completed within the kitchen, which was a female space, and that the final products were largely intended for familial consumption.⁶³

Women devoted a notable amount of time to canning fruits and vegetables, and to making a broad range of preserves.⁶⁴ Vivien Atkins, for example, noted 22 instances of canning in her 1908 diary, while Kathleen Crawforth noted 21 of her own in her 1930 diary.⁶⁵ This female labour produced a broad range of preserves. In the case of the Atkins household, in 1908 alone Vivien made eight different kinds of jam and jelly, as well as apple sauce, tomato mustard, canned tomatoes, and Governor sauce, also known as green tomato pickles.⁶⁶ By making such a range and quantity of preserves, women ensured that their families had access to a tasty variety of goods for their diets, even outside of the traditional local seasons. This canned produce could be incorporated into another dish or dessert, such as a sauce or a pie, or served as a side or condiment. Stewed fruit or apple sauce could even be dished out of the jars for a simple dessert, as explained by Ralph Smith. Farm women’s household production can be contrasted with the experiences of urban women, at least in the American context, who increasingly relied on canned goods by the 1920s and 1930s.⁶⁷ Notably, according to Denyse Baillargeon, Montreal women

during the Great Depression simply did not have the resources to purchase all of the necessary supplies for canning, such as jars, sugar, and produce.⁶⁸

In terms of the timing of household canning, farm women typically devoted the most time to this work in the summer and the fall, as most fruits and vegetables were harvested then.⁶⁹ Periodically, however, women completed some canning in the spring and winter, depending on the type of preserve. In January of 1900, the Treffry women of Oxford County, for example, canned 23 quarts of apples, as “Ma fear[ed] there [would] be none left in a few [weeks]” because they were “rotting badly” in their raw state.⁷⁰ Similarly, the King, Perkins, and Potts women also preserved apples in the winter.⁷¹ Some women also used the winter and early spring months to can dried or even imported fruit; Mabel Brown of Carleton County made marmalade and prune preserves in March of 1913, while Loretta (Talcott) White of Prince Edward County made grapefruit marmalade in March of 1935.⁷²

As the use of dried and imported fruit suggests, the home preserving of produce was not a matter of pure self-sufficiency; making such goods necessitated the purchase of canning supplies, sugar, and even fruit. Families absorbed these expenses because they wanted access to a broad range of home-preserved fruits and vegetables throughout the year. Perhaps concerns over taste and quality played into these decisions; according to “A Garden Devotee,” writing in the *Farmer's Advocate* in 1917, her family's canned produce “kept beautifully, being as tasty as the fresh [vegetables], and, as many people remarked, much tastier and sweeter than the purchased canned goods.”⁷³

Another common product from Ontario trees and bushes was maple syrup, which was processed by many families; indeed, F.M. Christianson, writing in the *Farm and*

Dairy and Rural Home in 1917, even called “the day we ‘sugar-off’” one of the “red letter days on the farm each year.”⁷⁴ Ruby Simmons of Lennox and Addington County, for example, noted this work between the mid-1910s and mid-1930s.⁷⁵ Families usually completed this work in the months of March and April, given the need for cold nights, followed by warmer days, for the sap to flow well.⁷⁶ This timing fit into other seasonal rhythms on the farm, preceding the busy planting season.⁷⁷ In contrast to the fruit harvest, men typically completed most of the work in the sugar bush, and women assisted; presumably, the sugar bush was seen as a male preserve.⁷⁸ In the case of the Poole family of Brant County, for example, men tapped trees and boiled syrup in the spring of 1904.⁷⁹ As the female household head, Frances cleaned the equipment, noting that the chore was “rather tiresome alone,” as the buckets “st[u]ck together so.”⁸⁰ She also canned “13 gallons in tin cans besides 22 glass jars full” of syrup for her families’ use, noting “I guess we will be sweet.”⁸¹ A similar gendered division of labour was also found in the Pearce household in the early 1900s.⁸² Farm men, with the assistance of women, provided their families with a sweet treat for their breakfasts and desserts.

A final product from local trees and bushes for household consumption was nuts, and many families harvested nuts locally. Cora Tunis, for example, remembered “gathering [and] drying the walnuts[,] butternuts[, ...] hickory nuts, [and] chestnuts” in the 1920s and early 1930s.⁸³ As with the harvest of fruit, these nuts could be found at home, on the properties of friends and neighbours, and even in local bushes; Mrs. C.J. Treffry noted a group going to the “woods to get chestnuts” in October 1900, and Bella Green went to “Burt McWhinney’s bush” with Ida H. to pick birch nuts in November 1917.⁸⁴ Nuts were typically ready for harvest between late September and November.⁸⁵

The social element found in berry-picking was also evident with the harvest of nuts, as the examples of the Duckwith and Hill families suggests.⁸⁶ Such fall excursions provided another opportunity for neighbours and friends to meet, while gathering a treat for their families over the coming months.

Work in gardens, orchards, and bushes extended beyond simple household production to include produce sold in the local marketplace.⁸⁷ Most commonly, families marketed potatoes and apples, as evidenced by the Kellys of Oxford County, the Millers of Lennox and Addington County, and the Robinsons of Middlesex County.⁸⁸ Indeed, the sale of potatoes might help to account for the sizeable potato acreage noted by some families; the Jemina Hannah Leeder household of Bruce County, for example, cultivated between $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ of an acre of potatoes in the early 1910s, as did the Meyer household of Perth County in the mid-1930s.⁸⁹ The importance of potatoes and apples as marketable products is further underscored by the frequency with which the farm press discussed the cultivation and marketing of these types of produce.⁹⁰ A number of families, such as the Kellys, McGowans, and Millers, also sold maple syrup.⁹¹

In some cases, market sales might have been a method to deal with the overproduction of goods intended solely for household consumption; the McIntosh household of Bruce County, for example, sold potatoes every year from 1923 to 1928, but only sold cucumbers in 1925 and tomatoes in 1927.⁹² For a number of other families, market gardening was a small but notable aspect of their farming activities, as the range of sales by James Glen, Sr., of Middlesex County, D.H. Kelly of Oxford County, and John Graham Weir of Peterborough County attests.⁹³ Weir, for example, sold a total of seven different types of fruit and seven different types of vegetables over the first two

decades of the century.⁹⁴ In 1902, his produce sales accounted for approximately 8% of his total income for the year.⁹⁵ Proximity to towns or villages may have contributed to such decisions; Kelly, for example, resided near Burgessville, while Weir resided in relative proximity to Peterborough.⁹⁶ Such market-oriented production was similar to that for milk and cream.

By drawing an income from a myriad of agricultural endeavours, families worked to protect themselves from significant losses from the market slump of a single commodity, or from a poor harvest of a single crop.⁹⁷ Market fluctuations were indeed a reality for families; while the agricultural press periodically highlighted the success stories of farmers achieving significant incomes through the savvy cultivation of fresh produce, other articles discussed low prices and unprofitable conditions, and the necessary production and marketing reforms to address these issues.⁹⁸ Such concerns over stability may help to account for the continued reliance of these record-keepers on mixed farming, despite being encouraged to specialize in fruit and/or vegetable production by agricultural experts in the 1910s and 1920s.⁹⁹ The household production of fruits and vegetables provided both in-kind and financial remuneration for families, and provided another layer of security to their household provisioning for those who continued to engage in mixed farming.

As with other foods, families were not fully reliant on their own fresh produce, and they supplemented this household production with formal purchases in the marketplace.¹⁰⁰ In a number of cases, formal purchases may have been used to shore up declining household supplies, particularly of root crops, such as potatoes. While these vegetables were a key component of farm families' gardens, families also periodically

purchased potatoes, generally in the off-season.¹⁰¹ Both John Graham Weir and D.H. Kelly purchased and grew potatoes over the course of their accounts. They typically bought potatoes in the spring or early summer, when household supplies from the previous harvest were presumably running low.¹⁰²

Similarly, the relative infrequency with which families bought vegetables more generally suggests that these purchases were supplemental to their household production. Many households, including the Glens, the McIntoshs, and the Kellys, made seven or fewer purchases of vegetables per year.¹⁰³ In some families, such as the Hawley family, the number of yearly vegetable purchases did reach higher peaks. These purchases do not seem, however, to have reached levels suggesting complete market reliance, and the family still frequently noted the purchase of garden inputs.¹⁰⁴ Families throughout the period bought some vegetables, but these purchases were clearly intended to supplement the variety of produce grown at home.

Families made these vegetable purchases sporadically throughout the year.¹⁰⁵ They bought some vegetables in season when produce was fresh. John Cameron Topham of Oxford County, for example, purchased cabbage, tomatoes, onions, potatoes, and lettuce in season in the late summer and early fall of 1945.¹⁰⁶ (Topham is depicted in Figure 10.) These purchases could have been made



Figure 10: Photograph of John Cameron Topham.
Source: Norwich & District Historical Society.

directly from neighbours, in local farmers' markets, or in local stores. Off-season purchases of root crops, such as potatoes and onions, could presumably still have been locally-grown produce, kept in cold, dark storage; indeed, some farm families, such as the James Glen, Sr., family, stored potatoes themselves over the winter, marketing the produce in the new year.¹⁰⁷ In-season purchases of vegetables, as well as off-season purchases of root crops, highlight the continued importance of local trade networks.

Families also bought commercially-canned vegetables throughout the period, showing connections further afield.¹⁰⁸ Some families, such as the Hawleys of Lennox and Addington County, the McGowans of Huron County, and the Shields of Peel County, specified the purchase of canned vegetables, including tomatoes, peas, corn, and pumpkin.¹⁰⁹ It can be assumed that many of the purchases families made of off-season vegetables, even if not explicitly specified, were canned, given the convenience and relative economy of the items. The aforementioned McGowans, for example, made a number of off-season purchases of tomatoes in the early twentieth century. The account-keeper only specified the purchase of canned tomatoes a handful of times, but, presumably, the majority of these purchases were canned.¹¹⁰

Other records suggest, however, that families purchased fresh vegetables in months that would be off-season, at least locally. D.H. Kelly bought celery at the Woodstock market in December 1907, for example, and John Graham Weir purchased "twelve boxes [of] tomatoes" in May 1908, and another three boxes in May 1915.¹¹¹ Some produce, such as lettuce purchased in the off-season in the mid-1920s and early 1930s by the William Casimer Topham family of Oxford County, and in the late 1930s and early 1940s by the Miller family of Lennox and Addington County, simply could not

have been locally grown and preserved long-term.¹¹² Such lettuce purchases can perhaps be connected to the developing popularity of lettuce, because it was healthy and easy to prepare.¹¹³ Ontario farm families' consumption of purchased lettuce does not appear to have reached the same heights as that found in 1920s America.¹¹⁴ American truck-farming, which developed in the late nineteenth century and expanded notably into the early twentieth century, could quite conceivably have reached into southern Ontario to supply this produce.¹¹⁵ Even broader connections to international markets are suggested by the consumption of olive oil, purchased by James Glen, Sr., of Middlesex County, Nathaniel Edward Leeder of Bruce County, Jemina Hannah Leeder of Bruce County, and John Graham Weir of Peterborough County.¹¹⁶ Families bought locally grown, canned, and even imported produce.

Similarly, families also purchased a broad variety of fruit, despite their household cultivation. In the mid-1920s, Ira McIntosh, for example, grew pears, plums, and apples, but also purchased strawberries, peaches, grapes, cherries, blueberries, and watermelon, all of which could have been grown in the province.¹¹⁷ Such a blending of home-grown and Ontario-grown purchased fruits was common throughout the period, and reflective of the desire for variety in rural diets. Typically, though, Ontario-grown fruits were purchased rather infrequently; between 1900 and 1920, for example, James Glen, Sr., Robert McGowan, and John Graham Weir made fewer than ten purchases per year.¹¹⁸ These purchases were largely made in season, although the length of time some fruits would keep provided a degree of flexibility. Both the Millers of Lennox and Addington County and the Pollards of Oxford County, for example, purchased apples outside of the traditional harvest season, while Nathaniel Edward Leeder bought both apples and pears

in the off-season; these fruits could be kept for months after harvest in cold storage.¹¹⁹ Periodically, families made larger purchases of Ontario-grown fruits, such as the half bushel of peaches Jemina Hannah Leeder bought in September 1920, or the approximately 30 boxes of strawberries the Hawleys bought in June 1942.¹²⁰ The rapidity with which these fruits would spoil, and the fact that both families also purchased canning supplies, suggests that these larger purchases might have been made specifically for canning.¹²¹ Families may have purchased this fruit directly from other farmers, in local stores, at local markets, or perhaps even through local co-operatives; as has been discussed, farm families frequently sold produce locally, and the United Farmers Co-Operative Company periodically printed ads in the farm press in the early 1920s to encourage members to place orders for fruit grown by members from other parts of the province.¹²² Families periodically supplemented their cultivation of fruit with the purchase of other locally grown fruits.

Reaching further afield, farm families incorporated imported fruits into their diets, including coconut, pineapples, oranges, lemons, and bananas. The majority of families bought at least some tropical fruit, and the purchase of this type of fruit was evident throughout the period.¹²³ While families bought tropical fruit throughout the year, their purchasing typically increased in the spring and summer, perhaps because of the more limited availability of other fresh fruits locally.¹²⁴ Both the D.H. Kelly and James Glen, Sr., households, for example, bought almost half of their respective tropical fruits in the months of June, July, and August, although they made some purchases throughout the year.¹²⁵ Generally, families made small purchases of tropical fruits; between the mid-1910s and 1920s, for example, Jemina Hannah Leeder often bought between six and

twelve lemons, oranges and/or bananas at a time, although she also made two purchases of two dozen oranges just before Christmas in 1917 and 1919.¹²⁶ Citrus fruit presumably came from the United States, although lemons may also have been from Sicily.¹²⁷ Pineapples, perhaps canned, were likely imported from Hawaii and Taiwan, and bananas were imported from the Caribbean or South or Central America.¹²⁸ Scholars demonstrate the prevalence of such fruits as bananas and oranges in America by the early twentieth century; while tropical fruit was a key component in the diets of Ontario farm families, per capita consumption in agrarian Ontario does not appear to have reached the level found in the United States.¹²⁹ The purchase of such tropical fruits nevertheless shows that Ontario farm consumers were connected to continental and even global markets, adding further complexity to the market relations heretofore explored in Chapters 2 and 4.

In a number of cases, particularly with fruits like oranges and bananas, this produce was presumably eaten fresh. Mabel Brown, for example, “had oranges for tea” when company visited in February 1913, and Florence Allen bought bananas for “a treat” when she was given short notice of company visiting in April of 1930.¹³⁰ Other diary entries suggest the incorporation of tropical fruits into baked goods, such as lemon pie, banana cake, and coconut layer cake.¹³¹ For many families, such fruits accounted for a notable number of their total fruit purchases, in terms of the frequency of purchase. The James Glen, Sr., Hawley, and D.H. Kelly households, for example, purchased more tropical than Ontario-grown or dried fruits in the majority of years covered by their respective accounts. In the case of the Glen family, for example, the total number of annual tropical fruit purchases peaked at 24 in 1914, but the family typically made ten or

fewer purchases per year.¹³² Farm families added some variety to their diets with the purchase of imported fruit, oftentimes in the spring and summer months.

Alongside the purchase of Ontario-grown and tropical fruits, farm families also incorporated dried fruits into their diets, including figs, raisins, prunes, and currants.¹³³ As was the case with tropical fruits, families bought dried fruit throughout the period; the Treffry household of Oxford County, for example, purchased raisins and currants in 1900, and the Miller household of Lennox and Addington County purchased raisins and dates in 1937.¹³⁴ Typically, families made relatively few purchases of dried fruit per year; the James Glen, Sr., Nathaniel Edward Leeder, and John Graham Weir households, for example, all made five or fewer yearly purchases of dried fruit over the span of their respective accounts.¹³⁵ Families periodically bought these dried fruits throughout the year, but consumption often increased between late fall and early to mid-spring. For some households, purchases notably peaked in December, perhaps due to the association of dried fruit with the Christmas season.¹³⁶ Jemina Hannah Leeder, for example, made 35 purchases, or a little over 40% of her total purchases of dried fruits, in the month of December.¹³⁷ These dried fruits were often incorporated into baked goods, such as raisin pie, Christmas cake, and “a cake with raisin icing.”¹³⁸ As with the purchase of tropical fruit, the purchase of dried fruit further demonstrates agrarian consumers’ connections to broad markets; dates and figs, for example, were likely imported from California.¹³⁹ While presumably families typically bought dried fruit in local stores, they could even order this fruit through the Eaton’s catalogue by the 1910s.¹⁴⁰ It is important to note, however, that families were not fully reliant on dried fruit from the late fall to the early to mid-spring. While William Casimer Topham, for example, made a total of five purchases

of dried fruit, he also made five purchases of grapes and one purchase of oranges between November 1 and December 31, 1927.¹⁴¹ Rather, the purchase of dried fruit allowed farm families to add a bit of variety to their diets in the colder months of the year, and was incorporated into Christmas baking.

Many families also bought nuts.¹⁴² While they commonly noted the purchase simply of “nuts,” some specified the purchase of peanuts and walnuts, as the examples of the William H. Cowan family of Oxford County, the Elsie Innes family of Oxford County, and the John Graham Weir family of Peterborough County attest.¹⁴³ A few households incorporated a broader range of nuts into their diets; the Hawley family, for example, bought walnuts, peanuts, hickory nuts, butter nuts, and almonds between 1900 and 1944.¹⁴⁴ The relative infrequency and small size of purchases suggests that families considered nuts a treat like ice cream; Robert McGowan, for example, made up to four purchases of nuts per year between the early 1900s and early 1920s, and all of his purchases were valued at under \$0.30.¹⁴⁵ D.H. Kelly frequently bought nuts with candy or ice cream between the mid-1900s and late 1920s, further underscoring the perception of nuts as a special treat.¹⁴⁶ While families periodically bought nuts throughout the year, oftentimes purchases were concentrated in the month of December. Both the Nathaniel Edward Leeder and Jemina Hannah Leeder families, for example, recorded most of their purchases in that month.¹⁴⁷ As with the purchase of dried fruit, this timing likely coincided with Christmas baking and seasonal snacking.¹⁴⁸ Families periodically purchased nuts as a treat, adding a bit of variety to their diets, particularly in the month of December.

Finally, some farm families bought readymade canned goods or preserves which were directly ready for consumption, being served as a side, condiment, or topping.¹⁴⁹ The farm press periodically advertized the sale of such goods.¹⁵⁰ The Jones family, for example, purchased pickles and olives in the 1910s and 1920s, and the Jemina Hannah Leeder family purchased jelly and orange marmalade in the mid-1920s.¹⁵¹ John Graham Weir also periodically bought maple syrup in the 1900s and 1910s, and William R. Shand made a single purchase of maple sugar in 1913.¹⁵² These purchases were, however, clearly supplemental to the range of produce grown and processed at home, and purchased fresh. The Hawley family, for example, noted just two purchases of pickles, two purchases of jelly, and one of purchase of chow chow (which is a mix of pickled cucumbers, onions, and other vegetables) over the entire span of its accounts, covering the period of 1900 to 1944.¹⁵³ The family also purchased canning supplies throughout much of the period.¹⁵⁴ While prepared preserves appear to have been available throughout the period, farm families bought them infrequently, preferring to rely on home-prepared preserves.¹⁵⁵ Perhaps this can be attributed to concerns over quality; writing in 1920, Diana of “The Sun Sisters’ Page” stated that “Everyone who buys jams knows they are not what they are purported to be, that is, made of the pure fruit named on the label.”¹⁵⁶ Rather, according to Diana, the jams were “adulterat[ed] with apple, a much cheaper fruit.” Making preserves within the home ensured the quality of the finished product.

Farm families’ consumption of produce was, to some extent, impacted by the changing seasons. In the spring and summer, families bought tropical fruits. In the summer and early fall, because of the maturation of Ontario produce, they had access to a

range of fresh, home-grown, and locally-grown vegetables and fruits. The availability of fresh local produce declined in the late fall, particularly after the season's first hard frost. In the colder months of the year, families could rely on locally-grown root crops and other produce, such as apples, that kept well in their raw state. They also consumed a range of produce canned by female kin, and purchased canned fruits and vegetables. They often expanded their purchases of dried fruits during these months. Finally, families bought some fresh produce, presumably supplied from American truck-farming networks. In a sense, these seasonal shifts in produce consumption were the mirror image of trends in household-processed meat consumption; typically, household-processed meat was more prevalent in the colder months, as the climate facilitated its on-farm preservation. Families also worked to overcome seasonal limitations to their diets, however, whether it was through participation in beef rings, on-farm canning of produce, or the purchase of fresh fruits and vegetables.

As the discussion heretofore has suggested, families' consumption of fruits, vegetables, maple syrup, and nuts remained relatively constant throughout the first half of the twentieth century. They combined the home production and preservation of such goods with formal purchases in local markets. There are hints, however, at some slight shifts and developments throughout the period. As discussed with reference to meat, a developing shift was evident with the availability of individual access to cold storage, beginning in the 1930s. Elma Perkins took berries to her cold storage locker in June 1939, and took strawberries to her locker in July 1940.¹⁵⁷ Perkins used cold storage as another way to preserve home-grown fruit. She continued, however, to can a broad array of produce throughout this period, including berries in both 1939 and 1940.¹⁵⁸ In this

period, a few families started to use cold storage as a supplement to, as opposed to a straight replacement of, home canning. (Interested parties began discussing and experimenting with cold storage of produce for marketing purposes, in contrast, as early as the first decade of the 1900s.¹⁵⁹) The preliminary uses of cold storage provide some subtlety to our understanding of fruit and vegetable consumption practices in the period, rather than suggesting any fundamental shifts or breaks in these practices.

Overall, a complex picture emerges of Ontario farm families' fruit and vegetable consumption in the first half of the twentieth century. Families cultivated a wide array of produce, both for household consumption and for sale in the marketplace. Some families also processed maple syrup, and gathered local nuts. While men, women, and children worked together to complete these time-sensitive tasks, there were some gendered divisions of labour. Men maintained orchards and worked the garden soil, while women cleaned syrup equipment and took a central role in fruit-picking. Women often completed this latter task with family, friends, and neighbours, thus combining productive work with an opportunity to socialize. They also devoted a considerable amount of time to making a range of preserves. There were seasonal rhythms to this production for household consumption, from spring through the fall.

The consumption of goods produced in the household was combined with formal purchases. Farm families did, indeed, buy some vegetables, which could be locally grown, commercially canned, and/or imported, but these purchases were often intended to supplement those grown at home. Families generally bought a wider array of fruits, including Ontario-grown, dried, and tropical, demonstrating connections to local, provincial, continental, and even international markets. Families also periodically

purchased nuts as a special treat. Finally, some families made limited purchases of readymade preserves, such as pickles, jellies, and marmalades, as well as of maple syrup. In their decisions and practices, farm families stood in contrast to their urban counterparts, who did not necessarily have access to space for gardens, and who increasingly relied on store-bought canned goods. Ontario farm families thus had specifically rural consumption practices into the mid-twentieth century, blending household production and purchasing to acquire the produce they desired.

¹ See Smith, *Childhood Memories of the 1930's and 1940's*, 110. Harry J. Boyle also remembered preserves as a central component of dessert in the 1920s and 1930s. See Boyle, 185. This assumption of farm families' reliance on home-cultivated produce is also evident in some of the historiography. See, for example, Voisey, 93; and Dorothy Duncan, *Canadians at Table*, 170.

² See also Davis, "Country Homemakers," 168; Yerge, 8; Neth, 30-31; Gebby, 77; Cummings, 181; Donna R. Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 85; Sharpless, 121-22; Pocius, 109; A Soldier's Mother, "Her Son is Kept," *Weekly Sun*, October 2, 1918, 6; Liza Jane, "A Sister Speaks," *Farmers' Sun*, April 17, 1920, 6; Diana, "October," *Farmers' Sun*, October 16, 1920, 6; Roelens-Grant, ed., 3, 5, 8, 22, 25, 28, 31, 41, 60, 70, 80, 85, 95, 118, 126, 131, and 157-58; Miss Ruth Pirie, "The Vegetable Garden," *Report of the Farmers' Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1901, Part II: Women's Institutes*, 98; Miss Bertha Duncan, "Vegetables: Selection, Preparation, Cooking and Care," *Report of the Farmer's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1905, Part II: Women's Institutes* (Toronto, L.K. Cameron, 1906), 112; Mrs. D. McTavish, "The Education of Our Daughters," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1906*, 110; Scripture, 28; Davies, "Stocking the Root Cellar," 97-98; Zembrzycki, 132; and Sandwell, *Contesting Rural Space*, 58, 132, and 136.

³ See, for example, July 4, 1903, July 8, 1905, September 9, 1905, September 4, 1907, October 5, 1907, September 14, 1912, May 9, 1932, July 15, 1932, April 10, 1933, May 3, 1933, June 10, 1933, July 1, 1933, October 12, 1933, October 14, 1933, March 29, 1934, May 14, 1934, May 23, 1935, May 29, 1935, September 12, 1935, September 19, 1936, July 6, 1937, June 7, 1938, May 6, 1939, June 16, 1939, June 4, 1943, and June 18, 1943, Hawley Farm Accounts.

⁴ See, for example, Anna L. Jack, "A Garden Retrospect," *Farmer's Advocate*, September 21, 1905, 1363; L.R.B., "Early Gardening," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 29, 1906, 507; Geo. Laithwaite, "The Farmer's Garden," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, March 18, 1909, 5; "Some More Good Essays on 'My Vegetable Garden,'" *Farmer's Advocate*, April 14, 1910, 642; Alice A. Ferguson, "The Delights I Find in My Garden," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, March 5, 1914, 25, and 29; S.C. Johnston, "Every Farmer's Vegetable Garden," *Canadian Countryman*, April 3, 1915, 27; Mrs. Howard A. Clark, "The Women's Institute: Education of a Farmer's Wife," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 19, 1915, 1323; Sylvanus, "Pleasures and Profit in the Farm Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 12, 1917, 621; "Fresh for Supper!" *Farmer's Advocate*, April 2, 1925, 533; Diana, "Come into the Garden Maud," *Farmers' Sun*, August 6, 1921, 6; Diana, "Garden Talk," 6; and McCleary, 33.

⁵ See, for example, H.S. Peart, "Spring in the Orchard and Garden," *The Farming World and the Canadian Farm and Home*, April 1, 1905, 273-74; "Leading Varieties of Vegetable Garden Crops," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 1, 1906, 319; "Varieties of Vegetables to Plant," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 2, 1908, 602-03; "Vegetable Varieties for Farmer's Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 1, 1909, 530-531; A GARDEN LOVER, "My Vegetable Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 4, 1910, 1260; "Varieties of Vegetables for the Farm Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 27, 1913, 577; A.B. Cutting, "The Best Varieties of Vegetables for Market, Garden, and Home Use," *Canadian Farm*, March 27, 1914, 4; "Varieties of

Vegetables to Grow in the Farm Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 25, 1915, 486; "Fresh Vegetables From Your Own Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 1, 1915, 524; "Varieties of Vegetables for the Farm Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 9, 1916, 405; "Varieties of Vegetables for the Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 22, 1917, 492; Plan to Use Horse Labor in the Vegetable Garden," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, February 7, 1918, 3, and 12; "The Best Varieties of Vegetables," *Canadian Farm*, March 6, 1918, 4; "A List of Varieties for the Vegetable Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 21, 1918, 480; "Varieties of Vegetables for the Farm Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, May 1, 1919, 866; "Certified Seed Potatoes," *Canadian Farmer*, March 12, 1921, 8; T.F. Ritchie, "Planting the Vegetable Garden," *Canadian Farmer, Dairyman and Stockbreeder*, May 20, 1922, 31; Alpha, "Vegetable Garden Record," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 19, 1925, 245; "Fresh for Supper," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 2, 1925, 533; "Speed the Farm Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 17, 1927, 234; N.H.M., "The Home Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 5, 1928, 576; T.F. Ritchie, "Vegetables for the Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 13, 1930, 433; Lillian March, "Beautifying the Home Surroundings," *Farmers' Sun*, April 2, 1919, 6; and "Housewives SAVE MONEY," *Farmers' Sun*, April 14, 1920, 6. See also Levenstein, 28; Gebby, 77; and Sharpless, 121-22.

⁶ While Bettina Bradbury's late nineteenth-century study of Montreal indicates that families in large urban cities simply did not have the space for gardens, Lara Campbell's study of Ontario during the Great Depression suggests that gardening was feasible in smaller communities and towns into the mid-1930s. Similarly, Craig Huron notes the endurance of gardening in working-class Hamilton into the Great Depression, although he explains that some tenant families did not have access to land for gardens. In smaller towns, at least into the interwar period, some families may also have been able to lease small parcels of land from area farmers, as the case of immigrant families in Johnstown, Pennsylvania suggests. See Campbell, 29-31; Tom Dicke, "Red Gold of the Ozarks: The Rise and Decline of Tomato Canning, 1885-1955," *Agricultural History* 79, no. 1 (Winter 2005), 4; Bradbury, *Working Families*, 164, and 167; Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows, and Boarders," 30, and 45-46; Freidberg, 168-180; Morawska, 134-35, 196, and 198; Mosby, 104; Duncan, "Vegetables," 112; Comacchio, 126; and Heron, *Lunch-Bucket Lives*, 112-13, 167, and 170.

⁷ *The 1927 Edition of the T. Eaton Co. Limited Catalogue for Spring and Summer*, 333; Blue Bell, "A Request," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 13, 1905, 553; "My Vegetable Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 7, 1910, 601; A Garden Lover, "My Vegetable Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 4, 1910, 1260; "Fresh Vegetables from Your Own Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 1, 1915, 524; "Acquiring Perennials Cheaply," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 23, 1925, 643; "Housewives Save Money," *Farmers' Sun*, April 14, 1920, 6; *1910 Bruce, Grey & Simcoe Farmers and Business Directory*, 608; and May 5, 1913, July 26, 1913, August 5, 1913, April 4, 1914, April 30, 1914, June 20, 1914, March 16, 1915, April 29, 1915, May 6, 1915, June 10, 1915, May 2, 1916, May 4, 1916, May 30, 1916, March 20, 1917, May 3, 1917, May 25, 1917, June 7, 1917, June 21, 1917, May 9, 1918, March 19, 1918, May 10, 1918, May 13, 1918, June 27, 1918, July 4, 1918, August 1, 1918, March 26, 1919, April 23, 1919, June 23, 1919, and April 29, 1921, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts.

⁸ McGowan purchased tomato, onion, turnip, celery, beet, pea, lettuce, cabbage, pumpkin, corn, bean, radish, parsnip, cucumber, and cauliflower seeds or plants over this period. See May 7, 1924, June 10, 1924, June 12, 1924, June 17, 1924, and July 10, 1924, "Household Expenses," McIntosh Family Accounts; and May 4, 1903, May 7, 1904, June 8, 1904, March 31, 1905, April 7, 1905, June 16, 1905, April 21, 1906, April 28, 1906, May 25, 1906, April 20, 1907, May 1, 1907, May 11, 1907, May 27, 1907, June 1, 1907, June 24, 1907, May 2, 1908, May 8, 1908, May 22-23, 1908, June 16, 1908, May 28, 1909, June 25, 1909, May 10, 1910, April 18, 1911, May 19, 1911, May 29, 1911, May 17, 1911, April 23, 1912, May 8, 1912, May 10, 1912, May 14, 1912, May 31, 1912, July 15, 1912, March 15, 1913, April 4, 1913, April 25, 1913, May 27, 1913, June 3, 1913, June 24, 1913, April 17, 1914, May 18, 1914, May 22, 1914, June 8, 1914, April 30, 1915, May 14, 1915, May 26, 1915, June 7, 1915, June 21, 1915, April 15, 1916, May 2, 1916, May 5, 1916, May 16, 1915, June 2, 1916, June 30, 1916, April 21, 1917, April 25, 1917, May 5, 1917, May 25, 1917, June 5, 1917, August 13, 1917, May 4, 1918, May 10, 1918, May 23, 1918, August 21, 1918, March 8, 1919, April 7, 1919, April 9, 1919, May 26, 1919, February 14, 1920, April 10, 1920, April 21, 1920, May 4, 1920, May 14, 1920, May 17, 1920, May 29, 1920, August 11, 1922, July 3, 1922, March 10, 1931, and May 19, 1931, Robert McGowan Accounts.

⁹ See, for example, Alfred Hutchinson, "Better Seed," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 30, 1911, 549; W.J. Kerr, "How I Get the 3 ½ Pound Potatoes," *Farmer's Advocate*, May 4, 1911, 791; J.B. Henderson, "Selecting

Potato Seed Stock," *Canadian Farm*, September 27, 1912, 5; I.B. Henderson, "Storing Seed Potatoes," *Canadian Farm*, October 11, 1912, 4; W.T. Macoun, "How to Grow One's Own Vegetable Seeds," *Canadian Farm*, November 6, 1914, 4; E.E. Reilley, "An Opportunity," *O.A.C. Review*, September 1915, 8-12; "Saving Seed for Garden Seeds," *Canadian Countryman*, November 6, 1915, 15; "Sun Sprouted Seed Potatoes," *Canadian Countryman*, April 15, 1916, 468; "Grow Your Own Root Seed," *Canadian Countryman*, April 22, 1916, 563; C.A. Zavitz, "Home Grown Seed Potatoes," *Canadian Farm*, May 19, 1916, 2; "Selecting Seed Potatoes," *Canadian Countryman*, October 28, 1916, 1374; "Home Grown Root and Vegetable Seed," *Farmer's Advocate*, December 7, 1916, 1998; W.W. Tracy, "Save Your Own Vegetable Seed," *Canadian Farm*, August 17, 1917, 4; W.T., "Home Grown Seeds," *Farmer's Advocate*, July 4, 1918, 1139; "Every Gardner His Own Seedsman," *Canadian Farm*, July 17, 1918, 7; "Grow Seed from the Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 8, 1918, 1300-01; W.T. Macoun, "Selection and Wintering of Biennial Vegetables for Seed," *Canadian Farm*, September 11, 1918, 4; W.T. Macoun, "Selection and Wintering of Biennial Vegetables for Seed," *Canadian Countryman*, September 21, 1918, 1200; W.T. Macoun, "Saving Home Grown Seed," *Canadian Farm*, July 14, 1920, 4; "Vegetable Seed Production," *Farmer's Advocate*, December 17, 1925, 1762; E.V. Gorrill, "Sorting Seed Potatoes," *Farmer's Advocate*, May 26, 1927, 844; Diana, "Garden Talk," *Farmers' Sun*, October 29, 1921, 6; March 24, 1905, April 10, 1908, D.H. Kelly Accounts; and "William Cohoe," North Norwich Township, Oxford County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 7, 70.

¹⁰ "Paris Green for Potato Bugs," *Farmer's Advocate*, July 13, 1905, 1005; July 27, 1904, July 6, 1905, July 3, 1906, and July 26, 1906, J.D. Cowan Accounts; July 9, 1904, "Hugh McLaren Jr.," Nathaniel "Ed" Leeder Accounts; June 12, 1919, "Miscellaneous Payments," Nathaniel "Ed" Leeder Accounts; July 14, 1914, July 15, 1915, July 2, 1919, July 20, 1921, and August 4, 1924, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts; July 11, 1914, July 18, 1914, July 24, 1915, August 2, 1915, and June 29, 1917, Robert McGowan Accounts.

¹¹ August 28, 1905, Wm. H. Cowan Accounts; June 14, 1902, April 18, 1903, May 3, 1910, April 6, 1912, and December 16, 1916, James Adam Glen, Sr., Accounts; May 10, 1912, April 14, 1917, and June 1, 1920, Howard Jones Accounts; April 14, 1904, June 14, 1904, September 6, 1906, September 12, 1906, October 8, 1906, June 21, 1919, June 17, 1922, and June 17, 1925, D.H. Kelly Accounts; May 20, 1922, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts; June 12, 1941, and July 15, 1941, Peter Miller Accounts; November 9, 1913, September 7, 1916, and August 19, 1918, John Pollard Accounts; and June 4, 1901, November 13, 1902, May 9, 1903, June 18, 1904, December 15, 1905, October 8, 1906, July 8, 1908, and June 30, 1913, John Graham Weir Accounts.

¹² See also *The 1927 Edition of the T. Eaton Co. Limited Catalogue for Spring and Summer*, 372-3, 378, and 382; and Halpern, 28.

¹³ May 14-15, 1901, May 29, 1901, May 4-5, 1906, and May 30, 1906, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries.

¹⁴ July 27, 1903, July 16, 1908, July 14, 1910, July 16, 1910, July 26, 1910, and July 30, 1910, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries.

¹⁵ October 7, 1901, October 11, 1901, October 24-26, 1901, October 29-31, 1901, October 6, 1905, October 9-10, 1905, October 12-14, 1905, and October 25, 1907, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries.

¹⁶ A Garden Lover, "My Vegetable Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 4, 1910, 1260; "Flowers and Vegetables," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 1, 1915, 541; Priscilla, "Plan for 1925 Business," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 15, 1925, 67; Waterloo Farmer's Wife, "A Cheery Letter," *Farmers' Sun*, August 6, 1921, 3; and *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. "Hot-bed."

¹⁷ See, for example, Johnston, "Every Farmer's Vegetable Garden," 3, and 27; Laithwaite, "The Farmers Garden," 5; "Plan to Use Horse Labor in the Vegetable Garden," 3, and 12; "The Vegetable Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 16, 1900, 232-33; E.M., "Some Vegetables Worth Growing," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 31, 1904, 455; R.G.B., "A Farm Garden," *O.A.C. Review*, March 1905, 355-356; "The Farmer's Garden," *The Farming World and the Canadian Farm and Home*, March 1, 1905, 197; A.S.W., "The Farm Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 23, 1905, 427-28; "An Up-to-Date Farmer's Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 2, 1908, 604; J.K., "The Farmer's Truck Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 9, 1908, 651; G.L., "A Farmer's Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 30, 1908, 780; G.C. Caston, "The Farm Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 25, 1909, 290; W.E. Williams, "Producing Crops in the Farmer's Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 18, 1909, 439; A Farmer's Son, "Garden Crops in Root Field," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 15, 1909, 634-35; Mrs. E.L. Campbell, "The Farm Vegetable Garden," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, October 13, 1910, 6; John Clarke, "Grow Early Green Stuff and Early Plants,"

Canadian Farm, March 10, 1911, 6; A.E. Slater, "Every Farmer Should Have a Vegetable Garden," *Canadian Farm*, April 7, 1911, 8; A.H. MacLennan, "Crop Rotation in the Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 8, 1912, 227; J.S., "Get Busy," *Farmer's Advocate*, July 4, 1912, 1211; "The Farm Vegetable Garden," *Canadian Farm*, April 25, 1913, 6; Andrew Johnson, "Profit and Pleasure from the Farm Garden," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, March 5, 1914, 8B; E.T. Cook, "The Farm Garden," *Canadian Farm*, March 13, 1914, 6; A.B. Cutting, "The Kitchen Garden," *Canadian Countryman*, April 12, 1915, 26; "The Vegetable Garden on the Farm," *Canadian Farm*, April 30, 1915, 4; "Special Vegetables for Home Use," *Canadian Countryman*, May 15, 1915, 5, and 27; "Fall Work in the Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, September 16, 1915, 1480; "Will Your 1916 Garden Be Worth Forty Dollars?," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 9, 1916, 393; K.S. Oke, "Gardening on the Farm," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 22, 1917, 305; A.H. McLennan, "Planning and Planting the Home Garden," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, March 1, 1917, 5; W.F., "The Farm Garden," *Canadian Farm*, March 16, 1917, 6; "Farm Garden," *Canadian Farm*, March 30, 1917, 10; A.C. Hicken, "Have You a Vegetable Garden?," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 5, 1917, 579; An Amateur, "A Back-Country Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 12, 1917, 625-26; A Farmer, "The Vegetable Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 12, 1917, 626-27; A. McLennan, "The Farmer's Vegetable Garden," *Canadian Countryman*, April 21, 1917, 531-532; Man with the Hoe, "Saving Time in the Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 26, 1917, 718; "Cultivation of the Home Garden," *Canadian Farm*, June 22, 1917, 5; H.H. MacLennan, "Gardening in Midsummer and Later," *Canadian Countryman*, June 23, 1917, 840, and 861; Alpha, "Some Good Things," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 25, 1917, 1660-61; "Some Vegetables Worth Knowing," *Farmer's Advocate*, May 2, 1918, 777-78; Experimental Farm Note, "Points on the Cultivation of Some Vegetables," *Canadian Countryman*, May 18, 1918, 673; "Garden Notes," *Farmer's Advocate*, July 18, 1918, 1215; Experimental Farm Note, "The Summer Care of Vegetables," *Farmer's Advocate*, June 26, 1919, 1222; "The Weak Spot in Farmers' Gardening Methods," *Farmer's Advocate*, July 3, 1919, 1265; W.T., "Dry Times in the Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 21, 1919, 1500; "Keep the Garden Soil Busy," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 25, 1920, 562-63; "The Vegetable Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 15, 1920, 722-23; O.J. Robb, "A Vegetable Garden for Every Farm," *Canadian Countryman*, April 24, 1920, 5, and 44-45; "Garden Planting in June," *Farmer's Advocate*, June 10, 1920, 1104; "Practical Hints from the O.A.C.," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 24, 1921, 467; A.B. Cutting, "Planting the Farm Vegetable Garden," *Canadian Countryman*, April 9, 1921, 4, and 36-37; W.T. Macoun, "Planting Fruits, Vegetables, and Flowers," *Canadian Farmer*, April 23, 1921, 8; "The Farm Fruit and Vegetable Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, May 12, 1921, 787; "Fall Preparation of the Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, November 2, 1922, 1465; Priscilla, "Gardening," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 20, 1924, 437; Alpha, "Farm Garden Reminders," *Farmer's Advocate*, May 1, 1924, 669; Alpha, "Starting the Farm Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 15, 1926, 554, and 587; Dell Grattan, "The Farm Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 31, 1927, 502; Morley L. Swart, "Working in the Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, November 24, 1927, 1686; and Maria V. Hopkins, "New Friends with the Old," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 2, 1929, 211.

¹⁸ See, for example, B.S., "Room for a Change," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 6, 1905, 514; and Mrs. S.G. Kitchen, "A Country Housekeeper's Ideas," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1911*, 29. See also Gebby, 78; Sharpless, 123; and Davies, "Stocking the Root Cellar," 97-98.

¹⁹ Johnston, "Every Farmer's Vegetable Garden," 27; Nydia, "My Vegetable Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 7, 1910, 600; "Flowers and Vegetables," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 1, 1915, 541; "The Vegetable Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 15, 1920, 722; Osterud, *Bonds of Community*, 147-50; and Smith, *Childhood Memories*, 105.

²⁰ April 26, 1917, May 25, 1922, April 26, 1924, May 28, 1927, May 18, 1929, and May 10, 1930, William Joshua Crawford Diaries; May 4, 1922, May 6, 1922, May 13, 1922, June 5, 1922, October 28, 1922, May 5, 1923, May 28, 1923, July 5, 1923, April 24, 1925, June 9, 1925, November 12, 1925, November 21, 1925, July 18, 1928, November 2-3, 1928, May 24, 1929, June 21, 1929, October 17, 1929, November 12, 1929, May 8, 1930, June 12, 1930, October 28-29, 1930, November 4, 1930, April 16, 1931, April 29, 1931, May 6, 1931, May 22, 1931, October 22, 1931, November 11, 1931, May 6, 1932, May 16, 1932, June 6, 1932, June 24, 1932, and July 20, 1932, Arthur McQueen Diaries; and July 14, 1930, July 28, 1937, April 22, 1942, May 20, 1942, May 27, 1942, June 12, 1942, June 11, 1943, July 12, 1943, May 2, 1944, May 10, 1944, July 1, 1944, March 27, 1945, April 11, 1945, May 24-25, 1945, and July 6, 1945, Velma Beaton Diaries.

²¹ Lillian died in 1906, alongside her stillborn baby. See April 14, 1905, William Joshua Crawford Diaries; and “Lilly Viola Crawford,” Whitby Township, Ontario County, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Deaths, 127, January 26, 1906, 607, 021745.

²² See, for example, June 11, 1904, June 15-17, 1904, August 1, 1904, October 15, 1904, and October 18-19, 1904, Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce; May 12, 1922, May 22-23, 1922, June 14-15, 1922, July 20, 1922, August 3, 1922, August 28-29, 1922, September 13, 1922, and September 26, 1922, Arthur McQueen Diaries; May 21, 1929, June 13, 1929, June 26-27, 1929, August 13, 1929, and October 9-11, 1922, Florence (Allen) Tompkins Diaries; “Woman’s Work is Never Done,” *Farmers’ Sun*, August 7, 1920, 6; and Neth, 19, and 206.

²³ April 20, 1915, April 22, 1915, May 11-14, 1915, May 24, 1915, June 3, 1915, June 14-15, 1915, June 18, 1915, July 5, 1915, July 12-13, 1915, August 24, 1915, September 13, 1915, September 15, 1915, September 27-29, 1915, October 12, 1915, October 19, 1915, October 29, 1915, November 10, 1915, November 26, 1915, May 11, 1916, May 20, 1916, May 25, 1916, June 12, 1916, June 14, 1916, June 16, 1916, June 24, 1916, June 26, 1916, July 3-4, 1916, July 13, 1916, September 25, 1916, October 10-11, 1916, October 28, 1916, November 11, 1916, May 12, 1917, May 15, 1917, May 18, 1917, June 11, 1917, June 19, 1917, July 3, 1917, July 11, 1917, July 16, 1917, July 20, 1917, July 23, 1917, July 26, 1917, July 30-31, 1917, August 2, 1917, August 19, 1917, September 12, 1917, September 14, 1917, October 1-2, 1917, October 10-11, 1917, October 16-18, 1917, October 23, 1917, November 6, 1917, November 15, 1917, April 16, 1918, April 27, 1918, May 3, 1918, May 7, 1918, May 9, 1918, May 11, 1918, May 21-22, 1918, May 24, 1918, May 29, 1918, June 4-7, 1918, June 13, 1918, June 17, 1918, June 19, 1918, June 24, 1918, July 2-3, 1918, April 12, 1919, April 22, 1919, May 7, 1919, May 9, 1919, and May 12, 1919, B.A. Green Diary. See also Comacchio, 45.

²⁴ See May 14-15, 1901, June 6, 1901, June 15, 1901, June 19, 1901, September 25, 1901, October 7, 1901, October 11, 1901, October 24-26, 1901, October 29-31, 1901, July 23, 1903, August 22, 1903, May 3, 1904, October 5-6, 1905, October 9-10, 1905, October 12-14, 1905, November 10-11, 1905, November 15, 1905, May 4-5, 1906, May 30, 1906, June 27-28, 1906, July 5, 1906, July 17, 1906, August 1, 1906, August 3, 1906, August 6, 1906, May 8, 1907, June 11, 1907, June 14, 1907, July 16, 1907, September 19, 1907, April 1, 1908, June 9, 1908, June 25, 1908, July 25, 1908, July 28, 1908, May 19, 1909, July 20, 1909, July 27-28, 1909, July 30, 1909, May 7, 1910, July 14, 1910, July 16, 1910, July 26, 1910, July 20, 1910, and August 1, 1910, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries; “George Atkins,” South Dumfries Township, Wentworth and Brant Counties (North), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 1, 2; “George Atkins,” South Dumfries Township, Brant County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 6, 46; and Boyle, 85, 89, and 93.

²⁵ See, for example, Johnston, “Every Farmer’s Vegetable Garden,” 27; Mrs. E.L. Campbell, “The Farm Vegetable Garden,” 6; R.G.B., “A Farm Garden,” *O.A.C. Review*, March 1905, 355-356; and “The Garden is Important,” *Canadian Countryman*, May 1, 1915, 8, and 19.

²⁶ See, for example, October 17-18, 1927, July 4, 1928, November 2, 1928, June 3, 1929, July 6, 1929, July 8, 1929, October 5, 1929, October 29, 1929, July 11, 1930, and September 27, 1930, William Joshua Crawford Diaries; “William Hill,” Fergus, Wellington County, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Births and Stillbirths, 215, 539, 052339, April 20, 1908; and May 24, 1918, August 23, 1921, and June 13, 1923, Diary of Annie Hill. See also “The Child and the Garden,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, April 20, 1905, 586; Dorcas Doolittle, “Children’s Gardens,” *Canadian Countryman*, May 26, 1917, 686; N.E.S., “Remember the Garden,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, April 10, 1924, 553; and Sandwell, *Contesting Rural Space*, 137.

²⁷ See, for example, “A Potato Growing Contest,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, April 18, 1912, 743; “Standard Varieties of Vegetables,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, April 29, 1920, 858; Geo. W. Hofferd, “A Lesson Plan on the Potato,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, June 3, 1920, 1090; Fred J. Barlow, “New Potatoes,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, March 10, 1921, 490; and Neth, 20-21.

²⁸ See McMahon, 56; and Osterud, *Bonds of Community*, 147-50.

²⁹ Such fruit cultivation was part of a longer trend among North American farm families, as the work of Sarah Francis McMahon and James T. Lemon attests. See Lemon, 65; McMahon, 61; and Gebby, 76. See also Liza Jane, 6; and Roelens-Grant, ed., 25, and 95.

³⁰ June 10, 1914, Wm. R. Shand Accounts; and April 15, 1933, and April 22, 1933, Russell Innes Accounts.

³¹ See, for example, Robb, “A Vegetable Garden for Every Farm,” 5, and 44-45; Macoun, “Planting Fruits, Vegetables, and Flowers,” 8; Peart, “Spring in the Orchard and Garden,” 273-74; G.L., “A Farmer’s Garden,” 780; A Farmer’s Son, “Garden Crops in Root Field,” 634-35; “A List of Varieties for the

Vegetable Garden," 480; "Varieties of Vegetables for the Farm Garden," 866; Farmer's Wife, "The Fruit Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, May 1, 1901, 303; "The Farm Fruit Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 31, 1904, 455; "The Farm Fruit Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 31, 1904, 455; "Care of the Fruit Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, June 23, 1904, 891; W.E. Williams, "A Farmer's Small Fruit Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 11, 1909, 203; G.C. Caston, "Fruit for the Farm Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 4, 1909, 338; "The Farm Fruit Garden," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, February 7, 1918, 5, and 12; "Small Fruits for the Farm Garden," *Canadian Countryman*, April 12, 1919, 16-18; and T.G. Bunting, "How to Grow Your Own Supply of Fruit," *Canadian Countryman*, April 26, 1919, 638, and 666. See also Bogue, *The Farm on North Talbot Road*, 38; and Roelens-Grant, ed., 85.

³² Presumably, the Perkins family cultivated the citron melon, which is "[a] small variety of watermelon...having firm flesh which is used in preserves." See *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. "citron." See also June 24, 1936, June 26, 1936, July 6, 1936, July 8, 1936, July 20, 1936, August 5-6, 1936, September 7, 1936, September 10, 1936, October 5, 1936, October 10, 1936, November 13, 1936, November 25, 1936, December 9-11, 1936, March 15-16, 1937, March 31, 1937, April 1, 1937, April 9, 1937, May 4-5, 1937, May 17, 1937, July 12, 1937, July 15, 1937, July 19, 1937, August 3, 1937, September 30, 1937, October 13, 1937, December 2-3, 1937, December 13, 1937, December 27-28, 1937, March 3, 1938, April 14, 1938, May 4-5, 1938, June 22, 1938, June 24, 1938, June 27, 1938, July 8, 1938, July 12, 1938, July 18, 1938, August 29, 1938, August 31, 1938, September 14-16, 1938, September 21, 1938, September 23, 1938, September 30, 1938, December 7, 1938, May 9, 1939, June 12, 1939, June 14, 1939, June 19, 1939, June 21, 1939, June 23-24, 1939, June 27, 1939, July 6, 1939, July 24-25, 1939, July 27, 1939, September 5, 1939, September 14, 1939, May 13, 1940, May 20, 1940, May 29, 1940, June 23, 1940, June 28, 1940, July 2-3, 1940, July 5, 1940, July 7-8, 1940, July 10-11, 1940, July 13, 1940, July 16, 1940, July 18, 1940, July 20, 1940, July 22-23, 1940, July 30, 1940, August 5-6, 1940, August 8, 1940, August 19, 1940, September 4, 1940, September 30, 1940, and November 5, 1940, Fred Perkins Diary; and Boyle, 99.

³³ July 13, 1904, and July 27, 1904, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries. See also A.H.M., "Seed Time and Harvest," *Canadian Farmer, Dairyman and Stockbreeder*, September 2, 1922, 23; Smith, *Childhood Memories*, 106; Boyle, 115; Gebby, 79-80; Cummings, 21; Roelens-Grant, ed., 3, 22, 25, 39, 60, 77, and 119; Davies, "Stocking the Root Cellar," 99-100; Zembrzycki, 133; Sandwell, *Contesting Rural Space*, 132; and Pocius, 67, and 130.

³⁴ See, for example, September 24, 1900, October 15, 1900, November 1, 1900, May 28, 1901, July 11, 1901, July 13, 1901, July 18, 1901, September 24, 1901, July 15, 1902, July 18, 1902, July 28, 1902, September 27, 1902, July 5, 1903, July 8, 1903, July 22-23, 1903, July 28, 1903, September 20, 1903, September 22, 1903, November 2, 1903, July 13, 1904, July 15, 1904, July 19, 1904, July 27, 1904, July 29, 1904, August 1, 1904, August 3, 1904, August 5, 1904, October 15, 1904, September 14-15, 1905, September 21-22, 1905, October 30, 1905, November 2, 1905, August 31, 1906, June 28, 1907, August 3, 1907, August 8, 1907, September 12, 1907, September 19, 1907, October 24, 1907, June 9, 1908, July 22, 1908, July 19, 1909, July 18, 1910, July 20, 1910, July 23, 1910, July 27, 1910, July 30, 1910, August 1, 1910, August 3, 1910, and August 24, 1910, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries.

³⁵ July 20-22, 1905, July 24-26, 1905, August 1-2, 1905, and November 1, 1905, William Joshua Crawford Diaries; June 19, 1936, June 22, 1936, June 24, 1936, June 26, 1936, June 29, 1936, July 6, 1936, July 8, 1936, July 20-22, 1936, August 6, 1936, September 7, 1936, September 10, 1936, October 23, 1936, July 12, 1937, July 15, 1937, July 19, 1937, September 30, 1937, October 13, 1937, June 20, 1938, June 22, 1938, June 24, 1938, July 4, 1938, July 8, 1938, July 12, 1938, July 18, 1938, August 29, 1938, August 31, 1938, September 14, 1938, September 30, 1938, June 12, 1939, June 14, 1939, June 21, 1939, June 23-24, 1939, June 27, 1939, July 6, 1939, July 24-25, 1939, July 27-28, 1939, September 5, 1939, June 23, 1940, June 28, 1940, July 2-3, 1940, July 5, 1940, July 8, 1940, July 10-11, 1940, July 13, 1940, July 16, 1940, July 18, 1940, July 20, 1940, July 22-23, 1940, July 30, 1940, August 5-6, 1940, August 8, 1940, August 19, 1940, September 4, 1940, October 16, 1940, and October 24, 1940, Fred Perkins Diary; and July 22, 1928, July 29-31, 1928, August 7, 1928, August 20, 1928, August 31, 1928, September 5-7, 1928, and July 8, 1933, Cora Tunis Diaries. See also Strong-Boag, 129.

³⁶ See, for example, September 2, 1930, October 13, 1930, October 16, 1930, October 9, 1937, October 18-27, 1938, October 3, 1941, October 16, 1942, and October 16, 1943, Velma Beaton Diaries; October 7, 1919, October 9, 1919, October 4, 1920, October 12, 1920, October 15, 1920, October 18, 1920, November 11, 1920, March 25, 1921, May 17, 1921, and May 20, 1921, Emily Duckwith Diaries; and August 29,

1918, September 13, 1918, September 28, 1918, October 5, 1918, October 15, 1918, October 19, 1918, October 28-29, 1918, April 29, 1919, June 27, 1919, July 22, 1919, October 28, 1919, October 7, 1920, October 16, 1920, October 19, 1920, October 25, 1920, November 1-2, 1920, November 9, 1920, March 31, 1921, June 28, 1921, October 3, 1921, October 6, 1921, October 8, 1921, October 11, 1921, June 22, 1922, October 14, 1922, October 19, 1922, October 4, 1923, October 9, 1923, October 13, 1923, October 17, 1923, October 24, 1923, Oct 27, 1923, November 8, 1923, November 9, 1923, July 17, 1924, September 16, 1924, October 25, 1924, October 31, 1924, November 1, 1924, November 15, 1924, July 13, 1925, October 1, 1925, October 3, 1925, October 6-8, 1925, October 10, 1925, October 14-15, 1925, October 10, 1925, October 26, 1925, October 30, 1925, November 2, 1925, February 26, 1926, July 19, 1926, July 30, 1926, October 11, 1926, October 15, 1926, October 18, 1926, October 21, 1926, October 23, 1926, October 26-27, 1926, and October 30, 1926, Potts Family Farm Diaries.

³⁷ See, for example, May 30, 1901, and October 9, 1901, Mary A. King Diaries; January 3-5, 1923, January 12-13, 1923, May 12, 1923, May 18-19, 1923, May 21-22, 1923, June 7-8, 1923, June 10, 1923, January 17, 1925, January 21, 1925, April 30, 1925, July 23, 1928, January 15, 1929, February 11, 1929, March 5, 1929, February 18-19, 1930, February 21, 1930, February 24, 1930, February 26, 1930, May 24, 1930, January 5, 1931, February 4, 1931, May 25, 1931, and November 26, 1932, Arthur McQueen Diaries; and McMahon, 112.

³⁸ July 26, 1900, September 12, 1900, June 22, 1901, June 26, 1901, June 27, 1901, April 15, 1902, July 17, 1902, June 24, 1902, August 22, 1902, November 10, 1902, June 27-29, 1904, July 13, 1904, July 23, 1904, August 3, 1904, and May 3, 1909, Mary A. King Diaries; and July 23, 1918, August 3, 1918, July 11, 1919, July 14, 1919, July 16, 1919, July 27, 1920, August 2, 1920, July 18, 1922, July 26, 1922, September 2, 1922, July 16, 1923, July 30, 1923, August 10, 1923, August 13, 1923, July 23, 1924, August 20-21, 1924, and August 17, 1925, Diary of Annie Hill. See also McMahon, 61-62.

³⁹ See, for example, August 6, 1917, July 12-13, 1922, July 21, 1922, July 21, 1923, July 23, 1923, August 10, 1923, July 23, 1925, July 27, 1925, July 29, 1925, August 4, 1926, August 9, 1926, August 11, 1926, August 20, 1926, July 14, 1927, August 1-2, 1927, August 9, 1927, August 24, 1927, July 20, 1928, and July 31, 1929, William Joshua Crawford Diaries.

⁴⁰ July 19, 1936, July 25, 1936, and July 27-28, 1936, Jean Ferrier Diaries.

⁴¹ August 19, 1900, Mary A. King Diaries; and August 31, 1906, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries.

⁴² January 16, 1930, Florence (Allen) Tompkins Diaries; May 5, 1913, Diary of Annie Hill; June 18, 1923, Arthur McQueen Diaries; and June 14, 1902, Mary A. King Diaries.

⁴³ October 23, 1900, January 15, 1901, April 10, 1901, September 26, 1901, December 23, 1901, February 1, 1902, February 22, 1902, August 6, 1902, September 27, 1904, October 4-5, 1904, October 10, 1904, October 12, 1904, October 21, 1904, November 3, 1904, November 27, 1904, November 19, 1908, December 7, 1908, January 22, 1909, March 24, 1909, and March 26, 1909, Mary A. King Diaries.

⁴⁴ July 5, 1905, Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce; September 4, 1926, Potts Family Farm Diaries; and October 8, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diary.

⁴⁵ July 26, 1941, August 25, 1941, and October 23, 1941, Velma Beaton Diaries.

⁴⁶ See, for example, Boyle, 6, 15, and 159; Helena (McCaugherty) Diary, 5; Yerge, 16; Gebby, 77; Cummings, 20; Sharpless, 124; Roelens-Grant, ed., 40, and 118; and Chapman, *Women's Institutes, Bulletin* 252, 30-31. See also Pocius, 123.

⁴⁷ November 14, 1900, December 10, 1900, May 9, 1902, November 13, 1902, November 5, 1903, November 18, 1903, March 26, 1904, October 19, 1904, and November 11, 1904, Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce. See also Disbrowe, 61.

⁴⁸ October 27-28, 1903, October 31, 1904, November 1-5, 1904, November 9, 1904, November 11-12, 1904, November 15-17, 1904, November 22-23, 1904, November 25, 1904, December 24, 1904, December 29, 1904, January 26, 1905, November 6, 1905, October 23, 1907, November 14, 1907, December 11, 1907, November 5, 1908, September 21, 1909, October 30, 1909, May 30, 1911, October 24, 1912, December 9, 1912, and September 26, 1914, James Glen, Sr., Diaries.

⁴⁹ See "Packing and Carrying Fruit," *The Farming World*, April 2, 1901, 775; W.T. Macoun, "Digging and Storing Potatoes," *The Farming World and the Canadian Farm and Home*, September 1, 1905, 663-64; J.D. Laird, "Harvesting and Storing Potatoes," *The Canadian Dairyman and the Farming World*, October 7, 1908, 4; S.A. Northcott, "Fall Management of Potatoes," *The Canadian Dairyman and the Farming World*, October 14, 1908, 4; L.H. Newman, "Harvesting and Storing Potatoes," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, September 16, 1909, 5; John Fixter, "Harvesting and Storing Roots," *Canadian Farm*, October 7,

1910, 8; A.H. MacLennan, "Hints on Storing Vegetables," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, November 10, 1910, 5; "Storing Vegetables," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 31, 1912, 1890; "Storing Winter Vegetables," *Farmer's Advocate*, December 4, 1913, 2102; "Storing Vegetables," *Farmer's Advocate*, November 12, 1914, 1946; "Storing Vegetables for the Winter," *Canadian Countryman*, December 12, 1914, 9; "Lifting and Storing Vegetables," *Farmer's Advocate*, September 16, 1915, 1444-45; "Lifting and Storing Vegetables," *Farmer's Advocate*, September 7, 1916, 1482; "Farm Vegetable Storing," *Farmer's Advocate*, September 21, 1916, 1564; "Storage of Roots and Vegetables for Winter," *Canadian Countryman*, October 21, 1916, 1330, and 1336-37; "Storage Places for Vegetables," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 2, 1917, 1227-28; "Root and Vegetable Storage," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 11, 1917, 1590-91; "Winter Storage of Vegetables," *Canadian Countryman*, October 13, 1917, 1017; "Prevent Vegetables Spoiling in Storage," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 3, 1918, 13; T.G.B., "Storage Places," *Canadian Countryman*, November 23, 1918, 1478-79; Experimental Farm Note, "Keeping Roots in Pits Over the Winter," *Canadian Countryman*, November 30, 1918, 1516; Experimental Farm Note, "Care of Winter Apples," *Canadian Countryman*, November 30, 1918, 1516; "Cellar Storage of Vegetables," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 30, 1919, 1958; "Keep Apples Easily by Burying in Pit," *Canadian Countryman*, November 8, 1919, 16; "Care of Stored Vegetables," *Canadian Countryman*, November 8, 1919, 16, and 18; F.M. Christianson, "The Storage of Vegetables," *Farmer's Advocate*, September 16, 1920, 1643-44; W.T. Macoun, "Storing the Vegetables," *Canadian Farm*, September 29, 1920, 4; "Cautions About Storing Vegetables," *Canadian Farm*, October 6, 1920, 5; A.B. Rushing, "Storing Vegetables," *Canadian Countryman*, October 9, 1920, 4, and 35; John Fixter, "Harvesting and Storing the Root Crop," *Canadian Countryman*, October 9, 1920, 4, and 35; "Storing Fruit for Winter," *Farmer's Advocate*, November 25, 1920, 2025; M.E. Davis, "The Home Fruit Supply," *Canadian Farmer*, November 27, 1920, 7; "Proper Storage Conditions for Vegetables," *Farmer's Advocate*, December 30, 1920, 2260; "To Store Vegetables for Winter Use," *Farmer's Advocate*, November 3, 1921, 1667; "Wrap Apples for Long Keeping," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 5, 1922, 9; Experimental Farms Note, "Storage of Vegetables," *Canadian Farmer, Dairyman and Stockbreeder*, September 30, 1922, 4; "The Storage of Vegetables," *Canadian Farmer, Dairyman and Stockbreeder*, November 11, 1922, 4; F.W. Brodrick, "Harvesting and Storing Vegetables," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 25, 1923, 1513; "Storing Vegetables for Winter Sale," *Farmer's Advocate*, November 8, 1923, 1589; "Storage of Vegetables for Winter," *Farmer's Advocate*, September 25, 1924, 1402; C.C. Eidt, "The Storage of Vegetables," *O.A.C. Review*, October 1924, 26-28; "Winter's Supply of Vegetables," *Canadian Countryman*, October 31, 1925, 5, and 32; "The Storing of Vegetables," *Farmer's Advocate*, November 19, 1925, 1602; W.A.C., "A Good Potato Bin," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 14, 1926, 1420; "Farm Storage of Vegetables," *Farmer's Advocate*, December 2, 1926, 1826; "Storing Vegetables," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 20, 1927, 1494; "Vegetables for Winter Use," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 25, 1928, 1566; and A GARDEN LOVER, 1260.

