

The more things change, the more they stay the same:

One man's choice to leave his family's way of life behind

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CHIS 104
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March 31, 2016

The first Newman to settle on Campobello Island, New Brunswick, was John Newman in 1831.¹ He came by way of Carleton County, New Brunswick, a community along the Saint John River settled by United Empire Loyalists fleeing the United States. While beginning as a farmer in 1831, John Newman's son, Leonard Ford Newman, turned to fishing. This would be the profession of Newmans on Campobello Island until Leonard's great grandson, Allan Newman, my father, decided in 1959 that the prospects for fishing were dim and, at 18 years old, single and with a grade 9 education, moved to Ontario.²

My mother's father, Arnold Dawe, was brought with his family in 1911 from Devon, England, while still a baby to York Township, Ontario, and a life of poultry farming.³ Arnold's wife, Irene Bicknell, was born in Winnipeg to Raymond Bicknell who had emigrated from England in 1904 and met his Ontario-born wife there.⁴ After joining the Canadian military Raymond was eventually stationed in Toronto, living in Woodbridge, in York Township, where eventually Irene and Arnold met and my mother, Carol, was born and raised.

In *Migration in Canada*, Leroy Stone quotes Donald Bogue to point out that "every region and every nation which has undergone extensive industrial development has simultaneously undergone a redistribution of its population."⁵ While my mother certainly needed to be in the Toronto area as well to make this all happen, I believe it is the disparity in development between Atlantic Canada and central Canada through the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s that led to my father's decision to leave a legacy of fishing behind in search of better opportunity in Ontario and that brings me to be residing in my current hometown in Canada.

¹ "1774-1857 Register Book and Survey Book," last modified April 2008, <http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~nbcampob/land/lease4a.htm>.

² Al Newman, interview by the author, telephone conversation, Toronto, ON to Hull, MA, 22 February 2016.

³ "1921 Census of Canada," last updated 2013, www.ancestry.ca.

⁴ "1921 Census of Canada," last updated 2013, www.ancestry.ca.

⁵ Leroy O. Stone, "Introduction," in *Migration in Canada: Some Regional Aspects* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1969), p. 3.

By way of foreshadowing, "A Share of the Necessaries of Life" is the story of a single family, Charles and Mary Robertson, who arrived in Saint John, New Brunswick, in 1803 to settle and farm along the Kennebecasis River. They left Scotland to pursue greater opportunity in the New World after "demographic increase and modernization were ultimately responsible for the disruption of the old order".⁶ Their descendants flourished and yet "just as Charles and Mary forsook family and familiarity in hope of realizing a future that was no longer open to them where they were, so their grandchildren and great-grandchildren, facing a future that no longer accorded with their dreams, abandoned the communities and lifestyles of the parents as they made their accommodation to a new economic order."⁷ The pattern would seem to apply in the case of my father, as well.

In considering regional disparity in the 1930s, E. R. Forbes observes that "the three [Maritime] provinces were among the last to adopt such social programs as old age pension and mothers' allowance and they were on record as opposing unemployment insurance ... [but] Maritime governments were unique neither in the nature of their problems nor in their responses to them; they shared in the broad ideological current of the day."⁸ Despite the attitude of the day toward direct aid, the federal government did spend money in the 1930s on assistance. However, of the \$463,667,018 sent from the central government to individuals between 1930 and 1939, Maritime residents received only \$15,151,475 or 3.3% of it; per capita that is one-third of what other regions received.⁹

One possible explanation presented by Forbes for the lower amount of aid is the belief that Maritimers suffered less in the depression, a belief perpetuated by post Maritime Rights optimism. A

⁶ Graeme Wynn, "A Share of the Necessaries of Life: Remarks on Migration, Development, and Dependency in Atlantic Canada," in *Beyond Anger and Longing: Community and Development in Atlantic Canada* (Victoria, BC: Acadiensis Press, 1988), p. 30.

⁷ *ibid.* p. 48.

⁸ Ernest R. Forbes, "Cutting the Pie into Smaller Pieces: Matching Grants and Relief in the Maritime Provinces during the 1930s," in *Challenging the Regional Stereotypes: Essays on the 20th Century Maritimes* (Fredericton, NB: Acadiensis Press, 1989), p. 148.

