

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

SOME SOCIO-ECONOMIC DYNAMICS IN SOUTHEASTERN MANITOBA,
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE FARMING COMMUNITIES
WITHIN THE
LOCAL GOVERNMENT DISTRICTS OF STUARTBURN AND PINEY

by

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A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

October, 1972



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I would like to acknowledge the assistance and direction given to me by my thesis advisor and readers, Dr. H. L. Sawatzky, Dr. T. R. Weir and Mr. J. Friesen.

Secondly, I am grateful to all the people who willingly or otherwise gave of their time and knowledge in the process of gathering data.

Thirdly, I appreciate Miss C. Yaskiw's cartographic help.

Finally, and most of all, I am indebted to my wife, Dianne, for her extensive contributions.

N.W.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. BACKGROUND

As Canada continues to evolve from a rural into an urban society,¹ its agricultural communities are undergoing fundamental change. Those changes which most affect the structure of these communities are the continuing consolidation of farm holdings, technological advancement and increased specialization in individual farm enterprises, with the consequent decline of the manpower demand and the gradual disappearance of the rural community as a functioning socio-economic entity.²

Most of the major components and areas of the Canadian agricultural system have been the subject of more or less intensive research by federal and provincial governments and by private agencies. There exist, however, agricultural regions which are not viewed as being important parts of the total system and are frequently, there-

¹For the extent and nature of this trend, see I. B. Anderson, Internal Migration in Canada 1921-1961, March 1966, p. 10.

²P. Grescoe, "Good-bye to the Family Farm," The Canadian Magazine, December 18, 1971, p. 2.

fore, not studied individually. This is primarily due to their containing relatively few people with only a small economic impact on the total agricultural scene. Because of this, the evolutionary changes, characteristics and problems of such areas are usually, at best, only poorly understood. Southeast Manitoba is one such area.

B. OBJECTIVES

The object of this study is to examine in detail those social and economic factors which would appear to have contributed largely to the present nature of land use and settlement of the Local Government Districts of Stuartburn and Piney in general and their farming communities in particular up to the present time. Major themes treated to achieve this purpose will include the region's historical development, its physical and human resource base and a comprehensive account of the rural communities' present social and economic state. An attempt will be made to suggest changes for improving these social and economic conditions.

C. THE STUDY AREA

The area under examination embraces the Local Government Districts of Stuartburn and Piney in southeastern

Manitoba (Figure 1). The maximum combined population ever attained by these Districts exceeded 9,000. The present population is approximately 5,000 and is still undergoing a substantial rate of numerical attrition.³

This region has always been generally considered marginal for agriculture. It was settled later than most of southern Manitoba and largely by immigrants from eastern Europe.

The two Local Government Districts are somewhat isolated from the rest of Manitoba by various geographic and political features. To the south the international boundary sets a political limit (Figure 1). To the north, there is a break in settlement and communication because of low-lying lands and peat bogs. Access from the east is hindered by the presence of the Lake of the Woods. The northwest and the west provide the politically and physiographically most accessible routes.

The present Districts of Stuartburn and Piney have experienced a number of organizational boundary changes in their respective histories (Figure 2). Immediately prior to the formation of the Rural Municipalities of Stuartburn and Sprague on March 29, 1901, there existed the Municipality of Franklin (Figure 2A), which included all of the present

³The nature of the Districts' population growth and decline will be developed in Chapter III.

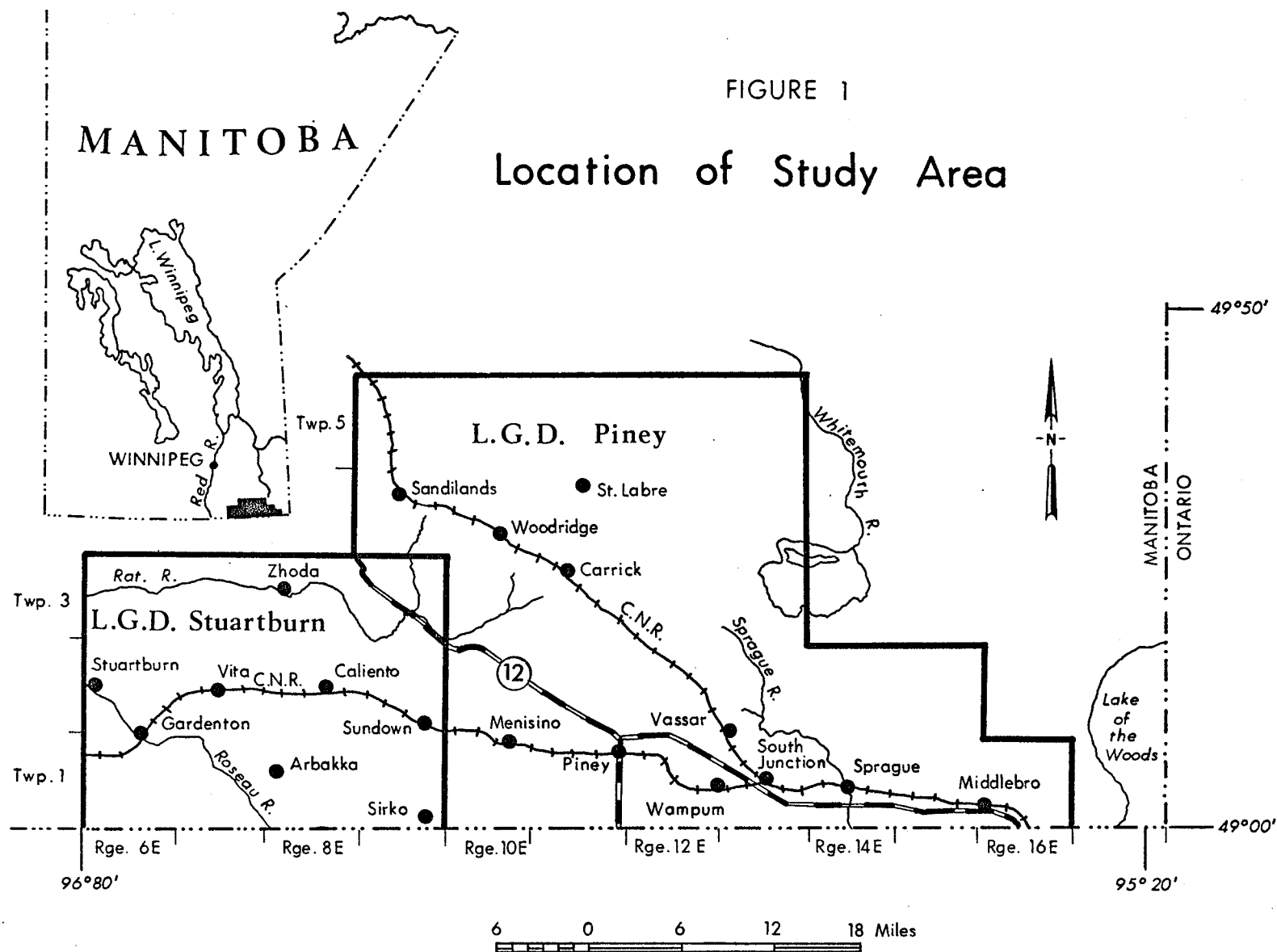
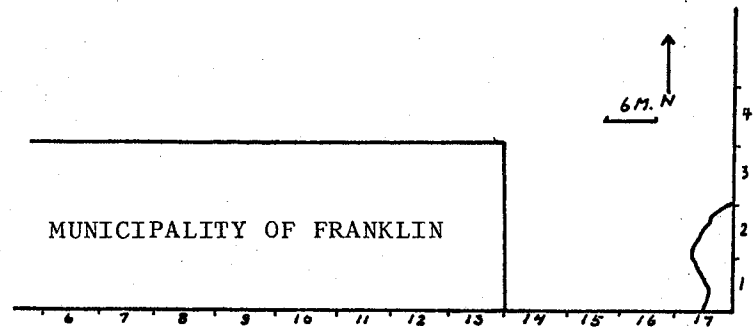


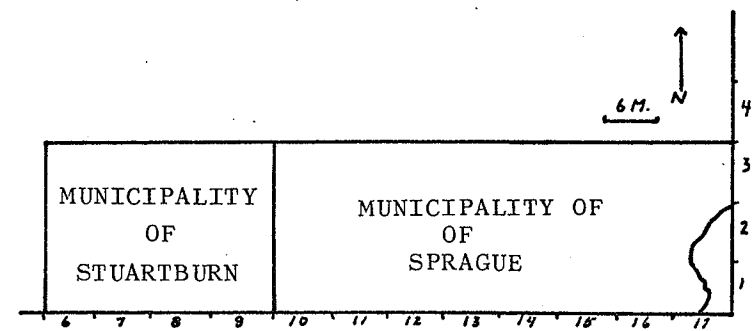
FIGURE 2

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT DISTRICTS OF STUARTBURN AND PINEY,
THEIR PRESENT AND FORMER BOUNDARIES