⁵⁰ For a brief discussion of the technical knowledge required for canning fruits and vegetables, see McCleary, 21. See also Gabaccia, 85; Sharpless, 126-28; Lottie Shuttleworth, "Fruit is an Agreeable Medicine," *Farmers' Magazine*, October 1910, 31-32; Helen McMurchie, "The Canning and Preserving of Fruit," *Canadian Countryman*, June 20, 1914, 11, and 17; Bogue, *The Farm on North Talbot Road*, 184-85; Yerge, 17, and 37; Neth, 31; Gebby, 76-77, and 80; Cummings, 176-77, and 181-82; Disbrowe, 61; One of the U.F.W.O., "An Appeal for Help," *Weekly Sun*, August 28, 1918, 6; "Housewives!," *Farmers' Sun*, August 21, 1920, 6; "Parents – make the Kiddies Happy with Peaches," *Farmers' Sun*, August 28, 1920, 6; Roelens-Grant, ed., 3, 22, 25, 28, 40, 55, 60, 85-6, 117-18, 126, 128, and 139; Marion Harland, "'Slighting' as a Fine Art," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1914*, 156; Chapman, *Women's Institutes, Bulletin* 252, 2-22; Zembrzycki, 133; and Sandwell, "Notes Toward a Rural History of Canada," 32-33.

⁵¹ Mrs. S.A. Lount, "Canning Fruit," *Report of the Farmer's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1901, Part II: Women's Institutes*, 88; Miss Gertrude Carter, "Jelly Making," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1908, Part I* (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1908), 84; Mr. J.A. Morton, "Canning Fruits and Vegetables," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1908, Part I*, 84; Mrs. Colin Campbell, "Canning Fruits and Vegetables," *Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1907*, 76-9; and Farley, 41.

⁵² August 11, 1911, August 15, 1911, August 22, 1911, September 19, 1911, September 27, 1911, August 14, 1917, October 6, 1917, September 9, 1920, September 20, 1920, September 27, 1920, and October 8, 1920, Howard Jones Accounts; June 21, 1912, "Expenditures," J.D. Cowan Accounts; August 5, 1913,

August 12, 1913, September 12, 1914, November 7, 1914, September 23, 1915, October 14, 1915, September 7, 1916, October 5, 1916, October 20, 1916, September 27, 1917, October 4, 1917, October 25, 1917, September 18, 1919, August 9, 1920, June [no date], 1922, August 14, 1922, September 7, 1923, October 1, 1923, and August 23, 1924, J.H. Leeder Accounts; and August 12, 1919, July 26, 1920, and September [no date], 1932, Nathaniel "Ed" Leeder Accounts. See also Roelens-Grant, ed., 1.

⁵³ "Cooking Hints," *Weekly Sun*, January 23, 1918, 6; Matilda, "Matilda Pickles Her Beans," *Weekly Sun*, August 7, 1918, 6; "Cooking Hints," *Weekly Sun*, October 2, 1918, 6; Canny Canner, "More Recipes Called For," *Weekly Sun*, October 2, 1918, 6; American Agriculturalist, "October Recipes," *Weekly Sun*, October 16, 1918, 6; Margery Mills, "Some Contributed Recipes," *Weekly Sun*, October 23, 1918, 6; "Relishes Worth Trying," *Farmers' Sun*, August 20, 1919, 7; Waterloo Farmer's Wife, "A Cheery Letter," *Farmers' Sun*, August 6, 1921, 2-3; C.G.S., "Citron Marmalade Sounds Good," *Farmers' Sun*, October 8, 1921, 6; "On Jellies preserves and pickles," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 1, 1900, 452; "Recipes," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 16, 1900, 238; "Recipes," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 1, 1900, 446; "Recipes," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 15, 1900, 478; GRAYBIRD, "Canning Fish and Corn," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 28, 1910, 729; "Our Scrap Bag," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 4, 1910, 1262; "Recipes," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 4, 1910, 1262; "Mustard Pickles," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 11, 1910, 1292; "Recipes," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 18, 1910, 1330; "Recipes," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 25, 1910, 1363; "Some Dainties that Keep Well," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 13, 1910, 1641; "Recipes in Season," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 20, 1910, 1678; "Things to Eat," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 1, 1915, 542; "Buy Your Preserving Sugar," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 5, 1915, 1255; "Redpath is the Sugar," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 5, 1915, 1255; "Preserves and Pickles," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 12, 1915, 1285; "Buy Your Lantic Preserving Sugar," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 12, 1915, 1292; "Autumn Cookery," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 19, 1915, 1321; "Autumn Cookery," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 26, 1915, 1362; "I make sure," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 26, 1915, 1365; "Lawrason's Snowflake Ammonia," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 28, 1915, 1711; "Preserving Labels Free," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 5, 1920, 1388; "Luck in preserving," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 5, 1920, 1398; "Currant Jelly," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 12, 1920, 1424; "Tomatoes in Variation," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 19, 1920, 1460; "Pickles and Catsup," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 19, 1920, 1460; "Jellies come clear," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 19, 1920, 1463; "Use ½ Sugar," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 19, 1920, 1469; "Do ALL your preserving," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 26, 1920, 1502; "Peaches," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 7, 1920, 1760; "Grapes green or ripe," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 14, 1920, 1799; "The Ingle Nook," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 30, 1925, 688; "TOMATO Marmalade," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 6, 1925, 1120; "Can," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 13, 1925, 1151; and "Autumn Canning and Pickling," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 27, 1925, 1202.

⁵⁴ See Strasser, 22-23; and McCleary, 21.

⁵⁵ August 27, 1921, and September 12, 1921, Emily Duckwith Diaries.

⁵⁶ September 24, 1930, Florence (Allen) Tompkins Diaries; and December 13, 1938, Fred Perkins Diary.

⁵⁷ September 2, 1901, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries; August 23, 1932, Arthur McQueen Diaries; and November 19, 1900, Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce. For information on making apple cider, see "Cider: Keeping Sweet & Making into Vinegar," *Farmer's Advocate*, September 29, 1910, 1653; "Cider Making and Cider Vinegar," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 23, 1913, 1834; "Cider and Apple Butter," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 21, 1915, 1662; "Making Good Apple Cider," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 1, 1925, 1358; D.H. Jones, "Timely Tips on Cider Making," *Canadian Countryman*, October 5, 1929, 2, and 27; and Boyle, 183, and 195.

⁵⁸ September 3, 1900, November 3, 1900, November 10, 1900, November 13, 1900, November 19, 1900, November 30, 1901, April 14-15, 1903, August 27, 1904, August 29, 1904, September 1, 1904, October 3, 1904, December 24, 1904, December 28-29, 1904, January 6, 1905, January 26-27, 1905, January 30, 1905, April 3, 1905, October 19, 1906, October 27, 1906, November 1, 1907, August 12, 1908, August 14, 1908, August 20-22, 1908, November 10-13, 1909, August 28-29, 1912, and November 26-27, 1914, James Glen, Sr., Diaries.

⁵⁹ December 24, 1904, December 29, 1904, and January 26, 1905, James Glen, Sr., Diaries.

⁶⁰ December 1, 1925, J.H. Leeder Accounts; January 5, 1938, Jean Ferrier Diaries; and Boyle, 177.

⁶¹ FIDELIS, "Community Kitchens," *Farmers' Sun*, August 13, 1919, 6; Diana, "Well What ARE We Going to Do," *Farmers' Sun*, August 27, 1919, 6; Diana, "Ruts," *Farmers' Sun*, October 15, 1919, 6; Diana, "Individualism vs. Co-operation," *Farmers' Sun*, October 2, 1920, 6; and "The U.F.W.O.

Convention (Continued.),” *Farmer’s Advocate*, January 8, 1920, 53. See also Sharpless, 129; Putnam, “Woman’s Institutes of Ontario, 1917,” 10; “County of Middlesex WI and Red Cross Canning Centre,” 150; P.E. Culverhouse, “Canning Centres,” *Report of the Women’s Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1918*, 75; and Mrs. Calvin Blair, “Co-operative and Individual Labour Saving,” *Report of the Women’s Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1922*, 52.

⁶² Culverhouse, “Canning Centres,” 75.

⁶³ See also Comacchio, 81; and Pocius, 92.

⁶⁴ For examples of some of the range of tools available for this work, see *The 1927 Edition of the T. Eaton Co. Limited Catalogue*, 361-63. See also Neth, 23, 204, and 240.

⁶⁵ Some entries are double-counted, as the women in the household made more than one type of preserve on the specified date. See January 16, 1908, March 11, 1908, March 31, 1908, April 11, 1908, July 3, 1908, July 21, 1908, August 20-22, 1908, September 12, 1908, September 14, 1908, September 18, 1908, September 21-22, 1908, September 28, 1908, September 30, 1908, October 10, 1908, October 20, 1908, October 22, 1908, and October 24, 1908, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries; and January 29, 1930, February 3, 1930, July 23, 1930, September 2, 1930, September 4-5, 1930, September 8-9, 1930, September 17, 1930, September 20, 1930, September 24-25, 1930, September 30, 1930, October 1, 1930, October 8, 1930, and October 29, 1930, William Joshua Crawforth Diaries. See also Strong-Boag, 129; and Levenstein, 182.

⁶⁶ The specific jams and jellies were: apple jam, crab apple jelly, peach jam, pear jam, plum jam, raspberry jam, spiced jelly, and strawberry jam. In the diaries, Atkins simply recorded “Gov. sauce.” See also Boyle, 186, 196, 214, and 217.

⁶⁷ Similarly, according to Lara Campbell, while Ontario women more generally desired to preserve produce themselves to decrease their food expenses during the Great Depression, it was an easier task for rural, as opposed to urban, women. See Campbell, 29-31; McCleary, 17; Dicke, 4; Freidberg, 36; Cowan, *More Work for Mother*, 73; Levenstein, 106-7, 163, and 176; Mosby, 76-78; and Comacchio, 81. See also Heron, *Lunch-Bucket Lives*, 65, and 171.

⁶⁸ Baillargeon, 136.

⁶⁹ See also Halpern, 28; and Farley, 41.

⁷⁰ January 3, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diaries.

⁷¹ December 4, 1900, December 19, 1900, December 10, 1902, February 27, 1903, and February 16, 1909, Mary A. King Diaries; January 20-21, 1937, December 30, 1937, January 26, 1940, and January 29, 1940, Fred Perkins Diary; and January 12, 1918, and February 27, 1918, Potts Family Farm Diaries.

⁷² March 7, 1913, and March 17, 1913, Diary of Mabel Brown; and March 19, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

⁷³ A Garden Devotee, “Garden Produce Practically the Year Round,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, May 24, 1917, 869-70.

⁷⁴ F.M. Christianson, “The Spring Sugar Harvest,” *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, March 29, 1917, 3, and 15. See also Bogue, *The Farm on North Talbot Road*, 18-19, and 145-49; Disbrowe, 15-18; and Roelens-Grant, ed., 14, 25, 36, 60, 96, and 127.

⁷⁵ March 29, 1918, March 31, 1918, April 6-7, 1918, March 30, 1919, March 22, 1920, March 11, 1921, March 22, 1922, April 9, 1924, March 25, 1925, and April 2, 1936, Ruby Simmons Diary.

⁷⁶ See, for example, March 24, 1910, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries; March 14, 1941A, March 16, 1941A, March 19, 1941A, March 23, 1941A, March 25-28, 1941A, March 31, 1941A, April 2, 1941A, April 10, 1941A, April 2-3, 1941B, April 7, 1941B, April 9, 1941B, April 11, 1941B, March 19, 1942, March 23-28, 1942, March 30, 1942, April 2-4, 1942, April 8, 1942, March 15, 1943, March 18, 1943, March 22, 1943, March 24-25, 1943, March 27, 1943, March 29-31, 1943, April 1, 1943, April 5-7, 1943, April 9-10, 1943, April 12-14, 1943, April 21-23, 1943, March 18, 1944, March 21, 1944, March 24-25, 1944, March 28-30, 1944, April 1, 1944, April 3-4, 1944, April 8-10, 1944, April 12, 1944, April 15-20, 1944, April 24, 1944, January 13, 1945, March 12-17, 1945, March 19, 1945, March 21-24, 1945, March 26-27, 1945, and March 29, 1945, Velma Beaton Diaries; Boyle, 69-70, and 113; and Disbrowe, 15.

⁷⁷ See, for example, Son of a Subscriber, “Money in the Syrup Business,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, March 2, 1911, 354; and “Increased Demand for Maple Syrup,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, February 13, 1919, 252.

⁷⁸ See, for example, “Maple Syrup – A Made-In Canada Product,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, March 8, 1923, 329, and 358. This article suggested that if the family was only producing a small amount for household

consumption, farm women could boil the syrup in the kitchen, but if the family was making syrup on a larger scale, this work fell to men in the woods. See also Disbrowe, 17.

⁷⁹ March 22, 1904, March 25, 1904, March 29, 1904, April 1, 1904, April 6, 1904, April 23, 1904, and April 25, 1904, Frances Poole Diary.

⁸⁰ April 1, 1904, and April 25-26, 1904, Frances Poole Diary.

⁸¹ April 25, 1904, Frances Poole Diary.

⁸² See, for example, March 23-24, 1900, March 27-31, 1900, April 2, 1900, April 4, 1900, April 7, 1900, April 10-14, 1900, April 16-19, 1900, April 21, 1900, April 24, 1900, June 18, 1900, February 26-28, 1902, March 1, 1902, March 8, 1902, March 10-12, 1902, March 14, 1902, March 17, 1902, March 20-22, 1902, March 24, 1902, March 26, 1902, March 29, 1902, March 31, 1902, April 3, 1902, April 8-10, 1902, April 12, 1902, April 14-16, 1902, May 12, 1902, May 26, 1902, March 3-7, 1903, March 9-10, 1903, March 12, 1903, March 14, 1903, March 19, 1903, March 23, 1903, March 26, 1903, March 30-31, 1903, April 2, 1903, April 4, 1903, April 6, 1903, April 8, 1903, April 10-11, 1903, April 13, 1903, April 18, 1903, April 23, 1903, April 25, 1903, June 22-23, 1903, March 22, 1904, March 24-26, 1904, March 29-30, 1904, April 1-2, 1904, April 4-7, 1904, April 9, 1904, April 11-14, 1904, April 16, 1904, April 18-23, 1904, April 25-27, 1904, April 29-30, 1904, May 2, 1904, May 4-7, 1904, May 16, 1904, June 1, 1904, July 1-2, 1904, March 23-25, 1905, March 27-28, 1905, March 30, 1905, April 1, 1905, April 3, 1905, April 5, 1905, April 7-8, 1905, April 10-12, 1905, April 14-15, 1905, April 22, 1905, April 26, 1905, May 3-4, 1905, May 11, 1905, and May 17, 1905, Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce.

⁸³ "Cora's Memories of the Farm," Cora Tunis Diaries. See also Yerge, 16; Gebby, 79-80; and Roelens-Grant, ed., 39, and 41.

⁸⁴ October 20, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diaries; and November 16, 1917, B.A. Green Diary.

⁸⁵ November 3, 1917, October 15, 1919, November 12, 1919, November 8, 1921, October 9, 1922, and October 27, 1925, Potts Family Farm Diaries.

⁸⁶ October 2-3, 1919, October 11, 1919, and October 15, 1920, Emily Duckwith Diaries; and October 18, 1920, Diary of Annie Hill.

⁸⁷ Priscilla, "Plan for 1925 Business," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 15, 1925, 67; Drummond, 37; Duncan, "Household Expenses," 62; Hamilton, "Rural Industries for Women – Fruit Growing," 129; Guest, "Income Earning Features," 73; and Putnam, "Women's Institutes of Ontario, 1925," 5. See also Comacchio, 36.

⁸⁸ See May 14, 1904, October 14, 1904, October 21, 1904, October 29, 1904, November 3, 1904, November 10, 1904, November 12, 1904, November 22-24, 1904, April 11, 1905, September 25, 1905, September 27-29, 1905, October 5, 1905, October 7, 1905, October 11-12, 1905, October 16-17, 1905, October 25, 1905, October 31, 1905, November 15, 1905, November 20, 1905, July 19, 1906, October 3, 1906, October 19-20, 1906, October 25, 1906, November 8, 1906, November 10, 1906, April 4, 1907, October 7, 1907, October 14, 1907, October 22, 1907, November 1-2, 1907, September 30, 1908, October 3, 1908, October 10, 1908, October 13-14, 1908, October 23, 1908, November 8, 1908, December 3, 1908, October 2, 1909, October 16, 1909, November 8, 1909, December 8, 1909, October 10, 1910, October 22, 1910, October 29, 1910, November 26, 1910, June 21, 1911, July 22, 1911, July 24, 1911, July 27, 1911, September 26, 1911, October 10, 1911, October 14, 1911, October 24, 1911, September 21, 1912, October 11, 1912, October 17, 1912, November 2, 1912, November 12-14, 1912, October 10, 1913, October 25, 1913, October 27, 1913, April 20, 1914, April 28, 1914, May 25, 1914, October 15-16, 1914, October 19, 1914, October 26, 1914, November 2, 1914, November 14, 1914, November 28, 1914, April 28, 1915, May 19, 1915, October 15, 1915, October 26, 1915, November 8, 1915, November 19, 1915, December 6, 1915, October 14, 1916, November 7, 1916, May 14, 1917, April 10, 1918, September 21, 1918, October 22, 1918, June 12, 1919, July 16, 1919, October 16, 1919, October 20, 1919, November 4, 1919, January 17, 1920, November 10, 1920, November 16, 1920, October 14, 1921, October 27, 1921, January 31, 1922, October 21, 1922, November 25, 1922, May 15, 1923, June 15, 1923, October 18, 1923, March 18, 1924, April 11, 1924, May 6, 1924, May 13, 1924, June 5, 1924, June 14, 1924, June 16-17, 1924, June 23, 1924, October 6, 1925, October 17, 1925, October 19-20, 1925, November 2-4, 1925, January 15, 1926, April 21-22, 1926, April 26, 1926, May 17, 1926, October 4, 1926, November 15, 1926, November 20, 1926, January 8, 1927, October 13, 1928, October 20, 1928, February 8, 1929, May 21, 1929, October 7, 1929, October 10, 1933, November 1, 1933, February 13, 1934, November 10, 1934, November 11, 1935, November 13, 1935, December 7, 1935, May 27, 1936, October 13, 1936, and November 2, 1936, "Cash Received," D.H. Kelly Accounts; September 1916, October 1916, November 1916, February 1937, January

1941, February 1941, March 1941, April 1941, May 1941, and June 1941, "Receipts," Miller Accounts; and "Potatoes Sold," "Apples," "Apples Fall," "Apples 1928," "Apples 1929," "Apples 1931," "Apples 1932," and "1938 Apples," Edwin Robinson Accounts. See also Bogue, *The Farm on North Talbot Road*, 45; and Roelens-Grant, ed., 3, 153-54. For information on the per capita disappearance of potatoes and apples in Canada, see Trant, M428-445.

⁸⁹ July 3, 1912, and July 1, 1913, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts; and May 23, 1934, September 25, 1934, May 25, 1935, September 19-21, 1935, May 22, 1936, and September 30, 1936, Meyer Accounts.

⁹⁰ See, for example, G.C. Caston, "Profitable and Unprofitable Apple Growing," *Farmer's Advocate*, May 15, 1901, 338; H.S. Peart, "Packing Apples for Export," *O.A.C. Review*, January 1903, 19-21; "The Storage of Apples," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 4, 1904, 166; J.W.H., "How We Grow Potatoes," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 31, 1904, 453; "Keeping Apples," *Farmer's Advocate*, November 8, 1904, 1489; Anna L. Jack, "The Long Keeping of Apples," *Farmer's Advocate*, December 1, 1904, 1633; "Give the Apple Orchard a Chance," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 26, 1906, 678; "Potato Planting," *Farmer's Advocate*, May 24, 1906, 854; "Apple Picking," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 30, 1906, 1367; "The Apple Outlook," *Farmer's Advocate*, September 13, 1906, 1446; A. McNeill, "Future of the Apple in Ontario," *Farmer's Advocate*, December 27, 1906, 2067-69; Thos. Bousfield, "Potato Growing Methods," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 11, 1907, 427; "History of Apple Industry in Canada," *Farmer's Advocate*, July 11, 1907, 1128; J.C. "The Potato Problem," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 8, 1907, 1266; A. McNeill, "Picking and Packing of Apples," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 29, 1907, 1368-70; H.B. Smith, "A Review of Some Aspects of Our Potato," *O.A.C. Review*, October 1907, 22-6; W.A. Broughton, "Improved Methods of Potato-Growing," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 2, 1908, 598; T.G. Raynor, "The Potato and its Culture," *Farmer's Advocate*, May 7, 1908, 820-21; S.A. Northcott, "Care of the Potato Crop," *The Canadian Dairyman and the Farming World*, September 2, 1908, 5; F.C. Sears, "Harvesting the Potato Crop," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 8, 1908, 1549; "To Popularize Apple Growing," *Farmer's Advocate*, December 31, 1908, 2023-24; "Fewer Varieties More Profitable," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, January 14, 1909, 12; "Increasing the Apple Crop," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 22, 1909, 665; J.A. Webster, "Apple Growers Must Wake Up," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 29, 1909, 718; L.H. Newman, "Preparing and Planting Seed Potatoes," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, May 20, 1909, 4; L.H. Newman, "Improvement of the Potato," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, May 27, 1909, 6; J.O.L., "Early Potato Culture," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 24, 1910, 497; W.T. Macoun, "Potatoes and How to Grow Them," *Canadian Farm*, April 22, 1910, 6-7; W.T. Macoun, "Immature Potatoes Best for Seed," *Canadian Farm*, April 29, 1910, 7-8; "Hope for Neglected Orchards," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, August 18, 1910, 10; "Early-potato Growing," *Farmer's Advocate*, September 29, 1910, 1562-63; J.G.S., "Sell Cull Apples to Evaporator," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 20, 1910, 1670; "Canadian West a Growing Market for Fruit," *Canadian Farm*, October 28, 1910, 7; F.G.H. Pattison, "Fruit Growers Have Had a Good Year," *Canadian Farm*, November 11, 1910, 8; "The Apple Growing Business on the Decline," *Canadian Farm*, November 25, 1910, 6; "Change Your Seed Potatoes," *Farmer's Advocate*, December 1, 1910, 1885; "Another Year's Orchard Results," *Farmer's Advocate*, December 8, 1910, 1934-35; A.C. Barclay, "The Apple Orchard a Money Maker," *Canadian Farm*, March 24, 1911, 7; F.G.H. Pattison, "Apple Growing Expanding at Rapid Rate," *Canadian Farm*, May 12, 1911, 7; J.W. Rush, "Early Potatoes," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 8, 1912, 228; E.J.M. Hitchcock, "Growing Potatoes in Ontario," *Farmers' Magazine*, May 1912, 46-49; "Picking and Packing Apples," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 3, 1912, 1720-21; "Potato Crop Harvesting," *Canadian Farm*, October 4, 1912; "The Potato Crop in a Serious Condition," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, October 31, 1912, 6; L.J.T., "The Potato Industry in Ontario," *O.A.C. Review*, November 1912, 63-64; "Mac" Smith, "Essential Points in Apple Growing," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, March 6, 1913, 6; "Apple Crop Light," *Farmer's Advocate*, September 4, 1913, 1544; "Prospects for Ontario Potato Crop Only Fair," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, October 2, 1913, 9; "Give the Apple a Chance," *O.A.C. Review*, November 1913, 84-85; "Is Orchard Planting Being Overdone in Ontario?," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, November 27, 1913, 3, and 28; "The Outlook for the Apple Grower's Industry," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 12, 1914, 276; J.J., "Preparing Seed Bed for Potatoes," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 19, 1914, 528; C.H. Curran, "Phases of Potato Growing in Ontario," *Farmer's Advocate*, May 7, 1914, 905; "The Apple Yields," *Canadian Countryman*, August 15, 1914, 9; L.K. Shaw, "Shall We Store Potatoes," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, September 24, 1914, 5; "Storage of Apples," *Canadian Countryman*, September 26, 1914, 9; "The Future of the Canadian Apple," *Farmer's Advocate*, December 10, 1914, 2105-07; Louise Davis Mitchell, "The Prop to the Staff of Life," *Canadian Farm*, December 11, 1914, 4; P.W. Hodgetts "War Time & the

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⁹¹ See, for example, April 9, 1904, April 18, 1904, April 28, 1904, May 3, 1904, and May 13, 1904, D.H. Kelly Accounts; "Syrup," 1903-09, and 1911-13, Robert McGowan Accounts, 325, 327, and 331-44; and April 5, 1941, April 7, 1941, April 12, 1941, and April 14, 1941, Miller Accounts. For discussions of marketing in the farm press, see, for example, Son of a Subscriber, "Money in the Syrup Business," 354; W.H. Barber, "The Sugar Bush," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 1, 1900, 125-26; "Timely Hints for Maple Sugar Makers," *The Farming World and the Canadian Farm and Home*, March 1, 1905, 197; "The Sugar Season," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 15, 1906, 409; "Maple Sugar Making on the Farm," *The Canadian Dairyman and the Farming World*, March 25, 1908, 3-4; Andrew Reichardt, "Sugar Making on the Farm," *The Canadian Dairyman and the Farming World*, March 25, 1908, 5; H.A. Buck, "Practical Suggestions by a Maple-Syrup Maker," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 26, 1908, 541; Frontenac Subscriber, "Maple Syrup Manufacturing," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 25, 1909, 285-86; Andrew Reichardt, "Modern Maple-Syrup Making," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 4, 1909, 331; An Old Subscriber, "Syrup-Making on a Small Scale," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 11, 1909, 388; A. Mountain, "240 Gallons Syrup from 400 Trees," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 18, 1909, 437; A Euphemia Wanderer, "Evolution of Syrup-Making Methods," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 25, 1909, 478; H.A. Buck, "Maple Syrup Manufacture," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 25, 1909, 479; Wm. Dunlop, "Information Given and Asked," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 8, 1909, 575; R.C. McGowan, "Unlimited Market for First-Class Syrup," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 8, 1909, 576-77; Warsaw, "Cleansing Maple Syrup," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 15, 1909, 630; Marcus Lee, "Making First-Class Sugar," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 17, 1910, 256; A.W. DeLong, "Inexpensive Sugar-Making Outfit," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 3, 1910, 355; R. Chris. Irvine, "Rule Compound Off the Market," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 24, 1910, 494; W.D. Monk, "Syrup-Making," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 26, 1911, 310; Carl Smith, "\$275 from Maple Bush," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 26, 1911, 311; Andrew Reichardt, "Maple Products of First Quality," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, March 9, 1911, 4; Andrew Reichardt, "Modern Methods of Making Maple Syrup," *Canadian Farm*, March 12, 1911, 8; "Sidelights on Maple Syrup Making," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, March 23, 1911, 5; "Maple Syrup Standard," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 29, 1912, 373; T.R. Bennett, "Modern Methods of Syrup Making," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, March 28, 1912, 4; Andrew Reichardt, "Make Quality Sugar and Syrup," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, March 27, 1913, 5; "The Maple-Sugar Industry," *Farmer's Advocate*, November 27, 1913, 2055; Alex MacPherson, "Back to the Sugar Bush," *Farmers' Magazine*, February 1914, 35-36, and 87; J.B. Spencer, "From Sap to Syrup by Modern Methods," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, March 12, 1914, 29-30; "Home Made Sugar," *Farmer's Advocate*, December 24, 1914, 2201; "Profits in the Protected Maple Bush," *Canadian Countryman*, February 6, 1915, 6, and 12-13; J.F. Andrew, "Commercial Maple Syrup Making," *O.A.C. Review*, March 1916, 270-73; "Making Maple Sugar," *Canadian Countryman*, March 4, 1916, 309; "When the Sweet Sap of the Maple Starts to Run," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 16, 1916, 458a-b; Agricola, "Harvesting the Maple Sugar Crop," *Canadian Farm*, February 23, 1917, 6; "Tapping the Maple to Secure Canada's National Product," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 8, 1917, 393-94; "Gathering Dollars in the Maple Bush," *Canadian Countryman*, March 17, 1917, 327, and 357; "Making High Grade Maple Sugar," *Canadian Farm*, February 27, 1918, 5; E.T.C., "Maple Syrup Making in Middlesex County," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 28, 1918, 323-24; Helen E. Williams, "The Product of the Sugar Maple," *Canadian Countryman*, March 23, 1918, 362; C.W. McVetty, "Cost of Making Sugar," *Canadian Countryman*, March 23, 1918, 362; "Maple Sugar," *Canadian Countryman*, February 22, 1919, 23; Percival B. Walmsley, "Syrup-Making Time," *Canadian Countryman*, March 8, 1919, 325, and 355-56; "Tap the Maples," *Canadian Countryman*, March 20, 1920, 6, and 45-46; J.B. Spencer, "The Maple Sugar Industry in Canada," *O.A.C. Review*, October 1921, 45-49; "Maple Syrup and Sugar," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 19, 1925, 419; "Romance and Wealth in the Sugar Bush," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 11, 1926, 353, and 382; Reginald H. Hardy, "Wealth in the Canadian Sugar Bush," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 13, 1930, 402; and Roelens-Grant, ed., 153.

⁹² April 23, 1923, June 18, 1923, October 17, 1924, August 29, 1925, October 9, 1925, January 22, 1926, October 17, 1926, October 30, 1926, September 24, 1927, December 2, 1927, December 15, 1927,

February 20, 1928, and May 23, 1928, "Receipts," McIntosh Family Accounts. See also "Laying Out the Farm Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 9, 1916, 404.

⁹³ See, for example, January 6, 1900, January 13, 1900, January 20, 1900, January 29, 1900, February 10, 1900, February 15, 1900, March 20, 1900, April 27-28, 1900, June 9, 1900, June 19, 1900, July 11, 1900, September 8, 1900, September 22, 1900, October 8, 1900, October 20, 1900, October 27, 1900, November 3, 1900, November 16-17, 1900, November 24, 1900, November 26, 1900, December 11, 1900, and December 21, 1900, James Glen, Sr., Diaries; and April 9, 1904, April 18, 1904, April 28, 1904, May 3, 1904, May 13-14, 1904, October 14, 1904, October 21, 1904, October 29, 1904, November 3, 1904, November 10, 1904, November 12, 1904, and November 22-24, 1904, D.H. Kelly Accounts. See also Bogue, *The Farm on North Talbot Road*, 150-58, and 207-209.

⁹⁴ Over the span of his diaries and accounts, Weir sold: strawberries, strawberry plants, berries, cherries, currants, raspberries, raspberry plants, apples, plums, onions, potatoes, carrots, turnips, tomatoes, beets, and parsnips. See June 30, 1900, February 15, 1902, May 23, 1902, July 5, 1902, July 7, 1902, July 10, 1902, August 1, 1902, August 23, 1902, August 31, 1902, September 13, 1902, September 17, 1902, September 20, 1902, October 26, 1904, May 20, 1905, October 25, 1905, February 10, 1906, May 9, 1906, May 16, 1906, October 10, 1906, November 3, 1906, November 10, 1906, November 23, 1906, July 5, 1907, January 18, 1908, February 22, 1908, May 2, 1908, May 27, 1908, June 15, 1908, July 31, 1908, August 1, 1908, September 5, 1908, August 3-4, 1909, August 7, 1909, August 25, 1909, September 11, 1909, September 18, 1909, September 25, 1909, September 29, 1909, October 2, 1909, October 9, 1909, October 11, 1909, October 30, 1909, July 1, 1910, July 18, 1910, July 23, 1910, August 4, 1910, January 31, 1911, March 28, 1911, April 27, 1911, April 29, 1911, May 1-2, 1911, May 6, 1911, May 11, 1911, July 17-18, 1911, July 22, 1911, July 26, 1911, July 28-29, 1911, September 15, 1911, September 23, 1911, April 27, 1912, August 6, 1912, August 10, 1912, November 8, 1912, December 31, 1912, April 5, 1913, April 26, 1913, May 3, 1913, May 9-10, 1913, July 22, 1913, July 24, 1913, July 26, 1913, July 31, 1913, March 27, 1914, April 27, 1914, December 28, 1914, March 8, 1915, April 24, 1915, May 4, 1915, July 15, 1916, and August 21, 1919, "Received," John Graham Weir Diaries.

⁹⁵ See January 30, 1902, February 1, 1902, February 15, 1902, April 12, 1902, April 22-23, 1902, April 26, 1902, May 7, 1902, May 15, 1902, May 19, 1902, May 23, 1902, June 4, 1902, June 14, 1902, June 17, 1902, June 21, 1902, July 5, 1902, July 7, 1902, August 1, 1902, August 17, 1902, August 23, 1902, August 26, 1902, August 31, 1902, September 3, 1902, September 10, 1902, September 13, 1902, September 17, 1902, September 20, 1902, September 23-24, 1902, September 27, 1902, September 30, 1902, October 4, 1902, October 6, 1902, October 10, 1902, October 15, 1902, October 20, 1902, October 27, 1902, November 5-6, 1902, November 8, 1902, November 12, 1902, November 19, 1902, December 6, 1902, December 9, 1902, December 13, 1902, December 15-18, 1902, December 20, 1902, December 24, 1902, December 27, 1902, and December 30, 1902, John Graham Weir Diaries.

⁹⁶ "David H. Kelly," North Norwich Township, Oxford County (South), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 7, 72; and "John Graham Weir," Otonabee Township, Peterborough County (East), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 1, 2.

⁹⁷ According to a 1915 article in the *Agricultural Gazette of Canada*, the sale simply of fresh vegetables, not including those grown for canning factories, amounted to a two million-dollar industry yearly in the province of Ontario. See W. Bert Roadhouse, "Growing of Vegetables: Ontario," *Agricultural Gazette of Canada*, July 1915, 644-646.

⁹⁸ See, for example, "Timely Advice to Potato Growers," 362; Shearer, "Care of and Profits from a Small Orchard," 5; G.H. Hutton, "Money in Potato Culture," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 29, 1906, 502-03; Bruce County Farmer, "Two-Hundred-Dollar Garden," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 18, 1909, 440; W.J. Westington, "Potato Growing in Ontario," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, May 13, 1909, 4; "The Potato Crop in Ontario," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, May 20, 1909, 12; "Does Apple Growing Pay," *Farmer's Advocate*, December 9, 1909, 1931-32; "\$2,500 from 10 Acres of Apples," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 10, 1910, 215-16; "Willingness to Learn and Act," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 24, 1910, 294; J.W. Crow, "Ontario and the Apple – The Industry Declining," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, October 20, 1910, 3-4; "The Unpoetic Potato is Valuable," *Farmers' Magazine*, November 1910, 82-83; J.W. Crow, "Ontario and the Apple – A Most Profitable Industry," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, November 10, 1910, 3-4; "Potatoes in the Young Orchard," *Farmer's Advocate*, November 2, 1911, 1787; A.C. Moore, "Early Potatoes," *O.A.C. Review*, April 1912, 347-49; J.J.D., "Produce More Early Potatoes," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 8, 1912, 1392; G.W. Henry, "Our Apple Industry," *Farmer's Advocate*, March

6, 1913, 422-23; Justus Miller, "The Little Old Graveyard," *Farmers' Magazine*, April 1913, 13-18; J.C. Inman, "Big Returns from a Small Area," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, July 16, 1914, 5; J.C. Inman, "The Story of a Four Figure Income," *Canadian Countryman*, July 25, 1914, 7, and 17; "When 'Dooley' Came to Cardoc," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 29, 1914, 1869-70; "Profitable Potatoes," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 28, 1915, 118; H.M. MacElroy, "\$4,000 a Year in Potatoes," *Canadian Countryman*, February 27, 1915, 4; E.F. Palmer, "Apples and the War," *Canadian Countryman*, May 1, 1915, 3, and 29-30; J.W. Stark, "Just Before You Plant Potatoes," *Canadian Countryman*, May 15, 1915, 4, and 30; "What of the Apple Industry," *Canadian Countryman*, March 11, 1916, 328; Harold Moore, "Profits from a Pail of Potatoes," *Farmer's Advocate*, July 20, 1916, 1225; "The Much Abused Potato," *Farmer's Advocate*, May 13, 1920, 913; A.B. Cutting, "The Outlook for Farm Orcharding," *Canadian Countryman*, April 30, 1921, 6, and 18; "All on Ten Acres," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 20, 1921, 1596; "Bringing Back the Old Apple Orchard," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 16, 1922, 341, and 367; O.C., "Taters and a Little of Everything," *Farmer's Advocate*, March 8, 1923, 331; T.G. Bunting, "Improved Methods for Apple Industry," *Canadian Countryman*, April 10, 1926, 3, and 42; "What's Wrong with Fruit Industry," *Canadian Countryman*, August 18, 1928, 3, and 23; W.H. Warren, "No Profits in Potatoes," *O.A.C. Review*, December 1928, 134, and xxvi; and M.H. Staples, "What's Wrong with the Apple Industry," *Canadian Countryman*, January 4, 1930, 5, and 30.

⁹⁹ See, for example, J.W.C., "Plant Apple Orchards – Why," 279; Inman, "The Story of a Four Figure Income," 7; Grant, "The War and the Farm Apple Orchard," 479, and 492-93; A. McNeill, "Orchard Notes Applying to Ontario," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, July 28, 1910, 5; "A Two Hundred Acre Fruit Farm," *Canadian Farm*, October 14, 1910, 9; J.W. Crow, "Orcharding is on the Increase," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, June 29, 1911, 4; "Don't Follow the Crowd," *Farmer's Advocate*, November 16, 1916, 1888; E.D. Smith, "Commercial Apple Growing Profitable," *Canadian Farm*, March 2, 1917, 5; "Who Should Plant Apple Trees," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 5, 1917, 582; G.T. Marsh, "Further Notes on the Farmers' Small Orchards," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 18, 1917, 1624; Frank Shearer, "Care of and Profits from a Small Orchard," *Canadian Countryman*, June 21, 1919, 5; J. Anthony, "Potatoes for Profit," *Farmer's Advocate*, June 24, 1920, 1175-76; "More Commercial Orchards Needed," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 12, 1920, 1416; "Those Neglected Farm Orchards," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 3, 1924, 503; "Small Farm Orchards Losing Out," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 28, 1924, 1154; and E.F. Augustine, "Can Apple Growing Be Made Profitable," *Canadian Countryman*, February 14, 1925, 4.

¹⁰⁰ See May 1, 1933, Russell Innes Accounts; November [no date], 1943, February 10, 1944, March 9, 1944, April 13, 1944, April 1944, and June [no date], 1945, Gordon F. Robertson Farm Accounts; Duncan, "Cost of Living and Waste through Injudicious Buying," 98; and Duncan, "Household Expenses," 63.

¹⁰¹ A 1902 article in *The Farming World* even suggested that "[t]he average Canadian farmer plants enough potatoes each year for his own use and no more." See "The Potato Crop," *The Farming World*, May 6, 1902, 20.

¹⁰² April 21, 1900, May 12, 1900, May 19, 1900, February 25, 1903, April 11, 1903, May 4, 1903, June 3, 1903, March 11, 1904, April 29, 1907, June 29, 1907, June 5, 1909, May 10, 1913, April 17, 1915, and June 12, 1915, "Paid," John Graham Weir Diaries; February 15, 1902, May 23, 1902, August 23, 1902, May 20, 1905, October 25, 1905, February 10, 1906, May 9, 1906, May 16, 1906, November 3, 1906, November 10, 1906, November 23, 1906, January 18, 1908, February 22, 1908, May 2, 1908, May 27, 1908, June 15, 1908, July 31, 1908, August 1, 1908, August 3-4, 1909, August 7, 1909, January 31, 1911, March 28, 1911, April 29, 1911, May 1-2, 1911, May 6, 1911, May 11, 1911, July 26, 1911, July 28-29, 1911, April 27, 1912, April 26, 1913, May 3, 1913, May 9-10, 1913, March 27, 1914, and April 24, 1915, "Received," John Graham Weir Diaries; July 4, 1905, September 25, 1908, June 18, 1910, April 29, 1912, April 5, 1916, April 27, 1917, June 30, 1917, April 28, 1920, May 10, 1921, May 7, 1923, and March 18, 1924, "Cash Expended," D.H. Kelly Accounts; and May 14, 1904, April 11, 1905, July 19, 1906, April 4, 1907, June 21, 1911, April 20, 1914, April 28, 1914, May 25, 1914, April 28, 1915, May 19, 1915, April 10, 1918, June 12, 1919, July 16, 1919, January 17, 1920, November 16, 1920, January 31, 1922, October 21, 1922, May 15, 1923, March 18, 1924, April 11, 1924, May 6, 1924, May 13, 1924, June 5, 1924, June 14, 1924, June 16-17, 1924, June 23, 1924, November 2-4, 1925, April 21-22, 1926, April 26, 1926, May 17, 1926, October 4, 1926, November 20, 1926, January 8, 1927, May 21, 1929, October 7, 1929, and December 7, 1935, "Cash Received," D.H. Kelly Accounts.

¹⁰³ August 18, 1900, April 8-9, 1901, June 1, 1901, June 3, 1901, September 21, 1901, January 25, 1902, June 16, 1902, June 21, 1902, August 14, 1902, March 4, 1902, May 10, 1902, June 12, 1903, December 8,

1903, December 10, 1903, May 21, 1904, May 8, 1906, May 13, 1909, June 21, 1913, September 18, 1913, July 25, 1914, May 7, 1915, April 11, 1916, August 5, 1916, August 31, 1916, September 13, 1916, March 28, 1918, and June 1, 1918, James Glen, Sr., Diaries; January 11, 1923, May 9, 1923, August 21, 1923, October 4, 1923, May 7, 1924, October 7, 1924, December 4, 1924, March 20, 1925, March 24, 1926, April 23, 1926, November 2, 1926, January 12, 1927, May 6, 1927, and February 24, 1928, McIntosh Family Accounts; and July 4, 1905, December 21, 1907, June 18, 1910, February 23, 1911, October 14, 1911, April 29, 1912, November 25, 1912, October 19, 1914, February 15, 1916, April 5, 1916, November 16, 1916, April 27, 1917, June 30, 1917, April 28, 1920, May 1, 1920, May 16, 1922, March 18, 1924, November 17, 1924, March 25, 1925, October 18, 1929, and April 5, 1938, D.H. Kelly Accounts.

¹⁰⁴ See, for example, March 17, 1900, March 31, 1900, April 28, 1900, May 26, 1900, June 9, 1900, July 4, 1903, July 8, 1905, September 9, 1905, August 31, 1907, September 4, 1907, September 14, 1907, October 5, 1907, May 14, 1908, May 30, 1908, February 4, 1909, September 23, 1911, May 18, 1912, June 8, 1912, June 29, 1912, September 14, 1912, July 22, 1916, May 5, 1927, May 22, 1927, September 1, 1931, May 9, 1932, June 10, 1932, September 3, 1932, January 11, 1933, April 10, 1933, May 3, 1933, May 20, 1933, May 27, 1933, June 3, 1933, June 22-24, 1933, June 27, 1933, July 1, 1933, July 7, 1933, July 15, 1933, August 10, 1933, August 12, 1933, August 14, 1933, August 18, 1933, September 15, 1933, October 12, 1933, October 14, 1933, October 16, 1933, March 29, 1934, April 19, 1934, May 5, 1934, May 14, 1934, May 17, 1934, May 21, 1934, May 29, 1934, July 14, 1934, August 22, 1934, September 5, 1934, September 8, 1934, October 20, 1934, November 21, 1934, May 21, 1935, May 23, 1935, May 29, 1935, June 5, 1935, September 10, 1935, September 12, 1935, November 4, 1935, December 5, 1935, December 23, 1935, January 27, 1936, May 20-21, 1936, May 27, 1936, June 2, 1936, June 8, 1936, June 18, 1936, July 3, 1936, July 9, 1936, July 11, 1936, July 16, 1936, July 25, 1936, July 28, 1936, July 31, 1936, August 1, 1936, August 5, 1936, September 16, 1936, September 19, 1936, September 21, 1936, September 26, 1936, October 14, 1936, October 17, 1936, November 7, 1936, November 16, 1936, November 25, 1936, December 3, 1936, December 21, 1936, February 6, 1937, February 11, 1937, February 20, 1937, February 22-23, 1937, May 5, 1937, June 12, 1937, June 21, 1937, July 2, 1937, July 6, 1937, July 24, 1937, August 3, 1937, August 11, 1937, August 20-21, 1937, August 30, 1937, September 6, 1937, September 18, 1937, September 30, 1937, October 2, 1937, October 9, 1937, October 18, 1937, November 12, 1937, November 24, 1937, December 14, 1937, December 23, 1937, December 30, 1937, January 13, 1938, January 27, 1938, February 26, 1938, April 27, 1938, May 20, 1938, May 30, 1938, June 7, 1938, June 11, 1938, June 13, 1938, June 18, 1938, June 28, 1938, July 6, 1938, July 9, 1938, July 16, 1938, July 19, 1938, July 30, 1938, August 10, 1938, August 20, 1938, August 26, 1938, August 30, 1938, September 2, 1938, September 8, 1938, September 21, 1938, October 29, 1938, November 5, 1938, November 19, 1938, December 15, 1938, December 20, 1938, January 17, 1939, February 1, 1939, February 3, 1939, March 4, 1939, March 25, 1939, April 11, 1939, May 6, 1939, May 20, 1939, May 27, 1939, June 8, 1939, June 10, 1939, June 15-16, 1939, July 28-29, 1939, August 25, 1939, September 12, 1939, September 19, 1939, September 29, 1939, October 2, 1939, October 11, 1939, November 3-4, 1939, November 8, 1939, November 23, 1939, December 23, 1939, January 18, 1940, February 20, 1940, March 21, 1940, April 1-2, 1940, April 13, 1940, April 25, 1940, April 27, 1940, May 17, 1940, May 22, 1940, June 7, 1940, June 15, 1940, June 22, 1940, June 29, 1940, July 2, 1940, July 17, 1940, July 20, 1940, July 30, 1940, August 6, 1940, August 10, 1940, August 17, 1940, August 31, 1940, September 5, 1940, September 7, 1940, September 14, 1940, September 16-17, 1940, September 19-20, 1940, September 24, 1940, October 7, 1940, October 11, 1940, October 19, 1940, October 25, 1940, October 30, 1940, November 8, 1940, November 15, 1940, November 25, 1940, December 6, 1940, December 14, 1940, December 18, 1940, December 23, 1940, January 18, 1941, February 4, 1941, February 20, 1941, March 22, 1941, March 24, 1941, April 26, 1941, May 1, 1941, May 17, 1941, May 31, 1941, June 16, 1941, June 26, 1941, June 30, 1941, July 5, 1941, July 10, 1941, July 12, 1941, July 19, 1941, July 22, 1941, July 31, 1941, August 5, 1941, August 25, 1941, August 29, 1941, September 10, 1941, September 25, 1941, September 29, 1941, October 11, 1941, October 14, 1941, October 28, 1941, November 7, 1941, November 27, 1941, February 27, 1942, April 27, 1942, June 18, 1942, July 4, 1942, July 7, 1942, July 16, 1942, August 7, 1942, August 11, 1942, August 15, 1942, August 19, 1942, August 27, 1942, September 8, 1942, October 26, 1942, December 5, 1942, January 26, 1943, March 9, 1943, May 18, 1943, June 4-5, 1943, June 18, 1943, June 23, 1943, June 26-27, 1943, July 22, 1943, July 29, 1943, August 13, 1943, August 18, 1943, August 24, 1943, August 27, 1943, November 17, 1943, November 26, 1943, December 12, 1943, March 23, 1944,

April 17, 1944, May 19, 1944, June 24, 1944, June 27, 1944, July 18, 1944, July 22, 1944, July 29, 1944, August 18-19, 1944, September 21, 1944, and November 3, 1944, Hawley Farm Accounts.

¹⁰⁵ See also Roelens-Grant, ed., 80.

¹⁰⁶ August 1, 1945, August 16, 1945, August 30, 1945, September 4, 1945, September 13-14, 1945, and October 13, 1945, John Cameron Topham Accounts.

¹⁰⁷ See, for example, April 29-30, 1902, January 11, 1905, June 22, 1906, June 9, 1911, June 16, 1911, May 15, 1914, and June 25, 1919, James Glen, Sr., Diaries; and Bogue, *The Farm on North Talbot Road*, 158.

¹⁰⁸ See Richard Hawkins, "The Baltimore Canning Industry and the Bahamian Pineapple Trade, c. 1865-1926," *Maryland Historian* 26, no. 2 (December 1995), 3; and Oden, 395-96, and 407-08.

¹⁰⁹ March 31, 1900, April 25, 1940, July 16, 1942, August 27, 1942, and March 9, 1943, Hawley Farm Accounts; February 15, 1907, June 19, 1912, March 20, 1914, April 1, 1914, February 25, 1916, March 10, 1916, April 7, 1916, March 14, 1918, and March 3, 1919, Robert McGowan Accounts; and April 12, 1927, Shields Accounts.

¹¹⁰ See, for example, April 2, 1904, June 8, 1904, May 16, 1906, June 4, 1906, June 12, 1906, June 15, 1906, June 21, 1906, June 25, 1906, January 14, 1907, January 17, 1907, February 15, 1907, May 27, 1907, June 8, 1907, January 31, 1908, March 4, 1908, June 10, 1908, March 19, 1909, May 11, 1909, May 14, 1909, May 22, 1909, June 21, 1909, January 12, 1910, January 31, 1910, February 7, 1910, February 28, 1910, March 19, 1910, December 30, 1910, January 12, 1911, February 12, 1912, April 12, 1912, May 1, 1912, June 14, 1912, June 19, 1912, December 6, 1912, March 15, 1913, February 13, 1914, February 20, 1914, March 20, 1914, April 1, 1914, May 21, 1914, June 26, 1914, February 25, 1916, March 2, 1916, March 10-11, 1916, April 7, 1916, April 29, 1916, March 9, 1917, March 17, 1917, April 3, 1917, May 30, 1917, June 13, 1917, February 15, 1918, February 22, 1918, March 14, 1918, January 24, 1919, June 13, 1919, January 6, 1920, March 1, 1920, and April 2, 1923, Robert McGowan Accounts.

¹¹¹ December 21, 1907, D.H. Kelly Accounts; and May 23, 1908, and May 11, 1915, John Graham Weir Diaries. Periodically, the farm press did discuss methods for keeping "fresh" celery in the cellar, but a 1925 article in the *Canadian Countryman* highlighted that it was "one of the difficult crops to store successfully." The fact that Kelly purchased the celery with oranges suggests that it was imported. See "Winter's Supply of Vegetables," 5, and 32.

¹¹² April 6, 1926, April 15, 1926, April 20, 1926, March 11, 1927, March 19, 1927, March 20, 1927, April 1, 1927, May 9-10, 1927, December 5, 1927, January 7, 1928, February 25, 1928, April 7, 1928, April 20, 1928, April 28, 1928, May 12, 1928, and January 3, 1931, William Casimer Topham Accounts; and February 15, 1937, April 5, 1941, and April 12, 1941, Miller Accounts.

¹¹³ Freidberg, 172.

¹¹⁴ Freidberg, 172.

¹¹⁵ James L. McCorkle Jr., "Moving Perishables to Market: Southern Railroads and the Nineteenth-Century Origins of Southern Truck Farming," *Southern Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal of the South* 11, no. 3/4 (Fall/Winter 2004), 5-30; Freidberg, 168-180; McCleary, 25; Bunting, "Fruit and Vegetable Marketing," 4; Levenstein, 30, and 108; and Mosby, 12.

¹¹⁶ June 15, 1914, and July 9, 1914, James Glen, Sr., Diaries; March 2, 1907, Nathaniel "Ed" Leeder Accounts; March 16, 1915, May 7, 1918, and March 5, 1926, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts; and February 6, 1915, John Graham Weir Diaries.

¹¹⁷ June 26, 1923, September 15, 1923, September 17, 1923, October 4-5, 1923, July 5, 1924, July 12, 1924, September 23, 1924, October 1, 1924, October 18, 1924, December 2, 1924, July 4, 1925, July 11, 1925, July 29, 1925, September 30, 1925, October 3, 1925, July 6, 1926, July 31, 1926, October 1-2, 1926, October 9, 1926, October 30, 1926, July 6, 1927, July 16, 1927, July 30, 1927, August 13, 1927, September 25, 1928, October 1, 1928, and October 5, 1928, "Household Expenses," McIntosh Family Accounts; and September 13, 1924, September 18, 1924, September 22-23, 1924, September 25, 1924, October 2, 1924, October 23, 1924, November 3, 1924, September 4, 1925, September 14, 1925, September 16, 1926, and September 24, 1927, "Receipts," McIntosh Family Accounts.

¹¹⁸ September 8, 1900, October 1, 1909, May 3, 1912, October 8, 1915, September 27, 1916, September 30, 1916, October 10, 1917, and October 6, 1920, James Glen, Sr., Diaries; June 15, 1903, September 8, 1903, March 29, 1904, September 27, 1905, September 18, 1906, September 27, 1906, October 3, 1906, June 10, 1908, June 24, 1908, June 26, 1908, September 2, 1908, September 8, 1909, September 13, 1909, September 24, 1909, April 27, 1910, May 9, 1910, May 13, 1910, June 11, 1910, September 14, 1910, September 24, 1910, September 1, 1911, February 23, 1912, October 2, 1912, May 19, 1913, June 28,

1913, September 5, 1913, October 1, 1913, October 5, 1914, October 26, 1914, September 6, 1915, September 8, 1915, September 24, 1915, October 4, 1915, November 13, 1915, September 18, 1916, October 4, 1916, October 2, 1917, October 5, 1917, June 29, 1918, and April 15, 1919, Robert McGowan Accounts; and March 24, 1900, September 15, 1900, September 29, 1900, January 25, 1902, June 20, 1902, June 16, 1903, June 19, 1903, June 26, 1903, September 11, 1903, January 23, 1904, December 17, 1904, September 9, 1905, September 16, 1905, April 7, 1906, August 4, 1906, September 8, 1906, September 15, 1906, September 17, 1907, October 26, 1907, October 10, 1908, December 28, 1908, August 4, 1909, August 11, 1909, August 28, 1909, September 4, 1909, September 25, 1909, October 2, 1909, October 9, 1909, April 16, 1910, October 22, 1910, December 3, 1910, August 18, 1911, September 2, 1911, September 8, 1911, October 18, 1911, October 28, 1911, August 14, 1912, August 24, 1912, November 1, 1912, November 18, 1912, September 13, 1913, September 20, 1913, September 27, 1913, October 1, 1913, March 16, 1914, February 6, 1915, August 21, 1915, September 11, 1915, September 18, 1915, September 25, 1915, October 2, 1915, January 8, 1916, January 29, 1916, February 28, 1916, May 6, 1916, September 16, 1916, September 30, 1916, October 14, 1916, October 17, 1916, September 22, 1917, October 6, 1917, December 31, 1917, February 23, 1918, August 22, 1918, September 7, 1918, September 6, 1919, January 22, 1920, and March 20, 1920, "Paid," John Graham Weir Diaries.

¹¹⁹ February 27, 1937, December 1, 1937, and May 31, 1941, Miller Accounts; March 20, 1909, February 15, 1915, November [no date], 1917, April [no date] 1918, February 3, 1919, February 3, 1920, March 26, 1920, January 11, 1926, November 3, 1931, November 5, 1932, and December [no date] 1933, John Pollard Accounts; and March 4, 1918, and April 22, 1918, Nathaniel "Ed" Leeder Accounts. See also Cummings, 182.

¹²⁰ Ida Hawley specifically recorded the purchase of 23 boxes of strawberries, and each box cost approximately ten cents. Two other entries in the month noted the purchase of \$0.70 worth of strawberries, hence the assumption that approximately 30 boxes were purchased in total in the month. See September 24, 1920, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts; and June 16-18, 1942, June 20, 1942, June 22, 1942, and June 24, 1942, Hawley Farm Accounts.

¹²¹ See, for example, September 18, 1919, and August 9, 1920, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts; and March 5, 1942, and September 8, 1942, Hawley Farm Accounts.

¹²² See, for example, "Housewives!," *Farmer's Sun*, August 21, 1920, 6.

¹²³ February 11, 1907, June 19, 1911, and July 4, 1911, J.D. Cowan Accounts; and November 1944, Gordon F. Robertson Farm Accounts. See also Boyle, 46; Levenstein, 180, and 182; Smith-Howard, 39; Gebby, 89; Cummings, 169; Roelens-Grant, ed., 18, 32, and 79; and David Monod, *Store Wars: Shopkeepers and the Culture of Mass Marketing, 1890-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 104.

¹²⁴ Due to the development of different varieties and developments in railroad shipping, oranges, for example, were available year-round by the turn of the century. See T.H. Watkins, "The Social History of a Single Fruit," *American Heritage* 28, no. 3 (April 1977): 87. See also Mosby, 12.

¹²⁵ April 14, 1904, August 27, 1904, January 17, 1905, April 8, 1905, June 17, 1905, June 22, 1905, July 31, 1905, October 27, 1905, January 23, 1906, June 21, 1906, July 28, 1906, August 21, 1906, September 21, 1906, November 16, 1906, November 30, 1906, January 29, 1907, June 22, 1907, July 16, 1907, July 27, 1907, August 10, 1907, September 7, 1907, September 19, 1907, December 21, 1907, May 14, 1908, June 13, 1908, June 15, 1908, June 25, 1908, June 27, 1908, August 1, 1908, September 25, 1908, May 7, 1909, May 21, 1909, June 18, 1909, June 23, 1909, July 10, 1909, July 19-20, 1909, August 6, 1909, October 11, 1910, May 31, 1911, September 13, 1912, August 6, 1914, September 1, 1914, June 22, 1915, August 28, 1915, March 20, 1916, March 27, 1916, April 5, 1916, May 19, 1916, July 15, 1916, July 22, 1916, August 30, 1916, November 4, 1916, January 20, 1917, June 16, 1917, June 22, 1917, July 7, 1917, July 11, 1917, August 16, 1917, August 18, 1917, March 9, 1918, April 6, 1918, January 15, 1919, May 30, 1919, June 14, 1919, January 19, 1920, January 24, 1920, May 15, 1920, July 20, 1920, March 15, 1921, May 19, 1921, August 16, 1921, August 18, 1921, July 18, 1922, March 8, 1926, April 21, 1926, March 8, 1932, April 8, 1932, and May 11, 1933, "Cash Expended," D. H. Kelly Accounts; and July 5, 1900, October 30, 1900, November 19, 1901, December 23, 1901, July 20, 1903, August 1, 1903, September 16, 1905, October 14, 1905, January 18, 1907, August 12, 1907, January 18, 1908, April 25, 1908, July 27, 1908, September 26, 1908, January 31, 1910, February 17, 1910, February 18, 1910, April 2, 1910, June 20, 1910, July 14, 1910, July 23, 1910, August 1, 1910, August 6, 1910, August 18, 1910, January 7, 1911, March 18, 1911, March 24, 1911, June 6, 1911, June 30, 1911, July 7, 1911, July 10, 1911, July 22, 1911,

June 27, 1912, September 7, 1912, July 12, 1913, August 12, 1913, August 21, 1913, September 2, 1913, September 6, 1913, September 30, 1913, October 6, 1913, October 11, 1913, October 29, 1913, November 10, 1913, June 4, 1914, June 11, 1914, June 15, 1914, June 17, 1914, June 29, 1914, July 4, 1914, July 6, 1914, July 8, 1914, August 6, 1914, August 10, 1914, August 26, 1914, September 2, 1914, September 5, 1914, September 14, 1914, September 18, 1914, September 30, 1914, October 5, 1914, November 6, 1914, December 15, 1914, March 6, 1915, April 23, 1915, May 12, 1915, May 15, 1915, May 29, 1915, June 3, 1915, July 3, 1915, July 22, 1915, July 26, 1915, August 11, 1915, August 14, 1915, August 17, 1915, January 20, 1916, January 22, 1916, May 27, 1916, August 5, 1916, May 10, 1917, May 19, 1917, June 2, 1917, August 14, 1917, August 21, 1917, September 15, 1917, September 28, 1917, December 8, 1917, January 5, 1918, March 5, 1918, June 1, 1918, June 28, 1918, July 27, 1918, October 12, 1918, June 19, 1919, and July 14, 1920, James Glen, Sr., Diaries.

¹²⁶ August 29, 1914, June 10, 1915, September 7, 1916, July 19, 1917, July 26, 1917, September 13, 1917, September 27, 1917, November 27, 1917, December 24, 1917, August 8, 1918, December 19, 1918, April 30, 1919, June 19, 1919, July 12, 1919, September 6, 1919, December 23, 1919, June 29, 1920, August 4, 1920, August 18, 1920, January 19, 1921, June 29, 1921, July 7, 1921, October 28, 1921, December 23, 1921, August 25, 1922, October 3, 1922, February 20, 1923, June 27, 1923, July 6, 1923, and August [no date], 1925, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts.

¹²⁷ Hawkins, "The Baltimore Canning Industry and the Bahamian Pineapple Trade, c. 1865-1926," 1; and Freidberg, 147.

¹²⁸ See Dicke, 4; Richard A. Hawkins, "The Pineapple Canning Industry during the World Depression of the 1930s," *Business History* 31, no. 4 (November 1989), 48, and 58; and Freidberg, 147.

¹²⁹ See Freidberg, 138, and 142; Virginia Scott Jenkins, *Bananas: An American History* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000), ix, 41, 45, 57, 107-08, and 115-16; Gabaccia, 37; and Drummond, 36-37, and 50. Interestingly, a 1926 article in the *Farmer's Advocate* by C.P. Culliford recognized the power of advertising for the orange market, highlighting the need for similar methods in the Canadian vegetable growing industry. See C.P. Culliford, "Eat Home Grown Vegetables," *Farmer's Advocate*, December 23, 1926, 1826.

¹³⁰ February 2, 1913, Diary of Mabel Brown; and April 17, 1930, Florence (Allen) Tompkins Diaries.

¹³¹ January 19, 1930, Florence (Allen) Tompkins Diaries; May 28, 1938, Velma Beaton Diaries; and June 11, 1902, July 5, 1902, August 4, 1902, and June 24, 1904, Mary A. King Diaries.

¹³² July 5, 1900, October 30, 1900, November 19, 1901, December 23, 1901, July 20, 1903, August 1, 1903, September 16, 1905, October 14, 1905, January 18, 1907, August 12, 1907, January 18, 1907, April 25, 1908, July 27, 1908, September 26, 1908, January 31, 1910, February 17-18, 1910, April 2, 1910, June 20, 1910, July 14, 1910, July 23, 1910, August 1, 1910, August 6, 1910, August 18, 1910, January 7, 1911, March 18, 1911, March 24, 1911, June 6, 1911, June 30, 1911, July 7, 1911, July 10, 1911, July 22, 1911, June 27, 1912, September 7, 1912, July 12, 1913, August 12, 1913, August 21, 1913, September 2, 1913, September 6, 1913, September 30, 1913, October 6, 1913, October 11, 1913, October 29, 1913, November 10, 1913, June 4, 1914, June 11, 1914, June 15, 1914, June 17, 1914, June 29, 1914, July 4, 1914, July 6, 1914, July 8, 1914, August 6, 1914, August 10, 1914, August 26, 1914, September 2, 1914, September 5, 1914, September 14, 1914, September 18, 1914, September 30, 1914, October 5, 1914, November 6, 1914, December 15, 1914, March 6, 1915, April 23, 1915, May 12, 1915, May 15, 1915, May 29, 1915, June 3, 1915, July 3, 1915, July 22, 1915, July 26, 1915, August 11, 1915, August 14, 1915, August 17, 1915, January 20, 1916, January 22, 1916, May 27, 1916, August 5, 1916, May 10, 1917, May 19, 1917, June 2, 1917, August 14, 1917, August 21, 1917, September 15, 1917, September 28, 1917, December 8, 1917, January 5, 1918, March 5, 1918, June 1, 1918, June 28, 1918, July 27, 1918, October 12, 1918, June 19, 1919, and July 14, 1920, James Glen, Sr., Diaries.

¹³³ Rural Upper Canadians also purchased dried fruit, particularly raisins and currants, by the mid-nineteenth century. See McCalla, *Consumers in the Bush*, 88. See also "Co-Operative Trading Department," *Farmers' Sun*, January 14, 1920, 11; and "The Trading Department Announces Many Reductions in Groceries," *Farmers' Sun*, October 9, 1920, 9.

¹³⁴ February 20, 1900, February 28, 1900, August 11, 1900, and September 28, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diaries; and February 4, 1937, and February 15, 1937, Miller Accounts.

¹³⁵ March 22, 1900, November 14, 1903, February 8, 1904, March 6, 1905, January 12, 1907, November 30, 1907, October 21, 1909, December 27, 1909, February 26, 1910, July 19, 1910, August 16, 1910, October 11, 1910, November 23, 1910, February 4, 1911, March 22, 1911, April 13, 1911, June 12, 1911,

July 14, 1911, February 2, 1912, May 15, 1912, February 4, 1913, and April 16, 1914, James Glen, Sr., Diaries; April 5, 1902, February 6, 1904, January 16, 1905, May 20, 1905, March 17, 1909, April 24, 1909, January [no date], 1912, February 6, 1918, September 19, 1918, December 31, 1918, January 16, 1919, December 8, 1919, December 19, 1919, December 21, 1919, June 29, 1920, December 8, 1920, December 21, 1920, December [no date], 1932, November [no date], 1933, January [no date], 1934, March [no date], 1934, March [no date], 1934, April [no date], 1934, July [no date], 1934, April [no date], 1935, and March [no date], 1936, Nathaniel "Ed" Leeder Accounts; and February 9, 1901, November 30, 1905, December 1, 1906, December 5, 1908, October 22, 1909, May 4, 1910, January 11, 1916, December 16, 1916, March 6, 1917, September 28, 1917, February 2, 1918, March 2, 1918, and September 5, 1918, John Graham Weir Diaries.