⁹ *ibid.* p. 149.

contemporary example of this optimism can be seen in the description by S. A. Saunders in a 1939 study prepared for the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations that “although the decline in economic activity ... was very great, the position of these provinces seems to have been relatively better than that of other parts of the Dominion according to the national income figures compiled for the Commission.”¹⁰ The problem with this rosy view however is that Saunders presents percentage change numbers to support the argument and the absolute numbers which tell a more grim story are left to an appendix. For example, he mentions that the income received by Maritimers declined about 39% from 1929 to 1933, and that the income received by the people of Ontario declined by 42%. The data behind those numbers? The net value of production in New Brunswick fell from \$87.4 million in 1929 to \$48.1 million in 1933. Over the same period in Ontario, the net value of production fell from \$1,658.4 million to \$883.2 million, 18 times the production in New Brunswick.¹¹ In 1931 the population of New Brunswick was 408,219 and the population of Ontario was 3,431,683, only 8 times the population in New Brunswick.¹² Having 18 times the production from and for only 8 times the people is certainly the better position to be in. So while it is true that Maritimers experienced a smaller percentage drop in their income in the depression, their incomes were already so significantly below the national average that there was little for them to lose. And by the same token on the recovery side, a small increase in a small income would seem to be a large percentage of an already small income.

While he does consider the presence of post-Depression optimism, for Forbes the real problem for Maritime development in the 1930s was the system of matching grants that came into favour. Not so much a problem with the design of the programs themselves, but a problem with the design of the

¹⁰ S. A. Saunders, *The Economic History of the Maritime Provinces: A Study Prepared for the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations* (1939; reprint, with an introduction by T. W. Acheson, Fredericton, NB: Acadiensis Press, 1984), p. 49.

¹¹ *ibid.* p. 109.

¹² “Population of Canada, by province, census dates, 1851 to 1976,” last modified March 30, 2016, http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11-516-x/sectiona/A2_14-eng.csv.

programs considering the much smaller capacity for production in the Maritimes given the population numbers just mentioned. As he states, "the process of metropolitan consolidation which led to the concentration of manufacturing, wholesaling and financial institutions in Southern Ontario and Quebec also hived much of the taxable resources of the nation within the two central provinces."¹³ Saunders, too, makes note of this despite his earlier optimism: "In so far as industries producing for the domestic market were concentrated in central Canada the inequality was not merely an inequality between industries but also an inequality between regions."¹⁴ He goes further to identify the impact of the inequality: "On balance, the taxpaying capacity of the Maritime region, more particularly in the field of income and inheritance taxes, is lessened."¹⁵

With less income in the present and the inability to borrow against the future because of the constant outmigration brought on by centralization, the Maritimes were able to participate only marginally in matching grants programs and so missed out on almost \$50 million that could have been distributed had the money been given on a per capita basis. As Forbes describes it, "under the system of conditional matching grants [in the 1930s] the three [Maritime] provinces were forced to play in a relief game whose rules only allowed the effective participation of wealthier players."¹⁶ He is left to wonder what could have been.

The coming of war in the 1940s provides an excellent example to study the impact of the economic actions of a government with many of the invisible natural laws of Adam Smith suspended. For Forbes, "the events of the war period help illuminate the process by which regional disparity is created."¹⁷

¹³ Forbes, "Cutting the Pie," p. 152.

¹⁴ Saunders, *The Economic History of the Maritime Provinces*, p. 88.

¹⁵ *ibid.* p. 88

¹⁶ Forbes, "Cutting the Pie," p. 170.

¹⁷ Forbes, "Consolidating Disparity: The Maritimes and the Industrialization of Canada during the Second World War," in *Challenging the Regional Stereotypes: Essays on the 20th Century Maritimes* (Fredricton, NB: Acadiensis Press, 1989), p. 172.

