

From the Past to the Future
Rethinking Rural Society and Social Change

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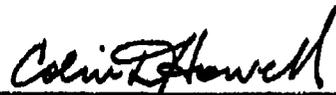
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Dedication

**This work is dedicated to the memory of my mother, Verna,
and my Father, Lindsay; the rural people of Prince Edward
Island and my family Beverley, Lindsay, Ian and Jesse Lee.**

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Preface

As I write this in the spring of 1991, many of the traditions and values of rural society live on. While the Urban-Industrial invaders won the battle in the 1970's, their promises have not been met. Many people who live in the rural areas of P.E.I. struggle to re-organize their communities. As they do so they have begun to address the issues of patriarchy and to challenge those traditions that need to be changed. It is my hope that this study will assist in some small way in that struggle.

In the five years since I first started working on this thesis many of my ideas have changed. Even now I see this as a work in progress as I continue to try to understand the relationship between the past and the present and to learn about how they can be brought together to help-build a more human and conserver society.

There are a number of people who I would like to thank. First of all there are the students and professors with whom I associated and worked during my year of full time graduate study in the Master of Atlantic Canada Studies programme at Saint Mary's. I want to thank John Reid who not only stimulated my mind as a professor but has been quietly encouraging as I have struggled to finish this thesis while carrying on my other activities. At an earlier stage discussions with Jo-Anne Fiske helped me to begin to approach the issues of culture and gender with less apprehension and intrepidation. Sandy Kirby's insistence that I organize my research materials and her guidance as to how to do it not only saved me hours of time but made it possible for me to put this all together. Without Jack Logan's computer wizardry, this thesis would be much less readable if indeed it had made the deadline at all. There are many others who provided

support and help: Sandra Aylward, Michael Clow, Colin Howell, Ken MacKinnon, Kate McKenna, and John McMullan, to name but a few.

Then there are the people of Belmont with whom I spent many hours during the winter of 1978. The many meaningful chats and discussions, disguised as interviews, not only provided data for this thesis but re-connected me with the rural roots from which I came. To them I say a special thanks. I particularly want to thank Arnett Simpson without whose help this thesis would be much less complete. My most heartfelt thanks goes to Aunt Evelyn Yeo and Uncle Harold for feeding me while I was in Belmont, answering my never ending questions, providing unending love and encouragement and to Evelyn for introducing me to the people of Belmont.

There are two other people who are central to the period of my life during which I have worked on this thesis. First there is Henry Veltmeyer. It was Henry who first planted the idea of entering the Atlantic Canada Studies programme in my mind and continued to nurture that idea until I actually became a student five years later. Henry has been my supervisor and in this role has shown amazing patience, quiet and consistent encouragement and gentle criticism. However, it is as a friend that Henry will be long remembered. I can only hope that our friendship has meant as much to him as it has to me.

During the time that I have worked on this thesis my partner in life has been Beverley Rach. During this time we have marveled as we watched our son Jesse grow from a baby to a little boy. Beverley has also been a parent to my oldest son Lindsay, who has lived with us since we moved to Halifax, and, when he visits us, my other son Ian. While we have all been learning to live together, Beverley has not only continued to encourage me to finish this thesis but on many occasions she stayed with "the boys" so that I could work on it. Beverley, to you I say a special thanks, although that doesn't quite seem to be enough.

Abstract

This thesis is a study of rural society and social change. I present an analysis of social change in rural society which takes into account the traditions and history of rural society itself. That analysis considers cultural as well as political economy approaches to understanding society and suggests that there are inherent values in traditional rural society which must be taken into account in any discussions of social change. I discuss the foundation of rural society, looking at both the economy and social relations which were in operation. Particular attention is directed at understanding the gender division of labour and the role of women's work in maintaining rural society.

I chose a small rural community in Prince Edward Island as a case study. I situate this case study within the context of social change in rural of Prince Edward Island as a whole and show that when social change did occur the traditions and history of rural people were swept aside. To date, much of the literature on rural social change assumes that this is necessary if rural society is to keep pace with modern society. I attempt to show that this approach has negative effects not only for rural society but for the larger society as well.

Introduction

'Rural' and 'urban', 'country' and 'city', 'town' and 'country' these terms attempt to describe two contrasts in the "experience of human communities", to use Raymond Williams' words (Williams, 1973:1). On the one hand there are the relatively thinly populated communities described by 'rural' and 'country'; on the other there are the more densely populated communities described by 'city', 'urban' and 'town'. When we think of rural we think of open spaces, trees, sunsets, starry nights, fresh air. When we think of urban we think of confined spaces, concrete streets and sidewalks, many, often tall, buildings and polluted air.

In the industrialized world of late capitalism, the urban has come to dominate the way of life of most citizens including those who live in the rural areas. Until quite recently in human history, even in what is now the industrialized world, most people lived in rural rather than urban areas. The change from rural to urban has been happening at varying speeds over the past two to three hundred years. Most of the last rural outposts in the industrialized world have come under the dominance of urban society and in the third world, where rural society is still strong, urban society makes greater and greater inroads.

In Prince Edward Island rural society was dominant until the latter part of this century. While urban society had been making inroads since the

'40's and '50's it has been in the past twenty years that urban society has come to dominate and to establish its economic, political and cultural hegemony.

This work is a study of that change. Prince Edward Island offers a good opportunity for such a study for a number of reasons: a) its small size and the general homogeneity of the rural population, b) the fact that the spatial boundaries correspond to the provincial political boundaries and, c) the change from rural to urban affected the whole area relatively simultaneously. These three factors make for a relatively uncomplicated study. In the political realm, the corresponding spatial and political boundaries and rural homogeneity means that government policies come to bear on the whole area at the same time.

It is my thesis that rural farm society in Prince Edward Island prior to the middle of this century was characteristic of peasant society, that there are lasting values and cultural norms which were spawned by this experience of human community that have universal value and can help provide a corrective and restorative direction for modern urban societies entrenched as they are in an ever more pervasive urban-industrial economy and culture which threatens human community and society and the physical environment in which we live. It is further argued that the proponents of the social change process that engulfed Prince Edward Island in the decade of the seventies sought not to gain instruction from these values and cultural norms but to supersede them by relegating them to the scrap heap of antiquity.

This work is divided into five chapters. Chapter one lays the foundation for the overall analysis. It begins by outlining the purpose and premise of this study and then describes the particular area in P.E.I. which is its

primary focus. This is followed by a brief description of the data sources and an overall statement of the perspective from which the study is undertaken, as well as a statement of objectives.

The second chapter establishes the theoretical context in which the study is grounded. Here I look at the private vs. public division in society in general, then focus on the political economy of rural society. The first part of this chapter provides the theoretical context from which the analysis of rural society as it existed in Prince Edward Island prior to the middle of the Twentieth century is carried out. The final section considers some key theoretical arguments on the role of culture in social change as an analytical framework for the chapter on social change.

In the third chapter I turn to an analysis of the political economy of life on the farm, drawing specifically on the data collected in the study area. This analysis shows that rural farm society on P. E. I. was characterized more by its affinity to peasant societies than either petty commodity production or industrial forms of capitalism. The political economy of rural society is discussed within the context of a description of daily life on the farm, the annual cycle of production, the gendered division of labour and responsibility and the relationship of the household unit of production to the market.

In chapter four I focus on the social relations of life on the farm and the rural farm community. I show how the particular social relations sustained and reproduced the social structures and cultural values within which the economy operated. Here I focus particular attention on the respective roles of women and men. I argue that the country school was the central institution around which the social and cultural life of rural society was built.

In chapter five I use a specific case study to analyse the process of social change as it occurred in Prince Edward Island over the past twenty years. The specific study focuses on change in educational institutions and practices to show that social change as it occurred in Prince Edward Island was a process of engineered consent which sought to bring or force people to believe in, or at least accept the hegemony of, a new cultural, political and economic system and to reject their history and tradition.

In chapter six I consider the inherent values in rural "peasant" society and show that many of the values which grew out of this 'experience of human community' are valid not only for this society but for human communities more generally.

In the concluding part of this chapter consideration is given as to how and why certain values and structures of rural society led to an acceptance of the cultural norms and values of urban-industrial society and how and why others may provide the basis for opposition to continued encroachment in rural society itself and a catalyst for re-thinking these norms and values in society as a whole.

Chapter One—Laying the Foundation

The purpose of this study is to examine the 'rural' way of life, to evaluate what it has to offer the urban dominated world of today and to critically analyse a process of social change that replaced rural values with urban values. This process has turned the countryside into a place where urban oriented people, many of whom actually work in an urban centre, live. They enjoy the physical advantages that a rural setting has to offer, clean air and open space, but share few if any of the traditions and historical values on which rural communities were built. In this work, rural community is defined in traditional cultural terms, not in the demographic/geographic sense that often lends confusion to our understanding of rural (for example, see Simms).

The premise of this study is that there were/are enduring values in rural society which we need to re-capture as part of the process of building a more human and just society and which we ignore at our peril. It is an appeal to advocates of social change to not ignore the past but to draw on it, build on it, shape our future on the basis of learning from our experiences and to adapt that experience to the knowledge gained from new experiences.

The data for this study were drawn from a small school district in rural Prince Edward Island. I will describe the school district, both in

spatial and social terms, define it as the basic rural community unit and finally outline the sources for the data. It is this district that will be my unit of analysis.

The Study Area

Although the school in the study area has been closed for 16 years, the district which it served remains an identifiable entity. It is still a place name on the P.E.I. road map. Its boundaries are still clearly defined. And it still has meaning for most of the 150 or so people who live there; particularly those who were born and grew up there. However, the economic and social changes that have taken place over the past two decades have stripped this and similar small school districts on P.E.I. of much of their organic meaning. Today they exist primarily as a legacy of the past, a past when the local school provided the focus for community life which evolved within the geographic entity defined spatially by the district boundaries.

There were other institutions, particularly the church and the merchant, which played an important part in the life of the people who lived in the study area.

The church drew people from an area both within and outside of the school district. The most important role of the church was as a sustainer of moral values. These values were an essential part of rural life because in a society which was largely self-regulating, a strong moral code was necessary. It was the church, more than anything else, that provided the institutional base for this moral code.

The merchant(s) also gathered people from many districts as they came

to sell their surplus goods on the market. The merchant centre or centres¹ provided places, the grocery store, the tea room, maybe a dance hall, a skating rink and in later years a movie theatre, where rural people got together.

These institutions and centres where people congregated were important links drawing people together from different communities but they were not the main focal point around which the rural community evolved.

It was the school district which was identified as home for rural people on P.E.I. It is true that when people travelled to other parts of the Island, they would often identify the nearest commercial town as where they were from. When they travelled still further afield, e.g. to the "mainland", they might identify an even larger centre as home: usually Summerside if they were from the western part of the island or Charlottetown or Montague if from the central or eastern part. For those even further afield home became "the Island" or even "the Maritimes".

However, the school district was the place where you knew who you were and knew who your neighbours were. Here you were not just you but one of the MacDonalds, or the Smiths, or the McQuaids. Your mother and father as well as your grand father and grand mother forged your identity as much as you did. Within the district you were one of a family; a family which had responsibility for you and you for them. When you travelled outside you were a member of the district. Within the district you had a responsibility for those who lived there and they for you. Understanding

¹ There was more than one centre serving a rural community. The local centre, with limited shipping and shopping facilities, served only a few communities, larger, regional ones, served many more.

rural society means understanding family life and community life.

Because the primary social relations in rural P.E.I. farm society took place within the spatial boundaries defined by it, the school district will be referred to as the primary community or simply the community. This is not to say that the influence of the wider more complex society can be overlooked. Indeed today, in 1991, it is the influence of this wider world which dominates life in rural P.E.I.

The merchant centres and the church provided links between these communities but it was a much looser association of people, an association which was more transitory and where organic ties were more fleeting.

In this study I will show that the people who lived in the area studies were largely self-sufficient. This self-sufficiency was based on the household which was the basic economic and social unit. The household unit in turn was supported by the immediate community, spatially the school district, of which it was a part and which I have defined as the primary community.

The Data

Data for this study were drawn from a number of sources. One of the richest sources of information has been the diaries of three women, a mother, daughter and grand-daughter, all of whom lived on the same family farm, spanning over thirty years from 1928 to 1962. These diaries provide a first hand account of life on the farm as seen through the written reports of these women.

Information from the diaries was further enriched by the farm account books from this same farm covering most of the same period of time. Other primary material included the complete set of minutes of the Women's

Institute from the date of its organization in 1931 to the time when the data for this study were gathered in 1987.²

In addition to these primary sources I conducted eleven semi-structured interviews, six with women and five with men, seven of which were taped. These interviews focused on people's descriptions and memories of the community as it existed prior to the 1960's and their understanding of how it has changed. I specifically sought information on the way work was carried out and by whom. Particular attention was directed toward the gender division of both labour and responsibility as well as the role played by children and young people.³

Rural- Urban Society

When analysing the change from a rural dominated society to an urban/industrial dominated one, we are looking at a clash between two distinctly different social systems each developed out of, and responding to, its own particular set of economic and social relations and the social values that develop and sustain them. The change from rural to urban/industrial society involves one social system warring with and gaining dominance over another (see Williams, 1973: 302-306; Bender: 29-30). As in the case of virtually all conditions of war, one side, the side you're on, is seen as representing 'good' and the other side as representing 'evil'.

Any useful analysis of the shift from a rural dominated society to a urban/industrial dominated must reject at the outset the notion of a new, progressive and vibrant system replacing an old, traditional and staid one⁴.

⁴ The modernization school are the main proponents of this idea. W.W. Rostow's *The stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* summarized these ideas. Worsley (184) cites Gino Germani to point out that this change is not only an economic but a social problem. Foster (1965) in

It must be must recognize that when this change takes place rural society is not only replaced but defeated by urban/industrial society. When it comes to the dominance of one social system over another, total victory means total acceptance of the dominant society and total rejection of the society it replaces.

In the case where urban/industrial society has gained dominance over rural society, its proponents, because they are the victors, can see little good in the traditions of rural society and continually denigrate any positive things that might be said about it. Many ideologically conservative people who see problems in the urban/industrial system see solutions only in the continued development of that society. Liberal and even socialist leaning people who also see the need to improve the urban/industrial society of late capitalism see change in the sense of a change of power, a change of who controls the society, a change in the way things are administered, not in any organic structural change to the society itself.⁵ All of these groups, although claiming to be ideologically distinct, are essentially supporters of the continued growth of the urban/industrial system of modern capitalism and see it as the natural or necessary step in the evolutionary/revolutionary march to some oft dreamed about but seldom visualized future where all problems will be solved. Even the 'fathers' of socialism, Marx and Engels, in the Communist Manifesto, while condemning capitalism, wrote of how the capitalist bourgeoisie had "rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life" (quoted in Williams, 1973:303).

Peasant society and the image of the limited good, (Peasant Society, No. 24:300) points to the cultural dimension and the need for rural people to change their cultural outlook.

⁵ This is typical of the position advocated by social democratic ideology. The most noted advocate of this outlook in Atlantic Canada, although he probably never considered himself a social democrat, was Moses Coady (Coady, 1939).

On the other side there are those characterized most graphically by the 'back to the land' movement of the 60' and 70's who see rural society as a close knit community of people who participate, one with the other, in creating their life together.⁶ They see rural society as an integrated one where all aspects of life, work, recreation, social life, etc. converge and become "a way of life". Rural life is visualized by these analysts as being 'holistic' and 'natural', a 'way of life' which is meaningful—not alienating—to its members. When contrasted with urban/industrial capitalist society, this rural society is seen as more morally pure, more fulfilling and more complete. They advocate the return to traditional rural society as the way to solve the problems of urban/industrial society.

The problem with both of these approaches is similar. They are but the flip side of the same coin. Traditionalists deny the need for change and often are blind to the problems and hardships of traditional rural society. Modernists, on the other hand, deny that there is anything valid or of value in traditional rural society. The result is a polarity where each argues against the other for the virtues of their position. It is as if to accept any value in one is to deny all value in the other.⁷ This work advocates a process of change that grows out of and builds on the experience, traditions and reality of people's lives. Centuries of human experience cannot be summarily cast aside because something new or even something better comes along, as seems to be argued by the modernists. Neither can history and tradition prevent us from learning new things and adopting new challenges, the danger of the conservative outlook. In Prince Edward Island, I would contend, no analysis of rural society and social change can

⁶ See for example Nisbet (1953).

⁷ For a discussion of this point see Bender (1978: 25-32).

be undertaken without an understanding of the historical roots of rural Islanders struggle for the land. For rural farm people on P.E.I. the identification with community is intricately connected to the relationship with the land.

Historical Overview

Until 1758, Prince Edward Island (it was then called Ile St. Jean) was under French colonial control. In that year it, along with Ile Royale (Cape Breton), fell to the English who completed their conquest of the French possessions in what is now Canada the following year by taking Quebec City and Montreal.

When Ile St. Jean was captured there were some forty-five hundred people living there; mostly Acadiens who has fled to the Island after their expulsion from the Annapolis Valley of Nova Scotia earlier in the decade. Almost all of the Acadiens were either expelled by the English and shipped back to Europe or escaped to northern New Brunswick or the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon which remained in French hands (Sharpe, 1976). However some three hundred remained on P.E.I. where they survived with the assistance of the Micmac.

After the expulsion the English waited seven years before taking steps to colonize the Island. In 1765, Samuel Holland did a survey and divided the colony into three counties, each with its county town or capital.

Surrounding each town an area of six thousand acres, called a *royalty* was reserved as pasture lots for town residents. The remainder of the Island was divided into 67 lots of approximately 20,000 acres each.

In 1767, lots 40 and 59 were granted to persons who had already established operations along their shores. Lot 66 was reserved for the crown. The imperial government then invited military officers, petty nobility and prominent merchants to petition for grants of the remaining 64 lots.

...The petitioners were interviewed by the Colonial Office in

London and 64 were selected to participate in a lottery. On July 23, 1767, the 64 names were put in a box and the lots assigned in order as they were drawn (Sharpe,1976:32-33).

The aftermath of this decision made in London, England, was to dominate all aspects of life in the new colony for the next one-hundred years. The terms of the grant stipulated that the new landlords were to a) bring settlers to their lands and b) to pay an annual rent, called a quit rent, to the colonial office in London. They did neither. It was this failure to meet their obligations which provided the ammunition to launch the first battle over land. This first battle was waged by resident landlords, men who had bought land from the absentee landlords in England, against the absentee owners. The resident landlords sought to get the colonial office to foreclose on the absentee owners who had not paid their quit rents and then turn over the seized land to resident owners. When the Colonial Office refused the Island governor, Walter Patterson, in 1774, enacted a law which put up for public auction, land on which rents were in arrears. This controversy between the local landlords and the absentee landlords supported as they were by the colonial office was to dominate Island political life for the next forty years.

In the first quarter of the next century, the struggle for land was intensified as the tenant farmers themselves got into the act. It had become the practice of absentee landlords to hire local agents to collect the tenants rent. (They sought to collect the rents even if they did not pay their own quit rents to the Colonial Office). This coupled with the increase in population, an increase from just under 7,000 in 1804 to over 32,000 in 1833, led to sometimes violent conflict when tenants not only refused to pay their rents but organized to drive the agents off their land. So intense was the struggle and so successful were the tenant farmers in resisting the agents that by

1838 the whole eastern part of the Island was a virtual liberated zone which was largely inaccessible to the landlords agents. Efforts by the agents to penetrate this zone were met with armed resistance. Not only that but in the 1838 election 18 of the 24 assembly seats in the colonial legislature were taken by members of the Escheat Party which sought the end of landlordism. The leader of the Escheat Party, William Cooper, was elected speaker of the assembly. However, the assembly had little direct power. All resolutions passed in the assembly had to be approved by the Legislative Council, which consisted of colonial appointees, before it became law. While they failed in the colonial legislature, the tenant farmers continued to hold sway in the ever expanding liberated areas.

In the 1840's the tenant farmers and the opponents of the leasehold tenure system found new allies in people like George Coles, a farmer/businessman who lived in Charlottetown Royalty. Coles and people like him would not support the Escheat Parties' demand that the landlords' land be confiscated. They

... accepted the argument that since the land had changed hands many times, the landlords with title were the legal owners and not subject to Escheat. Coles considered the proposals of the Escheat party unworkable because they would not be approved by London and undesirable because they would threaten the legal status of private property. As a manufacturer and an independent capitalist, it was in his interest, and in the interest of his class, to defend [legal, E.S.] property rights. But also it was in his interest to increase the purchasing power of the tenants by freeing them from the landlords (Sharpe: 89-90).