¹³⁶ See Walden, "Speaking Modern," 295; and Boyle, 41-43, and 47.

¹³⁷ December 16, 1913, December 21, 1914, December 24, 1914, December 10, 1915, December 16, 1915, December 23-24, 1915, December 8, 1916, December 13, 1916, December 21, 1916, December 14, 1917, December 19, 1918, December 23, 1919, December 8, 1920, December 21, 1920, December 23, 1921, December 23, 1922, and December 24, 1924, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts.

¹³⁸ March 3, 1930, Florence (Allen) Tompkins Diaries; April 30, 1938, Velma Beaton Diaries; January 14, 1901, December 20, 1902, and December 22, 1908, Mary A. King Diaries; and February 28, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diary.

¹³⁹ Walden, "Speaking Modern," 300.

¹⁴⁰ Duncan, *Canadians at Table*, 173.

¹⁴¹ Topham made multiple purchases in a single entry. On November 17, 1927, he purchased "c. berries," presumed to be cranberries, given the season. See November 8, 1927, November 17, 1927, November 21, 1927, December 3, 1927, and December 16, 1927, William Casimer Topham Accounts.

¹⁴² "U.F.O. Company News," *Farmers' Sun*, January 8, 1921, 9.

¹⁴³ July 27, 1924, William H. Cowan Accounts; December 13, 1911, June 13, 1912, November 23, 1912, and December 21, 1912, Elsie Innes Accounts; and March 21, 1908, December 31, 1908, October 22, 1909, December 28, 1909, and December 16, 1916, John Graham Weir Diaries.

¹⁴⁴ March 24, 1900, March 23, 1904, January 8, 1907, January 14, 1908, March 3, 1909, October 15, 1912, May 3, 1913, May 10, 1913, December 22, 1913, June 5, 1915, November 23, 1915, December 16, 1915, April 22, 1924, December 29, 1925, January 23, 1926, May 26, 1928, December 9, 1932, December 16, 1932, January 3, 1933, January 17, 1933, March 31, 1933, June 17, 1933, August 12, 1933, October 21, 1933, December 16, 1933, December 22, 1933, March 31, 1934, June 26, 1934, September 26, 1934, November 3, 1934, December 20, 1934, December 30, 1935, December 22, 1936, December 28, 1936, December 24, 1938, January 7, 1939, February 1, 1939, June 10, 1939, June 29, 1939, July 11, 1939, July 17, 1939, September 12, 1939, November 3, 1939, April 4, 1940, January 9, 1941, December 24, 1941, December 24, 1942, January 16, 1943, and December 31, 1943, Hawley Farm Accounts.

¹⁴⁵ December 10, 1909, December 23, 1909, October 11, 1910, December 24, 1910, October 4, 1911, December 9, 1911, December 19, 1911, August 5, 1912, November 25, 1912, December 19, 1912, November 28, 1913, December 20, 1913, December 23, 1913, November 20, 1914, December 23, 1914, April 16, 1915, November 22, 1915, December 18, 1915, December 20, 1915, July 15, 1916, August 31, 1916, November 10, 1916, November 21, 1916, August 22, 1917, December 22, 1917, January 2, 1918, April 3, 1918, May 9, 1919, October 14, 1919, and November 18, 1919, Robert McGowan Accounts.

¹⁴⁶ August 24, 1906, September 28, 1907, October 2, 1909, January 3, 1910, September 17, 1912, June 30, 1913, October 15, 1914, October 29, 1914, December 23, 1915, and March 23, 1929, D.H. Kelly Accounts.

¹⁴⁷ April 9, 1918, December 31, 1918, December 23, 1919, December 21, 1920, and December [no date], 1934, Nathaniel "Ed" Leeder Accounts; December 16, 1913, December 21, 1914, December 24, 1914, December 10, 1915, December 24, 1915, December 21, 1916, December 24, 1917, April 9, 1918, December 19, 1918, December 23, 1919, December 21, 1920, December 23, 1921, December 23, 1922, October 1, 1923, December 24, 1924, and March 5, 1926, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts; and Boyle, 47.

¹⁴⁸ Walden also notes this association. See Walden, "Speaking Modern," 295.

¹⁴⁹ See Diana, "Some By-Products," *Weekly Sun*, October 23, 1918, 6. See also Deutsch, 19.

¹⁵⁰ "Co-Operative Trading Department," 11; "The Trading Department Announces Many Reductions in Groceries," 9; and "U.F.O. Company News," *Farmers' Sun*, January 8, 1921, 9.

¹⁵¹ July 4, 1911, May 14, 1912, June 27, 1920, and July 3, 1920, Howard Jones Accounts; and May 31, 1924, June 2, 1925, and December 1, 1925, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts. See also Boyle, 142.

¹⁵² April 9, 1904, April 16, 1907, April 19, 1908, April 7, 1910, May 4, 1910, April 11, 1911, April 3, 1915, March 5, 1918, April 8, 1918, April 19, 1918, and December 14, 1918, John Graham Weir Diaries; and April 29, 1913, Wm. R. Shand Accounts.

¹⁵³ See, for example, "Chow Chow," *The People's Home Library*, 102, and 189. See also May 12, 1900, May 26, 1900, December 23, 1926, February 3, 1933, and December 7, 1933, Hawley Farm Accounts.

¹⁵⁴ July 7, 1900, August 4, 1900, September 11, 1900, June 15, 1901, June 18, 1904, July 28, 1904, August 20, 1904, September 3, 1904, September 22, 1904, October 1, 1904, June 24, 1905, July 8, 1905, June 8, 1906, September 8, 1906, August 21, 1907, October 9, 1907, June 21, 1908, July 18, 1908, August 1, 1908, August 20, 1908, August 22, 1908, August 29, 1908, September 3, 1908, November 26, 1908, July 24, 1909, September 11, 1909, June 17, 1911, July 15, 1911, August 5, 1911, August 19, 1911, November 4, 1911, June 8, 1912, August 3, 1912, August 17, 1912, August 24, 1912, August 31, 1912, September 14, 1912, June 14, 1913, October 4, 1913, January 6, 1915, July 15, 1916, September 18, 1920, June 25, 1921, July 2, 1921, July 9, 1921, July 11, 1921, September 3, 1921, June 22, 1922, June 24, 1922, July 7, 1923, July 14, 1923, June 25, 1927, August 31, 1929, September 1, 1932, July 13, 1933, September 8, 1934, July 20, 1935, August 12, 1935, May 27, 1936, June 18, 1936, July 20, 1936, August 7, 1936, September 21, 1936, August 20, 1937, August 31, 1937, September 1, 1937, September 7, 1937, July 16, 1938, July 25, 1938, August 26, 1938, September 8, 1938, August 17, 1939, July 30, 1940, September 28, 1940, July 5, 1941, September 11, 1941, September 23, 1941, March 5, 1942, and September 8, 1942, Hawley Farm Accounts.

¹⁵⁵ McCleary has similar findings for 1930s Augusta County, Virginia. See McCleary, 21.

¹⁵⁶ Diana, "The 'Pure Food' We Buy," *Farmers' Sun*, April 10, 1920, 6.

¹⁵⁷ June 24, 1939, and July 11, 1940, Fred Perkins Diary.

¹⁵⁸ May 26, 1939, June 1, 1939, June 21-22, 1939, July 2-3, 1939, July 7, 1939, July 26, 1939, July 29, 1939, September 1, 1939, September 11-13, 1939, September 15, 1939, September 28-29, 1939, January 26, 1940, January 29, 1940, July 9-12, 1940, July 19, 1940, August 20, 1940, September 1-2, 1940, September 9, 1940, and December 9, 1940, Fred Perkins Diary.

¹⁵⁹ See, for example, "Cold Storage for Apples," *The Farming World*, October 28, 1902, 417-18; W.H. Day, "Cold Storage," *O.A.C. Review*, April 1904, 40-45; A. McNeill, "Imperfect Storage System," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 6, 1905, 504; R.J. Cochrane, "Cold Storage for Apples," *Farmer's Advocate*, November 22, 1906, 1818; "Cold Storage of Fruit Near Orchards," *Farmer's Advocate*, May 21, 1908, 901; "Cold Storage of Fruit," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 19, 1909, 1324; J.A. Ruddick, "The Cold Storage of Apples and Other Fruit," *Farm and Dairy and Rural Home*, November 25, 1909, 3-4; "Cold Storage of Apples," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 18, 1910, 1322-23; "Important Points in Apple Packing," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 19, 1911, 1714; "Should the Fruit Grower Use Cold Storage," *Canadian Farm*, October 23, 1914, 5; "Cold Storage and Refrigerator Cars," *Canadian Farm*, January 8, 1915, 5; "Do Pre-Cooling and Cold Storage Pay," *Canadian Countryman*, August 21, 1915, 7; "The Need of Storage Facilities," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 6, 1916, 12-13; J.A. Hempson, "Pre-Cooling and Cold Storage of Fruit," *O.A.C. Review*, November 1917, 78-79; "Brighton Plant Demonstrates Value of Cold Storage," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 3, 1922, 1045; A.B. Cutting, "Hints on Storing Apples," *Canadian Countryman*, December 2, 1922, 4, and 28; A. Fulton, "Cold Storage for Fruits and Vegetables," *O.A.C. Review*, February 1923, 236; and "The Romance of Cold Storage," *Farmer's Advocate*, September 25, 1930, 1400.

6

Baked Goods

In February of 1903, Mary Ann King of Welland County recorded a particularly challenging day in her diary. She woke Paul, the hired boy, up at six o'clock in the morning, so that he could prepare a fire in the range for her baking. According to Mary A., however, "he made the most miserable fire[;] he [was] not worth his salt for making [sic] fires."¹ Her disgruntled feelings towards Paul might have been at least partially related to the fact that Mary A. herself felt "miserable" as she was "getting a cold." She "felt so weak [she could] scarcely get the bread through," and "made a Johny [sic] cake [of maize-meal] to save bread."² King's entry highlights the time-consuming and physical nature of making bread. It also suggests that baking was a necessary and routine chore for farm women, one that could not be neglected even if feeling "miserable."

A closer examination of diaries and account books kept by Ontario farm families, however, complicates this picture. Women did, indeed, bake a range of goods for their households, but this is only part of the story. Rather, this household baking worked in tandem with purchases of readymade baked goods, as was the case with a range of foods heretofore explored. This chapter considers the breads, pies, and other baked goods women made in the first half of the twentieth century. It analyses the household division of labour with regard to baking, and the reasons farm women baked; discusses families' readymade purchases; and examines reasons for shifts in their baking and purchasing practices. Overall, this chapter argues that farm families blended the household production and formal purchasing of an array of baked goods. Their decisions were shaped by family composition, life-cycle transitions, preference, and desire. This chapter

also adds nuance to the scant historiography in the rural American context, which has relied on contemporary surveys rather than more direct and personalized sources, and perhaps, as a result, overemphasized household production in the early twentieth century.³

Turning first to household production, women baked for their families throughout the period, and families bought flour to facilitate this production.⁴ J.D. Cowan of Oxford County, for example, purchased flour between the 1900s and the early 1910s, and Gordon Robertson of Middlesex County bought flour in the early 1940s.⁵ Some families even specified the purchase of brand name flours, such as Five Roses, Purity, and Royal Household.⁶ As with the purchase of other foods, these purchases demonstrate connections to national markets, as many of these commercial flours were milled from Canadian Prairie wheat. This western wheat was extolled for its high protein levels, believed to make good bread.⁷ People also periodically bought yeast or yeast cakes, as was done by Elsie Innes of Oxford County in the early 1910s, and by James Glen, Jr., of Middlesex County in the early 1920s.⁸ The purchase of yeast indicates that women baked goods that needed a leavening agent, such as bread and buns.⁹ The use of store-bought flour and yeast is yet another example of marketplace consumption for household production.

Bread, in particular, was a central component of women's work routines throughout the period, and speakers at the annual meetings of the WI periodically discussed the household baking of bread.¹⁰ Indeed, homemade bread factored prominently in Harry J. Boyle's reminiscences of his childhood on a Huron County farm in the 1920s and 1930s, particularly in times of harsh winter weather.¹¹ Perhaps not

surprisingly, given the fact that bread was considered by many to be a “staple” food, women often mentioned baking bread more than baking any other type of good in their diaries. This was the case with the Treffry household of Oxford County in 1900, and with the Green household of Huron County in the 1910s.¹² Presumably, women typically baked white bread; during the period, people associated white bread made from wheat flour “with the march of progress from primitive to modern conditions,” and believed it to be more “palatable” than other types of bread.¹³

Women also commonly baked pies throughout the first half of the twentieth century.¹⁴ The Pearce women of Elgin County, for example, baked pies in the first decade of the 1900s, as did Florence Allen of Lennox and Addington County in 1929 and 1930.¹⁵ Pies were a central component of farm families’ diets. In the Smith household of Perth County, for example, pies were a staple dessert in the 1930s and 1940s.¹⁶ Women often baked a range of different types of pies. Simply in 1938, for example, the Beaton women of Wellington County made at least eight different kinds of pies, including cherry, pumpkin, and butterscotch pies.¹⁷ Indeed, pies were a very versatile type of dessert, due to the range of fillings that could be used. Given the prevalence of fresh fruit on Ontario farms, women used locally-grown fruit in their pies during harvest season; Bella Green, for example, periodically specified picking fruit for pies in the late 1910s.¹⁸ Women also incorporated preserved fruits into pies, such as the elderberry pies made by the Pearce household of Elgin County in the winter of 1905-1906, and the preserved plum, preserved raspberry, and even jam pies made by the Hill household of Wellington County between the mid-1910s and mid-1920s.¹⁹ Beyond this fresh and preserved fruit, some women used dried fruit in pies. Mince meat pies were particularly common, and women

typically baked them between late fall and early spring.²⁰ They also baked other dried fruit pies, such as raisin pies and fig pies, and, less frequently, made pies with tropical fruit, such as bananas and lemons.²¹

Figure 11: Photograph of Velma Beaton.

Source: "Presidents and Secretary-Treasurers," Badenoch WI Tweedsmuir History, <http://web2.wellington.ca/tweedsmuir/pdf/PuslinchTownship/BadenochWI/1/030.pdf>.



The myriad of different types of pies, as well as the relative ease with which they could be made, might help to account for the frequency with which farm women baked this dessert. Pies were the top specified type of baked good in the King diaries in the first decade of the twentieth century, and in half of the years covered by the Beaton diaries in the 1930s and 1940s.²² (Velma Beaton is depicted in Figure 11.) Indeed, simply in 1901, Mary A. King specified baking pies thirty-eight times over the course of the year.²³ On average, such production amounted to baking pie once every ten days, although the frequency of this task varied notably throughout the year. The baking of fresh pies might even have been a supplemental source of income for the Hill family, as Annie often baked five or more pies at a time.²⁴ Homemade pies were a central component of families' diets; women made these pies from fresh, preserved, dried, and even tropical fruits.

Beyond the staples of bread and pie, farm women also baked a range of other goods. Between the mid-1930s and early 1940s, for example, Elma Perkins of Oxford County periodically made cookies, tarts, cakes, a few other desserts, and even candy.²⁵ Evidence in the farm press, including recipes and advertisements, supports this image of women as skilled bakers.²⁶ For some of these women, imported dried fruit was a

component of a wide array of desserts; not only did Annie Hill bake five different types of pies with dried fruit in the 1910s and early 1920s, she also made three kinds of cakes, two kinds of “pasties,” and one kind of cookies.²⁷ Farm women incorporated some of this dried fruit into holiday baking, such as the Christmas cakes, fruit cakes, or Christmas puddings made by the Pearce household of Elgin County, the Potts household of Norfolk County, and the Simmons household of Lennox and Addington County.²⁸ Harry J. Boyle even reminisced about the Christmas cake his mother made in the 1920s and 1930s, explaining how she carefully prepared a shopping list for her husband to acquire all of the necessary ingredients.²⁹ Less frequently, some women used tropical fruits in their baking, preparing such desserts as banana cake, orange pudding, and coconut cookies.³⁰ The inclusion of such fruits in household baking demonstrates the involvement of farm families in the broader consumer culture, and their ties to international markets.

Typically, baking was completed by women within the household. When there were multiple women within the home, they could share this workload, as they did with other types of food preparation. In the case of the Duckwith family of Peel County, for example, the female household head, Alice, along with unmarried daughters Emily, Ruth, and Alva, baked many different items.³¹ Oftentimes, women would “specialize” in baking certain goods for their households. Alice Treffry (depicted in Figure 12), for example, baked bread and pies in 1900,



Figure 12: Photograph of Alice Treffry.
Source: Norwich & District Historical Society.

while her adult daughters, Emma and Marianna, periodically baked cakes and other desserts.³² Similarly, in the Green family, Janet, the female household head, typically baked bread, but she shared much of the rest of the baking workload with Bella, her adult daughter, in the mid- to late 1910s.³³

Women devoted a significant amount of time to baking throughout the period. In 1902 and 1903, for example, someone in the King household baked, on average, once every three days.³⁴ A few decades later, baking remained central. In the case of Elma Perkins, for example, her average peaked at once every five days in 1937, and dropped to once every eleven days in 1938 and 1939.³⁵ These records suggest that baking was often a weekly chore.

While farm women generally knew how to bake a range of goods, levels of skill, other demands for labour, and simply personal preference impacted the division of labour with regard to this chore. Indeed, there was a definite “knack” to ensure baked goods turned out properly, especially for items requiring yeast or another leavening agent.³⁶ Mary A. King, for example, detailed a number of challenges in baking bread.³⁷ The task was time consuming, as Mary A. or her sister, Marjorie, first made a sponge, which had to ferment before the final dough could be made.³⁸ This dough again had to be left to rise before the bread could be baked.³⁹ Sometimes, presumably because of cold temperatures, it was necessary to allow extra time for the dough to rise.⁴⁰ In the warmer months of the year, in contrast, baking could make the whole house “like an oven.”⁴¹ Ensuring a suitable fire could also be a challenge, as has been heretofore discussed.⁴² Interestingly, companies advertising stoves and ranges in the farm press recognized this issue, highlighting how their models were easy to use, and provided good and even results.⁴³

Even if women could manage to ensure proper oven conditions, the final product could still simply not turn out as desired. Loretta (Talcott) White of Prince Edward County, for example, periodically noted cakes that turned out “no good” and having to bake another.⁴⁴ Presumably, some women had the experience and the desire to undertake certain types of baking, which produced tangible and tasty results, if everything came together correctly. Personal preference is also suggested by what women chose not to make; Velma Beaton, for example, baked an array of bread and desserts, but left the making of puddings to other members of her family between the 1930s and early 1940s.⁴⁵ Women thus divided up the workload to ensure that their households had the homemade baked goods that they needed and desired.

The division of labour within the household is also suggestive of how, exactly, women learned to bake. Presumably, in the case of “standard” goods, such as bread, cakes, and many types of pies, girls and young women developed their skills through observing and assisting their mothers in the kitchen. Emma P., Alice Treffry’s granddaughter, for example, baked her first cake when she was about nine. Alice approved of the final result, recording that the cake “was all right.”⁴⁶ Women learned their basic baking skills in their family home.

As highlighted by folklorist Diane Tye, however, women’s baking repertoire was not static; rather, it developed, and was reflective of their connections and roles in the community and developments in the larger society.⁴⁷ Recipes were frequently published and exchanged in the women’s section of the farm press, indicating that women were interested in incorporating new foods into their families’ meals.⁴⁸ Periodically, women transcribed recipes or included recipes clipped from newspapers in their diaries,

suggesting that these recipes were new to their households. Annie Hill, for example, included recipes for “eggless fruit cake,” “cocoa loaf,” and “date cake” in her diary, while Velma Beaton included recipes for “angel cake,” “spring beauty cake,” and “strawberry fluff” in her diary.⁴⁹ The increasing availability of ingredients, such as tropical fruit in the early twentieth century, also affected the type of foods women made. Such a range of desserts reveals farm women’s interests in providing more varied and perhaps novel treats for their families and visitors. These findings help to complicate Veronica Strong-Boag’s argument that women in the interwar period typically relied “on tried and true recipes,” rather than experimenting with new ones.⁵⁰ While women passed baking skills and knowledge down from mother to daughter, the types of goods they made also changed and developed through the acquisition of new recipes, whether through the farm press or from others in the community.

Periodically, extended kin, friends, and neighbours assisted in household baking. In the 1920s and early 1930s, a few different women helped Jean McQueen of Huron County with baking, while, in the mid- to late 1930s, a “Mrs. F.” baked bread twice for Jean Ferrier of Wellington County.⁵¹ The case of the White family suggests that at least some of this assistance can be attributed to increased demands on the household, such as preparing food for additional farm labourers, or preparing desserts for community events; Mrs. Jackson and Annie gave Loretta such assistance in the mid-1910s and early 1930s.⁵² Less frequently, women may also have worked together to complete seasonal baking. Jean McQueen and a woman named “Barbel,” for example, baked Christmas cake together in 1922, 1923, and 1925.⁵³ This outside assistance, however, was clearly supplemental to that completed within the household; at most, McQueen specified only

three instances per year of other women helping her with baking between 1929 and 1931.⁵⁴

While household baking has traditionally been seen as a feminine activity, there were a few cases of male involvement with this chore. Thomas Albert Hill, for example, periodically baked bread and buns in the late 1910s and early 1920s.⁵⁵ Thomas's involvement in this task could perhaps be associated with the unique living arrangements of his family; while the rest of the Hill family resided in the village of Fergus year-round, Thomas farmed in Saskatchewan, and returned to Ontario in the winter months.⁵⁶ Perhaps Thomas wanted to provide Annie with additional assistance when he actually resided with his family. Indeed, Annie largely recorded baking bread and buns between December and March, suggesting she did not complete this task when running the household alone.⁵⁷

Similarly, Homer White periodically assisted his wife, Loretta, in making desserts. In some cases, Homer's involvement was tied to the use of new technology. He turned the bread mixer for Loretta in March of 1918, shortly after the family purchased this equipment.⁵⁸ Homer sometimes helped to make maple bisque and maple mousse, freezing these desserts after Loretta prepared them.⁵⁹ Homer and Loretta typically also worked together to make doughnuts, with Homer frying the treat.⁶⁰ Finally, Homer made taffy, conceivably as a result of his desire for sweets, and the physical nature of the task.⁶¹ Perhaps the couple's desire for more elaborate, and presumably more labour-intensive, desserts contributed to Homer's participation in this generally female chore. The incorporation of new technologies into this production may also have played a role,

as Homer's contribution to bread mixing and dessert freezing attests. Male involvement in baking more generally was typically rare, negotiated within individual households.

Generally, of course, women made baked goods simply for consumption by their families. Frequently, however, women also detailed baking in preparation for special events. Most commonly, they baked desserts in anticipation of company coming to visit, or of additional men completing seasonal work on the farm, such as threshing and silo filling. The King, Perkins, and Treffry households, for example, all baked in preparation for extra farm labourers, while the White household baked in preparation for company.⁶² Women also sometimes baked for more community-oriented purposes. They prepared desserts for social events, such as picnics, church meals, and gatherings of organizations to which they belonged.⁶³ Annie Hill, for example, made pies for church events in the late 1910s and early 1920s, and "baked Oatmeal Macaroons for Eva [her daughter] to take to a Hallowe'en [sic] party" in 1922.⁶⁴ Similarly, Jean McQueen baked cakes, pies, and even doughnuts for church events, and for organizations in which she or her husband, Arthur, were active in the 1920s and early 1930s.⁶⁵ Women also baked to assist neighbours and friends facing difficult situations, such as illnesses or deaths in their families, as demonstrated by the King family of Welland County, the Pearce family of Elgin County, and the Jemina Hannah Leeder family of Bruce County.⁶⁶ Baking was not for simple household provisioning; it also provided women with a tangible way to welcome visitors, to demonstrate their community involvement, and to support friends and neighbours in difficult times.

Farm families were not, however, dependent on homemade baked goods. Rather, they also consumed goods purchased readymade, which were available by the late

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁶⁷ Most families made at least some purchases of bread, as demonstrated by the W.H. Cowans of Oxford County, the Shields of Peel County, and the Robinsons of Middlesex County.⁶⁸ The records of some families suggest that they purchased bread on at least a semi-regular basis.⁶⁹ The Brown household of Carleton County, the Glen, Sr., household of Middlesex County, the Hawley household of Lennox and Addington County, and the Weir household of Peterborough County all purchased bread tickets, which were subsequently used as payment for loaves of bread.⁷⁰ Presumably, these tickets were more convenient than the use of cash to pay for regular (often weekly) deliveries from a “bread man”; both the Beaton and Potts families referenced such suppliers.⁷¹ (Such “bread men” were, of course were part of the broader network of salespeople travelling to rural homes, such as the “fish men” and peddlers discussed in Chapter 2.) Other families purchased bread in local towns.⁷² Presumably, given the aforementioned associations of white flour with progress and digestibility, this bread was white bread, as opposed to brown or rye bread. Clearly, for many families, store-bought white bread was a common feature at meals.

Beyond the purchase of bread, a number of families bought other readymade baked goods. Many families, including the Joneses of Elgin County, the Nathaniel Edward Leeders of Bruce County, and the William Casimer Tophams of Oxford County purchased biscuits and cakes.⁷³ Other families periodically bought a broader range of goods, including buns, cookies, and even soda biscuits.⁷⁴ Taken together, the purchases of these other types of baked goods were only a small component of readymade purchases. James Glen, Sr., for example, made seven or fewer annual purchases of cakes, biscuits, crackers, and soda crackers in the first two decades of the twentieth century; this

can be contrasted to the 86 purchases of bread he made simply in 1901.⁷⁵ Families bought these other types of baked goods infrequently, perhaps to add a bit of variety to their diets, as was the case with readymade preserves.

These store-bought baked goods demonstrate farm families' market connections. In keeping with the household production of food for local markets, evident with meats and produce, some rural women might also have baked bread and desserts for sale to their neighbours; D.H. Kelly of Oxford County made a few purchases of bread from a Mrs. George and a Mrs. Woodrow in the first decade of the 1900s.⁷⁶ Neither of these names has been found in local business directories from the period, but a Woodrow family lived near the Kellys at the time of the 1901 Census.⁷⁷ More frequently, Kelly purchased baked goods in Burgessville, Norwich, and Woodstock.⁷⁸ Some of these purchases were made at bakeries, including those of W.E. Madel and H.G. Roddy.⁷⁹ Other purchases were made at general stores and grocery stores, including those of J.C. Henderson, William Kirkpatrick, and Fred Walker.⁸⁰ This bread was presumably baked relatively locally, as no advertisements were printed for national brand-name bread in the farm press in the early twentieth century. There were, however, national markets for branded and packaged baked goods which had a longer shelf life; McCormick's Jersey Cream Sodas, for example, were periodically advertised in the agricultural press.⁸¹ While these soda biscuits were manufactured in London, Ontario, they reached national markets by the early twentieth century.⁸² Connections further abroad are also evident; the Hawleys of Lennox and Addington County, the Joneses of Elgin County, and the McGowans of Huron County all purchased arrowroot biscuits, which were made with ingredients imported from the West Indies.⁸³ Interestingly, these purchases hint at the association,

still evident in present-day society, of arrowroot biscuits and children, as all three of these families had young children when they purchased these biscuits.⁸⁴ Families purchased baked goods with local, national, and even international origins.

Importantly, household production and purchasing of baked goods were not mutually exclusive. This blending of sources was evidenced in the case of both bread and other baked goods. Indeed, the Atkins family of Brant County, the Duckwith family of Peel County, and the King family of Welland County all baked and purchased bread within a single year of their respective diaries.⁸⁵ The balance between store-bought and homemade bread varied by family and by circumstances, as will be discussed subsequently. In the case of other baked goods, however, purchasing was supplemental to household production. Women in the Beaton household, for example, typically baked cakes themselves, but they also placed a single order for a cake in 1943.⁸⁶ Perhaps the women simply did not have the opportunity to bake prior to feeding supper to the men working on the farm that day.

Scholars of consumption, in both the urban and rural contexts, have not explored bread and other baked goods in much detail. Rather, the topic is typically addressed only briefly. The historiography suggests that urban working-class families relied on readymade bread by the late nineteenth century, often because they lacked the resources, such as a reliable range and a stocked pantry, to bake bread at home.⁸⁷ Interestingly, Denyse Baillargeon suggests that it was cheaper for Montreal women to purchase leftover bread “at the end of the day” than to make it themselves.⁸⁸ While some sources suggest that urban middle-class families may have preferred to rely on homemade bread in the nineteenth century, they, too, seem to have transitioned to store-bought bread by the early

twentieth century.⁸⁹ Ontario farm families' consumption of homemade and store-bought bread can be contrasted with this urban reliance simply on readymade. Less is known about the urban household production of "everyday" desserts and other baked goods.⁹⁰

Throughout the twentieth century, farm families consumed a broad array of homemade baked goods, as well as store-bought bread, and, more sporadically, other readymade goods. As we have seen in our discussion of other foodstuffs, rural production and consumption practices were often shaped by the seasons. Farm women, for example, generally preserved fresh fruits and vegetables in the summer and the fall, and families typically purchased dried fruits between the late fall and early to mid-spring. With the exception of special baking in preparation for the Christmas holidays, the consumption of baked goods did not follow such seasonal rhythms. Baking inputs, such as white flour, had a relatively long shelf-life, and were easily accessible in local stores. Even fruit, whether fresh, preserved, dried, or tropical, could be accessed throughout the year. Once the ingredients were compiled, however, the product became perishable, and became stale or moldy within a short time frame. Typically, families had to consume baked goods shortly after they were made.⁹¹

On initial examination, the frequency of baking or purchasing, particularly of bread, might appear to have been sporadic. James Glen, Sr., for example, made a total of 91 purchases of bread in 1900, but the frequency of purchase could vary notably by month; in March, he made only three purchases, while in November he made fourteen purchases.⁹² Similarly, Mary A. King had a total of 47 entries for baking bread in 1902, with a single entry in the month of August, and a peak at seven entries in the months of

June, September, and October.⁹³ Clearly, the frequency with which families purchased or baked bread could vary markedly over the course of the year.

A close reading of familial records provides insights into this initial puzzle. Increases or decreases in the baking or purchasing of bread often accompanied significant life course transitions. The McIntosh household of Bruce County provides a prime example. Ira McIntosh made 83 purchases of bread in 1923, when he began keeping accounts; by 1925, he made only 20 purchases of bread.⁹⁴ Significantly, Ira married Meata Widmeyer in September of 1924; after their marriage, their purchase of bread declined, and their purchase of flour increased, suggesting that Meata baked bread, and periodically supplemented it with store-bought bread.⁹⁵ A similarly notable shift is found in the White household. In the 1910s, Loretta recorded anywhere from fourteen to 58 annual instances of the household baking of bread. When her diaries resume in the early 1930s, there is not a single instance of making bread.⁹⁶ Typically, Sarah White, Loretta's mother-in-law, who resided with Loretta and Homer, baked the bread in the 1910s.⁹⁷ Sarah died in April of 1931, at the age of 90; presumably, due to the physical nature of the work, and perhaps her deteriorating health, Sarah was unwilling or unable to continue this work by 1930.⁹⁸ Once Loretta became the only woman in the household, she chose to rely on readymade bread.⁹⁹ As the examples of the McIntosh and White families demonstrate, changing family compositions could fundamentally shift whether the household relied on homemade or store-bought bread.

Other sources, however, suggest more short-term shifts in the consumption of homemade and readymade baked goods, dependent on smaller-scale pressures within the home. Jemina Hannah Leeder, for example, noted relatively few purchases of baked

goods. At least some of these purchases were made to feed additional men working on the farm, such as at threshing time in 1918 and 1924.¹⁰⁰ And, as previously discussed, women's own baking might have declined when they were ill or when kin died, as friends and neighbours provided baked goods for the family. Stage in the life cycle may also have been a factor; according to Hal Barron, rural American women under forty, and older women without children, often relied on readymade bread in the 1920s.¹⁰¹ Families' shifts in the making and purchasing of baked goods were shaped by the concerns and demands within the household, whether major life-course events, such as marriage or death, or more "mundane" aspects of life, such as additional men to feed, or illness.

While familial and personal factors were central to shaping decisions regarding homemade and readymade baked goods, larger structural forces also played a role. A few families, including the Hills, Whites, and the Jemina Hannah Leeders, hinted at the impact of the First World War with the specific mention of brown bread or brown loaf.¹⁰² Women faced challenges and limitations with their baking, as a result of having to bake with "government standard flour" and of having to conserve it.¹⁰³ (The milling of white flour "wasted" parts of the wheat kernel, as the bran and husks were removed; whole wheat flour, in contrast, utilized the whole grain.¹⁰⁴) Indeed, Sister Ettie of Shanty Bay, Ontario, even published a poem in 1918 on the impacts of the food controller on farm women's kitchens, highlighting, "Who was it said that we must bake / Brown war bread and little cake, / And pie we must not dare to make? / Why Hanna!"¹⁰⁵ (William John Hanna was the Food Controller from June 1917 to January 1918.¹⁰⁶) Despite the seemingly harsh tones of the poem, however, farm women continued to bake. While the

type of flour they used may have changed, the Hill and White women, for example, made an array of items for their families, including bread, cakes, and pies.¹⁰⁷

Some families may also have used whole wheat flour during the Great Depression, as suggested by the D.H. Kelly and Nathaniel Edward Leeder households.¹⁰⁸ Particularly during the Depression, the quality of the baked goods farm families purchased may have been shaped by economic considerations; the Bogue family of Middlesex County, for example, purchased “soda crackers...from the reject bins...and...second-day buns” as a way to help cut costs.¹⁰⁹ Limited availability and the need to conserve baking inputs resurfaced with the Second World War. Ruby Simmons and her husband, for example, made two trips “to Kingston...for flour and sugar” on September 2, 1939, in anticipation of wartime shortages.¹¹⁰ The tangible impacts of rationing during the Second World War were soon evidenced in Woodhouse Township, Norfolk County; while extra ration tickets were distributed in anticipation of harvest work, Helen Nixon remembered they simply were not sufficient to continue the typical harvest meals.¹¹¹ Consequently, the “wives of the local farmers decided to just give the men one meal and send them home for their evening meal.”¹¹² According to historian Ian Mosby, the bread sold readymade during the Second World War was called “Canada Approved Bread,” and processors “used an alternative milling technique to boost its vitamin content.”¹¹³

Notably, families’ experiences with regard to homemade baked goods during the war appear to have differed from their experiences with household-processed meats in the same period. Families depended on store-bought flour and sugar for their baking, while household-processed meats were typically derived from animals raised on-farm; the

availability of the former inputs were limited by market factors and government regulation, while the government simply encouraged farm families to be self-regulating with regard to the latter. Certainly, such self-regulation of meat consumption was not as constraining as the regulations and limited availability surrounding baking inputs. Overall, however, women worked within economic and supply constraints to try to best provision their households with baked goods during the war and Depression years.

In the first half of the twentieth century, Ontario farm families consumed a broad range of baked goods. Many of these goods were homemade, and women incorporated fresh, preserved, dried, and, sometimes even tropical fruits into their desserts. In households with multiple women, they shared the workload, sometimes specializing in the preparation of certain baked goods. The homemade breads and desserts were generally consumed directly by the family, but were sometimes made especially for company, community events, and even to assist friends and neighbours dealing with illness or death. Families combined this household production with the purchase of readymade baked goods. Most commonly, they bought bread, but they also purchased other goods, such as cakes, cookies, and even arrowroot biscuits.

In contrast to the other “staple” foodstuffs consumed by farm families, the consumption of baked goods was not directly impacted by seasonal shifts. Rather, decisions in household production and formal purchasing were influenced by familial-level developments, such as marriages, deaths, and illnesses. Larger structural developments, such as the world wars and the Great Depression, also influenced the type of baked goods consumed. Ontario farm families thus incorporated both readymade and

homemade baked goods into their diets, shaping their decisions based on family circumstances, taste, and a desire for variety.

¹ February 18, 1903, Mary A. King Diaries.

² See *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. “johnny-cake;” and Visser, 39.

³ Levenstein, 180; and Barron, 237-38.

⁴ See also Roelens-Grant, ed., 28, 85, and 142; and Ethel M. Chapman, “The Farm Mother’s Working Programme,” *Report of the Women’s Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1920 and 1921*, 60. For information on the per capita disappearance of wheat flour in Canada, see Trant, M428-445.

⁵ See, for example, August 19, 1904, August 24, 1904, April 22, 1905, September 14, 1905, February 17, 1906, April 12, 1906, August 6, 1906, September 29, 1906, October 29, 1906, December 22, 1906, June 11, 1907, August 5, 1907, October 4, 1907, January 8, 1908, May 19, 1908, July 23, 1908, August 17, 1908, December 1, 1908, January 26, 1909, April 1, 1909, May 22, 1909, July 10, 1909, September 8, 1909, November 12, 1909, January 29, 1910, February 21, 1910, March 24, 1910, June 23, 1910, August 5, 1910, September 14, 1910, October 21, 1910, December 10, 1910, February 24, 1911, May 27, 1911, July 27, 1911, September 20, 1911, December 4, 1911, January 29, 1912, April 3, 1912, May 3, 1912, June 21, 1912, July 10, 1912, September 5, 1912, September 24, 1912, November 9, 1912, and December 28, 1912, J.D. Cowan Accounts; and November [no date], 1943, and April 13, 1944, Gordon F. Robertson Farm Accounts. See also Cummings, 170.

⁶ Lisa Mullikin Parcell and Margot Opdycke Lamme provide a good overview of marketing campaigns for American brand name flour companies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; comparable themes were evident in Canadian advertisements. See Lisa Mullikin Parcell and Margot Opdycke Lamme, “Not ‘Merely an Advertisement’: Purity, Trust, and Flour, 1880-1930,” *American Journalism* 29, no. 4 (Fall 2012), 94-127. See also Deutsch, 19; November 18, 1935, and February 27, 1942, Hawley Farm Accounts; May 9, 1923, June 18, 1923, January 27, 1926, and August 18, 1926, D.H. Kelly Accounts; December [no date], 1932, and September [no date], 1935, Nathaniel “Ed” Leeder Accounts; and March 9, 1907, February 8, 1909, March 25, 1909, June 9, 1909, May 3, 1911, June 26, 1911, December 8, 1911, February 8, 1912, February 26, 1913, April 26, 1913, June 19, 1913, September 15, 1913, January 26, 1914, March 20, 1914, May 18, 1914, July 10, 1914, August 21, 1914, October 21, 1914, January 24, 1915, November 30, 1916, March 12, 1917, February 22, 1919, April 7, 1919, May 17, 1919, July 20, 1919, October 5, 1931, and December 19, 1931, Robert C. McGowan Accounts.

⁷ See John F. Varty, “On Protein, Prairie Wheat, and Good Bread: Rationalizing Technologies and the Canadian State, 1912-1935,” *The Canadian Historical Review* 85, no. 4 (December 2004), 725, 732, and 737-747; “What is Gluten,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, October 19, 1905, 1480; “More Bread and Better Bread,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, April 14, 1910, 642; “One Barrel of Flour Instead of Two,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, August 4, 1910, 1264; “Eat More Bread,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, April 1, 1915, 521; “Add Water to Milk – You Weaken the Milk,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, April 8, 1915, 593; “Why Don’t Some Flours Behave?,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, April 22, 1915, 686; “Five Roses Flour,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, April 8, 1920, 673; “Ye Finest of Fare,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, April 30, 1925, 693; and “Light as Thistle Down,” *Farmers’ Sun*, October 16, 1920, 6. For more information on the Prairie flour milling industry in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see John Everitt, “The Early Development of the Flour Milling Industry on the Prairies,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 19, no. 3 (1993), 278-98; and John Everitt and Roberta Kempthorne, “The Flour Milling Industry in Manitoba Since 1870,” *Manitoba History* (September 1993), 2-14.

⁸ See March 16, 1912, and “Messlanious,” 1912, Elsie Innes Accounts; and September 25, 1921, February 15, 1922, October 16, 1922, January 3, 1923, March 15, 1923, January 2, 1924, February 6, 1924, April 7, 1924, May 14, 1924, and May 19, 1925, James Glen, Jr., Diaries.

⁹ See, for example, “Royal Yeast,” *The Weekly Sun*, April 10, 1918, 6; “Royal Yeast,” *The Weekly Sun*, August 28, 1918, 6; “Royal Yeast,” *Farmers’ Sun*, August 20, 1919, 6; “Royal Yeast,” *Farmers’ Sun*, October 22, 1919, 6; “Royal Yeast,” *Farmers’ Sun*, January 1, 1921, 6; “Home Made Bread is Good for the Kiddies,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, April 2, 1925, 517; “Bake Your Own Bread,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, April 23, 1925, 647; “Make Better Bread,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, August 13, 1925, 1151; and “Bake Your Own Bread,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, October 15, 1925, 1436.

¹⁰ According to Julia G. Costello, rural Italian-Americans in the California Mother Lode gold fields also baked bread. Interestingly, this task was typically completed in outdoor ovens, and was said to decline in the 1930s, as readymade bread was increasingly available. See Julia G. Costello, "Bread Fresh from the Oven: Memories of Italian Breadbaking in the California Mother Lode," *Historical Archaeology* 31, no. 1 (1998), 66-73. See also Yerge, 16; Gebby, 87; Roelens-Grant, ed., 26, 36, 39, 55, 95, 119, 127, 131, 139, 147, and 155; Zembrzycki, 133; Miss Blanche Maddock, "Bread Making," *Report of the Farmers' Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1901, Part II: Women's Institutes*, 74-5; Miss Laura Linton, "Our Daily Bread," *Report of the Farmer's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1901, Part II: Women's Institutes*, 77-78; Mrs. Wm. McMaster, "Bread Making," *Report of the Farmer's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1901, Part II: Women's Institutes*, 82; Farley, 41; "Mother's Meeting," 49; "Rations for War Time," 119; January 7, 1904, January 14, 1904, January 30, 1904, February 4, 1904, February 19, 1904, February 26, 1904, April 12, 1904, and April 26, 1904, Frances Poole Diary; and March 16, 1938, April 28, 1938, February 22, 1939, February 13, 1941B, February 18, 1941B, February 25, 1941B, March 4, 1941B, March 12, 1941B, March 20, 1941B, March 27, 1941B, April 7, 1941B, November 20, 1941B, November 26, 1941B, December 10, 1941B, December 17, 1941B, December 26, 1941B, January 17, 1942B, January 24, 1942B, February 4, 1942B, February 14, 1942B, February 21, 1942B, February 28, 1942B, March 7, 1942B, March 24, 1942B, March 31, 1942B, December 17, 1942B, December 24, 1942B, January 2, 1943, January 14, 1943, January 21, 1943, February 4, 1943, February 11, 1943, February 17, 1943, February 25, 1943, March 8, 1943, March 19, 1943, March 27, 1943, April 8, 1943, April 17, 1943, April 24, 1943, May 1, 1943, May 22, 1943, June 11, 1943, December 23, 1943, January 10, 1944, January 18, 1944, January 28, 1944, February 4, 1944, February 15, 1944, February 18, 1944, March 1, 1944, March 14, 1944, January 11, 1945, January 17, 1945, January 23, 1945, February 2, 1945, February 7, 1945, February 15, 1945, and March 5, 1945, Velma Beaton Diaries. See also Helena (McCaugherty) Diary, 3; and Disbrowe, 31, and 62.

¹¹ Boyle, 8, 15, 29, 115, 144, and 217.

¹² January 1, 1900, January 9, 1900, January 17, 1900, January 19, 1900, February 13, 1900, February 16-17, 1900, February 19, 1900, February 28, 1900, March 1-2, 1900, March 6, 1900, April 4, 1900, April 7, 1900, April 14, 1900, April 26, 1900, May 24, 1900, June 2, 1900, August 21, 1900, September 15, 1900, October 5, 1900, October 8, 1900, November 13-14, 1900, November 16, 1900, November 20-21, 1900, November 24, 1900, November 27, 1900, December 1, 1900, December 3-4, 1900, December 7-8, 1900, December 13-15, 1900, and December 25, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diaries; and December 5, 1914, January 9, 1915, February 26, 1915, April 30, 1915, May 4, 1915, May 22, 1915, July 17, 1915, July 22, 1915, July 29, 1915, August 21, 1915, September 21, 1915, October 30, 1915, November 6, 1915, December 11, 1915, December 18, 1915, December 22-23, 1915, January 29, 1916, March 3, 1916, March 24, 1916, April 22, 1916, May 20, 1916, June 3, 1916, July 1, 1916, July 4, 1916, July 8, 1916, August 17, 1916, September 9, 1916, September [no date], 1916, October 8, 1916, November 25, 1916, December 22-23, 1916, January 26, 1917, February 2, 1917, February 7, 1917, February 15, 1917, March 6, 1917, March 10, 1917, March 22, 1917, April 20, 1917, April 28, 1917, May 12, 1917, June 23, 1917, July 14, 1917, July 21, 1917, August 18, 1917, August 21, 1917, September 8, 1917, September 15, 1917, September 28, 1917, October 8, 1917, October 13, 1917, October 20, 1917, November 8, 1917, November 17, 1917, December 21, 1917, December 28, 1917, January 12, 1918, January 23, 1918, February 16, 1918, March 1, 1918, March 16, 1918, May 11, 1918, May 25, 1918, June 15, 1918, June 29, 1918, February 1, 1919, February 8, 1919, February 15, 1919, February 25, 1919, March 21-22, 1919, April 4-5, 1919, and May 17, 1919, B.A. Green Diary.

¹³ Interestingly, Sister Diana of the *Farmers' Sun* challenged this prevailing ideology in the early 1920s, advocating for a return to whole-wheat flour, ground in local grist mills. See Varty, 740; Diana, "Keeping Our Dollars in Our Own Pockets," *Farmers' Sun*, April 23, 1921, 6; Diana, "Whole Wheat Flour," *Farmers' Sun*, April 30, 1921, 6; and Diana, "A Good Recipe," *Farmers' Sun*, April 30, 1921, 6. See also Aaron Bobrow-Strain, *White Bread: A Social History of the Store-Bought Loaf* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2012), 7, 64, 85, and 96-97; Visser, 184; Levenstein, 22, and 28; Linton, 77-78; and Steven C. Topik and Allen Wells, "Commodity Chains in a Global Economy," in *A World Connecting, 1870-1945*, ed. Emily S. Rosenberg (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2012), 726-27.

¹⁴ See also Gebby, 76, and 87-88; Disbrowe, 31; and Roelens-Grant, ed., 6, 14, 17, 26, 36, 41, 69, 72, 80, 127, and 131.

¹⁵ April 6, 1900, November 16, 1900, November 28, 1900, March 25, 1902, June 2, 1902, March 6, 1903, November 26, 1903, February 8, 1904, February 13, 1904, June 23, 1904, July 6, 1904, September 30, 1904, May 22, 1905, July 5, 1905, August 8, 1905, October 25, 1905, November 6, 1905, November 25, 1905, December 1, 1905, and December 4, 1905, Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce; and November 1, 1929, November 8, 1929, February 15, 1930, February 27, 1930, and November 7, 1930, Florence (Allen) Tompkins Diaries. See also Yerge, 17.

¹⁶ Smith, *Childhood Memories*, 110. See also Duncan, *Canadians at Table*, 170.

¹⁷ February 4, 1938, February 19, 1938, March 4, 1938, March 19, 1938, April 9, 1938, April 16, 1938, April 30, 1938, May 28, 1938, July 16, 1938, August 2, 1938, August 12, 1938, September 17, 1938, September 24, 1938, October 7, 1938, October 29, 1938, October 31, 1938, November 5, 1938, November 25, 1938, December 2, 1938, and December 30, 1938, Velma Beaton Diaries.

¹⁸ July 1, 1916, July 8, 1916, July 14, 1917, and August 21, 1917, B.A. Green Diary. See also Boyle, 119; and Gebby, 76.

¹⁹ August 26, 1905, Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce; and May 21, 1915, June 1, 1915, September 16, 1915, May 15, 1917, and August 16, 1924, Diary of Annie Hill.

²⁰ See, for example, January 1, 1901, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries; January 30, 1931, December 24, 1937, January 6, 1939, December 27, 1941A, January 24, 1942A, February 6, 1942A, and February 28, 1942A, Velma Beaton Diaries; December 30, 1913, December 30, 1914, May 5, 1917, November 23, 1918, December 5, 1918, February 4, 1919, October 8, 1919, September 17, 1921, September 22, 1921, November 26, 1921, December 10, 1921, December 31, 1921, January 14, 1922, and February 8, 1922, Diary of Annie Hill; December 22, 1900, December 24, 1900, January 1, 1901, January 5, 1901, January 11, 1901, February 11, 1901, February 16, 1901, March 2, 1901, May 4, 1901, September 21, 1901, February 27, 1903, June 13, 1903, December 26, 1908, January 14, 1909, and January 23, 1909, Mary A. King Diaries; March 24, 1937, Fred Perkins Diary; October 28, 1911, December 19, 1915, December 25, 1916, December 24, 1917, January 9, 1918, January 19, 1918, January 26, 1918, December 24, 1918, December 24, 1919, January 22, 1930, February 15, 1930, April 29, 1930, December 23, 1930, December 25, 1930, December 31, 1930, January 2, 1931, January 17, 1931, January 31, 1931, December 31, 1931, January 13, 1932, January 16, 1932, February 24, 1932, February 27, 1932, March 8, 1932, April 16, 1932, April 30, 1932, December 10, 1932, December 17, 1932, December 21-22, 1932, December 26, 1932, December 28, 1932, March 12, 1933, March 16, 1933, December 11, 1933, December 16, 1933, January 13, 1934, February 10, 1934, February 23, 1934, April 7, 1934, April 28, 1934, December 19, 1934, December 22, 1934, December 24, 1934, December 26, 1934, January 5, 1935, March 9, 1935, March 20, 1935, April 20, 1935, and December 21, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries; and November 25, 1917, Potts Family Farm Diaries.

²¹ January 21, 1913, and April 17, 1913, Diary of Mabel Brown; May 10, 1930, March 28, 1931, April 4, 1931, February 4, 1938, March 4, 1938, March 19, 1938, April 16, 1938, April 30, 1938, August 12, 1938, January 21, 1939, October 31, 1939, January 9, 1942A, January 17, 1942A, March 13, 1942A, and March 21, 1942A, Velma Beaton Diaries; and May 10, 1931, and April 21, 1934, Loretta White Diaries.

²² See, for example, July 7, 1900, July 12, 1900, July 19-21, 1900, July 23-24, 1900, August 4, 1900, August 9, 1900, August 13, 1900, August 17, 1900, September 7, 1900, September 18-20, 1900, September 22, 1900, September 26, 1900, October 2, 1900, October 9-13, 1900, October 15, 1900, October 20, 1900, October 22, 1900, October 25-27, 1900, November 3, 1900, November 10, 1900, November 16, 1900, November 24, 1900, December 1, 1900, December 7-8, 1900, December 12, 1900, December 14, 1900, December 18, 1900, December 22, 1900, December 24, 1900, and December 29, 1900, Mary A. King Diaries; and June 9-10, 1937, June 24, 1937, July 14, 1937, July 16, 1937, July 22, 1937, July 24, 1937, July 30, 1937, August 5, 1937, August 13, 1937, September 24, 1937, September 27, 1937, November 29, 1937, and December 24, 1937, Velma Beaton Diaries.

²³ January 1, 1901, January 5, 1901, January 11-12, 1901, February 2, 1901, February 11, 1901, February 16, 1901, February 22-23, 1901, February 25-26, 1901, February 28, 1901, March 2, 1901, March 10, 1901, March 19, 1901, April 6, 1901, April 10, 1901, April 17, 1901, April 23, 1901, May 4, 1901, May 12, 1901, May 18, 1901, May 28, 1901, June 15, 1901, June 22, 1901, June 29, 1901, July 20, 1901, August 3, 1901, August 10, 1901, August 24, 1901, September 21, 1901, September 28, 1901, October 12, 1901, October 16, 1901, October 25, 1901, October 28, 1901, and November 15, 1901, Mary A. King Diaries.

²⁴ See, for example, January 3, 1913, January 14, 1913, January 25, 1913, February 6, 1913, February 15, 1913, March 1, 1913, March 11, 1913, March 28, 1913, April 9, 1913, April 22, 1913, May 6, 1913, May 28, 1913, June 10, 1913, June 17, 1913, June 27, 1913, July 11, 1913, July 29, 1913, August 14, 1913, August 28, 1913, September 6, 1913, September 12, 1913, September 20, 1913, September 27, 1913, October 15, 1913, October 29, 1913, November 7, 1913, November 18, 1913, November 28, 1913, December 11, 1913, and December 30, 1913, *Diary of Annie Hill*.

²⁵ January 19, 1936, January 25, 1936, March 20, 1936, April 1, 1936, April 4, 1936, July 23, 1936, August 7, 1936, November 9, 1936, December 4, 1936, December 31, 1936, January 11-12, 1937, January 24, 1937, January 29, 1937, February 2, 1937, February 9, 1937, February 12, 1937, February 17, 1937, February 27, 1937, March 12, 1937, March 16, 1937, March 18, 1937, March 20, 1937, March 24, 1937, April 13, 1937, April 20, 1937, May 21, 1937, June 30, 1937, July 23, 1937, December 3, 1937, December 5, 1937, December 7-8, 1937, December 13, 1937, December 15, 1937, January 27, 1938, March 23, 1938, July 29, 1938, September 12, 1938, September 26, 1938, October 28, 1938, November 3, 1938, December 9, 1938, December 20, 1938, December 23, 1938, January 5-6, 1939, January 27, 1939, February 17, 1939, March 14, 1939, August 13, 1939, September 19, 1939, October 31, 1939, December 21, 1939, December 29, 1939, February 20, 1940, March 29, 1940, May 31, 1940, December 13, 1940, December 16, 1940, December 18, 1940, December 24, 1940, and December 27, 1940, *Fred Perkins Diary*. See also Roelens-Grant, ed., 6, 9, 26, 36, 41, 68, 69, 72, 119, and 127; Farley, 40; and Kitchen, 30.

²⁶ See, for example, "The Average Man Doesn't Know a Thing," 515; "Recipes," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 5, 1905, 1410; "Recipes," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 12, 1905, 1444; "From a Scotch Cook," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 19, 1905, 1481; "Recipes," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 26, 1905, 1519; Dawn, "Oatmeal Cookies," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 27, 1910, 139; "The Ingle Nook," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 28, 1910, 729; "Recipes," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 18, 1910, 1330; "Things to Eat," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 1, 1915, 542; "Things to Eat," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 29, 1915, 727; "Things to Eat in August," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 12, 1915, 1284; "Autumn Cookery," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 19, 1915, 1321; "If you have a reputation as a pastry expert," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 7, 1915, 1579; "Granny's Experiences No. 4," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 7, 1915, 1606; "Granny's Experiences No. 5," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 21, 1915, 1676; "Mother Meant What She Said," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 29, 1920, 170; "Five Roses Flour," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 1, 1920, 646; "Spring Cookery," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 8, 1920, 675; "Purity Flour," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 28, 1920, 1853; "The Ingle Nook," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 8, 1925, 39; "Tested Recipes," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 15, 1925, 68; "Ye Home Larder," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 23, 1925, 653; "For Festive Occasions," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 13, 1925, 1147; "Rhubarb is in," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 30, 1925, 688; "Some Cooking Hints," *The Weekly Sun*, January 2, 1918, 6; "Some Cooking Hints," *The Weekly Sun*, January 16, 1918, 6; "Cooking Hints," *The Weekly Sun*, January 30, 1918, 6; "Cooking Hints," *The Weekly Sun*, April 10, 1918, 6; "Cooking Hints," *The Weekly Sun*, April 17, 1918, 6; "Cooking Hints," *The Weekly Sun*, August 7, 1918, 6; "Cooking Hints," *The Weekly Sun*, August 28, 1918, 6; "Cooking Hints," *Farmers' Sun*, January 8, 1919, 6; "For the Cookie Jar," *Farmers' Sun*, April 2, 1919, 6; "Cooking Hints," *Farmers' Sun*, April 2, 1919, 6; "Cooking Hints," *Farmers' Sun*, April 9, 1919, 6; "Cooking Hints," *Farmers' Sun*, April 23, 1919, 6; "Cooking Hints," *Farmers' Sun*, August 6, 1919, 6; "Cook's Corner," *Farmers' Sun*, August 27, 1919, 6; "Cooking Hints," *Farmers' Sun*, October 1, 1919, 6; "Doughnuts," *Farmers' Sun*, January 15, 1921, 3; "That's a real jelly roll!," *Farmers' Sun*, January 29, 1921, 6; "Cream of the West Flour," *Farmers' Sun*, April 30, 1921, 6; and Boyle, 186.

²⁷ Specifically, Hill baked: Christmas cake, fruit cake, date cake, fig "pasties," date "pasties," fig pies, mince pies, raisin pies, prune pies, date pies, and date cookies. See, for example, December 20, 1912, May 16, 1913, April 25, 1914, December 22, 1917, June 7, 1918, February 4, 1919, January 30, 1922, May 5, 1922, November 17, 1922, and June 15, 1923, *Diary of Annie Hill*.

²⁸ December 6, 1900, December 10, 1902, and December 20, 1905, *Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce*; December 4, 1919, and December 11, 1919, *Potts Family Farm Diaries*; December 12-13, 1922, December 4, 1935, November 30, 1937, December 6, 1938, November 29, 1939, December 9, 1942, and December 5, 1945, *Ruby Simmons Diary*; and Duncan, *Canadians at Table*, 136.

²⁹ Boyle, 41-43.

³⁰ See, for example, June 10, 1937, February 16, 1937, May 28, 1938, and October 15, 1938, *Velma Beaton Diaries*; April 17, 1930, *Diary of Mabel Brown*; June 16, 1917, *Diary of Annie Hill*; June 21, 1901, *Mary A. King Diaries*; and January 29, 1937, *Fred Perkins Diary*.

³¹ See, for example, January 16, 1919, January 22, 1919, February 20, 1919, March 15, 1919, March 29, 1919, April 22, 1919, April 25-26, 1919, June 5, 1919, June 10, 1919, June 14, 1919, June 20, 1919, July 2, 1919, July 16, 1919, July 18, 1919, August 9, 1919, August 12, 1919, September 9, 1919, October 11, 1919, November 1, 1919, November 8, 1919, November 21, 1919, December 4, 1919, December 18, 1919, January 8, 1920, January 10, 1920, January 12, 1920, January 17, 1920, January 22, 1920, February 4, 1920, February 6-7, 1920, February 21, 1920, March 5, 1920, March 25-26, 1920, April 3, 1920, April 12, 1920, April 17, 1920, April 21-22, 1920, April 24, 1920, April 27, 1920, May 7, 1920, May 11, 1920, May 14, 1920, May 19, 1920, May 28-29, 1920, June 8, 1920, June 18-19, 1920, June 25, 1920, June 30, 1920, November 17-18, 1920, January 18, 1921, January 25, 1921, February 14, 1921, August 27, 1921, September 17, 1921, September 20, 1921, September 29, 1921, October 16, 1921, October 29, 1921, November 26, 1921, December 10, 1921, and December 14, 1921, *Emily Duckwith Diaries*.

³² January 17, 1900, January 19, 1900, February 13, 1900, February 16-17, 1900, February 19, 1900, February 28, 1900, March 1-2, 1900, April 4, 1900, April 7, 1900, April 14, 1900, April 26, 1900, June 2, 1900, August 21, 1900, September 15, 1900, October 5, 1900, November 13-14, 1900, November 16, 1900, November 20-21, 1900, November 24, 1900, November 27, 1900, December 1, 1900, December 3-4, 1900, December 7-8, 1900, and December 13-15, 1900, *Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diary*.

³³ December 5, 1914, February 26, 1915, May 4, 1915, July 17, 1915, July 22, 1915, July 29, 1915, August 21, 1915, September 21, 1915, October 30, 1915, November 6, 1915, December 11, 1915, December 18, 1915, December 22-23, 1915, January 29, 1916, March 3, 1916, March 24, 1916, April 22, 1916, May 20, 1916, June 3, 1916, July 1, 1916, July 8, 1916, August 17, 1916, September 9, 1916, October 8, 1916, November 25, 1916, December 22-23, 1916, February 2, 1917, February 15, 1917, March 10, 1917, March 22, 1917, April 22, 1917, April 28, 1917, May 12, 1917, June 23, 1917, July 14, 1917, July 21, 1917, August 21, 1917, September 8, 1917, September 15, 1917, October 8, 1917, October 13, 1917, October 20, 1917, November 8, 1917, November 17, 1917, December 28, 1917, January 12, 1918, January 23, 1918, February 16, 1918, March 1, 1918, March 16, 1918, April 6, 1918, May 25, 1918, June 15, 1918, June 29, 1918, February 1, 1919, February 15, 1919, February 25, 1919, March 22, 1919, and April 4, 1919, *B.A. Green Diary*.

³⁴ January 1, 1901, January 4-5, 1901, January 11-12, 1901, January 14-15, 1901, January 22-23, 1901, January 26, 1901, February 2, 1901, February 5, 1901, February 11, 1901, February 16, 1901, February 19, 1901, February 22-23, 1901, February 25-28, 1901, March 1-2, 1901, March 5, 1901, March 9-10, 1901, March 13, 1901, March 15, 1901, March 19, 1901, March 22, 1901, March 28, 1901, March 30, 1901, April 6, 1901, April 10, 1901, April 13, 1901, April 17, 1901, April 19-20, 1901, April 23, 1901, April 27, 1901, May 4, 1901, May 12, 1901, May 16, 1901, May 18, 1901, May 24-25, 1901, May 28, 1901, May 30, 1901, June 8, 1901, June 10-11, 1901, June 15, 1901, June 21-22, 1901, June 27, 1901, June 29, 1901, July 5, 1901, July 8-9, 1901, July 13-14, 1901, July 20, 1901, July 23, 1901, July 26, 1901, July 30, 1901, August 3, 1901, August 5, 1901, August 10, 1901, August 13-14, 1901, August 17, 1901, August 24, 1901, August 31, 1901, September 6, 1901, September 13-14, 1901, September 18, 1901, September 20-21, 1901, September 27-29, 1901, October 10, 1901, October 12, 1901, October 14, 1901, October 16, 1901, October 19, 1901, October 23-25, 1901, October 28, 1901, November 1-2, 1901, November 8-9, 1901, November 15, 1901, November 23, 1901, November 25-26, 1901, November 28, 1901, December 3, 1901, December 6, 1901, December 12, 1901, December 18, 1901, December 20, 1901, January 3, 1902, January 7, 1902, January 14, 1902, January 17, 1902, January 28, 1902, January 30-31, 1902, February 14, 1902, February 16, 1902, February 18, 1902, February 22, 1902, February 25, 1902, March 1, 1902, March 8, 1902, March 10, 1902, March 15-16, 1902, March 21-22, 1902, March 25, 1902, March 27, 1902, April 1, 1902, April 5, 1902, April 7, 1902, April 9-10, 1902, April 17, 1902, April 19, 1902, April 23, 1902, April 29, 1902, May 2-3, 1902, May 22, 1902, May 24, 1902, May 31, 1902, June 7, 1902, June 9-11, 1902, June 13-14, 1902, June 20-21, 1902, June 25-28, 1902, July 4-5, 1902, July 9, 1902, July 11-12, 1902, July 26, 1902, August 4, 1902, August 7, 1902, August 9, 1902, August 14, 1902, August 16, 1902, August 20, 1902, August 23, 1902, August 30, 1902, September 4-5, 1902, September 9, 1902, September 11, 1902, September 13, 1902, September 15, 1902, September 18, 1902, September 20, 1902, September 25-27, 1902, October 3-4, 1902, October 10-11, 1902, October 16, 1902, October 18, 1902, October 20-24, 1902, October 27-31, 1902, November 1, 1902, November 5-6, 1902, November 8, 1902, November 14-15, 1902, November 18-20, 1902, November 22, 1902, November 24, 1902, November 27-28, 1902, December 1, 1902, December 6, 1902, December 15, 1902, December 20, 1902, and December 28, 1902, *Mary A. King Diaries*.