Between lobbying by Ontario industries for a central location safe from German attack and the already relatively poor infrastructure and labour shortages in the Maritimes from the underfunding of the 1930s, “the earliest and biggest contracts went to the largest centres in the most influential provinces and with them went the federal assistance for industrial development.”¹⁸ The impact was such that as of April 30, 1941, the Maritimes had received 1.81% of \$484,299,078 committed to the war by British and Canadian governments, this despite having 9.8% of the population and 5% of the industry and a strategic location in a war being fought across the Atlantic.¹⁹ The lack of investment exacerbated the outflow of population and therefore the labour shortages and the investment in central Canada continued. By the end of 1943, of the \$1.6 billion invested by the Department of Munitions and Supply, \$823 million went to the provinces, but the Maritimes got just \$27 million or 3.7% and received only 6.2% of the value of shipbuilding contracts.²⁰

Forbes pulls no punches, saying that “the long-term impact of the government’s wartime policies on the Maritimes were largely negative.”²¹ However, he does not see a conspiracy by the central government to de-industrialize the Maritimes. Rather he points to numerous occasions when central government officials, chief among them the influential minister C. D. Howe, commented that much of what they did in wartime was done with an eye to after the war. And what they wanted after the war was “a centralized manufacturing complex closely integrated with the United State.”²² The Maritimes simply did not fit in that picture. Forbes even considers that it may have been more efficient for the federal government to concentrate investment centrally, and he recognized that conventional economics would have said that if the Maritimes were inefficient and needed help, it would have been wasting money to invest it there. The balance he strikes is the conclusion that if nothing was explicitly

¹⁸ Forbes, “Consolidating Disparity,” p. 197.

¹⁹ *ibid.* p. 178.

²⁰ *ibid.* p. 191-2.

²¹ *ibid.* p. 195.

²² *ibid.* p. 174.

done to the Maritimes during the war years, then certainly nothing was done for it. Regardless, the end result in the latter half of the 1940s was a region that was left even further behind a growing central Canada and without the resources to self-invest in their industrial growth as numerous royal commissions suggested they should.

By 1955 per capita income in the Maritimes was 33% below the national average and secondary industry had taken up only 2.2% of the national increase from 1946 to 1953 while Ontario took 56.6%.²³

Margaret Conrad, in her look at economic activism in the 1950s, picks up on the centralization theme of Saunders and Forbes before her: "As the Canadian government moved to consolidate its trading relationship with the US ... investment settled in the St. Lawrence Valley and western hinterland ... [and] post-war migrants flocked to where the jobs were."²⁴ Specifically, "82,000 people left the region in the 1950s, following the 93,000 who had left in the previous decade."²⁵ As in decades before, this meant that the burden of social services, more in vogue post-war than in the 1930s and 1940s, were added to already declining government revenues. From this position, it is not surprising that the "Atlantic Revolution" arose in the 1950s to describe the post-war regional protest. Quite simply, "the economic boom of the 'Fabulous Fifties' failed to live up to its promise in Atlantic Canada"²⁶ and the Atlantic provinces – the Maritime provinces plus the new province of Newfoundland – pulled together to present a common front to the central government.

The Atlantic Provinces had made their case before, but this time things were different. "The four Atlantic Provinces ... had accepted the conventional wisdom of the age: that state planning was the only alternative to economic inferiority, and that federal aid was the necessary condition for the success

²³ Margaret Conrad, "The 'Atlantic Revolution' of the 1950s," in *Beyond Anger and Longing: Community and Development in Atlantic Canada*, ed. by Berkeley Fleming (Victoria, BC: Acadiensis Press, 1988), p. 57-8.

²⁴ Conrad, "The 'Atlantic Revolution' of the 1950s," p. 58-9.

²⁵ *ibid.* p. 59.

²⁶ *ibid.* p. 57.

of such planning.”²⁷ They also got political and they got organized. Growing local discontent was beginning to impact election results and the governing Liberals began to take notice. A joint meeting of the Maritime Provinces Boards of Trade and the Atlantic premiers in 1953 eventually led to the creation of the Atlantic Provinces Economic Council (APEC) in 1955 with representatives from organized labour, co-operatives, universities, the public service and business.²⁸ Following a federal-provincial conference in the fall of 1955, the “1956 budget included plans for an equalization formula based on the average income of the two wealthiest provinces” and Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent challenged the Atlantic Provinces to produce the “initiative and ideas” to accomplish redevelopment.²⁹