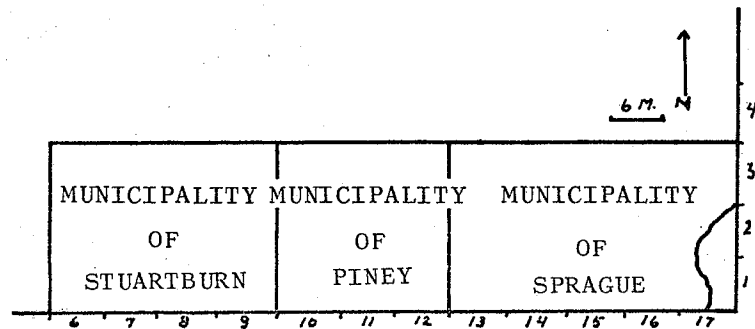
The Rural Municipality of Franklin until 1901

(A)



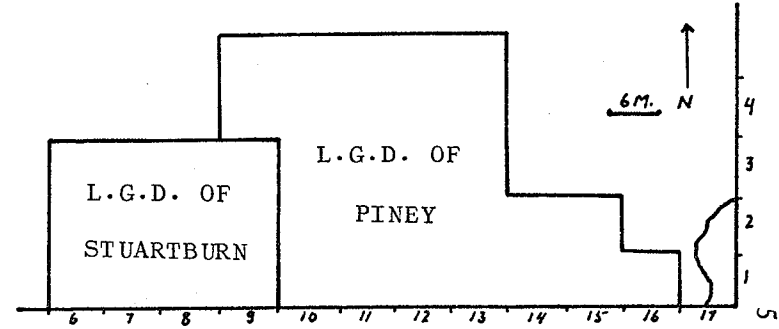
The Rural Municipality of Stuartburn and Sprague as formed in 1901

(B)



The Rural Municipalities of Stuartburn, Piney and Sprague as of 1921 (Note: In 1921, the R.M. of Sprague was divided into the R.M.'s of Piney and Sprague.)

(C)



The Local Government Districts of Stuartburn and Piney as formed in 1944 and as they exist presently.

(D)

Local Government District of Stuartburn and Townships 1-3, Ranges 10-13E of the present Local Government District of Piney. The District, other than losing its status as a municipality, and becoming the Local Government District of Stuartburn,⁴ never experienced any other organizational changes.

Piney, however, has undergone a number of changes. The Rural Municipality of Sprague, formed in 1901 (Figure 2B), was subdivided into the Rural Municipality of Piney (Townships 1-3, Ranges 10-12E) and the Rural Municipality of Sprague (Townships 1-3, Ranges 13-17E) (Figure 2C), on April 26, 1921. After both the Rural Municipalities of Sprague and Piney went bankrupt, the present Local Government District of Piney was formed.⁵ This newly formed Local Government District included all of the former Rural Municipality of Piney, part of the former Rural Municipality of Sprague (Townships 1-3, Ranges 13E, Townships 1-2, Ranges 14-15E, Township 1, Range 16E), part of the former Rural Municipality of La Broquerie (Township 4, Range 9E, Sections 1-24, Township 5, Ranges 9E), and some lands until then unorganized (Township 4, Ranges 10-13E, and Sections 1-24, Township 5, Ranges 10-13E) (Figure 2D).

⁴Accomplished by order-in-council No. 1002, dated December 28, 1944.

⁵Accomplished by order-in-council No. 1001, dated December 28, 1944.

D. THE APPROACH

Each chapter treats the subject at hand separately under the headings of "The Local Government District of Stuartburn" and "The Local Government District of Piney." This is done not to suggest that these Districts have more in contrast than in common, but primarily because of the following two reasons. Firstly, most existing data, such as compiled by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, is typically categorized by jurisdictional areas. Secondly, it was felt that there are numerous noteworthy differences existing between the Districts which would not be revealed should the study area be treated as one unit. Southeastern Manitoba is in a transitional zone, and the individual treatment of the Districts brings to light some of the transitional characteristics.

After the introduction, Chapter II develops the land use and settlement of the district within the framework of major historical events in Western Canada. Although there is little by way of documented records, useful information was obtained from the writings of local and ethnic historians, published diaries of early explorers, field diaries of the first surveyors, and interviews with some of the areas' older residents. This chapter is most useful because much of the present character of occupancy and economic activity has firm roots in history.

Chapter III considers the Districts' agricultural potential based primarily on three classifications of land. The first classification is derived from the comments recorded in the field diaries of the district's first surveyors. The duty of the surveyor was not only to survey and map the land but also to evaluate it as to its suitability for settlement based on anticipated agricultural potential.⁶ This initial classification is valuable in that it was made immediately prior to or at the end of original settlement and probably reflects the settlers' as well as the surveyors' assessments.

Both the second and third land classifications were carried out by governmental departments. The second classification, carried out in the 1950's by the Manitoba Department of Agriculture, identifies soil types and their characteristics, and takes into account their capability in agricultural terms. Two reports⁷ cover the Local Government Districts of Stuartburn and Piney. The third classification was carried out by the Canada Land

⁶The surveyor usually categorized land by the township. Because there were no truly objective criteria for the evaluation of the land, and because many surveyors were involved, the resulting land classification is quite subjective, variable, and often incomplete.

⁷One is the "Report of Reconnaissance Soil Survey Of Winnipeg and Morris Map Sheet Area" published in 1953, and the other is the "Report of the Soil Survey of the South-Eastern Map Sheet Area" published in 1964.

Inventory. It has been defined as a comprehensive survey of land capability and use designed to provide a basis for resource and land use planning. It includes assessment of present land use, land capability for agriculture, forestry, recreation and wildlife, and pilot land use planning projects in each province.⁸

Land characteristics and quality are one of the prime determinants of economically viable land use. The above two classifications not only categorize the land in terms of characteristics and quality, but they also suggest the best usage of these lands. The information from these classifications is useful in evaluating present, and suggesting possible changes in land use.

Chapter IV is concerned with demographic trends and population characteristics. Most of this information was obtained from the publications of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, and from ethnic histories. This information is helpful in that the quality of life a region offers or may support is largely reflected in its demographic data. Some of the problems in the study area are not only reflected in, but are caused by its demographic characteristics.

⁸ Department of Regional Economic Expansion, The Canada Land Inventory Objectives, Scope and Organization, Report No. 1, Second Edition 1970, p. 1.

The information for Chapter V, which deals specifically with the characteristics of the farm unit and its interaction with the total community, was obtained through a field survey of a random sample of farmers. The "Householder Directories"⁹ published by the Post Office Department in Ottawa were used to establish the population "universe".

Since organizational boundaries, such as those of Municipalities and Local Government Districts, do not restrict a householder's choice of a Post Office, it was necessary to visit all the Post Offices near the boundaries of the L.G.D.'s of Stuartburn and Piney to determine whether the people serviced by these Post Offices lived within the Districts in question. The criterion used was the location of the actual farmstead as opposed to other possible ones such as the farmer's major location of land.

After all the heads of households classified as being farmers were determined for each District they were consecutively numbered. Random samples were then drawn

⁹These directories, "are issued annually, by the Post Office Department, for Federal Electoral Districts, excluding areas covered by commercial directories...and contain the names, addresses and occupations of the patrons served through the Post Office in each district. See Post Office Department, Householder Directory for the Electoral District of Provencher, Manitoba 1970, Introductory pages.

from the two universal populations. The actual numbers thus obtained were as follows:

TABLE 1
SAMPLED POPULATION

	Number of Persons Serviced by Post Offices	Total Number of Farmers Indicated	Random Sample Chosen Number	Per- centage	Actual Sample Obtained Number	Per- centage
L.G.D. of Stuartburn	824	364	180	49	113	31
L.G.D. of Piney	659	200	124	62	60	30

The information from the actual sample was obtained by means of completing a questionnaire (Appendix A) through a personal interview.

The use of the Householder Directories is one of the more effective ways of establishing rural universal populations. Other possible means, such as the use of voters lists, agricultural mailing lists and the names of land owners were considered but rejected for the following reasons.

Since the two Districts in question are Local Government Districts, there are no Municipal elections or their equivalent which would provide a voters list. The

use of the lists of electors as compiled for the provincial elections, such as held in 1969, was rejected both on the basis of its inconsistent and inadequate occupational classifications and because of the fact that only the names of Canadian citizens appear on these lists.

Agricultural mailing lists are frequently not kept up-to-date, and the nature of the agricultural activities carried out in the L.G.D.'s of Stuartburn and Piney, in most cases, would exempt the farmers from being listed.

Landowners' names are tedious to obtain and also do not accurately determine resident population. Because of these facts, it was felt that of the listings available the Householder Directories were the best.

The difference in number between the chosen sample and the actual sample is largely due to the erroneous classification of people as farmers. The classification is, however, rather too inclusive than not inclusive enough. For example, more than 25 people of the chosen sample in each District were either retired or older than 65 years of age, and their activities could not be objectively classified as farming. A number of other people were on welfare, or had moved away, or were deceased. The actual numbers of the chosen sample who would not co-operate or were not available for other reasons was low, amounting to only about five to ten

percent of the total sample.

This chapter identifies and documents significant social and economic characteristics among the Districts' farming populations. Problems are thus clarified, allowing for the making of recommendations for their solution.

E. TERMINOLOGY

As used in this study, the terms "L.G.D." and "District" shall mean Local Government District. When there is no ambiguity as to whether the terms "Piney" or "Stuartburn" refer to Local Government Districts, they may be used alone. However, if it is likely that they may be confused with the hamlets of the same names, the word District will always be associated with "Piney" or "Stuartburn".

CHAPTER II

A HISTORICAL SKETCH

A. PRIOR TO SETTLEMENT

Southeastern Manitoba, and particularly the present Local Government Districts of Stuartburn and Piney, participated little in major historical events in Western Canada. The two Districts are, however, noteworthy because of their characteristics and location.