³⁵ January 9, 1937, January 11-12, 1937, January 15-16, 1937, January 20, 1937, January 23-24, 1937, January 26, 1937, January 29, 1937, February 2, 1937, February 8-9, 1937, February 12, 1937, February 16-17, 1937, February 19, 1937, February 26-27, 1937, March 4, 1937, March 6, 1937, March 12, 1937, March 16, 1937, March 18, 1937, March 20, 1937, March 24, 1937, April 2-3, 1937, April 13, 1937, April 17, 1937, April 20, 1937, April 24, 1937, May 1, 1937, May 21, 1937, June 30, 1937, July 9, 1937, July 16, 1937, July 22-23, 1937, August 3, 1937, August 5, 1937, September 12, 1937, September 24, 1937, October 1, 1937, October 8, 1937, October 11, 1937, October 14-15, 1937, October 28, 1937, November 3, 1937, November 12, 1937, November 19, 1937, November 26, 1937, December 3, 1937, December 5, 1937, December 7-8, 1937, December 10, 1937, December 13, 1937, December 15-16, 1937, December 19, 1937, January 8, 1938, January 13-15, 1938, January 22, 1938, January 27, 1938, February 19, 1938, March 23, 1938, June 18, 1938, July 29, 1938, August 2, 1938, September 3, 1938, September 12, 1938, September 17, 1938, September 26, 1938, October 1, 1938, October 14, 1938, October 28, 1938, November 3, 1938, November 6-7, 1938, December 9, 1938, December 20, 1938, December 23, 1938, December 26-27, 1938, December 30, 1938, January 5-6, 1939, January 21, 1939, January 27, 1939, February 17, 1939, March 14, 1939, March 24-25, 1939, April 7, 1939, April 14, 1939, May 20, 1939, June 2, 1939, June 10, 1939, June 16, 1939, June 24, 1939, June 29, 1939, July 29, 1939, August 13, 1939, September 9, 1939, September 19, 1939, September 23, 1939, October 31, 1939, November 3, 1939, December 8, 1939, December 15, 1939, December 21-22, 1939, and December 29, 1939, Fred Perkins Diary.

³⁶ See also Cowan, *More Work for Mother*, 51.

³⁷ For more information on making bread, see "Bread Making," *The People's Home Library*, 104-08.

³⁸ For more information on making yeast, see "Recipes for Making Yeast," *The People's Home Library*, 108.

³⁹ See Smith, *Childhood Memories*, 100-01.

⁴⁰ See, for example, October 9, 1900, and November 5, 1904, Mary A. King Diaries.

⁴¹ See, for example, May 2, 1902, and June 2, 1909, Mary A. King Diaries; and Strasser, 33-34.

⁴² See February 18, 1903, Mary A. King Diaries; and Smith, *Childhood Memories*, 107-08. See also Heron, *Lunch-Bucket Lives*, 64.

⁴³ See, for example, "All Household Roads Lead to Kitchen Work," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 31, 1905, 1205; "Peninsular Ranges Make Baking Easy and Save Fuel," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 26, 1905, 1497; "A Kalamazoo Direct to You," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 6, 1910, 1607; "Gurney Oxford Stoves and Ranges," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 6, 1910, 1614; "Pandora Range," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 13, 1910, 1621; "Good Cooking Makes a Happy Home," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 13, 1910, 1654; "Bake All Day With One Firepot of Coal," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 1, 1915, 545; "Perfect Baking Assured," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 22, 1915, 687; "McClary's Kootenay Range," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 26, 1915, 1362; "McClary's Tecumseh Range," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 14, 1920, 1777; "Better Baking with Less Fuel," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 27, 1925, 1220; and "Better Baking with Less Fuel," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 15, 1925, 1444. See also Strong-Boag, 130-32.

⁴⁴ See, for example, August 22, 1931, January 23, 1933, December 29, 1934, February 18, 1935, and July 25, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

⁴⁵ See, for example, July 26, 1941A, August 19, 1941A, October 14, 1941A, November 4, 1941A, November 26, 1941A, December 16, 1941A, February 13-14, 1941B, February 18, 1941B, February 28, 1941B, March 4, 1941B, March 12, 1941B, March 20, 1941B, March 22, 1941B, March 25, 1941B, March 27-28, 1941B, April 2, 1941B, April 5, 1941B, April 7, 1941B, April 11-12, 1941B, April 18-19, 1941B, April 26, 1941B, May 1, 1941B, May 3, 1941B, May 16, 1941B, May 22, 1941B, May 24, 1941B, May 30-31, 1941B, June 7, 1941B, June 13, 1941B, July 3-4, 1941B, July 12, 1941B, July 18, 1941B, July 25, 1941B, August 1, 1941B, August 7, 1941B, August 9, 1941B, August 16, 1941B, August 23, 1941B, August 29, 1941B, September 11-13, 1941B, September 20, 1941B, September 26, 1941B, October 2-3, 1941B, October 11, 1941B, October 17-18, 1941B, October 24, 1941B, October 29, 1941B, October 31, 1941B, November 1, 1941B, November 17, 1941B, November 20, 1941B, November 26, 1941B, November 29, 1941B, December 5-6, 1941B, December 8, 1941B, December 10, 1941B, December 12-13, 1941B, December 17, 1941B, December 19, 1941B, and December 26, 1941B, Velma Beaton Diaries. It appears that Velma kept the 1941B diary, while another female member of the household kept the 1941A diary.

⁴⁶ December 1, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diary. See also "Charles J. Treffry," Norwich Township (North), Oxford County (South), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 6, 55.

⁴⁷ Diane Tye, *Baking as Biography: A Life Story in Recipes* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010), 213-224.

⁴⁸ See, for example, "Recipes," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 5, 1905, 1410; "Recipes," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 12, 1905, 1444; "From a Scotch Cook," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 19, 1905, 1481; "Recipes," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 26, 1905, 1519; Dawn, "Oatmeal Cookies," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 27, 1910, 139; "The Ingle Nook," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 28, 1910, 729; "Recipes," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 18, 1910, 1330; "Things to Eat," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 1, 1915, 542; "Things to Eat," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 29, 1915, 727; "Things to Eat in August," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 12, 1915, 1284; "Autumn Cookery," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 19, 1915, 1321; "Spring Cookery," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 8, 1920, 675; "The Ingle Nook," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 8, 1925, 39; "Tested Recipes," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 15, 1925, 68; "Ye Home Larder," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 23, 1925, 653; "For Festive Occasions," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 13, 1925, 1147; "Rhubarb is in," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 30, 1925, 688; "Some Cooking Hints," *The Weekly Sun*, January 2, 1918, 6; "Some Cooking Hints," *The Weekly Sun*, January 16, 1918, 6; "Cooking Hints," *The Weekly Sun*, January 30, 1918, 6; "Cooking Hints," *The Weekly Sun*, April 10, 1918, 6; "Cooking Hints," *The Weekly Sun*, April 17, 1918, 6; "Cooking Hints," *The Weekly Sun*, August 7, 1918, 6; "Cooking Hints," *The Weekly Sun*, August 28, 1918, 6; "Cooking Hints," *Farmers' Sun*, January 8, 1919, 6; "For the Cookie Jar," *Farmers' Sun*, April 2, 1919, 6; "Cooking Hints," *Farmers' Sun*, April 2, 1919, 6; "Cooking Hints," *Farmers' Sun*, April 9, 1919, 6; "Cooking Hints," *Farmers' Sun*, April 23, 1919, 6; "Cooking Hints," *Farmers' Sun*, August 6, 1919, 6; "Cooks Corner," *Farmers' Sun*, August 27, 1919, 6; and "Cooking Hints," *Farmers' Sun*, October 1, 1919, 6.

⁴⁹ "Eggless fruit cake," "cocoa loaf," and "date cake," Diary of Annie Hill; and "angel cake," "spring beauty cake," and "strawberry fluff," Velma Beaton Diaries.

⁵⁰ Strong-Boag, 130-32.

⁵¹ November 29, 1922, December 12, 1922, November 20, 1923, December 7, 1923, December 11, 1925, March 7, 1928, April 3, 1929, April 11, 1929, July 25, 1929, September 3, 1930, November 29, 1930, November 12, 1930, November 4, 1931, November 6, 1931, December 21, 1931, and May 19, 1932, Arthur McQueen Diaries; and July 28, 1936, and March 12, 1938, Jean Ferrier Diaries.

⁵² October 1, 1915, March 3, 1916, November 21, 1917, August 5, 1930, December 2, 1932, and November 5, 1934, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

⁵³ December 13, 1922, December 7, 1923, and December 11, 1925, Arthur McQueen Diaries.

⁵⁴ April 3, 1929, April 11, 1929, July 25, 1929, September 3, 1930, November 12, 1930, November 29, 1930, November 4, 1931, November 6, 1931, and December 21, 1931, Arthur McQueen Diaries.

⁵⁵ February 12, 1917, March 12, 1920, December 10, 1920, March 8, 1921, January 16, 1922, January 28, 1922, February 9, 1922, March 16, 1922, March 31, 1922, December 5-6, 1922, and February 13, 1923, Diary of Annie Hill.

⁵⁶ "Thomas A. Hill," Fergus, Wellington County (South), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 7, 90; "Thomas A. Hill," Battleford, Saskatchewan, Census of Canada, 1911, 2, 19; "Thomas Hill," Kindersley, Saskatchewan, Census of Canada, 1916, 11, 127; "Annie Hill," Fergus, Wellington County (South), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 5, 71; and "Thomas A. Hill," Kindersley, Saskatchewan, Census of Canada, 1921, 6, 82. Annie typically recorded when Thomas returned home to Fergus, and left for the West again. See, for example, December 3, 1912, March 23, 1913, December 8, 1913, March 24, 1914, December 21, 1914, March 29, 1915, December 20, 1915, March 22, 1917, December 24, 1917, March 20, 1918, March 24, 1919, December 19, 1919, March 27, 1920, November 30, 1920, March 19, 1921, December 12, 1921, April 1, 1922, November 25, 1922, and April 2, 1923, Diary of Annie Hill. See also Voisey, 94, 158, and 160.

⁵⁷ December 16, 1912, February 1, 1913, February 12, 1913, February 22, 1913, March 8, 1913, March 21, 1913, January 13, 1914, January 31, 1914, February 10, 1914, March 4, 1914, March 16, 1914, December 23, 1914, December 30, 1914, January 6, 1915, January 15, 1915, January 22, 1915, January 30, 1915, February 9, 1915, February 17, 1915, February 25, 1915, March 6, 1915, March 16, 1915, March 24, 1915, April 1, 1915, May 8, 1915, June 15, 1915, July 6, 1915, February 12, 1917, March 1, 1917, January 8, 1919, February 1, 1919, February 28, 1919, March 18, 1919, March 12, 1920, December 10, 1920, March 1, 1921, March 8, 1921, March 17, 1921, December 24, 1921, January 5, 1922, January 16, 1922, January 28, 1922, February 9, 1922, March 16, 1922, March 21, 1922, December 5-6, 1922, and February 13, 1923, Diary of Annie Hill.

⁵⁸ See February 6, 1918, and March 28, 1918, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

⁵⁹ January 16, 1912, February 15, 1931, August 7, 1931, January 1, 1932, January 7, 1932, March 27, 1932, December 31, 1934, and February 28, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

⁶⁰ January 4, 1930, February 27, 1930, March 12, 1930, March 22, 1930, April 18, 1930, January 10, 1931, January 29, 1931, February 21, 1931, March 30, 1932, May 11, 1932, January 7, 1933, March 25, 1933, December 25, 1933, March 17, 1934, May 5, 1934, January 18, 1935, February 23, 1935, and April 27, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

⁶¹ January 27, 1910, February 24, 1910, March 10, 1910, November 16, 1910, February 23, 1911, November 19, 1911, January 15, 1912, January 18, 1913, February 3, 1913, February 13, 1913, February 5, 1914, February 24, 1915, February 5, 1916, January 27, 1917, March 25, 1917, December 20, 1917, December 24, 1917, January 10, 1918, December 18, 1919, December 24, 1919, February 7, 1931, February 19, 1931, October 29, 1931, January 1, 1932, January 23, 1933, March 9, 1933, March 12, 1933, March 20, 1933, February 5, 1934, February 18, 1934, March 29, 1934, December 30, 1934, January 8, 1935, and April 19, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

⁶² See, for example, September 26, 1900, and August 24, 1901, Mary A. King Diaries; August 30, 1936, September 12, 1937, September 12, 1938, and September 19, 1939, Fred Perkins Diary; October 8, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diary; and June 7, 1910, June 16, 1910, August 11, 1910, August 29, 1910, September 5, 1910, September 18, 1910, August 24, 1911, November 22, 1911, January 23, 1912, July 25, 1912, January 1, 1913, January 28-29, 1913, February 3-4, 1913, August 19, 1913, August 26, 1913, October 4, 1914, October 7, 1914, October 9, 1914, February 15, 1915, February 24, 1915, March 4, 1915, April 24, 1915, May 14, 1915, July 11, 1915, July 23, 1915, August 31, 1915, October 6, 1915, December 7, 1915, February 5, 1916, August 3, 1916, October 8, 1916, April 3, 1917, August 1, 1917, January 9, 1918, February 12, 1918, August 13, 1918, August 26, 1918, November 30, 1919, February 24, 1930, February 27, 1930, November 11, 1930, December 25, 1930, December 31, 1930, March 14, 1931, April 5, 1931, July 19, 1931, August 27, 1931, October 9, 1931, November 21, 1931, January 1, 1932, July 1, 1932, September 10, 1932, September 25, 1932, December 26, 1932, March 12, 1933, August 9, 1933, September 10-11, 1933, April 22, 1934, October 7, 1934, and March 3, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries. See also Smith, *Childhood Memories*, 159, and 162; Bogue, *The Farm on North Talbot Road*, 119-20; Nixon, "Tales of a Grandmother," 77; Boyle, 184-85, and 192; Duncan, *Canadians at Table*, 136; and Pocius, 184, and 188-89.

⁶³ Boyle, 144, and 185.

⁶⁴ March 11, 1919, October 14, 1920, February 21, 1921, January 30, 1922, October 31, 1922, and April 4, 1923, Diary of Annie Hill.

⁶⁵ May 30, 1922, August 8, 1923, March 2, 1925, November 28, 1928, September 3, 1929, September 17, 1929, October 14, 1929, February 5, 1930, April 14, 1930, January 12, 1931, March 11, 1931, September 9, 1931, and November 4-5, 1931, Arthur McQueen Diaries.

⁶⁶ September 7, 1900, and December 6, 1901, Mary A. King Diaries; November 26, 1903, Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce; and December 1, 1925, and January 30, 1926, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts. See also Bogue, *The Farm on North Talbot Road*, 20, and Duncan, *Canadians at Table*, 146-48.

⁶⁷ Walden, "Speaking Modern," 303. See also Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows, and Boarders," 31-32; Stephanie Patterson Gilbert, "Bakers and Confectioners of Harrisburg's Old Eighth Ward, 1890-1917," *Pennsylvania History* 72, no. 4 (Autumn 2005), 428-442; and Gabaccia, 57.

⁶⁸ Interestingly, according to Katherine Jellison and Steven Reschly, even Amish women in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania purchased readymade bread and crackers during the Great Depression. See January 15, 1921, March 1, 1921, April 20, 1921, October 3, 1921, December [no date], 1921, October 15, 1922, January 3, 1923, July 2, 1923, August 5, 1923, September 6, 1923, September 27, 1923, November [no date], 1923, December 1, 1923, December 18, 1923, January 22, 1924, January 31, 1924, February 1, 1924, February 10, 1924, March 3, 1924, March 13, 1924, April 1, 1924, April 7, 1924, May 5, 1924, May 21, 1924, June 13-14, 1924, August 17, 1924, August 30, 1924, October 9, 1924, November 28, 1924, November 30, 1924, December 17, 1924, January 14, 1925, February 1, 1925, February 20, 1925, March 6, 1925, April 11, 1925, April 18, 1925, May 8, 1925, May 15, 1925, June 6, 1925, July 2, 1925, July 16, 1925, September 5, 1925, October 12, 1925, November 3, 1925, November 17, 1925, December 8, 1925, December 15, 1925, December 24, 1925, January 20, 1926, February 9, 1926, March 17, 1926, March 27, 1926, April 8, 1926, May 1, 1926, July 16, 1926, August 10, 1926, October 3, 1926, November 29, 1926, December 17, 1926, January 17, 1927, January 21, 1927, January 29, 1927, February [no date], 1927,

February 9, 1927, February 12, 1927, March 15, 1927, March 21, 1927, March 31, 1927, and May 1, 1927, W.H. Cowan Accounts; April 1, 1926, April 10, 1926, April 17, 1926, May 15, 1926, August 17, 1926, September 3, 1926, and September 9, 1926, Shields Accounts; September 9, 1905, September 16, 1905, October 4, 1905, October 7, 1905, October 11, 1905, and February c. 15, 1930, Edwin Robinson Accounts; Reschly and Jellison, 159-60; Diana, "To-Day's Pioneers," *Farmers' Sun*, January 8, 1921, 6; and Roelens-Grant, ed., 80, 131, and 156.

⁶⁹ See also Cummings, 170.

⁷⁰ March 25, 1913, July 26, 1913, September 6, 1913, October 11, 1913, and December 3, 1913, "Memoranda and Addresses," Diary of Mabel Brown; October 9, 1906, November 1, 1906, March 7, 1907, May 27, 1907, August 12, 1907, September 23, 1907, October 3, 1907, October 28, 1907, November 21, 1907, December 19, 1907, January 23, 1908, January 30, 1908, May 18, 1910, June 8, 1910, August 24, 1910, September 7, 1910, October 5, 1910, November 16, 1910, November 30, 1910, December 14, 1910, February 15, 1911, March 8, 1911, March 29, 1911, August 27, 1912, and August 30, 1912, James Glen, Sr., Diaries; June 21, 1907, January 31, 1908, September 30, 1911, October 31, 1911, January 14, 1921, May 2, 1921, July 9, 1923, December 24, 1923, December 26, 1924, June 18, 1926, February 3, 1928, April 9, 1928, and December 5, 1931, Hawley Farm Accounts; and June 25, 1909, September 18, 1909, October 30, 1909, December 11, 1909, January 17, 1910, June 13, 1910, June 21, 1910, August 23, 1912, September 9, 1912, and December 23, 1916, John Graham Weir Diaries.

⁷¹ See September 15, 1930, January 14, 1931, and April 29, 1931, Velma Beaton Diaries; February 14, 1923, and February 21, 1924, Potts Family Farm Diaries; Smith, *Childhood Memories*, 101; Bradbury, *Working Families*, 162; and Disbrowe, 43. See also Heron, *Lunch-Bucket Lives*, 65.

⁷² See, for example, June 5, 1919, August 13, 1919, September 3, 1919, September 13, 1919, November 21, 1919, January 23, 1920, and July 19, 1926, Potts Family Farm Diaries; and October 10, 1919, February 6, 1934, August 16, 1934, January 15, 1935, and January 21, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

⁷³ July 29, 1909, September 21, 1909, October 19, 1910, March 18, 1911, May 13, 1911, June 10, 1911, June 23, 1911, October 26, 1911, January 22, 1912, May 10, 1913, May c. 21, 1913, June 21, 1913, August c. 2, 1913, May c. 11, 1915, May 23, 1915, June 12, 1915, June 29, 1915, July 31, 1915, January 10, 1916, February c. 7, 1916, March 1, 1916, January 30, 1917, February 2, 1917, March 7, 1917, June 1, 1917, July 7, 1917, July 10, 1917, July 26, 1917, March c. 4, 1920, March c. 20, 1920, and January 12, 1929, Howard Jones Accounts; March 15, 1902, June 4, 1904, January 24, 1907, February 29, 1908, May 15, 1909, January 16, 1919, April [no date], 1932, April [no date], 1932, May [no date], 1932, May [no date], 1932, June [no date], 1932, June [no date], 1932, August [no date], 1932, January [no date], 1933, February [no date], 1933, March [no date], 1933, July [no date], 1933, August [no date], 1935, and March [no date], 1936, Nathaniel "Ed" Leeder Accounts; and February 13, 1926, May 4, 1926, May 22, 1926, June 1-2, 1926, June 21, 1926, August 21, 1926, September 10, 1926, March 19, 1927, April 14, 1927, May 20, 1927, May 31, 1927, June 4, 1927, June 22, 1927, June 24, 1927, July 7, 1927, July 11, 1927, August 11, 1927, August 13, 1927, August 23, 1927, September 21, 1927, October 22, 1927, October 31, 1927, November 8, 1927, December 13, 1927, December 24, 1927, January 11, 1928, February 11, 1928, February 25, 1928, March 3, 1928, March 24, 1928, March 26, 1928, April 7, 1928, April 13, 1928, May 5, 1928, May 12, 1928, May 19, 1928, May 23, 1928, May 29, 1928, June 14, 1928, June 23, 1928, June 30, 1928, July 2, 1928, July 7, 1928, July 26, 1928, and August 10-11, 1928, William Casimer Topham Accounts. See also Monod, 111-12.

⁷⁴ See, for example, January 11, 1923, January 19, 1923, February 3, 1923, February 24, 1923, March 24, 1923, March 31, 1923, April 13, 1923, April 28, 1923, May 18, 1923, July 7, 1923, July 21, 1923, August 11, 1923, September 1, 1923, September 8, 1923, October 12, 1923, October 26, 1923, March 8, 1924, March 29, 1924, November 28, 1924, and December 2, 1924, McIntosh Family Accounts; August [no date], 1916, September [no date], 1916, November [no date], 1916, April 22, 1941, May 9, 1941, and July 28, 1941, Miller Accounts; January 28, 1933, Russell Innes Accounts; October 13, 1945, John Cameron Topham Accounts; and May 2, 1903, February 16, 1905, June 24, 1911, February 28, 1912, January 7, 1914, April 24, 1915, April 7, 1919, June 10, 1920, June 24, 1920, September 9, 1920, October 6, 1920, and October 30, 1920, James Glen, Sr., Diaries. See also Levenstein, 28, 35, and 37-38; and Topik and Wells, 728-29.

⁷⁵ January 1, 1901, January 4-5, 1901, January 12, 1901, January 15, 1901, January 18-19, 1901, January 23, 1901, January 26, 1901, January 29-31, 1901, February 2, 1901, February 4, 1901, February 6, 1901, February 16, 1901, March 2, 1901, March 9, 1901, March 16, 1901, March 18, 1901, March 30, 1901,

April 3, 1901, April 6, 1901, April 23, 1901, May 14, 1901, May 24-25, 1901, June 7-8, 1901, June 15, 1901, June 20, 1901, June 22, 1901, June 27-28, 1901, July 2, 1901, July 4, 1901, July 19, 1901, July 24, 1901, July 26, 1901, July 30-31, 1901, August 1, 1901, August 14-15, 1901, August 21, 1901, August 23, 1901, August 27-28, 1901, September 3, 1901, September 5, 1901, September 7, 1901, September 10, 1901, September 13-14, 1901, September 19, 1901, September 21, 1901, September 28, 1901, October 1, 1901, October 5, 1901, October 7, 1901, October 9, 1901, October 11-12, 1901, October 26, 1901, October 29, 1901, November 6, 1901, November 8-9, 1901, November 13, 1901, November 15-16, 1901, November 20, 1901, November 23, 1901, November 27, 1901, November 30, 1901, December 4, 1901, December 6-7, 1901, December 11, 1901, December 13, 1901, December 17, 1901, December 21, 1901, December 23, 1901, December 25, 1901, December 28, 1901, March 15, 1902, July 14, 1902, July 30, 1902, September 27, 1902, May 2, 1903, June 19, 1903, July 9, 1903, July 23, 1903, November 28, 1903, December 10, 1903, June 15, 1904, February 16, 1905, July 15, 1905, August 17, 1905, October 14, 1905, November 9, 1905, March 30, 1907, July 25, 1907, October 13, 1908, March 4, 1909, September 11, 1909, November 27, 1909, December 18, 1909, April 2, 1910, May 7, 1910, July 2, 1910, March 28, 1911, May 9, 1911, June 24, 1911, July 12, 1911, July 27, 1911, November 15, 1911, December 4, 1911, February 28, 1912, May 18, 1912, June 11, 1912, September 7, 1912, September 23, 1912, November 30, 1912, January 24, 1913, March 1, 1913, August 30, 1913, January 7, 1914, June 6, 1914, August 8, 1914, August 15, 1914, March 6, 1915, April 24, 1915, April 27, 1915, October 16, 1915, December 24, 1915, June 10, 1916, July 20, 1916, September 28, 1916, April 13, 1917, May 21, 1917, August 15, 1917, June 1, 1918, April 7, 1919, July 19, 1919, June 10, 1920, June 24, 1920, August 18, 1920, September 9, 1920, October 6, 1920, October 30, 1920, and December 15, 1920, James Glen, Sr., Diaries.

⁷⁶ March 1, 1904, May 14, 1904, March 31, 1905, and September 20, 1909, D.H. Kelly Accounts.

⁷⁷ "Howard J. Woodrow," North Norwich Township, Oxford County (South), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 5, 52.

⁷⁸ See, for example, February 25, 1904, March 15, 1904, May 3, 1904, May 20, 1904, December 24, 1904, January 6, 1905, January 25, 1905, May 22, 1905, September 18, 1905, August 1, 1906, October 3, 1906, October 31, 1906, December 15, 1906, December 28, 1906, July 19-20, 1907, August 10, 1907, August 17, 1907, November 16, 1908, November 23, 1908, November 27, 1908, December 1, 1908, December 12, 1908, October 2, 1909, November 9, 1909, October 31, 1910, January 17, 1911, July 30, 1913, July 18, 1914, August 15, 1914, September 17, 1914, October 16, 1914, June 22, 1915, February 21, 1916, June 17, 1916, January 20, 1917, April 14, 1917, July 14, 1917, December 15, 1917, February 2, 1918, February 23, 1918, March 9, 1918, April 20, 1918, June 15, 1918, September 2, 1918, September 16-17, 1918, September 24, 1918, November 16, 1918, December 31, 1918, January 28, 1919, February 11, 1919, February 15, 1919, April 17, 1919, June 21, 1919, July 23, 1919, January 12, 1920, July 30, 1920, September 22, 1920, October 26, 1920, December 14, 1920, February 8, 1921, February 28, 1921, May 19, 1921, February 13, 1922, February 15, 1923, August 15, 1923, March 1, 1926, April 12, 1926, April 15, 1930, February 18, 1931, September 22, 1936, January 25, 1938, and January 29, 1938, D.H. Kelly Accounts; *The Union Publishing Company's Farmers and Business Directory for the Counties of Brant, Elgin, Norfolk, and Oxford, Volume XIII*, 356, and 416; and *Vernon's Farmers and Business Directory for the Counties of Brant, Elgin, Norfolk, and Oxford, for the Year 1915* (Hamilton, ON: Henry Vernon & Son, 1915), 333, and 339-40.

⁷⁹ February 25, 1904, May 20, 1904, January 25, 1905, May 22, 1905, October 31, 1906, December 1, 1908, October 2, 1909, July 18, 1914, October 16, 1914, June 15, 1918, September 2, 1918, February 11, 1919, September 22, 1920, October 26, 1920, December 14, 1920, February 8, 1921, May 19, 1921, March 1, 1926, April 15, 1930, February 18, 1931, September 22, 1936, January 25, 1938, and January 29, 1938, D.H. Kelly Accounts; *The Union Publishing Company's Farmers and Business Directory for the Counties of Brant, Elgin, Norfolk, and Oxford, Volume XIII*, 356; and *Vernon's Farmers and Business Directory for the Counties of Brant, Elgin, Norfolk, and Oxford, for the Year 1915*, 340.

⁸⁰ December 24, 1904, January 6, 1905, September 18, 1905, August 1, 1906, October 3, 1906, December 15, 1906, December 28, 1906, July 19-20, 1907, August 10, 1907, August 17, 1907, November 16, 1908, November 23, 1908, November 27, 1908, December 12, 1908, November 9, 1909, October 31, 1910, January 17, 1911, July 30, 1913, August 15, 1914, September 17, 1914, June 22, 1915, February 21, 1916, January 20, 1917, July 14, 1917, September 16-17, 1918, September 24, 1918, November 16, 1918, December 31, 1918, February 15, 1919, April 17, 1919, June 21, 1919, July 23, 1919, January 12, 1920, July 30, 1920, February 28, 1921, February 13, 1922, and February 15, 1923, D.H. Kelly Accounts; *The*

Union Publishing Company's Farmers and Business Directory, 356; and *Vernon's Farmers and Business Directory*, 333, and 340.

⁸¹ "Your Ideal Cracker," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 6, 1905, 513; "Plump, Rosy Children," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 20, 1905, 539; "How Do You Know?," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 10, 1905, 1134; "The Revolutionizing of the Cracker," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 24, 1905, 1190; "McCormick's Jersey Cream Sodas," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 1, 1920, 646; "Wholesome, Nutritious, Economical," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 15, 1920, 750; "McCormick's Jersey Cream Sodas," *Farmers' Sun*, August 27, 1919, 4; "McCormick's Jersey Cream Sodas," *Farmers' Sun*, October 1, 1919, 11; "McCormick's Jersey Cream Sodas," *Farmers' Sun*, October 8, 1919, 8; "McCormick's Jersey Cream Sodas," *Farmers' Sun*, October 15, 1919, 11; and "McCormick's Jersey Cream Sodas," *Farmers' Sun*, April 17, 1920, 6. See also Deutsch, 19.

⁸² Robert J. Burns, "Thomas McCormick," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, www.biographi.ca/en/bio/mccormick_thomas_13E.html.

⁸³ August 19, 1911, November 13, 1915, and July 22, 1916, Hawley Farm Accounts; February 16, 1915, and March 3, 1915, Howard Jones Accounts; and January 12, 1905, May 30, 1905, November 29, 1905, December 11, 1905, and July 11, 1919, Robert McGowan Accounts.

⁸⁴ Donald Hawley was born in September 1909, and his sister, Jennie, was born circa 1915. Ruth McGowan was born in March 1899, and her sister, Edna, was born in August 1904. While the Jones household was not found in the census records, other entries in 1915 reference making purchases for a baby. See "Donald Brandon Hawley," Richmond Township, Lennox and Addington County, Ontario, Canada, *Registrations of Births and Stillbirths*, 11, 114, 027172, September 22, 1909; "Mark Hawley," Richmond Township, Lennox and Addington County, Census of Canada, 1921, 4, 37; "Ruth McGowan," Huron County, Ontario, Canada, *Registrations of Births and Stillbirths*, 146, 474, 13, March 23, 1899; "Edna Robertson McGowan," Huron County, Ontario, Canada, *Registrations of Births and Stillbirths*, 168, 553, 11, August 5, 1904; and March 3, 1915, March 7, 1915, April 13, 1915, May 6, 1915, May 18, 1915, May 22, 1915, July 5, 1915, and October 7, 1915, Howard Jones Accounts.

⁸⁵ See, for example, February 15, 1901, February 21, 1901, March 1, 1901, March 14, 1901, and May 27, 1901, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries; February 20, 1919, March 11, 1919, April 22, 1919, June 5, 1919, June 10, 1919, July 2, 1919, September 16, 1919, and December 4, 1919, Emily Duckwith Diaries; and January 2, 1909, January 7, 1909, January 9, 1909, January 14, 1909, January 19, 1909, January 27, 1909, February 4, 1909, February 8-9, 1909, February 15, 1909, February 19, 1909, February 23, 1909, March 2, 1909, March 9, 1909, March 27, 1909, March 31, 1909, April 1, 1909, April 7, 1909, April 16, 1909, April 21, 1909, April 23, 1909, May 7, 1909, May 15, 1909, May 17, 1909, May 26, 1909, June 1-2, 1909, June 11, 1909, June 18-19, 1909, June 23, 1909, June 29, 1909, July 3, 1909, July 8-9, 1909, July 16-17, 1909, July 24, 1909, July 31, 1909, August 3, 1909, August 7, 1909, August 17, 1909, August 19, 1909, August 24, 1909, and August 26-27, 1909, Mary A. King Diaries.

⁸⁶ March 29, 1930, April 19, 1930, April 26, 1930, May 3, 1930, May 31, 1930, June 13, 1930, September 6, 1930, September 17, 1930, September 19, 1930, September 22, 1930, November 26, 1930, January 3, 1931, January 17, 1931, January 29, 1931, February 10, 1931, February 17, 1931, March 18, 1931, March 26, 1931, March 30, 1931, April 4, 1931, June 10, 1937, July 6, 1937, December 15, 1937, February 16, 1938, February 23, 1938, May 28, 1938, June 4, 1938, June 29, 1938, July 19, 1938, August 12, 1938, August 17, 1938, October 15, 1938, November 5, 1938, November 22, 1938, December 8, 1938, December 10, 1938, January 5, 1939, January 12, 1939, January 21, 1939, February 4, 1939, August 8, 1941A, November 1, 1941A, December 19, 1941A, March 8, 1941B, November 15, 1941B, December 13, 1941B, December 19, 1941B, February 26, 1942A, March 7, 1942A, March 21, 1942A, January 23, 1942B, March 7, 1942B, May 12, 1942B, March 5, 1943, December 17, 1943, March 8, 1944, May 24, 1944, December 7, 1944, and March 8, 1945, Velma Beaton Diaries.

⁸⁷ See, for example, Bobrow-Strain, 23-24; Strasser, 23; Bradbury, *Working Families*, 159, and 167; Campbell, 32, and 154; Cowan, *More Work for Mother*, 20, and 164; Susan Porter Benson, *Household Accounts: Working-Class Family Economies in the Interwar United States* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 142; Morawska, 135; and Levenstein, 25, 153, and 176. See also Heron, *Lunch-Bucket Lives*, 65.

⁸⁸ Baillargeon, 136.

⁸⁹ Strasser, 23; Bradbury, *Working Families*, 167; and Bobrow-Strain, 24.

⁹⁰ See a brief mention in Baillargeon, 136.

⁹¹ A rare exception to this trend was fruit cake, which was baked in advance of the holidays to ensure that the flavours had sufficient time to develop.

⁹² January 3, 1900, January 17, 1900, January 20, 1900, January 27, 1900, February 6-7, 1900, February 10, 1900, February 15, 1900, February 23, 1900, March 5, 1900, March 17, 1900, March 21, 1900, April 14, 1900, April 21, 1900, April 24, 1900, April 26, 1900, April 28, 1900, May 8, 1900, May 22, 1900, May 24, 1900, May 31, 1900, June 5, 1900, June 7, 1900, June 12-13, 1900, June 15, 1900, June 18, 1900, June 22, 1900, June 27, 1900, June 30, 1900, July 5, 1900, July 7, 1900, July 12, 1900, July 14, 1900, July 18, 1900, July 26, 1900, July 28, 1900, August 1, 1900, August 4, 1900, August 7, 1900, August 11, 1900, August 18, 1900, August 21, 1900, August 25, 1900, August 30, 1900, September 1, 1900, September 5-6, 1900, September 8, 1900, September 15, 1900, September 17, 1900, September 19, 1900, September 21-22, 1900, September 25, 1900, September 29, 1900, October 5-6, 1900, October 9, 1900, October 13, 1900, October 17, 1900, October 19, 1900, October 25, 1900, October 31, 1900, November 1, 1900, November 3, 1900, November 7, 1900, November 10, 1900, November 13, 1900, November 15, 1900, November 17, 1900, November 20-24, 1900, November 26, 1900, November 29, 1900, December 1, 1900, December 4-5, 1900, December 7-8, 1900, December 11, 1900, December 13, 1900, December 15, 1900, December 18-20, 1900, December 22, 1900, and December 27, 1900, James Glen, Sr., Diaries.

⁹³ January 3, 1902, January 14, 1902, January 30-31, 1902, February 14, 1902, February 22, 1902, March 8, 1902, March 21, 1902, April 10, 1902, May 2, 1902, May 31, 1902, June 9-10, 1902, June 13-14, 1902, June 20, 1902, June 25-26, 1902, July 4, 1902, July 11-12, 1902, August 16, 1902, September 4-5, 1902, September 18, 1902, September 25-26, 1902, October 3-4, 1902, October 10-11, 1902, October 20-21, 1902, October 30, 1902, November 5-6, 1902, November 19-20, 1902, November 27-28, 1902, December 6, 1902, December 15, 1902, and December 26-27, 1902, Mary A. King Diaries.

⁹⁴ January 4, 1923, January 8, 1923, January 10-11, 1923, January c. 11, 1923, January 15, 1923, January 17, 1923, January 19, 1923, January 25, 1923, January 31, 1923, February 3, 1923, February 6, 1923, February 9-10, 1923, February 13, 1923, February 20, 1923, February 22, 1923, February 24, 1923, February 27-28, 1923, March 5, 1923, March 9, 1923, March 15, 1923, March c. 15, 1923, March 19, 1923, March 21, 1923, March 24, 1923, March 26, 1923, March 29, 1923, April 4, 1923, April 7, 1923, April 12, 1923, April 14, 1923, April 16, 1923, April 23-24, 1923, April 26, 1923, April 28, 1923, May 4-5, 1923, May 9-10, 1923, May 18, 1923, May 21, 1923, June 2, 1923, June 9, 1923, June 13, 1923, June 15, 1923, June 17, 1923, June 19, 1923, June 23, 1923, June 26, 1923, July 3, 1923, July 6-7, 1923, July 14, 1923, July 17, 1923, July 21, 1923, July 31, 1923, August 4, 1923, August 11, 1923, August 13, 1923, August 21, 1923, August 30, 1923, September 1, 1923, September 5, 1923, September 8, 1923, September 15, 1923, September 22, 1923, September 28, 1923, September c. 28, 1923, October 5, 1923, October 24-26, 1923, October c. 26, 1923, November 6, 1923, November 16, 1923, December 1, 1923, December c. 1, 1923, December 29, 1923, January 2, 1925, January c. 7, 1925, January 24, 1925, February 3, 1925, February 13, 1925, February 16, 1925, February 28, 1925, March 5, 1925, March 14, 1925, March 20, 1925, March 28, 1925, April 21, 1925, May 2, 1925, May 26, 1925, June 13, 1925, July 4, 1925, July 16, 1925, September 12, 1925, October 5, 1925, December 11, 1925, December 16, 1925, and December 28, 1925, McIntosh Family Accounts.

⁹⁵ "Ira Earl McIntosh and Meata Dorothy Widmeyer," Carrick Township, Bruce County, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Marriages, 676, September 3, 1924.

⁹⁶ January 7, 1910, January 15, 1910, January 29, 1910, February 5, 1910, February 22, 1910, February 28, 1910, March 16-17, 1910, March 24, 1910, April 2, 1910, April 23, 1910, April 30, 1910, May 7, 1910, May 23, 1910, June 11, 1910, June 17, 1910, June 22, 1910, June 25, 1910, July 1, 1910, July 16, 1910, July 22, 1910, July 29, 1910, August 5, 1910, August 12, 1910, August 19, 1910, September 9, 1910, September 16, 1910, October 1, 1910, October 21, 1910, October 29, 1910, November 5, 1910, November 25, 1910, December 2, 1910, December 9, 1910, December 16, 1910, December 23, 1910, January 6, 1911, January 13, 1911, January 20, 1911, February 10, 1911, February 17-18, 1911, February 25, 1911, March 1, 1911, March 18, 1911, March 25, 1911, April 21, 1911, May 6, 1911, May 20, 1911, May 26, 1911, June 2, 1911, June 16, 1911, June 23, 1911, July 7, 1911, July 14, 1911, July 21, 1911, July 27, 1911, August 3, 1911, August 9, 1911, August 25, 1911, September 5, 1911, September 9, 1911, September 29, 1911, October 6, 1911, October 14, 1911, October 20, 1911, October 27, 1911, November 3, 1911, November 11, 1911, November 18, 1911, November 25, 1911, December 2, 1911, December 9, 1911, December 15-16, 1911, December 23, 1911, January 2, 1912, January 13, 1912, January 20, 1912, February 15, 1912, February 24, 1912, March 2, 1912, March 9, 1912, March 14-15, 1912, April 5, 1912, April 20, 1912, May

10, 1912, June 20, 1912, July 5, 1912, July 19, 1912, August 2, 1912, August 8, 1912, August 22, 1912, August 31, 1912, September 11, 1912, September 27, 1912, October 31, 1912, November 1, 1912, November 9, 1912, November 16, 1912, December 6, 1912, December 13, 1912, December 21, 1912, December 28, 1912, January 4, 1913, January 18, 1913, January 28, 1913, February 3, 1913, March 7, 1913, March 15, 1913, April 12, 1913, April 19, 1913, April 26, 1913, May 2, 1913, May 30, 1913, June 19, 1913, June 26, 1913, July 4, 1913, July 11, 1913, July 18, 1913, August 1, 1913, August 8, 1913, August 27, 1913, September 11, 1913, September 18, 1913, October 3, 1913, October 11, 1913, October 18, 1913, October 24, 1913, November 1, 1913, November 14, 1913, November 21, 1913, January 24, 1914, January 30-31, 1914, February 3, 1914, March 12, 1914, April 11, 1914, May 2, 1914, May 15, 1914, June 20, 1914, June 26, 1914, July 8, 1914, July 31, 1914, August 7, 1914, August 20, 1914, September 25, 1914, October 6, 1914, October 31, 1914, November 7, 1914, November 14, 1914, December 4, 1914, December 11, 1914, December 24, 1914, January 28, 1915, March 19, 1915, March 26, 1915, May 1, 1915, May 27, 1915, June 5, 1915, June 12, 1915, June 18, 1915, August 27, 1915, September 28, 1915, October 29, 1915, December 1, 1915, December 24, 1915, December 31, 1915, February 19, 1916, March 2, 1916, March 16-17, 1916, April 8, 1916, April 15, 1916, April 22, 1916, April 29, 1916, May 12, 1916, June 6, 1916, July 10, 1916, July 27, 1916, July 29, 1916, August 21-22, 1916, August 29, 1916, September 16, 1916, November 3, 1916, November 10, 1916, November 23-24, 1916, December 9, 1916, December 16, 1916, December 23, 1916, January 6, 1917, January 12-13, 1917, January 19-20, 1917, January 26-27, 1917, February 2-3, 1917, February 9-10, 1917, February 17, 1917, March 9-10, 1917, March 16-17, 1917, March 23-24, 1917, March 28-29, 1917, April 6, 1917, April 11, 1917, May 3, 1917, May 12, 1917, May 25-26, 1917, June 8, 1917, June 22, 1917, June 29, 1917, July 6, 1917, July 10-11, 1917, July 14, 1917, July 21, 1917, July 21, 1917, July 26, 1917, August 2, 1917, August 9-10, 1917, August 18, 1917, August 24, 1917, August 31, 1917, September 10-11, 1917, September 19-20, 1917, September 28, 1917, October 6, 1917, October 12-13, 1917, October 19, 1917, November 3, 1917, November 9, 1917, November 16, 1917, November 24, 1917, December 14, 1917, December 21-22, 1917, January 9, 1918, January 16-17, 1918, January 25, 1918, February 6, 1918, February 12-13, 1918, February 21-22, 1918, March 16, 1918, March 27-28, 1918, April 3, 1918, April 12, 1918, April 19, 1918, April 25, 1918, May 10-11, 1918, May 18, 1918, May 25, 1918, May 30-31, 1918, June 7-8, 1918, June 15, 1918, June 22, 1918, July 4, 1918, July 11-12, 1918, July 19, 1918, August 2, 1918, August 9-10, 1918, August 16-17, 1918, August 22, 1918, August 24, 1918, September 11, 1918, September 16, 1918, September 21, 1918, September 25, 1918, October 4, 1918, October 29, 1918, November 5, 1918, November 14, 1918, November 23, 1918, November 26, 1918, December 3, 1918, December 10, 1918, December 17, 1918, January 3, 1919, January 11, 1919, January 20-21, 1919, January 30, 1919, February 21, 1919, March 4, 1919, March 8, 1919, March 13-14, 1919, March 22, 1919, March 29, 1919, April 5, 1919, April 24, 1919, May 2, 1919, May 10, 1919, May 16-17, 1919, May 31, 1919, June 13, 1919, June 26, 1919, July 3, 1919, July 19, 1919, August 8, 1919, August 14, 1919, August 18, 1919, September 26, 1919, October 13, 1919, October 18, 1919, October 25, 1919, November 5, 1919, November 21, 1919, November 28, 1919, December 5, 1919, December 12, 1919, December 20, 1919, and December 26, 1919, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

⁹⁷ Sarah's husband died in January 1911, and, by the time of the 1911 Census, Sarah resided with Homer and Loretta. See "John Stanley White," Prince Edward County, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Deaths, 168, January 31, 1911; "Homer White," Hallowell Township, Prince Edward County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 2, 18; and "Homer White," Hallowell Township, Prince Edward County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 1, 2.

⁹⁸ "Sarah White," Prince Edward County, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Deaths, 424, April 4, 1931.

⁹⁹ Loretta also noted a few instances of getting or purchasing bread in the 1910s, but these were supplemental to the bread baked by Sarah. See June 24, 1916, June 28, 1916, July 3, 1916, July 5, 1916, August 7, 1919, October 10, 1919, April 30, 1930, September 25, 1930, October 27, 1932, August 22, 1933, December 29, 1933, February 6, 1934, August 16, 1934, January 15, 1935, January 21, 1935, and August 23, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

¹⁰⁰ August 27-28, 1918, and August 29-30, 1924, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts.

¹⁰¹ Barron, 238.

¹⁰² Loretta also specified making "whole wheat gems" in late 1917 and early 1918. Women in the White household appear to have baked brown bread twice prior to the outbreak of WWI. See May 8, 1915, June 15, 1915, June 23, 1915, and July 6, 1915, Diary of Annie Hill; August 9, 1911, September 11, 1912, November 8, 1917, January 15, 1918, March 18, 1918, May 10, 1918, September 11, 1918, and September

25, 1918, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries; and July 12, 1918, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts. For gem recipes, see *The People's Home Library*, 13, and 116. Other women may have turned to flours made from oats or corn, as suggested by Dr. Jas. W. Robertson at the 1917 WI annual meeting. See Dr. Jas. W. Robertson, "War Service by Women," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1917*, 33; and Ethel M. Chapman, *Women's Institutes Bulletin 254: War Breads* (Toronto: Ontario Department of Agriculture, 1917).

¹⁰³ These constraints lasted into 1920. See "Royal Yeast," *The Weekly Sun*, August 28, 1918, 6; "Royal Yeast," *The Weekly Sun*, October 30, 1918, 7; "Back Again," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 7, 1920, 1733; "Purity Flour," *Farmers' Sun*, October 2, 1920, 6; and "Purity Flour," *Farmers' Sun*, October 9, 1920, 8. See also Levenstein, 138-40; and Melanie Rich, "'She Would Raise Hens to Aid the War': Contributions of Oklahoma Women During World War I," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 81, no. 3 (September 2003): 341.

¹⁰⁴ Bobrow-Strain, 97; and Parcell and Lamme, 105.

¹⁰⁵ Sister Ettie, "A Poet Among Us," *The Weekly Sun*, January 30, 1918, 6. See also "Wartime Cookery," *The Weekly Sun*, August 14, 1918, 6.

¹⁰⁶ Gayle M. Comeau, "William John Hanna," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, www.biographi.ca.

¹⁰⁷ January 6, 1914, January 9, 1915, January 15, 1915, January 19, 1915, January 22-23, 1915, January 26, 1915, January 30, 1915, February 2, 1915, February 9-10, 1915, February 17, 1915, February 19, 1915, February 23-25, 1915, March 3-4, 1915, March 6, 1915, March 13, 1915, March 16, 1915, March 18, 1915, March 23-27, 1915, April 1, 1915, April 3, 1915, April 6, 1915, May 8, 1915, May 15, 1915, May 21, 1915, June 1, 1915, June 15, 1915, June 19, 1915, June 23, 1915, July 3, 1915, July 6, 1915, July 13-14, 1915, July 24, 1915, July 28, 1915, August 4, 1915, August 6, 1915, August 20-21, 1915, August 31, 1915, September 10, 1915, September 16, 1915, September 18, 1915, September 22, 1915, September 24, 1915, October 1-2, 1915, October 27, 1915, October 30, 1915, November 9-10, 1915, November 13, 1915, and November 23, 1915, Diary of Annie Hill; January 2, 1918, January 5, 1918, January 9-10, 1918, January 15-16, 1918, January 17-19, 1918, January 22, 1918, January 25-26, 1918, February 6, 1918, February 10, 1918, February 12-13, 1918, February 16, 1918, February 21-22, 1918, March 6, 1918, March 9, 1918, March 12, 1918, March 16, 1918, March 18-19, 1918, March 21, 1918, March 27-28, 1918, April 3, 1918, April 5, 1918, April 7, 1918, April 10, 1918, April 12, 1918, April 19, 1918, April 24-25, 1918, April 27, 1918, May 8, 1918, May 10-11, 1918, May 13, 1918, May 16, 1918, May 18, 1918, May 25, 1918, May 30-31, 1918, June 1, 1918, June 7-8, 1918, June 15, 1918, June 18, 1918, June 22, 1918, July 4-6, 1918, July 11-12, 1918, July 18-20, 1918, July 24, 1918, July 26, 1918, August 1-2, 1918, August 9-10, 1918, August 13, 1918, August 16-17, 1918, August 22, 1918, August 24-26, 1918, August 30, 1918, September 9, 1918, September 11-12, 1918, September 16, 1918, September 21, 1918, September 24-25, 1918, October 5, 1918, October 12, 1918, October 17, 1918, October 24, 1918, October 26-30, 1918, November 1-2, 1918, November 4-5, 1918, November 8, 1918, November 11, 1918, November 13-14, 1918, November 21, 1918, November 23, 1918, November 26, 1918, November 30, 1918, December 1, 1918, December 3, 1918, December 9-10, 1918, December 17, 1918, and December 24, 1918, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

¹⁰⁸ February 27, 1936, D.H. Kelly Accounts; and February [no date], 1932, Nathaniel "Ed" Leeder Accounts. See also Duncan, *Canadians at Table*, 138.

¹⁰⁹ Bogue, *The Farm on North Talbot Road*, 192.

¹¹⁰ September 1-3, 1939, Ruby Simmons Diary.

¹¹¹ Nixon, "Tales of A Grandmother," 77. See also Duncan, 138.

¹¹² Nixon, "Tales of A Grandmother," 77.

¹¹³ Mosby, 45.

7

Clothing

Reflecting on his childhood on a Huron County farm in the 1920s and 1930s, Harry Boyle recounted a particularly “vivid memor[y] of growing from boy to man.”¹ Perhaps surprisingly, the story revolves around clothing. Harry’s mother remade a pair of pants from an old suit of his father’s “into a pair of short pants for” Harry. While the pants had originally been made of “a shiny, blue serge,” they had faded into a greenish colour by the time they were refashioned. Harry was upset that he had to wear these short pants, typically part of a boy’s wardrobe, when he accompanied his father into town, while his father was able to wear his overalls. Harry’s embarrassment was exacerbated by his chance meeting with his cousin, Harold, on the main street of town. Although Harold and Harry were the same age, Harold was wearing long pants. Harold “stared with contempt at [Harry’s] short home-made pants,” and extolled that “Mother says I am a man now.”² The situation was so upsetting to Harry that he punched Harold, although Harry’s father intervened to ensure his mother did not punish him. Harry still remained, however, stuck wearing the despised short pants for awhile, despite his best protests. Shortly after Harry passed his entrance exam to high school, his father took him into town to Jim Medd’s tailor shop to get a suit made. When Medd asked if the suit should be made with short pants or long pants, Harry’s father replied “Long ones, Jimmy. The boy’s gettin’ on to be a man.”³

This story provides glimpses into the attitudes and practices surrounding clothing consumption in rural Ontario in the first half of the twentieth century. It highlights the association of clothing with self-identity, and suggests gendered and age-based

delineations. Boys wore short pants; men wore long pants. Mothers made clothing for boys; male tailors made suits for men. Significantly, too, Harry's father, and not his mother, took him to the tailor to purchase his first suit as a man. The narrative demonstrates also that families had choices between garments made at home and garments purchased in local towns.

This chapter explores these issues and themes, examining the production and consumption of clothing by Ontario farm families in the first half of the twentieth century. Specifically, the chapter focuses on the sewing of clothing within the home; discussions of knitting and fancy work are incorporated into the next chapter. It explores the role of dressmakers in rural Ontario, and touches briefly on tailors. Continuing to follow the production of clothing out of the household, the chapter examines the purchase of footwear, accessories, and readymade clothing. It addresses gender-based differences in purchasing, and discusses where and how families shopped for clothing. Finally, it examines how the consumption of clothing changed over time. Overall, this chapter argues that families blended the household production of clothing, the purchase of custom-made garments, and the purchase of readymade clothing; notably, women made the same types of items that they also purchased custom-made or readymade. Families gradually expanded their purchase of readymade goods in the early twentieth century, particularly for women, but women's textile work within the home remained significant. They balanced concerns over economy and frugality with desires for fashion and beauty, and their decisions were largely shaped by familial-level factors, including their socioeconomic circumstances and preferences.

Women sewed, mended, and altered clothing for their families.⁴ Such work was undertaken by women throughout the period, as demonstrated by the King household of Welland County, the McQueen household of Huron County, and the Beaton household of Wellington County.⁵ Farm women devoted a considerable amount of time to work on clothing, and this chore often ranked as the top yearly specified type of textile work for many of the diarists, as for the Kings, the Crawford family of Ontario County, and the Perkins family of Oxford County.⁶ Typically, and in keeping with their household-centered processing of food, women sewed and mended garments for their own families. Bella Green of Huron County, for example, worked on garments for herself and her mother, Janet, although she also completed a bit of work on garments for extended kin.⁷ Similarly, Annie Hill of Wellington County focused largely on garments for herself, her husband, T.A., and their family.⁸ Women also periodically assisted, or were assisted by, extended family, friends, and neighbours, with this work. Emily Duckwith of Peel County, for example, specified three or four other individuals for whom she and her sister, Ruth, did some sewing in the early 1920s.⁹ Some women even made clothing and accessories as gifts for family and friends, as Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins of Brant County did in the first decade of the twentieth century.¹⁰ Ontario farm women had at least basic sewing skills into the mid-twentieth century, which is in keeping with findings in the rural American context by historians Sarah A. Gordon and Marguerite Connolly.¹¹ The larger historiography suggests, however, that such skills were declining in North America more generally.¹²

In households with multiple adult women, female kin could share the workload, as they did with much food preservation and preparation. Mary Ann King and her sister,

Marjorie, for example, both sewed.¹³ Similarly, Emily Duckwith recorded not only the work she completed, but also some work completed by her mother, Alice, and her sisters Ruth, Winnifred, and Alva, in the late 1910s and early 1920s.¹⁴ In other families, it appears that one woman was the key labourer on clothing. In the case of the Atkins family, for example, Vivien largely completed the sewing for her household, despite the fact that she resided also with her mother and her sister, Hilda.¹⁵ Perhaps Vivien simply enjoyed this work, or was more skilled at it, than her female kin. Vivien's medical condition may also have been a factor; she had an exophthalmic goiter, and ultimately died from heart failure in 1913.¹⁶ This condition would have reduced her energy level, which might have made the relatively sedentary activity of textile work attractive to her. Even if multiple women shared the workload, though, they could still specialize in the type of sewing they completed. In the case of the Treffry family of Oxford County, for example, in 1900 the female household head, Alice, typically completed work on male garments.¹⁷ Marianna, one of Alice's adult daughters, in contrast, usually completed work on female garments, although Alice periodically worked alongside her on some tasks.¹⁸ Perhaps Marianna was more skilled than her mother, and perhaps she enjoyed the work in question. While women generally had the ability to sew and repair clothing for their families, they could divide the work amongst female kin, depending on abilities and preference.

Although women rarely specified using sewing machines, a range of evidence hints at their incorporation into the farm home.¹⁹ A number of account book keepers detailed the purchase of sewing machines, needles, and even oil.²⁰ Diarist Mary A. King periodically mentioned the use of a sewing machine in the first decade of the century, and

even noted repairs to it.²¹ Sewing machines were, of course, certainly useful tools. As highlighted by scholar Nancy Page Fernandez, however, hand work was still necessary for more elaborate sewing and “decorative stitchery.”²² Consequently, women incorporated both hand-sewing and machine-sewing into their production of clothing.

Women had to balance this clothing work alongside their array of routine and seasonal chores. The records of some farm diarists suggest that women’s work on clothing peaked during the coldest months of the year, or approximately October or November through March or April.²³ Sewing may have declined during the growing season, or approximately April or May through September or October. The records of the Atkins, McQueen, and Perkins households are suggestive of this trend.²⁴ During the warmer months, women often worked in the gardens, preserved fruits and vegetables, and perhaps spent more time working with their laying hens. During the colder months of the year, such chores declined, although farm women still had to make meals, clean and maintain the home, care for their families, help to process meat, and perhaps help to care for livestock.

Clothing work was not, however, confined to the colder months of the year. Women engaged in at least a bit of this work throughout the year, as demonstrated by the Atkins, McQueen, and Perkins households, above. It can be imagined women would need to sew or alter garments in response to a child’s sudden growth spurt, or out of a desire to adhere to more recent fashions. Similarly, mending was done as required, and it can be imagined that the hard physical labour of farm life, as well as childhood escapades, generated a fairly regular mending pile. Mary A. King and her sister, Marjorie, for example, often spent a considerable amount of time mending clothing for Paul, their

young hired hand, and sometimes had to stay up late to complete the work.²⁵ Indeed, in August 1902, an exasperated Mary A. recorded that “I took the whole day most to mend Paul[’s] shirt. I cannot get any other sewing done for mending for him.”²⁶ Many other women periodically spent afternoons, or even full days, simply mending. Kathleen Crawforth, the Duckwith women, and Elma Perkins all recorded such instances.²⁷ Similarly, Mrs. W.W. Farley of Smithfield noted both sewing and mending as part of farm women’s routine chores in her 1910 Report to the Women’s Institute (WI).²⁸ Women worked on their families’ clothing throughout the year, but this work often increased between late fall and early spring.

In their work on clothing, women both made new garments and repaired or altered old ones. When considering the breakdown between the making and repairing of clothing more generally, however, no clear overarching pattern emerges. The diaries of the King and Atkins households, for example, largely cover the first decade of the twentieth century, suggesting that both families encountered roughly the same society-wide economic conditions and social trends. The King household, however, typically had more entries for remaking garments, while the Atkins household typically had more entries for making new garments.²⁹ The King household consisted of an elderly, widowed female household head, her two single, adult daughters, and a young hired boy.³⁰ The Atkins household, in contrast, consisted of a married couple and their young adult daughters.³¹ Perhaps the Atkins household had a higher socioeconomic position than did the King household. Vivien Atkins may have had stronger sewing skills than did the King women, as suggested by the significant amount of textile work Vivien did for others in her local community.³² The Atkins household may also have had more of an interest in “keeping

up” with the latest fashions, and having a wider range of new garments.³³ This expanded household production in pursuit of fashion demonstrates that women were not reliant on readymade purchases to stay “up to date.” Such cases suggest that other factors, such as individual families’ economic circumstances, sewing abilities, and even preference, may have shaped textile work.

A similar disparity is evident in the case of the Beaton and Perkins households, whose diaries overlap in the late 1930s and early 1940s. While the Beaton women had more entries each year for remaking garments, Elma Perkins typically had more entries for making new garments.³⁴ Perhaps the recently married Elma was more interested in keeping up-to-date with contemporary fashion trends than were the single Velma Beaton and her sisters, who had been married longer-term.³⁵ Elma perhaps had more sewing skills than the Beaton women, as suggested by her employment in a local store completing alterations.³⁶ The factors shaping decisions to make or remake garments were complex, and appear to have been shaped mainly by familial-level factors.

Women’s decisions regarding sewing and mending were also shaped by the gender of the intended recipient. Specifically, women typically spent more time mending than making male garments. They did periodically make garments for their sons and other young male relatives.³⁷ The Pearce women of Elgin County, for example, made dresses for baby Franklin, son of Anna Pearce, in 1902, and Annie Hill made a shirt for her approximately seven-year-old son, Willie, in 1915.³⁸ Similarly, some women made garments for adult male relatives.³⁹ Most commonly, women made shirts for men, such as those made by the Atkins household of Brant County, the Brown household of Carleton County, and the McQueen household of Huron County.⁴⁰ Less frequently, some

women made other garments for men, such as the pants the Treffry women made in 1900, and the nightgown Jean Ferrier of Wellington County made her husband, Wilbert, in 1939.⁴¹ Interestingly, this continued, albeit small-scale, household production of male clothing in rural areas contrasts with the seemingly complete reliance on readymade male clothing in urban areas.⁴²

Women's sewing of clothing for male family members typically declined over the lifecycle of the intended wearer. Kathleen Crawford, for example, did some sewing for her son, Harold, when he was a young child. She sewed the most garments for him in 1922 and in 1923, when he was aged three and four, respectively; in 1922, for example, Kathleen made Harold pants, an under waist, and finished a suit for him.⁴³ Over the next few years, she also made Harold overalls, drawers, another suit, and shirts.⁴⁴ Although her diaries extended into 1931, she last recorded specifically sewing garments for Harold in August of 1928, when he was approximately ten years old.⁴⁵ This information suggests that Kathleen stopped sewing for her adolescent son, as he still would have presumably outgrown garments rather frequently at this age. In contrast, in the entire scope of her diaries, Kathleen only specifically mentioned sewing for her husband, William, twice.⁴⁶ The entries appear to be for a single garment, a vest, made over the course of two days in 1929.

A similar trend is evident in the Simmons household of Lennox and Addington County. Ruby Simmons made a range of garments for her young son, Russell, including diapers, suits, coats, and a kimono.⁴⁷ Ruby sewed these garments between 1922 and 1926, when Russell was approximately four years old.⁴⁸ Ruby also made Russell a sweater when he was approximately twelve years old.⁴⁹ In contrast, although her diaries

extend into the 1940s, Ruby only specified making a single garment (a nightgown) for her husband Archie.⁵⁰ This image of limited household production of adult male clothing is further reinforced by the early twentieth century farm press; patterns were rarely advertised for clothes for males over the age of twelve.⁵¹ While women made some garments for their young male children, this textile production declined significantly for adolescent males and adult male relatives, as men typically wore readymade garments.⁵²

In contrast to this limited household production, farm women devoted more time to mending and repairing male wardrobes.⁵³ This trend was evident as early as the first decade of the twentieth century in the King household. In the approximately seven-year span of her diary, Mary A. only clearly noted making an “overallvest” and a shirt for Paul.⁵⁴ Rather, she and her sister, Marjorie, typically mended or fixed pre-existing garments for Paul, and also mended a few items for a man named Gordon.⁵⁵ The focus on the maintenance of male wardrobes continued into the 1930s and early 1940s, and seemingly became more pronounced.⁵⁶ The diary entries of Velma Beaton and Elma Perkins suggest that the women mended, cleaned, and pressed male clothing.⁵⁷ In 1937, for example, Elma mended a coat and an overcoat for her husband, Fred, altered a pair of pants for her father, and altered and pressed a suit for her father.⁵⁸ Similarly, the Robertsons of Middlesex County purchased “thread for [Gordon’s] clothes” in 1944, which suggests that Ruth mended them.⁵⁹ While women made some garments for male kin, and particularly young boys, they increasingly focused on mending or repairing the clothing worn by male relatives.

As will be addressed in further detail below, part of the reason for the limited household production of men’s clothing can be attributed to the sophistication of the

men's readymade clothing industry. The need to efficiently clothe soldiers during the American Civil War was a key impetus for the early development of this industry.⁶⁰ According to historian Rob Schorman, the continued lag of the women's readymade clothing industry can be at least partially attributed to a desire for a clear differentiation between men's and women's clothing, as well as concerns over cost, quality, lack of individuality, and fit.⁶¹ There was thus a gap between the readymade options available for men and women, although it narrowed as the twentieth century progressed.

Perhaps not surprisingly, given this context, farm women's textile work in the early twentieth century focused largely on making, mending, and altering clothing for female kin, as was the case for their working-class urban counterparts.⁶² Women worked on a broad range of items, which can be grouped lightly into the categories of undergarments, night wear, "day" wear, outer wear, and accessories. Simply in 1904, for example, Vivien Atkins worked on an array of female garments, including capes, dresses, night gowns, slips, and even a stole.⁶³ Similarly, Jean McQueen, and her friend, Goody, worked on dresses, nighties, caps, and aprons in the 1920s and early 1930s.⁶⁴ In particular, women often spent a notable amount of time on dresses, since they were a staple of women's wardrobes in the first half of the twentieth century, and the production of such garments was time-consuming.⁶⁵ Of all their sewing on female garments, for example, Mary Potts of Norfolk County, Kathleen Crawforth of Ontario County, and Elma Perkins of Oxford County specified more work on dresses than any other type of clothing over the course of their diaries.⁶⁶ Indeed, the homemade dress depicted in Figure 13 could have been sewn by Perkins herself, as she periodically made garments for her mother, Cora DeMontmorency.⁶⁷ Farm women were skilled seamstresses, as

demonstrated by the range of garments on which they worked for themselves and their kin. At least some women were proud of the pretty garments they made themselves; Irish Rose, for example, wrote to the *Farmers' Sun* in 1921 to highlight how she made a dress in the fashion of a readymade one she liked for “one quarter of the real price.”⁶⁸



In the making and remaking of clothing, farm women participated in the broader marketplace. Their families purchased at least some material and other sewing inputs throughout the period. Some families specified the purchase of a wide array of materials; in 1913, for example, Jemina Hannah Leeder of Bruce County bought at least eight different kinds of material, including gingham, poplin, and shirting.⁶⁹ (Shirting was typically a “stout cotton cloth” used to make shirts, although it could also be used for other garments.⁷⁰) At least some families

Figure 13: Photograph of Cora DeMontmorency Day Dress.
Source: Cora DeMontmorency Day Dress, Fred Perkins Donations, Norwich & District Historical Society, 999.06.09. Photograph by author.
Note: This dress belonged to the mother of Elma Perkins. It was homemade, and had readymade lace added to the collar, as shown in closer detail in Figure 15, below. Although the specific maker of the item is uncertain, the dress is suggestive of Elma’s skills, as she presumably would have learned to sew from her mother. Indeed, Elma even periodically specified making dresses for her mother in the late 1930s and early 1940s.

purchased material into the early 1940s, as demonstrated by the households of John Cameron Topham of Oxford County, and of Gordon F. Robertson of Middlesex County.⁷¹ Advertisements in the farm press similarly highlighted the availability of material.⁷² Families also bought thread, needles, and buttons.⁷³ The Jones family of Elgin County, the Kelly family of Oxford County, and the Hawley family of Lennox and Addington County all made such purchases.⁷⁴ Similarly, the aforementioned

DeMontmorency dress, for example, was comprised of store-bought material and ribbon, as shown in closer detail in Figure 14. Such inputs could, of course, be used to make, repair, and/or update multiple garments. The purchases of material



and sewing inputs demonstrate that women made and repaired garments for their families, and that this household work was

Figure 14: Detail Photograph of Cora DeMontmorency Day Dress.