An “Atlantic Manifesto” issued by the 16 Progressive Conservative candidates in the Atlantic provinces during the 1958 federal campaign helped elect 21 Progressive Conservative MPs from the Atlantic provinces, up from 5 in the previous election, and resulted in 4 of them serving in the minority cabinet of John Diefenbaker. Several of the planks in the Atlantic Manifesto involving direct funding in infrastructure were implemented before the Diefenbaker government fell in 1958. The PCs were rewarded in the Maritimes for their support with 25 out of 31 seats although the rest of the country turned to the Liberals and Lester B. Pearson who formed the next government.

By this time, however, internal differences began to arise among the Atlantic Provinces about which projects should be given priority. And as the prospects of government funding began to grow, local business interests in New Brunswick led by K. C. Irving began to get involved and push for their own projects. As the 1950s waned and the 1960s approached, other provinces such as Quebec and Saskatchewan declared that they were Maritime provinces, too, and expected to receive the same treatment. Coincidentally or perhaps because of this, the economic mood in Ottawa shifted and the

²⁷ Conrad, “The ‘Atlantic Revolution’ of the 1950s,” p. 60.

²⁸ *ibid.* p. 70.

²⁹ *ibid.* p. 73

federal finance minister told the provincial ministers that regional monetary and fiscal policy were no longer a go, and the Bank of Canada governor moved to keep a tight rein on money.

The review of the movement concludes that despite doing little to move the needle on per capita incomes and other measures of inequality, it did achieve some success in bringing attention to the need for regional development in the Maritimes and elsewhere in Canada. However, it is largely forgotten since it “never moved beyond the narrow business and bureaucratic circles in which the battles were being fought”³⁰ Furthermore, “the rank and file of voters were often either uninformed about the goals and strategies of the movement or out of sympathy altogether with the development thrust. Those eking out a subsistence living in the marginal farming and fishing communities sometimes felt threatened by the bureaucratic apparatus invading their culture.”³¹

That was certainly the case for my father, who, when asked about the Atlantic Revolution and the Atlantic Manifesto, said he had no memory of them. Although it is true he was only a teenager when these events were taking place, he remained close with his friends and family still living in the Maritimes after he left and it seems the topic never came up.

My father had left school in 1957, part way through Grade 10, and went to work immediately on his father’s fishing boat. In research carried out for the Agricultural Rehabilitation and Rural Development Act (ARDA) in 1961, a grandchild of the Atlantic Revolution, Pierre-Yves Pépin reports that out of 23,285 people living in Charlotte County, 1,137 lived on Campobello Island.³² And of 3,500 in the region employed in the fishery, about 700 were fisherman.³³ Saunders points out in 1939 that the fishing industry in the Maritimes was “not as in British Columbia a highly centralized industry. Operators are to

³⁰ Conrad, “The ‘Atlantic Revolution’ of the 1950s,” p. 95.

³¹ *ibid.* p. 88.

³² Pierre-Yves Pépin, *Life and Poverty in the Maritimes* (Ottawa: Ministry of Forestry and Rural Development, 1968), p. 166.

³³ Pépin, *Life and Poverty*, p. 178.

be found at practically all the many bays and harbours along the exterior coastline of the three provinces, and the individual fisherman is still ... working on his own account."³⁴ Things according to my father had not changed much in the ensuing 30 years. Saunders also points out in 1939 that fishing is an export industry and that fishermen are engaged in international competition and trade without the explicit support of the federal government or conversely their involvement. Again, not much had changed. According to my father, "We never, ever had to have a fishing license. We just done what we wanted to do to make a living. What you caught you sold and you just kept the money."³⁵

The work was hard, six days a week, and the pay was low. As my father says, "Sometimes we'd make \$3.00 a day on a good day. Sometimes \$3.00 or \$4.00 a day. \$2.50, \$3.00, rarely more than \$3.00 a day."³⁶ This was after expenses and a share for the captain and a share for the boat. Other than working on the boat or at the sardine factory, however, there was not much else to do. He was content, though, and so was surprised when presented with the opportunity to travel back to Ontario with his Aunt Connie and her husband Tommy and find work there. "Mom suggested it," he says. "I thought about it, but at first I thought, 'Hell, no!'"³⁷ Others had gone and told him about it, describing it as a messed up place with lots of rules and regulations they were not accustomed to. So when asked why he eventually decided to leave, he says, "My fear of going scallop dragging. I had an opportunity to go with Connie and Tommy to Toronto and get a job. In the summer we talked about it for a couple of weeks and finally I said, 'Yeah, OK, I'll go. Pack me a bag.'" And with that he was off to Ontario.