The Roseau River, situated in southeastern Manitoba, is part of a canoe route between the Lake of the Woods and the Red River. Besides being a routeway, this river and its surrounding lands served as an important source of food for the region's inhabiting Indians. Southeastern Manitoba was well noted for its plentiful supply of wild game. Evidence of this is frequently cited in the first surveyors' field books.¹⁰

¹⁰ Game animals and birds frequently mentioned in the first surveyors' field books include black bear, red deer, antelope, moose, wolves, rabbits, prairie chickens, and partridges. For specific references, refer to field books Nos. 7924, 7926, 7633, 9739, 7929, 8733, 8734, 9746, 8740, 9842, 9843, 8742, 12716.

In addition to wild game, the Roseau River was also a major source of fish. The remains of numerous old fish traps still exist on the Roseau River.

J. M. Waddell, a pioneer of Dominion City, writes regarding the Roseau Rapids Indian Reserve:

The Rapids is rich in history as well, and here can be found the remains of an ancient Indian stone fish dam, well over a thousand years old. This dam has been used by many tribes including the Stone Hut of Bank Indians, races long ago extinct. Prior to 1903 when the locks were built at Lockport on the Red River, this was probably the greatest place in all of Canada, if not the world, to catch freshwater sturgeon. The old Indians claimed that when the sturgeon ran in June you could almost walk across the river on their backs.¹¹

A further food source was wild fruit and berries. Even today many rural residents of southeastern Manitoba annually pick and preserve these natural products.

Another aspect which encouraged the Indians travelling to southeastern Manitoba was the lack of birch trees on the prairies. The Roseau River provided an excellent route to good stands of birch trees which were used in the making of canoes.

There are three river routes which were used by the early explorers and fur traders in their journeys from eastern Canada to the "Western Plains". These routes involved the use of the Winnipeg River, the Roseau River

¹¹ J. M. Waddell, Dominion City: Facts, Fiction and Hyperbole, (Steinbach, Manitoba: Derksen Printers, 1970), pp. 13-15.

and the Red Lake River (See Figure 3).

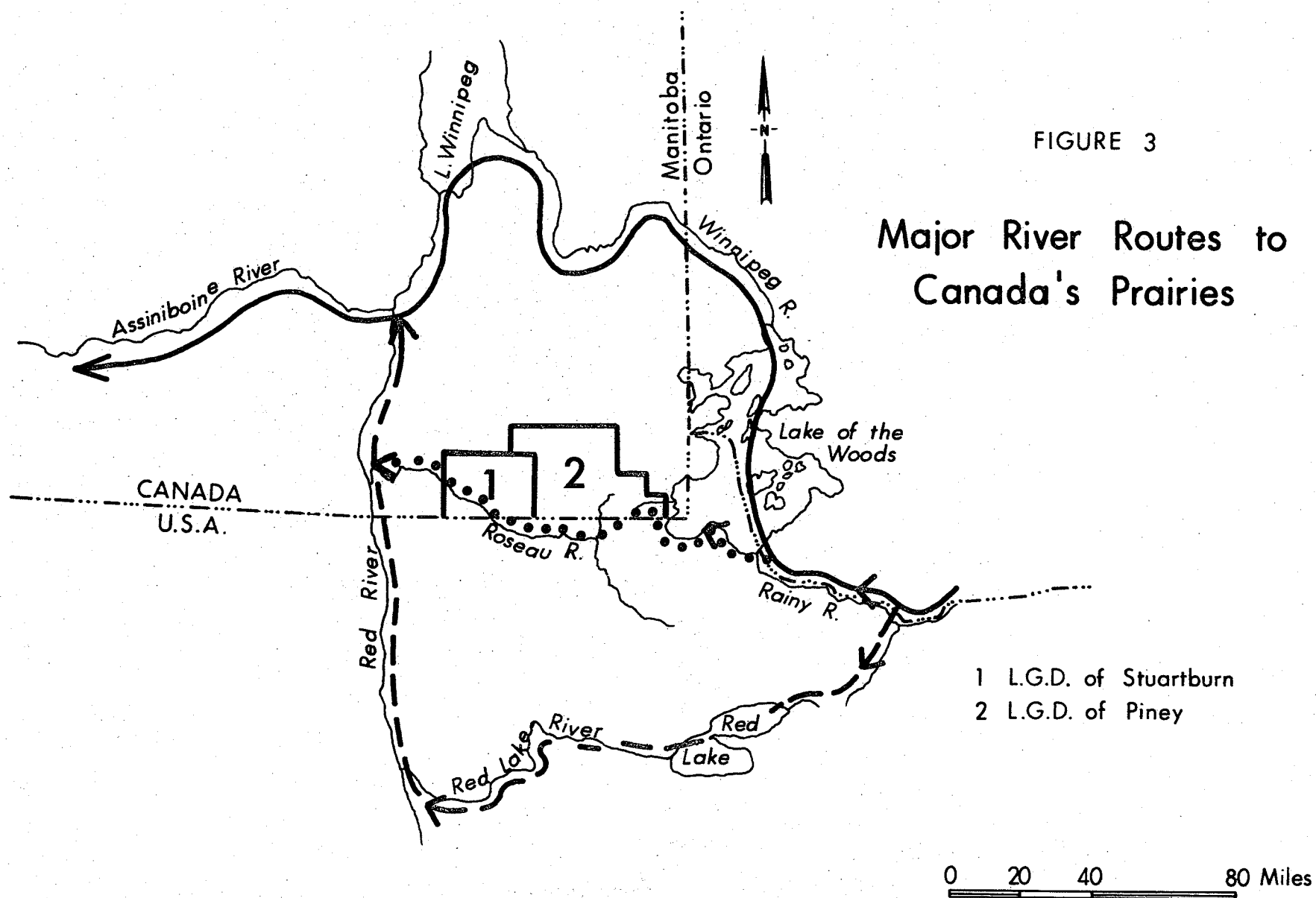
Of these three routes the Roseau River was probably both the first and least used. J. M. Waddell writes,

The Roseau River was the original route to the Red River and the West to be travelled by the early French explorers and fur traders. This route was used almost exclusively by them from 1732 until 1739. In 1740, when the first Fort Maurepas was moved from the Red River, north of what is now Selkirk, to the Winnipeg River, then the Winnipeg River became the more popular route because it led more directly to Lake Winnipeg and the North West Fur country surrounding the Hudson Bay.¹²

The Roseau River route had no dangerous rapids as did the Winnipeg River route, but there were other disadvantages. A footnote in Coves' book on Alexander Henry, regarding a Mr. Tanner's journey between the headwaters of the Roseau River and the Lake of the Woods reads,

We then returned to the Lake of the Woods. From this lake the Indians have a road to go to Red River, which the whitemen never follow; this is by the way of the Muskeek, or swamp carrying place. We went up a river which the Indians call Muskeego-ne-gum-me-wee-see-bee, or Swamp River for several days; we then dragged our canoes across a swamp for one day...then we put our canoes into a small stream, which they

¹² Ibid., p. 9.



called Begwionusk, from the begwionusk, or cow parsley, which grows upon it; this we descended into a small Sahkiegun (lake), which they called by the same name.¹³

Because the Roseau River route had become of secondary importance to the Winnipeg River route, Lord Selkirk's men used it in their campaign against the Nor'Westers who by massacring Semple and his men at Seven Oaks had taken control of the Red River Colony.

Lord Selkirk at once prepared to retaliate with more than North West spirit. In Canada he engaged a band of discharged soldiers from the de Wattville and de Meuron regiments; they had been mercenaries...with these men and a commission as justice of the peace, Selkirk seized Fort William in August and in January, 1817, an advance party of his veterans under Captain P. D. D'Orsonnens trudged over the snowbound Savanne portage of the Roseau to descend on and seize Fort Douglas before the Nor'Westers were aware of their approach.¹⁴

Logging operations began in southeastern Manitoba towards the end of the nineteenth century. Winnipeg was a rapidly growing city and lumber was in great demand both for its development and the development of the many new rail lines on the Canadian prairies.

The first log drive in the Roseau River was begun in July 1876 by McKercher and Campbell.¹⁵ It in-

¹³Elliot Coves, The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson, (New York: F. P. Harper, 1897), p. 76.

¹⁴W. L. Morton, Manitoba, A History, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 30.

¹⁵J. M. Waddell, op. cit., p. 26.

volved the sending of logs from the Caribou district in Minnesota to Dominion City in Manitoba.

The rafting of logs down the Roseau became an annual event and lasted into the twentieth century. Not until about 1907 were the water routes completely replaced by the railroad for log transportation.

Daniel Emes Sprague, after whom the town of Sprague was named, played a major role in Manitoba's southeastern lumber industry. He and his partner, W. J. Macaulay, held a number of timber permits in the present Local Government District of Piney amounting to well over one hundred square miles. The logs cut from the timber berths covered by these permits were largely sent down the Roseau and Red rivers to Winnipeg where they were processed at a sawmill on Point Douglas. "The Sprague Lumber Company was one of the city's most important industries, and besides sawing great rafts of logs which were brought down the Red and the Seine rivers for many years, there was also a planing mill in connection with the enterprise."¹⁶

¹⁶ The Winnipeg Free Press, July 3, 1924.