Source: Cora DeMontmorency Day Dress, Fred Perkins Donations, Norwich & District Historical Society, 999.06.09. Photograph by author.

dependent on market engagement. Farm women's sewing of clothing is yet another example of the blurring of the line between production and consumption, as was the case with household canning and baking.⁷⁵

Beyond making and mending clothing, some women showed considerable skill in their abilities to fashion new garments out of old.⁷⁶ On a rainy morning in March of 1904, for example, Frances Poole of Brant County made a dress for her approximately four-year-old daughter, Florence, out of a remnant of material, purchased the previous fall, as well as the yoke salvaged from one of her two-year-old dresses.⁷⁷ (A yoke was “a part of a garment,” typically worn on the shoulders, that was often “particularly ornamented.”⁷⁸) Frances also bought some finishing braid to complete the garment. As she declared, “I managed to get her quite a nice dress but there[']s no frills[,] I can tell you.”⁷⁹ Similarly, in the late 1920s and early 1930s, a family friend named Goody made over Jean McQueen's old dresses for McQueen's daughter, Margaret.⁸⁰ In at least some cases, such

refashioned garments were simply used around the household, such as the one Goody made for Margaret “for home wear” in 1931.⁸¹ This repurposing was not, however, simply used to outfit children; Cora Tunis of Wentworth County made a “blue serge suit” into a dress in April 1925.⁸² The practice even attracted discussion in the farm press; a 1920 article in the *Farmers’ Sun* provided advice on how to decide whether or not to remodel existing garments, and even suggested the types of garments that could be made out of old clothing.⁸³ A woman’s long coat, for example, could be made into “[a] short coat, [a] child’s coat, [a] skirt, [or a] one-piece dress.”⁸⁴ Making new garments out of old ones was an economical option for farm women who were talented seamstresses, as there were few input costs.

In their efforts to update wardrobes, some women also dyed or coloured garments. A number of families, including the Leeders of Bruce County, the Meyers of Perth County, and the Millers of Lennox and Addington County, purchased dye.⁸⁵ Families bought dye into at least the 1930s.⁸⁶ Overwhelmingly, women dyed female garments, such as the dresses and skirt Mary Potts dyed in the late 1910s, and the dresses and waist Annie and Eva Hill dyed in the 1920s.⁸⁷ (The term ‘waist’ was a “general term for a woman’s shirt” in this period.⁸⁸) Interestingly, only the accounts of William R. Shand of Norfolk County suggest the use of dyes to update a male wardrobe; he had a coat dyed in 1903, a pair of shoes dyed in 1914, and, finally, a suit of clothes dyed in 1916.⁸⁹ Shand was a young, unmarried man, and his accounts were largely for personal expenditures, suggesting that these garments were updated for his personal use.⁹⁰

Women were quite selective in terms of the garments they dyed, suggesting they made careful decisions about which items could be best updated in such a way. Mary A.

King, for example, had eight entries for dyeing garments in 1902 and three entries in 1909, accounting for only a tiny proportion of her overall textile work.⁹¹ The farm press similarly stressed that dyes could be used to update wardrobes economically.⁹² Interestingly, while the prescriptive literature stressed the ease of use of dyes, Vivien Atkins, Mary A. King, and Jean McQueen all noted challenges in dyeing garments.⁹³ King even “had to stand two hours stirring the things in the dye” when she worked on a skirt in 1902.⁹⁴ Perhaps the potential for such difficulties led Loretta (Talcott) White of Prince Edward County to have others complete such work on a few garments in the 1930s.⁹⁵ Despite challenges in the use of household textile dyes, women purchased and used dye to update a few select pieces of female clothing, and, more rarely, men’s garments.

While farm women were clearly interested in economy, as their efforts at mending, remaking, and dyeing clearly imply, frugality alone did not fully dictate their decisions regarding the purchase of textile inputs and the making of clothing. Rather, they often endeavoured to adhere to the latest fashions, and to add elements of beauty to their garments. Some families purchased patterns, suggesting that women wanted to expand their textile production skills, and to keep up-to-date on contemporary fashions.⁹⁶ The Jemina Hannah Leeder, Hawley, and Robertson households, for example, all made such purchases.⁹⁷ Families could also buy patterns illustrated in the farm press. Notably, these patterns were inspired by New York and Paris fashions, suggesting that the newspaper editors believed their readers had the same needs and desires for clothing as a broader North American female population.⁹⁸ Into the 1930s, families also periodically bought “extras” that were presumably used to add a little beauty to, or to update, their

garments, such as lace, frilling, and ribbon.⁹⁹ Women strove to find a balance between economy and fashion, as demonstrated by their sewing, and they likely took pride in their resourcefulness and found pleasure in their creativity.

Authors of articles in the farm press in the early twentieth century recognized that farm women were interested in adhering to contemporary fashions, and provided suggestions to make desires for pretty and fashionable clothing an achievable reality.¹⁰⁰ A 1905 article in the *Farmer's Advocate*, for example, suggested that if young women wanted to wear more elaborate “dress hats” for social outings, they should carry them in a bag while they travelled, to protect them from the elements.¹⁰¹ Other articles argued that women should strive to find an appropriate balance between fashion and economy. In 1910, the *Advocate* suggested that women should avoid any “dress[es] made in any extreme mode, as extremes are sure to go out of fashion soon.”¹⁰² Rather, it advised following more “conservative styles,” so that garments would not become outdated as quickly. The farm press advocated striking a balance between fashion and economy, which farm women appear to have done.¹⁰³

The WI took a bit more of a maternalistic view with regard to the clothing of its members. It assumed that women relied largely on home-sewn garments, although some of its speakers chastised women for hiring dressmakers, a practice that will be explored in more detail, below.¹⁰⁴ In the early twentieth century, reports presented at its annual conventions often criticized contemporary fashions. In 1900, for example, Mrs. James Gardiner of Kemble argued that women spent far too long making clothing with “innumerable tucks and frills,” and that this type of clothing was hard to wash.¹⁰⁵ In contrast to these complex and fashionable dresses, speakers argued that women should

dress “plainly and neatly.”¹⁰⁶ Similarly, Dr. Annie Backus of Aylmer argued in 1917 that women should dress “modestly, healthfully, and inexpensively.”¹⁰⁷ The WI’s clothing reform discussions were part of a larger initiative in the period, shared by other social reformers, such as those involved in the Salvation Army and other Protestant churches.¹⁰⁸

Despite such reform efforts, however, discussions of the WI’s short courses in sewing suggest that women were able to develop and enhance skills to make beautiful, and perhaps even fashionable, gowns. Miss Jessie Jeffrey, presumably of Wellington County, for example, explained in 1918 that students in the local sewing class learned how to make both house dresses and “best” dresses.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, one of the students subsequently worked as a dressmaker, suggesting she developed the skills to sew fashionable garments.¹¹⁰ While the WI’s rhetoric was dismissive of contemporary fashions, its sewing classes appear to have provided practical training in sewing garments for both household and public use.

Although farm women were generally skilled seamstresses, many families looked to dressmakers to make at least a few garments. Elsie Innes of Oxford County, Howard Jones of Elgin County, and the Hawleys of Lennox and Addington County periodically paid for sewing or alterations, or paid dressmakers for their services.¹¹¹ As the title implies, dressmakers typically made dresses; according to Rob Schorman, dresses were typically one of the last types of garments women purchased readymade.¹¹² Dressmakers did, however, also work on a variety of other garments for farm women. In the case of the J.D. Cowan family of Oxford County, for example, dressmakers sewed dresses, a coat, and a waist in the first decade of the 1900s.¹¹³ Similarly, in the 1920s and early 1930s, the McQueen family hired a dressmaker to work on dresses, skirts, house dresses, a waist, a

blouse, and a coat.¹¹⁴ There was generally an overlap in the types of clothing that farm women sewed themselves and hired dressmakers to sew. While Mary Potts, for example, had other women sew and/or repair dresses, skirts, waists, a coat, a sweater, a blouse, and a hat, she also did such work on the majority of these types of garments herself.¹¹⁵ This information suggests that Potts and her daughter wanted garments that were fancier than what they were able, or willing, to sew themselves; as Susan Porter Benson argues, there was a considerable difference between “‘plain sewing’ and the kind of skilled work that would produce a stylish and well-fitted wardrobe.”¹¹⁶ Other scholars have similarly highlighted the typical division between “everyday” garments, made in the home, and “better” dresses, made by dressmakers.¹¹⁷ The simple logistics of fit also may have played a role; in 1922, Potts “fixed silk skirt and veil [sic] blouse[;] Mis [sic] Yeoman fitted it.”¹¹⁸ Similarly, Marianna Treffry sewed a range of items for herself and others, but had a dressmaker fit a dress she cut out for herself in April 1900.¹¹⁹ Some women supplemented their own textile work with selected garments, particularly dresses, made by dressmakers.

Notably, some women showed a clear preference for custom-made garments. In early April 1904, for example, Frances Poole purchased a readymade suit in Brantford.¹²⁰ Shortly thereafter, however, she regretted her decision, and convinced the storekeeper to allow her to return the garment.¹²¹ Instead, Poole hired Ida Bingham to make her a suit. When Bingham finished the drop skirt and jacket, Poole was “well satisfied with it,” and said it was cheaper than the readymade one from Brantford.¹²² For Poole, at least, custom-made garments were clearly desirable, being pretty, economical, and a good fit.

Dressmaking was a source of income for a range of women in local communities.¹²³ Many dressmakers in rural Ontario were unmarried women, perhaps still residing with their families. This was the case with both Victoria Munro, employed by Merinda Pearce in the first decade of the 1900s, and Lillian Bricker, employed by Jemina Hannah Leeder in the 1910s and 1920s.¹²⁴ Some of these women, such as Edith Peters, also employed by Pearce, and Ida Bingham, employed by Frances Poole in 1904, were even recorded as dressmakers in the Census.¹²⁵ Interestingly, historian Wendy Gambler suggests that, in the rural American context, typically “the social distance that separated [dressmakers and their employers] was slim.”¹²⁶ This also appears to have been the case in rural Ontario, as dressmakers were relatively local, and would often come to the homes of their employers.

At least one of the diarists included in this study worked, at least informally, as a dressmaker. Cora Tunis completed such work in the 1920s and early 1930s, as an unmarried adult daughter residing with her family.¹²⁷ The work may have been particularly important for Tunis in the late 1920s and early 1930s, as her father, Jacob, died in November 1925.¹²⁸ Tunis either stayed with her clients while making their garments, or worked from home, depending on her proximity to them.¹²⁹ While dresses were a central part of her workload, Tunis sewed a range of garments, including coats, baby bonnets, and even a riding habit.¹³⁰ Notably, Tunis worked to keep up-to-date with the latest trends and fashions, attending fashion and pattern talks at Eaton’s, and taking a sewing class, presumably through the Women’s Institute (WI).¹³¹ (According to a 1917 WI Bulletin, fifteen to eighteen students could be accommodated in a class, which would cover such topics as drafting and cutting, the tailored skirt, and plain and fancy

dresses.)¹³² For unmarried women such as Tunis, their skills as dressmakers allowed them to provide a desired service in the local community, and to help support themselves.¹³³ Such efforts can be connected to those associated with the sale of food, as rural households worked to diversify their incomes.

In keeping with Marguerite

Connolly's findings for rural America, some Ontario farm women continued to work as dressmakers in rural areas into the mid-twentieth century.¹³⁴ These rural experiences

would seemingly be contrasted with a broader North American experience; the American historiography, for example, which draws on data from the censuses, traditionally highlights a significant decline in this occupation in the 1910s.¹³⁵ As we have seen in the rural Ontario context, however, many women worked on a more part-time or informal basis; dressmakers thus could have been under-enumerated more broadly.¹³⁶

More rarely, families paid individuals to work on garments for male kin. The Treffry, Pearce, and White households all employed individuals to make or alter suits for male kin, and Figure 15 depicts a jacket, which presumably was made by a tailor for Fred Perkins.¹³⁷ William Treffry also had a coat fitted in 1900.¹³⁸ Interestingly, age-based



Figure 15: Photograph of Jacket.

Source: Jacket, Fred Perkins Donations, Norwich & District Historical Society, 999.06.03. Photograph by author.

Note: This jacket appears to have been made by a tailor.

delineations are suggested in these entries. Tailors completed this textile work for William Treffry and Homer White, both of whom were adult men. Merinda Pearce, in contrast, had her dressmaker, Lilly, make a “summer suit” for her adopted son (or, perhaps, hired boy) named Cecil, who was approximately nine years old.¹³⁹ A small minority of farm men (and boys) had garments custom-made or altered, in contrast to the relatively common practice of hiring dressmakers to sew female garments.

Beyond the household production of clothing, and the purchase of custom-made clothing, families also made formal readymade purchases. An array of footwear, accessories, and readymade clothing were available throughout the period.¹⁴⁰ The accounts of the Pollard family of Oxford County, for example, suggest the range of goods consumed even by the arguably most “basic” of homes by the first decade of the century. The family purchased multiple pairs of shoes, rubbers, and boots.¹⁴¹ It bought mitts, socks, hats, and a purse.¹⁴² The Pollards even purchased some readymade clothing, including underwear, drawers, shirts, coats, overcoats, smocks, and a suit.¹⁴³ Notably, the Pollards were Quakers, a religious group whose wardrobes were typically plain and conservative.¹⁴⁴ Consequently, their clothing purchases were presumably more restrained than their agrarian counterparts of other religious denominations, as they followed their own beliefs with regard to clothing, as opposed to the changing fashions.

As demonstrated in the discussion of women’s work on male and female garments, there were clearly gendered divisions with regard to outfitting male and female kin. This gendered division was also evident in readymade clothing. Turning first to men’s wardrobes, farm men relied largely on readymade clothing, as did their urban counterparts.¹⁴⁵ In the early 1920s, James Glen, Jr., of Middlesex County, for example,

purchased shirts, shoes, overalls, and a “sweater coat.”¹⁴⁶ Similarly, in 1933, the Innes household of Oxford County bought overalls, shirts, pants, shoes, and boots for the male household head, Russell Innes.¹⁴⁷ In conjunction with the relative infrequency with which women made male garments, such purchases suggest the general reliance of farm men on readymade garments. Indeed, companies advertised a range of readymade clothing for men in the farm press in the early twentieth century, including overalls, shirts, and coats.¹⁴⁸ A number of these ads stressed the quality and durability of the garments in question. Presumably, this emphasis was an effort to dispel the notion of the poor quality of readymade goods, which may have lingered from the late nineteenth century, when this concern was valid.¹⁴⁹



Figure 16: Photograph of Black Derby, above.

Figure 17: Detail Photograph of Black Derby, below.

Source: Black Derby, Fred Perkins Donations, Norwich & District Historical Society, 999.06.02.
Photographs by author.

Note: This derby was readymade.



Farm men purchased clothing both for work and for more formal occasions. William R. Shand, for example, bought a broad range of readymade clothing in the 1910s, including fine shirts, work shirts, overalls, and underclothes.¹⁵⁰ Similarly, Fred Perkins purchased a suit, a pair of “high top rubbers,” and a pair of coveralls in the mid-1930s; as shown in Figures 16 and 17, he also purchased a derby.¹⁵¹ Some men even bought footwear and accessories for leisure purposes; the Meyers, for example,

purchased hockey shoes (perhaps a special type of shoe to which individuals could attach skates) in 1919, and skates in the 1930s.¹⁵² William H. Cowan of Oxford County also bought skates and a bathing suit for a hired hand, John Lewis, in the early 1930s.¹⁵³ Men relied mainly on readymade garments, which were repaired and maintained by their female relatives, for a broad array of activities.¹⁵⁴

Farm families' purchases for boys were limited, but these purchases expanded as the boys grew into adolescents and young men.¹⁵⁵ Families purchased footwear for male children at a young age. The Hawley family, for example, bought baby boots in December 1910, and baby shoes in May 1911; their son, Donald, was born in September 1909.¹⁵⁶ Families also bought some accessories for boys, such as stockings purchased for three-year-old Horace Kelly in 1904 and a cap purchased for six-year-old Stuart Cowan in 1924.¹⁵⁷ They made select purchases of readymade garments for boys, but appear to have waited a bit longer to purchase suits. In the case of Horace Kelly, for example, the family purchased two overcoats and two sweaters for him in the first decade of the twentieth century, but waited until he was approximately seven years old to purchase a suit.¹⁵⁸ Russell Simmons appears to have waited a bit longer for his first readymade suit; Ruby Simmons first recorded the purchase of a suit for Russell in September 1931, when he was nine years old.¹⁵⁹ The expanded purchasing of clothing for farm boys as they aged is also suggested by the William H. Cowan household. In the 1920s, Cowan bought footwear and a cap for his youngest son, Stuart.¹⁶⁰ In the case of Cameron, in contrast, who was four years older than Stuart, Cowan purchased shoes, boots, rubbers, clothes, and even a suit.¹⁶¹ Farm families gradually incorporated readymade garments into the

wardrobes of their young sons; footwear was often an early purchase, while suits were purchased at a later age.

Women also bought some items readymade, showing that they were not fully reliant on homemade goods. Advertisements in the farm press highlighted the types of garments available readymade, including skirts, dresses, and underwear; the shawl from the Perkins



Figure 18: Photograph of Shawl.

Source: Shawl, Fred Perkins Donations, Norwich & District Historical Society, 999.06.06. Photograph by author.
Note: This shawl was readymade.

family, depicted in Figure 18, was also readymade.¹⁶² In the first decade of the twentieth century, for example, May F. Kelly bought a range of footwear, aprons, hats, and coats.¹⁶³ Similarly, in the early 1940s, Ruth Robertson purchased such items as stockings, underwear, dresses, and footwear.¹⁶⁴ Interestingly, a number of diarists purchased the same types of items that they also made for themselves. The Potts women, Elma Perkins, and the Beaton women, for example, purchased dresses readymade even though at least one woman in their respective households also made such garments.¹⁶⁵

A variety of complex factors influenced women's decisions regarding what to sew and what to purchase. Economic considerations played a role; women may have relied more heavily on homemade garments "when money was scarce."¹⁶⁶ Home production may also have allowed women to "sui[t] their individual needs" and assert more control over the quality of the material and workmanship.¹⁶⁷ Women's preference and notions of fashion also presumably influenced decisions.¹⁶⁸ In some cases, women may have sewed garments to be worn around the home and on the farm, while choosing to purchase some

of their fancier dresses.¹⁶⁹ They made decisions regarding homemade and readymade garments based on familial-level considerations, including economy, quality, fashion, and preference.

This concern over the relationship between fashion and choices in clothing, accessory, and footwear purchases is also suggested by an analysis of purchasing locations. Families made many of their purchases in local towns. Proximity made such purchases convenient, and women were able to buy a number of different garments locally; in the late 1910s, for example, Bella Green and her mother purchased a waist, a sweater coat, two dresses, and shoes in town.¹⁷⁰ Similarly, in 1936, Elma Perkins bought a hat, a pair of kid gloves, a purse, and her wedding dress in town, presumably either Woodstock or Norwich.¹⁷¹ Often, even if mainly shopping in a single town, families frequented a range of stores, as they did when purchasing groceries. The Jemina Hannah Leeder family, for example, bought clothing, footwear, and accessories from at least seven different stores in Port Elgin in the 1910s and 1920s.¹⁷² The frequency and extent of local purchases suggests the variety of garments available, and the relative vibrancy of local stores.

Farm families also travelled to other urban centers for some items, suggesting a desire to have a wider range of options.¹⁷³ The King family, for example, resided in Welland County, near Chippawa, in the first decade of the twentieth century.¹⁷⁴ Not surprisingly, the family made many of its purchases in Chippawa.¹⁷⁵ The Kings also travelled upwards of twenty kilometers from Chippawa to make purchases in Clifton, Drummondville, and Welland.¹⁷⁶ Other families travelled longer distances to make more specialty purchases. The Allen family of Lennox and Addington County travelled a little

over forty kilometers, to Kingston, to purchase dresses, a coat, and even wedding clothes in 1929.¹⁷⁷ These families clearly were connected to local and regional networks, in terms of their purchasing of clothing, footwear, and accessories.

Similarly, Jean Ferrier specified that Mrs. Ferrier, presumably her mother-in-law, travelled over 100 kilometers to Toronto to purchase a fur coat in 1936.¹⁷⁸ It is possible that Mrs. Ferrier purchased a fur-trimmed coat, rather than a coat made completely of fur. There could be considerable variations in price, depending on the type and amount of fur incorporated into a coat; women's fur-trimmed coats ranged from approximately \$10.95 to \$30, according to a 1927 Eaton's catalogue.¹⁷⁹ Mrs. Ferrier evidently balanced her need for a new coat, a desire for a specific type of coat, and any financial constraints as a result of the Great Depression, in her decision. She also resided with her son and daughter-in-law, suggesting that her personal living expenses were low, thus perhaps helping to facilitate this purchase.¹⁸⁰ The example of Mrs. Ferrier demonstrates that some farm families were able to make luxury purchases throughout the period, travelling to urban centers in order to do so.

Beyond the usual purchasing of clothing directly in stores, farm families had a few other options. Most commonly, families placed mail orders with such companies as Eaton's and Simpson's.¹⁸¹ A number of families, including the McIntosh family of Bruce County, the Potts family of Norfolk County, and the Shields family of Peel County, simply recorded placing such orders.¹⁸² Other families specified the goods they acquired from mail order companies.¹⁸³ In 1921 alone, for example, the Leeder family purchased stockings, corsets, underwear, and slippers, plus a number of items that they ultimately returned.¹⁸⁴ At least in the American context, consumers saw department stores as

“centers of fashion” by the early twentieth century; perhaps similar impressions, as well as the relative convenience of this type of shopping, influenced Ontario farm families’ decisions.¹⁸⁵ Eaton’s, for example, advertised the economy of its goods in the farm press in the early twentieth century, and periodically highlighted that its clothing was of up-to-date fashion and “good quality.”¹⁸⁶ Families usually placed only a few mail orders a year to Eaton’s, suggesting they were selective in their use of this method of shopping.¹⁸⁷

As we have seen in our discussions of foodstuffs, families could even periodically make some purchases directly on-farm. A few pedlars or sales people visited farm families to sell accessories and even undergarments. In 1918, for example, the Leeder family purchased handkerchiefs from a pedlar, and in 1930, a stocking pedlar called on the McQueen family.¹⁸⁸ Similarly, Ralph Smith of Perth County remembered a clothing salesman being a regular visitor to his family’s farm in the 1930s and 1940s, explaining that “[i]t was always exciting to see him pull out arms-full of clothing of all colours and sizes.”¹⁸⁹ Interestingly, at least in the 1930s, some female salespeople also peddled textiles; a woman named Mrs. Loveless visited the White household “to sell corsets and underwear” in 1930, and White ordered underwear from a woman named Miss Hughes in 1935.¹⁹⁰ Perhaps, since these were such personal items, women felt more comfortable making such purchasing decisions in their own homes. While families largely made their clothing purchases in local stores, the range of purchasing locations suggests that farm families participated in the larger consumer culture and took advantage of a multiplicity of options for creating and updating their wardrobes.

Women’s interest in fashion and clothing is also suggested by the social elements of shopping. They shopped for clothing with friends, and even periodically recorded their

friends' purchases. Jean McQueen, for example, noted purchases made by extended family and friends in the 1920s and early 1930s.¹⁹¹ Similarly, Ruby Simmons not only shopped with her mother and mother-in-law, but also shopped with at least five other women in the mid-twentieth century.¹⁹² Some women even went for lunch while on shopping excursions, suggesting that it was a social outing. Mary Potts, for example, "went through [the] Eatons [sic] store [and] had lunch there" on November 5, 1923.¹⁹³ Women's interest in fashion is also suggested by their visiting of friends to see newly purchased dresses, as Marianna Treffry and Emma Haight did in 1900, and their noting of the first time they wore a new garment, as Loretta White did in the 1910s and early 1930s.¹⁹⁴ Farm women viewed shopping for garments as a social excursion, and were evidently interested in fashion, keeping track of what their friends and families purchased, and sometimes even the first time they wore a new garment.

Concerns over fashions, fit, and price were further evident in the nature of many shopping excursions. Periodically, women went shopping and returned home empty-handed, as they did not find suitable garments. In 1900, two of the women from the Treffry household, for example, went to Delhi in search of fall hats, but did not make a purchase.¹⁹⁵ Similarly, Loretta White had challenges finding a desirable hat in Picton in 1911, and periodically had difficulty finding suitable and desirable garments in the 1930s.¹⁹⁶ Families also purchased garments and subsequently returned them, as the accounts of the Leeder households of Bruce County, the Hawley household of Lennox and Addington County, and the James Glen, Sr., household of Middlesex County attest.¹⁹⁷ Farm families were clearly discerning shoppers, returning unsuitable garments,

or even returning empty-handed if the store, town, or city did not have the item for which they had been seeking.

Notably, families relied on purchased footwear throughout the period, although some families also paid for repairs to old shoes.¹⁹⁸ Presumably, families did not have the tools and the skills to produce such items within the home.¹⁹⁹ In the first decade of the twentieth century, for example, John Pollard bought shoes, rubbers, and boots, but also made payments for repairing shoes, for half soles, and to a cobbler.²⁰⁰ Similarly, the Hawley family purchased a range of footwear throughout the first half of the twentieth century, but also paid for footwear repairs.²⁰¹ Perhaps not surprisingly, the Hawley family's entries for repairs, as opposed to purchases, appear to have become more common during the Great Depression, although the family still made some purchases.²⁰² Footwear was a relatively common purchase for families throughout the first half of the twentieth century.

While there was not a total transition, there was a marked shift towards expanded readymade purchasing, particularly for women. This shift is at least partially attributable to the slower development of the women's readymade clothing industry.²⁰³ The accounts of the Hawley household, which cover the first half of the twentieth century, are suggestive. Between 1900 and 1915, the annual number of purchases of material exceeded the annual number of purchases of readymade garments.²⁰⁴ Thereafter, however, the trend reversed, and the annual purchases of readymade garments typically exceeded those of material.²⁰⁵ After 1936, the family did not note any purchases of material. Such purchasing patterns suggests a decline in the household production of clothing, and an expansion in the family's reliance on readymade. Similarly, the Kelly

family made few purchases of material after 1926.²⁰⁶ Other women continued, however, to complete at least some work on clothing in the home into at least the 1930s and early 1940s. The Beaton women, for example, mended a range of garments in this period, and also made such items as skirts, aprons, and nightgowns.²⁰⁷ Similarly, Elma Perkins made a range of garments, including dresses, aprons, and slips.²⁰⁸ Interestingly, these findings help to complicate some of the broader historiography, which suggests that the United States, at least, “had made the conversion from home-made to factory-made clothing before the outbreak of the First World War.”²⁰⁹ While the purchase of material seems to have gradually declined in the early twentieth century, and the purchase of readymade garments, particularly of women’s clothing, appears to have increased, this was not a sudden and complete transformation.²¹⁰ Notably, the decline in home sewing cannot simply be related to matters of skill; the streamlined fashions of the 1920s and 1930s were simpler than those earlier in the century, meaning that, if anything, the sewing of fashionable garments would have been easier, rather than more difficult, over time.

Overall, Ontario farm families acquired their wardrobes from a variety of sources. Women devoted considerable time and energy to making and maintaining garments, particularly between the late fall and early spring. They both made and repaired clothing; skills, socioeconomic conditions, and the gender of the intended recipient appear to have been central in shaping the extent to which a household focused more on one task than the other. Women typically devoted more time to work on female, as opposed to male, garments. They also tried to update female wardrobes by dyeing old garments, or making new items out of older or unused items. Women purchased a range of material, inputs, and frills, showing that they strove to find personal or familial balances between

economy and fashion. Women's sewing of clothing thus blurred the division between production and consumption. While farm women were clearly skilled in the sewing and alteration of clothing, they periodically hired others to complete these tasks.

Farm wardrobes also contained an array of readymade garments. Both men and women purchased footwear and accessories. Men bought a range of readymade garments, suitable for work, leisure, and more formal settings. Families bought some items for their young boys, and the nature and extent of purchases expanded as the boys grew older. It appears that farm women's purchase of readymade garments expanded over the first half of the twentieth century, although the household sewing and repairing of garments continued in at least some families. Notably, women sewed the same type of garments for themselves that they also purchased custom-made and readymade. Families made a number of purchases in local towns, but they also travelled to larger urban centers for some items, placed orders through mail order catalogues, and even made a few purchases from pedlars. Women enjoyed the sociability of shopping, and they were discerning shoppers. Ontario farm families thus drew together wardrobes of home-sewn, custom-made, and readymade garments.²¹¹ Their decisions were shaped by gender-based norms and familial-level factors, and they balanced concerns over economy with desires for beauty and fashion.

¹ Boyle, 103.

² Boyle, 104.

³ Boyle, 105.

⁴ See also Cowan, *More Work for Mother*, 65; Barron, 238; Baillargeon, 132; Kinnear, 146, and 149; Sharpless, 71, and 95; Roelens-Grant, ed., 10, 32, 50, 55, 95, 118, and 140; and Goldstein, 104-05.

⁵ See, for example, August 10, 1900, September 17, 1900, October 11, 1900, November 7, 1900, December 19, 1900, January 10, 1901, February 6, 1901, March 2, 1901, April 19, 1901, June 24, 1901, July 1, 1901, August 7, 1901, September 23, 1901, October 3, 1901, November 25, 1901, December 6, 1901, January 1, 1902, February 3, 1902, March 8, 1902, May 7, 1902, June 5, 1902, July 3, 1902, August 18, 1902, September 9, 1902, October 20, 1902, November 15, 1902, December 3, 1902, January 30, 1903, February 21, 1903, March 14, 1903, April 16, 1903, May 14, 1903, June 13, 1903, April 25, 1904, May 30, 1904, June 15, 1904, July 18, 1904, September 17, 1904, October 12, 1904, November 21, 1904, October 5, 1908,

November 17, 1908, December 7, 1908, January 5, 1909, February 1, 1909, March 13, 1909, April 5, 1909, May 10, 1909, June 14, 1909, July 22, 1909, and August 9, 1909, Mary A. King Diaries; February 13, 1922, March 28, 1922, May 29, 1922, September 4, 1922, November 27, 1922, February 5, 1923, March 12, 1923, August 2, 1923, November 13, 1923, February 26, 1925, March 31, 1925, January 6, 1928, February 14, 1928, September 24, 1928, November 2, 1928, December 29, 1928, January 3, 1929, February 9, 1929, March 26, 1929, August 22, 1929, November 1, 1929, December 11, 1929, February 15, 1930, March 15, 1930, April 14, 1930, December 18, 1930, March 5, 1931, May 27, 1931, June 23, 1931, July 13, 1931, November 18, 1931, February 24, 1932, March 18, 1932, April 11, 1932, and December 12, 1932, Arthur McQueen Diaries; and March 18, 1930, June 17, 1930, October 9, 1930, November 24, 1930, January 7, 1931, February 11, 1931, March 27, 1931, April 27, 1931, May 12, 1931, June 9, 1931, June 28, 1937, August 19, 1937, September 30, 1937, October 18, 1937, November 9, 1937, December 30, 1937, January 4, 1938, February 8, 1938, March 16, 1938, April 7, 1938, May 19, 1938, June 13, 1938, July 6, 1938, August 15, 1938, October 6, 1938, November 24, 1938, December 5, 1938, January 5, 1939, February 13, 1939, March 11, 1939, July 19, 1941A, September 15, 1941A, October 7, 1941A, December 1, 1941A, January 20, 1941B, February 26, 1941B, March 3, 1941B, April 16, 1941B, May 23, 1941B, June 25, 1941B, July 28, 1941B, January 5, 1942A, February 12, 1942A, March 9, 1942A, January 19, 1942B, May 2, 1942B, December 14, 1942B, January 18, 1943, April 8, 1943, July 14, 1943, August 4, 1943, September 16, 1943, January 8, 1944, February 7, 1944, March 20, 1944, April 24, 1944, August 31, 1944, November 1, 1944, December 11, 1944, January 8, 1945, February 5, 1945, April 4, 1945, and May 10, 1945, Velma Beaton Diaries. See also Morawska, 135, and 185.

⁶ August 10, 1900, August 23, 1900, August 25, 1900, August 28, 1900, September 17, 1900, October 10-11, 1900, October 23, 1900, November 5, 1900, November 7, 1900, December 14, 1900, December 19, 1900, January 8-11, 1901, January 29, 1901, February 6, 1901, February 14-16, 1901, February 25-26, 1901, March 2, 1901, March 4, 1901, March 6, 1901, March 13, 1901, March 20, 1901, March 22, 1901, April 1, 1901, April 8, 1901, April 10, 1901, April 15, 1901, April 18-19, 1901, June 24, 1901, June 28, 1901, July 1, 1901, July 3, 1901, July 17, 1901, July 19, 1901, July 24, 1901, July 26, 1901, July 31, 1901, August 7, 1901, August 20, 1901, August 31, 1901, September 23, 1901, October 3, 1901, October 5, 1901, October 24, 1901, November 4, 1901, November 25-26, 1901, December 3, 1901, December 6, 1901, December 19, 1901, December 21, 1901, December 31, 1901, January 1, 1902, January 3, 1902, January 6, 1902, January 11, 1902, January 13, 1902, January 15, 1902, January 17-18, 1902, January 20-23, 1902, January 25, 1902, January 27, 1902, February 3, 1902, February 7, 1902, February 18, 1902, March 7-8, 1902, May 5-7, 1902, May 30, 1902, June 5-6, 1902, July 3, 1902, July 19, 1902, August 18, 1902, August 30, 1902, September 9-10, 1902, October 4, 1902, October 13-14, 1902, October 16, 1902, October 20, 1902, October 22, 1902, October 27-28, 1902, November 15, 1902, December 3, 1902, December 8, 1902, January 5, 1903, January 9, 1903, January 30-31, 1903, February 9, 1903, February 21, 1903, February 28, 1903, March 14, 1903, March 16, 1903, March 18, 1903, March 23-24, 1903, March 27, 1903, April 13-14, 1903, April 16, 1903, April 20, 1903, May 13-14, 1903, June 13, 1903, April 25, 1904, April 29-30, 1904, May 7, 1904, May 30, 1904, June 14-15, 1904, June 21, 1904, July 14, 1904, July 16, 1904, July 18-21, 1904, July 25, 1904, September 16-17, 1904, October 5, 1904, October 12, 1904, November 21-22, 1904, October 5, 1908, November 16-17, 1908, November 27, 1908, December 1, 1908, December 5, 1908, December 7, 1908, December 10, 1908, December 12, 1908, December 18, 1908, December 21, 1908, December 26, 1908, December 31, 1908, January 1, 1909, January 5-8, 1909, January 18, 1909, January 27, 1909, February 1, 1909, March 4, 1909, March 13, 1909, March 18, 1909, March 27, 1909, April 2, 1909, April 5, 1909, April 9, 1909, April 20, 1909, April 24, 1909, April 26, 1909, May 3, 1909, May 7, 1909, May 10, 1909, May 27, 1909, June 3-4, 1909, June 10, 1909, June 12, 1909, June 14, 1909, June 22, 1909, July 22-24, 1909, July 27, 1909, July 30, 1909, August 4-6, 1909, and August 9-10, 1909, Mary A. King Diaries; December 19, 1916, March 19, 1917, May 31, 1917, June 18, 1917, June 20-21, 1917, August 8, 1917, October 3, 1917, December 6, 1917, December 11-12, 1917, December 15, 1917, December 19, 1917, December 30, 1917, April 30, 1918, June 18-19, 1918, June 24, 1918, April 4, 1922, April 21, 1922, May 9, 1922, June 7, 1922, June 29, 1922, July 3, 1922, July 11, 1922, September 14, 1922, September 23, 1922, September 28, 1922, October 3, 1922, November 9, 1922, November 24, 1922, December 14, 1922, January 3, 1923, January 8, 1923, February 3, 1923, February 7, 1923, February 28, 1923, April 5, 1923, April 9, 1923, April 14, 1923, November 12, 1923, January 8, 1924, February 25, 1924, April 17, 1924, April 22, 1924, July 7, 1924, August 10, 1924, August 20, 1924, January 28, 1925, February 13, 1925, February 16, 1925, March 10, 1925, May 7, 1925, May 11, 1925, December 29, 1925,

June 15-16, 1926, August 10, 1926, October 5, 1926, October 18, 1926, May 21, 1927, May 23, 1927, May 30, 1927, June 10, 1927, June 13, 1927, December 19, 1927, June 20-21, 1928, July 25, 1928, August 9, 1928, February 5-7, 1929, February 12, 1929, February 14, 1929, May 9-10, 1929, May 15, 1929, November 20, 1929, January 7, 1930, October 20, 1930, December 19, 1930, February 9-10, 1931, and February 16-17, 1931, William Joshua Crawforth Diaries; and January 3, 1936, January 16, 1936, January 21, 1936, January 23-24, 1936, January 27, 1936, February 3, 1936, February 6-7, 1936, February 14, 1936, March 6, 1936, November 5, 1936, November 18, 1936, January 25-27, 1937, February 8, 1937, March 18, 1937, March 27, 1937, April 2, 1937, April 5, 1937, April 8, 1937, April 21, 1937, June 28-29, 1937, December 19, 1937, December 28, 1937, January 11, 1938, January 31, 1938, February 16, 1938, March 2, 1938, March 7, 1938, March 16, 1938, September 17, 1938, November 28, 1938, January 8, 1939, March 9, 1939, April 13, 1939, June 21-22, 1939, December 6, 1939, December 20, 1939, December 27, 1939, January 9-10, 1940, March 18-19, 1940, April 2, 1940, and June 1, 1940, Fred Perkins Diary.

⁷ See, for example, March 6, 1915, October 5, 1915, November 2, 1915, November 24, 1915, December 1, 1915, March 17, 1916, April 4, 1916, May 16, 1916, August 31, 1916, November 27, 1916, January 8, 1917, March 14, 1917, November 29, 1917, January 23, 1919, February 18, 1919, and April 16, 1919, B.A. Green Diary. Bella did not specify any other intended recipients, outside of family members.

⁸ March 13, 1913, September 17, 1913, November 19, 1914, November 26, 1914, January 6, 1915, May 19, 1915, August 13-14, 1915, October 27, 1915, November 15, 1915, November 17-18, 1916, October 8, 1917, December 8, 1917, September 27, 1918, November 9, 1918, November 14, 1918, December 26, 1918, January 3, 1919, September 6, 1919, October 28, 1919, November 4, 1919, November 24, 1919, April 3, 1920, April 16, 1920, September 10, 1920, November 12, 1920, March 7-8, 1921, April 23, 1921, July 11, 1921, September 10, 1921, October 4, 1921, February 9, 1922, December 19, 1922, February 14, 1923, June 9, 1923, and August 25, 1925, Diary of Annie Hill.

⁹ Emily and Ruth did some sewing for Mrs. Anderson, an individual listed simply as "C," Marjorie Neil, and Mrs. Neil. It is uncertain if the latter two entries were for the same individual, or for family members. See September 9, 1920, December 14, 1920, March 1, 1921, November 21-23, 1921, and December 8, 1921, Emily Duckwith Diaries.

¹⁰ November 13-14, 1901, November 23, 1901, December 14, 1901, December 17, 1901, February 24, 1902, August 5, 1902, August 20, 1902, August 22, 1902, November 25, 1902, December 1, 1902, August 11, 1903, November 30, 1903, December 1, 1903, December 3-4, 1903, December 10, 1903, December 28, 1903, September 28, 1904, October 14, 1904, November 10, 1904, November 12, 1904, September 26-27, 1905, November 7, 1905, November 20, 1905, December 19, 1905, June 2, 1906, August 16, 1907, November 21, 1907, and December 12, 1908, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries.

¹¹ Sarah A. Gordon, *"Make it Yourself: Home Sewing, Gender, and Culture, 1890-1930"* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 10, 73, and 100-01; and Marguerite A. Connolly, "The Transformation of Home Sewing and the Sewing Machine in America, 1850-1929" (PhD diss., University of Delaware, 1994), 282-83, 288, and 318.

¹² Jean Louise Parsons, "Dressmakers: Transitions in the Urban Production of Custom-Made Clothing, 1880-1920" (PhD diss., University of Maryland, 1998), 50-52; and Connolly, "The Transformation of Home Sewing," 244-45.

¹³ See, for example, January 8-11, 1901, January 29, 1901, February 6, 1901, February 14-16, 1901, February 25-26, 1901, March 2, 1901, March 4, 1901, March 6, 1901, March 13, 1901, March 20, 1901, March 22, 1901, April 1, 1901, April 8, 1901, April 10, 1901, April 15, 1901, April 18-19, 1901, June 24, 1901, June 28, 1901, July 1, 1901, July 3, 1901, July 17, 1901, July 19, 1901, July 24, 1901, July 26, 1901, July 31, 1901, August 7, 1901, August 20, 1901, August 31, 1901, September 23, 1901, October 3, 1901, October 5, 1901, October 24, 1901, November 4, 1901, November 25, 1901, December 3, 1901, December 6, 1901, December 19, 1901, December 21, 1901, and December 31, 1901, Mary A. King Diaries.

¹⁴ See, January 6-7, 1919, February 10, 1919, February 13, 1919, February 26, 1919, March 21, 1919, March 26, 1919, March 28, 1919, May 1, 1919, May 15-16, 1919, July 14, 1919, August 12, 1919, August 14, 1919, September 6, 1919, November 5, 1919, November 18, 1919, December 2, 1919, December 4, 1919, December 9, 1919, December 16, 1919, December 29, 1919, January 3, 1920, January 12, 1920, January 19, 1920, January 26, 1920, January 28, 1920, February 2, 1920, February 14, 1920, February 16, 1920, February 23, 1920, April 12, 1920, April 14, 1920, April 16, 1920, April 24, 1920, April 26, 1920, April 30, 1920, May 28, 1920, June 21, 1920, June 29-30, 1920, July 8, 1920, July 14, 1920, July 21, 1920, July 27, 1920, July 29, 1920, July 31, 1920, August 3, 1920, August 5, 1920, September 9, 1920, October

5, 1920, November 17, 1920, November 19, 1920, November 30, 1920, December 6-7, 1920, December 14, 1920, March 1, 1921, March 4-5, 1921, March 7, 1921, March 15-16, 1921, April 20, 1921, October 11, 1921, October 18-20, 1921, October 29, 1921, November 11, 1921, November 15, 1921, November 30, 1921, December 2, 1921, December 5, 1921, December 8-10, 1921, and December 12-13, 1921, Emily Duckwith Diaries.

¹⁵ From about 1900 to July 1906, both Vivien and Hilda were at home with their parents. Hilda married in July of 1906, and she was living in her own household with her husband by the 1911 Census. See, for example, January 3-5, 1901, January 8, 1901, January 28-29, 1901, February 1, 1901, February 4-7, 1901, February 15, 1901, February 18, 1901, February 21-23, 1901, February 27-28, 1901, March 1, 1901, March 5, 1901, March 7, 1901, March 16, 1901, March 18, 1901, March 20, 1901, March 22-23, 1901, April 3, 1901, April 12-13, 1901, April 19, 1901, April 22, 1901, April 29, 1901, May 4, 1901, May 13, 1901, May 18, 1901, May 28-30, 1901, June 3, 1901, June 7-8, 1901, June 13, 1901, June 17, 1901, June 20, 1901, July 15, 1901, July 17, 1901, July 19, 1901, July 30, 1901, August 8, 1901, September 9, 1901, September 23, 1901, September 26, 1901, October 1, 1901, October 9, 1901, October 15, 1901, November 4, 1901, November 13-14, 1901, November 18, 1901, November 22-23, 1901, November 26, 1901, November 30, 1901, December 7, 1901, December 10-11, 1901, December 14, 1901, December 16-17, 1901, and December 19, 1901, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries; "George T. Atkins," Dumfries Township (South), Wentworth & Brant Counties (North), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 1, 2; "Edward Aubidge Crombie and Hildaguisse Isabel Atkins," Paris, Brant County, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Marriages, 121, 359, 004980, June 25, 1906; and "George T. Atkins," South Dumfries Township, Brant County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 6, 48.

¹⁶ "Vivian [sic] Atkins," Hamilton, Wentworth County, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Deaths, 192, 466, 036747, September 27, 1913.

¹⁷ January 12, 1900, January 16, 1900, January 19, 1900, January 23, 1900, February 1, 1900, March 7, 1900, March 19, 1900, March 27, 1900, March 29, 1900, May 2, 1900, May 4, 1900, May 7, 1900, May 11, 1900, May 19, 1900, June 5, 1900, June 22, 1900, and August 2, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diaries.

¹⁸ January 4-5, 1900, January 11, 1900, February 1, 1900, March 26-28, 1900, April 5, 1900, May 4, 1900, May 7, 1900, May 9, 1900, May 11-12, 1900, May 16, 1900, May 18, 1900, May 26, 1900, May 28-30, 1900, June 11, 1900, June 13, 1900, June 20, 1900, June 22, 1900, July 11, 1900, July 26, 1900, August 1, 1900, August 6, 1900, August 16-17, 1900, August 24, 1900, August 30-31, 1900, September 12, 1900, September 14, 1900, September 17, 1900, September 22, 1900, September 24, 1900, September 27, 1900, September 29-31, 1900, November 1, 1900, and November 5-7, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diary; "Chas. J. Treffry," Norwich Township (South), Oxford County (South), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1881, 1, 1; and "Charles J. Treffry," Norwich Township (North), Oxford County (South), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 6, 55.

¹⁹ Marguerite Connolly, "The Disappearance of the Domestic Sewing Machine, 1890-1925," *Winterthur Portfolio* 34, no. 1 (Spring 1999), 37. See also Gebby, 99; and Sharpless, 97.

²⁰ August 22, 1912, J.D. Cowan Accounts; October 13, 1900, October 17, 1901, September 3, 1904, and April 30, 1921, Hawley Farm Accounts; April 18, 1914, "Hardware," Howard Jones Accounts; June c. 19, 1920, Howard Jones Accounts; September 27, 1905, D.H. Kelly Accounts; July 14, 1914, July 20, 1916, August 9, 1920, and July 22, 1921, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts; July 26, 1920, "Miscellaneous Payments," Nathaniel "Ed" Leeder Accounts; and March 20, 1926, February 4, 1933, and April 23, 1945, Ruby Simmons Diary. See also Boyle, 208; Strasser, 126; Cowan, *More Work for Mother*, 94; Kline, 106; Barron, 172-73; Nancy Page Fernandez, "Innovations for Home Dressmaking and the Popularization of Stylish Dress," *Journal of American Culture* 17, no. 3 (Fall 1994), 28-30; and *The 1927 Edition of the T. Eaton Co. Limited Catalogue for Spring and Summer*, 322. For information on the sewing machine industry in late nineteenth-century Ontario, see Martha Eckmann Brent, "A Stitch in Time: The Sewing Machine Industry of Ontario, 1860-1897," *Material History Bulletin* 10 (1980), 1-30.

²¹ October 3, 1901, January 23, 1902, May 22, 1902, May 30, 1902, September 9, 1902, October 13, 1902, January 5, 1903, February 17, 1903, March 24, 1903, April 29, 1904, June 15, 1904, and September 16, 1904, Mary A. King Diaries.

²² Fernandez, 29-30. See also Miss M.V. Powell, "Helpful Hints on Plain Sewing," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1911*, 111; and Beverly Gordon and Laurel Horton, "Turn-of-the-Century Quilts: Embodied Objects in a Web of Relationships," in *Women and the Material Culture of*

Needlework and Textiles, 1750-1950, ed. Maureen Daly Goggin and Beth Fowkes Tobin (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2009), 116.

²³ See also Neth, 28; Gebby, 100; and Cohen, "The Decline of Women in Canadian Dairying," 316.

²⁴ See, for example, January 2, 1904, January 4, 1904, January 8, 1904, January 13-14, 1904, January 18-19, 1904, January 21-23, 1904, January 25-30, 1904, February 1-2, 1904, February 12, 1904, February 15, 1904, February 23-25, 1904, February 29, 1904, March 1, 1904, March 3-4, 1904, March 10-11, 1904, March 19, 1904, March 21-22, 1904, March 24-25, 1904, March 30, 1904, April 4, 1904, April 14, 1904, April 19, 1904, April 22, 1904, April 25, 1904, April 27-30, 1904, May 3-4, 1904, May 7, 1904, May 9, 1904, May 12, 1904, May 18-20, 1904, June 7, 1904, June 10, 1904, June 20, 1904, June 28-29, 1904, July 6-7, 1904, July 29, 1904, August 11-12, 1904, August 15, 1904, August 20, 1904, August 29, 1904, September 9, 1904, September 12, 1904, September 16, 1904, September 21, 1904, September 28, 1904, September 30, 1904, October 1, 1904, October 10-12, 1904, October 14, 1904, October 17-18, 1904, October 22, 1904, October 24, 1904, October 26-27, 1904, October 31, 1904, November 3, 1904, November 7, 1904, November 10, 1904, November 12, 1904, November 16-17, 1904, November 22, 1904, November 26, 1904, November 28-30, 1904, December 1-3, 1904, December 14-15, 1904, and December 19, 1904, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries; February 13, 1922, March 3, 1922, March 28, 1922, May 29, 1922, September 4, 1922, November 15, 1922, November 27, 1922, February 5, 1923, February 26, 1923, March 12, 1923, March 19, 1923, August 2, 1923, November 13, 1923, February 26, 1925, March 11, 1925, March 31, 1925, January 6, 1928, February 14, 1928, September 24, 1928, November 2, 1928, December 29, 1928, January 2-3, 1929, January 15, 1929, February 2, 1929, February 5, 1929, February 9, 1929, March 25-26, 1929, August 22, 1929, November 1, 1929, November 28, 1929, December 7, 1929, December 11, 1929, December 27, 1929, February 13, 1930, February 15, 1930, February 18, 1930, February 22, 1930, February 26-27, 1930, March 1, 1930, March 15, 1930, April 14, 1930, December 18, 1930, March 5-6, 1931, May 27, 1931, June 22-23, 1931, July 13, 1931, November 16, 1931, November 18, 1931, November 24, 1931, November 27, 1931, February 13, 1932, February 24, 1932, March 18, 1932, March 22, 1932, April 11, 1932, and December 12, 1932, Arthur McQueen Diaries; and January 3, 1936, January 16, 1936, January 21, 1936, January 23-24, 1936, January 27, 1936, February 3, 1936, February 6-7, 1936, February 14, 1936, March 6, 1936, July 16, 1936, November 5, 1936, November 18, 1936, January 25-27, 1937, February 8, 1937, March 18, 1937, March 27, 1937, April 2, 1937, April 5, 1937, April 8, 1937, April 21, 1937, June 28-29, 1937, December 19, 1937, December 28, 1937, January 11, 1938, January 31, 1938, February 5, 1938, February 16, 1938, March 2, 1938, March 7, 1938, March 16, 1938, September 17, 1938, November 28, 1938, January 8, 1939, March 9, 1939, April 13, 1939, June 21-22, 1939, December 6, 1939, December 20, 1939, December 27, 1939, January 9-10, 1940, March 18-19, 1940, April 2, 1940, and June 1, 1940, Fred Perkins Diary.

²⁵ October 3, 1901, January 11, 1902, August 18, 1902, August 30, 1902, October 20, 1902, November 15, 1902, January 31, 1903, March 14, 1903, April 20, 1903, June 13, 1903, May 7, 1904, June 10, 1909, June 12, 1909, and August 9, 1909, Mary A. King Diaries; and "Mary King," Willoughby Township, Welland County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 3, 21.

²⁶ August 18, 1902, Mary A. King Diaries.

²⁷ July 30, 1918, February 22, 1922, October 30, 1922, November 26, 1924, January 28, 1926, April 26, 1926, July 6, 1927, November 28, 1927, and March 17, 1930, William Joshua Crawford Diaries; March 1, 1920, July 7, 1920, and February 19, 1921, Emily Duckwith Diaries; and October 13, 1936, February 16, 1937, February 18, 1937, February 17, 1938, February 29, 1938, July 21, 1938, December 8, 1938, March 30, 1939, March 28, 1940, and April 2, 1940, Fred Perkins Diary. See also Boyle, 13, and 31.

²⁸ Mrs. W.W. Farley, "The Day's Work," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1910*, 40.

²⁹ Each year, there were typically also some entries that were classed as "unspecified," as it was not clearly evident whether the items were being made or remade. In the case of the King household, it appears that entries for making garments may have outranked entries for remaking garments in 1904, and, in the case of the Atkins household, it appears that the opposite may have been the case in the years 1906 and 1910.

³⁰ According to the 1901 Census, the female household head, Mary King, was 81 years old, while Mary Ann was 53 and her sister, Marjorie, was 45. Finally, Paul Peterson was 9; no relationship to the head of household was listed, and his "origin" was listed as "Swede," in contrast to the "Irish" of the King women. See "Mary King," Willoughby Township, Welland County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 3, 21.

³¹ “Geo. T. Atkins,” Dumfries (South) Township, Wentworth & Brant (North) Counties, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 1, 2; “Edward Aubidge Crombie and Hilda Isabel Atkins,” Paris, Brant County, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Marriages, 121, 359, 25, June 25, 1906; “George Atkins,” South Dumfries Township, Brant County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 6, 48; and “Edward Crombie,” Paris, Brant County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 4, 38.

³² While women in the King household completed work on clothing for seven other individuals, Vivien completed work on clothing for twenty-eight or twenty-nine others.

³³ See also Heron, *Lunch-Bucket Lives*, 155-56.

³⁴ The one exception to this was 1938, in the case of the Perkins household, when it appears that entries for remaking garments may have outnumbered entries for making garments.

³⁵ See March 25, 1936, Fred Perkins Diary; “Thomas Beaton,” Puslinch Township, Wellington County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 11, 117; “Myrtle Catharine Elizabeth Beaton and Herbert Elmer Zimmerman,” Wellington County, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Marriages, 639, December 13, 1922; and “A2010.113,” *Wellington County Museum and Archives*, <http://wcm.pastperfect-online.com/39564cgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=C8A7A630-0396-48DF-A0C9-554225436990;type=301>.

³⁶ Elma continued to work at the store post-1936, but it appears she may have moved to a different department. See January 2, 1936, April 7-9, 1936, April 11, 1936, August 29, 1936, December 5, 1936, December 12, 1936, December 17-19, 1936, and December 21-24, 1936, Fred Perkins Diary.

³⁷ See also Connolly, “The Transformation of Home Sewing,” 286.

³⁸ July 31, 1902, and August 1, 1902, Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce; “Anna E. Pearce and John A. Orchard,” Elgin County, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Marriages, 100, 136, 1, January 3, 1905; “Franklin Dwight Orchard,” Elgin County, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Births and Stillbirths, 157, 36, 1, October 18, 1901; November 15, 1915, Diary of Annie Hill; and “William Drury Hill,” Fergus, Wellington County, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Births and Stillbirths, 22, 539, 052339, April 20, 1908.

³⁹ August 22, 1904, John Graham Weir Diaries; October [no date], 1909, Edwin Robinson Accounts; January 22, 1913, March 15, 1913, and April 12, 1913, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts; and April 11, 1924, D.H. Kelly Accounts.

⁴⁰ February 15, 1901, February 18, 1901, June 7-8, 1901, June 14, 1901, November 18, 1901, December 17, 1901, January 24, 1902, July 16, 1902, July 25, 1902, August 17-18, 1903, August 31, 1903, September 1, 1903, September 12, 1903, February 29, 1904, November 29-30, 1904, July 8, 1905, July 15, 1905, August 15, 1905, November 7, 1905, November 20, 1905, February 27-28, 1907, June 19, 1907, June 28, 1907, June 29, 1908, July 4, 1908, July 7, 1908, November 27-28, 1908, June 9, 1909, June 11, 1909, and August 16-17, 1909, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries; February 10-12, 1913, Diary of Mabel Brown; and March 28, 1922, February 26, 1923, February 26, 1925, January 2-3, 1929, January 15, 1929, and March 5, 1931, Arthur McQueen Diaries. See also Barron, 238.

⁴¹ February 24, 1900, March 7, 1900, March 19, 1900, March 24, 1900, March 27, 1900, March 29, 1900, May 1, 1900, and May 19, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diary; and April 4, 1939, Jean Ferrier Diaries.

⁴² Baillargeon, 132-33; Campbell, 35; and Benson, *Household Accounts*, 143.

⁴³ Judging by the timing of entries, it appears that Kathleen may have sewn two pairs of pants, plus the pieces for the suit. See July 11, 1922, September 14, 1922, September 23, 1922, September 28, 1922, and December 14, 1922, William Joshua Crawford Diaries.

⁴⁴ See, for example, January 3, 1923, January 8, 1923, November 12, 1923, July 7, 1924, January 28, 1925, December 19, 1927, and August 9, 1928, William Joshua Crawford Diaries.

⁴⁵ August 9, 1928, William Joshua Crawford Diaries.

⁴⁶ In 1925, Kathleen “finished [a] vest,” but she did not specify for whom the garment was intended. See December 29, 1925, and February 5-6, 1929, William Joshua Crawford Diaries.

⁴⁷ February 13, 1922, August 27, 1924, September 1, 1924, October 18, 1924, February 3, 1925, February 17, 1925, February 23, 1925, April 23, 1925, August 31, 1925, April 5, 1926, August 17, 1926, and September 22, 1926, Ruby Simmons Diary.

⁴⁸ July 30, 1922, Ruby Simmons Diary.

⁴⁹ December 10, 1934, Ruby Simmons Diary.

⁵⁰ December 29, 1933, Ruby Simmons Diary.

⁵¹ See, for example, "The Farmer's Advocate Fashions," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 27, 1910, 1715; "Fashion Dept.," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 8, 1915, 589; "The Fashions," *Farmer's Advocate*, February 19, 1925, 248; and "The Fashions," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 6, 1925, 1120.

⁵² See also Baillargeon, 132; Barron, 238; and Gebby, 99, and 104. See also Heron, *Lunch-Bucket Lives*, 66.

⁵³ See also Kinnear, 149.

⁵⁴ A few of Mary's entries regarding work on Paul's clothing did not clearly specify whether the item was being newly made or simply fixed. See, for example, August 25, 1900, January 9, 1901, March 25, 1901, and May 30, 1904, Mary A. King Diaries; and "Mary King," Willoughby Township, Welland County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 3, 21.

⁵⁵ See, for example, February 6, 1901, March 6, 1901, July 19, 1901, January 11, 1902, and January 9, 1903, Mary A. King Diaries.

⁵⁶ See also Connolly, "The Transformation of Home Sewing," 262.

⁵⁷ See, for example, March 3, 1930, August 26, 1937, March 25, 1938, March 11, 1939, July 24, 1941, January 19, 1942, and February 5, 1945, Velma Beaton Diaries; and November 5, 1936, January 11, 1938, and December 27, 1939, Fred Perkins Diary.

⁵⁸ See January 25-26, 1937, and June 28-29, 1937, Fred Perkins Diary.

⁵⁹ February 10, 1944, Gordon F. Robertson Farm Accounts.

⁶⁰ Philip Scranton, "The Transition from Custom to Ready-to-Wear Clothing in Philadelphia, 1890-1930," *Textile History* 25, no. 2 (Autumn 1994), 245.

⁶¹ Schorman, *Selling Style*, 56 and 77-78.

⁶² Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows, and Boarders," 31; Bradbury, *Working Families*, 98, and 168; Morawska, 195; Strasser, 125-26; Barron, 238; and Gordon, 6. See also Powell, "Helpful Hints on Plain Sewing," 111; Miss Jessie Jeffrey, "Puslinch Women's Institute Sewing Class," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1918*, 39-40; Yerge, 8; and Gebby, 99. See also Heron, *Lunch-Bucket Lives*, 66.

⁶³ See, for example, January 4, 1904, January 8, 1904, January 13-14, 1904, January 18-19, 1904, January 21-23, 1904, January 25-30, 1904, February 1-2, 1904, February 12, 1904, February 15, 1904, February 23-25, 1904, March 1, 1904, March 3-4, 1904, March 10-11, 1904, March 19, 1904, March 21-22, 1904, March 24-25, 1904, March 30, 1904, April 4, 1904, April 14, 1904, April 19, 1904, April 22, 1904, April 25, 1904, April 27-30, 1904, May 3-4, 1904, May 7, 1904, May 9, 1904, May 12, 1904, May 18-20, 1904, June 7, 1904, June 10, 1904, June 20, 1904, June 28-29, 1904, July 6-7, 1904, July 29, 1904, August 11-12, 1904, August 15, 1904, August 20, 1904, August 29, 1904, September 9, 1904, September 12, 1904, September 16, 1904, September 21, 1904, September 28, 1904, September 30, 1904, October 1, 1904, October 10-12, 1904, October 14, 1904, October 17-18, 1904, October 22, 1904, October 24, 1904, October 26-27, 1904, October 31, 1904, November 3, 1904, November 7, 1904, November 10, 1904, November 12, 1904, November 16-17, 1904, November 22, 1904, November 26, 1904, November 28, 1904, November 30, 1904, December 1-3, 1904, December 14-15, 1904, and December 19, 1904, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries.

⁶⁴ November 27, 1922, November 13, 1923, January 6, 1928, February 14, 1928, November 2, 1928, February 5, 1929, February 9, 1929, March 25-26, 1929, August 22, 1929, December 7, 1929, December 11, 1929, February 13, 1930, February 26, 1930, April 14, 1930, December 18, 1930, June 22-23, 1931, November 16, 1931, November 18, 1931, November 27, 1931, March 18, 1932, March 22, 1932, and April 11, 1932, Arthur McQueen Diaries.

⁶⁵ See also Barron, 238.

⁶⁶ October 24, 1917, December 29, 1917, January 7, 1918, January 11, 1918, January 18-19, 1918, January 28, 1918, February 20, 1918, April 4, 1918, June 12-13, 1918, June 26, 1918, June 28, 1918, September 5, 1918, October 7, 1918, December 5, 1918, December 20, 1918, January 11, 1919, January 23, 1919, March 7, 1919, March 14, 1919, April 11, 1919, May 7, 1919, September 17, 1919, December 10, 1919, January 23, 1920, February 5, 1920, February 20, 1920, May 27, 1920, January 25, 1921, February 17, 1921, March 8, 1921, December [no date], 1921, January 24, 1922, February 8, 1922, March 28, 1922, April 28, 1922, May 21, 1923, May 30, 1923, June 13, 1923, July 12, 1923, August 14, 1923, October 17, 1924, February 2, 1925, November 9, 1925, and July 22, 1926, Potts Family Farm Diaries; December 16, 1916, March 19, 1917, May 31, 1917, June 18, 1917, June 20-21, 1917, August 8, 1917, August 13, 1917, October 3, 1917, December 6, 1917, December 11-12, 1917, December 14-15, 1917, December 19, 1917, December 30, 1917, June 18-19, 1918, June 24, 1918, April 4, 1922, April 21, 1922, May 9, 1922, June 7, 1922, June 29,

1922, July 3, 1922, October 3, 1922, October 9, 1922, November 24, 1922, February 3, 1923, April 9, 1923, April 14, 1923, July 15, 1923, January 8, 1924, February 25, 1924, April 17, 1924, April 22, 1924, August 10, 1924, August 20, 1924, February 13, 1925, February 16, 1925, March 10-11, 1925, May 7, 1925, May 11, 1925, December 29, 1925, June 15-16, 1926, August 10, 1926, October 4-5, 1926, October 18, 1926, May 21, 1927, May 23, 1927, May 30, 1927, June 10, 1927, June 13, 1927, June 20-21, 1928, July 25, 1928, February 7, 1929, February 12, 1929, February 14, 1929, May 9-10, 1929, May 15, 1929, November 20, 1929, January 7, 1930, October 20, 1930, December 19, 1930, February 9-10, 1931, and February 16-17, 1931, William Joshua Crawforth Diaries; and January 3, 1936, January 16, 1936, January 21, 1936, January 21, 1936, January 23-24, 1936, January 27, 1936, February 3, 1936, February 6-7, 1936, February 14, 1936, March 6, 1936, January 27, 1936, March 18, 1937, March 27, 1937, April 2, 1937, April 5, 1937, April 8, 1937, April 21, 1937, December 19, 1937, December 28, 1937, February 5, 1938, March 2, 1938, March 7, 1938, March 16, 1938, January 8, 1939, March 9, 1939, April 13, 1939, June 21-22, 1939, December 6, 1939, December 20, 1939, January 9-10, 1940, March 18-19, 1940, April 2, 1940, and June 1, 1940, Fred Perkins Diary.

⁶⁷ January 24, 1936, February 3, 1936, February 6-7, 1936, January 27, 1937, April 5, 1937, April 8, 1937, and April 21, 1937, Fred Perkins Diary.