³⁴ Saunders, *The Economic History of the Maritimes*, p. 71.

³⁵ Al Newman, interview by the author, digital recording, Boston, MA, 5 March 2016.

³⁶ Newman, interview, 5 March 2016.

³⁷ *ibid.*

In Ontario, "the beginning of the 1940s was marked by a growing acceptance of government intervention in economic life and intense interest in the mechanics of economic control."³⁸ Fortunately for them, they had the resources to do it. The bravado in Rea's description of Ontario in 1940 is a sharp contrast to the description of harsh conditions in the Maritimes:

Ontario in 1940 was Canada's wealthiest and most economically developed province. Approximately one out of every three Canadians lived there. More than 40 per cent of the country's Gross National Product and over 50 per cent of its total manufacturing production originated in the province. Many of Canada's most important industrial activities were concentrated in Ontario ... [and] although the province lacked fuel resources, it had cheap access to high-grade coal deposits in the United States and its own highly-developed hydroelectric power system.³⁹

Rea provides confirmation, from the winning side, of Forbes' contention that war-time economic planning was done with a view to the post-war years. "The expert consensus was that the end of the war would bring a return to the conditions before it. In Ottawa planning for the post-war period was oriented to such expectations."⁴⁰ However, while "Ottawa remained pre-occupied with the prospect of a major post-war recession ... in Ontario the concern over unemployment ... was rapidly dissipated by the buoyant conditions ... and Ontario soon shifted from unemployment to the ability of the government ... to meet the demands of a rapidly expanding and industrializing society."⁴¹ The 22 Points Declaration in 1943, a plan for the future of the province and for the use and development of the province's resources, was an example of the planning that could be done with the production and tax base to pay for it. This kind of plan is in sharp contrast to the efforts of the Maritimes to simply secure new industry following the war. Overall, Rea says, "during the 1939 – 1975 period the government of

³⁸ Kenneth John Rea. *The Prosperous Years: The Economic History of Ontario 1939-1975* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), p. 12.

³⁹ Rea, *The Prosperous Years*, p. 14.

⁴⁰ *ibid*, p. 16.

⁴¹ *ibid*. p21-2.

Ontario actively promoted the development of manufacturing industries in Ontario."⁴² Some from the Maritimes might say not just did promote, but could promote.

The story of Ontario's development in the 1940s, however, is not one of simple good fortune from geography and the decisions of earlier governments. The province fought hard, as one expects it would, to keep what it had and to consider its own best interests first, sometimes to the detriment of other regions. For example,

The federal government's specific proposals in 1945 would have made it responsible for dealing with unemployment, old age pensions and much of the burden arising from health insurance. The provinces were asked to abandon the personal income tax, the corporation tax, and succession duties in favour of the federal government. They would in turn receive annual unconditional grants based on a fixed sum per capita, with the amount set at such a level as to make it possible for the poorest provinces to achieve balance budgets. Owing in large part to Ontario's intransigence, these proposals failed, despite repeated attempts of the federal government to find some basis for agreement.⁴³

But Ontario went further than simply considering their own interests, with Premier Frost avowing in 1947 the belief that dependence on "the federal government for contributions and subsidies" would have the provinces become "extravagant and subservient to the central authority."⁴⁴ This certainly fits with the thinking at the time identified earlier, but is particularly rich coming from the province with the fewest problems.

As an interesting contrast to Forbes' view of the 1940s, Rea notes that,

Ontario's traditional domination of the national manufacturing scene continued unchanged over most of the period [from 1939 to 1975]. During the Second World War the province's position was temporarily eroded by the federal government's wartime measures, which stimulated unusually high levels of production in some other parts of the country. But by the 1950s Ontario's pre-war share of total manufacturing value added, approximately 50 per cent, was restored.⁴⁵

⁴² Rea, *The Prosperous Years*, p. 217.