B. THE EARLY SETTLEMENT PERIOD

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT DISTRICT OF STUARTBURN

Stuartburn was settled earlier than Piney. The first Stuartburn homestead was taken out by W. Stuart Millar on January 12, 1881 - the southwest quarter of Section 16, Township 2, Range 6E (Figure 2). The present hamlet of Stuartburn, situated near the first homestead, is named after him.¹⁷

Prior to the granting of Millar's homestead, most of Township 3, Range 6E had been given to Métis under the terms of the "Half-Breed Land Grants." There is, however, little evidence that the Métis involved were actually permanent settlers. Frequently the Métis' land obtained through the "Grant" was purchased for small amounts of liquor or money, by white land speculators, prior to the Métis ever settling it. The land in question is so marginal in quality that today it supports only a few farms.

¹⁷Geographic Board of Canada, Place-Names of Manitoba, (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1933), p. 84.

M. H. Marunchak, writing on the Ukrainians in Canada, states, "In 1872 the soldiers of the Wolseley expedition took into their possession a large number of homesteads in Stuartburn district of Manitoba, but these were soon abandoned as the land was unfit for cultivation."¹⁸ The Township Registers, which record the first alienation of lands from the Crown, do not contain record of any homesteads having been taken out in Stuartburn in 1872. The reference to the "Stuartburn district" by Marunchak is therefore probably not identifiable with the L.G.D. of Stuartburn, and refers to areas neighbouring it.

Between 1881 and 1896 there was a steady but slow growth around the hamlet of Stuartburn. A Post Office was opened in Stuartburn in 1886,¹⁹ and by 1888 the place was noteworthy enough to appear in Brownlees' edition of the Railway and Guide Map of Manitoba of that year.²⁰ The settlers homesteading in the region in those years were Anglo-Saxon in origin, with names including

¹⁸M. H. Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians - A History, (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970), p. 86.

¹⁹Geographic Board of Canada, op. cit., p. 84.

²⁰J. Warkentin and R. J. Ruggles, Historical Atlas of Manitoba, (Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, 1970), p. 181.

Greig, FitzGerald, McDonald and Dobbs.

As the better lands of the Red River Valley were taken up, newly arriving settlers who because of ethnic or other affinities wished to homestead in this part of Manitoba gravitated toward the fringes of the settled areas. In southeastern Manitoba this expansion was from the Red River Valley eastwards into the present L.G.D.'s of Stuartburn and Piney.

In 1896 the District of Stuartburn received the first of Manitoba's Ukrainian immigrants. Ninety-four persons arrived in August of that year and took up homesteads in Township 2, Range 6E near the present hamlet of Stuartburn, the location also chosen by the first Anglo-Saxon settlers (Figure 4). "The number of Ukrainian settlers in the Stuartburn district at the end of 1900 was estimated at 3,000."²¹ Most of them, however, were not residing in the District of Stuartburn. In 1901, the total population of Stuartburn L.G.D. was only 1,406, and as Kaye indicates, many families were living west of Range 6E.²² Ranges 7 and 8E of the

²¹V. J. Kaye, Early Ukrainian Settlement in Canada, 1895 - 1900, (Toronto: The Ukrainian Canadian Research Foundation University of Toronto Press, 1964), p. 136.

²²Ibid., pp. 175-178. (Range 6E was the western boundary of the L.G.D. of Stuartburn.) See Figure 2.

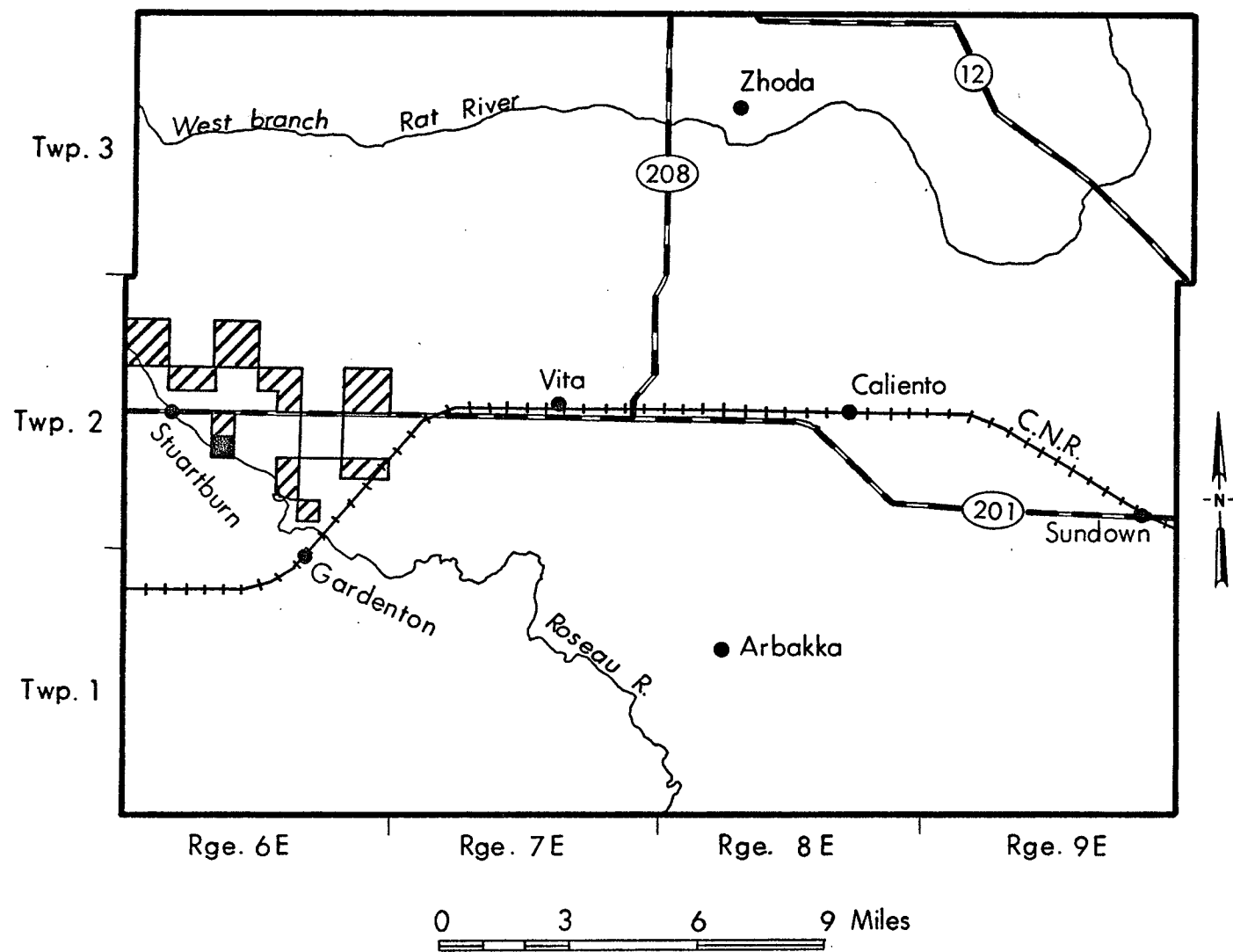




FIGURE 4

L.G.D. of Stuartburn

-  Land settled by Ukrainians in 1896
-  First homestead in Stuartburn (taken by W.S. Miller in 1881)

Stuartburn District had not yet been settled by the Ukrainians in 1900.

As the Ukrainian population moved into Stuartburn, they found that many of the original Anglo-Saxon settlers either had left or were in the process of moving out. The District thus developed into having a high proportion of people of Ukrainian extraction.