In 1846 the new reform party led by Coles won a majority in the Assembly. While the Assembly was still subject to the approval of the Council the combined action of the tenants and the Island entrepreneurs like Coles won responsible government less than five years later in January

1851.

But the struggle was not over. The colonial office, which still had veto power over legislation passed on the Island, refused to allow legislation which would have made Island currency legal tender for paying rents and requiring landlords to pay for improvements made by tenants on the grounds that it violated 'rights of property'. However, an act allowing the Island government to purchase land from landlords willing to sell was allowed to stand. As a result a large amount of land was purchased and then sold to former tenants. Nevertheless, in 1868, almost half of the land remained in the hands of large landlords who refused to sell. The tenant farmers continued to build their defences. In 1864 an Island wide organization called the 'Island Tenant's League' was formed. The League organized tenant farmers to resist the rent collectors with the result that the movement started in the 20's by the Escheat Party now encompassed the entire colony. It was not until the Island joined Canadian confederation and the federal government passed the Land Purchase Act, in 1875 that the tenant farmers got legal title to their land. This Act forced the large landlords to sell their land and provided the money, through a loan, to make the purchases. Even then it was not until 1895 that the supreme court of Canada forced the last resisting landlord to sell (Phelan, 1988; Sharpe, 1976).

When the tenant farmers got title to their land the most significant change was that they were freed from the threat of the landlord and/or the landlords agents who, working as many of them did on commission, were often more ruthless than the landlords themselves. This added security tied rural people even closer to the land where they continued to live much as they had for over a hundred years; largely self-sufficient selling a small surplus to the market—the proceeds from which they bought the few items

that could not be produced on the farm. Liberation from the landlords endowed the farmers with a renewed sense of their ability to survive on their own. This confidence was not misplaced. Farmers were able to provide all of the essential products needed for survival on the farm. The returns they got from the sale of surplus, and from the sale of products produced specifically for the market, enhanced their lives. But they could, and when necessary did, live without them.

For rural farm people on P.E.I., the identification with community is integrally connected to their relationship with the land. This historical connection forms a large part of the rural farm identity. I will discuss later how the severing of this historical connection was an important element in the war on rural culture and society. It was/is also the basis for much of the resistance to change.

Before we leave this section it is important that I situate myself in relation to this work.

The kind of people we are is at the root of what, how and why we research. We bring our Self as a resource to our researching (Kirby, McKenna:19)

I was born in Prince Edward Island and brought up on a small family farm. For the past twenty-one years I have lived off the Island, first in Ottawa, four years, then in Toronto, fifteen years, and most recently in Halifax. This study is in part an attempt to explore my rural roots and to evaluate that life in terms of the urban-industrial society where I have lived for many years.

The image of Prince Edward Island is one of romance, beauty, sandy beaches, quiet pastoral scenery and for many, like myself, nostalgia. My memory of growing up on the family farm was not one of poverty or

deprivation. We were never hungry, never without clothing. At Christmas time Santa Clause brought warm socks, sweaters and mittens to replace the ones we had received the preceding Christmas. We did not have much money but didn't really have a keen sense of needing it. So this study is not out of resentment over having been brought up poor.

I also remember being restricted by the insularity of my rural home. As a young boy in the one room school, where one teacher tried to maintain some semblance of order among forty students in ten grades, I used to sit for hours and look at the school globe and dream of travelling far away from that small speck on the map called Prince Edward Island.

For a number of years I made a few forays to other parts of Canada. I was excited by the large cities although I was intimidated by their bigness and impersonalism. For a number of years I kept coming back to P.E.I.

People on the Island today still talk about "the Island way of life" On the one hand "the Island way of life" depicts a sort of idyllic romanticism. It is looked on with both envy and paternalism by the many visitors who come as tourists each year. The tourists like the pervasive quiet, easy going, sometimes serene, atmosphere. It is a welcomed rest and release from the nerve tingling, high energy hustle and bustle of urban life.

For much of the twenty years that I lived 'away' this too was my feeling about the Island. It was a good place to vacation, to wind down. However, over time, increasingly more frequent trips to the rural parts of Canada, including P.E.I., got me to thinking that there was more to this than simply a quiet place to vacation. There is an important essence to rural life which is not a part of the urban world. The quiet, caring friendliness of rural people did not come about because they lived 'a simple life' but rather from a way of life that is built on an entirely different set of values than that of

urban society.

When I look back at my writings as well as my social and political activities they are all informed by the sense of belonging that was so much a part of my youth. In that rural society I belonged because first of all I was part of a family and part of a community. I belonged in Toronto too but as an individual and because I was the leader of this group or the worker for this or that company. In urban society one is not identified as being part of a community. One must make it on their own.

As I write this thesis my work is once again informed by that sense of belonging. We have to re-capture this sense in our modern world if we are to reach the goal of providing a decent and meaningful life for people and save the planet from destruction at human hands.

This personal relationship to rural P.E.I. is both an asset and a liability. It is an asset because it allows me many insights into the attitudes and feelings of people. It allows me to feel what they feel. It is a liability primarily because I tend to make assumptions about what people may understand about rural society and not properly explain and even document my material. It is from this perspective, with these ideas, with this understanding, what Kirby and McKenna call *conceptual baggage* (Kirby, McKenna: 32), that I will attempt to analyse rural society.

Chapter Two Establishing a Theoretical Context

A General Look at Society: Private vs Public

In this chapter I lay out the theoretical framework for our understanding of where rural society is situated in the macro social context.

The first section discusses the two spheres upon which society is founded—the private and the public. The private sphere has traditionally been the realm, although not exclusively, of women, the public, the realm, again not exclusively, of men.

The second section focuses on the political economy of rural society. The literature on rural political economy distinguishes between peasant, independent commodity producer and industrial agriculture. The final section looks at the role of culture in social change.

In every society there are two forces at work; the private and the public. Karl Marx contrasted the "natural relationships" of an earlier era with "money relationships" of the emerging capitalist era (Marx,1947:57). Put simply, in the earlier era 'natural relationships' dominated social relations whereas in the capitalist era, 'money relationships' dominate. There has been a shift from the dominance of the private to the dominance of the public.

Ferdinand Tönnies describes the two forces as *Gemeinschaft*,

characterized by "intimate, private, and exclusive living together" and *Gesellschaft*, characterized by "competition and impersonality" (Tönnies, 1963:33, 64, 65). Patricia Thompson suggests that:

... there are two domains of human action, each characterized by a unique purpose. ... One domain is the domain of human necessity. It came first. It is primal. It's the domain of everyday life in which people meet the need for food, for shelter, for clothing, for human connectedness, and for human development over the life course. It is a personal, private, domain. It is characterized by care and connection. This domain contrasts with the domain of public action in which behaviour is dominated by group process in the public sphere. Public life is characterized by hierarchy and control (Thompson,1988:7).

In this work I will describe the two systems as *nurturing/belonging* and *economic/political*. Both of these aspects are at work in every society and influence social (human) relations. It is my argument that in rural society, at least in traditional rural societies, the *nurturing/belonging* aspect is in the ascendancy and exerts the primary influence in the shaping of social relations. In urban/industrial the *economic/political* aspect, with its patterns of association and bureaucracy, is in the ascendancy and has the primary influence.

Thompson argues that these two spheres "are not gender exclusive, but they have become gender intensive" (Thompson: 8). In this work a detailed look at the chosen study area tests this hypothesis. This analysis illustrates that rural community was effectively organized by women. In a 'gender intensive' society where women provided the care and nurturing of the family, they were also the care givers and nurturers of the community. Nurturing was provided to individuals in the rural community, both in the family and in the community as a whole, through such devices as the sick committee of the Women's Institute which brought food and comfort to the

sick and bereaved. Women also organized the social activities of the community and thus gave it personal meaning for its members. The sense of belonging and of mutual obligation and respect which characterized the rural community came out of this gendered activity.

In contrast, urban/industrial society is organized by men. Women are still the primary nurturers and care givers, but this is primarily hidden in the personal/private sphere. At the level of the community, urban/industrial society is organized in a hierarchical fashion. Rather than bringing community members together in a social bond, it has the effect of driving them apart. In urban/industrial society, most social and work related activities are separated from the place where people live and the homes which nurture them. In urban/industrial society the nurturing/belonging aspect of life has become alienated from the social as well as the political/economic aspects of life. This has allowed the destruction of the environment and the process of social fragmentation and atomization to go on with little consciousness and alarming rapidity. The nurturing of the earth and its people has been overpowered in the quest for power and profit. If the nurturing/belonging sphere remains hidden and alienated from the political/economic sphere, we can only expect this destruction to continue.

There are many sources of information that can teach us about how to live a more holistic life; for example, aboriginal societies, third world rural societies and western rural societies. Prince Edward Island rural society is one of these sources. In this thesis I hope to provide some small contribution to the process of developing a more holistic life style and a transformed society.

Having said this we need to be aware that there were problems in rural

society that came to be ignored but cannot be condoned. Rural society was a society where those relationships which had to do with the community as a whole: relationships, responsibilities and obligations which had a bearing on the overall health of the community, were held up to stringent public scrutiny. However, the actions or activities of individuals and groups of individuals, e.g. a family, which were not seen to have a bearing on the community as a whole, were seldom subject to public scrutiny. This had both a positive and negative aspect. On the one hand it allowed for individual expression and individual approaches to things. On the other hand a blind eye was cast on violence against women and children and things like incest all in the name of 'that being their private concern'. Such activities were allowed to continue with no effective public intervention as long as they were not a threat, or seen to be a threat, to the community as a whole.

I show that while rural society was organized by women, it was officially and legally a patriarchal society. This meant that men were the legal owners of the land and were seen to be the head of the household. This gave men great liberties when it came to relations with members of the family. Again violence against women and children was publicly ignored because it was the private patriarchal right of men.

A Particular Look at Society: Rural Political Economy

When the land was freed from the landlords, it passed into the hands of the former tenants in small acreages—usually 50 - 75. Once in control of their own land, the farm families, as discussed earlier, were liberated from the threat of being removed from their land but continued the struggle to make a living much as they had done before. This century long struggle to get rid of

the landlords forged an identification with the land and a way of life which today, nearing the end of the Twentieth century, lives on.

Who are these farm families? How do they relate to the wider economic, social and political entity called Canada of which they are a part?

In recent years there has been an ongoing discussion among social scientists attempting to locate the "family farm" in the wider capitalist society (Hedley 1976, 1981, 1988; Mann & Dickinson 1978; Friedmann 1978, 1981; Johnson 1981 among others).

Some researchers (Hedley, Mann & Dickinson, Johnson) identify the production units, the family farm, as independent, or simple, commodity producers. The family units are seen to produce commodities for the capitalist market and are therefore in large measure regulated and controlled by that market. The maintenance and reproduction of the family (production) unit is seen as being necessary for the continued production of commodities.

Friedmann (1980), Hedley (1988) and others argue that independent commodity production is integrally connected to capitalist production and as such its specific character is derived from its place in the larger capitalist relations of production.

This concept of independent commodity production does not adequately define the situation that exists in many rural communities. Nor does it define the family units that constitute them. Defining family farm units as simple, or independent, commodity production units prevents us from fully understanding their relations both to the larger capitalist society and their internal relations. How then should the farm household as a unit of production be defined?

Friedmann proposes that a clear distinction must be made between the

concept of peasantry and simple, independent, commodity production. She says, "Recent attempts to situate studies of the peasantry within political economy have suffered from the failure to recognize divergent conditions of reproduction of agricultural households" (Friedmann, 1980:161). Agricultural household production cannot to artificially defined as simple commodity production As Friedmann says:

It is true that "peasant" has no status within political economy insofar as the latter is a theory of commodity relations in particular and modes of production in general. But precisely for this reason it is not equivalent to the concept 'simple commodity production'. ...'simple commodity production' identifies a class of combined labourers and property owners within a capitalist economy, and the circuits of reproduction of simple commodity production interact with those of commodity, landowning, and banking capital, and with markets in labour power, in abstractly determined relations. 'Peasant' household reproduction involves important communal and/or class relations which limit the penetration of commodity relations in the productive process (Friedmann 1980:162).

It is through analysing the social relations and the relations of production within rural farm communities themselves that we must turn to gain knowledge about these communities. If our analysis is limited to how these communities relate to an already developed capitalist economic, political and social system only see part of the picture will be revealed and we will indeed be prevented from gaining knowledge of the intricate dynamic that is the rural farm community. Such a limited analysis blinds us to the point that we are prevented from learning about, and therefore learning from this human experience; an experience that is still lived by a large percentage of the world's people. As Friedmann explains:

While some commodity production is often part of the definition of the peasantry (Thorner,1972), competition does not exclusively or even principally define the relations of peasants

to each other or to outsiders. Peasant households have important communal relations, including local exchange of products and reciprocal sharing of labour (165).

While peasants sell their 'surplus', that part left over after personal household consumption and renewal of the means of production, as commodities, simple commodity producers are dependent on the sale of commodities for both personal consumption and renewal. "The central characteristic of simple commodity production in contrast to 'peasant' production is the circulation of commodities in both directions" (Friedmann: 167). In the shift from peasant production to simple commodity production "Personal ties for the mobilization of land, labour, means of production and credit are replaced by market relations (Wolf 1966: 71-72).

Mouzelis points out that "'Peasant' production may be located within a capitalist social formation as well, but its specific character derives from its lack of integration into national factor markets" (Mouzelis 1976: 487). This I show was the situation in rural Prince Edward Island.

A most useful description of peasant society is provided by E. R. Wolfe:

... peasants are farmers who grow crops and raise livestock in rural areas, but who unlike commercial farmers are more concerned with satisfying the needs of the household than with obtaining a profit. Peasants do produce for exchange; surpluses are transferred to a dominant group of rulers who use them in part to underwrite their own standard of living and in part to distribute food to urban dwellers and specialists (Wolf, cited in Ortiz, 1971:322).

A classical peasantry also "surrenders some part of its production to members of an elite" (Gamst:13). While Island farmers had not been under this obligation since the land was turned over to them in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the relinquishing of this requirement did little to change the relations between rural people and the essential peasant nature of their lives.

A more extensive discussion of contrasting class and social relations between peasant and simple commodity production can be found in Friedmann (1978; 1980). It is sufficient here to point out, following Friedmann, that the "transformation to capitalist relations of production involves the decomposition of a complex of institutions for 'peasant' reproduction, but simply the intensification of an existing process for simple commodity production" (175).

In the analysis presented below I show that this decomposition indeed did take place in rural P.E.I. It was not simply a function of farms becoming bigger and producing more for the market but a systematic breakdown of social institutions

Clement further expands this point when he argues that independent (simple) commodity producers become proletarianized under advanced corporate capitalism. While they may not become wage earners, Clement argues that "The form of the petit bourgeois may remain while the content (in the sense of economic ownership) may be captured by capital" (Clement, 1984).

The form of peasant social relations do not lend themselves to capitalist commodity production. The communal, non-competitive social relations characterized by peasant society cannot provide the engine for commodity production that is generated by the competitive social relations of capitalist society. It was for this reason that the planners who developed the Prince Edward Island Comprehensive Development Plan (CDP)¹ saw the necessity to wipe out the small 'peasant' farmers. Within a few years most of the

¹ The Prince Edward Island Comprehensive Development Plan was a fifteen year cost sharing program entered into between the provincial and federal governments which among other things called for the consolidation of schools, fishing communities and land.

small farms were to be replaced by larger scale farmers who usually specialized in one particular commodity (e.g. potatoes, dairy, hogs). In the fifteen years between 1961 and 1976 the number of farms decreased from 7,335 to 3,054 and the average acreage increased from 53 hectares (approximately 130 acres) to 91 hectares (approximately 225 acres)—a more than a 70% increase (Canada Census 1961 - 1976).

These large scale farmers usually hold title to at least a part of the land they cultivate² but are locked into the larger capitalist economy upon which they are dependent for the processing and sale of the commodities they produce.

There are many examples that could be drawn to illustrate the fact that the 'independent' farmer is but a part of an overall integrated capitalist process of production, but the clearest might be the potato producer who grows potatoes to supply large food processing plants. First of all the farmer produces potatoes under contract to the processor. This contract not only lays out the variety and quantity that is to be provided but stipulates that the potatoes must be supplied at the time when the processor wants them and in very specific conditions. This means that farmers shipping potatoes to processors must install expensive, climate controlled storage facilities. (For milk producers it is a large stainless steel climate controlled storage tank which holds the milk until the truck "from the dairy" comes around to collect it).

It is the long storage time together with the long growing period which makes potato growing, and similarly other farm activities, unprofitable for capitalists. Since it is labour time which produces surplus value for capitalists, it is only that time during which actual living labour is being expended that produces profits (Mann & Dickerson 1978: 471). Mann &

Dickerson point out that "the socially necessary labour time needed to produce a commodity can be distinguished from the production time spent in the production of a commodity" (471). They cite Marx:

Working time is always production time; that is to say, time during which capital is held fast in the sphere of production. But vice versa, not all time during which capital is engaged in the process of production is necessary working time (Marx 1967:242).

It is for this reason that large processing operations, like Cavendish Farms on P.E.I.,³ rely heavily on 'independent commodity producers' (farmers) to supply the particular product (potatoes, corn, peas, broccoli, etc.) to the processing plant where production time and labour time are collapsed into one and where profits are being produced almost constantly. In this way the farmer ties up her/his capital, or borrows the capital needed often from the processing company itself, during long periods of non-surplus value producing production time.

The organization of farm production in this way virtually guarantees the labour intensive processing industry a supply of raw product on demand without having to tie up capital in the non-labour intensive stage of the production process. Even if the crops fail, the farmer, under the terms of the contract, usually can be held liable for the loss of product. Under this system, the farmer is "locked-in". Crop failure can spell disaster.

It is clear that the largely self-sufficient peasant farmers who irregularly produced a surplus for the market could not be relied upon to keep a labour intensive surplus-value producing processing operation going. It is not by accident that earlier food processing operations,

³ Cavendish Farms is a large food processing company owned by K.C. Irving located in New Annan, P.E.I.

characteristically canning companies, assembled their own land and produced their own crops. They could not rely on the small farm 'peasant' operators for constant supply. The reorganization of farming, which culminated most dramatically with the CDP, ushered in a new era; an era in which large processors can rely on single commodity producing farmers for their supply and invest their capital in the labour intensive, surplus value producing end of the production process.

It may be argued that the new era of 'independent' commodity production evolved out of the small scale peasant production of an earlier era. In chapter three I illustrate that quite the opposite occurred. In fact surplus value producing capitalism, already consolidated over centuries of practice in other industries, imposed itself on peasant society and moulded it to its needs. In the process the values and culture of peasant society have been superseded by the values and culture of urban industrial society, itself the product of the capitalist system. The modern farm operation of today, euphemistically referred to as the family farm has little in common with the household production units which characterizes peasant society. It far more resembles the social relations, including gender relations, which characterize the modern urban industrial society.⁴

Social Change

A further theoretical discussion centres around the process of social change. Social Change involves not only alterations to the social, political and economic structure but also changes in cultural values. Each societal order has a set of cultural values which on the overall support and sustain

⁴ For a more detailed discussion of this process see Murphy.

that particular order. Therefore the successful introduction of new social, political and economic structures is dependent upon the corresponding introduction of new cultural concepts that support the new order.

Before proceeding it is important to point out that in the view of this author social change is not necessarily progressive (i.e. in the best interests of the people). Furthermore, when social change, even if progressive in a quantitative sense, is brought about in such a way that it severs people from the traditions and experience of their past it disempowers them and makes them objects rather than subjects in the social process.

Conceptualizing Culture: An early definition of culture was that of Edward B. Taylor who defined it as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, laws, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man (sic) as a member of society" (Taylor, 1924:1). The key to this definition is "as a member of society". It is in the context of society that people participate in culture.

A. L. Kroeber and Talcott Parsons point out the different concepts of culture used by sociologists and anthropologists. "Sociologists tend to see all cultural systems as a sort of outgrowth of spontaneous development, derived from social systems. Anthropologists are more given to being holistic and therefore often begin with total systems of culture and then proceed to subsume social structures as merely a part of culture" (Kroeber and Parsons, 1958). In an attempt to deal with the question of culture and class, Gerald Sider presents the same problem in this way: "When we attempt to use the anthropological concept of culture to analyse social-class formations and transformations, we encounter a profound difficulty. Either culture becomes derivative, an attachment to other, more "basic" political-economic processes, or culture appears to be autonomous, independent of the realities

of social class (Sider,1988:5).

It appears to this author that culture is neither one or the other. Culture is both determined by and is a determinant of social systems. The relationship between culture, political economy and the members of a society produces the 'social system' of that society. The social system that is conceptualized here is dynamic as opposed to static; in process rather than stagnant. It is a system in which and through which people interact: people act to maintain or alter the system and are acted upon to conform or to accept new norms and values. In periods of major social transformation members of society are pressured on the one hand to conform to existing cultural norms and on the other to accept new ones.