⁶⁸ Irish Rose, "Made a Dress All Herself," *The Farmers' Sun*, October 5, 1921, 6.

⁶⁹ February 28, 1913, March 19, 1913, March 31, 1913, May 5, 1913, July 26, 1913, August 19, 1913, October 18, 1913, November 2, 1913, and December 16, 1913, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts. See also Sharpless, 96.

⁷⁰ *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. "shirting."

⁷¹ August 10, 1945, and November 24, 1945, John Cameron Topham Accounts; November [no date], 1943, February 24, 1944, and c. September [no date], 1945, "Clothing (Ruth)," Gordon F. Robertson Farm Accounts; and September [no date], 1945, and October [no date], 1945, "Baby," Gordon F. Robertson Farm Accounts.

⁷² "Order Your Everyday Needs from Eaton's," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 12, 1905, 1425; "The House-Keepers Summer Harvest," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 4, 1910, 1261; "From the Fountain Head," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 8, 1915, 593; "Righton's Dress, Costume, Blouse, and Coat Fabrics," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 7, 1915, 1601; and "The Fall and Winter Eaton Catalogue," *Weekly Sun*, August 21, 1918, 7.

⁷³ *The 1927 Edition of the T. Eaton Co. Limited Catalogue*, 136-39.

⁷⁴ January 9, 1909, February 3, 1909, May 8, 1909, June 25, 1909, July 23, 1909, September 27, 1909, October 5, 1909, and December 7, 1909, "Disbursements," Howard Jones Accounts; February 8, 1910, March 7, 1910, March 30, 1910, July c. 9, 1910, July 15, 1910, December 19, 1910, March 16, 1911, April 26, 1911, May 13, 1911, May 26, 1911, December 16, 1911, c. August [no date], 1912, April 25, 1913, January 8, 1914, February 11, 1914, March 16, 1914, April 23, 1914, May 9, 1914, May 28, 1914, July 18, 1914, August 15, 1914, September 19, 1914, October 15, 1914, May 22, 1915, August 27, 1915, September 23, 1915, September 30, 1915, January c. 19, 1916, April 3, 1916, and November [no date], 1916, "Dry Goods," Howard Jones Accounts; January 31, 1911, "Groceries," Howard Jones Accounts; February 12, 1914, April 18, 1914, and June 25, 1914, "Hardware," Howard Jones Accounts; February 3, 1917, February 5, 1917, March 2, 1917, April 25, 1917, May 10, 1917, May 19, 1917, June 1, 1917, July 4, 1917, July 10, 1917, August 14, 1917, August 22, 1917, October 6, 1917, January 8, 1918, January c. 20, 1918, January 3, 1920, January 5, 1920, January 26, 1920, February c. 19, 1920, February c. 25, 1920, March c. 13, 1920, April c. 9, 1920, April c. 13, 1920, April c. 17, 1920, April 27, 1920, May c. 8, 1920, May c. 26, 1920, May 29, 1920, June c. 19, 1920, July c. 9-10, 1920, January 23, 1929, and February c. 1, 1929, Howard Jones Accounts; January 14, 1904, September 27, 1905, March 13, 1906, March 22, 1906, April 10, 1906, June 12, 1906, August 24, 1906, December 3, 1906, December 29, 1906, January 18, 1907, March 19, 1907, January 29, 1908, March 17, 1908, April 2, 1908, December 15, 1908, May 7, 1909, August 23, 1910, June 5, 1911, January 15, 1916, March 2, 1918, December 6, 1918, January 25, 1919, February 11, 1919, January 22, 1920, February 16, 1920, April 12, 1920, April 16, 1921, September 3, 1921, January 24, 1922, July 18, 1922, March 29, 1923, January 28, 1924, December 14, 1925, March 22, 1926, October 18, 1929, February 13, 1933, March 19, 1936, June 15, 1936, and December 15, 1937, D.H. Kelly Accounts; and February 26, 1900, May 12, 1900, June 30, 1900, July 7, 1900, October 13, 1900, October 20, 1900, October 28, 1900, February 26, 1901, March 9, 1901, April 6, 1901, May 11, 1901, May 25, 1901, July 4, 1901, September 27, 1901, October 17, 1901, December 19, 1901, February 8, 1902, February 22, 1902,

May 31, 1902, July 12, 1902, September 27, 1902, January 20, 1903, January 31, 1903, February 4, 1903, February 6, 1903, February 17, 1903, February 26, 1903, April 7, 1903, May 6, 1903, June 6, 1903, August 2, 1903, October 20, 1903, September 3, 1904, October 27-28, 1904, December 3, 1904, December 13, 1904, December 23, 1904, November 29, 1905, January 29, 1907, March 23, 1907, April 27, 1907, May 25, 1907, October 29, 1907, December 10, 1907, January 14, 1908, June 21, 1908, July 11, 1908, October 9, 1908, February 4, 1909, February 11, 1909, February 22, 1909, March 17, 1909, July 3, 1909, July 16, 1910, January 23-24, 1911, May 6, 1911, May 13, 1911, July 8, 1911, August 5, 1911, November 4, 1911, December 28, 1911, December 30, 1911, January 27, 1912, February 24, 1912, March 2, 1912, March 30, 1912, April 12, 1912, February 1, 1913, April 26, 1913, June 28, 1913, July 12, 1913, November 5, 1913, November 17, 1913, December 6, 1913, January 30, 1914, April 18, 1914, May 2, 1914, May 9, 1914, May 23, 1914, November 13, 1915, April 29, 1916, October 31, 1916, April 28, 1917, May 22, 1920, October 9, 1920, April 30, 1921, September 3, 1921, May 6, 1922, October 14, 1922, December 16, 1922, April 21, 1923, April 28, 1923, August 4, 1923, April 12, 1924, August 30, 1924, October 18, 1924, October 25, 1924, November 8, 1924, January 23, 1925, February 6, 1925, December 12, 1925, January 23, 1926, April 21, 1927, November 22, 1927, January 30, 1928, June 30, 1928, November 29, 1928, February 19, 1929, April 11, 1929, May 20, 1929, December 5, 1929, October 31, 1930, January 3, 1931, March 24, 1931, December 4, 1931, July 15, 1932, August 20, 1932, September 24, 1932, November 18, 1932, January 3, 1933, April 17, 1933, October 21, 1933, November 18, 1933, March 10, 1936, May 23, 1936, and June 2, 1936, Hawley Farm Accounts.

⁷⁵ Gordon, xii.

⁷⁶ See also Benson, *Household Accounts*, 128; Fernandez, 23, and 28; Gordon, 37-38; Kathryn E. Wilson, "Commodified Craft, Creative Community: Women's Vernacular Dress in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia," in *The Culture of Sewing: Gender, Consumption and Home Dressmaking*, ed. Barbara Burman (New York: Berg, 1999), 151; Sally I. Helvenston & Margaret M. Bubolz, "Home Economics and Home Sewing in the United States, 1870-1940," in *The Culture of Sewing*, 313; Gebby, 100; Marcia McLean, "I Dearly Loved that Machine": Women and the Objects of Home Sewing in the 1940s," in *Women and the Material Culture of Needlework and Textiles, 1750-1950*, 76; Baillargeon, 137; and Roelens-Grant, ed., 10, 32, and 84.

⁷⁷ "Chauncey Poole," Burford Township, Oxford County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 6, 51; and March 7, 1904, Frances Poole diary.

⁷⁸ *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. "yoke."

⁷⁹ March 7, 1904, Frances Poole diary.

⁸⁰ February 9, 1929, and June 22, 1931, Arthur McQueen Diaries.

⁸¹ June 22, 1931, Arthur McQueen Diaries.

⁸² April 20-21, 1925, Cora Tunis Diaries.

⁸³ "It is Economy to Make Over Garments When," *Farmers' Sun*, October 6, 1920, 6.

⁸⁴ "It is Economy to Make Over Garments When," 6.

⁸⁵ February 20, 1905, February 5, 1920, February 25, 1920, and June 25, 1920, Nathaniel "Ed" Leeder Accounts; July 26, 1913, February 5, 1920, June 25, 1920, April 19, 1921, and November 7, 1924, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts; March 22, 1919, April 19, 1919, April 23, 1919, and June 6, 1936, Meyer Accounts; and January 30, 1937, and February 15, 1937, Miller Accounts. See also *The 1927 Edition of the T. Eaton Co. Limited Catalogue*, 349; and Marion F. Hanson and Patricia Cox Crews, *American Quilts in the Modern Age: 1870-1940: The International Quilt Study Center Collections* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 12-13.

⁸⁶ May 20, 1937, Jean Ferrier Diaries; December 31, 1930, Arthur McQueen Diaries; June 6, 1936, Meyer Accounts; January 30, 1937, and February 15, 1937, Miller Accounts; March 6, 1933, Cora Tunis Diaries; and November 24, 1931, January 26, 1932, April 15, 1932, October 13, 1932, and November 15, 1932, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

⁸⁷ January 18, 1918, December 5, 1918, and September 17, 1919, Potts Family Farm Diaries; and August 31, 1922, August 16, 1923, August 18, 1925, and August 20, 1925, Diary of Annie Hill.

⁸⁸ See Gordon, 149.

⁸⁹ Harry Boyle similarly wrote of individuals in his church dyeing coats and suits during the Great Depression. See September 13, 1903, October 16, 1914, and March 1, 1916, Wm. R. Shand Accounts; and Boyle, 76.

⁹⁰ Shand was listed in the 1911 Census as the oldest son in the household of Harvey and Harriet; he did not marry until June 1917, after his accounts end. His accounts suggest at least a degree of financial independence, even if still residing in his parents' household. See "William R. Shand," Woodhouse Township, Norfolk County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 10, 112; and "William Roy Shand and Wilhelmine Gray," Wentworth County, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Marriages, 439, June 6, 1917.

⁹¹ May 5-7, 1902, June 6, 1902, July 3, 1902, and January 5, 1909, Mary A. King Diaries.

⁹² "Save Money and Keep in Fashion By Using Diamond Dyes," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 14, 1910, 644; "Making 'New' Clothes Out of Old: The Possibilities of Dyeing," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 21, 1910, 692; "Keep the Children in Pretty Dresses With the Aid of Diamond Dyes," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 28, 1910, 729; "Make the Clothes You Don't Like Your Favorites," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 1, 1915, 541; "Vexatious Clothes Questions Are Answered," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 15, 1915, 637; "Get Your Spring Clothes Ready with the Aid of Diamond Dyes," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 29, 1915, 732; "Dye That Skirt, Coat, or Blouse," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 15, 1920, 98; "Dyed Her Faded Skirt, Also a Coat," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 22, 1920, 137; and "Using One's 'Head,'" *Farmer's Advocate*, April 29, 1920, 831.

⁹³ January 22, 1904, May 13, 1905, and January 13-15, 1909, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries; May 7, 1902, Mary A. King Diaries; March 23, 1925, Arthur McQueen Diaries; "Save Money and Keep in Fashion By Using Diamond Dyes," 644; "Making 'New' Clothes Out of Old: The Possibilities of Dyeing," 692; "Make the Clothes You Don't Like Your Favorites," 541; "Vexatious Clothes Questions Are Answered," 637; "Dye That Skirt, Coat, or Blouse," 98; "Diamond Dyes Dye It Right," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 7, 1920, 1757; and "No Risk With Diamond Dyes," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 21, 1920, 1835.

⁹⁴ May 7, 1902, Mary A. King Diaries.

⁹⁵ November 24, 1931, and January 26, 1932, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries. See also "At Your Service," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 1, 1920, 623; and "Have Your Cleaning Done by Experts," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 8, 1920, 698.

⁹⁶ For more information on the pattern industry and the use of patterns, see Margaret Walsh, "The Democratization of Fashion: The Emergence of the Women's Dress Pattern Industry," *The Journal of American History* 66, no. 2 (September 1979), 299-313; Fernandez, 25-28; Parsons, 47-49; Rob Schorman, *Selling Style: Clothing and Social Change at the Turn of the Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 55; Joy Spanabel Emery, "Dreams on Paper: A Story of the Commercial Pattern Industry," in *The Culture of Sewing*, 235-53; and Barron, 172. See also Mrs. Watson Breckon, "Helps for Home Dressmakers," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1911*, 108; and *The 1927 Edition of the T. Eaton Co. Limited Catalogue*, 256.

⁹⁷ February 24, 1912, November 5, 1913, January 30, 1914, May 9, 1914, April 28, 1923, August 30, 1924, and February 6, 1925, Hawley Farm Accounts; May 29, 1915, September 19, 1916, August 20, 1918, and June 12, 1926, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts; and November [no date], 1945, Gordon F. Robertson Farm Accounts.

⁹⁸ See Kathleen L. Endres and Therese L. Lueck, *Women's Periodicals in the United States: Consumer Magazines* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1995), 219, and 225; "The Fashions," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 23, 1925, 647; Parsons, 103; Emery, 245-46; and "The Fashions," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 6, 1925, 1120.

⁹⁹ December 16, 1913, June 30, 1915, September 2, 1915, September 7, 1916, January 10, 1919, September 19, 1919, June 29, 1920, and October 27, 1920, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts; December 13, 1913, August 21, 1915, and October 20, 1917, John Graham Weir Diaries; January 3, 1907, August 30, 1907, July 24, 1909, May 21, 1910, and November 17, 1917, D.H. Kelly Accounts; May 12, 1934, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries; April 15, 1933, Russell Innes Accounts; and July 4, 1901, December 19, 1901, April 24, 1902, January 20, 1903, April 7, 1903, May 7, 1904, July 28, 1904, December 17, 1906, March 23, 1907, February 4, 1911, December 11, 1912, October 4, 1913, May 9, 1914, June 22, 1916, December 30, 1920, April 18, 1921, June 3, 1922, June 24, 1922, December 16, 1922, November 8, 1924, November 18, 1924, November 26, 1925, December 12, 1925, and August 25, 1932, Hawley Farm Accounts. See also *The 1927 Edition of the T. Eaton Co. Limited Catalogue*, 61, and 126-27; and Martin, *Buying into the World of Goods*, 169-72.

¹⁰⁰ Davis, "Country Homemakers," 169-70.

¹⁰¹ "A Letter to Our Girls About the Fashions," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 27, 1905, 633.

¹⁰² “For the Woman Who Must Economize,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, April 14, 1910, 646. See also “Dress,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, October 6, 1910, 1602.

¹⁰³ Marcia McLean has similar findings in her study of 1940s Alberta; she argues that women focused on “matters of comfort, fit, and looking nice” when sewing garments at home. See McLean, 81-82.

¹⁰⁴ Mrs. D. McTavish, “The Education of Our Daughters,” *Report of the Women’s Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1906*, 109.

¹⁰⁵ Mrs. James Gardiner, “How We May Lessen our Household Labor,” *Women’s Institutes from the Report of the Superintendent of the Farmers’ Institute of the Province of Ontario, 1900*, 21. See also Miss Martha Van Rensselaer, “Household Conveniences,” *Women’s Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1909, Part I*, 43.

¹⁰⁶ McTavish, “The Education of Our Daughters,” 110.

¹⁰⁷ Dr. Annie Backus, “Women’s Responsibilities During and After the War,” *Report of the Women’s Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1917*, 80. See also “Demonstration Lecture Courses,” *Report of the Women’s Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1919* (Toronto: A. T. Wilgress, 1920), 133.

¹⁰⁸ Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, & Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 148-49.

¹⁰⁹ Jeffrey, “Puslinch Women’s Institute Sewing Class,” 39-40. See also Roelens-Grant, ed., 90; Ontario Department of Agriculture, *Women’s Institutes Circular No. 28: List of Meetings and Speakers, Summer Series 1920* (Toronto: n.p., 1920), 5; and Ontario Department of Agriculture, *Bulletin 215: Demonstration Lectures in Domestic Science, (Cooking), Sewing, and Home Nursing* (Toronto: n.p., 1913), 1-4.

¹¹⁰ Jeffrey, “Puslinch Women’s Institute Sewing Class,” 39-40.

¹¹¹ February 3, 1912, and June 13, 1912, Elsie Innes Accounts; February c. 27, 1914, “Miscellaneous,” Howard Jones Accounts; and March 22, 1902, January 24, 1911, October 30, 1924, January 14, 1927, November 3, 1928, and June 16, 1934, Hawley Farm Accounts. See also Gebby, 98-99, and 101-03.

¹¹² Schorman, *Selling Style*, 51.

¹¹³ July 7, 1904, December 3, 1904, December 12, 1906, July 31, 1907, October 16, 1907, June 1, 1908, September 21, 1909, and April 22, 1912, J.D. Cowan Accounts.

¹¹⁴ May 18, 1922, May 23, 1922, June 22-23, 1923, June 27, 1923, October 16-17, 1923, October 24, 1923, May 5, 1925, May 6-7, 1925, May 9, 1925, June 11, 1925, October 29, 1925, November 17, 1925, July 5, 1928, December 3, 1928, December 29, 1929, June 4, 1930, September 25, 1930, January 6, 1931, January 9, 1931, May 18, 1931, October 12, 1932, and October 28-29, 1932, Arthur McQueen Diaries.

¹¹⁵ The only type of garment on which Potts herself did not work was sweaters. See, for example, November 21, 1917, January 19, 1918, March 30, 1918, April 4, 1918, June 26, 1918, June 28, 1918, September 30, 1918, October 1, 1918, December 20, 1918, January 11, 1919, December 10, 1919, March 8, 1921, March 22, 1921, March 28, 1922, April 28, 1922, May 30, 1923, February 2, 1925, and November 9, 1925, Potts Family Farm Diaries.

¹¹⁶ Benson, *Household Accounts*, 143. See also Barron, 173.

¹¹⁷ Fernandez, 23-24; Parsons, 9, 60, 77, and 86; Gordon, 3; Barron, 173; and Gebby, 101.

¹¹⁸ March 28, 1922, Potts Family Farm Diaries. See also Strasser, 131.

¹¹⁹ January 4-5, 1900, January 11, 1900, February 1, 1900, March 26-28, 1900, April 5, 1900, April 10, 1900, April 12, 1900, May 7, 1900, May 9, 1900, May 11-12, 1900, May 16, 1900, May 18, 1900, May 26, 1900, May 28-30, 1900, June 11, 1900, June 13, 1900, June 20, 1900, June 22, 1900, July 11, 1900, July 26, 1900, August 1, 1900, August 6, 1900, August 16-17, 1900, August 24, 1900, August 30-31, 1900, September 12, 1900, September 14, 1900, September 17, 1900, September 20, 1900, September 22, 1900, September 24, 1900, September 27, 1900, October 22-23, 1900, October 29-30, 1900, November 1, 1900, and November 5-7, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diaries. See also Parsons, 9; and Wendy Gamber, *The Female Economy: The Millinery and Dressmaking Trades, 1860-1930* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 115.

¹²⁰ April 2, 1904, and April 4, 1904, Frances Poole Diary.

¹²¹ April 4, 1904, Frances Poole Diary.

¹²² April 11-13, 1904, and April 15, 1904, Frances Poole Diary.

¹²³ See also Campbell, 35-36; McCalla, *Consumers in the Bush*, 64; Strasser, 131-32, 141, and 144; Srigley, 22, 29, and 42; Bradbury, *Working Families*, 114, 134, 154, 168, 171, 178-79, 190, and 217; Gordon, 30; Sharpless, 98; and Roelens-Grant, ed., 22.

¹²⁴ "Lillian Bricker," Port Elgin, Bruce County (North), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 4, 53; June 10, 1913, July 1, 1916, July 8, 1916, June 12, 1919, and August 2, 1924, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts; May 18, 1900, May 21-23, 1900, June 12, 1900, June 14, 1900, November 3, 1902, and November 20, 1902, Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce; and "Victoria Munro," Dunwich Township, Elgin County (West), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 10, 97.

¹²⁵ "Edith Peters," St. Thomas, Elgin County (East), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 15, 175; September 25, 1900, and September 29, 1900, Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce; "Ida Bingham," Windham Township, Norfolk County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 4, 43; and April 11-13, 1904, April 15-16, 1904, and May 2-4, 1904, Frances Poole Diary.

¹²⁶ Gamber, 104.

¹²⁷ "Cora Tunis," West Flamborough Township, Wentworth County, Census of Canada, 1911, 6, 63.

¹²⁸ "Jacob Tunis," West Flamborough Township, Wentworth County, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Deaths, 331, 702, November 15, 1925.

¹²⁹ See, for example, October 25, 1922, October 28, 1922, November 18, 1922, November 17, 1923, November 19-23, 1923, November 26, 1923, January 19, 1925, February 18, 1925, March 26, 1925, March 21, 1928, June 18, 1928, September 24, 1928, January 4, 1933, January 23, 1933, January 28, 1933, April 24, 1933, and May 13, 1933, Cora Tunis Diaries. See also Cowan, *More Work for Mother*, 80; and Parsons, 56-57.

¹³⁰ See, for example, September 19, 1922, October 28, 1922, November 17, 1922, November 17, 1923, November 19-23, 1923, November 26, 1923, November 28, 1923, December 17, 1923, March 2-6, 1925, March 17-18, 1925, April 3, 1925, March 8, 1928, April 2-3, 1928, June 27, 1928, September 21, 1928, January 4, 1933, January 18, 1933, April 25, 1933, and June 12, 1933, Cora Tunis Diaries.

¹³¹ The February 28, 1928 entry suggests she attended these talks in Hamilton. See March 4, 1926, February 28, 1928, March 16, 1928, April 10-13, 1928, April 21, 1928, May 8, 1928, and September 19, 1928, Cora Tunis Diaries. See also Connolly, "The Transformation of Home Sewing," 305, and 352-369; Ambrose, 50-52; and Helvenston and Bubolz, 303-25.

¹³² See *Women's Institutes Bulletin* 254, 12-15. See also Ontario Department of Agriculture, *Bulletin* 215, 4; Ontario Department of Agriculture, *Circular No. 25* (Toronto: n.p., 1919), 17; Miss Gertrude Grey, "Demonstration Lectures," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1913*, 62; Jeffrey, "Puslinch Women's Institute Sewing Class," 39-40; and "Demonstration Lecture Courses," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1919*, 133.

¹³³ See also Diana, "The New-Fashioned Viewpoint," *Weekly Sun*, October 9, 1918, 6.

¹³⁴ Connolly, "The Transformation of Home Sewing," 259. Gamber similarly highlights that, although there was a significant decline in dressmakers, they were still present into at least 1930. See Gamber, 201.

¹³⁵ According to Parsons, this decline can be connected with improvements and developments in the readymade clothing industry, as well as expanding employment opportunities for women. See Strasser, 228; Cowan, *More Work for Mother*, 65; Fernandez, 25; and Parsons, 129, 193, 195, and 201. See also Monod, 23, 29, 46, and 180-81.

¹³⁶ Similarly, Craig Heron highlights that some working-class women in Hamilton did such sewing work for others. See Heron, *Lunch-Bucket Lives*, 119.

¹³⁷ June 12, 1900, June 18-19, 1900, and June 30, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diary; May 17, 1904, and May 21, 1904, Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce; and September 9, 1933, September 11, 1933, November 27, 1934, November 29, 1934, and November 30, 1934, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries. See also Gebby, 104-05.

¹³⁸ May 9, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diary.

¹³⁹ June 19, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diary; May 17, 1904, and May 21, 1904, Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce; "Cecil Sloan," Dunwich Township, Elgin County (West), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 6, 50; and September 9, 1933, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries. See also Strasser, 127.

¹⁴⁰ See McCalla, *Consumers in the Bush*, 57-58; Strasser, 6, 125-26, and 143; Cowan, *More Work for Mother*, 73; and Gordon, 3. For more information on the development of the readymade clothing industry, see Rob Schorman, "Ready or Not: Custom-Made Ideals and Ready-Made Clothes in Late 19th-Century America," *Journal of American Culture* 19, no. 4 (Winter 1996), 111-120; Connolly, "The Disappearance of the Domestic Sewing Machine, 1890-1925," 40-41, 43, and 45; and Parsons, 43, 68, and 86.

¹⁴¹ January 8, 1900, February 5, 1900, May 16, 1900, June 5, 1900, October 10, 1900, October c. 24, 1900, November 15, 1900, January 2, 1907, January 21, 1907, September 3, 1907, September 7, 1907, November

5, 1907, March 30, 1908, July 21, 1908, October 1, 1908, November 5, 1908, January 22, 1909, April 14, 1909, May c. 1, 1909, and October c. 22, 1910, John Pollard Accounts. See also Gebby, 104.

¹⁴² November 5, 1907, March 30, 1908, October 1, 1908, November 9, 1908, June 19, 1909, March c. 15, 1910, September 2, 1910, and December 1, 1910, John Pollard Accounts.

¹⁴³ January c. 7, 1900, January 8, 1900, March 12, 1900, March 14, 1900, January 2, 1907, March 30, 1908, August 4, 1908, October 1, 1909, November c. 9, 1908, March 15, 1909, and August 13, 1910, John Pollard Accounts.

¹⁴⁴ "John Pollard," North Norwich Township, Oxford County (South), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 10, 93; "Quakers," *Canadian Encyclopedia*, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/quakers/>; and Dianna, "Dress," *Farmers' Sun*, August 6, 1919, 6.

¹⁴⁵ See also Strasser, 134; Gebby, 99, and 104; and Heron, *Lunch-Bucket Lives*, 66, and 151.

¹⁴⁶ Presumably, all of these purchases were for Glen, as he resided alone at the time of the 1921 Census. See April 5, 1921, January 20, 1923, January 27, 1923, April 27, 1923, February 2, 1924, February 9, 1924, May 7, 1924, and September 1, 1925, James Glen, Jr., Diaries; and "James Glen," Westminster Township, Middlesex County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 3, 27.

¹⁴⁷ May 16, 1933, August 28, 1933, August 28, 1933, and November 18, 1933, "Father's Account," Russell Innes Accounts.

¹⁴⁸ See, for example, "These are some of the fur styles for men," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 31, 1905, 1232; "The Deacon Shirt," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 5, 1915, 1259; "The Deacon Shirt," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 12, 1915, 1290; "Made in a great variety of styles," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 26, 1915, 1365; "For a sport-coat," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 7, 1915, 1604; "Carhartt Overalls," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 8, 1920, 684; "Towers Waterproof Clothing," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 8, 1920, 685; "Work Clothes," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 15, 1920, 724; "For Any Farm Service," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 22, 1920, 794; "Bob Long," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 29, 1920, 849; "Towers Fishbrand Reflex Long Coats," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 7, 1920, 1734; "The best clothes for rough work," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 14, 1920, 1778; "Jaeger for Men," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 21, 1920, 1846; "Tower's Waterproofs," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 16, 1925, 624; "The Farmer's Uniform," *Farmers' Sun*, April 17, 1920, 6; "Work Clothes," *Farmers' Sun*, April 24, 1920, 2; "For Any Farm Service," *Farmers' Sun*, April 24, 1920, 6; and "Carhartt Overalls," *Farmers' Sun*, August 11, 1920, 5.

¹⁴⁹ See, for example, "Carhartt Overalls," 684; "Work Clothes," 724; "For Any Farm Service," 794; "Bob Long," 849; "The best clothes for rough work," 1778; "The Farmer's Uniform," 6; "Work Clothes," 2; "For Any Farm Service," 6; "Carhartt Overalls," 5; and Schorman, "Ready or Not," 111, and 114.

¹⁵⁰ January 9, 1911, May 23, 1911, June 7, 1912, April 29, 1913, and November 18, 1915, Wm. R. Shand Accounts.

¹⁵¹ February 26, 1936, February 29, 1936, November 13, 1937, and December 18, 1937, Fred Perkins Diary.

¹⁵² February 27, 1919, February 17, 1937, and January 14, 1939, Meyer Accounts.

¹⁵³ February 24, 1930, and June 6, 1931, "John Lewis," William H. Cowan Accounts.

¹⁵⁴ Parsons, 46.

¹⁵⁵ For more information on the readymade clothing industry for children, see Daniel Thomas Cook, *The Commodification of Childhood: The Children's Clothing Industry and the Rise of the Child Consumer* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004).

¹⁵⁶ December 16, 1910, and May 6, 1911, Hawley Farm Accounts; and "Mark Hawley," Richmond Township, Lennox and Addington County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 5, 58.

¹⁵⁷ November 3, 1904, D.H. Kelly Accounts; "David H. Kelly," North Norwich Township, Oxford County (South), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 5, 48; April 5, 1924, W.H. Cowan Accounts; and "William Cowan," Blenheim Township, Oxford County (North), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 1, 5.

¹⁵⁸ November 25, 1904, April 22, 1907, October 24, 1908, and November 21, 1908, D.H. Kelly Accounts.

¹⁵⁹ July 30, 1922, and September 25, 1931, Ruby Simmons Diary.

¹⁶⁰ May 25, 1921, August 5, 1923, August 13, 1923, November 1, 1923, and April 5, 1924, William H. Cowan Accounts.

¹⁶¹ August 13, 1923, June 15, 1925, December 17, 1926, February 21, 1928, and January [no date], 1929, William H. Cowan Accounts.

¹⁶² "Eaton's Mail Order News," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 27, 1905, 635; "Mail-Order Special," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 21, 1910, 668; "Get underwear that fits," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 13, 1910, 1647;

“Exceptional Value,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, October 20, 1910, 1678; “Do you wear Penmans too?,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, April 1, 1915, 550; “Now Ready,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, August 26, 1915, 1359; “Jaeger Fine Pure Wool,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, October 7, 1915, 1600; “This perfected Union Suit,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, October 7, 1915, 1606; “Watson’s Underwear,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, October 7, 1920, 1759; “The pleasure of shopping,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, October 14, 1920, 1795; “Even as Paris models,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, October 14, 1920, 1797; “Don’t Send 1 Penny,” August 6, 1925, 1120; “Let Us Send You,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, August 20, 1925, 1177; and “Buy To-Day the Eaton Way,” *Farmer’s Advocate*, October 8, 1925, 1403.

¹⁶³ April 22, 1904, May 12, 1904, October 12, 1904, March 1, 1905, August 15, 1905, October 25, 1905, November 25, 1905, December 27, 1905, February 19, 1906, June 2, 1906, August 14, 1906, October 1, 1906, October 31, 1906, December 3, 1906, December 22, 1906, March 30, 1907, May 22, 1907, August 17, 1907, November 1, 1907, June 1, 1908, July 20, 1909, and August 6, 1909, David H. Kelly Accounts.

¹⁶⁴ August [no date], 1943, September [no date], 1943, October [no date], 1943, November [no date], 1943, January 19, 1944, March 25, 1944, April 4, 1944, April 21, 1944, May 11, 1944, May 20, 1944, May 30, 1944, August [no date], 1944, September [no date], 1944, February 19, 1945, March 26, 1945, April 19, 1945, May 1, 1945, May 12, 1945, May 31, 1945, June 6, 1945, August 17, 1945, September [no date], 1945, and December [no date], 1945, “Ruth Clothing,” Gordon F. Robertson Farm Accounts.

¹⁶⁵ See, for example, March 8, 1921, March 20, 1922, and June 11, 1927, Potts Family Farm Diaries; March 27, 1931, and June 5, 1937, Velma Beaton Diaries; and January 3, 1936, and February 28, 1936, Fred Perkins Diary.

¹⁶⁶ Connolly, “The Disappearance of the Domestic Sewing Machine, 1890-1925,” 47. See also Gordon, 5-6, and 95; Sherry Schofield-Tomschin, “Home Sewing: Motivational Changes in the Twentieth Century,” in *The Culture of Sewing*, 98; McLean, 71-72; Comacchio, 126; and Heron, *Lunch-Bucket Lives*, 161.

¹⁶⁷ Schofield-Tomschin, 98, and 100.

¹⁶⁸ See, for example, Barron, 239.

¹⁶⁹ Connolly, “The Transformation of Home Sewing,” 317; and Benson, *Household Accounts*, 143. Jeffrey also hints at this division in her 1918 report. See Jeffrey, “Puslinch Women’s Institute Sewing Class,” 39-40.

¹⁷⁰ Green did not specify the name of the town. See June 12, 1915, December 18, 1916, November 4, 1917, and July 6, 1918, B.A. Green Diaries.

¹⁷¹ See January 16, 1936, February 21-22, 1936, and March 14, 1936, Fred Perkins Diary.

¹⁷² See, for example, March 26, 1913, April 7, 1913, May 5, 1913, September 30, 1913, April 16, 1914, July 4, 1914, September 22, 1914, April 7-8, 1915, June 3, 1915, June 10, 1915, August 19, 1915, August 21, 1915, December 23, 1915, June 8, 1916, October 5, 1916, November 10, 1916, November 25, 1916, August 9, 1917, October 25, 1917, November 15, 1917, March 28, 1918, May 9, 1918, December 19, 1918, June 19, 1919, July 10, 1919, July 28, 1919, October 27, 1920, and June 29, 1921, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts; and 1910 Bruce, Grey & Simcoe Farmers and Business Directory, 606-608. See also Bogue, *The Farm on North Talbot Road*, 167.

¹⁷³ Neth, 124; and Barron, 200, and 239.

¹⁷⁴ “Mary King,” Willoughby Township, Welland County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 3, 21.

¹⁷⁵ See, for example, December 4, 1900, April 29, 1903, June 8, 1904, November 10, 1908, November 21, 1908, June 15, 1909, July 27, 1909, and August 9, 1909, Mary Ann King Diaries.

¹⁷⁶ Clifton is approximately 5.5 kilometers from Chippawa, and Drummondville is approximately 7.1 kilometers from Chippawa. Welland is approximately 19 kilometers from Chippawa. Chippawa, Clifton, and Drummondville have been amalgamated into Niagara Falls in the present day. See, for example, October 5, 1900, November 10, 1900, May 17, 1901, July 11, 1901, September 14, 1901, October 30, 1902, and June 8, 1904, Mary A. King Diaries.

¹⁷⁷ The Allen family resided in Moscow, which is approximately 41.8 kilometers from Kingston. See March 19, 1929, March 27, 1929, October 2, 1929, and October 8, 1929, Florence (Allen) Tompkins Diaries; and “Biographical Sketch,” Florence (Allen) Tompkins Fonds.

¹⁷⁸ Jean and Wilbert Ferrier resided in Belwood with his mother, Sarah. See November 1, 1936, Jean Ferrier Diaries; and Wilbert Ferrier, West Garafraxa Township, Assessment Roll, 1935, West Garafraxa Township Municipal Records, 1869 – 1972, Wellington County Museum & Archives, A1981.82, 401.

¹⁷⁹ *The 1927 Edition of the T. Eaton Co. Limited Catalogue*, 25-32.

¹⁸⁰ “Sarah Ferrier,” West Garafraxa Assessment Rolls, 1935, 403.

¹⁸¹ See Cowan, *More Work for Mother*, 81; Belisle, *Retail Nation*, 14, 26-27, 61, 75, 130, 134-35, 137, 142, and 201; Comacchio, 78; and Barron, 156. For an overview of the range of clothing, footwear, accessories, and material available through Eaton's, see *The 1927 Edition of the T. Eaton Co. Limited Catalogue*, 1-123, 142-220, and 245-263.

¹⁸² February 12, 1923, November 10, 1923, December 6, 1923, November 12, 1924, December 17, 1924, and January 26, 1926, McIntosh Family Accounts; October 20, 1917, April 5, 1918, April 12, 1918, December 12, 1922, February 20, 1923, and May 13, 1927, Potts Family Farm Diaries; and April 12, 1926, July 29, 1926, January 3, 1927, March 5, 1927, and April 23, 1927, Shields Accounts.

¹⁸³ November 22, 1929, Florence (Allen) Tompkins Diaries; October 3, 1918, November 19, 1919, April 19, 1921, May 31, 1921, September 1, 1921, September 16, 1921, June [no date], 1922, December 28, 1922, April 13, 1923, August 24, 1923, August 14, 1924, August 23, 1924, November 7, 1924, August 20, 1925, September c. 25, 1925, and August 9, 1926, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts; November 9, 1924, Arthur McQueen Diaries; and March 15, 1919, Meyer Accounts.

¹⁸⁴ April 19, 1921, May 31, 1921, September 1, 1921, and September 16, 1921, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts.

¹⁸⁵ Parsons, 104. See also Topik and Wells, 613.

¹⁸⁶ "Eaton's Mail Order News," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 27, 1905, 635; "Order Your Everyday Needs from Eaton's," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 12, 1905, 1428; "Eaton's Catalogue Sent Free on Request," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 14, 1910, 643; "The House-Keeper's Summer Harvest," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 4, 1910, 1261; "Now Ready," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 26, 1915, 1359; "Buy To-Day the EATON Way," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 8, 1925, 1403; "Eaton's Spring and Summer Catalogue 1918," *Weekly Sun*, April 17, 1918, 7; "Eaton's Money-Saving Values Correct Styles at Economy Prices," *Weekly Sun*, April 24, 1918, 6; and "The Fall and Winter EATON Catalogue," *Weekly Sun*, August 21, 1918, 7.

¹⁸⁷ See, for example, June 29, 1917, October 3, 1918, November 13, 1919, November 19, 1919, August 9, 1920, April 19, 1921, May 31, 1921, September 1, 1921, September 16, 1921, March 9, 1922, June [no date], 1922, December 28, 1922, April 13, 1923, August 14, 1924, August 23, 1924, November 7, 1924, August 20, 1925, September c. 25, 1925, and August 9, 1926, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts.

¹⁸⁸ May 21, 1918, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts; and April 16, 1930, Arthur McQueen Diaries.

¹⁸⁹ Smith, *Childhood Memories*, 99.

¹⁹⁰ May 14, 1930, and March 12, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

¹⁹¹ December 9, 1922, April 13, 1923, April 3, 1925, October 6, 1925, November 20, 1925, June 1, 1928, October 6, 1928, October 13, 1928, March 28, 1929, April 20, 1929, August 17, 1929, December 2, 1929, April 12, 1930, July 1, 1930, September 30, 1930, October 23, 1930, April 18, 1931, May 20, 1931, June 11, 1931, July 18, 1931, October 8, 1931, October 15, 1931, April 22, 1932, May 4, 1932, May 21, 1932, and June 21, 1932, Arthur McQueen Diaries.

¹⁹² July 12, 1918, March 26, 1919, September 6, 1919, September 18, 1919, May 13, 1927, April 6, 1935, April 12, 1935, March 23, 1936, June 15, 1936, September 19, 1942, and October 18, 1945, Ruby Simmons Diary.

¹⁹³ See October 28, 1922, November 5, 1923, and November 17, 1925, Potts Family Farm Diaries. See also Belisle, *Retail Nation*, 138, and 140.

¹⁹⁴ Emma and Marianna were adult sisters living with their parents, Charles and Alice; Emma was widowed. See March 29, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diary; "Charles Treffry," South Norwich Township, Oxford County (South), 6, 55; and May 5, 1912, October 8, 1916, June 27, 1917, March 31, 1918, June 15, 1919, May 9, 1931, May 29, 1931, September 26, 1933, December 25, 1934, and May 31, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

¹⁹⁵ September 21, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diary.

¹⁹⁶ April 22, 1911, May 5, 1930, September 27, 1930, June 18, 1932, June 20, 1932, September 2, 1932, and October 11, 1933, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

¹⁹⁷ May 2, 1903, February 1, 1905, February 3, 1905, March 4, 1905, and January 27, 1908, Nathaniel "Ed" Leeder Accounts; March 1, 1913, May 13, 1914, September 22, 1914, February 12, 1915, March 4, 1915, August 3, 1916, June 21, 1917, October 25, 1917, November 15, 1917, December 24, 1917, December 19, 1918, May 31, 1919, June 23, 1919, November 19, 1919, December 21, 1920, June 16, 1921, and August 9, 1926, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts; April 21, 1910, April 13, 1912, February 6, 1925, November 15,

1926, and November 22, 1927, Hawley Farm Accounts; and January 17, 1903, January 12, 1905, November 4, 1905, July 30, 1910, and October 27, 1914, James Adam Glen, Sr., Diaries.

¹⁹⁸ See also McCalla, *Consumers in the Bush*, 140; and Martin, *Buying into the World of Goods*, 82.

¹⁹⁹ See also McCalla, *Consumers in the Bush*, 140.

²⁰⁰ January 8, 1900, February 5, 1900, April 13, 1900, May 16, 1900, June 5, 1900, October 10, 1900, October c. 24, 1900, November 15, 1900, January 2, 1907, January 21, 1907, August 26, 1907, September 3, 1907, September 7, 1907, November 5, 1907, March 30, 1908, July 21, 1908, October 1, 1908, November 5, 1908, January 22, 1909, April 14, 1909, May c. 1, 1909, and August 23, 1909, John Pollard Accounts.

²⁰¹ October 13, 1900, October 28, 1900, March 23, 1901, June 15, 1901, October 17, 1901, September 27, 1902, October 20, 1903, September 3, 1904, October 1, 1904, October 27, 1904, May 5, 1905, May 14, 1905, October 4, 1905, June 8, 1906, May 11, 1907, March 12, 1908, July 30, 1908, October 16, 1908, November 26, 1908, April 21, 1910, May 28, 1910, December 16, 1910, May 6, 1911, July 8, 1911, November 4, 1911, April 12, 1912, October 15, 1912, February 1, 1913, April 26, 1913, July 12, 1913, July 26, 1913, October 4, 1913, November 17, 1913, January 30, 1914, April 18, 1914, May 2, 1914, December 23, 1914, May 22, 1915, July 17, 1915, December 16, 1915, April 29, 1916, May 27, 1916, May 22, 1920, August 7, 1920, August 14, 1920, April 30, 1921, October 3, 1921, April 28, 1923, July 7, 1923, October 20, 1923, November 17, 1923, December 24, 1923, June 11, 1924, August 23, 1924, October 25, 1924, January 23, 1925, April 13, 1925, November 1, 1925, March 4, 1926, May 26, 1926, August 14, 1926, October 4, 1926, May 22, 1927, July 2, 1927, May 5, 1928, May 25, 1928, June 30, 1928, February 18, 1929, June 29, 1929, August 31, 1929, December 5, 1929, November 8, 1930, July 7, 1931, July 28, 1931, May 2, 1932, June 28, 1932, August 27, 1932, December 2, 1932, December 10, 1932, December 16, 1932, January 11, 1933, February 21, 1933, April 12, 1933, October 31, 1933, December 30, 1933, September 22, 1934, November 17, 1934, November 30, 1934, December 4, 1934, December 15, 1934, June 20, 1935, June 15, 1935, December 23, 1935, January 15, 1936, July 22, 1936, November 19, 1936, January 25, 1937, April 19, 1937, August 11, 1937, December 18, 1937, July 9, 1938, December 24, 1938, June 10, 1939, August 9, 1939, September 13, 1939, February 1, 1940, May 14, 1940, October 3, 1940, April 21, 1941, August 18, 1941, September 11, 1941, November 25, 1941, January 6, 1942, January 15, 1942, July 24, 1942, October 19, 1942, February 26, 1943, October 2, 1943, December 14, 1943, October 4, 1944, October 7, 1944, November 30, 1944, and December 15, 1944, Hawley Farm Accounts.

²⁰² November 8, 1930, July 7, 1931, July 28, 1931, May 2, 1932, June 28, 1932, August 27, 1932, December 2, 1932, December 10, 1932, December 16, 1932, January 11, 1933, February 21, 1933, April 12, 1933, October 31, 1933, December 30, 1933, September 22, 1934, November 17, 1934, November 30, 1934, December 4, 1934, December 15, 1934, June 15, 1935, June 20, 1935, December 23, 1935, January 15, 1936, July 22, 1936, November 19, 1936, January 25, 1937, April 19, 1937, August 11, 1937, December 18, 1937, July 9, 1938, December 24, 1938, June 10, 1939, August 9, 1939, and September 13, 1939, Hawley Farm Accounts.

²⁰³ Strasser, 125-26 and 143; Cowan, *More Work for Mother*, 73-75; Connolly, "The Disappearance of the Domestic Sewing Machine, 1890-1925," 40-41, 43, and 45; and Parsons, 43, 68, and 86.

²⁰⁴ February 26, 1900, April 14, 1900, May 3, 1900, May 26, 1900, June 3, 1900, October 13, 1900, October 20, 1900, October 29, 1900, December 12, 1900, January 12, 1901, February 26, 1901, May 1, 1901, May 7, 1901, May 25, 1901, June 20, 1901, July 4, 1901, August 20, 1901, September 27, 1901, October 17, 1901, December 19, 1901, January 16-17, 1902, January 30, 1902, February 8, 1902, March 22, 1902, March 24, 1902, May 29, 1902, May 31, 1902, June 7, 1902, July 12, 1902, September 27, 1902, October 23, 1902, November 28, 1902, December 24, 1902, January 20, 1903, January 31, 1903, March 2, 1903, February 26, 1903, April 29, 1903, May 2, 1903, May 5-6, 1903, May 22, 1903, August 2, 1903, August 22, 1903, October 31, 1903, November 7, 1903, December [no date], 1903, July 22, 1904, July 30, 1904, August 5, 1904, August 27, 1904, October 1, 1904, October 27-28, 1904, November 9, 1904, November 19, 1904, December 13, 1904, December 23, 1904, December 30, 1904, February 11, 1905, February 20, 1905, March 7, 1905, April 22, 1905, May 5, 1905, May 10, 1905, May 20, 1905, June 24, 1905, July 6, 1905, August 5, 1905, October 4, 1905, October 28, 1905, November 1, 1905, January 13, 1906, February 15, 1906, March 31, 1906, May 3, 1906, May 19, 1906, May 23, 1906, June 2, 1906, June 8, 1906, October 9, 1906, November 3, 1906, November 16, 1906, December 14, 1906, January 21, 1907, March 23, 1907, March 30, 1907, June 12, 1907, June 19, 1907, July [no date], 1907, August 24, 1907, September 7, 1907, November 11, 1907, February 28, 1908, March 19, 1908, March 26, 1908, May 1,

1908, May 13, 1908, August 1, 1908, October 17, 1908, November 7, 1908, November 17, 1908, November 26, 1908, December 10, 1908, February 11, 1909, February 26, 1909, March 17, 1909, April 10, 1909, May 12, 1909, June 5, 1909, June 19, 1909, June 26, 1909, July 3, 1909, August 14, 1909, April 21, 1910, May 28, 1910, July 16, 1910, October 16, 1910, December 16, 1910, January 3, 1911, January 24, 1911, February 18, 1911, May 6, 1911, June 3, 1911, June 10, 1911, September 9, 1911, November 4, 1911, November 27, 1911, December 28, 1911, February 24, 1912, March 2, 1912, April 12-13, 1912, May 18, 1912, June 8, 1912, October 15, 1912, December 11, 1912, February 1, 1913, February 20, 1913, May 3, 1913, June 12, 1913, June 14, 1913, July 12, 1913, November 5, 1913, November 17, 1913, December 6, 1913, January 30, 1914, May 2, 1914, May 9, 1914, May 23, 1914, January 20, 1915, January 28, 1915, July 17, 1915, and November 13, 1915, Hawley Farm Accounts. See also Shorman, *Selling Style*, 56.

²⁰⁵ The year 1924 was an exception to this trend. See April 29, 1916, July 15, 1916, July 22, 1916, September 23, 1916, October 31, 1916, June 9, 1917, June 23, 1917, May 1, 1920, May 8, 1920, August 14, 1920, October 9, 1920, December 30, 1920, April 18, 1921, April 30, 1921, June 25, 1921, April 29, 1922, May 6, 1922, June 3, 1922, June 24, 1922, August 26, 1922, September 2, 1922, September 23, 1922, October 14, 1922, November 17, 1922, April 28, 1923, May 5, 1923, May 19, 1923, July 14, 1923, July 28, 1923, October 20, 1923, April 12, 1924, June 11, 1924, August 9, 1924, August 23, 1924, August 30, 1924, October 18, 1924, October 25, 1924, November 8, 1924, November 18, 1924, January 7, 1925, January 23, 1925, February 6, 1925, April 13, 1925, April 25, 1925, August 8, 1925, November 1, 1925, November 26, 1925, December 12, 1925, December 17, 1925, January 15, 1926, March 4, 1926, August 14, 1926, November 13, 1926, November 15, 1926, January 10, 1927, January 12, 1927, April 14, 1927, April 21, 1927, June 16, 1927, July 2, 1927, November 19, 1927, November 22, 1927, December 12, 1927, January 30-31, 1928, April 7, 1928, May 26, 1928, October 16, 1928, November 3, 1928, November 29, 1928, February 18-19, 1929, April 19, 1929, May 20, 1929, May 2-3, 1930, November 7-8, 1930, December 18, 1930, January 3, 1931, March 26, 1931, June 13, 1931, July 7, 1931, July 28, 1931, September 22, 1931, December 4, 1931, December 14, 1931, July 16, 1932, August 18, 1932, August 27, 1932, January 6, 1933, March 3, 1933, September 22, 1933, June 21, 1934, November 21, 1934, December 5, 1935, June 2, 1936, September 5, 1936, July 2, 1937, May 7, 1938, July 9, 1938, November 23, 1938, December 6, 1940, November 4, 1941, November 27, 1941, January 9, 1943, May 18, 1943, January 22, 1944, June 6, 1944, September 30, 1944, November 23, 1944, November 30, 1944, and December 22, 1944, Hawley Farm Accounts.

²⁰⁶ December 15, 1937, and January 12, 1938, D.H. Kelly Accounts.

²⁰⁷ March 3, 1930, March 18, 1930, June 5, 1930, June 17, 1930, August 22, 1930, October 9, 1930, November 19, 1930, November 24, 1930, November 27, 1930, January 7, 1931, January 10, 1931, February 11, 1931, March 24, 1931, March 27, 1931, April 27, 1931, May 9, 1931, May 12, 1931, June 6, 1931, June 9, 1931, June 16, 1931, June 28, 1937, August 19, 1937, August 26-27, 1937, September 30, 1937, October 18, 1937, November 9, 1937, December 6, 1937, December 30, 1937, January 3-4, 1938, January 6, 1938, January 12, 1938, January 17, 1938, January 24, 1938, January 26-27, 1938, January 31, 1938, February 1, 1938, February 8, 1938, February 12, 1938, March 7, 1938, March 14, 1938, March 16, 1938, March 23, 1938, April 7-9, 1938, May 9, 1938, May 19, 1938, May 23-24, 1938, May 30, 1938, June 13, 1938, June 20, 1938, June 30, 1938, July 4, 1938, July 6-7, 1938, July 15, 1938, July 20, 1938, July 22, 1938, July 27, 1938, August 15, 1938, August 23, 1938, October 5-6, 1938, October 15, 1938, October 18-19, 1938, November 24, 1938, December 5, 1938, December 13-14, 1938, January 5, 1939, February 2, 1939, February 13-15, 1939, March 11, 1939, July 11, 1941A, July 19, 1941A, July 24, 1941A, July 28, 1941A, September 15, 1941A, October 6-7, 1941A, October 14, 1941A, October 20, 1941A, December 1, 1941A, December 15, 1941A, December 17, 1941A, December 26-27, 1941A, January 20, 1941B, February 26, 1941B, March 3, 1941B, April 16-17, 1941B, May 23, 1941B, June 25, 1941B, July 28, 1941B, January 5-6, 1942A, January 8, 1942A, January 19-20, 1942A, February 11-12, 1942A, February 16, 1942A, February 24, 1942A, February 27, 1942A, March 7, 1942A, March 9, 1942A, May 2, 1942A, January 12, 1942B, January 19-20, 1942B, May 2, 1942B, May 15, 1942B, December 14, 1942B, January 18, 1943, April 8, 1943, July 14, 1943, August 4, 1943, September 16, 1943, January 8, 1944, January 31, 1944, February 7, 1944, February 9, 1944, March 4, 1944, March 20, 1944, March 27, 1944, March 29, 1944, April 1, 1944, April 24, 1944, August 31, 1944, November 1, 1944, December 11, 1944, December 14, 1944, December 18-19, 1944, December 28, 1944, January 8, 1945, January 15, 1945, January 22, 1945, February 5, 1945, April 4, 1945, and May 10, 1945, Velma Beaton Diaries.

²⁰⁸ January 3, 1936, January 16, 1936, February 3, 1936, February 6-7, 1936, February 14, 1936, March 18, 1937, March 27, 1937, April 2, 1937, April 5, 1937, April 8, 1937, March 9, 1939, December 6, 1939, December 20, 1939, and March 18-19, 1940, Fred Perkins Diary.

²⁰⁹ See, for example, Cowan, *More Work for Mother*, 75; Strasser, 280; and Connolly, "The Disappearance of the Domestic Sewing Machine, 1890-1925," 40-41, and 43. See also Heron, *Lunch-Bucket Lives*, 66.

²¹⁰ See also Parsons, 43, 85, and 89; Gordon, 3-4, 29, 89-90, and 125-28; Neth, 203-04; and Broad, 203-04. For a brief overview of the impact of the Second World War on the availability of readymade clothing, see Keshen, 104-06.

²¹¹ Interestingly, this blending of homemade and readymade garments has parallels with the blending of homespun and readymade cloth used by rural New Englanders in the late eighteenth century. See Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stores in the Creation of an American Myth* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001), 5, and 298.

Other Household Textiles

In January of 1919, the Duckwith women of Peel County devoted a notable amount of time to work on textiles. Perhaps not surprisingly, given our discussion in the previous chapter, Emily “made a pair of slumber sox,” and “fixed [her] mother[’s] night gown.”¹ (Emily Duckwith is depicted in Figure 19.) The family’s textile work extended, however, beyond simply sewing and fixing clothing. Emily knitted herself a sweater, and did some crocheting.² Her sister, Ruth, “worked at her log cabin quilt.”³ The family also did a bit of unspecified sewing.⁴ Clearly, the Duckwith women were skilled in a variety of textile production techniques, and had the time and desire to work on a range of clothing and household items. Nor were the Duckwiths unique in this regard; Ontario farm



Figure 19: Photograph of Emily Duckwith, graduating as a nursing student.

Source: Excerpted from Oshawa Public Libraries Heritage Collection, “Oshawa General Hospital Nursing Class 1926,” *Our Ontario*, <http://news.ourontario.ca/oshawa/2281164/data>.

women commonly produced a range of textiles for their families and households. This chapter examines women’s textile production that reached beyond the typical sewing of clothing.⁵ Specifically, it discusses the sewing and repair of household textiles, knitting, the completion of fancy work, and quilting. This chapter explores the characteristics of the women who did such work, the types of items these women made, and the extent of their work. Their engagement in this textile work was shaped by their stages in the lifecycle, family circumstances, and socioeconomic conditions. Farm families blended

their household production with readymade purchases to acquire a variety of textiles to add comfort, fashion, and adornment to their homes and wardrobes throughout the first half of the twentieth century.

Turning first to the sewing and repair of household textiles, farm women completed such work throughout the period, as the examples of the Treffrys of Oxford County, the Crawforths of Ontario County, and the Beatons of Wellington County demonstrate.⁶ As they did with clothing, women repaired existing items, and also made new ones. In 1900, for example, Alice Treffry mended a straw tick, and made towels and a tablecloth.⁷ Similarly, in 1937, Elma Perkins, also of Oxford County, mended carpets and made curtains for her hallway.⁸ In households with multiple adult women, they often shared this workload. In 1903, for example, Mary Ann King of Welland County “made a pillow” and sewed a carpet, while her sister, Marjorie, worked on mats.⁹ Similarly, both Bella Green and her mother, Janet, of Huron County worked on mats and cushions in the 1910s.¹⁰ While women overwhelmingly completed household textile work themselves, a single example of male involvement was found in the White family of Prince Edward County. In February of 1935, Homer helped Loretta “[fix a] beaded mat.”¹¹ As we have seen in previous chapters, however, gender roles appear to have been flexible in the White household, with Homer periodically assisting Loretta with her chores. Interestingly, a few families paid others to sew select household textiles; the Pollard family of Oxford County, for example, paid to have a cushion made in October 1900, and dressmaker Cora Tunis of Wentworth County made curtains for other women in November 1922 and February 1933.¹² Women made and fixed items a range of

household textiles, often sharing the labour among multiple adult female kin in the household, if possible.

Presumably, women used most of these handmade household textiles in their own homes, although they also gave some to family. The Duckwith women of Peel County, the Potts women of Norfolk County, and Elma Perkins of Oxford County, for example, largely focused on items for their own homes, although Mary Potts also made a few items for her sons' households.¹³ Women's involvement in household textile production and repair suggests that farm families had both the time and desire for household improvements and decor.

Women worked on an array of household textiles, including curtains, cushions, and floor coverings.¹⁴ The Crawforth family of Ontario County, the Atkins family of Brant County, and the Tunis family of Wentworth County, for example, worked on such items.¹⁵ Many families also commonly bought towelling and oil cloth, as demonstrated by the Glens of Middlesex County, the Joneses of Elgin County, and the Kellys of Oxford County.¹⁶ Other women made and remade a wider range of household textiles; the White household, for example, worked on many of the items heretofore discussed, but also sewed pillows, table cloths, and a range of towels.¹⁷ Some of this production was relatively basic; women would cut the material to the appropriate size, and sew the edges to 'finish' the item, as presumably would have been the case with such items as towels and simple table cloths. Other items, such as curtains and cushions, would have required more work. Curtains, for example, would have to be fashioned so that they would hang in the desired manner. Women worked on a variety of household textiles, finding a balance between fashion and economy suited to their individual tastes and familial circumstances.

In their work on household textiles, some farm women used dye to update select items.¹⁸ Typically, women carefully chose a small number of items to rework in such a fashion, such as the curtain Kathleen Crawforth dyed in March 1928, and the hammock Loretta (Talcott) White dyed in June 1932.¹⁹ Some women also used dyes to fashion new items out of old ones. Both the Pearce household of Elgin County and the Treffry household of Oxford County, for example, dyed carpet rags, which were subsequently used to make rag rugs.²⁰ Similarly, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins dyed old textiles to make chair and furniture coverings, even repurposing old curtains for this project.²¹ The use of dyes allowed women to update the appearance of select household textiles, as they did with clothing.

A number of factors, including season, other demands for women's labour, and perhaps economic considerations, shaped women's work on household textiles. While women completed some household textile work throughout the year, generally it was concentrated between the late fall and early spring. The Atkins women of Brant County, the Duckwith women of Peel County, and Jean McQueen of Huron County, for example, typically worked on household textiles in the colder months of the year.²² Similarly, Kathleen Crawforth did not make or mend any household textiles between the months of June and September, a key period for food and crop production.²³ This timing of household textile work correlates with the timing of clothing work.

Household textiles did not "wear out" or go out of fashion as often as clothing, meaning that women did not have to spend as much time on this work. Many diarists recorded ten or fewer entries per year of making or repairing such textiles, as demonstrated by the Potts family, the Hill family of Wellington County, and the

McQueen family of Huron County.²⁴ A few farm women, such as those in the White household, spent more time making and remaking household textiles.²⁵ The Whites appear to have been of a higher socioeconomic standing, as suggested by the amount of time Homer and Loretta (depicted in Figures 20 and 21) spent shopping in Toronto, and the fact that they had electricity by the early 1930s.²⁶ Presumably, Loretta, her mother, and her mother-in-law had more time to devote to this work, and perhaps were more interested in adorning their homes. Similarly, Vivien Atkins also devoted more time than usual to work on household textiles.²⁷ As was discussed in the previous chapter, however, Atkins's medical condition may have contributed to her focus on the relatively sedentary textile work. She completed a notable amount of such work for individuals outside of her direct family, in contrast to the largely family-centered work of other diarists.²⁸ Typically, farm women devoted a small amount of time to work on household textiles, although socioeconomic position and other individual factors also influenced their work.



Figures 20-21: Photographs of Loretta (Talcott) White and Homer White Bloomfield, respectively.
Source: Loretta (Talcott) White, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries, Prince Edward County Archives, A1991.092.054; and Homer White Bloomfield, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries, A1991.092.058.



A woman's stage in the lifecycle also shaped the amount of time she devoted to work on household textiles. Elma Perkins, for example, spent the most time working on such textiles in 1936 and 1937. Presumably, she was working to outfit her newly-

established household, as she married in March 1936.²⁹ Similarly, Kathleen Crawforth's textile work appears to have been influenced by the changing dynamics of her family. She mended two bags in 1918, which likely had practical uses for household or farm storage. This work was done prior to the birth of her son, Harold.³⁰ Crawforth did not note any household textile work again until the winter of 1923, when Harold was five years old.³¹ The cases of Perkins and Crawforth suggest that such textile work shifted over the lifecycle, increasing when women worked to establish new households and declining when they had young children for whom to care. Decisions regarding household textile production and repairs were shaped by family circumstances.

While women made a range of household textiles, farm families were not reliant on home-sewn items. Rather, they incorporated both homemade and readymade items into their households throughout the period. Families commonly purchased readymade rugs, carpets, towels, and curtains, as demonstrated by the Leeders of Bruce County, the Weirs of Peterborough County, and the Pollards of Oxford County.³² Families considered beauty and aesthetics when making these purchases; the Jones, Pearce, and King families, for example, bought lace curtains, suggesting the curtains were not simply for utilitarian purposes.³³ Notably, some families even purchased the same types of items readymade that they sewed within the household. The Hawleys of Lennox and Addington County, for example, bought both towelling and curtain material, as well as towels and curtains.³⁴ They purchased towelling into the late 1930s, and towels as early as the first decade of the twentieth century, showing that they were not simply transitioning from homemade to readymade goods.³⁵ Similarly, Loretta White purchased "curtain stuff" in 1915, and purchased curtains in the 1910s and early 1930s.³⁶ Interestingly, the White family also

purchased a Turkish rug from Eaton's in 1915, and received "a tiger skin for [a] rug" from friends in 1931, showing cosmopolitan influences in Loretta's decor.³⁷ Families periodically bought a broader array of readymade items, including table cloths, blankets, and sheets.³⁸ As suggested by the Hawley and White families, and as demonstrated by a range of others, farm families blended home-sewn and readymade goods to supply utilitarian and attractive textiles for their households.³⁹

Alongside their sewing, many farm women also knit throughout the first half of the twentieth century.⁴⁰ Marjorie King, sister of Mary A., for example, knitted in the first decade of the century.⁴¹ Marjorie made such items as mittens and scarves, knitting not only for herself, but also for her mother, and a man named Gordon.⁴² Similarly, Ruby Simmons of Lennox and Addington County knitted between the late 1910s and early 1940s, working on such items as cushions, socks, and even dresses.⁴³ Families periodically purchased yarn and knitting needles, as demonstrated by the Nathaniel Edward Leeder, Hawley, and D.H. Kelly households.⁴⁴ Farm women also darned socks or stockings for their families, as was done by Vivien Atkins, Annie Hill, and Loretta White.⁴⁵ Typically, one woman within each household specialized in knitting. Janet Green, for example, did all of the knitting within her family, despite the fact that she resided with her adult daughter, Bella.⁴⁶ Similarly, Emily Duckwith knitted for her household, even though she resided with her mother and multiple sisters.⁴⁷ Marital status does not appear to have been a significant factor in determining whether women knitted; single Vivien Atkins, married Ruby Simmons, and widowed Janet Green all knitted.⁴⁸ Clearly, many farm women knitted and darned.

Perhaps this specialization of a single householder can be attributed to the fact that knitting was not an all-consuming or central chore. It could be fit between other chores, as it could be easily picked up and set aside when necessary, and could even be taken along when travelling and visiting. Women spent a small amount of time knitting, particularly when compared to their other types of textile work. In 1901, for example, Marjorie King knitted on twelve days, which was the peak number of yearly entries.⁴⁹ This figure can be contrasted to sixty entries for work on clothing over the same year.⁵⁰ Similarly, Velma Beaton of Wellington County recorded three entries for knitting in 1941, which can be contrasted to seventeen entries for quilting and twenty-nine entries for work on clothing over the same year.⁵¹ Notably, the White household was an exception to these general trends. Not only did knitting rank as the top type of yearly textile work for a few years in the 1910s and early 1930s, but Loretta, her mother, and her mother-in-law were all involved in this work.⁵² Perhaps Loretta and her female kin enjoyed this work, and perhaps the family's higher socioeconomic position enabled them to have a considerable amount of time to devote to it. Typically, however, farm women only spent a bit of time each year knitting, in contrast to the popular stereotype of the centrality of this work.

Women knitted a range of items. Most commonly, they made socks/stockings, sweaters, and mittens, as the experiences of the King, Duckwith, and Potts families attest.⁵³ A few women knitted a broader array of clothing; Ruby Simmons, for example, made dresses and skirts, while Loretta White made scarves and even a dog jacket.⁵⁴ More rarely, women worked on household items, such as quilts, afghans, and cushions.⁵⁵ Farm families were not, however, reliant on home-knitted socks, mittens, and sweaters. Indeed,

as touched on in the previous chapter, farm families purchased many of these garments readymade. The farm press also regularly included advertisements for these items.⁵⁶ Farm families blended readymade and homemade knit goods.

While women often did not specify the intended recipient for their hand-knitted goods, others documented knitting for their direct families and broader networks. Loretta White, for example, knitted for her husband, members of her extended family, and a few other women, as did Ruby Simmons.⁵⁷ Perhaps these hand-knitted items had special meaning for the recipient, as they were gifted relatively infrequently. Gordon Robertson of Middlesex County, for example, purchased readymade socks, and presumably also received some readymade socks as Christmas gifts in the early 1940s.⁵⁸ For Christmas in 1944, however, Gordon specified the receipt of “hand knitted sox” from one of his grandmothers, suggesting that they were a special gift.⁵⁹ Families incorporated some home-knitted goods into their wardrobes, which perhaps had special meanings, given the time devoted to making these items.