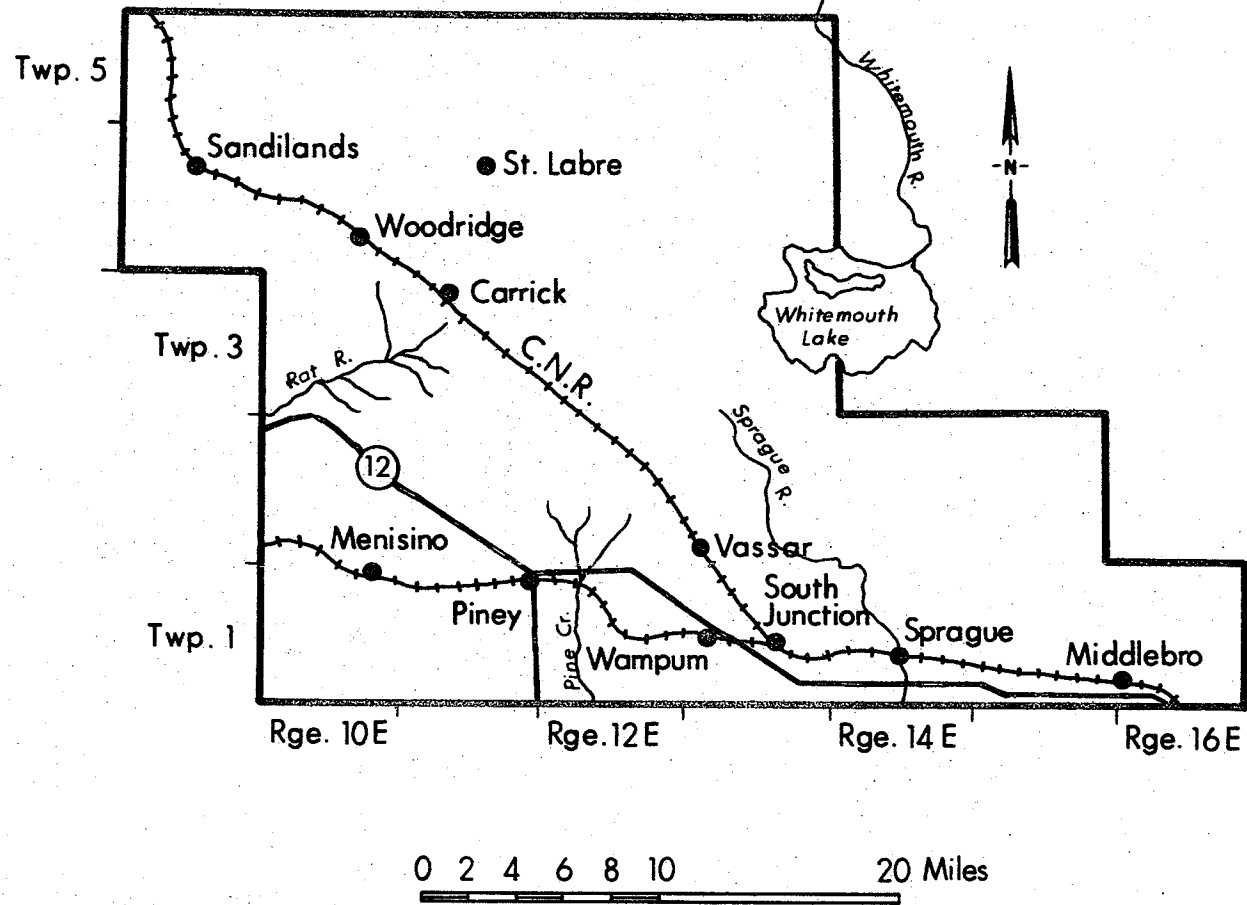
Although the settlement history of the Local Government District of Stuartburn has largely to do with the Ukrainians, people of other ethnic backgrounds were also involved. Besides the Anglo-Saxons, a small number of Icelandic settlers from North Dakota came to the Arbakka area and assumed homesteads in 1903, and in 1915 a few Norwegian families moved into the Dover School District immediately north of the Rat River and west of the present location of Provincial Highway 208 (Figure 2).

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT DISTRICT OF PINEY

The settlement of the present District of Piney (Figure 5) began about the beginning of the 20th Century with an influx of people of Scandinavian extraction from North Dakota and Minnesota. Some of these people were Icelanders who had originally come to the Interlake region of Manitoba in the 1870's, left the

FIGURE 5

L.G.D. of Piney



province to go to the United States and then finally found their way back to Manitoba and the Piney district.

The region was relatively well-known, having been logged for a number of years. The logging operations, and a large forest fire in 1897, partially cleared a large tract of land which attracted the first of these settlers.

When the first surveyors arrived, some of the land was already occupied by squatters. In 1900 C. Carrol, a surveyor, wrote in his field book regarding Township 1, Range 12E: (See Figure 5)

A huge conflagration in all that part west of Pine Creek was considered at that time a great calamity.

But the destruction of the Timber (which was not of much value) was followed by a receding of the water, so that the grass began to grow in the midst of patches of moss and shrubs, some of which still remain.

As the grass increases and drainage improves settlers have flocked in. These are mostly Norwegians and Icelanders, as their names would indicate, with however a few Frenchmen and Scotchmen... The land being suitable for grazing seems to suit them, as they are naturally inclined to the raising of cattle rather than cereals...

These settlers produce potatoes and vegetables and in two cases I noticed small amounts of good wheat.

All the available land will very soon be settled.

Indeed the people have taken up Hudsons Bay Company's land, school lands, and all locations which appear to them suitable for occupation.²³

²³C. Carrol, Surveyor's Field Book, No. 6781.

and regarding Township 1, Range 11E;

The settlers are of the same nationalities as in range twelve namely Norwegian, Icelandic, French and Scotch.

The 14 sections surveyed in this Township join the 14 surveyed in Township No. 1, Range 12 East, and the 8 sections surveyed in Township 2 in Ranges 11 and 12 East, the whole survey being equal to one Township in area making 'The Settlement' as it is locally designated of good shape and size large enough for municipal and educational institutions suitable to the condition and requirements of the settlers.²⁴

Many of the settlers in the extreme southern parts of Piney came to Canada from the United States. One of the chief attractions to these settlers was the offer of free land through homesteading.

Southeastern Manitoba was further opened for settlement with the building of a railway through that district. On May 2, 1889, "The Manitoba and South Eastern Railway Company was incorporated to construct and operate a railway from Winnipeg to International Boundary."²⁵

²⁴Ibid., No. 6782. See Figure 3.

²⁵A. B. Hopper and T. Kearney, Canadian National Railways, Synoptical History of Organization, Capital Stock, Funded Debt and other General Information, (Montreal: Accounting Department, Canadian National Railways, 1962), p. 208.

The construction and completion of this line²⁶ and the associated Ridgeville line running from South Junction to Emerson (Ridgeville Line completed June 16, 1907) greatly influenced the settling of the L.G.D. of Piney. People brought in to work on the construction of these rail lines frequently remained as settlers after the lines were completed.

The rail lines, with their regularly placed stations, were a powerful magnet in the location of hamlets and homesteads. Of the 17 hamlets indicated in the Districts of Piney and Stuartburn on the 1967 centennial edition of the official Highway Map of Manitoba, 14 are situated adjacent to railways.

In addition to legal homesteaders, the railway also attracted numerous squatters. In 1904 a surveyor, John Molloy, comments in his field book regarding Township 1, Range 14E that "There are about forty squatters in the township."²⁷

26		
Winnipeg to Marchand	47.00 miles	Nov. 15, 1898
Marchand to Sprague	48.20 miles	Jan. 25, 1900
Sprague to International Boundary	13.84 miles	Dec. 2, 1900
<u>Ibid.</u> , p. 209.		

²⁷J. Molloy, Surveyor's Field Book No. 7633.

As the twentieth century progressed, Piney received many immigrants from Stuartburn as its Ukrainian community expanded eastwards in search of vacant lands. People of French extraction settled in the Woodridge, St. Labre and South Junction districts. They are still dominant in these areas today.

The settlers who arrived in the Piney district frequently were not subsistence farmers exclusively, as were the settlers in the Stuartburn district. Many of them worked in timber operations either full time or part time and kept a small farmstead to tide them over in slack periods. Partly because of this, there were never as many farm units in Piney as in Stuartburn L.G.D.

C. SUMMARY

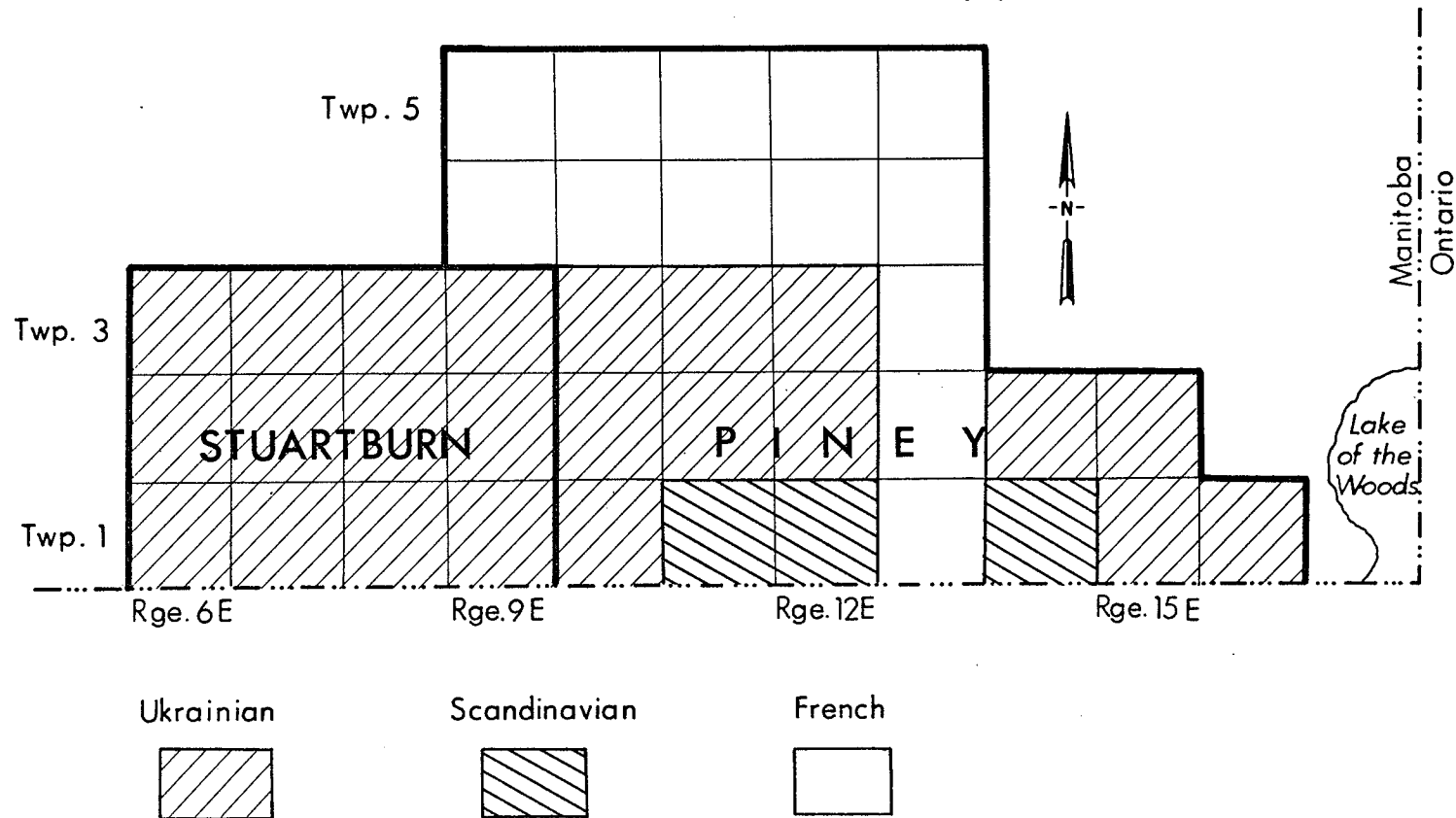
Although the Roseau River provided the first access route from eastern Canada to the West, south-eastern Manitoba played only a minor role in Canada's western development. Its major contribution consisted of timber taken largely from the present L.G.D. of Piney. Between the years 1876-1907 the district's rivers and streams were used to transport rafts of logs to Winnipeg, but by 1907 the rail lines became used exclusively.