A more illustrative concept of culture is provided by Geert Hofstede who says "Culture determines the identity of a human group in the same way as personality determines the identity of an individual." (Hofstede, 1980:25-6). Langille sees culture as "the domain in which people realize and articulate their feelings, aspirations. and the meanings of their relations with others... (28).

Culture and Political Economy: The distinction between political economy and culture should be seen only as an abstraction for analytical purposes. In concrete societies political economy and culture do not exist as separate entities. Each is related to the other in a complex inter-relationship. Furthermore, cultural norms and values of one era may have significant influence in another area and different economic and political systems may exist simultaneously.

Economy is the production and distribution of goods and services whereas politics is the regulation and control of that production and distribution. Political economy can then be viewed as the social process

through which goods and services are produced and distributed. It therefore involves the creation of a social order that establishes which group of people own and control and thus appropriate production and which group of people do the productive work. This set of relationships is summed up by Peter Worsley in discussing the 'mode of production' as follows:

A mode of production ... is never just a mode of *production*. It is always a mode of production and *appropriation*. The economy is always a political economy. More than that it, it is always contained within—and dependent upon—a matrix of structural social relations, of which the institutions governing property are the most important for the economy, and from which the economy can only be abstracted by an analytical act. There is no real life economy-in-itself. (Worsely, 1984:35).

This broader political economy conceptualization of society, while more inclusive than a purely economic one, is still not complete. A political economy analysis can only provide a limited understanding of society. Any given society also includes a set of values, beliefs, morals and customs, which we have broadly defined as culture.

"The concept of culture has been virtually ignored by those social scientists who reduce the study of society to political economy or the study of social structure" (Worsley, 41). A political economy analysis correctly points out that political structures serve the interests of the dominant class. What a political economy analysis alone does not adequately begin to explain is how the dominant class maintains social structures which oppress and exploit the majority of the people. This is particularly true in modern western capitalist societies where the maintaining of oppressive and exploitative structures by overt force is generally not acceptable.

The changing of oppressive and exploitive forces necessitates an analysis of the culture and cultural values which maintain and reproduce these structures. Furthermore it necessitates an analysis and

understanding of the culture and cultural values that are held by the majority of people who are oppressed by these structures.

In the context of this study that means both analysing the culture of the dominant class as well as re-asserting and re-claiming the culture and cultural values of traditional rural society.

A political economy analysis alone tends to be deterministic because it tends to see only the structures that oppress and lacks many of the analytical tools needed to understand how and why people continue to participate in the processes of their own oppression. It tends to see people simply as actors in the structured hierarchy of society where the rulers rule and obedience is the only rational course for the ruled.

Because men dominate as rulers in the hierarchical structures of society, in the public sphere where societies structures are orchestrated, the political economy analysis tends only to have eyes for their actions, their activities in the social process. Women tend to enter the analysis only as they enter this public realm.⁵

The weakness of political economy analysis is clearly seen in the lack of attention given to the question of human and social reproduction. Social reproduction, residing as it does in the realm of culture, and human reproduction, residing as it does as a female 'gender intensive' activity have only been given passing comment in most of the political economy discourse. But production and reproduction are inseparable elements of the social process.

A more creative use of the concept of mode of production ... is that used by Eric Wolfe, who eschews the base/superstructure model by expanding the concept mode of production to include

⁵ For a good discussion on gendered class analysis see MacDonald and Connelly, (1990:151-170).

the social and cultural as well as the economic (Worsley: 35).

By ignoring this aspect of society, political economy in the long run contributes to maintaining a hierarchical structure of power because it cannot fully address the question of how change occurs except to say that change will come as determined by the laws of the system itself.

Worsley further points out that:

Marx never intended, he said, that his 'historical sketch of the genesis of capitalism' was to be taken as 'an historical-philosophical theory of the general path which every people is fated to tread'. Yet many of his followers have done precisely that: they have 'installed one ... cultural logic [that of capitalism. P.W.] as the definition of everyone's material necessity' (Sahlins, 1976: Chap. 3 quoted in Worsley: 29).

Structural Marxists have codified this cultural-specific logic of capitalism and turned it into a universalistic, invariant schema of base and superstructure, the base being the mode (or modes) of production. Having abstracted production from all other relationships, they have invested it with determinative significance (Worsley: 29).

Culture is then not separate from the other activities in society but exists in a dialectical relationship with them. Neither is it monolithic. Culture, as pointed out by Worsley, has three dimensions: the cognitive (thinking), the normative (judging) and the conative (acting) (42) [terms in brackets quoted from Hannah Arendt in Worsley, E.S.]. To relegate culture to the cognitive and normative alone is to endow it with stagnancy. If the conative dimension is not realized by the members of a society then culture becomes something to think about or react to but not something to be acted upon. If it is simply observed and reacted to, culture becomes a vehicle for social change only as part of the process of developing social control by a dominant group. Once the dominant group gains control there is little prospect for change and people become caught up in a psychology of powerlessness, struggling to gain a wage sufficient to provide them with

some relief from the alienation of their work (see Horne: 84).

In summarizing the many ways that culture is conceptualized, Worsley says:

There are four ideal-type ways of conceptualizing culture: the elitist, the holistic, the hegemonic, and the pluralist. In the first culture implies *superior* values, reserved for the dominant few; in the second, a whole way of life; in the third, a set of behaviours *imposed* on the majority by those who rule there. The last, a relativist sense, recognizes that different communities in the *same* society have distinctive codes of behaviour and different value systems - which may even be opposed (Worsley: 43) (emphasis in original).

"... each of these concepts of culture", says Worsley, "emerged at a different time in history and expresses changing attitudes on the part of thinkers largely of upper class origins towards the masses" (44).

The first two concepts, being ideal types, do not mutually exclude one another (47). The elitist concept is most often promoted when one group, be it defined by class, gender, race or age, seeks to set itself apart in a superior position to all other groups. The holistic concept, which tends to be traditional and fixed, is often promoted by a subordinate group as it seeks to defend its sense of values against the incursion of another group or groups.

The hegemonic concept is a process which is not, as explained by Raymond Williams, "a system or a structure. It is a realized complex of experiences, relationships, and activities, with specific and changing pressures and limits. ... it does not just passively exist as a form of dominance." (Williams, 1977:112). Pluralist expressions of culture can and do exist within the hegemonic culture. "It can be persuasively argued" says Williams, "that all or nearly all [cultural] institutions and contributions, even when they take on manifest alternative or oppositional forms, are in practice tied to the hegemonic: that the dominant culture, so to say, at once produces and limits its own forms of counter-culture" (114). This point is

succinctly made by Langle:

To be an effective force, hegemony must be pervasive; it must make sense and serve some function not only for those seeking power but also for those who live within the boundaries of the society or culture in which control is to be exercised. Effective domination is secured only through the acquiescence and acceptance of a particular world view by those who are subordinated to it (29).

In this discussion I have tried to grasp a concept of culture which will help us to understand better the complex process of social change. However, after all is said, we must agree with Worsley that "No usage [of culture, E.S.] can be definitive, for all involve abstracting from the seamless web of social life" (60). It does provide, however, "a richer understanding of social life than those one-dimensional [economic, E.S.] and two-dimensional [political economy, E.S.] approaches to the study of society which simply leave out most of human behaviour" (Worsley: 60). In so doing it can help us to understand not just why things happen, or are determined by a set of laws over which we have no control, but also how they happen.

It can not be too strongly stated that the inclusion of cultural considerations in any analysis of society and social change is necessary because, as Worsley says, "Economic and political power are always backed by the exercise of cultural power to 'engineer consent' by implanting images which sustain material power and cut out unfavorable counter-images" (54). Nevertheless 'unfavorable counter-images can be tolerated as long as they do not lead to political action. In an insightful observation Worsley captures an image of the hegemonic as it operates in our present society.

... inactivity is positively encouraged, by spreading hopelessness and what the ancient Greeks called the 'idiotic' delusion: the notion that people should look for purely personal solutions to their problems and search for purely individual

satisfactions in their life; that there is no possibility of collectively challenging the established order of things, and that their interests are best served by vertically associating themselves with those above them rather than through horizontal solidarity with the underprivileged majority. But the diffusion of hopelessness and idiocy is rarely cruel and total. People are also sold hope, taught that their humility will be rewarded in heaven, even the radical notion of *inversion* that it will be easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven; that the mighty will be cast down and the meek raised up, and so on. But not here and now (54, emphasis in original).

What we have witnessed in Prince Edward Island in the last two or three decades is, to borrow the subtitle of Donald Horne's book, "the triumph of industrialism" (Horne, 1986). The culture of industrialism has triumphed over the culture of the traditional rural farm community. In chapter five I will analyse how this happened.

Chapter Three Life on the Farm: Political Economy

In his work on New Brunswick agriculture Tom Murphy (Murphy, 1990:203-226), following much of the theoretical argumentation discussed in chapter three of this work, distinguishes between a) large scale corporate farms which he calls "direct capitalist farms", b) farms where much of the labour is provided by the farm family, but who are heavily in debt, which he calls "indirect capitalist farms" and, c) independent commodity production farm production where "the land and capital are directly owned (that is, with little or no debt) and in which most of the labour is provided by the producer and members of the immediate family.

The first two categories he sees as having capitalist social relations of production, the latter category is seen as a sort of hybrid between capitalist social relations of production and a third category, subsistence production, which he sees as having social relations of production which are not capitalist (204-205).

This latter category, which I have described and analysed as peasant production, Murphy considers "less relevant" and "a condition rarely met" (205). In the following two chapters I will, on the contrary, show that it was precisely this form of production which dominated rural agriculture in P.E.I. well into the twentieth century.

To follow Murphy's line of thought, in the case of P.E.I. at least, would be to dismiss earlier forms of production and to assume that the capitalist social relations of production are the only ones that inform the consciousness and outlook of rural people today. For the purpose of this thesis, which argues for a learning process where the traditions and values of the earlier social formation inform our understanding, it is particularly important that the values and cultural norms of these traditions not be dismissed or lightly passed over.

In this chapter I analyse the political economy of the household unit of production. It is argued that production on rural farms was for "use" rather than "exchange".

In the next chapter I analyse the social relations which characterized rural society and argue that these social relations, largely orchestrated as they were by women, maintained and reproduced the rural community which was organized economically, politically and socially as a self-sustaining community situated on the periphery of industrial capitalist society.

The unit of production in peasant society is not the individual actor of classical economics. Nor are choices made according to an individualistic calculus. The central unit, rather, is the household, a multiplex entity whose collective productive activity, however vital, are only a part of its wider social activities. If the household is the core unit of production it is also the core unit of consumption. Crops are grown primarily to satisfy the wants of the household's members, whether they consume what they grow directly or exchange part of what they produce on the market. The same people are both the producers and the consumers of the product (Worsley: 72).

The rural farm on P.E.I., as seen above, was located in a wider economy and social structure which can be clearly described as industrial capitalist. However it was the social, economic and cultural norms

characterized by this description which dominated social and economic life. Situated as it was on the periphery of industrial capitalism, the rural farm sold or traded its surplus to the marketplace which was directly tied to the larger industrial capitalist society. While this marketplace operated on the principles established by its relation to that wider society, i. e. buy for as little as you can and sell for as much as you can, it was not until the 1950's that one could say these principles exerted dominant influence even on the political leaders in P.E.I.¹ It was another two decades before they became dominant in rural farm society. It was only in 1969 that the Federal government was able to sign the Prince Edward Island Comprehensive Development Plan which was the policy legislation designed to transform rural P.E.I. from a society centered around household production to one dominated by corporate capitalism of the latter part of the Twentieth Century. "The Plan", as it was known locally, brought with it an infusion of what was for P. E. I. a massive amount of money. I will discuss some of the key ways in which this plan was used to transform Island society in the chapter on Social Change.

The rural household was not only an "economic unit of production and consumption" but "... *the* crucial unit for *all* social purposes, economic and non-economic..." (Worsley: 72). Because all activities were integrated, a social chat with a neighbour might be combined with baking bread or fixing a fence that was shared with an adjoining farmer. In rural society the political, economic and social aspects of life were inseparable. When we attempt to separate these activities for analytical purposes, something of the richness and the wholeness of farm life is lost. If this can be kept in mind

¹ For a discussion of when industrial capitalism began to dominate the thinking and policies of Island government leaders see Sharpe (185 - 234).

while we attempt analyse the different aspects of rural life our understanding will be enhanced.

In this chapter I discuss these political, economic and social relations and show how they reflect a peasant world view. To do this I describe a typical year in the annual production (and consumption) cycle of the farm household and analyse the division of labour among members of the household. In the second part I describe the relationship between the household and the market where the household's surplus was sold or traded. It was the market which was the main link between the farm community and the wider industrial capitalist society.

The Annual Production Cycle

Before 1960, the typical farm, ranged in size from 50 - 150 acres each with a woodlot which provided fuel for heating and cooking. The woodlot on smaller farms might be 8 - 10 acres, on larger farms as much as 50 -60 acres. Most woodlots had some trees large enough to make lumber which would be used for building and repairs.

The cultivated land was carefully maintained and farmers adhered to a strict system of crop rotation. No single crop was grown on the same land for more than two years in succession and crops like potatoes for only one year. Even in 'the garden', an area set aside for growing produce for human consumption, it was customary to rotate the different crops so, for example, the beans and the corn would not be planted in the same soil in successive years. Perennials like strawberries and raspberries would, of course, be grown in the same soil for a number of years in succession.

Each crop took particular nutrients out of the soil so crop rotation was essential to assure that the land would not be

depleted of these nutrients by overuse. Because potatoes deplete nitrogen in the soil they would never be grown more than one year and then only after the land had been used for nitrogen producing crops like grain and pasture. It was also important to grow grain and leave the land in pasture for a number of years to prevent wind and water erosion.

Table 1 - Crop Rotation

year 1	year 2	year 3	year 4	year 5	year 6
grain or potatoes	grain	clover	timothy	pasture	pasture

The rotation pattern illustrated in Table 1 shows that the land was plowed up and exposed as soil for only two years of the six year rotation; the year after pasture and the first year after grain. There were normally three kinds of grain: oats, barley and wheat. Oats and barley would occasionally be grown as a mixed crop. These grains were grown to feed the farm animals. Wheat was grown primarily to make flour and occasionally to feed the hens. Potatoes would always be grown the first year that the land was converted from pasture.

Clover, of which there were a number of varieties, would be sown with the previous years grain along with the timothy. These crops would follow each other in successive years. Both clover and timothy were used as hay to feed the animals in the winter. After four years in crops, the land was allowed to grow grass to pasture animals in the summer months.

A good place to start the production cycle is the spring of the year. This was the time of year when the snow disappeared and the cold days of winter

gave way to the longer and warmer days of spring, the birds returned and the leaves reappeared on the trees. It was a time of expectation as the members of the household turned once again to plant the crops for another year. Spring was also the time when the house cleaning would be done—new wallpaper, new paint, windows grimy from the winter would be cleaned. It was a time also to clean the barns, put the cattle out to pasture and spread the manure that had accumulated during the winter.

Cropping began with the cultivation of the land in preparation for planting. This meant finishing the plowing, if it had not been completed before freeze-up the fall before, and harrowing the exposed soil to loosen it up and get rid of unwanted weeds. When this was done the planting itself could begin. The grain was usually planted first followed by the potatoes.

The entries in the diary for May 1931 give us an idea of the activity that went on in spring.

Diary May 1931

- 1st. House cleaning. Hauling Potatoes.
- 2nd House cleaning. Hauling potatoes
- 3rd Sunday Raining --
- 4th Washing, Hauling potatoes. Finished hauling. Arthur went to Tom's to work.
- 5th Cleaning timothy seed. House cleaning. Harrowing.
- 6th House cleaning kitchen --
- 7th Missionary meeting. Ruth, Gertie - Mrs Higgins - Hazel - here. Belmont taking play to Hunter River tonight.
- 8th House cleaning -- Harrowing -- Sowing wheat.
- 9th House cleaning dining room
- 10th Sunday. Fierce cold day. Mr & Mrs J.J. to church --
- 11th Dark day -- Cleaning pantry. Claude & Aage here, also Harry S. & Arnett down to Al's for load of straw in evening. Al here.
- 12th Fine cool day -- Major here for timothy.
- 13th Washing -- Harrowing in big field --
- 14th Hauling fertilizer from Miscouche in morning. Raining in afternoon.
- 15th Hauling fertilizer
- 16th Hauling fertilizer -- Mother and Arthur here for

- timothy. J.J. & Mabel to S Side in evening.
- 17th Sunday. Showery day.
- 18th Arnett to S Side with team. Washing -- fine day.
- 19th Fine day. Alex Horne here --Got car, 6792 mls. reg. Earle got truck.
- 20th Fine hot day -- working in garden -- Aage & Gertie -- Rob here.
- 21st Fine, warm & windy day. Working in garden. Fencing - sowing oats.
- 22nd Sowing Oats - Fencing. Hardy went home.
- 23rd Sowing oats -- family all to Summerside in evening.
- 24th Arnett - Mabel - Olga & Lorraine down to Edwards & Borden. Fine day. Fred Hardy's here.
- 25th Washing - Windy day.
- 26th Fine day. Hauling potatoes from Wm. MacLean's
- 27th Sowing oats. Hauling potatoes from McLeod's.
- 28th Mr & Mrs J.J. to Summerside.
- 29th Fine day - Sowing Oats
- 30th Fine day, to Summerside in evening.
- 31st Sunday - Raining in evening. No Church --

Hauling potatoes: The potatoes were stored in the cellar (basement) of the house during the winter. From here they were graded and then hauled to the potato dealer to be sold.

Cleaning Timothy seed: The seed had to be cleaned before it could be sown. This particular year there was surplus timothy on this farm which was sold to another farmer in the community.

Hauling fertilizer: Fertilizer was used for the potatoes. It was delivered to the dealers by rail and the farmers had to haul it to their farms.

Working in Garden: Most of the work in the garden was done by hand. The land had to be cultivated very fine to enable the small seeds were planted, which were planted by hand, to grow.

Washing: Every Monday, unless it was raining, the women washed the household member's clothing. Water used for washing had to be heated in big tubs on top of the cooking stove because there was no running water.

Fencing: Each year the fences around the fields, placed there to keep the farm animals out of the crops, had to be repaired.

Table 2
Production Cycle of Field Crops/ 1931 & 1945

Activity	1931		1945	
	start	finish	start	finish
Planting	May 8	July 4	May 24	July 6
Haymaking	July 20	Aug. 7	July 18	Aug. 18
Harvest	Aug. 21	Oct 2	Aug. 28	Sept. 26
Potatoes	Oct. 9	Nov. 3	Oct. 1	Oct. 18
Turnips	Nov. 6	Nov. 19	Oct. 23	Nov. 3

Table 2 illustrates that while there was a distinct sequential order in which things were done, the starting and finishing dates varied depending on the weather. The spring of 1945, as recorded in the diary, was a very rainy one. The diary entry for May 19th., "Terrible rainy day. Blowing hard", may well describe the day but in a diary where adjectives like terrible are seldom used this entry also expresses a growing frustration with the weather. As the table illustrates they did not get to the land until May 24th, 2 - 3 weeks later than usual. However they caught up and were finished the crops two week earlier than in 1931 when rain delayed the harvesting process during the summer.

"The garden' demanded constant attention during the warm summer months. It produced an abundance of fresh fruit and vegetables which had to be picked and prepared to feed the members of the household. Later in the fall, the produce from 'the garden' was preserved for use during the winter months when there was no fresh produce available. Crops like beans, corn and tomatoes would be canned. Cabbages, carrots, parsnips and onions would be stored in the cool cellar under the farm house where they could be

kept from decaying over the winter. Berries, both those grown in 'the garden' and those picked in the wild as well as things like pumpkins, were made into jams as were apples and other fruit. Cucumbers, green tomatoes, onions would be made into pickles. This was all necessary in order for the members of the household to have a balanced diet during the winter. In addition to the garden products, meat, both beef and chicken would be canned or cured for future use.

The annual job of preparing for winter took up much of the fall. In the fields the land had to be plowed in preparation for spring cultivation. The barns had to be made ready for the livestock to come in from the pasture. Finally warm winter clothing had to be mended and woolen mitts, scarves and socks knit. When everything was prepared, the household members were ready for winter.

The winter was cold and hard but there was still lots to do. The animals had to be fed so their food had to be prepared; the hay had to be removed from storage, the grain threshed and crushed into edible feed.