⁴³ *ibid.* p. 22.

⁴⁴ *ibid.* p. 22.

⁴⁵ *ibid.* p. 197

Regardless of this divergent view of economic activity in the war years, by the 1950s the Frost administration was running surpluses, reducing debt and building public works, especially highways and municipal infrastructure. About this time, the federal government came around to this supply-side economics and the Ontario government was happy to participate. The province reached a tax-rental agreement with the federal government in 1952 and then extended it in 1957. Ontario also needed more revenue to fund their recently growing involvement in social services and so entered into cost-sharing arrangements with the federal government. Again, a contrast to the experience in the Maritimes where cost-sharing arrangements were seen as a drain on limited resources rather than an opportunity to leverage existing resources.

Rea observes that “the biggest problem facing Canadian domestic production [in the textile industry] was obtaining sufficient labour to keep their factories operating at capacity levels.”⁴⁶ Fortunately for the textile industry, my father arrived in July 1959 ready to work at Robinson’s cotton mill in Woodbridge, Ontario. “I arrived in Woodbridge on a Saturday afternoon and I had a job Monday morning ... working maintenance in the cotton mill,” says my father. “I think I made \$1.10 an hour. I thought, ‘I’m gonna get rich here!’ And it was an apprenticeship thing, too.”⁴⁷ It quickly became home and he facilitated additional migration from the Maritimes. “I rented an apartment [in about 1962 after living with Connie and Tommy for three years] and Mom and Dad came to live with me and [brother] Merton, too.” From his first job at the cotton mill monitoring the machines, he moved on to other machine jobs with other firms and eventually sheet metal work and a career manufacturing and installing industrial ovens and spray booths.

⁴⁶ Rea, *The Prosperous Years*, p. 208.

⁴⁷ Newman, interview, 5 March 2016.

When asked why he chose Ontario, he responds, "That was the only option presented to me."⁴⁸ Family members and friends from Wilson's Beach were already there. He says that many of the people at Robinson's knew each other from Campobello. When asked why he didn't choose somewhere else in New Brunswick or the Maritimes, he says, "I never had the opportunity to go. I never wanted to go. I was happy to stay at home and go fishing. I wouldn't have gone if not for scallop dragging. That's a hard god damned life."⁴⁹ And when asked why in the end he chose to leave: "Work. A chance to better myself. My mother actually pushed me to go. 'Why don't you go back and get a decent job. There's nothing for you around here.' The old man went along with it. But it was my mom, in her sweet delicate ways, [who] said, 'Why don't you go back with Connie and Tommy and get a job so you can have something.' But I was happy with what I had. We had nothing and I was happy with that."⁵⁰

Pépin recognizes that support from parents for the move is common and also identifies that last sentiment of "being happy with what I had" as a common one for those who experience poverty in a location that is loved and has been inhabited for generations. "A level of income which would bring about unacceptable living conditions in a large agglomeration is made bearable here by several factors: social cohesion and the absence of social classes, mutual aid at the level of the local community, the modesty of aspirations and needs, and the role of welfare allowances."⁵¹

Pépin also identifies that "although the emigrants do not like the city, they want cars, weekly pay cheques and paid holidays. They are 'homey types', and during the summer flock back as vacationers to their native parish. These vacationers tend to draw away those who have remained behind ... by plainly showing them the differences between their standards of living."⁵² This was the case for my father, as

⁴⁸ Newman, interview, 5 March 2016.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*

⁵⁰ *ibid.*

⁵¹ Pépin, *Life and Poverty in the Maritimes*, p. 214.

⁵² *ibid.* p 219-20.

well, in both being drawn away by a visiting aunt and uncle already living in Ontario and by visiting often himself and bringing friends and other family members back with him.