Stuartburn was settled earlier than Piney. Between 1881-1896 Stuartburn L.G.D. received Anglo-Saxon settlers from Ontario. In 1896 the first Ukrainian immigrants to Manitoba settled in this District. They have, since that time, been the District's numerically dominant ethnic group.

Settlement in Piney began about 1897. It was greatly aided by the construction of the rail lines between Winnipeg and the International Boundary near Middlebro (1900), and South Junction and Emerson (1907). Rail lines not only opened up the region for settlement, but also brought employees for the construction of these lines who remained as permanent settlers. These settlers, and those who subsequently moved into the District have always come from a diversity of ethnic backgrounds (See Figure 6).

FIGURE 6

Dominant Ethnic Group By Enumeration Areas for Stuartburn and Piney, 1961



0 6 12 18 Miles

Source: D.B.S., 1961

CHAPTER III

THE PHYSICAL RESOURCES

Southeastern Manitoba lies within a zone of change. A report regarding a soil survey taken in this part of Manitoba reads, "The terrain within the South-Eastern map area lies in a transitional position between the flat lacustrine plain of the first prairie level of the Interior Continental Plain of Canada to the west and the rugged rock and lake terrain of the Canadian shield to the east."²⁸

The physical resources of southeastern Manitoba are a complex product of its past and present environments. In the past, factors such as glaciation and the existence of Lake Agassiz were prominent contributors. In the present, especially insofar as agricultural activity is concerned, soil characteristics and climate are most significant. Apart from agriculture, the region has limited recreational and forest resource potentials.

Stuartburn's recreational potential centers on the Roseau River and its immediate lands. Piney's chief poten-

²⁸R. E. Smith and W. A. Ehrlich, J. S. Jameson and J. H. Cayford, Report of the Soil Survey of the South-eastern Map Sheet Area, (Winnipeg: Manitoba Department of Agriculture and Conservation, 1964), p. 17.

tial is found in its wildlife. Both Districts are largely limited to extensive, as opposed to intensive, recreational usage. Because Manitoba has more attractive recreational lands to the north, southeastern Manitoba will, in all probability, be only slowly developed and to a limited extent.^{28A}

Forestry potential is primarily limited to Piney. Sizeable tracts of land suited for tree growth are found in this District but these lands are also in demand for agriculture and recreation usage. Considering all demands, southeastern Manitoba should, however, be able to continue to support a forest industry as long as proper forest management is maintained.^{28B}

The present chapter's consideration of the region's physical resources will be limited to a brief discussion of the effects of glaciation on the region as well as a presentation and review of data gained from three land

^{28A}Information on recreational potentials was obtained through a personal interview with Mr. T. Searth, Chief, Recreation Sector, Resource Projects, Department of Mines, Resources and Environmental Management.

^{28B}Information on forestry potentials was obtained through a personal interview with Mr. Jean Thie, Ing., Forestland Ecologist, Chief, Forestry Sector, Department of Mines, Resources and Environmental Management.

classifications of the region.

Some effects of glaciation are discussed because they greatly affect economic, especially agricultural, activity. The soil and land classifications are useful in evaluating present land use and documenting possible reasons why the area is agriculturally depressed. Climate, which is also a significant resource factor, is not discussed for the following reasons. There is only one weather reporting station in or near the region, situated at the village of Sprague. Southeastern Manitoba is climatically, as well as physically, in a zone of transition.²⁹ The data generated from Sprague and its neighbouring stations appears to be generalized and misleading. For example, it is generally accepted that a minimum of 100 frost free days are necessary for the production of wheat. According to Plate 7 of the Economic Atlas of Manitoba,³⁰ the 80 frost free day isopleth passes through this region. In addition, Sprague is indicated on the average of having only 72 frost free days.³¹ In spite of this data, wheat and other grain crops have been and are grown regularly in

²⁹ See Plates 7 and 8, T. R. Weir, ed., Economic Atlas of Manitoba, (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Department of Industry and Commerce, 1960), pp. 15 and 17.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 15.

³¹ Ibid., p. 16.

the district of Sprague. Furthermore, the sample of farmers in a survey conducted by the author did not indicate climate as being the most significant cause of agricultural problems.

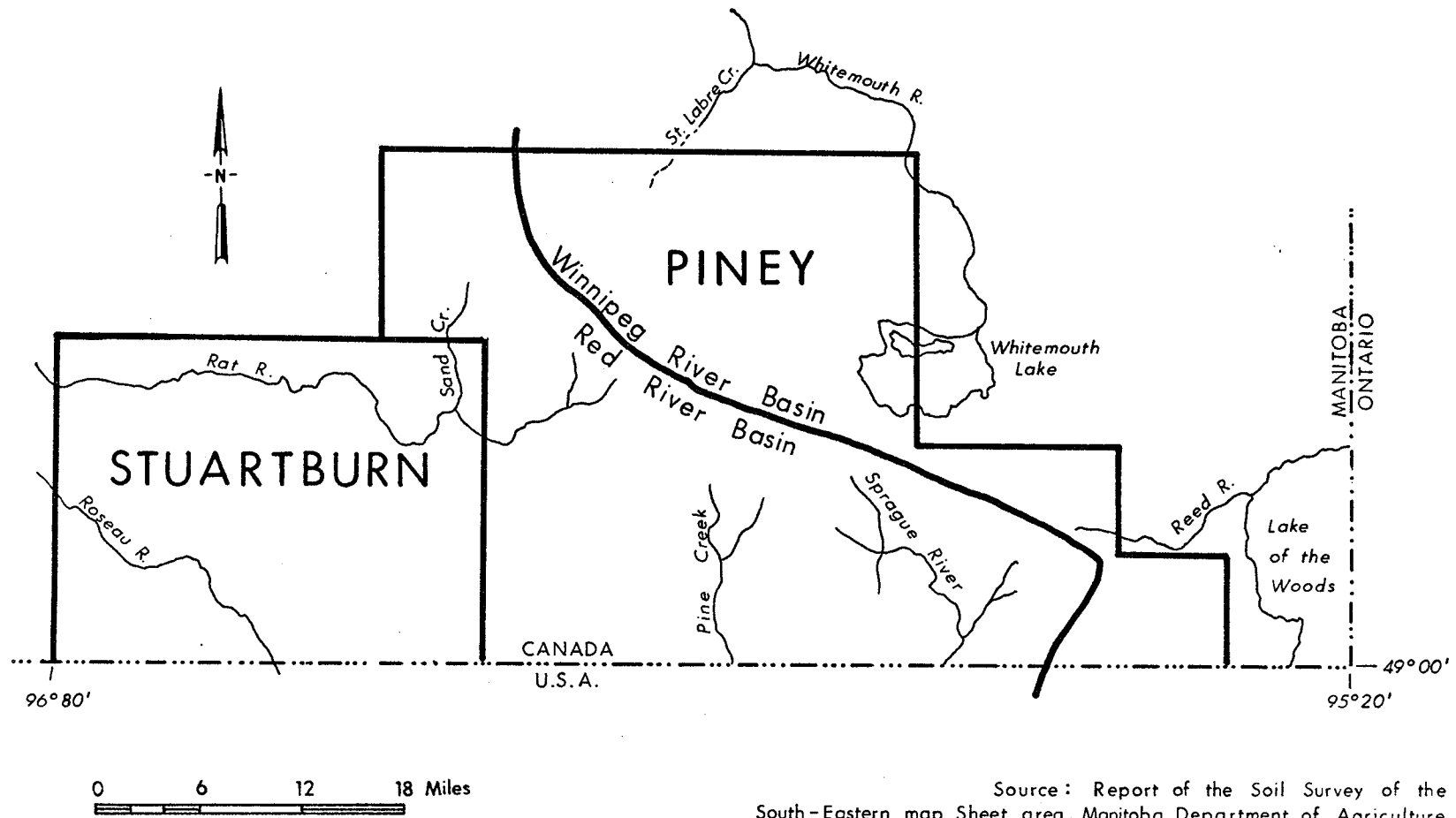
The most prominent effect of glaciation on southeastern Manitoba is an end moraine forming a series of hills known as the Bedford Hills (See Plate 16). These hills reach their maximum elevation of just over 1300 feet above sea level in Township 5, Range 9E, immediately north of the Sandilands railway station (See Figure 1). A more common feature of glaciation is the glacial till which covers much of the area in question. Stony soils are among the chief problems in cultivating this part of Manitoba.