The potatoes, which had been stored in the cellar under the farmhouse, were graded and prepared to be hauled to market during a mild winter day or in the spring when risk of frost was gone. Above all, meals had to be prepared from the foodstuffs carefully laid away the fall before.

A Day on the Farm

A fuller picture of what life was like on the farm emerges as we look at the daily activities. While some of these activities changed with the season, there were daily duties that had to be performed virtually every day of the year. The farms in the study area were all mixed farms until the 1960's. I have already discussed the field crops. In addition each farm would have 10

- 12 milk cows, a few fattening cattle which were kept for the purpose of providing beef, a brood of laying hens and a sow which gave birth to two litters, averaging eight to twelve little pigs, a year. These pigs were fattened to produce pork. In earlier years most farms also had a flock of sheep that provided wool to make yarn. Toward the end of the study period the farm records show that brooder chickens were kept for the purpose of providing meat.

The daily routine involved attending to the livestock and on the domestic front preparing the meals, cleaning, mending and making clothing, baking bread and pastries and maintaining the house. With this general background we can now re-construct a day on the farm.

The first thing that I did in the summer time was go to the fields and get my cows, put them in [the barn, ES] and milk them. And you know, if you got good cows they want to be milked at about the same time twice a day. After I had the cows all milked and the milk put away so if the fellow came after it to haul it, we came in and got our breakfast then (MB).

The day usually began between 5:30 and 6:00 a.m., a little earlier in summer, a little later in winter. While the men were doing the milking the women were making the breakfast. When asked if his wife helped with the milking, MB said "She had enough to do getting breakfast and everything ready for us." The 'everything' included a lunch for the men to take to the field. Breakfast was a big meal because by the time they sat down to eat their first meal of the day the members of the household had already been awake and working for the better part of two hours. For breakfast they had "eggs or fried meat" and "always porridge." "The women had an awful lot of things they could cook." "You know, they could make fish cakes and everything - fried herring, fresh fish—oh! you had lots to eat." After breakfast "there was tubs to fill for the cattle, there was the stables to clean up—you had to

keep your stables nice and clean—if you were alone you were busy, I'm going to tell you." (MB). As soon as the night dew had lifted and it was dry enough, the men, and often the women, went to the fields until dinner time. "We generally had dinner at half-past-eleven or twenty minutes to twelve." "That was the big meal of the day. That was a meal where there was cooked meat or [and, ES] soup, potatoes and everything." (MB). After dinner it was back to the fields. On days when the men were in the fields, the women would have a lunch ready for 3:30 p.m. and supper was at 5:30 p.m. Referring to supper MB said "It was just dinner at another time." After supper the milking routine of the morning was repeated. During the busy season, like haymaking and harvest, the women and younger children would often do the milking so that the men could continue to work in the fields until dark.

In the times of the year when there was no planting or harvesting, the many other activities such as grading the potatoes, feeding the livestock, cleaning the barns, preparing food for the animals, kept the men busy in the time between meals. The women were kept busy preparing the meals, feeding and nurturing the children, keeping the house clean, mending the clothing, knitting socks and mitts and generally making sure that the household members were kept as comfortable as possible. The end of a normal waking day came between 10:30 - 11:00 p.m.; or perhaps a little later on occasion if there were visitors or on a Saturday night.

The Division of Labour

The two domains or spheres of work outlined earlier (23) were clearly divided between women and men. Women were responsible for, and in charge, of work in the house and the activities dealing with the preparation

and preservation of food—domestic labour in general. Men were responsible for, in charge of, work 'on the farm'. This involved the tending of animals and planting, cultivating and harvesting the crops . While there was a division of areas for which women and men were responsible and in charge of, the division of actual labour was quite a different matter. Women habitually worked 'on the farm', indeed were expected to. Men almost never did domestic labour.

AS said of his wife's work in the fields "She's done most everything that I've done". In referring to his wife and daughters he said "We had no other help so they just had to do it." "...the women was great to help you with the farm." (MB). DM describes her mothers 'helping' 'on the farm' "She'd go out and pick potatoes ...then go into the house and make dinner for the men then go back to the field." "She'd bake for a month ahead of time ... in preparation for the the time when she was in the fields." "I always raked hay ... I used to help coil it and then I'd build the load ..." (R J).

"We used to get hay every year at the airport. Allison (her son) and I would go, he'd cut it and I'd go and rake it and then we would coil it and bring it home. Oh! it was great fun, I'd bring home one big truckload and he'd bring home another load with the tractor. But I enjoyed it, I was always healthy. I always helped with the hay, always" (RJ).

While women on occasion 'did just about everything' [on the farm, ES], there were generally particular jobs for women. EB said she "drove the horse in the fall". (The horse was hooked to a cable which pulled the hay fork full of hay up into the loft). DM remembers "driving the tractor and bailing hay" and in earlier times "driving the horse in the dump rake". She says "dad would get me up in the morning to hoe turnips. Had to hoe turnips and take them in." WY, a male interviewee, said ". . . in those days the work was defined men and women along physical labour lines. And

then, of course, a certain amount of it was tradition too, like some women were just as strong as their husbands but tradition had it that men did certain jobs". In addition to the work 'on the farm' and in the garden summer was also a time when women gathered food in the wild for preserving. "We used to dig clams too. We'd dig clams by the bucket full and we'd take them home and we'd can them. We used to pick wild strawberries for hours and hours and hours. We had buckets full of wild strawberries." (DM).

These were all considered to be women's responsibility as well as the responsibility to 'help out' 'on the farm'. However the men had no responsibility to reciprocate by 'helping out' in the sphere of women's responsibility. When RJ was asked about this she seemed to indicate that she thought it not a very important question and changed the subject. The conversation went like this:

E.: Did the men ever help you in the house?

R.: No, no.

E.: Did that ever make you mad?

R.: laughed—no, my father never did and I was used to that—my father never did anything in the house... (She then went on to talk about her working in the fields while her mother did the baking). (R J).

Not only was the division of labour unequal but men were clearly seen to be 'the head of the household'. RJ says:

When we was growing up the men did everything—made all the decisions. My father ALWAYS did, and my mother went along with it and when A [her husband] came along, ... when my father died, ... I felt, well, I think it's a man's place to be the head of the house and make the decisions and he [her husband] always did."

RJ later said that if she was out in the yard and someone came to talk to her father, her father would look at her and say "Have you anything to do

in the house?"

In spite of this unequal division of labour men nevertheless had great respect for their wives. One man said "In this district, and I suppose every district, there was tremendous respect of the man for his wife." (WY). In spite of the unequal gender division of labour, work on the farm was truly a shared responsibility between the members of the household and there was a sense that they were providing for their needs together.

Relationship With The Market

Before dealing directly with the relationship with the market we need to get a better picture of the farm household as a unit of production and consumption. In this work I have argued that the household unit existed to provide for the needs/wants of its members. Once those needs/wants were met, there was no need or desire to accumulate more goods or money. If the existing amount of land provided for the household members, then there was no need or attempt to accumulate more land. Profit was a concept that was little understood.

Worsley describes this kind of household production as peasant production. As he says "the same people are both the producers and the consumers of the product" (Worsley: 72), Essentially whatever was produced was consumed; the surplus sold to buy goods to be consumed by the members of the household.

A second important consideration is that the greater part, indeed the essential part, of what was needed as consumption goods by the members of the household was produced on the farm. In years when crops were poor or there was a low price there was just less money to spend. As AS told me "we just didn't spend money on gas and such things." In other words

much of the money that came from the sale of products went toward items that were in excess of the basic necessities. It is also important to understand that the money that came in went to the household—not to any individual.

Table 3
Dollar Value of Product Sales/selected years

Product	1928	1929	1930	1948	1950	1955	1960
Eggs	—	—	—	671	557	328	145
Chickens	—	—	—	548	308	206	—
Cream	295	245	232	1283	566	954	848
Hogs	58	180	271	574	527	—	517
Cattle	35	80	82	396	1103	767	1287
Potatoes	158	299	790	790	596	1275	422
Sheep	14	39	14	—	—	—	—
Other	22	161	103	108	30	95	375
Total	582	994	1432	4236	3688	3624	3642

Table 3 provides a detailed look at what was sold in the market. In the earlier three years the only products produced in large quantities to sell to the market were cream and potatoes. However, these products were also important sources of food for the members of the household so were not produced exclusively for the market.

Table 4
Percentage Value of Product Sales/selected years

Product	1928	1929	1930	1948	1950	1955	1960
Eggs	—	—	—	15.84	15.10	9.05	3.98
Chickens	—	—	—	12.93	8.35	6.65	—
Cream	50.68	24.64	15.65	30.28	15.35	26.32	23.28
Hogs	9.96	18.10	18.28	13.55	14.29	—	14.19
Cattle	6.01	8.04	5.53	9.34	29.90	21.17	33.33
Potatoes	27.14	29.07	52.63	18.64	16.16	35.18	11.58
Sheep	2.40	3.92	.94	—	—	—	—
Other	3.78	16.19	6.95	2.54	.85	2.63	10.29

Table 4 illustrates that in the three earlier years the two main products, cream and potatoes, accounted for a large percentage of the total cash income; 77.82% in 1928, 53.17% in 1929 and 68.28% in 1930. Even then we are not talking about a lot of money. The true nature of the selling of surplus product, that is product surplus to or as a by product of foodstuffs produced for the members of the household, is shown by the detailed account of sales in the year 1929. Other than potatoes and cream, this farm sold:

627 pounds of beef
3 hides
6 carcasses of pork
10 little pigs
70 pounds of wool
3 lambs
818 bushels of oats

The beef and the pork was meat that was left over from the animal after the needs of the household had been met. The animals were killed on the farm, then cut into pieces suitable for cooking and the surplus sold. The 10 little pigs were sold to a neighbour. The wool would also be surplus to that needed to make yarn for the immediate needs of the household members. The lambs were surplus to the sheep flock and the oats additional to that fed to the farm animals. The main purpose for all of the products was to feed the members of the household and the farm livestock, not for sale on the market.

In the earlier period 1928 -30, there was no set market for any of these products except for the cream which was sold to the local dairy to be made into butter. Some of the cream was used by the women to make the butter that was consumed by the members of the household. Potatoes were sold to three or four different dealers and meat to stores in the local town for direct

resale. AJ says: "We sold hogs to Holman's [a retail department store in the larger commercial centre, ES] and I also sold hogs to the boats". [This meat would be stored in the ships larder to feed the crew of the boats which were docked in the harbour to be loaded with potatoes, ES] (R & AJ). The rationale for production was first and foremost to meet the needs of the household not those of the market. In the later period, the 1950's, the products for sale from the farm were a bit more diversified. However 1950 sales, other than cream and potatoes, still reflect a surplus sale rather than a product directed at the market as a primary objective. In 1950 sales were:

148 Chickens*	9 Hogs
4 Steers	1 Sow
1 Heifer	3 Calves
2 cows	

*the chickens were raised for sale.

The small quantity of the two cash producing products shows us that they were not produced for the purpose of capital accumulation but to provide for the small amount of cash required to meet the needs of the household. In 1950 total potato sales were just over 1000 bushels (1080 bu.), consisting of two hundred and ninety two 100 lb. bags of seed and two hundred and eighty four 75 lb. bags of table potatoes. In 1960 they sold only 332 bushels of potatoes. Cream production filled the same purpose and the number of milking cows remained the same over the period 1930 - 1950.

The relationship between the household unit of production and the market was not a relationship whereby the farmer was just the primary producer at the bottom of the hierarchical order but rather one where the buying and selling of products was more in the nature of making a deal. When animals were sold live or when meat was sold to the local store for direct re-sale, the farmer and the dealer dickered over price until a price

was agreed. While the purchaser always could refuse to buy, the seller had room to maneuver. If the sale was not made the farmer might be inconvenienced and might have to go without something until another dealer could be found to buy his product but the overall livelihood of the farm household was not threatened.

The local market as I have described it was in turn run by small businessmen or women. The farmers made many trips to this market each year as illustrated in Table 5. The market was in a real sense a wider community that included any particular farm household along with many other farm households.

Table 5
Trips to Market by Month/selected years

	1930	1931	1945
January	9	4	5
February	6	8	12
March	4	7	17
April	8	11	1
May	4	10	3
June	0	1	0
July	0	1	0
August	0	1	0
September	3	0	0
October	1	0	1
November	0	0	2
December	1	1	1
Total	36	44	42

The small business woman or man who bought from the farmer knew the farmer well. She/He would usually give the farmer the best price possible for his/her product. Sometimes one business woman or man

might offer a little more than another because she/he was able to strike a better deal with the central buyer. The relationship between the two was one of mutual respect and an interrelationship based on the business man or woman's need to have the farm products to sell and the farmers need for the business man or woman to sell his/her product to the central market.

These merchants were in a real sense traders. They collected the small surpluses and the small amount of cash producing products from the individual farms, consolidated it into larger shipments and sent it off to a broker who distributed it to the retail outlets in larger urban centres. They, like the farmers, belonged to a pre-industrial capitalist era and had little knowledge off and no control over the larger capitalist world with which they did business.

Relationship to the Wider Capitalist World/ A Changing Outlook

When farms were small and the surplus product was measured in a few pounds or a few bushels, the farm household had little direct contact with the wider society beyond the merchant in the commercial centre where they traded.

However, this situation began changing rapidly in the 1940's and '50's. One of the statistical evidences for this change is the dramatic decrease in the number of farms, a clear result of land consolidation and the trend toward larger more specialized farms.

Table 6—Number of Farms on P.E.I.

year	no. of Farms	increase (decrease)	
1881	13,629	-----	
1891	14,549	917	1881 - 1921 (72)
1901	13,748	(801)	
1921	13,701	(47)	1921 - 1941 (1,471)
1941	12,230	(1,518)	
1951	10,137	(2,093)	1941 - 1961 (4,895)
1961	7,335	(2,802)	
1971	4,543	(2,792)	1961 - 1976 (4,281)
1976	3,054	(1,489)	

Source: Canadian Census adapted from Sinclair

In the 40 years between 1881 and 1921 the number of farms decreased by only 72. There was a decrease of 6,366 in the next forty years. In the next 15 years there was an additional decrease of 4281 farms. In the study area the same trend is apparent although not as dramatic. There were 29 farms in 1880, 30 in 1928 and 21 in 1973 (Women's Institute). Perhaps a more conclusive measurement is the average farm acreage. Table 7 gives us that information.

**Table 7
Farm Acreage**

year	average acres	increase	percent increase	
1881	83	—		
1891	84	1	1881 - 1921	4.98%
1901	87	3		
1921	89	2	1921 - 1941	6.23%
1941	96	7		
1951	108	12	1941 - 1961	33.6%
1961	131	23		
1971	170	39	1961 - 1976	123.14%
1976	225	55		

These two tables clearly establish the trend toward a fundamentally different kind of farming. The trend toward specialized farms meant, as pointed out earlier, increased reliance on the market for the income needed to buy the foodstuffs and other necessities to feed the people dependent on that income. The household as a unit of production was giving way to farmers who contract their produce to large corporate companies. The corporate companies increasingly made demands on the farmers to produce the products that they wanted.

This had a dramatic effect on the attitude toward the land as well as the relations to production. Land was no longer a source of livelihood for the members of the household but a source of wealth. The preservation of the land for the next generation was no longer a priority concern because the land itself became an important commodity which was used to produce products to sell to the larger consumer market. Under this new outlook it was important for the land to produce a large quantity in as short a time as possible; so regard for the long term health of the land no longer held the importance that it once did. The land's capacity to produce became paramount. This led to the increase use of strong fertilizers in an attempt to keep the soil productive—a result formally assured by the system of crop rotation. Paul Gilk points out "a purely commercial agribusiness pursues maximum yields, irrespective of the ecological or cultural consequences" (10).

The small farm households had always been subject to the laws and regulations enacted by the state. In this sense they were under the control of the state which seldom operated with the interests of the small household production units in mind. However, until the advent of large corporations

and the trend toward corporate farming, the state seemed rather far away. This is not to say that people on the Island were not interested in the politics of the state. They were. However, the events that shaped their everyday lives were close at hand. Life centered around the individual household, the immediate community spatially defined by the boundaries of the school district and the local market towns.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown that the household was the central unit of production in the study area. Although the breakdown of the traditional community structure happened earlier in some areas of Prince Edward Island, what was true for the particular community that is the focus of this study was also true for the other farm communities. The rural farm family depended on the land for their livelihood. The land, for the people living on it at any given time, was a sacred trust to be preserved and handed down to the next generation. Worsley describes this concept in very elegant terms:

The land, as the central requirement, carries a special value. It is, literally, a sacred trust, for it has to be handed on to the next generation, in good heart, to provide for their subsistence as it was handed down to this generation from generations untold. The living, that is, are merely the present incumbents, a link in the Great Chain of Being which extends from the founding fathers to the unborn. The household is a transgenerational corporation; the present head merely its contemporary manager. Security, continuity, and risk-reduction are the principle preoccupations, not profit (Worsley: 73).

This understanding of the household unit of production provides the basis from which we can understand the values held by rural people. Because the land was so central to their existence, a centrality which in Prince Edward Island was historically as well as daily understood, its

preservation out weighed all other considerations. The household unit of production did not exist in isolation. It was part of a local community and it was this community that gave birth to the set of social relations and cultural values which preserved and reproduced this way of life. These social relations will be considered in the next chapter.

Chapter Four Social Relations on the Farm

Social Life

The glue that held the household and rural society together was the social life. In an era when there was no television, no playhouses or places where people could buy their entertainment, people created their own. In the last chapter we looked at the highly integrated household unit of production and saw how great care and attention was given to the nurturing of the land. In this chapter I will consider how social relations were established and maintained

In the first part of the chapter I describe the social life of the rural society being studying. Then I analyse the effects of that social life and how it was nurtured and sustained.

In the preceding chapter I started the exploration of the annual production cycle in the spring and the daily activities in the morning. In this chapter I begin the exploration of social life in the evening. In the evening, following the busy day of work in and around the farm house and 'on the farm', there was an hour or two when the members of the household gathered around the kitchen table to go over the events of the day and read or knit by the light of the kerosene lamp.

The members of the household usually included three generations from

the same biological family. The evening was a time for the household to connect. When a member of the household was not there it was always worthy or note in the diary. The household extended not only to the biological family members but to anyone who lived with them for an extended period of time. This is clear from reading the women's diaries. The local school teacher lived in the particular household which is the subject of this study for a number of years. In the diaries the teacher is included in the recording of the comings and goings of the members of the household. This is significant because the diaries only record those occasions when a member of the household went somewhere or did something that was not part of the regular routine. The place of the teacher as a part of the household is attested to by the fact that her daily activities are never mentioned but when she left for a few days, or even to visit a neighbour, it is duly recorded. In the year 1932 the teacher is mentioned 22 times in the months between January and June. In the month of January the teacher is mentioned five times in the following entries:

- 4th Teacher came back today [from the Christmas holidays, ES]
- 6th Teacher at Budd's [a neighbour household].
- 19th Teacher out to Seymoures for the night.
- 24th Teacher to Church.
- 25th Teacher went to Al's [a neighbour] with Budd's

It is clear from these entries that the teacher became not only a part of the household where she was staying but a part of the local community as well.

I talked earlier about the privacy of the household and how the activities and particular practices or habits of the a household seldom came under the scrutiny of the community outside. In the diaries and in the interviews the private lives and private relationships between the members of the

household, including non family members like the teacher, are never mentioned. In the interviews there were vague 'off the record comments' about conflict in particular households. However, attempts to follow up on these leads were met with complete denial.

This guarded privacy of the members of a particular household and the community sanction of it did not mean that the individual household was isolated. There was in fact a great deal of interrelationship between one household and another. These social relationships are talked about in both the diaries and the interviews. Visiting was regular and ongoing. Nevertheless its importance is testified to by the fact that it was always noted in the diary when a member or members of a neighbouring household came for a visit. A distinction must also be made between visiting among people in the community and visiting with people from outside the community. People within this community visited on a regular and frequent basis any day or night of the week. Visits by a members of a particular household to relatives or friends outside the immediate community were special events that generally took place on week-ends or on an occasion when someone got married or died. These visits were relatively infrequent.

Visiting within the community was a big part of social relations. In the year 1937 the diary records that the members of the household either had visitors or went away somewhere on 279 (76.5%) of the days of the year. In September of that year there were only 3 days when all of the household members stayed at home and had no visitors. Visiting was spontaneous and unannounced. Much as one today might decide on the spur of the moment to watch a T.V. show or 'go downtown', people in the rural community just dropped in on their neighbours. One diary entry records "Over to Budd's, no one home. Dropped in to Harold's" (1937). When the

members of one household decided to visit a neighbour there was no way of knowing how many other people might have decided to visit the same neighbour on the same night. AB recalls "I remember one time there were 17 people come here one evening unexpected. AB said "We generally visited every house in the community" where we would "talk and play rook." These visits provided a time to relax, share stories and play games; rook, a card game, was a favorite. In an era when there were few places for people to go to be entertained, these visits were entertainment. But they were also a powerful vehicle for social contact. Visiting meant that people focused their attention on one another rather than on the object of their entertainment, e.g. the T.V.