Some farm women also knitted in support of the home front efforts during the First and Second World Wars, knitting socks for the Red Cross, IODE, and soldiers serving overseas.⁶⁰ Mary Potts and Janet Green both undertook such work during the First World War, while Velma Beaton of Wellington County, Jean Ferrier of Wellington County, and Ruby Simmons of Lennox and Addington County undertook such work during the Second World War.⁶¹ Some women also knitted specifically for friends and relatives serving overseas. Mary Potts, for example, made a pair of gloves for her son, William E. Potts, who served in the First World War.⁶² Similarly, Elma Perkins knitted a sweater for George, a relative or family friend, who was called for service in June 1940.⁶³

Interestingly, both Potts and Perkins only knitted during the First and Second World Wars, respectively; Potts recorded such work from approximately November 1917 to August 1918, while Perkins recorded such work in November 1940.⁶⁴ These examples provide further evidence that household knitting was supplemental to readymade knit goods, as Potts and Perkins did not “have” to complete this work for their families. Notably, too, historian Linda Ambrose explains that some women involved in the patriotic work of the WI during the First World War learned specifically for this purpose; such efforts document that knitting was typically not a central component of women’s work.⁶⁵ For some farm women, knitting was a way to support the war effort, and to provide a cozy reminder of home for family, friends, or even unknown Canadian soldiers, serving far from home. Perhaps these women were comforted in their knowledge that the items were useful for soldiers, and keeping busy with such work may also have provided some solace amidst their fears and worries.

In contrast to knitting and working on household textiles, fewer farm women engaged in fancy work, which included such activities as embroidering, crocheting, and tatting.⁶⁶ Tatting is the art of making lace, often using a shuttle and cotton thread.⁶⁷ Crocheting uses a single hook to make the desired item out of yarn, while knitting uses at least two needles.⁶⁸ Women’s engagement in fancy work was impacted by their interests, talents, stage in the life cycle, and the division of labour within the family. Women’s marital status was a key factor. Mary Potts and Kathleen Crawforth, for example, were both married women, and did not specify completing any fancy work.⁶⁹ Perhaps more tellingly, some women engaged in fancy work while they were single, and stopped this work upon marriage. Merinda Pearce’s daughter, Alice, learned how to do fancy work in

July 1902, and completed more of this work in 1904.⁷⁰ Merinda did not note Alice undertaking any such work after the latter's marriage in 1905.⁷¹ (Alice is depicted in Figure 22.) Similarly, Elma Perkins had a total of six entries recording fancy work in the early months of 1936, prior to her marriage.⁷² Perkins did not complete any such work in the early years of her marriage.⁷³ Alice and Elma may have enjoyed this work and its products, as



suggested by Alice's competition in a local fair with it.⁷⁴ They also may have engaged in fancy work to help establish their own households.⁷⁵ Once married, however, the competing demands for their time, both as female household heads and as farm women, may

Figure 22: Photograph of Mrs. Arthur Wilson (Alice Pearce).

Source: Elgin County Archives, "Iona Women's Institute," *County of Elgin Women's Institutes Tweedsmuir Histories*,

<http://www.elgin.ca/ElginCounty/CulturalServices/Archives/tweedsmuir/Iona/page%20061%20-%20071.pdf>, 68.

have necessitated a cessation of this activity. In a 1920 article, Diana of the *Farmer's Sun* similarly distinguished between girls, who often enjoyed completing fancy work projects, and women, who typically did not have time for such tasks.⁷⁶

In keeping with longer term trends, the farm women who were most actively engaged in fancy work were single, and often had other female kin with whom the household workloads could be shared.⁷⁷ Bella Green, for example, lived with her widowed mother, Janet. Bella crocheted a range of items in the mid- to late 1910s, including collars, hair nets, and blocks for a quilt.⁷⁸ Emily Duckwith engaged in a wider range of fancy work, as she was able to crochet, embroider, and tat, and she made such items as a tam, a blouse, and handkerchiefs.⁷⁹ Emily came from a large family with a number of sisters, meaning that these women were able to share the household chores.

While both Emily and Bella recorded textile work completed by other female kin, these single women overwhelmingly completed the fancy work within their households.⁸⁰ Presumably, there was less of a need or demand for this type of textiles than more ‘practical’ or ‘everyday’ goods, such as clothing, enabling one woman in the family to focus on the work. Women may also have returned to this work at a later stage; Berniece McLean Yerge of Essex County, for example, remembers her widowed grandmother who resided in her household crocheting “endless[ly].”⁸¹

A few married women also engaged in the task. Ruby Simmons, for example, did a small amount of fancy work herself, crocheting a runner and a pillow cover, and embroidering a “doily roll” over the 27-year span of her diaries. She only completed fancy work in a handful of years, and, at most, engaged in this work a couple of times a year.⁸² Perhaps Simmons enjoyed the work, and simply tried to capture those fleeting “extra” moments in the early years of marriage and motherhood to make a few pretty items.⁸³ Simmons (as well as a number of other farm women) also taught others these skills, further underlining the relative speciality of fancy work.⁸⁴ More extensive fancy work production occurred in the White household; Loretta, along with her mother and mother-in-law, crocheted, tatted, embroidered, completed needlework, and even strung beads.⁸⁵ Loretta did not, however, have children.⁸⁶ The White family was one of the rare cases in which multiple women produced fancy work. Significantly, too, the family devoted a considerable amount of time to this work, as it often ranked as the top yearly specified type of textile work, and the number of entries peaked over 150 in 1915 alone.⁸⁷ The White women clearly had considerable time to devote to making pretty and decorative items. Presumably, this can be connected to their aforementioned

socioeconomic position; scholar Beverly Gordon, for example, highlights that middle-class women typically completed fancy work.⁸⁸ A few married farm women found or made time to engage in fancy work.

In contrast to the extensive fancy work completed by the White women, those women who engaged in fancy work typically did this work sporadically. Usually, women did not crochet, tat, or embroider every year. Rather, they periodically worked on a few special items. A few women, including Vivien Atkins, Mary A. King, and Cora Tunis, only noted a few of instances each of such work over the span of their diaries.⁸⁹ Even for women who engaged in fancy work on a more regular basis, the amount of time devoted to the task remained relatively low. Bella Green engaged in such work up to thirteen times a year in the late 1910s, and the Beaton women engaged in such work up to nine times a year in the 1930s.⁹⁰ Clearly, farm women were selective in the amount of time they devoted to crocheting, tatting, and embroidering items. Overall, women's completion of fancy work appears to have declined in the 1930s. Both the Beaton and Simmons households, for example, stopped engaging in fancy work in 1938.⁹¹ Similarly, the amount of time the White women devoted to such work declined in the 1930s, as compared to the 1910s.⁹² The items produced by such labours were becoming less fashionable, as trends moved away from the more ornate Victorian styles; purchases of readymade lace, and frill, in particular, appear also to have declined in the period.⁹³ Such shifts in purchasing and production suggest farm families were influenced by larger changes in fashion and decor.

While women often recorded simply the type of fancy work they completed, some diarists gave glimpses into the types of items they made and adorned. Women worked on

a variety of household textiles, including pillows, runners, and doilies.⁹⁴ They also worked on clothing and accessories, including tams, collars, and yokes.⁹⁵ Farm women worked to expand their fancy work skills, learning new patterns; in 1917, for example, Bella Green learned a new yoke pattern, as well as an unspecified crocheting pattern.⁹⁶ Similarly, Loretta White learned new crochet patterns from other women in the late 1910s.⁹⁷ Presumably, women's fancy work products were intended for their own households, although, periodically, women specified making items for others, as was the case with Bella Green and Loretta White.⁹⁸ The farm press also periodically discussed the possibility of gifting fancy work items at Christmastime.⁹⁹ The completion of fancy work, whether crocheting, embroidering, or tatting, by some women demonstrates interest in aesthetics, beauty, and fashion.¹⁰⁰

Another common type of textile work for farm women was quilting. They quilted throughout the period, as the examples of the King, Duckwith, and Beaton households attest.¹⁰¹ Many farm families, including the Jemina Hannah Leeder family of Bruce County, the Robert McGowan family of Huron County, and the Gordon Robertson family of Middlesex County, bought quilting inputs.¹⁰² Women usually focused on making quilts, but Vivien Atkins also applied her quilting skills to other textiles, including an evening cape in 1900 and towels in 1906.¹⁰³ Typically, women devoted a relatively small amount of time to quilting; indeed, women did not necessarily quilt every year. The King women, for example, only quilted in 1901, 1902, 1904, and 1909.¹⁰⁴ Even at their peak involvement in 1904, they only quilted on a total of eighteen days over the course of the year.¹⁰⁵ Similarly, the Beaton women did not quilt every year.¹⁰⁶ At their peak, they quilted on a total of sixteen days in 1941.¹⁰⁷ According to the historiography, while

American women may have used sewing machines to piece and bind quilts, they typically used hand stitching for the visible elements of quilts in the early twentieth century; presumably, Ontario women quilted in a similar fashion.¹⁰⁸ Farm women quilted throughout the first half of the twentieth century, but, in contrast to popular stereotypes, the amount of time they spent on this activity was usually relatively constrained.

This limited production can be associated with the fact that women did not quilt simply out of basic necessity, in terms of providing warm coverings for their families' beds. Readymade blankets, bed spreads, and comforters were available to fulfill such basic needs throughout the first half of the twentieth century.¹⁰⁹ The Hawley, Jemina Hannah Leeder, and McGowan households all made such readymade purchases.¹¹⁰ Presumably, women enjoyed quilting, the sociability that often accompanied it, and the beauty of the finished items.¹¹¹ A few diarists specified their quilt designs, such as the Duckwith family's neck-tie and log cabin quilts, and Elma Perkins's Dutch Doll quilt.¹¹² Ruby Simmons detailed an even broader range of designs, including water lily, star, autograph, butterfly, and garden quilts.¹¹³ Such evidence suggests that there were a variety of beautiful handmade quilts in rural Ontario.

In terms of the physical labour associated with the work, it was feasible, and, arguably, preferable to involve multiple women in the making of a single quilt. This communal effort in quilting contrasts with work on clothing and most household textiles. Depending on the type of quilt being made, each woman could sew or embroider some blocks for the quilt on her own time, as was done periodically by Jean McQueen.¹¹⁴ Once the quilt top was pieced together, its size enabled multiple women to sit around the item in its frames and quilt. Not only did this lighten the workload for each participant and

speed up the completion time, but it also allowed women to socialize while working. Consequently, quilting was more of a group activity, often involving multiple members of the family and community.¹¹⁵ In cases with multiple adult daughters within a household, it was possible for some families to work together to largely complete their quilting themselves. Emily Duckwith, for example, recorded the efforts of herself, her mother, and her sisters Ruth, Winnifred, and Alva, in quilting; only twice did she note the involvement of women outside of her direct family.¹¹⁶ Overwhelmingly, the Duckwith women's quilts were intended for family members.¹¹⁷

Typically, however, farm women did not have such a large network of adult female kin in the home. Consequently, they commonly worked with women outside of their direct households. Between the mid-1910s and mid-1920s, for example, Mary Potts worked with women outside of her own household for almost half of her quilting.¹¹⁸ Similarly, in the late 1930s, Jean Ferrier worked with other women for almost half of her quilting.¹¹⁹ Many of these quilts were intended for specific individuals and households, such as the quilts Mary Potts helped to make for herself, and her son, as well as women named Edith and Nettie.¹²⁰ Periodically, women also quilted in support of specific organizations. Jean McQueen, for example, quilted with the Women's Association, and Ruby Simmons quilted with a number of organizations, including the WI and the Women's Missionary Society.¹²¹ Such quiltings could draw large gatherings; on August 1, 1929, for example, there were a total of 31 individuals (including three children) at McQueen's for a Women's Association quilting.¹²² These quilts could either be donated to individuals or families in need, or sold by raffle. Indeed, it can be hypothesized that when families put a small amount of money towards a quilt they purchased a ticket on it;

James Glen, Sr., of Middlesex County and William R. Shand of Norfolk County both made such purchases.¹²³ Quilting was undertaken periodically to meet the specific desires of families and communities, which presumably accounts for the sporadic timing of the work; Mary Potts, for example, typically quilted in the winter and spring, while the Pearce women quilted in the late spring, early summer, and late fall.¹²⁴ Women worked in groups to provide quilts for individual households and to support larger women's organizations.

This community-oriented quilting appears to have come particularly to the forefront during the First and Second World Wars.¹²⁵ Both the Hill and Green households quilted in support of the First World War effort. Annie Hill worked on "Patriotic quilts" in the fall of 1917, and attended a Ladies' Aid Society quilting in the fall of 1919.¹²⁶ Similarly, Bella Green and her mother, Janet, quilted "for [the] soldiers" and the missionary effort, and Bella helped to pack bales, which included quilts, during local missionary society meetings.¹²⁷ Farm women also donated their labour to the home front efforts during the Second World War. The Beaton women, for example, shifted their quilting away from their household focus in the 1930s towards a community focus during the war years, contributing their labour to such organizations as the Red Cross.¹²⁸ Ruby Simmons also quilted in support of the home front effort during WWII.¹²⁹ Presumably, these quilts were sold or raffled to raise money. As was the case with knitting, some women built upon their textile skills to help support the war efforts.

A farm woman's stage in the lifecycle was central to shaping her participation in quilting. Single young women and older married or widowed women with grown children were more likely to participate in quilting. This type of work, for example,

ranked as the top category of textile work in the Beaton household in 1930, 1943, and 1945.¹³⁰ The Beaton household underwent a number of shifts over this period; in 1930, there were a total of three women in the household (the mother and her two adult daughters), and by 1943, Velma (one of the daughters) was the sole female in the household.¹³¹ Perhaps these single young women and older married or widowed women had more time to devote to such activities, and at least some of them had other women in the household with whom they could share their workloads. Younger women may have quilted in order to supply these desired homemade textiles to their future households.¹³² The daughters of Merinda Pearce, for example, quilted prior to their respective marriages in the first decade of the twentieth century.¹³³ Similarly, Elma Perkins completed all of her quilting in January and February 1936, before her marriage to Fred.¹³⁴ Notably, Elma learned new quilting skills during this time; on January 6, 1936, she “put [her] Dutch Doll quilt on frames. Mrs Langdon show[ed her] how to mark it.”¹³⁵ Elma’s experiences suggest that women learned the full array of skills for quilting as young adults.

Women who were recently married, and women with young families, in contrast, were less likely to participate in quilting. While Elma Perkins, Alice Wilson (née Pearce), and Anna Orchard (née Pearce), for example, clearly knew how to quilt, they do not appear to have quilted in the early years of their marriages. Presumably, recently married women needed to settle into the routine of running their own households. Perhaps such women had done enough quilting before their marriages to provision their households for the earlier, more hectic years of marriage. The need to provide childcare may also have played a role in limiting participation in local quilting. Periodically, women did a bit of quilting when they had young children at home, as the examples of Frances Poole of

Brant County, and Annie Hill of Wellington County attest.¹³⁶ It appears, however, that women's participation in quilting expanded as their children aged. Kathleen Crawford, for example, only attended one quilting in January 1931, when her son, Harold, was approximately thirteen.¹³⁷ Perhaps Harold had reached an age where Kathleen felt comfortable to leave him for an afternoon's outing.¹³⁸ Similarly, Ruby Simmons became actively involved in quilting in 1934, when her son Russell, was approximately twelve.¹³⁹ Farm women's participation in quilting was shaped by marital status and the age of their children; typically, young women quilted prior to marriage, and married women resumed these activities once their children reached adolescence.

Overall, farm women produced a wide range of textiles throughout the first half of the twentieth century. They sewed and repaired household textiles, knitted, engaged in fancy work, and quilted. Decisions about the nature and extent of such textile production were shaped by stage in the lifecycle and the division of labour among women within the home. Younger, unmarried women were more likely to quilt and to engage in fancy work; presumably, this work was undertaken to provision their future homes. Older married women often quilted once their childcare responsibilities had declined. Socioeconomic position also influenced decisions; the White women, for example, seem to have been from a higher socioeconomic position, allowing them both the time and resources to engage in expanded production of household textiles, and considerable amounts of knitting and fancy work. Generally, women's textile production focused on items for their own households, although women commonly quilted for other individuals and groups in their local communities. Women also applied their skills to the war efforts, knitting socks and making quilts. Farm families were not, however, reliant on homemade

textiles, as these items coexisted with formal purchases. Notably, families bought many of the same types of items readymade that they produced within the home or local community, including towels, rugs, curtains, comforters, and quilts. They appear to have depended mainly on readymade knit goods, although some women supplemented these purchases with a few, special homemade items. Fancywork items, in balance, appear to have been largely made within the home. Ontario farm women thus worked to produce and purchase an array of household textiles and garments that added comfort and beauty to their homes and wardrobes.

¹ January 6-7, 1919, Emily Duckwith Diaries.

² January 8, 1919, January 17, 1919, January 20-21, 1919, and January 29, 1919, Emily Duckwith Diaries.

³ According to Marion F. Hanson and Patricia Cox Crews, this style of quilt was “extremely popular in the last quarter of the nineteenth century” in the United States; evidently, interest in this style continued into early twentieth-century rural Ontario. See January 6, 1919, Emily Duckwith Diaries; and Hanson and Crews, viii, 93, 95, 104, 111, 114-16, 118-120, and 122-24.

⁴ January 27-28, 1919, Emily Duckwith Diaries.

⁵ Direct comparisons to the experiences of urban women cannot be made on this topic; the historiography of urban women rarely addresses such textile work, and, as outlined by Maureen Daly Goggin, the historiography of textile work largely builds its analysis outward from artifacts. See Maureen Daly Goggin, “Introduction: Threading Women,” in *Women and the Material Culture of Needlework and Textiles, 1750-1950*, 4. Other works in the field include, for example, Ulrich, *The Age of Homespun*; Mary Juliet-Paonessa, “With Needle and Brush: Schoolgirl Embroidery from the Connecticut River Valley,” *Connecticut History* 49, no. 2 (2010), 281-85; Marion F. Hanson, “Modern, Yet Anti-Modern: Two Sides of Late-Nineteenth- and Early-Twentieth-Century Quiltmaking,” *Uncoverings* 29 (2008), 105-35; Anita B. Loscalzo, “The History of the Sewing Machine and Its Use in Quilting in the United States,” *Uncoverings* 26 (2005), 175-208; Amanda Isaac, “Ann Flower’s Sketchbook: Drawing, Needlework, and Women’s Artistry in Colonial Philadelphia,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 41, no. 2/3 (Summer/Autumn 2007), 141-60; Susan P. Schoelwer, *Connecticut Needlework: Women, Art, and Family, 1740-1840* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2010); Pamela A. Parmal, *Women’s Work: Embroidery in Colonial Boston* (Boston: MFA Publications, 2012); Amelia Peck, *American Quilts & Coverlets in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New Edition* (New York: MQ Publications USA, 2007); Hanson and Crews, *American Quilts in the Modern Age*; and Jeannette Lasansky, *In the Heart of Pennsylvania: 19th & 20th Century Quiltmaking Traditions* (Lewisburg, PA: The Oral Traditions Project of the Union County Historical Society, 1985).

⁶ March 13, 1900, April 17, 1900, and April 30, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diary; November 22, 1923, November 30, 1923, December 6, 1923, January 23, 1924, March 10, 1924, May 9, 1924, January 26, 1925, April 2, 1925, May 2, 1925, March 29, 1926, May 18, 1926, March 2, 1927, February 21, 1928, February 22, 1928, March 9, 1928, March 26, 1929, and October 7, 1930, William Joshua Crawforth Diaries; and May 19, 1930, May 21-22, 1930, November 20, 1930, March 24, 1931, April 10, 1931, April 13, 1931, May 12, 1931, December 21, 1937, December 24, 1937, January 19-21, 1937, January 25, 1938, March 1, 1938, March 5, 1938, March 8-9, 1938, March 11-12, 1938, March 16, 1938, July 12, 1938, August 15, 1938, December 27, 1938, August 19, 1941A, November 20, 1941A, December 10, 1941A, March 2, 1942A, December 29, 1942B, February 8, 1943, May 18, 1943, October 29, 1943, March 20, 1944, December 8, 1944, January 17-18, 1945, March 14, 1945, and July 14, 1945, Velma Beaton Diaries.

⁷ April 17, 1900, and April 30, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diary.

⁸ February 1-2, 1937, February 22, 1937, and July 22-23, 1937, Fred Perkins Diary. See also *The 1927 Edition of the T. Eaton Co. Limited Catalogue for Spring and Summer*, 278-85; and Yerge, 37.

⁹ February 19, 1903, April 15-17, 1903, April 25, 1903, April 29, 1903, and May 1, 1903, Mary A. King Diaries. See also *The 1927 Edition of the T. Eaton Co. Limited Catalogue*, 130.

¹⁰ December 15, 1914, April 12, 1915, April 14, 1915, January 8-9, 1918, January 22, 1918, January 24, 1918, February 25, 1918, March 6, 1918, March 14, 1918, March 19, 1918, March 25, 1918, and March 13, 1919, B.A. Green Diary.

¹¹ February 4, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

¹² October 3, 1900, John Pollard Accounts; and November 11, 1922, November 14, 1922, and February 7, 1933, Cora Tunis Diaries.

¹³ October 21, 1919, October 27, 1919, October 30, 1919, March 4, 1920, March 6, 1920, March 23-25, 1920, April 13-14, 1920, May 19, 1920, March 12, 1921, November 16-18, 1921, and December 21, 1921, Emily Duckwith Diaries; January 17, 1936, January 20-23, 1936, February 1-2, 1937, February 22, 1937, July 22-23, 1937, February 8, 1938, March 3, 1938, and September 23, 1940, Fred Perkins Diary; and December 12, 1917, January 25, 1918, June 25-26, 1918, February 17, 1920, April 19, 1921, April 21, 1921, December 12, 1921, August 10, 1922, February 8, 1924, June 30, 1924, February 13, 1925, and June 4, 1926, Potts Family Farm Diaries.

¹⁴ See also Gordon, "Make It Yourself," 33; Connolly, "The Transformation of Home Sewing," 261, and 284-85; Sharpless, 77-80, and 82; "Cushions," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 27, 1910, 1712; Mrs. Howard A. Clark, "The Women's Institute: Education of a Farmer's Wife," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 19, 1915, 1323; Priscilla, "Plan for 1925 Business," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 15, 1925, 67; Rag-Time-Girl, "The Possibilities of Rags," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 12, 1905, 57; Diana, "Little Conversations," *Farmers' Sun*, April 23, 1919, 5; and Roelens-Grant, ed., 28, and 140.

¹⁵ November 22, 1923, November 30, 1923, December 6, 1923, January 23, 1924, March 10, 1924, May 9, 1924, April 2, 1925, May 2, 1925, March 29, 1926, May 18, 1926, January 16, 1927, March 16, 1928, March 26, 1929, and October 7, 1930, William Joshua Crawforth Diaries; March 1-2, 1928, February 7, 1933, and May 6, 1933, Cora Tunis Diaries; November 14, 1902, March 28, 1904, March 30, 1904, April 25, 1904, October 26-27, 1904, November 7, 1904, December 31, 1904, March 14, 1905, March 17, 1905, March 23, 1905, March 29, 1905, April 17, 1905, July 27, 1906, August 24, 1906, March 28, 1907, April 4, 1907, May 16, 1907, August 22, 1907, January 28-29, 1908, February 6, 1908, February 12, 1908, February 14, 1908, March 2, 1908, March 7, 1908, March 9, 1908, March 20, 1908, April 1, 1908, April 10, 1908, May 14, 1908, June 11, 1908, July 23, 1908, February 17, 1909, May 3, 1909, February 28, 1910, March 3-4, 1910, March 30, 1910, April 1, 1910, April 12, 1910, May 13, 1910, and July 28, 1910, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries; June 19, 1929, Florence (Allen) Tompkins Diaries; "Through the winter," 1941, Jean Ferrier Diaries; and December 15, 1914, April 12, 1915, April 14, 1915, January 22, 1918, February 25, 1918, March 6, 1918, March 14, 1918, March 19, 1918, and March 25, 1918, B.A. Green Diary.

¹⁶ December 19, 1921, James Glen, Jr., Diaries; April 21, 1906, February 4, 1911, October 18, 1915, June 10, 1916, June 30, 1919, and August 17, 1920, James Adam Glen, Sr., Diaries; October 22, 1909, "Disbursements," Howard Jones Accounts; May 14, 1910, November c. 16, 1910, May c. 13, 1911, July 21, 1911, November 11, 1911, January 23, 1913, February 28, 1913, June c. 25, 1913, July 29, 1914, and April 15, 1915, "Dry Goods," Howard Jones Accounts; March 11, 1918, February 21, 1920, February c. 28, 1920, and May c. 31, 1920, Howard Jones Accounts; and July 25, 1908, November 21, 1908, February 17, 1912, March 15, 1927, and October 18, 1929, D.H. Kelly Accounts. See also *The 1927 Edition of the T. Eaton Co. Limited Catalogue*, 249, and 269.

¹⁷ May 4, 1910, May 11, 1910, May 27, 1910, May 2, 1911, November 20, 1911, March 8, 1913, December 16-17, 1913, June 19-20, 1914, June 25, 1914, July 1, 1914, September 28, 1914, November 8, 1914, February 6, 1915, May 4, 1915, June 7, 1915, June 10, 1915, July 19-22, 1915, July 24, 1915, July 26-27, 1915, July 30-31, 1915, August 2, 1915, August 10-12, 1915, August 25, 1915, October 11, 1915, October 13, 1915, November 22, 1915, November 25, 1915, November 29, 1915, December 1, 1915, March 18, 1916, March 20-21, 1916, March 28, 1916, March 31, 1916, April 6-7, 1916, April 11-13, 1916, May 2, 1916, May 15, 1916, June 3, 1916, June 22, 1916, July 17-18, 1916, November 23-24, 1916, April 27, 1917, May 1, 1917, May 9, 1917, June 19, 1917, August 29, 1917, October 8, 1917, May 1, 1918, November 5-6, 1918, April 11, 1919, May 10, 1919, May 16, 1919, June 30, 1919, July 1, 1919, August 16, 1919, September 23, 1919, October 27, 1919, November 24, 1919, December 16-17, 1919, January 7-9,

1930, January 14, 1930, October 3, 1930, October 7, 1930, October 16, 1930, October 27, 1930, February 23, 1931, March 10, 1931, March 23, 1931, March 26, 1931, April 10, 1931, April 16, 1931, April 30, 1931, May 23, 1931, May 25-26, 1931, May 29, 1931, January 4, 1932, January 11, 1932, February 22, 1932, February 24, 1932, June 17, 1932, June 21-22, 1932, February 7, 1933, March 10, 1933, March 14, 1933, March 23-24, 1933, March 27, 1933, March 29, 1933, May 29, 1933, November 11, 1933, February 8, 1934, June 8, 1934, December 11, 1934, January 14-15, 1935, January 17, 1935, February 4-5, 1935, March 11, 1935, March 18, 1935, March 20, 1935, March 25-26, 1935, May 7, 1935, May 14-17, 1935, and December 16, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries. See also Baillargeon, 60.

¹⁸ See also Davis, "Country Homemakers," 168; Cordelia Stanwood, "Home-made Dyes: How to Make Them and How to Use Them," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 11, 1910, 1296; and "Making Old Things New and Ugly Things Beautiful," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 8, 1920, 670.

¹⁹ March 19, 1928, William Joshua Crawforth Diaries; and June 17, 1932, and June 22, 1932, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries. See also "At Your Service," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 1, 1920, 623.

²⁰ May 3, 1904, May 9, 1904, May 11, 1904, and May 17, 1904, Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce; and March 9, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diary. See also "A Green Rag Carpet," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 26, 1905, 1518.

²¹ January 28, 1901, August 24, 1906, February 15, 1908, and April 11, 1910, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries.

²² September 25, 1900, November 20, 1900, December 10, 1900, January 5, 1901, January 7, 1901, January 16-19, 1901, January 22, 1901, January 25, 1901, January 28-29, 1901, February 5-6, 1901, February 16, 1901, February 23, 1901, February 26, 1901, March 8-9, 1901, March 20, 1901, April 26, 1901, May 20, 1901, June 20, 1901, July 1, 1901, October 1, 1901, January 6, 1902, February 1, 1902, March 15, 1902, April 2, 1902, August 19, 1902, November 14, 1902, November 26, 1902, November 28, 1902, December 6, 1902, December 17, 1902, December 19-20, 1902, December 23, 1902, December 31, 1902, January 1, 1903, January 11, 1903, January 13, 1903, January 16, 1903, May 6-7, 1903, July 23, 1903, July 29, 1903, September 2, 1903, September 5, 1903, October 2, 1903, December 2, 1903, December 8-9, 1903, December 16, 1903, December 23, 1903, March 28, 1904, March 30, 1904, April 25, 1904, July 18-20, 1904, August 24, 1904, October 26-27, 1904, November 7, 1904, November 18, 1904, November 21, 1904, November 24, 1904, December 9, 1904, December 19, 1904, December 31, 1904, March 6, 1905, March 14, 1905, March 17, 1905, March 20, 1905, March 23, 1905, March 29, 1905, April 17, 1905, April 19, 1905, August 14-15, 1905, September 20, 1905, November 22, 1905, December 1, 1905, December 4-6, 1905, December 30, 1905, February 5, 1906, February 7, 1906, February 12, 1906, February 19, 1906, February 21, 1906, March 11, 1906, April 16, 1906, May 7-8, 1906, July 9, 1906, July 27, 1906, August 24-25, 1906, September 15, 1906, October 2, 1906, October 8, 1906, December 11, 1906, December 18-19, 1906, February 23, 1907, March 28, 1907, April 4, 1907, April 15, 1907, April 24, 1907, May 7, 1907, May 10, 1907, May 16, 1907, August 15, 1907, August 22, 1907, September 5, 1907, September 9, 1907, September 30, 1907, November 9, 1907, December 4, 1907, December 18-21, 1907, December 23-24, 1907, January 2, 1908, January 28-29, 1908, February 4-6, 1908, February 12, 1908, February 14-15, 1908, March 2, 1908, March 7, 1908, March 9, 1908, March 11-12, 1908, March 20, 1908, April 1, 1908, April 10, 1908, May 4, 1908, May 7, 1908, May 11, 1908, May 14, 1908, May 28, 1908, June 1, 1908, June 6, 1908, June 9, 1908, June 11-12, 1908, June 15, 1908, June 17, 1908, June 20, 1908, July 23, 1908, August 6, 1908, August 19, 1908, August 24, 1908, August 26, 1908, October 4, 1908, December 15, 1908, December 29, 1908, January 11, 1909, February 17, 1909, March 3, 1909, March 13, 1909, March 26, 1909, May 3, 1909, December 21, 1909, February 16, 1910, February 26, 1910, February 28, 1910, March 3-4, 1910, March 17, 1910, March 19, 1910, March 30, 1910, April 1-2, 1910, April 11-12, 1910, April 15, 1910, April 25, 1910, May 14, 1910, July 28, 1910, August 20, 1910, and September 9, 1910, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries; October 21, 1919, October 27, 1919, October 30, 1919, March 4, 1920, March 6, 1920, March 23-25, 1920, April 13-14, 1920, May 19, 1920, July 21, 1920, March 12, 1921, November 15-18, 1921, and December 7, 1921, Emily Duckwith Diaries; and February 20, 1922, April 24-25, 1922, September 1, 1922, September 9, 1922, January 8, 1923, February 17, 1923, March 10, 1923, January 22, 1925, March 24, 1925, October 5, 1925, January 7, 1928, February 18, 1929, March 5, 1929, March 20, 1929, February 17, 1930, January 19, 1931, February 17, 1931, March 6-7, 1931, November 16, 1932, and March 23, 1932, Arthur McQueen Diaries. See also Aunt Nan, "A Letter," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 27, 1910, 139.

²³ April 8, 1918, April 15, 1918, November 22, 1923, November 30, 1923, December 6, 1923, January 23, 1924, March 10, 1924, May 9, 1924, January 26, 1925, April 2, 1925, May 2, 1925, March 29, 1926, May 18, 1926, March 2, 1927, February 21-22, 1928, March 9, 1928, March 16, 1928, March 19, 1928, March 26, 1929, and October 7, 1930, William Joshua Crawforth Diaries.

²⁴ May 2-3, 1913, February 12-13, 1914, April 2, 1915, December 10, 1917, January 28, 1918, November 7-8, 1918, December 11-12, 1919, April 8-9, 1921, November 23, 1922, December 27, 1922, and June 8, 1923, Diary of Annie Hill; February 20, 1922, April 24-25, 1922, September 1, 1922, September 9, 1922, January 8, 1923, February 17, 1923, March 10, 1923, January 22, 1925, March 24, 1925, October 5, 1925, January 7, 1928, February 18, 1929, March 5, 1929, March 20, 1929, February 17, 1930, January 19, 1931, February 17, 1931, March 6-7, 1931, November 16, 1931, and March 23, 1932, Arthur McQueen Diaries; and December 12, 1917, December 19, 1917, December 21, 1917, January 25, 1918, June 25-26, 1918, February 17, 1920, April 19, 1921, April 21, 1921, May 19, 1921, December 12, 1921, August 10, 1922, February 8, 1924, June 30, 1924, February 13, 1925, and June 4, 1926, Potts Family Farm Diaries.

²⁵ May 4, 1910, May 11, 1910, May 27, 1910, May 2, 1911, November 20, 1911, March 8, 1913, December 16-17, 1913, June 19-20, 1914, June 25, 1914, July 1, 1914, September 28, 1914, November 8, 1914, February 6, 1915, May 4, 1915, June 7, 1915, June 10, 1915, July 19-22, 1915, July 24, 1915, July 26-27, 1915, July 30-31, 1915, August 2, 1915, August 10-12, 1915, August 25, 1915, October 11, 1915, October 13, 1915, November 22, 1915, November 25, 1915, November 29, 1915, December 1, 1915, March 18, 1916, March 20-21, 1916, March 28, 1916, March 31, 1916, April 6-7, 1916, April 11-13, 1916, May 2, 1916, May 15, 1916, June 3, 1916, June 22, 1916, July 17-18, 1916, November 23-24, 1916, April 27, 1917, May 1, 1917, May 9, 1917, June 19, 1917, August 29, 1917, October 8, 1917, May 1, 1918, November 5-6, 1918, April 11, 1919, May 10, 1919, May 16, 1919, June 30, 1919, July 1, 1919, August 16, 1919, September 23, 1919, October 27, 1919, November 24, 1919, December 16-17, 1919, January 7-9, 1930, January 14, 1930, October 3, 1930, October 7, 1930, October 16, 1930, October 27, 1930, February 23, 1931, March 10, 1931, March 23, 1931, March 26, 1931, April 10, 1931, April 16, 1931, April 30, 1931, May 23, 1931, May 25-26, 1931, May 29, 1931, January 4, 1932, January 11, 1932, February 22, 1932, February 24, 1932, June 17, 1932, June 21-22, 1932, February 7, 1933, March 10, 1933, March 14, 1933, March 23-24, 1933, March 27, 1933, March 29, 1933, May 29, 1933, November 11, 1933, February 8, 1934, June 8, 1934, December 11, 1934, January 14-15, 1935, January 17, 1935, February 4-5, 1935, March 11, 1935, March 18, 1935, March 20, 1935, March 25-26, 1935, May 7, 1935, May 14-17, 1935, and December 16, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

²⁶ See, for example, February 14, 1910, March 7, 1916, August 30, 1917, September 2, 1918, April 9, 1919, September 1, 1919, June 8, 1930, August 31, 1930, December 15, 1930, April 26, 1931, January 3, 1933, June 14, 1933, and September 5, 1933, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries. See also Sandwell, "Notes Toward a Rural History of Canada," 33.

²⁷ September 25, 1900, November 20, 1900, December 10, 1900, January 5, 1901, January 7, 1901, January 16-19, 1901, January 22, 1901, January 25, 1901, January 28-29, 1901, February 5-6, 1901, February 16, 1901, February 23, 1901, February 26, 1901, March 8-9, 1901, March 20, 1901, April 26, 1901, May 20, 1901, June 20, 1901, July 1, 1901, October 1, 1901, January 6, 1902, February 1, 1902, March 15, 1902, April 2, 1902, August 19, 1902, November 14, 1902, November 26, 1902, November 28, 1902, December 6, 1902, December 17, 1902, December 19-20, 1902, December 23, 1902, December 31, 1902, January 1, 1903, January 11, 1903, January 13, 1903, January 16, 1903, May 6-7, 1903, July 23, 1903, July 29, 1903, September 2, 1903, September 5, 1903, October 2, 1903, December 2, 1903, December 8-9, 1903, December 16, 1903, December 23, 1903, March 28, 1904, March 30, 1904, April 25, 1904, July 18-20, 1904, August 24, 1904, October 26-27, 1904, November 7, 1904, November 18, 1904, November 21, 1904, November 24, 1904, December 9, 1904, December 19, 1904, December 31, 1904, March 6, 1905, March 14, 1905, March 17, 1905, March 20, 1905, March 23, 1905, March 29, 1905, April 17, 1905, April 19, 1905, August 14-15, 1905, September 20, 1905, November 22, 1905, December 1, 1905, December 4-6, 1905, December 30, 1905, February 5, 1906, February 7, 1906, February 12, 1906, February 19, 1906, February 21, 1906, March 11, 1906, April 16, 1906, May 7-8, 1906, July 9, 1906, July 27, 1906, August 24-25, 1906, September 15, 1906, October 2, 1906, October 8, 1906, December 11, 1906, December 18-19, 1906, February 23, 1907, March 28, 1907, April 4, 1907, April 15, 1907, April 24, 1907, May 7, 1907, May 10, 1907, May 16, 1907, August 15, 1907, August 22, 1907, September 5, 1907, September 9, 1907, September 30, 1907, November 9, 1907, December 4, 1907, December 18-21, 1907, December 23-24, 1907, January 2, 1908, January 28-29, 1908, February 4-6, 1908, February 12, 1908, February 14-15, 1908,

March 2, 1908, March 7, 1908, March 9, 1908, March 11-12, 1908, March 20, 1908, April 1, 1908, April 10, 1908, May 4, 1908, May 7, 1908, May 11, 1908, May 14, 1908, May 28, 1908, June 1, 1908, June 6, 1908, June 9, 1908, June 11-12, 1908, June 15, 1908, June 17, 1908, June 20, 1908, July 23, 1908, August 6, 1908, August 19, 1908, August 24, 1908, August 26, 1908, October 4, 1908, December 15, 1908, December 29, 1908, January 11, 1909, February 17, 1909, March 3, 1909, March 13, 1909, March 26, 1909, May 3, 1909, December 21, 1909, February 16, 1910, February 26, 1910, February 28, 1910, March 3-4, 1910, March 17, 1910, March 19, 1910, March 30, 1910, April 1-2, 1910, April 11-12, 1910, April 15, 1910, April 25, 1910, May 14, 1910, July 28, 1910, August 20, 1910, and September 9, 1910, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries.

²⁸ See, for example, January 16-17, 1901, January 19, 1901, January 22, 1901, February 5-6, 1901, February 16, 1901, February 23, 1901, February 26, 1901, March 8-9, 1901, March 20, 1901, November 28, 1901, December 6, 1902, December 17, 1902, December 19-20, 1902, December 23, 1902, January 16, 1903, May 6-7, 1903, December 8-9, 1903, October 26, 1904, November 7, 1904, November 18, 1904, December 9, 1904, December 31, 1904, August 14, 1905, December 1, 1905, December 4, 1905, December 6, 1905, February 5, 1906, February 19, 1906, December 11, 1906, December 18-19, 1906, April 24, 1907, May 7, 1907, May 10, 1907, August 15, 1907, September 5, 1907, December 18-21, 1907, December 23, 1907, January 2, 1908, May 4, 1908, May 28, 1908, June 1, 1908, June 9, 1908, June 12, 1908, June 15, 1908, June 17, 1908, August 19, 1908, August 26, 1908, March 26, 1909, May 3, 1909, February 16, 1910, February 26, 1910, February 28, 1910, March 3, 1910, and July 28, 1910, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries.

²⁹ January 17-23, 1936, March 25, 1936, February 1-2, 1937, February 22, 1937, and July 22-23, 1937, Fred Perkins Diary.

³⁰ According to the genealogy pages included with the diary collection, Harold was born on October 4, 1918. There is a gap in the diaries from July 1918 to February 1922. See April 8, 1918 and April 15, 1918, William Joshua Crawford Diaries.

³¹ November 22, 1923, November 30, 1923, and December 6, 1923, William Joshua Crawford Diaries.

³² June 15, 1916, September 22, 1917, May 17, 1919, and July 28, 1919, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts; December 12, 1918, "House Goods," Nathaniel "Ed" Leeder Accounts; May 17, 1919, and July 28, 1919, "House-ware," Nathaniel "Ed" Leeder Accounts; April 4, 1903, and January 25, 1908, John Graham Weir Diaries; and August 17, 1911, and August c. 13, 1917, John Pollard Accounts. See also *The 1927 Edition of the T. Eaton Co. Limited Catalogue*, 266-67, 277-85, and 323-27; "Order Your Everyday Needs from Eaton's," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 12, 1905, 1428; "The House-keeper's Summer Harvest," *Farmer's Advocate*, August 4, 1910, 1261; Mickey, "Queries," *Farmer's Advocate*, January 22, 1920, 133; and Roelens-Grant, ed., 71.

³³ January 31, 1914, "Dry Goods," Howard Jones Accounts; October 16, 1900, Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce; and May 6, 1904, Mary A. King Diaries.

³⁴ February 27, 1900, March 31, 1900, April 8, 1900, April 14, 1900, May 26, 1900, December 12, 1900, April 27, 1901, January 16, 1902, April 24, 1902, December 24, 1902, June 6, 1904, March 7, 1905, February 11, 1909, March 3, 1909, March 17, 1909, April 10, 1909, June 5, 1909, January 23, 1911, May 6, 1911, December 28, 1911, June 8, 1912, May 3, 1913, December 22, 1913, January 30, 1914, March [no date], 1914, May 9, 1914, May 1, 1920, April 12, 1924, May 30, 1925, August 14, 1926, June 30, 1928, October 16, 1928, November 29, 1928, March 26, 1931, December 4, 1931, August 25, 1932, November 18, 1933, June 21, 1934, August 25, 1934, December 13, 1937, and June 15, 1939, Hawley Farm Accounts.

³⁵ February 27, 1900, March 31, 1900, May 26, 1900, December 12, 1900, January 16, 1902, December 24, 1902, February 11, 1909, March 17, 1909, April 10, 1909, June 5, 1909, January 23, 1911, May 6, 1911, December 28, 1911, May 3, 1913, December 22, 1913, January 30, 1914, May 9, 1914, May 1, 1920, April 12, 1924, August 14, 1926, October 16, 1928, November 29, 1928, March 26, 1931, December 4, 1931, August 25, 1932, November 18, 1933, June 21, 1934, August 25, 1934, December 13, 1937, and June 15, 1939, Hawley Farm Accounts.

³⁶ February 18, 1910, June 24, 1915, July 16, 1915, April 25, 1917, May 10, 1930, and April 8, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

³⁷ Tiger skin rugs were not, of course, common in Ontario farm homes. See June 25, 1915, and May 13, 1931, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries. See also *The 1927 Edition of the T. Eaton Co. Limited Catalogue*, 323-327, and Rebecca Beausaert, "'Foreigners in Town': Leisure, Consumption, and Cosmopolitanism in

Late-Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth Century Tillsonburg, Ontario,” *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 23, no. 1 (2012), 220, 222, and 239-41.

³⁸ February 4, 1914, James Adam Glen, Sr., Diaries; November 27, 1915, B.A. Green Diary; March 8, 1900, January 16, 1902, and July 21, 1906, Hawley Farm Accounts; October 12, 1912, and November 23, 1912, Elsie Innes Accounts; June 14, 1902, and May 20, 1909, Mary A. King Diaries; April 13, 1923, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts; January 12, 1907, “D. Geddes & Co.,” Nathaniel “Ed” Leeder Accounts; October 3, 1908, and December 31, 1912, Robert McGowan Accounts; September 9, 1925, Arthur McQueen Diaries; February 15, 1937, Miller Accounts; April 23, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diary; April 4, 1903, John Graham Weir Diaries; August 23, 1919, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries; October 16, 1909, J.D. Cowan Accounts; October 7, 1910, November c. 16, 1910, October 14, 1911, November 20, 1914, and January c. 19, 1916, “Dry Goods,” Howard Jones Accounts; and August 14, 1917, Howard Jones Accounts. See also *The 1927 Edition of the T. Eaton Co. Limited Catalogue*, 264.

³⁹ See, for example, May 26, 1900, May 29, 1901, April 21, 1906, July 28, 1906, April 1, 1910, February 4, 1911, February 3, 1914, August 20, 1915, October 18, 1915, June 10, 1916, June 22, 1917, July 13-14, 1917, June 30, 1919, and August 17, 1920, James Glen, Sr., Diaries; October 22, 1909, “Disbursements,” Howard Jones Accounts; May 14, 1910, October 7, 1910, November c. 16, 1910, May c. 13, 1911, July 21, 1911, October 14, 1911, November 11, 1911, January 23, 1913, February 28, 1913, June c. 25, 1913, January 31, 1914, July 29, 1914, September 7, 1914, November 20, 1914, February 5, 1915, March 11, 1915, April 15, 1915, and January c. 19, 1916, “Dry Goods,” Howard Jones Accounts; August 14, 1917, September 26, 1917, September 29, 1917, March 11, 1918, February 21, 1920, February c. 28, 1920, and May c. 31, 1920, Howard Jones Accounts; October 18, 1905, December 21, 1907, July 25, 1908, November 21, 1908, October 20, 1911, February 17, 1912, February 20, 1915, December 23, 1915, May 22, 1916, November 29, 1917, February 5, 1926, March 15, 1927, and October 18, 1929, D.H. Kelly Accounts; October 9, 1913, March 4, 1914, August 14, 1914, December 21, 1914, June 10, 1915, February 17, 1916, June 15, 1916, August 31, 1916, February 23, 1917, June 13, 1917, June 21, 1917, August 2, 1917, August 16, 1917, September 22, 1917, October 4, 1917, February 25, 1918, May 22, 1918, May 30, 1918, June 27, 1918, August 8, 1918, May 17, 1919, July 28, 1919, November 13, 1919, June 29, 1920, October 19, 1920, October 27, 1920, September 1, 1921, June [no date], 1922, April 13, 1923, August 14, 1924, August 23, 1924, and April 18, 1926, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts; January 31, 1903, February 19, 1903, and January 12, 1907, “D. Geddes & Co.,” Nathaniel “Ed” Leeder Accounts; February 20, 1904, “Miscellaneous,” Nathaniel “Ed” Leeder Accounts; [no date], 1912, “Expenditure,” Nathaniel “Ed” Leeder Accounts; January [no date], 1915, Nathaniel “Ed” Leeder Accounts; February 25, 1918, June 27, 1918, May 22, 1918, August 8, 1918, and December 12, 1918, Nathaniel “Ed” Leeder Accounts; May 17, 1919, July 28, 1919, and [no date], 1920, “House-ware,” Nathaniel “Ed” Leeder Accounts; May [no date], 1933, Nathaniel “Ed” Leeder Accounts; June 19, 1903, July 9, 1903, October 22, 1903, December 2, 1903, May 19, 1904, January 12, 1905, May 8, 1905, June 16, 1905, March 9, 1906, May 25, 1906, July 24, 1906, September 7, 1906, December 17, 1906, May 31, 1907, June 18, 1907, August 30, 1907, February 15, 1908, April 27, 1908, May 16, 1908, June 10, 1908, October 3, 1908, April 26, 1909, July 3, 1909, September 3, 1909, June 15, 1910, May 13, 1911, May 8, 1912, May 31, 1912, December 31, 1912, January 9, 1913, February 5, 1913, March 28, 1913, August 9, 1913, October 28, 1913, December 23, 1913, February 13, 1914, February 17, 1914, December 12, 1914, January 6, 1915, June 9, 1915, August 23, 1915, December 23, 1915, April 8, 1916, June 20, 1916, July 22, 1916, June 5, 1917, June 29, 1917, October 16, 1917, November 5, 1917, December 22, 1917, March 30, 1918, August 31, 1918, September 21, 1918, November 22, 1918, December 20, 1918, December 23, 1918, January 21, 1919, February 18, 1919, March 18, 1919, April 15, 1919, May 6, 1919, May 22, 1919, August 1, 1919, August 5, 1919, September 2, 1919, October 2, 1919, April 27, 1920, May 11, 1920, March 7, 1921, October 10, 1921, March 20, 1923, July 30, 1923, December 27, 1923, January 23, 1924, February 22, 1924, June 15, 1926, November 16, 1926, October 14, 1927, November [no date], 1927, and February 4, 1928, Robert McGowan Accounts; August [no date], 1943, November [no date], 1943, February 24, 1944, May 11, 1944, May 30, 1944, July 20, 1944, and July [no date], 1944, “Household Furnishings,” Gordon F. Robertson Farm Accounts; October [no date], 1944, and November [no date], 1944, “Miscellaneous Expenses,” Gordon F. Robertson Farm Accounts; [no date], 1945, and May 12, 1945, “Household Articles and Sewing,” Gordon F. Robertson Farm Accounts; [no date], 1945, “Miscellaneous,” Gordon F. Robertson Farm Accounts; and [no date], 1945, “Equipment and Improvements House,” Gordon F. Robertson Farm Accounts.

⁴⁰ See also "Cushions," 1712; "20 Below Zero Outside," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 28, 1915, 1709; One of the U.F.W.O., "An Appeal for Help," *Weekly Sun*, August 28, 1918, 6; A Soldier's Mother, "Her Son is Kept," *Weekly Sun*, October 2, 1918, 6; Sister Mary, "More Christmas Suggestions," *Weekly Sun*, October 30, 1918, 6; Diana, Reply to "The Sun Sisters' Exchange," *Farmers' Sun*, October 9, 1920, 6; Irish Rose, "Made a Dress All Herself," *Farmers' Sun*, October 5, 1921, 6; Clark, "The Women's Institute," 1323; "Evening Session," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1913*, 50; and Roelens-Grant, ed., 10, 26, 55, and 118.

⁴¹ There was also one entry regarding knitting in 1909, but a woman named Jennie completed the work. See, for example, January 17, 1901, November 4, 1901, October 12, 1904, November 28, 1904, November 11, 1908, December 10, 1908, and January 10, 1909, Miss Mary A. King Diaries.

⁴² See, for example, January 19, 1901, February 2, 1901, and November 8, 1908, Miss Mary A. King Diaries.

⁴³ See, for example, October 24, 1923, February 5, 1935, October 19, 1936, October 28, 1936, November 4, 1936, June 15, 1937, June 17, 1937, July 5, 1937, November 3, 1937, November 5, 1937, October 4, 1938, October 24, 1938, September 20, 1939, December 4-5, 1939, June 4, 1940, June 14, 1940, and January 20, 1941, Ruby Simmons Diary. See also Boyle, 36, and 100.

⁴⁴ January 28, 1909, "D. Geddes & Co.," Nathaniel "Ed" Leeder Accounts; May 13, 1919, and December 8, 1920, "Clothing," Nathaniel "Ed" Leeder Accounts; February [no date], 1933, and January [no date], 1934, Nathaniel "Ed" Leeder Accounts; June 2, 1900, June 30, 1900, July 7, 1900, October 13, 1900, December 12, 1900, September 27, 1901, October 23, 1902, November 28, 1902, May 2, 1903, May 23, 1903, June 6, 1903, September 1, 1903, October 1, 1904, October 27, 1904, December 3, 1904, November 24, 1906, December 17, 1906, June 12, 1907, October 16, 1907, May 30, 1908, June 12, 1908, October 9, 1908, February 11, 1909, May 12, 1909, May 6, 1912, December 11, 1912, November 5, 1913, November 17, 1913, May 9, 1914, November 13, 1915, November 23, 1915, September 2, 1922, October 20, 1923, October 18, 1924, February 6, 1925, November 26, 1925, November 13, 1926, December 12, 1927, November 3, 1928, October 31, 1930, January 3, 1931, March 24, 1931, March 26, 1931, September 22, 1931, December 4, 1931, September 24, 1932, November 18, 1933, December 13, 1937, June 11, 1938, June 15, 1939, November 4, 1941, November 27, 1941, and August 17, 1942, Hawley Farm Accounts; and November 16, 1909, December 8, 1914, and December 15, 1919, D.H. Kelly Accounts. See also *The 1927 Edition of the T. Eaton Co. Limited Catalogue*, 130-31.

⁴⁵ January 10, 1901, February 5-6, 1901, February 14, 1901, May 28-29, 1901, June 17, 1901, September 9, 1901, September 23, 1901, October 9, 1901, February 7, 1902, March 12, 1902, March 25, 1902, May 16, 1902, July 29, 1902, December 1, 1902, December 19, 1902, January 7, 1903, January 9, 1903, January 13, 1903, February 3, 1903, February 18, 1903, February 27, 1903, March 26, 1903, April 27, 1903, June 1, 1903, June 6, 1903, June 8, 1903, June 29, 1903, July 14, 1903, July 24, 1903, September 17, 1903, November 12, 1903, December 29-30, 1903, January 4, 1904, January 28, 1904, March 11, 1904, March 19, 1904, April 14, 1904, May 4, 1904, May 7, 1904, June 7, 1904, July 6-7, 1904, July 29, 1904, August 12, 1904, September 21, 1904, October 12, 1904, October 24, 1904, November 7, 1904, January 12, 1905, April 1, 1905, July 27, 1905, August 30, 1905, January 26, 1906, February 23, 1906, March 10, 1906, April 3, 1906, April 27, 1906, May 11, 1906, May 28-29, 1906, June 30, 1906, July 2, 1906, July 4, 1906, September 5, 1906, October 17, 1906, December 3, 1906, January 7, 1907, April 6, 1907, August 22, 1907, September 11, 1907, September 13, 1907, September 25, 1907, October 22, 1907, January 11, 1908, January 13-15, 1908, April 2, 1908, March 31, 1908, June 22, 1908, July 27, 1908, August 25, 1908, October 2, 1908, November 21, 1908, January 12, 1909, January 16, 1909, March 16, 1909, April 6, 1909, April 26-27, 1909, May 6, 1909, June 8, 1909, June 14, 1909, August 31, 1909, September 6, 1909, September 15, 1909, November 16, 1909, November 20, 1909, January 11, 1910, February 9, 1910, April 4, 1910, and May 4, 1910, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries; December 5-6, 1918, April 26, 1919, and September 11, 1919, Diary of Annie Hill; and December 2, 1915, March 24, 1919, and April 16, 1931, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries. See also Boyle, 30-31, 36, and 100; "The Scrap Bag," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 28, 1920, 1876; and Sister P., "To Save Socks," *Weekly Sun*, January 23, 1918, 6.

⁴⁶ Bella only once noted someone other than her mother knitting; on December 11, 1915, "Auntie [was] knitting." See, for example, January 14, 1915, December 8, 1915, December 11, 1915, February 4, 1916, and December 6, 1917, B.A. Green Diary; and "Jennie Green," Colborne Township, Huron County (West), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 1, 6.

⁴⁷ January 8, 1919, February 20, 1919, March 12, 1919, November 24, 1920, and December 13, 1920, Emily Duckwith Diaries; and "George Duckwith," Caledon Township, Peel County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 13, 141.

⁴⁸ March 21, 1908, March 30, 1908, and April 8, 1908, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries; October 24, 1923, February 5, 1935, October 19, 1936, October 28, 1936, November 4, 1936, June 15, 1937, June 17, 1937, July 5, 1937, November 3, 1937, November 5, 1937, October 4, 1938, October 24, 1938, September 20, 1939, December 4-5, 1939, June 4, 1940, June 14, 1940, and January 20, 1941, Ruby Simmons Diary; and January 14, 1915, February 19, 1915, February 22, 1915, March 8, 1915, December 8, 1915, January 19, 1916, February 4, 1916, February 26, 1916, December 26, 1916, and December 6, 1917, B.A. Green Diary.

⁴⁹ January 15, 1901, January 17-19, 1901, January 21, 1901, January 30, 1901, February 2, 1901, November 4, 1901, December 14, 1901, December 17, 1901, December 19, 1901, and December 21, 1901, Mary A. King Diaries.

⁵⁰ January 8-11, 1901, January 29, 1901, February 6, 1901, February 14-16, 1901, February 25-26, 1901, March 2, 1901, March 4, 1901, March 6, 1901, March 13, 1901, March 20, 1901, March 22, 1901, April 1, 1901, April 8, 1901, April 10, 1901, April 15, 1901, April 18-19, 1901, June 24, 1901, June 28, 1901, July 1, 1901, July 3, 1901, July 17, 1901, July 19, 1901, July 24, 1901, July 26, 1901, July 31, 1901, August 7, 1901, August 20, 1901, August 31, 1901, September 23, 1901, October 3, 1901, October 5, 1901, October 24, 1901, November 4, 1901, November 25-26, 1901, December 3, 1901, December 6, 1901, December 19, 1901, December 21, 1901, and December 31, 1901, Mary A. King Diaries.

⁵¹ July 11, 1941A, July 19, 1941A, July 24, 1941A, July 28, 1941A, August 20, 1941A, September 4, 1941A, September 15, 1941A, October 6-7, 1941A, October 14, 1941A, October 20, 1941A, December 1, 1941A, December 15, 1941A, December 17, 1941A, December 26-27, 1941A, January 20, 1941B, February 26, 1941B, March 3, 1941B, March 24-25, 1941B, April 15-17, 1941B, April 24, 1941B, April 26, 1941B, May 23, 1941B, June 3, 1941B, June 25, 1941B, July 1, 1941B, July 8, 1941B, July 24, 1941B, July 28, 1941B, August 20, 1941B, August 26, 1941B, September 2, 1941B, September 16, 1941B, October 14, 1941B, October 27, 1941B, November 18, 1941B, November 27, 1941B, and December 9, 1941B, Velma Beaton Diaries.

⁵² November 27, 1911, November 7-8, 1913, November 10-13, 1913, November 17-19, 1913, November 21-22, 1913, November 24, 1913, November 26, 1913, November 29, 1913, December 1-5, 1913, February 24, 1914, March 4, 1914, March 6, 1914, March 24, 1914, March 27-28, 1914, March 30, 1914, April 2-4, 1914, April 6-8, 1914, June 1-2, 1914, November 8, 1914, November 11, 1914, November 17, 1914, November 26, 1914, December 7-8, 1914, December 10-11, 1914, July 14-17, 1915, July 28, 1915, July 30, 1915, August 2, 1915, August 4, 1915, August 6, 1915, August 10, 1915, August 21, 1915, September 20, 1915, October 19-20, 1915, October 22, 1915, October 26-28, 1915, November 2-3, 1915, November 11, 1915, November 13, 1915, November 15, 1915, November 18-20, 1915, November 22, 1915, November 24, 1915, November 29, 1915, December 2-4, 1915, December 6, 1915, December 8-9, 1915, December 19, 1915, December 21, 1915, January 1, 1916, January 3, 1916, January 6, 1916, January 11, 1916, January 13-14, 1916, January 17-18, 1916, January 21-22, 1916, January 24-29, 1916, January 31, 1916, February 2-5, 1916, February 8-12, 1916, February 14-15, 1916, February 17-19, 1916, February 23-24, 1916, February 26, 1916, February 28-29, 1916, March 1-4, 1916, March 10, 1916, March 14, 1916, March 16, 1916, March 18, 1916, March 21-22, 1916, March 24, 1916, March 27, 1916, March 29-31, 1916, April 5-7, 1916, April 10, 1916, June 19, 1916, August 11, 1916, August 29, 1916, September 8-9, 1916, October 10, 1916, October 21, 1916, October 26, 1916, October 28, 1916, October 30-31, 1916, November 1-4, 1916, November 6-9, 1916, November 18, 1916, November 21-23, 1916, November 25, 1916, November 28, 1916, December 1, 1916, December 22, 1916, December 26-28, 1916, January 9, 1917, January 11-12, 1917, January 16, 1917, January 20, 1917, January 25, 1917, January 29-31, 1917, February 1, 1917, February 3, 1917, February 8-10, 1917, February 12-17, 1917, February 19-20, 1917, February 22-24, 1917, February 27-28, 1917, March 1-3, 1917, March 5-8, 1917, April 20-21, 1917, April 23-24, 1917, April 26-28, 1917, April 30, 1917, May 2, 1917, May 7, 1917, May 19, 1917, May 21, 1917, May 23, 1917, May 25, 1917, May 29, 1917, May 31, 1917, June 4, 1917, June 19, 1917, September 22, 1917, October 7, 1917, October 13, 1917, October 16, 1917, October 20, 1917, October 22-25, 1917, October 30, 1917, November 15, 1917, December 8, 1917, January 1, 1918, January 4-5, 1918, January 14, 1918, January 19, 1918, January 21, 1918, January 23-25, 1918, January 28, 1918, February 4-5, 1918, February 7, 1918, February 23, 1918, April 9, 1918, April 13, 1918, April 18-20, 1918, April 22-26, 1918, April 29-

30, 1918, May 1, 1918, May 7, 1918, May 13, 1918, May 21-23, 1918, May 25, 1918, May 27, 1918, June 1, 1918, June 5, 1918, June 8, 1918, June 10, 1918, June 13, 1918, June 14, 1918, June 18, 1918, June 20, 1918, June 24-25, 1918, June 27-28, 1918, July 3-6, 1918, July 8-13, 1918, July 15, 1918, July 17-20, 1918, July 22-26, 1918, July 30, 1918, August 2, 1918, August 5-6, 1918, August 13, 1918, August 23, 1918, September 18-19, 1918, September 23, 1918, September 25, 1918, September 27-28, 1918, September 30, 1918, October 1-5, 1918, October 7, 1918, October 9, 1918, October 11, 1918, November 1-2, 1918, November 4-5, 1918, November 7, 1918, November 9, 1918, November 11-13, 1918, November 21-23, 1918, November 25, 1918, November 27, 1918, November 29, 1918, December 2, 1918, December 4-5, 1918, December 7, 1918, December 9-14, 1918, December 16, 1918, December 18-21, 1918, December 23-26, 1918, December 28, 1918, December 30-31, 1918, January 1-3, 1919, January 23, 1919, January 27-29, 1919, January 31, 1919, February 1, 1919, February 4, 1919, February 15, 1919, February 17-18, 1919, February 20, 1919, February 22, 1919, February 24-26, 1919, March 3-4, 1919, March 6-7, 1919, March 11, 1919, March 13, 1919, March 17, 1919, March 19-20, 1919, March 24, 1919, March 27, 1919, March 29, 1919, March 31, 1919, April 1, 1919, April 3, 1919, April 8-9, 1919, May 8, 1919, May 10, 1919, May 17, 1919, May 26, 1919, August 8, 1919, August 11, 1919, August 30, 1919, September 1-2, 1919, September 4, 1919, September 12-13, 1919, September 23-24, 1919, September 26-27, 1919, September 30, 1919, October 1-2, 1919, October 4, 1919, October 6-9, 1919, October 11, 1919, October 14, 1919, October 17, 1919, October 20-21, 1919, October 24, 1919, October 27-28, 1919, October 30-31, 1919, November 1, 1919, November 3-5, 1919, November 11, 1919, November 13, 1919, November 15, 1919, November 18-19, 1919, November 21, 1919, November 24-29, 1919, December 1-6, 1919, December 8-11, 1919, December 13, 1919, December 15-17, 1919, December 20, 1919, December 29-31, 1919, October 22, 1930, January 20, 1932, January 23, 1932, January 29, 1932, February 1, 1932, February 12-13, 1932, February 16-20, 1932, February 22, 1932, February 24-25, 1932, February 27, 1932, March 1-5, 1932, March 7-10, 1932, March 12, 1932, March 14-19, 1932, March 21-24, 1932, March 26, 1932, March 28-31, 1932, April 1-2, 1932, April 4-9, 1932, April 12-15, 1932, April 25-26, 1932, April 28, 1932, April 30, 1932, May 2-3, 1932, May 11-14, 1932, May 16, 1932, May 18, 1932, June 2, 1932, June 9, 1932, June 13, 1932, June 15, 1932, June 18, 1932, July 14, 1932, July 18, 1932, August 6, 1932, August 16-18, 1932, September 12, 1932, September 16-17, 1932, September 21-23, 1932, November 21-22, 1932, November 24-26, 1932, November 28, 1932, November 30, 1932, December 6, 1932, December 13, 1932, December 16, 1932, December 29, 1932, January 2-3, 1933, January 5, 1933, January 7, 1933, January 10, 1933, January 18, 1933, January 20-21, 1933, January 25, 1933, March 30-31, 1933, April 1, 1933, April 3, 1933, April 11, 1933, April 13-15, 1933, April 17-18, 1933, April 21-22, 1933, April 24, 1933, November 8, 1933, November 11, 1933, November 13-15, 1933, November 20, 1933, November 22-24, 1933, December 4, 1933, December 30, 1933, January 3-4, 1934, January 9, 1934, January 12-13, 1934, January 15-16, 1934, January 30-31, 1934, February 1, 1934, February 15, 1934, April 5-7, 1934, April 9-10, 1934, April 17-18, 1934, April 26-27, 1934, May 3, 1934, May 7, 1934, May 18, 1934, March 18-19, 1935, March 21-22, 1935, April 4-5, 1935, April 8, 1935, April 10, 1935, April 13, 1935, April 15, 1935, April 24, 1935, April 30, 1935, May 3-4, 1935, May 6, 1935, May 9-11, 1935, May 13, 1935, May 17-18, 1935, May 20-23, 1935, May 25, 1935, May 27, 1935, May 30-31, 1935, June 1, 1935, June 4-5, 1935, June 7, 1935, June 12-14, 1935, June 27, 1935, July 10-12, 1935, July 15, 1935, July 19-20, 1935, July 27, 1935, July 29-31, 1935, August 5-6, 1935, August 10, 1935, August 12, 1935, September 3-7, 1935, September 10-13, 1935, September 15-21, 1935, September 23, 1935, September 25-27, 1935, September 30, 1935, October 1-5, 1935, October 7, 1935, October 11-12, 1935, October 14, 1935, October 16, 1935, October 22, 1935, October 24-25, 1935, October 28, 1935, October 30-31, 1935, November 1-2, 1935, November 4, 1935, November 12-14, 1935, November 16, 1935, November 18-19, 1935, November 23, 1935, November 25-28, 1935, December 3, 1935, December 5-7, 1935, December 9-10, 1935, December 13, 1935, December 16-19, 1935, December 21, 1935, and December 24, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

⁵³ January 17-19, 1901, January 21, 1901, January 30, 1901, February 2, 1901, November 4, 1901, December 14, 1901, December 17, 1901, December 19, 1901, December 21, 1901, October 12, 1904, November 28, 1904, November 11, 1908, December 7, 1908, and December 10, 1908, Mary A. King Diaries; January 8, 1919, January 20-21, 1919, January 29, 1919, February 3, 1919, February 20-21, 1919, March 12, 1919, and December 13, 1920, Emily Duckwith Diaries; and December 20, 1917, January 10, 1918, January 22, 1918, January 24, 1918, and February 14, 1918, Mary Potts Diaries. See also Boyle, 16, and 47.