Glaciation has also resulted in a disrupted drainage pattern. Most of Stuartburn and Piney drains into the Red River (Figure 7), but the natural drainage network is poorly developed. Although there is only one substantial water body within the two Local Government Districts, Whitemouth Lake in Piney, there are many depressional sites which are poorly drained. The soils in these poorly drained areas as we will see later, are highly organic.

There have, in the past, been at least three major projects devoted to classifying lands within southeastern Manitoba. In the following sections these classifications will be considered as they apply to the two Local Government Districts.

FIGURE 7

Stuartburn and Piney Drainage Basins, Major Rivers and Streams



THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT DISTRICT OF STUARTBURN

The earliest detailed classification of land was given by the first surveyors in their field books. Stuartburn was surveyed between the years 1872 and 1904 with at least five different surveyors involved. The resulting classification of land is depicted in Figure 8.

As can be seen from the map, less than three of the twelve townships were, according to the surveyors, suitable for settlement in the land's virgin state. Most of the land, due to inadequate drainage, was too wet. Some potential was seen to exist in this land should it be properly drained. It is interesting to note that Township 2, Range 6E, the first township to be settled in Stuartburn, is the only one of its twelve townships described as being wholly fit for settlement.

The second project classifying soils was carried out in the 1950's by the Manitoba Department of Agriculture. A major problem in using these reports is that the soil classifications are identified by place names. This makes it impossible to readily compare the soils of two different areas.

The "best use" ascribed to the soils existing in Stuartburn by the above classification is cattle enterprise. This consists not only of raising cattle but also the raising of fodder crops for cattle.

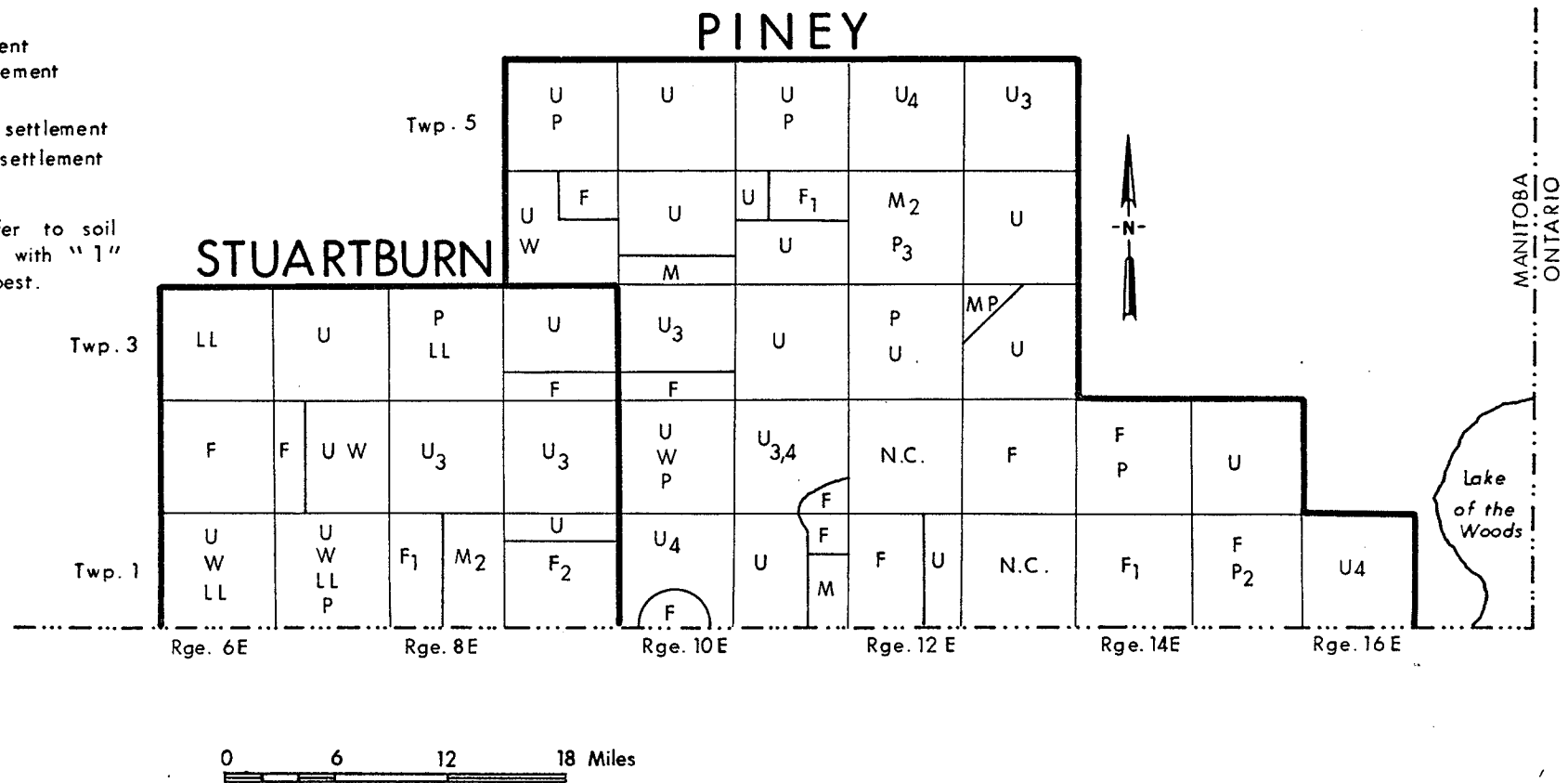
FIGURE 8

Land Suitability for Agricultural Settlement (surveyors' classification)

KEY

- L.L. Low lying land
- F Fit for settlement
- U Unfit for settlement
- W Wet
- P Potential for settlement
- M Marginal for settlement
- N.C. No comment

NOTE: Numbers refer to soil classification with "1" being the best.



Source : Surveyors' field book numbers

565 , 307 , 265 , 569 , 570 , 572 , 6590 , 7098 , 7100
 7923 , 7924 , 7925 , 5596 , 7926 , 8730 , 9742 , 9739 , 7927 , 7929
 8933 , 6782 , 9743 , 6783 , 9740 , 6597 , 6747 , 7928 , 6587 , 7830
 8734 , 6781 , 16551 , 6784 , 9745 , 7073 , 9746 , 8739 , 8740 , 6583
 , 7173 , 9842 , 9843 , 9748 , 9633 , 8742 , 11166 , 11167 , 12716

The third land classification project was carried out by The Canada Land Inventory. Part of this inventory consists of assessing the agricultural capability of a region's soils (See Appendix B). Of the existing seven classes, Stuartburn has approximately the following proportion of soils.³²

TABLE 2

PROPORTION OF SOIL TYPES IN STUARTBURN

Class 1	0%
Class 2	0%
Class 3	1%
Class 4	10%
Class 5	58%
Class 6	4%
Class 7	0%
Organic Soils	27%

(Note: Percentages are rounded off to the nearest whole number.)

The best use for most of the arable land in Stuartburn is, according to this report, that of perennial forage crops. Annual cultivation of most of Stuartburn District's soils is not recommended.