This social bond meant that people in the community were always close if someone needed help. "Neighbours were always willing to pitch in and help each other." If someone died "People would start coming in the morning and they'd still be there at twelve o'clock at night. They'd be coming and going all day." (DM).

The household visits were only part of the pattern of social activities which occurred in a rural community. During the 'slower' seasons of the year one of those activities was house dances. These dances would be held in a home in the community and would be attended by young and old alike. "They had house dances, I remember house dances at . . . I wouldn't be very old. I remember going there with my mon and dad." (DM). "There was always a dance here and there." (AS). "When I was a young fellow [he was over 90 when interviewed, ES], we used to go to house dances. The young people sure enjoyed themselves at the house dances." (MB). The house dances brought together people from the community, "No outsiders, never, mostly from Belmont—the district of Belmont." (MB). These dances

provided the opportunity for people to get together as a community group, something that visiting alone did not allow. It was an occasion for the young people of the community to have a frolic yet still be closely supervised.

Special events in the community also called for a party. When someone was getting married the community would have a shower. The birth of a baby was another occasion for a shower. "They all ran over with gifts for the baby." (R J). When someone moved into the district or moved away it was an occasion for a 'time'. Someone would go around the community and collect money donations from each household to present to the new or departing member. One interviewee commented on the custom of having a time like this: "We went to see them when they came and we went to see them when they left." (A J). There are numerous references in the diaries to someone "around collecting".

Two events of special note are the Charavaris and Halloween. After a couple were married the people from the community would charavaris them. People came to the charavaris ". . . dressed up in all kinds of strange rigs with masks on. Anyone that had a shot gun, brought it. Anyone who had a dinner horn, brought it. Anyone that had anything that made a noise, brought it. They walked around the house and made as much noise as they could." (AS). "They took the spring out of the bed so that when they got on the mattress they went plunk to the floor." Both men and women dressed up and "... they used to bounce the men, not very often the women, once in a while, it depended on the character. That was a big thing the Charavaris." (RJ).

Another occasion to dress up and wear a mask was Halloween. Halloweeners, usually the younger people, would travel around the district and play tricks on their neighbours. The tricksters would concentrate on

people who would chase them or people in the community who were considered mis-fits. "They'd go to anyone that didn't take it very well and would chase them—they'd get visitors the next year." (AS). "... someone who was, you know, just a little bit different from other people ... they'd get pestered to death." (R J).

None of the people interviewed seemed to know anything about the origin, or even the purpose of these events and it is beyond the scope of this work to analyse their full significance. Nevertheless, it is important to note that these two events provided the opportunity for the community to tell its members that they were welcome, that they belonged, but that they also had a responsibility to the community which they were expected to fulfill. The Charavaris said welcome to the newly married couple, but the welcome was conditioned by the responsibility. The Halloweeners said to someone who was seen to be different that they were part of a community and had to meet the responsibilities that membership brought. The masks and costumes allowed members of the community to carry their message without revealing their individual identity. In this way the relationship between the individuals involved was not threatened.¹

The Community School

The most important institution in the community was the school, the responsibility for which was in the hands of people from the community. It was administered by three trustees who were elected at the annual school board meeting. A small fee was paid to one of the households to do the janitorial work.

¹ See Palmer and Sider for a fuller discussion

The local school was seen not as separate from but an extension of the home. Parents, particularly mothers, saw themselves working together with the school not just to teach the child the 'three R's' but to instill in them the cultural values and behaviour norms of the community. There was no conflict between the basic values of the school, the community and the home.

In addition to fulfilling the needs and providing a non-alienating environment for young people to learn community values, the district school was the main institutional support for community life. As we have seen there were other institutions which provided a place for people to get together, particularly the Church and the commercial centre, but none had the significance of the school. The Church played an important role in determining and maintaining the moral values of the community as a whole. This was important to the establishing of common bonds and a common value system between community members. However, the Church itself was not the institution around which the community was organized. In the study area almost all members of the community were also members of the same church which was physically located in the community. Because of its location in the community and the common religious affiliation of community members, the Church as an institution in this area tended to strengthen community ties. In other communities, where there were divisions along religious lines, the Church and an adherence to a particular religion tended to divide the community on many issues. Even in the study area where this tendency toward division was minimal, one interviewee, who was not an affiliate of the the community based Church, commented:

I was only born here and lived here forty years, so, I'm not a real Belmonter. You know what I mean, real close ties to the church up here (WY).

The same basic pattern, as we have seen, held true for the commercial centre. The commercial centre drew people from a wide area and while certain interests developed around the activities of the centre, these activities were too sporadic and too diffuse to become the basis of a stable community.

It was the communities based on the school district which became the mainstay of social cohesion. As James Campbell points out:

The significance of this structure (local schoolhouse) in the lives of rural people cannot be measured solely in terms of its role in education of children. The rural schoolhouse also served numerous social and organizational functions, but it was most important as a community centre and symbol of cohesion (Campbell, 1966:70).

DM remembers "socializing with the neighbour kids and growing up with them." It was this socializing that established the school district boundaries as the local community. People who shared this experience of growing up together in the one room school became friends for life and with their elders carried on the tradition of sharing and caring which characterized the rural community. The school district boundaries defined the local community and it was in this community that the individual household units of production and re-production were rooted.

There were school activities that involved the whole community and thus provided the social cohesion that Campbell talks about. One of these activities was the annual Christmas concert when members of the community gathered to see the school children perform. The closing of school in June was the occasion for the annual school picnic where again the community would gather, usually at the shore, to swim, play games and cheer the children as they received their annual awards. The picnic was always concluded with a meal consisting of food brought by the women of the

district that could only be characterized as a feast.

The Women's Institute

The most significant organization associated with the school itself was the Women's Institute. The Institute in the study area was organized in 1931 and continues to the present. The Institute's activities were broad in their scope encompassing local, provincial, national and international work. In the book "The History of Belmont", which was authored by the Women's Institute, the women themselves describe their organization.

During the World War we gave our time and money in the work of the Red Cross, sewing and knitting, packing gift parcels for our boys. We also sent food parcels to our less fortunate sister institute members in England. At the end of the war the members continued knitting and sewing for the Red Cross society and are still doing the same.

Numerous donations have been made to Lot 16 Community Hall to help purchase (a) furnace, lamps, curtains, dishes, etc.

Part of the Institute's funds were expended on the improvement of the school, and provided necessary articles, treats, presents and prizes.

Through the years we have assisted the Prince County Hospital, Red Cross Society, Protestant Orphanage, T.B. League, Salvation Army, Canadian Cancer Society, Multiple Sclerosis, Care, Mentally Retarded, Cerebral Palsy Association and others.

At Christmas the elderly people in our district are remembered with gifts, also gifts are given to [the,ES] Protestant Orphanage and Riverdale Hospital. (Women's Institute: 41-2).

The women do not mention the sick committee which is re-appointed at each monthly meeting. This committee makes personal visits to people from the district who are sick during the month, whether at home or in the hospital, and brings them a treat or gift and a get well message from the institute. It is hard to feel forgotten when this kind of care and attention is given.

In the early days of the institute the men drove the women to the

meetings and stayed to socialize. The minutes of these early meetings record 30 -35 visitors at each meeting. A male interviewee says "We went along with the women when they had their meeting with the Women's Institute and we'd play cards 'till the women were finished meeting, then we'd get lunch and then some of the women would join in playing cards too ..." (AJ). The Institute meetings were always recorded in the diary as an event. The meetings were usually held in someone's house with each member taking a turn. In 1945 there were 20 references to the Institute in the diary including eleven monthly meetings. While AS was overstating it when he said "The Institute was the only real social activity," his enthusiasm does portray the importance of the organization.

The men don't go to the regular meetings any more but the Institute continues to carry on its role as social organizer both in the district and beyond. The December 1984 minutes records that:

Plans were made for a social following the January meeting. The husbands will be invited. The committee will call on the three new ladies in the community presenting them each with a W.I. Cookbook and welcoming them to Belmont (Belmont W. I., Minutes).

A minute in the February 1985 record book talks of another kind of meeting:

A joint meeting with committees from our sister W.I.'s has been held to plan meet-your-neighbour night. It will be held in the Lot 16 Hall, Monday, February 11th. There is no school the next day so it can be a family night ... flyers will be sent to each household within the three districts of Central and Southwest Lot 16 and Belmont (W.I. Minutes).

In the previous chapter we saw how in the cycle of production there was a division of responsibility which was gender specific even if the division of work was not equally shared. The description of community

social life presented here makes it clear that in the area of social activity and in the maintenance of those relationships which nurtured and sustained community life, and therefore the community itself, there was no division of responsibility or work; the responsibility for this aspect of community life fell virtually entirely on the shoulders of the women. It was a role which the women willingly and eagerly accepted but its importance in the life of the community has been largely overlooked in social science literature. This is especially true of those Marxist political economists who have been content to argue that the economic base determines the course of events and that changes in that base determine patterns of social change. In rural society it was in the social networks of the community, and the household units of which they were a part, that people found roots; roots which gave meaning to their lives. People were first of all members of a household then members of a community and it was these relationships that gave them definition. Their association with a particular household and the community in which it was located was part of individual identity. It was this sense of belong that AS referred to when he says "I don't know everybody in Belmont now. I know who they are, who lives in the different houses, but I don't know them." He knows their names, he may even know where they work, but he does not "know" them. Because AS does not know who their family was and because he has little connection or social relations with him, they have no roots—no definition.

At the beginning of this chapter I discussed the central place that visiting had in the lives of the people. One of the most important part of any visit was 'looking after the visitors'. In the interviews only certain aspects of this 'looking after' is revealed. One of these is the provision of a lunch to all visitors. AB says "I always baked a lot, had a lot of sweets on hand". It was

this interviewee who said that 17 people had come to visit and each of them had to have a lunch. The lunch usually consisted of tea, sandwiches and sweets. EB said "I always had something on hand in case someone came in". The maintenance of this social activity went far beyond the activity itself. Preparations had to be made for it. As we can see the women's role was central in this activity which was a vital part of building and maintaining social cohesion.

The importance of the role of the Women's Institute in looking after the needs of the school, nurturing the sick and organizing the social events cannot be overstated. When we consider the many social activities that sustained the community which had been initially forged when the people went to school together and the essential role the women played in organizing these activities, it becomes clear that rural society owed its vitality and meaning to the activities of its women.

What is being described here is the process of social re-production; a process whereby the community is maintained and regenerated as the crucible in which the individual household units and their individual members also reproduce themselves.

One should not leave the impression that people in this district did not meet people from surrounding districts. The commercial centre provided the opportunity for social contacts and indeed the market town was a centre of social activity. Saturday night was a time when people from many surrounding communities would "to go to town". I have also shown how the Women's Institute branched out to make contact and organize events to bring people together from outside the district. However important these events were, they were not the essential part of sustaining life in rural communities.

In rural society all of these activities were seen as part of a whole. It was an integrated society where, for example, the school closed for two or three weeks in the fall of the year to let the young people help with the potato harvest. Similarly, planting generally stopped on the day of the annual school picnic in June. It was, however, the women much more than the men who understood the social process and the need to sustain not just the process of production but that of social re-production as well. It was the men, nevertheless, who remained the 'head of the household' for official purposes. The maintenance of this official role gave men a status that was inflated far beyond what was warranted by their real participation in the household unit of production or in the social process of re-production. What is being revealed here is a pattern of social relations which maintained the community. Although men were the "official" heads of the household and "official" leaders of the community and, although their work, or the work for which they were responsible, was seen, even by the women, as being the most important, it is clear from this analysis that without the nurturing of the women the community would fail for lack of social cohesion. In the concluding chapter we will see that the decline in women's activities in the community in fact has played a large part in the communities' decline. The discussion in the last two chapters on "The Life of the Community" provides a good profile of rural farm communities. It has allowed a consideration of some of the important aspects of rural life, a consideration of some of the positive features and also the negative ones.

Conclusion

In the chapter on political economy two important features of lasting significance were noted. The first of these is the care and nurturing of the

land. The second is the collective nature of the household economy. These two aspects of rural life are central to the life of the community. Because the land was seen as the life source for the members of the household and because the economic activity on the farm was seen as an activity for the whole household, the preservation of the land and the preservation of the household unit were paramount.

In the chapter on social relations we saw how the rural community nurtured and sustained the individual households. In this chapter we also saw that these social relations and the social fabric of the community was produced and reproduced through the activity of the women of the community. The analysis provided in this chapter allows us to bring out this important gender dimension.

In these two chapters we see that while the work of women was central to the political economy and the social relations in rural society and while it was recognized as important by the society as a whole, women's work took a secondary position to that of men. The significance of this, in addition to the inequality and discrimination that it entails, will be considered in the concluding chapter.

Chapter Five—Social Change

Successful methods of development must take into account the feelings of people and how they envision the world (Weitz: xi)

In this chapter I discuss some of the important changes that have taken place in the rural farm community over the past few decades and how people feel about them. The chapter concludes with an in depth look at how school consolidation was fundamental in bringing about this change.

Background

The rural society that had been consolidated in the early Nineteenth Century remained virtually unchanged until the middle of the Twentieth Century. The statistics on the number and size of farms illustrates that the pressure on the rural agricultural periphery to change was beginning to have effect in the 1940's. I have argued above that this process did not vent its full impact until the putting in place of the P.E.I. Comprehensive Development Plan signed in 1969. "The Plan" put into motion a political, economic and social process which transformed the rural areas in P.E.I., in less than a decade, from ones which were dominated by the values and social relations of the traditional rural way of life to one dominated by the values and social relations of urban industrial capitalism.

The impact of this change has been shattering for people who were born and grew up in rural society. It has left many of them wondering what has happened, lonely because nobody ever visits them anymore and clinging tenaciously to values and approaches to life that no longer relate to the world in which they live. Because the change has taken place with such rapidity and with such total disregard for their history and traditions, rural people have no perspective from which to evaluate the changes. It is as if they woke up one morning to discover that they had been transported to another world in their sleep, a world which operates out of a vastly different set of values and talks a language they cannot comprehend.

However, the selling job that ushered in 'the Plan' was most effective. Many older people will speak of the "days back then" while at the same time apologizing for being "old fashion". "We're too old to change" they'll say in a kind of resigned acceptance that the life they knew has been superseded by one that they cannot understand.

One interviewee describes the changes "... even though its a rural community, it's urbanized here." This same interviewee estimated that 80% of the people in the district worked outside the community. "There's only one bonafide farmer in the community", he said. They live here but "they think urban rather than rural" (WY). This sentiment rather describes what has happened.

There are some material things that people are glad to have. One of those things was electricity which people would not want to give up. However, there is uniform regret that many things have gone. One of the things that the older people especially point to is that fact that people seldom visit anymore and when they do it is only by invitation. The change in outlook and attitude is summarized by one interviewee thus:

I can't see that women today are any happier than we were with what we had. They have so much and still they're striving to have something more, something more, something different, and then more. We went when we could afford it. If we had money for gas, we'd buy it and if we didn't have money for gas, we didn't. But today they have this here plastic money, everybody goes on that, but we never did (RJ).

With these concepts and images the older people live out their lives 'too old to change'. In a sense they are the lucky ones because at least they still have their memories. For the younger people who were raised in rural society, they are people without a history.

Engineering Consent

"Economic and political power are always backed by the exercise of cultural power to 'engineer consent' by implanting images which sustain material power and cut out unfavourable counter-images." (Worsley: 54). It was the need to 'exercise cultural power' that led the modernists to institute massive changes in the school system in P.E.I.

When the politicians, the planners and the economists behind 'The Plan' decided that the road to development had to follow an urban-industrial path rather than build on the existing rural society, it was not possible simply to put in place new economic structures. It was also necessary to convince people to adopt a new set of cultural values and learn a set of behaviour patterns that would both support and allow them to work in the new system. Preparation for life in the integrated rural community was no longer desirable. The cultural norms and values of that society were no longer appropriate. Therefore the adoption of a new set of norms and values by rural people was necessary.

In P.E.I., one of the main ways of promoting the 'new way of life' was to

declare its superiority through downgrading the traditional 'way of life'. What the proponents of development promoted was a fundamental fracture with the traditions of the past and a 'leap' into the 'superior' society of the new era.

Little effort was expended to explain or even describe the new system, but massive efforts were expended to convince people that it presented a world of opportunity where success, largely undefined, was virtually guaranteed. To cloud one's minds with the traditional cultural values of rural society would only disrupt and hamper the advent of modernization.

For rural farm people the big cities were always a lure which if it didn't attract them personally did portray the image of 'the good life' and in recent years beamed that image into rural living room via the television. An overriding theme that infused any discussion about development was 'what is good for Ontario is good for P.E.I.'

Cultural Change —School Transformation

In the concluding section of this chapter the transformation of the P.E.I. school system is analysed to show how the introduction of new cultural norms went along with and were a necessary part of economic changes. The school system was the most important vehicle through which to promote and sell the new modernization ideas. Because of the centrality of the school as an institution of social cohesion in rural society it was the perfect vehicle for the 'engineering of consent'. However, it was not to be done through the school network which then existed.

This is not to deny the influence of other cultural activities of which Television is a major one. Many influences were working to change attitudes and perspectives. In this study I will take educational

transformation as a specific case to illustrate how the cultural values of the new order were brought to bear.

The significance of education to the overall implementation of the plan can be seen by the amount of the plan's resources budgeted for education transformation. All together 39.95 percent of the \$242,963.000 budgeted for the plan was ear marked for education; 68.58 percent of that to primary and secondary education. An additional 6.56 percent of the budget was for adult education and vocational training. In all 50.67 percent of the budget was allocated to "social development programmes", of which education and training accounted for 91.80 percent. The next highest budgeted expenditure, land based resources, which included agriculture, tourism and recreation and forestry, accounted for 20.23 percent of the budget, just over half that assigned for education. The remaining budget was to go to rebuild or restructure the infrastructure; "resource supporting and commercial services", "resource adjustment and development", and "implementation".¹

As in its attitude toward rural society in general, modernization was promoted more through implying that the much talked about inadequacies of the existing school system would be remedied than through any clear indication of what shape the new education system would take.

This is clearly illustrated in a report on school reorganization that the Director of the Educational Planning Unit (a special unit set up under 'the Plan') said:

Having evidence put together by the Office of Planning on inequality of opportunity, inadequacy of service and the unsatisfactory method of raising revenue, the EPU began two

¹ A Federal-Provincial Agreement for the Economic Expansion and Social Adjustment of Prince Edward Island March 7, 1969

years of extensive work for the purpose of designing a Provincial system of education which would allow those problems to be solved... the stage was set for more than just evolutionary reform of the school system. *Conditions were right for education in P.E.I to leap from the 19th century to the cutting edge* (emphasis added, ES) (Campbell, 1986: 43).

However, even a cursory look at what was being promoted will show us that the edge had already been cut elsewhere. What was being proposed were the recommendations of Ontario's Hall-Dennis Report. In 1968, before "the Plan" was official, the then Director of Educational Planning, J. L. McKeen, produced a document titled "Implications for Prince Edward Island of Ontario's Hall-Dennis Report" in which he listed seventeen "Principal Recommendations" of Hall-Dennis complete with a report on actions which had already been taken or plans that were in the works to implement these recommendations in Prince Edward Island. The unspoken assumption was that the Hall-Dennis recommendations staked out the path to the future. Success for Island youth and prosperity for Island society lay in the direction that path would lead. The fact that Hall and Dennis had made their report in the context of and in response to a large urban-industrial social setting, with no knowledge of or consideration for a rural social setting, was of no consequence in the minds of the planners. So school consolidation was promoted first of all by imploring Island people to forsake rural society and what was presented as its 19th century ways for the glamour and excitement of urban-industrial society and the "challenge" of the 20th century.

School consolidation was promoted through a appeal to Island young people. Youth were told that if they wanted to participate in 20th century society, they had to be properly educated (read trained). If they wanted to have "equal opportunity", if as school graduates (most realized that there

were few jobs at home) they wanted to compete in the national market place, schools on the Island had to modernize. The centralized and monopolized national economy required the services of individuals who were flexible and adaptable. It was clear that most of the identified inadequacies in the existing school system related to and were defined by the needs of the "national market place" not those of rural P.E.I. society.