In another way, my father's move to Ontario was similar to others. In a review of interprovincial, five-year migrants from 1956 and 1961 census data, the period during which my father moved, Leroy Stone identifies that "Ontario was clearly the favourite provincial destination for the five-year migrants from Quebec and the eastern provinces."⁵³ However, in some other very important ways, he was different than other migrants. "Relatively low migration ratios were shown by those with elementary education and low-skilled occupation."⁵⁴ For all classes of migrants, urban, rural and rural non-farm, the lowest migration ratio was for those aged 15 to 19, although it picks up for those 20-24 and peaks for those 24-29.⁵⁵ "Persons reporting a five-year change of home were more likely to be married."⁵⁶ And for occupation, only 1.7% of all farmers and other primary labourers were inter-provincial movers within Canada.⁵⁷ In many ways, he was not a typical interprovincial migrant which must have made the transition more difficult.

In a study of internal migration in Canada done for the Economic Council of Canada, Isabel Anderson asks for a little more nuance when looking at the causes of migration:

The traditional argument about cause is whether 'push' or 'pull' factors induce migratory movements. ... The 'push' can come from political disturbances, from relatively low economic or social status and from various other social and economic factors with the area of out-movement. The 'pull' factors primarily include opportunities for economic and social gain in the area of out-migration.⁵⁸

She says that "a precise delineation of the causes is not a simple and straightforward task. ... In general, changes in population and in economic activity are interdependent phenomena. The latter affect and

⁵³ Stone, *Migration in Canada*, p. 9.

⁵⁴ *ibid.* p. 11.

⁵⁵ Stone, *Migration in Canada*, p. 74.

⁵⁶ *ibid.* p. 79.

⁵⁷ *ibid.* p. 99.

⁵⁸ Isabel Anderson, *Internal Migration in Canada, 1921 – 1961* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer for Canada, 1966), p. 27.

are affected by the former.”⁵⁹ However, she does come to the conclusion that “migration in Canada, during the forty-year period from 1921 to 1961, was related to differences in economic opportunity.”⁶⁰ From what is presented here of my father’s move from the Maritimes to Ontario, I believe this seems to be the case. As in the story of Charles and Mary Robertson told by Wynn, the life the Robertsons sought and found in the New World could only be found by their descendants elsewhere a few generations later.

In particular, Anderson identifies that “the three provinces with the highest levels of nonfarm income per capita in 1961 (Ontario, British Columbia and Alberta) had the three highest rates of growth in nonfarm income[, and] the three provinces with the lowest levels of nonfarm income per capita in 1961 had relatively low rates of growth in nonfarm income (Atlantic provinces).”⁶¹ In general and with an eye to cause, Pépin points out that “it was precisely the opening of these new territories [in the interior of the continent] and the attraction they exercised on men which first hindered the Maritimes by attracting European immigrants away from the Maritimes, and then drawing away Maritimers themselves.”⁶² Succinctly, Wynn quotes Galbraith who observes, “Migration is the oldest action against poverty.”⁶³ His mother encouraged him to go for a better life and in doing so my father was a part of the problem of Maritime out-migration identified by Saunders, Forbes, and Conrad. But to put it plainly and to give credence to Anderson’s point about the risks of trying too hard to identify cause and effect, as my father said: “I was happy ... except for the thought of scallop dragging.”⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Anderson, *Internal Migration in Canada*, p. 27.

⁶⁰ *ibid.* p. 32.

⁶¹ *ibid.*, p. 37.

⁶² Pépin, *Life and Poverty in the Maritimes*, p. 193.

⁶³ Wynn, “A Share of the Necessities of Life,” p. 49.

⁶⁴ Newman, interview, 5 March 2016.

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Anderson, Isabel B. "Internal Migration and Economic Growth." Chapter IV in *Internal Migration in Canada, 1921 – 1961*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer for Canada, 1966.

Helped me understand the interplay of push and pull factors and in seeing a clearer relationship between otherwise independent economic actions in the Maritimes and in Ontario.

Burrill, Gary. "Ontario." Part Two in *Away: Maritimers in Massachusetts, Ontario, and Alberta*. Kingston, ON: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.

A collection of oral histories of those who have left the Maritimes. The stories are as different as the individuals who tell them, but a common theme of what "home" means comes out. It served as excellent preparation for the interviews with my father by helping me consider what to ask and how to let the conversation progress.