⁵⁴ October 19, 1936, October 28, 1936, November 4, 1936, June 15, 1937, July 5, 1937, November 5, 1937, October 4, 1938, and October 24, 1938, Ruby Simmons Diary; and October 31, 1916, March 3, 1932, March 8, 1932, March 16, 1932, March 19, 1932, November 13-14, 1933, and March 18, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

⁵⁵ April 22, 1903, Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce; January 24, 1900, and January 29, 1900, Mrs. C.J. Treffry Diary; and July 28, 1933, February 4-5, 1935, September 11, 1939, September 20, 1939, and September 27, 1939, Ruby Simmons Diary.

⁵⁶ See, for example, "Pen-angle Hosiery," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 6, 1910, 1610; "Only Seamless Hosiery Fits Right," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 20, 1910, 1684; "Do you wear Penmans too?," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 1, 1915, 550; Penman's Hosiery," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 15, 1915, 642; "Real foot comfort," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 29, 1915, 739; "Penmans Sweater Coats," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 7, 1915, 1604; "This perfected Union Suit," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 7, 1915, 1606; "O.V. Brand Pure Wool Underwear," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 7, 1920, 1735; "Out at the knees," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 7, 1920, 1755; "Jaeger for Children," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 7, 1920, 1758; "Watson's Underwear," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 14, 1920, 1796; "O.V. Brand Pure Wool Underwear," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 21, 1920, 1816; "Penman's Sweater Coats," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 21, 1920, 1817; "Penmans Underwear," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 28, 1920, 1887; "Penmans," *Farmers' Sun*, April 17, 1920, 8; "U.F.O. Company News," *Farmers' Sun*, January 5, 1921, 5; and "It Wears Longer," *Farmers' Sun*, October 12, 1921, 4.

⁵⁷ January 30-31, 1917, February 15-16, 1917, April 26, 1917, November 1, 1918, November 29, 1918, May 10, 1919, November 13-14, 1933, November 15, 1933, November 22, 1933, November 24, 1933, December 30, 1933, January 16, 1934, and February 1, 1934, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries; and October 24, 1923, October 19, 1936, November 4, 1936, November 5, 1937, October 4, 1938, October 24, 1938, September 11, 1939, September 20, 1939, September 27, 1939, and June 4, 1940, Ruby Simmons Diary.

⁵⁸ November 18, 1943, and April 28, 1944, "Gordon Clothing," Gordon F. Robertson Farm Accounts; "Christmas 1943," Gordon F. Robertson Farm Accounts; "Christmas 1944," Gordon F. Robertson Accounts; and "Christmas 1945," Gordon F. Robertson Farm Accounts.

⁵⁹ "Christmas 1944," Gordon F. Robertson Farm Accounts. See also Roelens-Grant, ed., 32.

⁶⁰ See Comacchio, 67; Mosby, 121; Gordon, "Make It Yourself," 20; Keshen, 24, and 146; Ambrose, 63-70, 83, 135-36, 142, 144-45, and 147; Kechnie, 120; Halpern, 80, and 107; "North Branch District," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1915* (Toronto: A. T. Wilgress, 1916), 138-39; Mrs. McPhedran, *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1915*, 166; Dr. Annie Backus, "Women's Responsibility During and After the War," *Report of the Women's Institutes of the Province of Ontario, 1916*, 80; Susan M. Strawn, "American Women and Wartime Hand Knitting, 1750-1950," in *Women and the Material Culture of Needlework and Textiles, 1750-1950*, 245-59; Roelens-Grant, ed., 28, 93, 112, and 125; and Anne L. Macdonald, *No Idle Hands: The Social History of American Knitting* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1988), 195-218, and 289-304.

⁶¹ See, for example, February 19, 1915, and March 8, 1915, B.A. Green Diary; November 12, 1917, December 20, 1917, January 9, 1918, January 10, 1918, January 24, 1918, February 1, 1918, February 14, 1918, and August 23, 1918, Potts Family Farm Diaries; January 25, 1945, Velma Beaton Diaries; "Through the winter," 1941, Jean Ferrier Diaries; and December 4-5, 1939, Ruby Simmons Diary. Potts typically simply noted knitting, but she periodically took pyjamas and socks into the Red Cross and IODE; presumably, she was knitting the socks and sewing the pyjamas.

⁶² January 21-22, 1918, Potts Family Farm Diaries; and "William Earnest Potts," *Soldiers of the First World War*. William enlisted in August 1915.

⁶³ George "got word to report to London" on June 9, 1940, and Elma received word on June 20, 1940, that George landed in Brandon, Manitoba. Brandon appears to have been part of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. See June 9, 1940, and June 20, 1940, Fred Perkins Diary; Patricia Myers, "British Commonwealth Air Training Plan," *Canadian Encyclopedia*, <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/british-commonwealth-air-training-plan-feature/>; and *The Commonwealth Air Training Plan Museum*, <http://www.airmuseum.ca/contents.html>. For some examples of George's involvement with Elma and Fred, including Elma's work on George's clothing, see March 7, 1936, May 10, 1936, November 5, 1936, September 27, 1937, and January 11, 1938, Fred Perkins Diary.

⁶⁴ See November 12, 1917 to August 23, 1918, Potts Family Farm Diaries; and November 16, 1940, December 15, 1940, and December 23, 1940, Fred Perkins Diary.

⁶⁵ Ambrose, 66-67.

⁶⁶ See also *The 1927 Edition of the T. Eaton Co. Limited Catalogue*, 130-31, 135, and 137-38; Gordon, "Make It Yourself," 33; Sharpless, 102; "Cushions," 1712; "The Scrap Bag," 1876; "The Fashions," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 23, 1925, 648; Diana, "A Sun Sister's Exchange," *Farmers' Sun*, August 21, 1920, 6; "Fashion Hints," *Weekly Sun*, October 23, 1918, 6; "Fashion Hints," *Farmers' Sun*, January 15, 1919, 6; "Fashion Hints," *Farmers' Sun*, January 22, 1919, 6; "Fashion Hints," *Farmers' Sun*, August 13, 1919, 6; "Fashion Hints," *Farmers' Sun*, October 15, 1919, 7; "Fashion Hints," *Farmers' Sun*, January 7, 1920, 7; "Fashion Hints," *Farmers' Sun*, January 24, 1920, 6; "Fashion Hints," *Farmers' Sun*, April 10, 1920, 6; "Fashion Hints," *Farmers' Sun*, April 17, 1920, 6; "Fashion Hints," *Farmers' Sun*, January 8, 1921, 6; Irish Rose, 6; "An Amateur Crocheter," *Farmers' Sun*, October 9, 1920, 6; and Roelens-Grant, ed., 26, 55, and 139.

⁶⁷ *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. "tatting."

⁶⁸ See *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. "crochet;" and Joanne Turney, *The Culture of Knitting* (New York, Berg, 2009), 4.

⁶⁹ See also Agricola, "An Efficient Manager," *Farmers' Sun*, April 3, 1920, 6.

⁷⁰ July 14, 1902, October 4, 1904, November 8, 1904, and December 14, 1904, Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce.

⁷¹ "Thomas Pearce," Dunwich Township, Elgin County (West), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 6, 50; "Harriet Alice Pearce and Arthur E. Wilson," Elgin County, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Marriages, 117, 129, 006426, January 3, 1905.

⁷² See January 15-31, 1936, February 27, 1936, and March 25, 1936, Fred Perkins Diary.

⁷³ The Perkins diary ends in 1940.

⁷⁴ October 4, 1904, Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce.

⁷⁵ See also Baillargeon, 60.

⁷⁶ Diana, "A Sun Sister's Exchange," 6.

⁷⁷ See also Isaac, 144; Schoelwer, 3; and A Farmer's Daughter, "Crochet Patterns Wanted," *Farmer's Advocate*, April 22, 1915, 688.

⁷⁸ See, for example, September 4, 1916, September 16, 1916, April 3, 1919, and April 25, 1919, B.A. Green Diary.

⁷⁹ See, for example, October 8, 1919, April 3, 1920, June 21, 1920, November 15, 1921, and December 14, 1921, Emily Duckwith Diary.

⁸⁰ Bella once noted crocheting with another woman, and once noted teaching another woman how to crochet a collar. Emily only had one entry regarding embroidery work completed by her sister, Ruth. See March 24, 1916, and February 14, 1918, B.A. Green Diary; and January 12, 1920, Emily Duckwith Diary.

⁸¹ Yerge, 7; and "George E. McLean," Colchester Township (South), Essex County (South), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 1, 1.

⁸² In September 1919, Ruby noted another woman crocheting. See June 6, 1918, January 6, 1919, June 10, 1919, September 27, 1919, November 5, 1925, October 13, 1933, January 13, 1938, and November 10, 1938, Ruby Simmons Diary. See also Isaac, 144.

⁸³ "Archie Hartley Simmons and Ruby Mavis Thompson," Lennox and Addington County, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Marriages, 423, April 4, 1917, 012124; and July 7, 1922, and July 30, 1922, Ruby Simmons Diary.

⁸⁴ September 4, 1916, and February 14, 1918, B.A. Green Diary; July 14, 1902, Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce; June 6, 1918, January 6, 1919, October 13, 1933, and November 10, 1938, Ruby Simmons Diary; and February 14, 1912, March 16, 1914, February 18, 1916, January 30-31, 1917, March 11, 1918, April 7, 1919, and October 3, 1919, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

⁸⁵ See, for example, January 1, 1910, January 28, 1910, May 24, 1910, February 22, 1911, November 3, 1911, October 28, 1912, March 27, 1913, December 9, 1913, and July 15, 1934, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

⁸⁶ Stenberg, 221.

⁸⁷ January 1, 1910, January 7-8, 1910, January 26-29, 1910, January 31, 1910, February 1-2, 1910, February 4, 1910, February 7, 1910, February 10-11, 1910, March 10, 1910, March 15-19, 1910, March 21-22, 1910, March 26, 1910, March 28, 1910, March 30-31, 1910, April 1, 1910, May 14, 1910, May 24,

1910, May 27, 1910, July 5-6, 1910, July 9, 1910, July 11, 1910, July 14, 1910, October 3, 1910, October 5, 1910, October 12, 1910, October 15, 1910, October 24-25, 1910, October 27-28, 1910, November 1, 1910, November 3-5, 1910, November 7, 1910, November 9-12, 1910, November 14-17, 1910, November 19, 1910, November 23-26, 1910, November 30, 1910, December 7-10, 1910, December 12, 1910, December 14-17, 1910, December 19-20, 1910, December 22-23, 1910, December 31, 1910, January 3-4, 1911, January 6, 1911, January 18, 1911, January 24, 1911, January 27, 1911, January 30, 1911, February 4, 1911, February 6-8, 1911, February 11, 1911, February 13, 1911, February 15-18, 1911, February 20-25, 1911, March 23, 1911, March 27, 1911, March 30, 1911, April 3, 1911, April 5-8, 1911, April 10, 1911, April 14, 1911, April 17-18, 1911, May 20, 1911, May 22, 1911, June 17, 1911, June 19, 1911, July 10-12, 1911, July 27, 1911, July 29, 1911, August 23, 1911, September 1, 1911, September 15, 1911, October 12, 1911, October 25-26, 1911, November 3-4, 1911, November 6, 1911, November 11, 1911, November 15, 1911, November 17-18, 1911, November 20, 1911, November 27-30, 1911, December 1-2, 1911, December 4-9, 1911, December 11-16, 1911, December 19-23, 1911, December 30, 1911, January 2, 1912, January 4, 1912, January 11-13, 1912, January 18, 1912, January 26-27, 1912, February 7-10, 1912, February 12, 1912, February 14, 1912, February 17, 1912, February 23, 1912, February 26, 1912, March 1, 1912, March 4-5, 1912, March 14, 1912, March 25, 1912, March 27, 1912, April 1-3, 1912, April 5, 1912, April 8-10, 1912, April 16-17, 1912, April 20, 1912, May 1, 1912, May 7, 1912, May 9, 1912, May 30-31, 1912, June 1, 1912, June 3-6, 1912, June 11, 1912, June 14, 1912, July 2-3, 1912, July 8-9, 1912, July 13, 1912, July 15-17, 1912, July 19-20, 1912, July 29, 1912, August 2, 1912, August 7, 1912, August 19-20, 1912, October 2, 1912, October 22, 1912, October 24, 1912, October 28-31, 1912, November 2, 1912, November 4-5, 1912, November 14, 1912, December 2, 1912, December 5-7, 1912, December 9-12, 1912, December 14, 1912, December 16-19, 1912, December 21, 1912, December 23-24, 1912, December 26-27, 1912, December 30, 1912, January 10, 1913, January 14, 1913, March 13, 1913, March 18, 1913, March 24, 1913, March 26-27, 1913, March 31, 1913, April 1, 1913, April 6, 1913, May 12-14, 1913, May 16, 1913, May 20-23, 1913, May 27-28, 1913, June 6-7, 1913, June 11, 1913, June 13, 1913, June 21, 1913, June 23, 1913, June 25, 1913, June 30, 1913, July 1-2, 1913, July 7, 1913, July 11, 1913, July 14, 1913, July 16, 1913, July 18-19, 1913, July 21, 1913, July 23-24, 1913, August 2, 1913, August 4, 1913, August 16, 1913, October 4, 1913, October 7-8, 1913, October 14, 1913, October 20-25, 1913, November 4-5, 1913, November 7, 1913, December 5, 1913, December 8-13, 1913, December 15, 1913, December 18-19, 1913, January 24, 1914, January 30, 1914, February 4, 1914, February 13-14, 1914, February 24, 1914, March 16, 1914, April 13, 1914, April 15, 1914, April 17-18, 1914, April 20, 1914, April 22, 1914, April 27, 1914, April 29, 1914, May 1-2, 1914, May 4-6, 1914, May 11, 1914, June 9, 1914, June 11-12, 1914, June 15, 1914, June 19, 1914, June 25, 1914, June 29-30, 1914, July 1-2, 1914, July 20, 1914, July 22, 1914, July 27-28, 1914, August 1, 1914, August 4, 1914, August 7-8, 1914, August 10-14, 1914, August 17-19, 1914, August 21-22, 1914, August 24-29, 1914, September 1, 1914, September 5, 1914, September 7, 1914, September 10, 1914, September 15, 1914, September 18, 1914, September 25, 1914, September 29-30, 1914, October 1-3, 1914, October 6-7, 1914, October 9-10, 1914, October 12-14, 1914, October 20-24, 1914, October 27-30, 1914, November 5-6, 1914, November 9-11, 1914, November 16-21, 1914, November 24-28, 1914, December 1, 1914, December 14-16, 1914, December 22-23, 1914, December 31, 1914, January 1, 1915, January 4-5, 1915, January 25-26, 1915, January 28, 1915, January 30, 1915, February 3, 1915, February 5-6, 1915, February 9, 1915, February 11-12, 1915, February 18-19, 1915, February 22, 1915, February 24, 1915, February 27, 1915, March 1-3, 1915, March 5-6, 1915, March 8-12, 1915, March 15-16, 1915, March 18-19, 1915, March 22-27, 1915, March 29, 1915, March 31, 1915, April 2, 1915, April 8, 1915, April 12-14, 1915, April 16-17, 1915, April 20-23, 1915, April 26, 1915, April 29, 1915, May 5-6, 1915, May 12, 1915, May 17-18, 1915, May 21, 1915, May 29, 1915, June 7, 1915, June 11-12, 1915, June 14-15, 1915, June 26, 1915, June 28-30, 1915, July 1, 1915, July 6-7, 1915, July 13, 1915, July 15, 1915, July 28, 1915, August 4, 1915, August 9, 1915, August 12-14, 1915, August 16, 1915, August 19, 1915, August 21, 1915, August 28, 1915, August 30, 1915, September 3, 1915, September 6, 1915, September 10, 1915, September 13, 1915, September 17, 1915, September 20-21, 1915, September 24, 1915, September 27, 1915, September 29-30, 1915, October 1-2, 1915, October 8-9, 1915, October 11, 1915, October 13, 1915, October 16, 1915, October 18-19, 1915, October 22, 1915, October 26-27, 1915, October 30, 1915, November 1-3, 1915, November 5, 1915, November 8-9, 1915, November 11, 1915, November 13, 1915, November 15, 1915, November 18-20, 1915, November 22-27, 1915, December 1, 1915, December 13, 1915, December 16-18, 1915, January 3, 1916, January 11, 1916, January 13-15, 1916, January 26, 1916, January 28, 1916, February 4-5, 1916, February 9-11, 1916, February 14-15, 1916,

February 18-19, 1916, February 21, 1916, February 23-26, 1916, February 28-29, 1916, March 13-14, 1916, March 16, 1916, March 24-25, 1916, March 27-28, 1916, March 30-31, 1916, April 1, 1916, April 3-7, 1916, April 10-15, 1916, April 17-19, 1916, May 18, 1916, May 22, 1916, May 29, 1916, May 31, 1916, June 2, 1916, June 5-9, 1916, June 12, 1916, June 15-16, 1916, June 20, 1916, June 22, 1916, June 27-30, 1916, July 3, 1916, July 6, 1916, July 10-12, 1916, July 15, 1916, July 17-20, 1916, July 24-26, 1916, July 28-29, 1916, July 31, 1916, August 4, 1916, August 11, 1916, August 16, 1916, August 18, 1916, August 22, 1916, August 25, 1916, November 1, 1916, November 25, 1916, November 27, 1916, November 29-30, 1916, December 2, 1916, December 4-9, 1916, December 11-16, 1916, December 18-21, 1916, December 23, 1916, December 26-27, 1916, December 29-30, 1916, January 1-3, 1917, January 5, 1917, January 8-9, 1917, January 15-16, 1917, January 19-20, 1917, January 22-27, 1917, January 29-31, 1917, February 2-3, 1917, February 5-6, 1917, February 8, 1917, February 10, 1917, February 12-13, 1917, February 15-17, 1917, February 20, 1917, March 3, 1917, March 5-6, 1917, March 8, 1917, April 30, 1917, May 4-5, 1917, May 7, 1917, May 9-11, 1917, May 14-17, 1917, May 19, 1917, May 21, 1917, May 23-26, 1917, May 29-31, 1917, June 8, 1917, June 12, 1917, June 26, 1917, July 12-13, 1917, July 24, 1917, July 30-31, 1917, August 4, 1917, August 6-7, 1917, August 10, 1917, August 13-14, 1917, September 18-19, 1917, September 25-27, 1917, October 1-2, 1917, October 8, 1917, October 13, 1917, October 22-24, 1917, November 6, 1917, November 8-10, 1917, November 15, 1917, November 23-24, 1917, November 26, 1917, November 28-30, 1917, December 1, 1917, December 3-4, 1917, December 11, 1917, December 17-18, 1917, December 27-29, 1917, December 31, 1917, January 7, 1930, January 13-14, 1930, January 24, 1930, January 27-30, 1930, February 1, 1930, February 3, 1930, February 10-12, 1930, February 17-18, 1930, February 20, 1930, February 25-28, 1930, March 4, 1930, March 9-14, 1930, March 20, 1930, March 26-27, 1930, March 31, 1930, April 3, 1930, April 5, 1930, April 7-12, 1930, April 14-15, 1930, April 17-18, 1930, April 21-22, 1930, April 24-25, 1930, April 28, 1930, May 22, 1930, July 8, 1930, July 11, 1930, July 14, 1930, October 1, 1930, October 3-4, 1930, October 15-16, 1930, October 18, 1930, November 1, 1930, December 3, 1930, December 6, 1930, December 9, 1930, December 12, 1930, January 12-13, 1931, January 16-17, 1931, January 19-22, 1931, January 24, 1931, January 28-29, 1931, February 5, 1931, February 17, 1931, February 19-20, 1931, February 23, 1931, February 27, 1931, March 2-3, 1931, March 9, 1931, March 12-14, 1931, March 16-18, 1931, March 20, 1931, March 23-24, 1931, March 26-27, 1931, March 30, 1931, April 1, 1931, April 18, 1931, April 30, 1931, May 20, 1931, May 25-28, 1931, October 1, 1931, October 6, 1931, October 13, 1931, November 17, 1931, January 5-6, 1933, January 9-10, 1933, January 25-27, 1933, February 6-8, 1933, February 14-15, 1933, February 17, 1933, February 27, 1933, March 9, 1933, March 14, 1933, March 23-24, 1933, March 27, 1933, April 3, 1933, April 10, 1933, May 24, 1933, May 25, 1933, May 29-31, 1933, June 3, 1933, June 8-9, 1933, June 13, 1933, June 16, 1933, June 27-29, 1933, July 11, 1933, August 23, 1933, October 2, 1933, October 12, 1933, October 16, 1933, October 19, 1933, October 21, 1933, October 24, 1933, November 15, 1933, November 18, 1933, November 24, 1933, December 4, 1933, December 8, 1933, December 12-13, 1933, December 18-19, 1933, December 29, 1933, January 29, 1934, February 3, 1934, February 6, 1934, February 10, 1934, February 12-13, 1934, February 15, 1934, March 5-6, 1934, April 27, 1934, July 15, 1934, August 15, 1934, October 22, 1934, and November 20, 1934, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

⁸⁸ Beverly Gordon, "Victorian Fancy Goods: Another Reappraisal of Shaker Material Culture," *Winterthur Portfolio* 25, no. 2/3 (Summer-Autumn 1990), 116. See also Jennifer Van Horn, "Samplers, Gentility, and the Middling Sort," *Winterthur Portfolio* 40, no. 4 (Winter 2005), 220-21, 224, and 226; and Parmal, 14, and 21.

⁸⁹ April 8, 1907, and February 11, 1908, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries; January 23, 1902, and February 6, 1902, Mary A. King Diaries; and January 1, 1926, September 4, 1928, and September 7, 1928, Cora Tunis Diaries.

⁹⁰ December 1, 1914, December 4, 1914, December 7, 1914, December 15, 1914, December 17, 1914, February 17, 1915, February 22, 1915, March 15, 1915, December 8, 1915, January 19, 1916, January 28, 1916, February 4, 1916, February 10, 1916, March 17, 1916, March 24, 1916, March 27, 1916, September 4, 1916, September 20, 1916, November 7, 1916, November 27, 1916, December 27, 1916, January 11, 1917, January 30, 1917, February 21, 1917, April 9, 1917, April 16, 1917, November 19, 1917, November 26, 1917, December 4, 1917, December 13, 1917, December 19, 1917, February 14, 1918, April 3, 1919, April 10, 1919, and April 25, 1919, B.A. Green Diary; and April 19, 1930, January 5, 1931, February 11, 1931, May 12, 1931, January 4-5, 1938, January 7, 1938, January 11-12, 1938, January 18, 1938, January 25, 1938, February 1, 1938, February 3, 1938, and March 17, 1938, Velma Beaton Diaries.

⁹¹ April 19, 1930, January 5, 1931, February 11, 1931, May 12, 1931, January 4-5, 1938, January 7, 1938, January 11-12, 1938, January 18, 1938, January 25, 1938, February 1, 1938, February 3, 1938, and March 17, 1938, *Velma Beaton Diaries*; and June 6, 1918, January 6, 1919, June 10, 1919, September 27, 1919, November 5, 1925, October 13, 1933, January 13, 1938, and November 10, 1938, *Ruby Simmons Diary*.

⁹² See January 7, 1930, January 13-14, 1930, January 24, 1930, January 27-30, 1930, February 1, 1930, February 3, 1930, February 10-12, 1930, February 17-18, 1930, February 20, 1930, February 25-28, 1930, March 4, 1930, March 9-14, 1930, March 20, 1930, March 26-27, 1930, March 31, 1930, April 3, 1930, April 5, 1930, April 7-12, 1930, April 14-15, 1930, April 17-18, 1930, April 21-22, 1930, April 24-25, 1930, April 28, 1930, May 22, 1930, July 8, 1930, July 11, 1930, July 14, 1930, October 1, 1930, October 3-4, 1930, October 15-16, 1930, October 18, 1930, November 1, 1930, December 3, 1930, December 6, 1930, December 9, 1930, December 12, 1930, January 12-13, 1931, January 16-17, 1931, January 19-22, 1931, January 24, 1931, January 28-29, 1931, February 5, 1931, February 17, 1931, February 19-20, 1931, February 23, 1931, February 27, 1931, March 2-3, 1931, March 9, 1931, March 12-14, 1931, March 16-18, 1931, March 20, 1931, March 23-24, 1931, March 26-27, 1931, March 30, 1931, April 1, 1931, April 18, 1931, April 30, 1931, May 20, 1931, May 25-28, 1931, October 1, 1931, October 6, 1931, October 13, 1931, November 17, 1931, January 4-6, 1932, January 13, 1932, January 22-23, 1932, January 25, 1932, February 4, 1932, February 8, 1932, February 12-13, 1932, February 15-16, 1932, February 18, 1932, February 20, 1932, February 22-25, 1932, March 5, 1932, March 14-19, 1932, March 23, 1932, April 4-9, 1932, April 11-13, 1932, April 15-16, 1932, April 18-19, 1932, April 21-23, 1932, May 8, 1932, May 21, 1932, May 23, 1932, June 9, 1932, June 13, 1932, June 18, 1932, June 20, 1932, July 8, 1932, July 14, 1932, July 18, 1932, August 18-19, 1932, August 22-23, 1932, August 27, 1932, September 7, 1932, September 26, 1932, September 29, 1932, October 6, 1932, October 8, 1932, October 11, 1932, October 21-22, 1932, October 24, 1932, October 27, 1932, October 29, 1932, November 21, 1932, November 24, 1932, November 28, 1932, December 6-7, 1932, December 9, 1932, January 5-6, 1933, January 9-10, 1933, January 25-27, 1933, February 6-8, 1933, February 14-15, 1933, February 17, 1933, February 27, 1933, March 9, 1933, March 14, 1933, March 23-24, 1933, March 27, 1933, April 3, 1933, April 10, 1933, May 24-25, 1933, May 29-31, 1933, June 3, 1933, June 8-9, 1933, June 13, 1933, June 16, 1933, June 27-29, 1933, July 11, 1933, August 23, 1933, October 2, 1933, October 12, 1933, October 16, 1933, October 19, 1933, October 21, 1933, October 24, 1933, November 15, 1933, November 18, 1933, November 24, 1933, December 4, 1933, December 8, 1933, December 12-13, 1933, December 18-19, 1933, December 29, 1933, January 29, 1934, February 3, 1934, February 6, 1934, February 10, 1934, February 12-13, 1934, February 15, 1934, March 5-6, 1934, April 27, 1934, July 15, 1934, August 15, 1934, October 22, 1934, November 20, 1934, January 22, 1935, March 9, 1935, April 3, 1935, May 11, 1935, June 8, 1935, June 15, 1935, June 17-18, 1935, June 20, 1935, and July 11-12, 1935, *Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries*.

⁹³ Families periodically still purchased ribbon. See, for example, October 13, 1945, *John Cameron Topham Accounts*; April 15, 1933, *Russell Innes Accounts*; October [no date], 1945, "Baby," *Gordon F. Robertson Farm Accounts*; January 3, 1907, August 30, 1907, July 24, 1909, May 21, 1910, and November 17, 1917, *D.H. Kelly Accounts*; and July 4, 1901, December 19, 1901, April 24, 1902, January 20, 1903, April 7, 1903, May 7, 1904, July 28, 1904, December 17, 1906, March 23, 1907, February 4, 1911, December 11, 1912, October 4, 1913, May 9, 1914, June 22, 1916, December 30, 1920, April 18, 1921, June 3, 1922, June 24, 1922, December 16, 1922, November 8, 1924, November 18, 1924, November 26, 1925, December 12, 1925, and August 25, 1932, *Hawley Farm Accounts*.

⁹⁴ February 11, 1908, *Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries*; January 5, 1931, *Velma Beaton Diaries*; June 10, 1919, *Ruby Simmons Diary*; and March 26, 1910, May 14, 1910, September 15, 1911, December 23, 1911, November 5, 1912, January 14, 1913, April 26, 1915, June 14, 1915, November 27, 1915, February 21, 1916, March 8, 1917, November 22, 1918, November 23, 1918, December 2-6, 1918, December 12, 1918, December 14, 1918, March 12, 1931, February 18, 1932, September 29, 1932, and October 6, 1932, *Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries*. See also *Hanson and Crews*, 3.

⁹⁵ June 21, 1920, and October 20, 1920, *Emily Duckwith Diaries*; September 4, 1916, September 20, 1916, November 7, 1916, December 20, 1916, January 11, 1917, and February 14, 1918, *B.A. Green Diary*; September 27, 1919, *Ruby Simmons Diary*; and December 22, 1911, June 4, 1912, June 6, 1912, October 2, 1914, January 25, 1915, March 2, 1915, December 19, 1916, January 15, 1917, January 22-23, 1917, February 2, 1917, February 6, 1917, March 3, 1917, November 10, 1917, and February 18, 1918, *Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries*.

⁹⁶ January 11, 1917, and November 19, 1917, B.A. Green Diary. See also Virginia Gunn, "McCall's Role in the Early Twentieth-Century Quilt Revival," *Uncoverings* 31 (2010), 17-21, and 24-25.

⁹⁷ March 11, 1918, and April 7, 1919, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

⁹⁸ December 1, 1914, December 4, 1914, December 7, 1914, December 15, 1914, December 17, 1914, February 17, 1915, February 22, 1915, March 15, 1915, December 8, 1915, January 19, 1916, January 28, 1916, February 4, 1916, February 10, 1916, March 17, 1916, March 24, 1916, March 27, 1916, September 4, 1916, September 16, 1916, September 20, 1916, November 7, 1916, November 27, 1916, December 20, 1916, January 11, 1917, January 30, 1917, February 21, 1917, April 9, 1917, April 16, 1917, November 19, 1917, November 26, 1917, December 4, 1917, December 13, 1917, December 19, 1917, February 14, 1918, April 3, 1919, April 10, 1919, and April 25, 1919, B.A. Green Diary; and May 14, 1910, December 22, 1911, April 20, 1912, December 7, 1912, April 26, 1915, June 14, 1915, February 2, 1917, February 18, 1918, February 18, 1932, January 29, 1934, and February 6, 1934, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries. See also Gordon, "Victorian Fancy Goods," 116; and Isaac, 143, and 145.

⁹⁹ A.E. Hand, "Christmas Gifts and How to Make Them," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 26, 1905, 1515; "Christmas Gifts," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 14, 1915, 1633; and Lila McEvoy Robson, "Crochet Gifts for Christmas," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 21, 1920, 1833.

¹⁰⁰ See also Isaac, 144-45.

¹⁰¹ April 24, 1901, April 26, 1901, May 1, 1901, October 10, 1901, October 14, 1901, October 7-8, 1902, April 5, 1904, April 16, 1904, April 20-21, 1904, July 6, 1904, July 8-9, 1904, July 12, 1904, July 14-16, 1904, July 18, 1904, July 26, 1904, August 2-4, 1904, August 6, 1904, August 11, 1904, and April 2, 1909, Mary A. King Diaries; April 11-12, 1910, and April 6, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries; January 6, 1919, February 21, 1919, February 25-26, 1919, March 10, 1919, March 18, 1919, February 3, 1920, February 9-12, 1920, February 26-27, 1920, March 8-13, 1920, March 16, 1920, April 29-30, 1920, November 14, 1921, and November 26, 1921, Emily Duckwith Diaries; and March 24-29, 1930, April 1-2, 1930, July 11, 1930, July 29, 1930, August 6, 1930, August 23, 1930, September 18, 1930, October 13, 1930, October 16, 1930, June 2-3, 1931, March 25, 1938, August 20, 1941A, September 4, 1941A, March 24-25, 1941B, June 3, 1941B, July 1, 1941B, July 8, 1941B, July 24, 1941B, August 20, 1941B, August 26, 1941B, September 2, 1941B, September 16, 1941B, October 14, 1941B, October 27, 1941B, November 18, 1941B, November 27, 1941B, December 9, 1941B, April 6, 1942A, April 9, 1942A, February 18, 1942B, March 12, 1942B, November 18, 1942B, December 3, 1942B, January 29, 1943, March 23, 1943, April 12-13, 1943, April 28, 1943, April 30, 1943, May 31, 1943, June 2, 1943, August 20, 1943, December 16, 1943, January 20, 1944, January 26, 1944, February 8, 1944, November 14, 1944, March 1, 1945, March 8, 1945, March 14-15, 1945, and March 19-23, 1945, Velma Beaton Diaries. See also Gordon, "Make It Yourself," 33; Gebby, 70; Clark, "The Women's Institute," 1323; Hanson and Crews, 1; Sharpless, 99, and 101; and Roelens-Grant, ed., 26, 118, and 139.

¹⁰² October 10, 1922, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts; January 3, 1908, March 4, 1908, December 27, 1916, October 17, 1918, October 19, 1918, October 26, 1918, November 4, 1918, February 18, 1919, February 20, 1919, February 22, 1919, March 18, 1920, July 30, 1923, February 22, 1924, November [no date], 1926, November 16, 1926, and October 14, 1927, Robert McGowan Accounts; and [no date], 1945, "Household Articles & Sewing," Gordon F. Robertson Farm Accounts. See also *The 1927 Edition of the T. Eaton Co. Limited Catalogue*, 250, and 367.

¹⁰³ December 19, 1900, and May 4, 1906, Vivien Agnes Maud Atkins Diaries. See also "For Your Winter Wardrobe," *Farmer's Advocate*, October 15, 1925, 1433.

¹⁰⁴ April 24, 1901, April 26, 1901, May 1, 1901, October 10, 1901, October 14, 1901, October 7-8, 1902, April 5, 1904, April 16, 1904, April 20-21, 1904, July 6, 1904, July 8-9, 1904, July 12, 1904, July 14-16, 1904, July 18, 1904, July 26, 1904, August 2-4, 1904, August 6, 1904, August 11, 1904, and April 2, 1909, Mary A. King Diaries.

¹⁰⁵ April 5, 1904, April 16, 1904, April 20-21, 1904, July 6, 1904, July 8-9, 1904, July 12, 1904, July 14-16, 1904, July 18, 1904, July 26, 1904, August 2-4, 1904, August 6, 1904, and August 11, 1904, Mary A. King Diaries.

¹⁰⁶ March 24-29, 1930, April 1-2, 1930, July 11, 1930, July 29, 1930, August 6, 1930, August 23, 1930, September 18, 1930, October 13, 1930, October 16, 1930, June 2-3, 1931, March 25, 1938, August 20, 1941A, September 4, 1941A, March 24-25, 1941B, June 3, 1941B, July 1, 1941B, July 8, 1941B, July 24, 1941B, August 20, 1941B, August 26, 1941B, September 2, 1941B, September 16, 1941B, October 14, 1941B, October 27, 1941B, November 18, 1941B, November 27, 1941B, December 9, 1941B, April 6,

1942A, April 9, 1942A, February 18, 1942B, March 12, 1942B, November 18, 1942B, December 3, 1942B, January 29, 1943, March 23, 1943, April 12-13, 1943, April 28, 1943, April 30, 1943, May 31, 1943, June 2, 1943, August 20, 1943, December 16, 1943, January 20, 1944, January 26, 1944, February 8, 1944, November 14, 1944, March 1, 1945, March 8, 1945, March 14-15, 1945, and March 19-23, 1945, Velma Beaton Diaries.

¹⁰⁷ August 20, 1941A, September 4, 1941A, March 24-25, 1941B, June 3, 1941B, July 1, 1941B, July 8, 1941B, July 24, 1941B, August 20, 1941B, August 26, 1941B, September 2, 1941B, September 16, 1941B, October 14, 1941B, October 27, 1941B, November 18, 1941B, November 27, 1941B, and December 9, 1941B, Velma Beaton Diaries.

¹⁰⁸ See Loscalzo, "The History of the Sewing Machine;" Hanson, "Modern, Yet Anti-Modern;" and Hanson and Crews, 11-12.

¹⁰⁹ See, for example, *The 1927 Edition of the T. Eaton Co. Limited Catalogue*, 270-72. See also Gordon and Horton, 93; and Hiles, 65.

¹¹⁰ January 16, 1902, January 20, 1903, October 27, 1904, March 17, 1909, April 10, 1909, January 23, 1911, September 14, 1912, January 30, 1928, November 29, 1928, and March 26, 1931, Hawley Farm Accounts; October 9, 1913, February 25, 1918, November 13, 1919, and September 1, 1921, Jemina Hannah Leeder Accounts; and May 25, 1905, January 9, 1913, October 16, 1917, November 5, 1917, August 1, 1919, September 2, 1919, April 27, 1920, April 10, 1921, December 27, 1923, January 23, 1924, June 15, 1926, and November [no date], 1927, Robert McGowan Accounts.

¹¹¹ Elaine Hedges, "The Nineteenth-Century Diarist and her Quilt," *Feminist Studies* 8 no. 2 (Summer 1982), 294-95; and Gebby, 71.

¹¹² January 6, 1919, and February 21, 1919, Emily Duckwith Diaries; and January 6, 1936, Fred Perkins Diary. See also Hanson, "Modern Yet Anti-Modern."

¹¹³ January 29, 1934, March 8, 1934, June 22, 1934, November 1, 1934, August 19, 1935, September 18, 1935, June 2, 1936, July 9, 1937, May 7, 1941, February 5, 1942, December 5, 1944, and May 17, 1945, Ruby Simmons Diary. See also Hanson and Crews, 371, 376, and 439; and Gunn, 21-49.

¹¹⁴ January 28, 1922, February 1, 1923, January 28-29, 1925, and September 19, 1929, Arthur McQueen Diaries.

¹¹⁵ See also Wilson, "Reciprocal Work Bees and the Meaning of Neighbourhood"; Strasser, 133-34; Neth, 136; Beverly Gordon and Laurel Horton, "Turn-of-the-Century Quilts: Embodied Objects in a Web of Relationships," in *Women and the Material Culture of Needlework and Textiles, 1750-1950*, 109, and 114; Norma Derry Hiles, "Crazy Quilts and Fancy Work: Icons of the American West," *Journal of the West* 33, no. 1 (January 1994), 65; and Roelens-Grant, ed., 1.

¹¹⁶ Winnifred married on April 28, 1920, but all of her quilting was completed before this date, when she presumably still resided with her parents and siblings. See, for example, January 6, 1919, February 25-26, 1919, February 27, 1920, March 9, 1920, March 16, 1920, and April 29, 1920, Emily Duckwith Diaries; and "Mabel Winifred Duckwith and John Thomas Barkwell," Alton, Peel County, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Marriages, 546, April 28, 1920.

¹¹⁷ This was a "wee quilt for Harvey." See November 26, 1921, Emily Duckwith Diaries.

¹¹⁸ Both of Mary's adult sons had moved out of the family home by the start of her diary. Her adult daughter, Lottie, died in October 1918 from influenza. Mary's oldest son, Percy, had established his own family and household nearby; four of Mary's entries specify quilting with Bessie, presumed to be the nickname of Percy's wife, Annie Elizabeth. See "Lottie L. Potts," Registrations of Deaths, 245, 406, October 25, 1918, 028448; "Percy L. Potts," Woodhouse Township, Norfolk County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 9, 117; and March 3, 1920, March 5, 1920, March 8-10, 1920, May 16, 1921, November 3, 1921, April 20-21, 1922, April 26-28, 1922, February 3, 1925, February 5, 1925, February 12, 1925, February 3, 1926, and February 23, 1926, Potts Family Farm Diaries. See also Roelens-Grant, ed., 50.

¹¹⁹ November 5-6, 1935, January 3, 1936, December 5, 1936, January 11, 1938, January 24, 1938, January 29, 1938, February 2-3, 1938, February 7, 1938, February 9-10, 1938, February 15, 1938, February 21, 1938, March 7-8, 1938, March 10, 1938, March 12, 1938, March 14-15, 1938, March 22-23, 1938, January 23-25, 1939, February 7-10, 1939, February 23, 1939, February 27, 1939, March 2, 1939, and April 4, 1939, Jean Ferrier Diaries.

¹²⁰ March 5, 1920, May 16, 1921, November 3, 1921, and February 3, 1926, Potts Family Farm Diaries.

¹²¹ Perhaps the Women's Association McQueen was involved in was the women's auxiliary of the Presbyterian Church; some of the work was completed at the church, and the McQueens identified as

Presbyterians in the 1921 Census. See August 1, 1929, November 7, 1929, December 6, 1929, June 5, 1930, November 9, 1932, and December 9, 1932, Arthur McQueen Diaries; and May 16, 1934, June 21-22, 1934, February 4, 1936, February 13, 1936, February 16, 1937, January 26, 1939, May 3, 1939, June 23, 1930, March 21, 1941, May 7, 1941, May 16, 1941, May 20, 1941, March 15, 1945, and April 27, 1945, Ruby Simmons Diary. See also Halpern, 61, and 83.

¹²² August 1, 1929, Arthur McQueen Diaries.

¹²³ May 28, 1907, James Adam Glen, Sr., Diaries; and October 8, 1914, Wm. R. Shand Accounts.

¹²⁴ March 3, 1920, March 5, 1920, March 8-10, 1920, May 16, 1921, November 3, 1921, April 20-21, 1922, April 26-28, 1922, February 3, 1925, February 5, 1925, February 12, 1925, February 3, 1926, and February 23, 1926, Potts Family Farm Diaries; and June 6, 1900, June 19, 1900, July 3, 1900, July 10, 1900, June 2-3, 1903, November 22, 1904, and December 6, 1904, Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce.

¹²⁵ See also Ambrose, 142-43, and 146.

¹²⁶ As with McQueen's Women's Association, Hill's Ladies' Aid Society presumably had religious foundations; periodically, meetings or socials for the Society were held at the parsonage or church, and the Hill family identified as Methodist in the 1911 Census. See November 22, 1917, and October 30, 1919, Diary of Annie Hill; and "Thomas A. Hill," Fergus, Wellington County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 7, 84.

¹²⁷ While Bella typically did not specify the intended recipients of these bales, in November 1917 she detailed that some of the textiles were intended for Toronto, while others were intended for the "French Relief Fund." See November 25, 1914, October 13, 1915, November 24, 1915, November 30, 1916, March 2, 1917, and November 27, 1917, B.A. Green Diary.

¹²⁸ There were no entries for quilting in 1937 or 1939. See, for example, March 24-29, 1930, June 2-3, 1931, March 25, 1938, September 4, 1941A, November 18, 1941B, April 9, 1942A, April 12, 1943, August 20, 1943, January 26, 1944, November 14, 1944, March 1, 1945, and March 22, 1945, Velma Beaton Diaries.

¹²⁹ March 13, 1931, March 20, 1931, and March 27, 1941, Ruby Simmons Diary.

¹³⁰ March 24-29, 1930, April 1-2, 1930, July 11, 1930, July 29, 1930, August 6, 1930, August 23, 1930, September 18, 1930, October 13, 1930, October 16, 1930, June 2-3, 1931, March 25, 1938, August 20, 1941A, September 4, 1941A, March 24-25, 1941B, June 3, 1941B, July 1, 1941B, July 8, 1941B, July 24, 1941B, August 20, 1941B, August 26, 1941B, September 2, 1941B, September 16, 1941B, October 14, 1941B, October 27, 1941B, November 18, 1941B, November 27, 1941B, December 9, 1941B, April 6, 1942A, April 9, 1942A, February 18, 1942B, March 12, 1942B, November 18, 1942B, December 3, 1942B, January 29, 1943, March 23, 1943, April 12-13, 1943, April 28, 1943, April 30, 1943, May 31, 1943, June 2, 1943, August 20, 1943, December 16, 1943, January 20, 1944, January 26, 1944, February 8, 1944, November 14, 1944, March 1, 1945, March 8, 1945, March 14-15, 1945, and March 19-23, 1945, Velma Beaton Diaries.

¹³¹ According to the 1921 Census, the Beaton household consisted of parents Thomas and Mary, and daughters Olive, Velma, and Myrtle, who ranged in age from 13 to 20. Myrtle married in 1922. Mary died in 1930, and her obituary lists both Velma and Olive as residing on the home farm. Olive married in approximately 1935, leaving Velma on the home farm with her father, where she resided until her own death in 1988. See "Thomas Beaton," Puslinch Township, Wellington County, Ontario, Census of Canada, 1921, 11, 119; "Herbert Elmer Zimmerman and Myrtle Catharine Elizabeth Beaton," Puslinch Township, Wellington County, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Marriages, 629, December 13, 1922; Anna Jackson and Marjorie Clark, compilers, "Beaton, Mary (Nee MacEdward)," *A Celebration of Lives: Obituaries of Puslinch Township Wellington County, Ontario, Volume 1* (2009), Wellington County Museum & Archives, A2009.79, 54; "Velma Beaton, Puslinch Township, diaries, 1930-1988," Wellington County Museum and Archives, <http://wcm.pastperfect-online.com/39564cgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=F246EC16-D746-4504-9172-507434308556;type=301>; and "Rollins family, Nassagaweya Twp., 1899-1988," Wellington County Museum and Archives, <http://wcm.pastperfect-online.com/39564cgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=C8A7A630-0396-48DF-A0C9-554225436990;type=301>.

¹³² See also Gordon and Horton, 94.

¹³³ June 6, 1900, June 19, 1900, July 3, 1900, July 10, 1900, June 2-3, 1903, November 22, 1904, and December 6, 1904, Diary of Merinda (Williams) Pearce; "Thomas Pearce," Dunwich Township, Elgin County (West), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1891, 24, 137; "Anna E. Pearce and John A. Orchard," Elgin

County, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Marriages, 100, 136, September 5, 1900; and “Harriet Alice Pearce and Arthur E. Wilson,” Elgin County, Ontario, Canada, Registrations of Marriages, 117, 129, 006426, January 3, 1905.

¹³⁴ January 6-10, 1936, January 13-14, 1936, January 30-31, 1936, February 11-13, 1936, and February 19-20, 1936, Fred Perkins Diary.

¹³⁵ January 6, 1936, Fred Perkins Diary. For examples of Dutch Doll quilts from the period, see, for example, *The Quilt Index*,

http://dev2.matrix.msu.edu/quilti/search_results.php?page=11&page10=1&pattern=Dutch%20Girl_Dutch%20Doll_Dutchgirl.

¹³⁶ February 14, 1914, February 16-17, 1914, February 19, 1914, October 3, 1917, November 22, 1917, and October 30, 1919, Diary of Annie Hill; “Thomas A. Hill,” Fergus, Wellington County (South), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1911, 7, 90; January 5-6, 1904, Frances Poole Diary; and “Chauncey Poole,” Burford Township, Oxford County (South), Ontario, Census of Canada, 1901, 6, 51.

¹³⁷ Crawford’s diaries end in May 1931, meaning that it cannot be ascertained if this single entry marked the beginning of ongoing quilting efforts. See January 13, 1931, William Joshua Crawford Diaries.

¹³⁸ Kathleen also had tea while at the quilting. See January 13, 1931, William Joshua Crawford Diaries.

¹³⁹ January 29-30, 1934, February 5, 1934, February 15, 1934, March 5, 1934, March 8, 1934, March 23, 1934, April 17, 1934, April 27, 1934, May 15-16, 1934, May 25, 1934, June 8, 1934, June 14, 1934, June 21-22, 1934, June 25, 1934, November 1, 1934, August 19, 1935, September 18, 1935, November 7, 1935, November 21, 1935, January 9, 1936, February 3-4, 1936, February 13, 1936, March 2-3, 1936, March 19, 1936, May 29, 1936, June 2, 1936, June 23-24, 1936, January 25-26, 1937, February 16, 1937, April 3, 1937, April 7, 1937, July 9, 1937, January 17-18, 1938, January 25, 1938, January 27-28, 1938, March 1, 1938, January 20, 1939, January 26, 1939, February 8, 1939, February 10, 1939, March 3, 1939, March 8, 1939, May 3, 1939, November 7, 1939, November 22, 1939, July 23, 1940, March 13, 1941, March 20-21, 1941, March 27, 1941, May 7, 1941, May 16, 1941, May 20, 1941, August 12, 1941, January 16, 1942, January 20, 1942, January 27, 1942, January 31, 1942, February 2, 1942, February 5, 1942, February 11, 1942, February 13, 1942, July 28, 1943, August 10, 1943, November 11, 1943, November 16, 1943, December 15, 1943, November 17, 1944, December 5-6, 1944, February 2, 1945, February 9, 1945, March 15, 1945, April 27, 1945, May 17, 1945, June 7, 1945, and October 19, 1945, Ruby Simmons Diary.

Conclusion

As we examined at the outset of this study, there are two key and seemingly entrenched views of past farm families' consumption practices. On the one hand, we tend to view farmers first and foremost as producers, and we search for a defining period only after which they "became" consumers. Conversely, farmers are often regarded as passive recipients of the developing consumer culture, eagerly adopting new consumer goods and technologies as they become available. In both views, people's agency is undercut, as outside pressures, such as the apparent mid-nineteenth century rural transition to capitalism, or the developing consumer culture, are seen to dictate rural consumption practices.

This study has worked to refute such simplistic and dichotomous interpretations. Farm families' consumption practices cannot be reduced to a pursuit of self-sufficiency or to full-fledged adherence to free-market liberal capitalism. Rather, these practices were more complex; over the first half of the twentieth century, Ontario farm families combined the production and purchase of an array of quotidian goods. First, turning to household production, they produced and preserved a range of foodstuffs, and made and repaired clothing and household textiles. They tended to rely on some essentially home-derived items, such as milk, fresh and canned produce, and baked desserts. Families also sold surpluses, such as produce from their gardens and orchards, and produced commodities, such as milk and cream, specifically for the market. Such marketplace sales help to complicate the perceived distinction between producer and consumer; for farm families, both roles often worked together.¹

Regardless if for sale or familial use, this household production was only part of the agrarian Ontario experience. Rather, such production worked in tandem with purchasing. Families purchased goods ranging from cheese to readymade clothing. They bought these items directly on the farm, from butchers, fish men (and women), and bakers, who made semi-regular visits. They purchased meat in their neighbourhoods, making year-end settlements to their local beef rings. They visited multiple stores in local towns and larger urban centers, and bought items through mail order catalogues, such as Eaton's. Throughout, they carefully assessed their options and considered the quality, cost, and desirability of items, as they periodically returned home empty-handed, and returned goods they deemed unsuitable. Farm families certainly had, and used, many different avenues to acquire goods for their households.

Through these range of purchasing locations, families were clearly connected to a complex marketplace. They bought goods acquired from local, national, and even international markets. They consumed locally-processed beef and dairy products; bought provincially-grown fruit, brand-name flour milled from western Canadian wheat, and canned salmon from British Columbia; enjoyed dried and tropical fruits; and maintained wardrobes influenced by Paris and New York fashion trends. Families were knowledgeable of, and participated in, the broader marketplace. Taken together, the myriad of purchasing locations and the complexity of market connections demonstrate that farm families were active and discerning shoppers.

In their decisions about how, exactly, to consume, families did not, however, simply split their consumption practices into either the use of essentially home-produced goods on the one hand, or purchased goods on the other. Rather, individual families

blended the production and purchase of the same goods, depending on seasonal, familial, and individual factors. Some women, for example, typically made dresses for everyday use, and turned to dressmakers to procure other dresses for more formal occasions. Similarly, families often blended the baking and purchasing of bread, with decisions shaped by such factors as the short-term addition of labourers for threshing, or family illnesses and death. The ways in which families combined the production and purchase of individual consumer goods depended on the particular intricacies of daily life.

Farm families' consumption was not determined by straightforward need.² Families did, of course, consume relatively basic goods, such as fresh, locally-grown produce and flour incorporated into baked goods. They also, however, ate and used more seemingly frivolous goods. Ice cream, for example, was a special treat, often enjoyed with friends and family in the warmer months of the year, while oysters were part of special suppers in the late fall and winter months. Families blended relatively basic goods and leisure-oriented treats to provision their households.

Even when engaged in household production, these families were not self-sufficient. They bought a range of goods which facilitated household production, including sealers, flour, and material.³ Indeed, their purchase of inputs demonstrates that household production was not limited to items derived from their own gardens, orchards, and barnyards; women, for example, canned dried and imported fruits, making such goods as prune preserves and marmalade. Similarly, household production could be influenced by cosmopolitan trends, as evidenced in patterns for homemade clothing. For farm families, production and consumption worked together, and tied them to broader markets. Consumption was not simply and narrowly connected to marketplace

transactions; rather, it also encompassed the use of goods, regardless if purchased readymade or processed and produced within the home.

A multiplicity of factors came together to shape how, exactly, families acquired necessary and desired food and clothing. At the most basic level, farm homes had a gendered division of labour with regard to the production and processing of food and textiles. Men, for example, typically processed pigs, cattle, and sheep. They participated in beef rings, and completed the initial preparatory chores in the garden. Women made butter, preserved fruits and vegetables, and baked bread and desserts. They sewed clothing for their households, and sometimes also knitted, quilted, and completed fancy work. Men and women worked together to complete other tasks, such as dairying chores and harvesting tree fruits. They sometimes transgressed typical gender divisions, whether it was Janet and Bella Green of Huron County cutting up pork, Homer White of Prince Edward County making butter, or Thomas Albert Hill of Wellington County baking bread. In some cases, such transgressions were a result of simple necessity; there was no adult male in the Green household, for example, to complete this work with pork. In other cases, families negotiated work roles based on individualized preferences and notions of the best use of their time; the Hill family, for example, largely consumed homemade bread and buns when Thomas was home from the prairies to do this baking. Children were also involved in household provisioning, whether in fishing expeditions or the cultivation and harvest of produce. All members of farm households contributed to the production, processing, and preparation of basic and desired familial foodstuffs.⁴

While families fundamentally produced and purchased goods for their individual households, there was also a broader local element to such provisioning. Due to the

nature of some jobs, men and women periodically recruited assistance from extended kin and neighbours. Neighbouring men assisted one another, for example, with the slaughter of pigs and cattle. Women sometimes helped each other to can chicken and produce, and often quilted together. In such cases, the final products clearly remained the property of the originating family, but this family often returned the favour by providing reciprocal labour.⁵ Sharing such workloads, or picking berries and nuts together, also allowed families and neighbours to socialize while completing relatively tedious tasks. For farm families, connections to extended kin and neighbours helped to facilitate the household production that was such a central component of their consumption practices.

These community ties were also manifested in the exchange of goods. Sometimes, families gifted foodstuffs and textiles to others, whether it was simply part of neighbourliness, an acknowledgement of a special occasion such as Christmas, or an attempt to provide some small measure of assistance at a time of illness or death. Women also prepared foodstuffs and textiles in support of charity or wartime efforts; they baked for church events, knitted socks for soldiers serving overseas, and quilted for fundraising endeavours. These efforts show that these families were not simply concerned with the practical use of foods and textiles; such items had a broader social meaning, demonstrating emotional connections between individuals and groups.

Farm families' workloads and household provisioning practices, leading directly to consumption, were also fundamentally impacted by the changing seasons.⁶ In the spring, some families produced maple syrup for household use and sale. In the late spring and early summer, families commonly planted gardens, and could expect increased egg production. They also often purchased more tropical fruits in the spring and summer

months. Between the late spring and late fall, some families increased their meat purchases, while others participated in beef rings; both practices were correlated with the challenge of preserving fresh meat in the warm months. The late spring through early fall was often also a key period for milk and farm butter production, and families periodically enjoyed ice cream on warm days. In the summer and fall, they harvested fruits and vegetables, and women completed much of their produce canning for household use. In the fall, too, some families harvested nuts.

When the weather turned colder, typically between mid-fall and early spring, families processed beef and pork on farm. They often consumed oysters, and could make larger purchases of beef and lamb. They generally increased their consumption of dried fruits and nuts, and women completed seasonal baking for the Christmas holidays. Women could also plan to complete more work on clothing and household textiles during these months, and some families may have transitioned to the use of purchased butter. The changing seasons played a key role in influencing household production for familial consumption and, to a lesser extent, influenced purchasing decisions.

The family structure and stage in the life cycle also fundamentally shaped rural consumption practices. In households with multiple adult women, those women could share the workload, dividing tasks by abilities and preferences. Often, for example, one member of a family would specialize in baking bread, as this chore required a definite “knack” and could be quite time consuming. Other women focused on certain types of textile work, such as knitting. Work on textiles, too, was one of the clearest examples of the influence of stage in the life cycle in production and consumption patterns. Young, unmarried women were most likely to engage in quilting and fancy work, although older

married women, whose children had grown, periodically returned to such tasks.

Transitions in the size and nature of families also played a role; the addition of a female household head through marriage to a bachelor's home, for example, could mean a shift from a reliance on readymade to homemade bread. Similarly, the loss of the male household head might lead to constricted production, while the growth of the next generation into adulthood could lead to its expansion. The Hawley family of Lennox and Addington County, for example, decreased or even eliminated its production of eggs after the death of Mark, the male household head, but expanded this production when the adult son Donald took on a more active role in the operation. Family composition and stage in the life cycle were central factors in shaping the nuances and complexities of consumption practices.⁷

Gender and age, too, had some effect on how individuals and families consumed. Women, for example, devoted more time and effort to remaking garments for themselves, as opposed to male relatives. They also typically sewed most garments for their children, although boys increasingly wore more readymade garments as they grew into adolescence. This can be connected to the fact that farm men were more reliant on readymade clothing than their female counterparts. Gender and age influenced consumption practices, as particularly read through the consumption of textiles.

This study also challenges the often assumed correlation between increased prosperity and decreased household production. The Whites of Prince Edward County, for example, appear to have been of a higher socioeconomic standing than most "middling" families. As we would perhaps expect of such a family, the Whites consumed a range of meat that was purchased and/or gifted, including scallops, oysters, and turkey.⁸

They also, however, processed and canned a notable amount of chicken each year; clearly, the Whites desired this household-produced meat, and completed the labour-intensive work to ensure sufficient supplies.⁹ Similarly, Loretta, her mother, and her mother-in-law spent a considerable amount of time sewing household textiles, knitting, and completing fancy work. Indeed, it can be hypothesized that it was the family's considerable resources themselves, including both time and money, which enabled the Whites to devote so much effort to household production.

On a related note, families' decisions to engage in such production cannot be simply reduced to material necessity. Popular perceptions, for example, envision farm women knitting an array of goods for their families. Knitting was not, however, a universal skill; families could buy readymade knit goods, and only some women engaged in this type of textile production for household use. Indeed, some women undertook such work solely in support of the First and Second World War efforts, demonstrating that their families typically chose to rely on readymade knit goods. For farm families, household production was not a simple result of necessity.

Returning to our opening discussion of Béatrice Craig's study of the Madawaska region between the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth century, and Douglas McCalla's study of pre-Confederation Upper Canada, we can make some tentative comparisons to early twentieth-century experiences. Rural residents throughout the period were connected to far-reaching markets,¹⁰ although the range of goods available changed over time. It is doubtful that the rural families of Craig and McCalla's period, for example, ate many oysters or tropical fruits. Rural residents over this longer period also blended household production and purchasing,¹¹ although there was a wider range of twentieth-

century options in both categories; commercially-canned produce, for example, became more accessible in this period, and technological developments made household canning more feasible. Finally, twentieth-century families continued to purchase inputs, such as flour and material, which were subsequently processed within the home.¹² They also purchased, however, more goods intended for direct consumption or use, such as cheese, readymade bread, and readymade clothing. As highlighted by McCalla, reflecting on these longer-term continuities and shifts helps us to temper against the historiographical search for revolutions in consumption practices, and to gain a more detailed understanding of quotidian experiences.¹³

In terms of the first half of the twentieth century, this study documents a remarkable degree of continuity in Ontario farm families' consumption practices. This continuity can be at least partially attributed to the fact that most families continued to engage in mixed farming. Such a range of agricultural production provided families with a degree of stability in the face of fluctuating markets, or of poor harvests of a single crop. Oftentimes, this production provided both direct and "in kind" income; families that sold milk or cream, for example, also had access to milk, cream, and butter for their own tables. The balance between the emphasis on household supplies and market sales varied by family and by commodity; the McIntosh household of Bruce County, for example, made sporadic sales of some produce, suggesting that it only sold the surplus from its household gardens, while the Weir family of Peterborough County was clearly engaged in market gardening, but presumably provisioned its own table in the process. Mixed farming had practical and tangible benefits for families.

There were, however, some small but notable shifts. Over the course of the twentieth century, farm families' purchases of readymade garments, particularly for women, appear to have expanded, although they did not fully eclipse the home sewing of clothing. Prices of consumer goods also shifted as a result of the broader socioeconomic context; beef ring prices, for example, increased as a result of inflation during the First World War, and dropped with the Great Depression. The specific nature of the consumption of some goods transitioned as a result of broader sociopolitical situations; families turned to brown bread during the First World War, and some used whole wheat flour and purchased "seconds" or "day-old" baked goods during the 1930s. Beginning in this decade, too, families had access to cold storage facilities in local towns, providing them with another preservation option for home-processed meat and home-grown produce. Finally, women's engagement in fancy work also declined in the 1930s. Despite these shifts, though, there was a fundamental continuity in rural consumption practices over the first half of the twentieth century.

In their decisions regarding household provisioning, farm families' consumption practices set themselves apart from those of their urban counterparts. Farm families were certainly influenced by broader trends, as suggested by their consumption of ice cream, tropical fruit, and fashionable clothing, but the specific nature of their consumption practices was, however, unique. At the most basic level, they had opportunities for the production of foodstuffs that simply were not available in heavily populated areas.¹⁴ Farm families had the space to keep a range of livestock and to grow gardens and orchards. Their roles as producers of foodstuffs also allowed them to create and access specifically rural methods of household provisioning. They commonly participated in

beef rings, and some received butter and cheese as payment on account when they shipped milk and cream. They also chose to engage in the household production of goods that their urban counterparts increasingly purchased readymade, as with home-canned produce, homemade bread, and home-sewn clothing. Ontario farm families consumed in complex ways, and they combined household production and purchasing to acquire necessary and desired food and textiles. They actively made choices about how to consume, doing so with an eye to quality, taste, fashion, and cost.

¹ See also Sandwell, "Showing How Locals Supported the World Economy," 96.

² See also Heron, *Lunch-Bucket Lives*, 149-50.

³ See also McCalla, *Consumers in the Bush*, 153; and Mancke, 169.

⁴ See also Sandwell, "Notes Toward a Rural History of Canada," 22, and 33.

⁵ See also Wilson, "Reciprocal Work Bees and the Meaning of Neighbourhood."

⁶ See also Sandwell, "Notes Toward a Rural History of Canada," 32.

⁷ See also Sandwell, "Notes Toward a Rural History of Canada," 30.

⁸ See, for example, January 10, 1910, December 16, 1912, January 9, 1915, December 6, 1915, January 8, 1916, January 13, 1917, December 17, 1917, February 10, 1919, December 17, 1919, January 29, 1930, December 17, 1919, December 20, 1930, February 7, 1931, October 28, 1931, March 23, 1932, November 10, 1932, January 9, 1933, December 19, 1932, January 20, 1933, March 1, 1934, March 22, 1934, December 1, 1935, and December 19, 1935, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

⁹ See, for example, November 27-28, 1913, Loretta (Talcott) White Diaries.

¹⁰ Craig, *Backwoods Consumers and Homespun Capitalists*, 17-18, 223, and 226; and McCalla, *Consumers in the Bush*, 7.

¹¹ Craig, *Backwoods Consumers and Homespun Capitalists*, 218; and McCalla, *Consumers in the Bush*, 61, 86, and 153.

¹² Craig, *Backwoods Consumers and Homespun Capitalists*, 183, 207, 212, and 224.

¹³ McCalla, *Consumers in the Bush*, 14-15, and 150.

¹⁴ See also Deutsch, 19.

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