In its 1970 document "A Philosophy of Education for Prince Edward Island" the Department of Education said: "A basic goal of education is to prepare an individual to function happily and successfully in the society in which he (sic) lives." (Dept. of Education, 1970: 2) The society they were talking about was the society of Hall-Dennis not the society of rural P.E.I. The objectives laid out in the document clearly reflect this perspective. In the document it is stated that "every student must be treated with dignity and respect" (3) and, that "It is very important that a person have an awareness of considerable technological and scientific information and have some insight into those fields of endeavour." (3). Later on it is explained that through such activities "The Prince Edward Island student will become aware of the nature of the society in which we live, and develop in such a way as to be able to contribute to that society." (6-7). Again it is evident that the 'society in which we live' is the society of Hall-Dennis, the society of urban Canada. The only references to rural society in the document are by negative inference in statements like "it (is) essential that people be educated in such a way as to be flexible and adaptable" (3) (read able to break away from their rural roots). After all, as the document states, "An environmental factor which must be taken into account is that change is becoming an increasingly important part of our existence" (3). Island youth are told that if they want a job, and if they want to compete with youth in

other parts of Canada, they must accept change and forsake a society which is implicated as being static and unchanging.

A third important way that consolidation was championed was through promotion of the ideals of individualism and equalization. The Educational Planning Unit stated:

One of the greatest motivations for learning is a sense of achievement by the individual. The school should provide for the learner a pattern of success which will develop an expectation for success. A separate standard must be set for each individual and a student's progress is measured by his (sic) achievement toward his (sic) specific goal in light of his (sic) potential (Dept. of Education: 2 -3).

The appeal to individualism and equalization as presented by the planners is seen to be universal. They are ideals that few people and particularly parents will argue against. The cultural concept implicit in these ideals is so hegemonic as to be virtually irrefutable. However, as we will see below these ideals are often perceived in quite different ways.

Because these ideals were so universally accepted, although understood differently, they were put front and centre in material promoting consolidation. It was argued that equality could only be realized in the larger schools and that only here were the resources available to meet individual needs. However, as Smitheram points out individuality "is defined only to the extent of asserting that individuality implies that each person is different from every other person in some significant ways." (Smitheram, 1975: 60). This does not deal with what is to be done but "enjoins educators not to apply the same standards, learning styles, curriculum, and so forth to all pupils." (60). For an appeal that told educators to avoid doing something, it was most persuasive.

Another aspect of the individualization and equalization appeal which

must not be overlooked is its penchant for 'blaming the victim'. First parents and students are told that the new system provided equal opportunity for all. Once this is accepted as an axiomatic truth the only logical conclusion that one can reach when rural students fail is that it is their fault, that they do not have the ability or the motivation. The fact that rural students who enter the alien cultural environment of the urban-industrial school sometimes find it hard to make an immediate adaptation is never taken into consideration. When their counterparts from the urban centre, more accustomed as they are to the urban-industrial culture, succeed, they are considered to have greater ability. The urban-industrial school system, financed as it is by the taxes of rural people, opens its doors to let rural students in, then creates the conditions for their failure. Inequality is maintained and the victim is to blame.

Finally it was argued that economies of scale and administrative efficiency required school consolidation. Only through consolidation, the argument went, could the programmes necessary for modernization be carried out. Again the planners presented an assumption as an axiomatic truth. No other alternatives, such as transporting resources (like audio visual equipment, guidance counsellors, educational specialists) to smaller schools were considered. Neither were the disadvantages of consolidation discussed. Smitheram put it succinctly:

Economic and administrative efficiencies governed decisions while personal and social considerations were relatively neglected or rationalized out of contention. The Island was rapidly engrossed in a process of unquestioning imitation of systems spawned in large urban centres such as San Jose, California, and Toronto, Ontario (Smitheram, 1975: 59).

It is clear that the object was to sell school consolidation. The objections raised by the public were to be refuted rather than taken into consideration.

The needs of a rural community and the cultural norms and values that it represented were discredited. "The government had a package to sell which they didn't want to alter in any way" (Smitheram, 1982: 184). Not even the members of the cabinet were involved in any significant way either in the development of the plan or in its implementation. As MacKinnon points out:

They (the members of the cabinet) were simply overwhelmed by the specialized language and conceptual models of the planners, and were awed by the seeming internal consistency of the whole process that they were reluctant to alter significantly any one area for fear it might result in the collapse of the whole fabric (MacKinnon, 1972:135).

In the section below I will turn to look more specifically at how the cultural values and norms of urban-industrial society, promoted primarily through the consolidation of schools, come in conflict with and affect the cultural norms and values of rural society.

Challenging a Way of Life

...a careful examination of rural life reveals a very strong allegiance to certain norms and traditions. It is not an allegiance based on material concerns—there is not much concern whether one's lawn is as neat as one's neighbours—but rather, upon kinship, religion, and other enduring features of rural life. If a person cannot identify, and fathom the importance of, these relationships, and if he (sic) does not have a feeling for other people's individual approaches to things, then he (sic) is bound to experience serious difficulty in getting along in rural society. Such skills and sensitivities are unnecessary in an urban-bureaucratic society, however, because they are irrelevant to its operation. Thus when organizations nourished and developed in urban areas are implanted in rural settings, conflict inevitably results (McNiven, 1978: 276).

In the preceding section we saw how the ideology of individualism was used to promote school consolidation. I now turn to consider how this

approach to education affects rural society. McNiven points out the need in rural society for an appreciation of "individual approaches to things". It was this respect for the individual which made an appeal to individualization so effective in promoting consolidation. However, the concept of the individual as it is understood by urban-industrial culture is quite different from the concept of the individual, which is a part of rural culture.

In rural society respect for the individual means supporting the individual and recognizing the individual's right to self expression within the socially accepted norms and behaviour of the society. Once people in rural schools learn the basic reading, writing and arithmetic skills and the behaviour patterns of the society, little else is required. The society itself was largely unstratified. The differences that did exist were based more on an individual order of respect than on class divisions. Respect was built on individual contribution to and participation in the society, more than on material wealth. It should be pointed out, however, that an individual, especially if the individual was male, who displayed the ability to excel was encouraged to do so. Such an individual would be given extra attention, particularly in the school, and encouraged to extend their education and career beyond what the rural school and community had to offer. An individual who achieved on a national or international level brought honour not only to her/himself but to the community as well.

The individual, as seen by urban-industrial society, is quite different. In this culture competition reigns supreme. Respect for the individual is based on a person's ability to out compete others. Success is measured by an individuals climb up the social ladder and possession of material wealth. Urban-industrial society is organized on a hierarchical basis by class,

gender, race and age. In order for it to function people, on the whole, must be persuaded to accept their place in the hierarchy. At the same time, individuals must be persuaded that they can climb up the hierarchical ladder, so the school provides a way through which a few recognizable individuals do succeed. Such success is no longer seen as an achievement for the community because the individual and the community have become alienated. When the "Philosophy of Education" document says "one of the greatest motivations for learning is a sense of achievement by the individual" (Dept. Ed., 1970: 2), it means one thing to rural people. It means something quite different to the planners from the urban-industrial culture. For rural people achievement means self-fulfillment which may be measured by what one learns or by the respect with which one is held in the community—a respect gained, as discussed above, through commitment to and involvement in community life. So achievement, although expressed in an individual, has a community or collective aspect. Individual achievement cannot be separated from the community in which a person was nurtured.

Achievement in urban-industrial culture means advancing up the socio-economic ladder and the accumulating of material wealth. This competition for social stature is an essential part of the social selection mechanism whereby people are placed in the hierarchy and maintenance of the hierarchy is essential to the structure of urban-industrial society. In this cultural outlook, achievement is entirely that of the individual. Of course failure is also attributed to the individual. Therefore the individual alone is to blame and social, class, racial and gender influences can rationally be ignored.

This then was the system which was to replace the traditional school

system of rural P.E.I. The young people of P.E.I., like the young people of Toronto, were to be sifted and sorted, then slotted and streamed, into the various niches of the hierarchy. Most would enter at and stay close to the bottom. A few, however, would make the climb up the ladder and share some of the spoils of the dominant group at the top. This, as pointed out by Smitheram, in talking about colonial people, "had the effect of dividing the dominated group: those of its members who made advances could claim that anyone else could also rise if only he (sic) worked hard enough" (Smitheram, 1976: 2).

The Struggle Against Change

From this understanding of the interests being served by consolidation we can turn to look at how the changes were being perceived by rural people, and let their voices speak to the systematic destruction of rural life in P.E.I. communities.

— The concerns of people can be broadly divided into three categories: a) the demise of rural values, b) the structural demise of the rural community and, c) the quality of education. However, these categories are not exclusive and can only be seen separately in the abstract. In the perception of rural people they 'were all of a kind'.

When the Unit II school board decided to build one large high school in Summerside, the largest town in the unit, it was strongly opposed. A brief by the Kensington Area Concerned Citizens Committee, protesting this decision, shows how all three of these concerns were seen as part of a whole.

The students in our area would more readily identify with a school in Kensington than one from farther away. They would also have more pride in school accomplishments and extra curricular activities such as sports programmes where there

would also be greater participation. This central location would appear to be more feasible in as far as transportation is concerned.

We have many reservations also regarding the proposed composite high school and why you think it would better serve our students. Will it not have the adverse effect of creating nothing more than a "blackboard jungle" where the student becomes a mere number with a strict impersonal relationship with the teaching staff? It appears more emphasis is being placed on quantity rather than quality.

It is obvious at this stage that there are many important decisions coming before the board which will have serious and lasting impact on our students in particular and citizens in general. A disturbing factor involved here is the distinct lack of communication between the board and the general public, who for the most part, are completely unaware of board policy and direction. We do recognize that the board has made a step in the right direction by holding some meetings open to the public. However, we suggest that something should be done immediately to facilitate more public awareness on major matters before putting such matters to a vote. After all, the tax payer is footing the bill (Charlottetown Guardian, March 15, 1975:1).

This points out the many concerns that come from a community based rural people. From a community perspective there is a concern about student alienation expressed in the belief that students would more readily identify with a school in the area. This concern stems from an understanding that individuals need to be able to identify with their community and participate in it. At the personal level this is expressed in the concern over the impersonal relationships that take place in the large school. Thirdly, there is a concern over the loss of community control; a further form of alienation and consequent community disintegration.

A Concerned Parents Committee from Kinkora expressed identical concerns:

Will not the quality of education be decreased with the much larger classes which are inevitable under the new system? Will not the teacher-student relationship become very impersonal and artificial, as has been the case everywhere where such composite systems were instituted? (Guardian, March 16, 1973: 5).

In a report on a brief presented by Robert Heaney, president of the Kensington Area Chamber of Commerce, it is stated:

In the opinion of Mr. Heaney and others with whom he has discussed the matter, the rural life of the community is bound to suffer if all the students are forced to spend most of their time during week day hours in one large school or travelling in busses to and from this school (Guardian, Aug. 17, 1973: 3).

These concerns as expressed in 1973 did not go away and the fears that were expressed were proven to be well founded. That people were not fully aware of what was happening when they argued for location of schools is astutely summed up by Smitheram:

Many rural people believed that the values of their lifestyle will be supported if only the school is located in a rural setting. They fail to see that the large consolidated school is itself an urban place because of the way it is organized, because of the content it teaches and the impersonal relations it demands. The potato field that may surround it has nothing to do with life inside the school (Smitheram, 1977).

In the consolidated schools students "learn to separate the place of work (study) from the place where one lives". "They find their books filled with urban models, such as businessmen (sic), clerks, executives and so on rather than farmers and fishermen" (sic). "The school itself with its stack of materials and educational gadgetry induces them into the urban consumer mentality." "It is *highly probable* that the children of farmers and fishermen (sic) are being led to believe that the values of their rural parents are backward, inefficient and inferior." (Smitheram, 1976: 23).

Furthermore the models presented to students are of male business operators and male executives who occupy virtually all positions of importance and influence. Men are presented as the people running society. In the rural community the work of women was respected and considered to be important and necessary. In the urban-industrial model,

where respect is measured in terms of positions of power and influence, the work of women is considered to have little importance, indeed it is largely invisible. This strengthens the patriarchal structures and the bureaucratic hierarchy which so characterizes urban society.

The rural values in education did not die easily. In 1977 a brief presented by a citizen's group from Borden made a plaintive plea:

We want our children to develop a strong sense of community identity and to understand the rural way of life and values of their parents before they are placed in other social environments (quoted in Smitheram, 1977).

And in a similar vein the Annual Report of the P.E.I. Federation of Home and School Associations for 1977 stated:

With the rapid changes in the school system over the last decade we have seen the old ties between parents, community and school disrupted...It is our fear that it has gone beyond the understanding of most parents and their ability to have influence over the education process is now in serious doubt (quoted in Smitheram, 1977).

The fear expressed in this last statement is well founded. In 1983 the then Minister of Education, Leone Bagnall, spoke of "responsiveness to the needs of Island society" in announcing a one year study of P.E.I.'s school system. A Letter to the Editor in 1983 voiced concern over education in a language much different from that which was common in the mid 1970.s.

The letter says:

At present teachers in some of our schools are facing up to thirty-five students in their classrooms; and that is with our present student ratio. What will those teachers face if the proposed cutbacks take place and the student-teacher ratio is increased? (Guardian, March 11, 1983).

This was no doubt a valid concern, but a concern which could have been and was expressed in almost identical terms in Toronto at the same time. It was a concern of an urban-industrial school system faced with government

cutbacks in public spending, not the concern of a rural community seeking to maintain a personal relationship between the school, the community, and the teacher.

When the five year plan which came out of the study was announced by Bagnall's successor, Betty Jean Brown, the language no longer made any mention of rural society or rural values. In the announcement the Education Minister stressed that her administration:

...recognizes the importance of vocational programmes to meet changes in the workplace brought about by sophisticated information systems, and increased reliance on technology in all aspects of business and industry.

I believe it is important that the school reflects the values of our society:..."Brown outlines five- year plan for Island's education system" Guardian, March 12, 1987: 3).

The references to "the values of our society" included supporting: a) family life education, b) the needs of the handicapped, c) French immersion, d) programmes for the gifted. These values, however worthy, are expressions of the values and concerns of an urban-industrial society. The values of the rural society, as we have seen, were expressed in much different terms.

By the mid 1980's the transformation from rural to urban-industrial society was largely complete. This is illustrated in the letters and news articles about the schools and also by modern transportation, shopping malls and mass advertising. This transformation was not just an economic one but a perceptual/cultural one. The things that were seen as important for education and for society in the mid-eighties were quite different then they were even in the early seventies.

In this chapter I have pointed out that social transformation involves all aspects of a society. I have argued for the importance of an understanding of culture as an agent of change. I have tried to show how

the cultural values of urban-industrial society gained hegemony in Prince Edward Island largely through positing two assumptions. One, that the culture, the way of life, of rural society is outdated and inadequate and two, that the culture, way of life, of the new order is superior.

This concept of social change does not allow for a process or a progression from one social system to another, where the new would evolve from the old or where more than one alternative might be considered. This concept promotes a complete fracture where the existing social system is rejected and replaced wholesale by the new system. However, even some of the educational experts now agree that a go slow approach with some integration of the cultural values might have been less disruptive and provided both a better education and a more human society. In one study the authors conclude among other things that:

Whatever the size of the school, there can be no doubt that education thrives on participation, enthusiasm and responsibility. The small school, however, by virtue of its numbers, offers more frequent opportunities for the student to participate, to accept responsibility and to experience. at close quarters, the teacher's enthusiastic interest in him (sic) as an individual human being (Edmonds & Bessai, 1975: 53).

But maybe there is an even more important reason why the experience, the values and the knowledge of rural society should not be thrown away. One author commenting on the the impact of school reorganization of rural lifestyle sounds a warning:

The net effect of school reorganization is to destroy what little future rural areas have. The children are trained to leave by the structure and organizational processes of the school, if not by the curriculum. The end result of the total process, of which school consolidation is a part, is that rural areas become extensions of, or are integrated into, urban areas... (McNiven, 1978:284).

McNiven further elaborates:

The end result of the modernization process will be what I have called a "single-crop society." There will be but one set of responses, an urban-bureaucratic set of responses, to environmental variables. If that set ever fails... we will face serious difficulties because alternatives have not been permitted to exist and flourish (286).

At the present time the evidence strongly indicates that the urban-bureaucratic set of responses have failed or at least are rapidly failing. Throughout this work I have argued that there is still the opportunity to look at alternatives and some of them are visible in the relatively recent past of our rural societies.

Chapter Six—Conclusion

It must be stressed that rural society has its own special positive values, which should be fostered and preserved. The two salient features of this society ... are the individuals feeling of "belonging" in his (sic) surroundings, and his (sic) sense of "involvement" (Weitz: 145)

At the beginning of this study I compared the conflict between rural society and urban-industrial society to a war. It was a war in the sense that it was a pitched battle between two different ways of life. It was a war in the sense that there was no compromise. During the latter part of the twentieth century rural society on Prince Edward Island, which I have argued is most characterized by traditional peasant societies, has been slowly eroded. For the proponents of the urban-industrial society that is replacing it there is no concept of evolutionary change, of change where by some aspects of the past would be preserved and amalgamated with and/or temper the new social order. For them it is a question of replacing the "old" with the "new".

Today few, if any, farmers cling to the subsistence family farm. The Island landscape, or more correctly the cityscape, is filled with those consumer paradises called "malls". These and similar cultural symbols, firmly rooted as they are in the economic logic that drives modern capitalism, have all but made invisible or have completely wiped out the symbols of traditional society. The mall has replaced the small village

stores, the modern sports arenas have replaced the community skating rinks, the commercial theatres have replace the community halls and the large consolidated schools have replaced the small community schools. Everywhere the symbols of modern urban-industrial society have replaced the community oriented institutions.

All of these things suggest to us that at the present time rural society appears to be losing the battle. However, in the long run, the war is not over.

To put this battle into perspective, I return to Tönnies. Tönnies says that:

The theory of *Gesellschaft* deals with the artificial construction of an aggregate of human beings which superficially resembles the *Gemeinschaft* in so far as the individuals live and dwell together peacefully. However, in the *Gemeinschaft* they remain essentially united in spite of all separating factors, whereas in the *Gesellschaft* they are essentially separated in spite of all uniting factors. In the *Gesellschaft*, as contrasted with the *Gemeinschaft*, we find no actions that can be derived from an a priori and necessary existing unity; no action, therefore, which manifest the will and spirit of the unity even if performed by the individual; no actions which, in so far as they are performed by the individual, take place on behalf of those united with him (sic) (Tönnies: 64-5).

As stated earlier, Marx used slightly different concepts to describe this contrast when he talked of the "Natural relationships" and "Money relationships". It is characteristic of the *Gesellschaft* that "no one wants to grant and produce anything for another individual" (65). I would like to describe the period of rapid social change in Prince Edward Island that took place in the decade of the '70's as a battle in the struggle between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*. Prior to this decade *Gemeinschaft* dominated, since then *Gesellschaft* has held sway.

In describing and analysing the traditional rural society, I am

arguing for a rethinking of the traditions and values that characterized that society. It is not to argue for a return to or duplication of the way of life which existed in rural P.E.I. in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries. It is, in a sense, to argue for a melding, a bringing together, of Tönnies' "natural" and "rational" worlds, his world of "community" and world of "society". This is not to suggest that one ever exists to the exclusion of the other. As pointed out by Loomis and McKinney in the introduction to Tönnies', *Community and Society*, that:

"Tönnies types are not merely types but ideal types or mental constructs which do not actually exist empirically in pure form, and no society could exist if one form or type existed to the exclusion of the other. Man's (sic) behavior is never motivated solely by rationality and reason. Passion and emotions play a role in all actual human associations" (Tönnies: 6-7).

In the analysis of rural society that I have presented it is clear that the social relationships conceptualized as *Gemeinschaft* were created and recreated primarily through the activities of women. In contrast the social relationships conceptualized as *Gesellschaft* were primarily created and recreated through the activities of men. It is clear that the 'rational', the 'public' was most always seen to have priority, even by women. In spite of this, the rural society that has been described was dominated by *Gemeinschaft*. In spite of the "separating factors" (see discussion below) the people remained essentially united. The welfare of the whole, as seen within the limiting patriarchal structures of that society, was more important and seen to be more necessary than the interests of the individual. By contrast the opposite seems to be true in modern urban-industrial society. Here people are so separated that the common welfare of

all is often lost sight of.