Conrad, Margaret. "The Atlantic Revolution of the 1950s." In *Beyond Anger and Longing: Community and Development in Atlantic Canada*, edited by Berkeley Fleming. Victoria, BC: Morriss Publishing Ltd., 1988.

This article provides a good study of the political efforts of the Atlantic premiers to bring the attention – and the funding – of the federal government to the needs of the Atlantic Provinces in the decade leading up to my father's decision. Most telling is that, despite a promising beginning, as most movements have, the Atlantic Revolution became bogged down in bureaucracy and in-fighting at the prospect of actual money being allocated.

Forbes, E. R. *Challenging the Regional Stereotype*. Fredericton, NB: Acadiensis Press, 1989.

Two essays in this collection, "Cutting the Pie into Smaller Pieces: Matching Grants and Relief in the Maritime Provinces in the 1930s" and "Consolidating Disparity: The Maritimes and the Industrialization of Canada during the Second World War," helped me understand the actions in the 1930s and 1940s that may have contributed to the economic situation my father found himself in the 1950s. Forbes is an ardent advocate for the Maritimes and doesn't hesitate to call a foul when he sees one, but he is also fair in his consideration of the natural challenges to Maritime development include geography and location.

Newman, Allan. Interview by the author. Telephone conversation, unrecorded. Toronto, ON to Hull, MA, 22 February 2016.

An initial survey of general dates and locations.

Newman, Allan. Interview by the author. Digital recording. Hull, MA, 3 March 2016.

A more in-depth, one-hour conversation about life on Campobello Island, his decision to move to Ontario and his life after.

Pépin, Pierre-Yves, Ph.D. "Charlotte- Prosperous past, underemployed future." Chapter V in *Life and Poverty in the Maritime*. Ottawa: Ministry of Forestry and Rural Development, 1968.

A caring and detailed look at the people who live and occasionally work in Charlotte Country, New Brunswick, location of Campobello Island. A good balance of the micro view of daily life and the macro view of the contemporary influences on the people who live there.

Rea, Kenneth John. "War, Recovery, and Management of the Provincial Economy." Chapter 1 in *The Prosperous Years: The Economic History of Ontario 1939 – 1975*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985.

A well-written and detailed look of the considerations and decisions of government at the outset of Ontario's most profound period of growth. Honest in its assessment of what happened by chance and what came to pass by policy.

Rea, Kenneth John. "Manufacturing." Chapter 9 in *The Prosperous Years: The Economic History of Ontario 1939 – 1975*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985.

A deep dive into the decisions that drove the growth of the manufacturing industries in Ontario from 1939 to 1975. Again, an honest assessment of where the government was driving and where it was simply lucky.

Saunders, S. A. "Depression and Recovery – 1930 to Present." Section I.8 in *The Economic History of the Maritime Provinces: A Study Prepared for the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, 1939*. Reprint with an introduction by T. W. Acheson. Fredericton, NB: Acadiensis Press, 1984.

A contemporary look at economic activity in the Maritimes in the 1930s, the thinking of the day and the challenges as understood at the time.

Saunders, S. A. "The Fishing Industry." Section II.4 in *The Economic History of the Maritime Provinces: A Study Prepared for the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, 1939*. Reprint with an introduction by T. W. Acheson. Fredericton, NB: Acadiensis Press, 1984.

A view to the Maritime fishery and the challenges it faced at the end of the 1940s. Provided a good picture of the life my father would soon be in line to inherit.

Stone, Leroy O. *Migration in Canada: Some Regional Aspects*. Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1969.

An excellent look into the details of the people who moved within Canada between the census years of 1956 and 1961, the exact period I need to study. Gave me an idea of who these people typically are, how my father was like them in some ways and unlike them in others.

Wynn, Graeme. "A Share of the Necessaries of Life: Remarks on Migration, Development, and Dependency in Atlantic Canada." In *Beyond Anger and Longing: Community and Development in Atlantic Canada*, edited by Berkeley Fleming. Victoria, BC: Morriss Publishing Ltd., 1988.

The story of one family, who moved from Scotland to New Brunswick in 1803, and their descendents. Helpful in presenting the view that the macro-reasons for one generation's migration are often revisited upon a later one.