The 'rational' has become so dominant in the urban-industrial society spawned by modern monopoly capitalism that it is rapidly reaching a crisis from which there is no escape if its values, directions and social/economic practices are to continue to dominate social and economic planning. To date, 'rational' concepts of development have taken as *a priori* the need for economic growth. Indeed the very core of monopoly capitalism dictates that growth is essential. Even if we ignore the crisis in human relationships, the monumental threat to the very ecosystem that sustains life on this planet, brought about by the unrelenting drive for the accumulation of capital and material goods, dictates that we can no longer blindly accept growth as an *a priori* axiom.¹ It is essential that the very tenet that drives modern monopoly capitalism be re-thought before we outgrow the planet on which we live. We cannot do this by ignoring our past. Paul Glik says of our present situation:

... we can expect an ever increasing rootlessness as the remaining small communities are disrupted, as culturally stable conditions are lost or forgotten by newer generations indifferent to the past, as standardized urban mass culture continues to expand, as military wrath reaches cosmic proportions (Gilk:15).

The "indifference to the past" that Gilk talks about is a tragic part of urban-industrial mass culture. As this mass culture leads us closer and closer to total ecological breakdown and massive social dysfunction we, in the words of Schumacher, "should be searching for the policies to reconstruct rural culture" (Schumacher: 95).

The essence of the contrast between urban and rural culture is

¹ For a good discussion of this point see Clow.

captured by Murray Bookchin when he points out that "Urban culture is produced, packaged, and marketed as a segment of the city dweller's leisure time, not infused into the totality of daily life and hallowed by tradition as it is in the agrarian world" (Bookchin: 4).

At the outset I said that I would reflect on the inherent values of rural "peasant" society, consider how social change took place and look at why the new cultural norms so quickly gained hegemony over those of traditional rural society.

In chapters three and four I took a close look at how rural, peasant society operated as an integrated totality, not as a series of rootless, segmented parts as is characteristic of modern urban life. It is this organic whole which has been lost in urban society. The struggle today is not to reconstruct the peasant society that is described here but to recapture the sense of this organic wholeness, to reorganize political and social structures based on communities rather than national and international institutions. Paramount in this reorganization and restructuring of community are a heightened ecological consciousness and a renewed understanding of the interdependence between an individual and the community. It is beyond the mandate of this study to offer a blueprint nor could or should one be offered. However, people in the modern world are becoming more and more aware that the existing social and economic order continually ravages and demonstrates little facility to protect either the ecology of the planet, the local environment or to nurture human relationships as ends rather than means to an end. The places we must turn for alternatives are the historical places where nurturing and caring for the land and human relationships was paramount. Rural society is one of those places. As people become more and more isolated and cut off from each other and from community, we

must turn for alternatives to places where people belonged to places where people were part of an organic whole which encompassed all of nature.

However, we must also go beyond the rural society that we have analysed in chapters three and four. In these chapters we saw repeatedly the sense of belonging, the sense of interdependence which are essential to any considerations for reorganizing and restructuring of modern society. Nevertheless, we can also learn from inherent weaknesses of the rural society that has been analysed here. Chief among these weaknesses is the imbalance in power, authority and work between women and men.

I have pointed out that rural society was characterized by a social network of nurturing and caring. I have also shown that this aspect of rural society was produced, nurtured and re-produced by women. It was the women who kept social relations intact. While the men looked after the 'official' business of the farm the women continually did the work needed to produce and reproduce both the household of which they were a member and the community as a whole.

This is clearly illustrated in the institutional work of women through the Women's Institute, the School, the Church and other organized institutional activities. It is more subtly illustrated in the descriptions of the day to day work of women providing food and clothing for the household and making sure that there was always food available to provide a social lunch for the many neighbours who dropped-in to visit. Without this work rural society had no foundation. It was this work which provided the glue that united the rural community.

However, the people in rural society, men and women, failed to understand the total significance and importance of this work. The work of the men was always considered to be more important, more significant and

more necessary. When the male interviewee said that the women "just had to do it" in reference to his wife and daughters' working in the fields, he explicitly laid out the basis of how the gender division of labour was understood. The men's work was more important—just had to be done—the work in the household, the community—all the work assigned to women—would just have to wait or be done either before or late at night when it wouldn't interfere with the priority work of men. The revelation by the women who told how her mother worked for weeks to prepare food so that she could work in the fields during harvest time makes this point quite emphatically

In rural society it was then the job of women to maintain and reproduce social relations. The men had little sense of being a part of this and did not appreciate its real significance or importance. It was, however, men who held official and final decision making power in this patriarchal society and women acceded to this authority when work priorities and important decisions had to be made.

This social organization in rural society often led to undetermined personal abuse and oppression of women and children. However, the nurturing/belonging aspect of rural society, gender specific as it was, held enough sway to maintain sufficient balance between the natural and the rational, the world of men and the world of women, to preserve social unity. When outside forces come to bear, as we see in chapter five, this relative balance was weighted on the side of the rational and the social collapse of rural society was rather swift and dynamic. After initial and wide spread opposition from rural people, it took little more than a decade for urban-industrial society to establish its hegemony.

Today the women continue the struggle to reproduce the community

they once knew. They give Institute cookbooks to new people who move into the community, people who live there in a house built on a city size lot of land and work in the urban centre. The men, reliant as they were on the women for building and maintaining the community in which they lived, can only lament for the life they once had. To a large extent it was this lament that formed the basis of the opposition described in chapter five.

What this study then suggests is that new directions and new foundations must draw not only on the positive values that we have seen in looking at this small part of rural society but also by learning from the negative values that were a constituent part of this traditional society. In addition to recapturing the sense of belonging, the sense of nurturing and caring, the sense of conservation, this study suggests that any new community must be built with the equal participation of men and women in all aspects of the communities life. In this way new communities will not only be better able to adjust to new situations but also better able to defend themselves against unwanted incursions.

In this work some of the basic principles that underlay rural society have been analysed. Major among these is the basic nurturing/belonging principle on which rural society was built. I have discussed the concern and care for the land, the idea that the land was to be conserved. I have discussed the very personal and caring nature of the rural social order and the idea that once the needs of the members of the household were met, there was no need for further accumulation.

I have also explored the patriarchal nature of rural society and must conclude that it was the lack of understanding or concern about the nurturing/belonging necessity that played a large part in the ascension of a society that ignores the environment, the ecosystem, as well as the personal

needs of people. In the final section I pointed out how the proponents of the new social order, who accepted as axiomatic the necessity of growth, were able to hold sway in spite of the fundamental contradictions that were/are manifestly a part of that philosophy.

The urban-industrial society was able to prevail because of the patriarchal core of rural society was not understood by rural men and women. Following this deep rooted tradition of their rural heritage, many acceded to the male dominated urban-industrial invasion. I have also pointed out how the urban-industrial invaders were able to manipulate many of the values that were held near and dear to rural people.

The opposition to urban-industrial society which was waged in the 1970's was a protest directed at preserving rural society. At no point was it able to critically analyse urban-industrial society. That rural people didn't understand either the nature of urban-industrial society or the determination of its proponents to wipe out rural society is graphically illustrated by Smitheram's image of the consolidated school in a large potato field.

In chapter six I analysed how the different understanding, different cultural concept, of "the individual" allowed the urban-industrial planners to mislead rural people. The fact that many of them didn't always know when they were misleading offers no defense for the planners. Even if they had shown enough respect for rural people to take time to understand something about rural society, it is hardly conceivable that the same deception would not have been waged. The planners were convinced—and furthermore it was in their political/class interests to be convinced—that the new urban-industrial society was what Prince Edward Island needed. Their paternalistic zeal would have led, or pushed, them to use whatever

means they felt necessary . Paternalism and subservience is clearly illustrated by the attitude of the local members of the Legislative Assembly who, in spite of seeing many flaws in the grand design, dared not ask questions because they believed—or believed those who told them—that to do so would threaten the overall plan. They were told that "the Plan" was an integrated whole in which all of the elements had to be in place in order for it to work at all. This, of course, left no room for any accommodation of rural values and traditions. The muzzling of the MLA's extended to much of the civil service and government administrators and government workers throughout the province. The planning group just as effectively muzzled the protests of its own front line community workers.

The result of this was that the rural people at the grass roots were left leaderless. As we have seen in the case of the school system, rural people adopted a defensive posture to defend the world they knew from one they did not understand but who's glint and glitter was a constant temptation—a temptation which was continually fed by unending negative depictions of rural society. With leadership gone, the patriarchal and hierarchical nature of rural society itself prevented grass roots opposition from organizing an effective challenge to the new order. The largely leaderless emotional reaction which informed the protest could not withstand the urban-industrial onslaught.

For a final word on the organization of rural society along gender specific lines I return to Thompson's description of the female gender specific world characterized by "care and connection" and the male specific world characterized by "hierarchy and control". Thompson calls these two spheres the Hesian (household/family) and the Hermian (state/government) (Thompson: 8-13). It is clear that the reorganization and restructuring of

society and the rebirth of community calls for a resurgence of what Thompson describes as the Hesian system. While this system was the organizing force and the foundation of community in rural society it, as we have seen repeatedly, was gender specific to women. In rural society the Hesian and the Hermian existed side by side as gender specific and gender divided systems. And it was this division which contributed in large part to the collapse of rural society.

The aim of this work has been to re-discover some of the enduring values of rural society and to, in a critical way, seek to analyse this tradition and history in order to shatter some of the axiomatic concepts of social organization, of human growth and development upon which modern society is built. However we can only learn from our history if we learn critically. To re-establish rural society as it existed in P.E.I. is neither possible or desirable. Nevertheless, what we can learn from that experience can help us to build a brighter future.

In this work I have argued for a strengthening of the nurturing/belonging aspect of human society. However, this study has shown that any return to and strengthening of the nurturing/belonging aspect must not be along gender specific lines. The gender specificity of these two aspects of human society must be broken down. It is necessary not only to find a social balance between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, between "natural relationships" and "money relationships", between the Hesian and the Hermian, but to find some kind of personal balance for both men and women so that a new society will not be divided along gender/sex lines like the rural society we have studied. If this can happen then individuals will be able to integrate both of these systems or aspects into their private lives as well as their public and community lives.

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Appendix I—Interview Guidelines

In doing the interviews I did not have a specific set of questions, rather particular categories, some general, some more specific, about which I sought people's views. Following is a list of the key categories and some of the questions which were asked during the interviews

Everyday Life and Social Relations

Describe for me a day's work?

Did you grow your own food?

How many brothers/sisters did you have?

What was it like growing up here?

Men were asked:

What did the women do while you were working out around the farm?

If, and why, they went to the Women's Institute meetings?

Women were asked:

What did the women do when they got together?

Were you a member of the Institute? What did you do at the Institute?

What kind of work did you do outside of the house?

Did men ever help in the house?

What's different between what women did then and now?

About the Farm, Crops and Farm Animals:

How big was the farm?

How many potatoes did you grow?

How many milk cattle did you have? Where did you sell your beef cattle?

Social life / Community life

How did people entertain themselves?

How often did you go visiting?

Who did you visit?

What did you do in the evenings?

What did you do on Saturday night?

Did people help out when it was needed?

Life as it used to be

What do you miss about life the way it used to be?

Do you miss the social life?

What would you preserve from the past?

Did young men go away in the winter time to work?

School

How many went to school?

How important was the school to community life?

Did you go to school meetings?

About the Present

Do people visit today?

Do you know people in the community?

Appendix II—The Diaries

The following photocopied pages are the diaries for the month of January in the years 1930 and 1945. Note that the handwriting is different. The 1930 diary was kept by the mother of the women who kept the 1945 diary.

1930
January

DIARY

1930

1st Fine day. Staff Social here for Rose
about 50 in attendance. - Arrive

2nd Arrive at 10:30 am - very - covered
by thick clouds - and snowing

to face in - and get wet.

3rd Mild day. Olga & Mark returned
from Garden in evening train.

4th Very mild and foggy day - Raining
Arrive to 8:30 with load

of cats. Thawing in the morning.

5th Clear come back in the evening.
Dinner in morning with

evening today - Rose finished.

6th Mrs. M. H. attended in morning
and Mr. & Mrs. W. A. in evening.

7th Working potato - took for

11th Trip to 8:30 - Cloudy and windy.
+ in mild day, very busy. P. A.

12th To 8:30 with load of potatoes.
and J. L. to 8:30 - Thawing. Arrive

13th Working in morning - mild day.

- Crowd here in evening deciding on a play. - Raining at night.
- 9th Colld with snow-flurries. Al here in the evening.
- 10th Storming and drifting.
- 11th Fine day. Cold 4° below.
- 12th Sunday. Fine cold morning 5° turning milder in evening, with snow-flurries. - Home all day.
- 13th Waching in morning. - Fine milder day. Mrs. & Mrs. J. J. up to Wick Gamble in evening.
- 14th Fine day. Al and May here in the evening. J. J. to Margate today.
- 15th Mild day - raining - Church meeting in evening. Grading potatoes.
- 16th J. A. took cream to Missouche and went on in to S. Side. - for load of coal - Grading potatoes. Party at Mrs. Yess. Cold day.
- 17th Cold day 4° - below. Freshing in afternoon. Tom & Leo here in evening.

18th Cold windy day. - Snowing in evening. - then turning to rain. Alice went to Earle's to stay all night. - Arnett and Olga visiting at Al's in afternoon - after bal of 8th.

19th Sunday. Cold, windy, day. Home all day.

20th Washing in morning. - Grading potatoes - and thrashing. - Alice came back this morning.

21st Fine day. Mr. & Mrs. J. J. in side. Mr. & Mrs. J. A. up to Jas. Higgins to Sewing Circle. - Grading potatoes.

22nd Fine sunny day. 15° above zero. Grading potatoes. Mission Band here in evening. -

23rd Arnett up to Miscoules in morning with cream. - Grading potatoes. Cold, frosty day 3° below.

24th Cold morning. Arnett up to Urban Gillis' for 100 potato bags. - Grading potatoes. Glen here with a gift.

- 25th Fine day. Hauling potatoes to
Miscouche to Urban Gillis; two
loads. 75 bus.
- 26th Sunday. Cold frosty day. Alice sick
with tonsillitis. Al. here.
- 27th Very cold morning. No school
today - Alice indisposed. Al.
and I took her in morning on
chick way to Robt. Barrantis.
- 28th Mild, soft, day; light snow flurries.
Hauling potatoes to U. Gillis;
two loads, 75 bus. Win. Clark here
in the morning.
- 29th Light snow flurries - with
drift. J.A. to S. Side in after-
noon for load of coal. Howard
Rege in evening. Leo went to Hospital.
- 30th Frosty morning 4° below zero.
J.A. to Summerside in afternoon.
Washing in forenoon.
- 31st Cloudy day. Thrashing in afternoon.
Printing pictures in evening.

1945

- Jan. 1st Storm all day. Had chicken dinner raining. Cleaning stables.
- 2nd Very heavy rain last night. Dad and Olga started for Missouche with horse and sleigh, but found a tree across the road and came back. Went to S'side after dinner with car, and Olga went to Helms with Colin Wadghis. Roads all bare. Harold here
- 3rd Went to Missouche for Eva with car. Sunday. School started.
- 4th Fine day. Got silver shod at Best's. Cleaning stables. 27 eggs today. South west wind.
- 5th Raining in morning. Clearing and turning colder. Institute at A.S. Johnstone.
- 6th Fine cold day. -2°. Dad and I to Summerside. Dad looking for extra for engine - got one at Len. Pickering's. Good car road.
- 7th Sunday. -7° low zero. Sunny.
- 8th Snowing in morning. Dad shipped pig at Missouche. Sleigh road poor.
- 9th Reached at Harold's. to supper. Washed

- 9th Fine snow flurries falling. All here in morning. Cleaning stables.
- 10th 16° above zero. Sunny, blowing some. Drying feed bags blue for Institute quilt. Alice and Wendel here in evening. Arnett to Central Hall to Electric
- 11th Night M. iting. 6° below zero in evening. 8° below zero. Sunny and fine. Budd here in evening. Finished making Institute Quilt top. Threshing.
- 12th 10° below zero. Sunny and bright. Washing and sweeping. Crushing. Down to Carlis in evening, telephoning to see if Olga was coming up on bus, but apparently she didn't. Storming in evening south west wind, cold. Rob Mc. Kabin operated on for appendicitis last night.
- 13th Soft day. Snow flurries. Had see talk to Bayner in evening. Eggs 37¢. Very heavy load.
- 14th Sunday. Snowing in morning and dusting in afternoon and evening.
- 15th Cloudy day some showers. Washing Thursday - snow going very fast.

- 16th Snow flurries - soft day.
- 17th Raining. Temp. 28°. Severe thaw.
Grading potatoes. No mail today.
- 18th Snow flurries - Grading potatoes.
Cleaning stables.
- 19th Snow flurries & drifting. Grading
potatoes. No mail came today.
- 20th Very cold day. Ground drift running.
Threshing. Arbett us to Wayner's
in evening.
- 21st Sunday. Fine day. Evelyn, Mayne
and Winston here in afternoon.
Harold - Elijah & Annie here in
evening. Bob came home from hospital.
- 22nd Washing. Fine day. Arnett to Mousche
and Summerfield. Shipped pig.
I was to Bob's & Earl's after Inst. Milt.
- 23rd Blustery day. Took Alice & Evelyn
to 'reeling' at Minnie's. 8 ladies there
milted one quilt.
- 24th Fine day. Threshing & Grading.
- 25th Threshing & Grading. Washing.
- 26th 4° below zero. Blowing with snow
flurries. No mail came today.
- 27th Storming in forenoon. No mail came

28th Sunday - Snow flurries - Sun
shining in afternoon.

29th Killed 30 roosters. Lovely mild
spring day, but storming some at night.

30th Mild blustery day. clearing some in
afternoon. No mail again today.

31st Very mild day. Killed 6 chickens
no mail today.

February 1st Still storming some. Broke roads
and got mail today. Killed pig.

2nd Lovely fine morning. Washing.
Snowed in afternoon. Institute
postponed till Monday. I was down
to Earl's with Budd & Alice.

Arnett took chickens to S. Side -
and brought home load of coal. Very
heavy road.

3rd Cloudy, but fine. Eva & Shirley up
to Erma's quilting Red Cross quilt.
Arnett up to Rayner's.

4th Sunday. Fine and cold. Eva + I up
to Lloyd's and Edred's in evening.

5th Washing - Snow flurries but fine in
morning. Arnett shipped two pigs.
I was down at Earl's helping make

Appendix III—The Women's Institute

This Appendix contains the minutes from the monthly meetings of January and February, 1940 and the annual reports for the years 1938 and 1960. The copies here are photo copies of the original that have been reduced twenty percent.

January 12, 1940

The January meeting of the Belmont Women's Institute was held at the home of Mrs. John Barrett with seven members and several visitors present. Meeting opened by singing the Institute Ode followed by the Creed in unison. Minutes of the last meeting were read, approved and signed. It was decided to have a sale of candy at our next meeting, each member to make up 2 lb. sugar, proceeds to be donated to the Junior Red Cross for Red Cross purposes.

New committees were appointed as follows:

Sick - Mrs. Major Barrett and Mrs. Robt. New Linnis

School - Mrs. Arnett Simpson

Sandwich - Mrs. E. Inman and Mrs. John Barrett

Paper towels and soap to be purchased for school by the committee. Two questionnaires were filed out.

Next meeting to be held at the home of Mrs. Arnett Simpson when Roll Call will be answered by handing in Red Cross knitting.

Meeting closed by singing God Save the King, after which lunch was served by the hostess assisted by some of the members.

Collection \$1.05 Membership fees \$1.00

Mrs. E. Inman

February 12, 1940.

The Belmont H. S. held their February meeting at the home of Mrs. Arnett Simpson. The meeting opened by singing the Institute Carol. Ten members answered roll call by handing in Red Cross knitting. Two new members were welcomed. The minutes of the last meeting were read, approved and signed. The sick committee reported taking fruit to three people and the school committee had purchased towels for school.

New committees appointed were:

School - Mrs. John Barrett

Sick - Re-appointed

Program - Mrs. Harold Yes, Mrs. Mervin Luman

Sandwich - Mrs. Robt. Max Luman, Mrs. May Barrett.

It was decided to send knitting (1 pr. socks + 2 sweaters) to Red Cross Office and if satisfactory to get more yarn. The correspondence was read and Questionnaire on Better Schools was filled in by Mrs. Harold Yes.

A sale of candy in aid of Junior Red Cross was held. Proceeds \$2.75. Next meeting to be held at Mrs.

John Barrett's when roll call will be answered by -

"That I will make from flour bags for the District Convention. Meeting closed with "The King", after which lunch was served.

Membership fee 50¢.

Mrs. A. S. Johnson

WOMEN'S INSTITUTE BRANCH

Department of Agriculture

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

ANNUAL REPORT

Of the *Belmont Lot 16* Women's Institute

For the year ending *November 30* 193*8*

IMPORTANT

This report must be satisfactorily completed, checked and signed by the Auditors and Secretary, and prepared in duplicate. One copy to be retained by the Secretary and the other to be sent to the Supervisor not later than December 15th.

ANNUAL REPORT

1. Number of Districts included in your Institute *94*
2. Names of Districts included in your Institute *Pittsford*
3. Number of regular meetings held during the year *12*
4. Have you reported all of these meetings to the Supervisor? *yes*
5. Number of Special meetings held during the year *none*
6. Number of paid up members for the past year *eleven*
7. What District Convention did your Branch attend this year? *Bethlehem Cent. Ch. & P. Society*
8. Day of regular monthly meeting for the coming year *second day of each month*
9. Number of subscriptions for Institute News *14*

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

For the year ending ... *Nov 30* 193 *2*

RECEIPTS			
Balance from Previous Year	(This amount must correspond with balance on last year's statement)	10	46
Members Fees for the past year	<i>\$100. year 4. 75. New members</i>	2	75
Grant from Government		2	00
Miscellaneous		17	02
Total		39	223

EXPENDITURE			
Expenses of Meetings	<i>Ch. Convention 2.00</i>	2	92
School (Itemized)	<i>paper, travel 75. Travel for school 1.00</i>	4	35
School Fairs			
Community (Itemized)	<i>Play, lunch 2.66</i>	2	66
Donations to Public Institutions (Itemized)	<i>Sanatorium, hospitals, orphanages, etc.</i>		
Charity and Relief (Itemized)	<i>Red Cross 2.00 St. Paul 1.50 Hospital 2.98 lunch 1.00</i>	5	98
Miscellaneous (Itemize amounts over \$5)		4	51
Total		20	42
Balance		11	81

Examined and found correct this
28 day of *November* 193 *2*
Mrs. John Barrett } Auditors
Mrs. Jenny Best }

Mrs. Robert Mac Laur
 Sec'y. - Treas.

Women's Institute Branch
Department of Agriculture
Prince Edward Island

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE Belmont WOMEN'S INSTITUTE
FOR THE YEAR ENDING October 31 1963

IMPORTANT

THIS REPORT MUST BE SATISFACTORILY COMPLETED, CHECKED AND SIGNED BY THE AUDITORS AND SECRETARY AND PREPARED IN DUPLICATE. ONE COPY TO BE RETAINED BY THE SECRETARY AND THE OTHER TO BE SENT TO THE SUPERVISOR NOT LATER THAN DECEMBER 15TH.

AUDITORS SIGNATURE

Miss Annet Simpson

ANNUAL REPORT

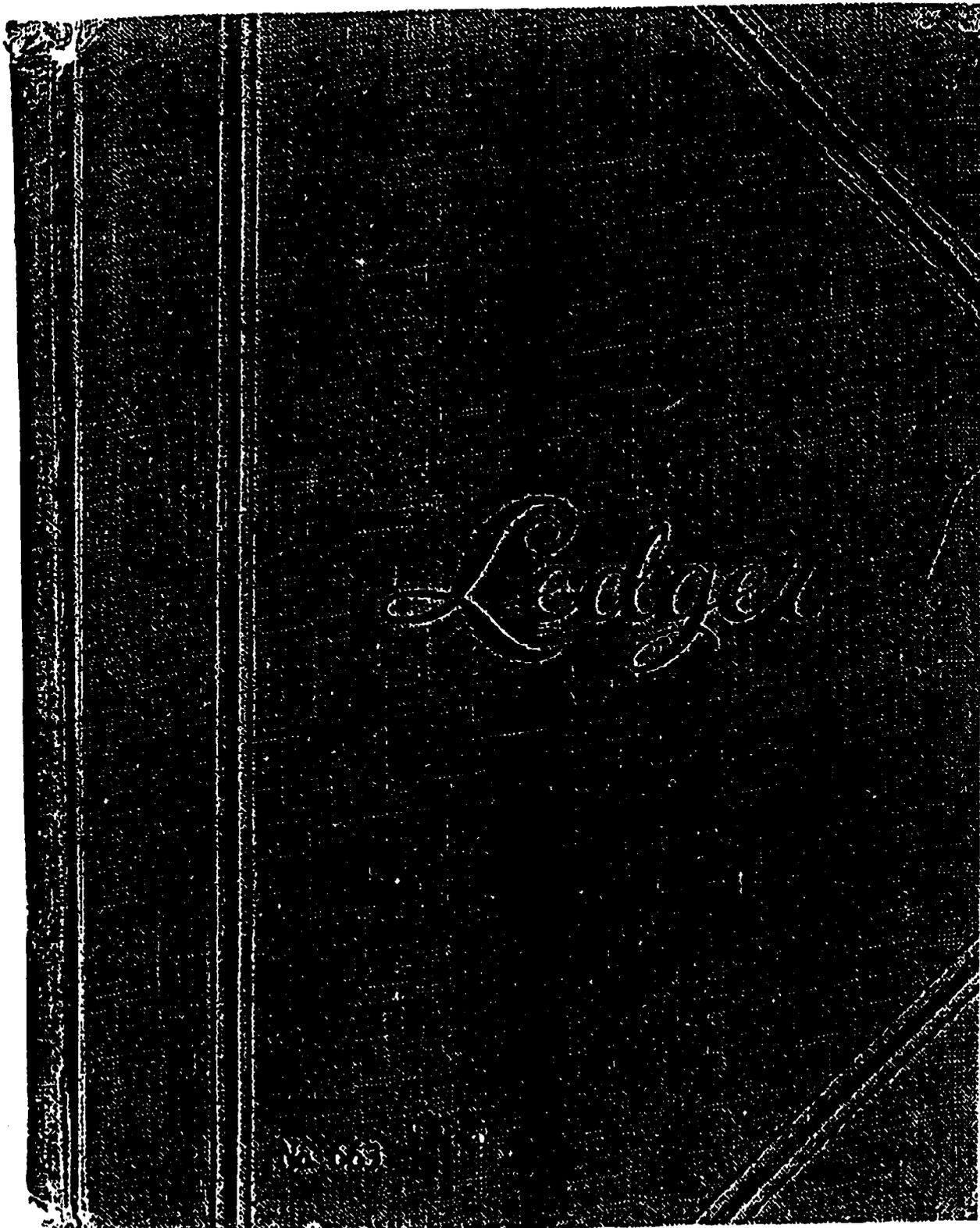
- | | |
|---|----------------------------------|
| 1. NUMBER OF DISTRICT INCLUDED IN YOUR INSTITUTE | <u>none</u> |
| 2. NAMES OF DISTRICTS INCLUDED IN YOUR INSTITUTE | <u>Belmont</u> |
| 3. NUMBER OF REGULAR MEETINGS HELD DURING THE YEAR | <u>12</u> |
| 4. HAVE YOU REPORTED ALL THESE MEETINGS TO THE BRANCH OFFICE | <u>yes</u> |
| 5. NUMBER OF SPECIAL MEETINGS HELD DURING THE YEAR | <u>1</u> |
| 6. NUMBER OF PAID UP MEMBERS FOR THE PAST YEAR | <u>19</u> |
| 7. WHAT DISTRICT CONVENTION DID YOUR BRANCH ATTEND
GIVE DISTRICT NAME NOT LOCATION OF HALL | <u>Central Prince</u> |
| 8. DAY OF REGULAR MEETINGS FOR COMING YEAR | <u>1st. Sunday in the month.</u> |
| 9. NUMBER OF SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR INSTITUTE NEWS. | |

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR YEAR ENDING OCT. 31, 1960

RECEIPTS	RECEIPT COLUMN	EXPENDITURE COLUMN
BALANCE FROM PREVIOUS YEAR		
(THIS AMOUNT MUST CORRESPOND TO BALANCE OF LAST YEAR'S STATEMENT)	20 19	
MEMBERS FEES	9 50	
GOVERNMENT GRANT		
COLLECTIONS	35 48	
SPECIAL PROJECTS LIST BELOW.		
<u>Amos' Sale</u>	10 05	
<u>Beane Supper</u>	27 80	
<u>Grate Bay</u>	3 25	
<u>Quiz Sale</u>	5 00	
<u>Sale of securities</u>	43 67	
<u>" " auction</u>	3 50	
<u>Material sold</u>	4 50	
<u>Donation from members</u>	4 00	
	\$ 166 94	
	\$ 105 92	
	\$ 61 02	
<u>Deposited in bank in 1960</u>	\$ 25 00	
<u>Cash on hand</u>	\$ 16 02	
<u>Total in bank 193 68</u>	\$ 93 18	
<u>Balance on hand</u>	\$ 104 70	
TOTAL RECEIPTS		

Appendix IV—Farm Accounts Ledger

This appendix contains the farm accounts for the year 1943. Each month's income and expenditures was carefully recorded. The copies here are photo copies of the original that have been reduced ten percent.



Ledger

Cash

1942

20575

1942			1942		
Dec 7	Cuam	5163	Dec 4	2 Gab Gas	72
" 10	Cash (R. Darby)	38	" 8	2 Gab Gas	72
" 8	2 pigs (Oct. H. Yeo)	3	"	Int. Mus. W.S.	12.50
" 18	1 Hog 162 ⁵ . 13.75 A	2702	" 8	F. Meal	4.05
" 23	30 lbs Hide 27	2112	"	1 Mat - lime	1.0
"	Cuam	399	" 11	1 Bag middlings	1.60
" 30	Potatoes .85	2125	" 12	5 Gab Gas	19.0
		23478	" 15	1/2 McChusie, w. w.	375
			" 18	1 Bag middlings	1.65
			" 19	A. Fraser	1
			" 23	Holman's feed	40
			"	1 C. Family	2.5
			" 24	Holman's feed	56
			" 29	Shrimp Base	1
			"	1 Fish Meal	4.05
			"	1 Salt	1.50
			"	Holman's feed	20
					30110
			1943		
Jan 1			" 1	A. Fraser	1
"			" 4	5 Gab Gas	19.0
"			" 7	1 Fish Meal	4.05
"			" 12	1 Bag F. Meal	4.05
"			"	1 Bag Darby Meal	1.75
					97.0

Cash

1942		1943		270	
Jan	1 Cream		7	Jan 12 1 Bag Sheds ^{HL}	1 75
"	12 Potatoes ⁶⁰		11	" 11 Halls Balsam ⁹⁰⁰	3 12
"	13 L. Beet, Amers		14	" 19 1 Bag Wheat ^{PD}	1 75
"	15 Cream		19	" 1 Broom ¹⁴⁵ ^{HL} ¹⁷⁵	3 20
"	29 Gas tax, Rhode		8	" 1 Broom med	60
Feb	1 Cream		25	" 1 H. nuts	16
"	4 potatoes		24	" 1 last 200 Cans sugar	30
"	6 28 9 ^{Hollie} ^{23 1/2}		10	" 27 2 gal. Gas, 38	76
"	44 Hds ¹⁰⁷		30	" 30 ²⁵ ²⁰ patchy ²⁵ ²⁰ ²⁰	45
			2190	" 2 Cod oil	48
				" 1 Barley med. ^{PA}	1 80
				" 1 Harts	1 45
				" 1 Testifit	4 05
				" 1 Wheat ^{1 1/2}	1 75
				Feb 4 2 Barley med - 1 85	3 70
				" 2 Harts - 1 55	3 10
				" 1 Broom	1 45
				" 5 lbs salt	50
				" 6 2 Barley med ^{18P}	3 60
				" 1 Wheat ^(P)	1 75
				" 1 Broom ¹⁵⁰ 1 Wheat ¹⁶⁵ (GP)	3 15
				" 13 2 gal. ³⁸ ²⁰ ²⁰ ²⁰	4 8
				" 1 Saw	2 25
					51 07

Cash 1943

		2190			5107		
Feb	15	Corn	11 90	Feb	19	Fila 38, Depost oil ²⁵	65
"	20	Potatoes	22 50	"	"	Sheep trace	1 25
"	22	Blouse & Milk	33 13	"	"	2 Barley meal	3 50
"	"	Potatoes	28 66	"	"	2 Shorts	2 90
"	23	Potatoes	29	"	"	2 Bran	2 80
Mar	1	Potatoes	25 66	"	"	1 Fishmeal	4 05
"	"	Corn	9 35	"	20	3 Bran ¹⁻³⁸ 2 Shorts ¹⁻⁴³	
"	2	Potatoes	21	"	"	2 Middling ⁶⁰ ³¹	10 80
"	10	Potatoes	28 88	"	22	10 Barley meal ^{PD}	17 00
"	11	Potatoes	29 50	"	"	1 D. Cake	2 50
"	12	Potatoes	24	Mar	2	2 Shorts ^{PD}	2 90
			329 60	"	"	1 Bran ^{HL}	1 45
				"	"	1 Air	2 10
				"	8	5 Gal Gas	1 90
				"	"	1 Bag Bran ^{WR}	1 55
				"	"	2 Shorts	3 00
				"	10	1500 Limestone ⁴⁻¹⁰⁻⁴³	3 00
				"	11	1 Bag Fishmeal ^{PD}	4 05
				"	"	3 Barley meal	5 25
				"	"	3 Bran	4 35
				"	"	1 Barley meal ^{HL}	1 85
				"	"	1 Wheat	1 75
							129 07

Cash 1943

43351

27191

Apr 15	2 Hogs	5155	Apr 10	2 Bags F. Meal	820
" 17	Cream	2005	" "	Nails & washes	35
" 29	5 Hogs	13352	" "	Ind. Red	85
May 8	Cream	23170	" "	4% Loppers	130
" 11	276 ⁰⁸ Timothy seed	2208	" "	17 1/2 Bags Barley ^{PD}	925
			" "	19 ^{1/2} bushels oil	150
			" "	10 lbs Borax meal	60
		25990	" "	4 Gals gas	180
			" "	19 2 Kalls B. wire	770
			" "	23 1/2 Bags B meal	740
			" "	26 1 Fish meal	410
			" "	Fite	32
			" "	Coal	55
				100 Ft. Boards	475
				3 ^{1/2} wire staps	85
			May 8	1 Bag Beans	140
			" "	1 ^{1/2} Bushels meal	190
			" "	Coal	108
			" "	lard oil - us. l.	80
			" "	10 84 staps 06	5
			" "	8 Boring job	75
			May 11	24 ^{1/2} lbs salt	744
			" "	20 ^{1/2} lbs Red ³⁷	740
		211271			7529

Cash 1443

105012

55755

July	3	Cream	2548	June	23	A Fries	1
	5	Milk 2035	2548		23		1
			5092		28	1 Bag Wheat	180
					28	2 Barley meal	380
						1 fish meal	410
					20	1 1/2 Snappers	3
					28	1 Bag oil cake	365
						5 lbs staters	
July	3	Cream Can					4
						1 Bacon	150
						1 Bur Meal	200
						Fertilizer	9067
						10 5 gals Gas.	180
						10 30" 1/2 gages	210
						13 1/3 sam	140
						2 Barley meal	380
						Chain (plated)	128
						union (square)	90
						Coal oil	35
						turkey seed	325
						10 10 1/2 sam 1.32	1330
						10 2 1/2 ct 1.35	1350
						1 ton Barley meal 1.80	3600
			110104				19450

Cash 1943

		1101.04	746.05
July 19	Cream	629	17.50
" 22	Milk 3064*	3930	5.50
			08
Aug 2	Cream	682	7.70
" 5	Milk 3620*	4525	5.52
" 16	Cream	553	4.50
" 20	Milk 3075*	3844	8.9
		1241.67	5
			2.68
			4.10
			9.0
			3.3
			3.5
			38
			7
Aug 6	100 lbs Blue Stone		9.25
" 7	Sprays Leather & Sine		2.76
" "	Caandhwick		1.5
" "	Probutine		3.35
" 20	40 lbs Sine		
" 21	Boyle 60 Harrow ³⁶		9.6
			1819.99

Cash 1943

Oct 4	Cream	1957	Oct 2	2 Bags middings ^{HL}	340
" 6	Milk	1825	" "	1 Wheat	225
" 21	Cream	1358	" 7	2 Bu. Meal RD	460
" 23	Milk	2062	" 9	1 1/2 Shirts ^{HL}	160
Nov 4	Cream	2812	" "	2 Mids RD	340
" 11	Cour. Tolkeffel ^{37.00}	12	" 13	4 Wheat	820
" 15	Balance in cream	25	" "	1 Fishmeal RD	410
" 18	Cream	1043	" 14	1 1/2 Bu. Meal	265
"			" 12	2 Bran RD	3
"			" "	2 Wheat ^R	450
"			" 18	2 Wheat ^R	450
"			" 24	1 Bran ^R	150
"			" "	1 Wheat ^R	225
"			" "	1 1/2 Gas	152
"			" "	10 Bags wheat RD	2150
"			(Oct 9	H. Simpson RD	500
"			Oct	1 1/2	140
"			" 29	10 Bags wheat RD	2150
"			" 30	2 1/2 Shirts ^{HL}	320
"			" 1	1 Fishmeal	420
Nov 4	10 Wheat		" 4	10 Wheat	2150
"			" 13	2 Bran ^R	3
"			" 14	1 Wheat	225
"			" 18	5 Wheat	1075

Cash 1943

72467

818.00

Sept 16	Cash	398	Aug 30	1 Bag fish meal	4.10
" 18	Milk	3609	" 21	1 Bag Hyd. base	50
" 25	120 feed bags 10	12	" 28	2 Bags Bar Meal ^{JLR}	4.20
		12957 ⁴	" "	" tubs	1.5
			Sept 2	2 Bags Middl ^g	3.50
			" "	5 " Bar Meal	10
			" "	1 " Middlings	1.70
			" "	1 " Shatts	1.55
			" "	7 2" Middlings	3.40
			" "	1 " Shatts	1.05
			" "	6 1/2 fish meal	4.20
			" "	15 2 Gr. Wheat	3.80
			" "	1 fish meal	4.10
			" "	17 40 So. No.	7.52
			" "	4 1/2 Bag fish meal	5.60
			" "	4 " Cornmeal	10.20
			" "	18 2 1/2 Wheat	4
			" "	1 1/2 fish meal	1.7
			" "	15 1/2 Sulfate of Pot	2.2
			" "	" tubs	1.5
			" "	2 1/2 fish meal	4.10
			" "	3 1/2 fish meal	4.20
					893.00

Nov 22	6 Hogs		16160	Nov	4 gals Gas		152
					2 lbs. powder		70
Dec 2	Cicero		1880	"	13 lantern chimney		17
"	3 Bull	chafid	45	"	6 12 glass 10x12		168
"	9	3 yearling 20.00 2 calves 35.00	1101	"	5 putty		30
"	1	2 pigs F.M. Larch	6	"	4 lb Nails		
"	8	M. Barrett. 20.00 3 success 30.00	380	"	22 200 yds Barment		41
"	6	6 Hogs	14559	"	10 " Shells		1430
		Rebate on wood 110.00	150	"	1 gal oil		1
		4 pigs of Brent	12	"	5# Grease		1
		2 " F.M. Larch	6	"	19 H. Blue Blanket		365
				"	1 Bag fishmeal		410
				"	1 " Oilsafe		255
				"	30 Oil Funerstone		85
				"	2 Bags of cement		290
				"	2 " Wheat 180		360
				"	1 " fishmeal		410
				"	29 Lard 1.00		1330
				"	10 Shovel		75
				"	1 " Bin		145
				"	11.5 gals Gas		190
				"	18 200 yds Barment		380
				"	2 " "		290
				"	1 " "		410

Cash 1943

Dec 16	Cash	1421	Dec 19	Buckling Sack	3
			"	" Knapsack	40
Jan 7	Hyeo Brasserie grain	168	" 29	Mrs. V. Schatzman <small>Prin 100. Int 1250</small>	112.50
" 3	2 bags F. McLean	6	" 24	2 Bags Beans	2.90
" 4	Cash	826	" "	2 " Shorts	3.00
" "	1 Hog	23.92	" "	1 " Middlings	1.65
" 18	Cash	730	" "	1 " Rice	.20
" 24	Balance from milk 1943	103.14	" "	1 Oil	.35
			" 28	1 Bag Wheat	1.90
			" "	1 " Gluten feed	2.45
			" "	1 " Feed	1.75
			" "	1 Rope	.20
			1944		
			Jan 3	10 Bags Beans	21
			" 4	3 Bags Wheat	5.70
			" "	1 pack meal	4.10
			" 11	2 Bags Midds	3.30
			" "	2 " Beans	2.90
			" 18	2 " Shorts	3.00
			" 20	Shoring horse	1.75
			" 22	1.50 pack meal	1.50
			" 25	5.00 g.o.	1.90
			" 27	1.00 beer	1