Included with the major ARDA soil capability class-

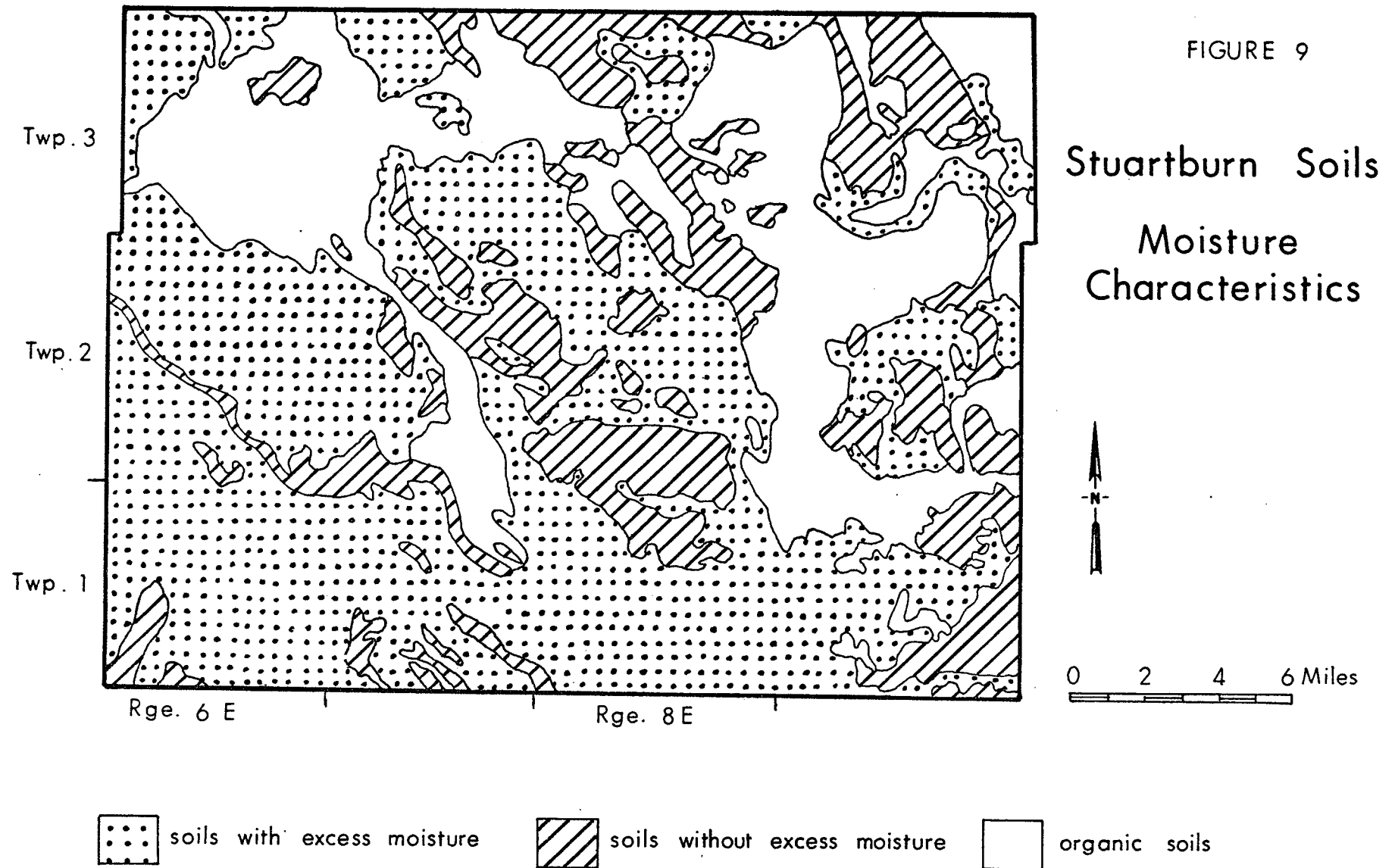
³²The percentages were determined by measuring the areas of the various soil types with a polar planimeter. For a detailed description of the soil types, see Appendix B.

ifications are sub-classifications. A consideration of these sub-classes proves to further reveal the District's characteristics.

As mentioned by the first surveyors, excess water due to a lack of a well-developed drainage network is a major problem within southeastern Manitoba. Figure 9 indicates the areas in Stuartburn in which the factor of excess water is significant enough to be indicated as a sub-class. The area thus demarcated amounts to about 55 percent of the District. In addition to this, the District is composed of a further 27 percent of organic soils in which excess moisture is an inherent condition. These figures combined reveal that approximately 82 percent of Stuartburn's total area suffers from excess moisture.

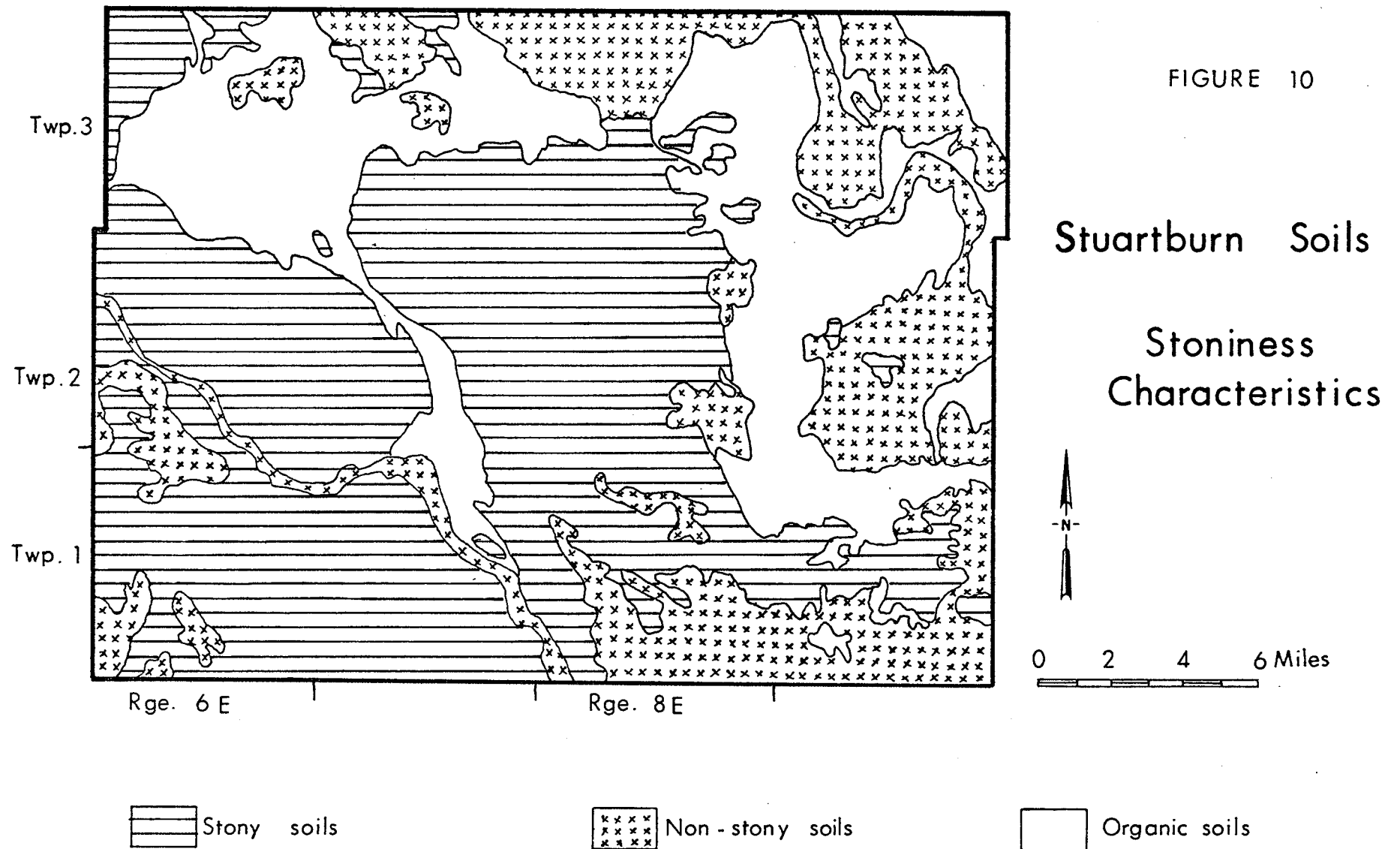
Another agricultural problem which is quite common in Stuartburn is that of stoniness. Figure 10 shows the land areas other than that characterized by organic soils in which stoniness is a sub-classification. The 47 percent of land designated as being stony amounts to 64 percent of the non-organic soils. Much of the remaining land has other significant negative characteristics which downgrade its agricultural potential. The sum of the evidence quite clearly shows the relatively poor quality for agriculture of the land in the L.G.D. of Stuartburn.

FIGURE 9



Source : Canada Land Inventory

FIGURE 10



Source : Canada Land Inventory 41

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT DISTRICT OF PINEY

Piney was first surveyed between the years 1900 and 1907. The classification of land resulting from this survey (Figure 8) shows that less than one-quarter of the District's land was considered suitable for supporting agricultural settlements in its virgin state. Approximately five and one-half townships were indicated as being suitable for agricultural settlements, with an additional seven townships containing varying amounts of land regarded as having potential for settlement.

The second land classification, carried out in the 1960's, reads, "Approximately 10 percent of the map area, mainly in the vicinity of St. Labre, Whitemouth Lake, Sirko, South Junction and Sprague districts, is comprised of a relatively smooth, variably stony, water-worked till that is well suited for forage crops but marginal for other cultivated types."³³

Little potential is recognized by the report for land usage other than for cattle emphasis or wood lots. "In recent times small areas of better land have been opened up to agriculture, with emphasis placed on livestock and forage crop production. Up to the present time private owners have shown little interest in wood-lot development although

³³R. E. Smith and W. A. Ehrlich, op. cit., p. 5.

a movement in that direction is predicted."³⁴

The third and final land classification data for Piney was produced by ARDA but is still unpublished. The preliminary maps, however, indicate that the District's soils are composed of the following proportions of types:³⁵

TABLE 3

PROPORTION OF SOIL TYPES IN PINEY

Class 1	0%
Class 2	1%
Class 3	5%
Class 4	13%
Class 5	6%
Class 6	32%
Class 7	0%
Organic Soils	44%

(Note: Percentages are rounded off to the nearest number.)

Compared to the data from Stuartburn, Piney has some better soils but also a considerably higher proportion of organic and Class 6 soils. The more viable farms in Piney district are situated on the small tracts of Class 2 and 3 soils.

Although approximately 44 percent of Piney is

³⁴Ibid., p. 90.

³⁵The percentages were determined by measuring the areas of the various soil types with a polar planimeter. For a detailed description of the soil types, see Appendix B.

covered with organic soils, excess moisture in the remaining soils is not as great as in Stuartburn. In addition to the organic soils there is a further 18 percent of land which suffers from excess moisture (Figure 11). Most of the remaining land is sandy in nature and has good internal drainage.

Stoniness, a major problem in Stuartburn, is not as pronounced in Piney. The organic soils, and 88 percent of non-organic soils are not identified as being stony (Figure 12).

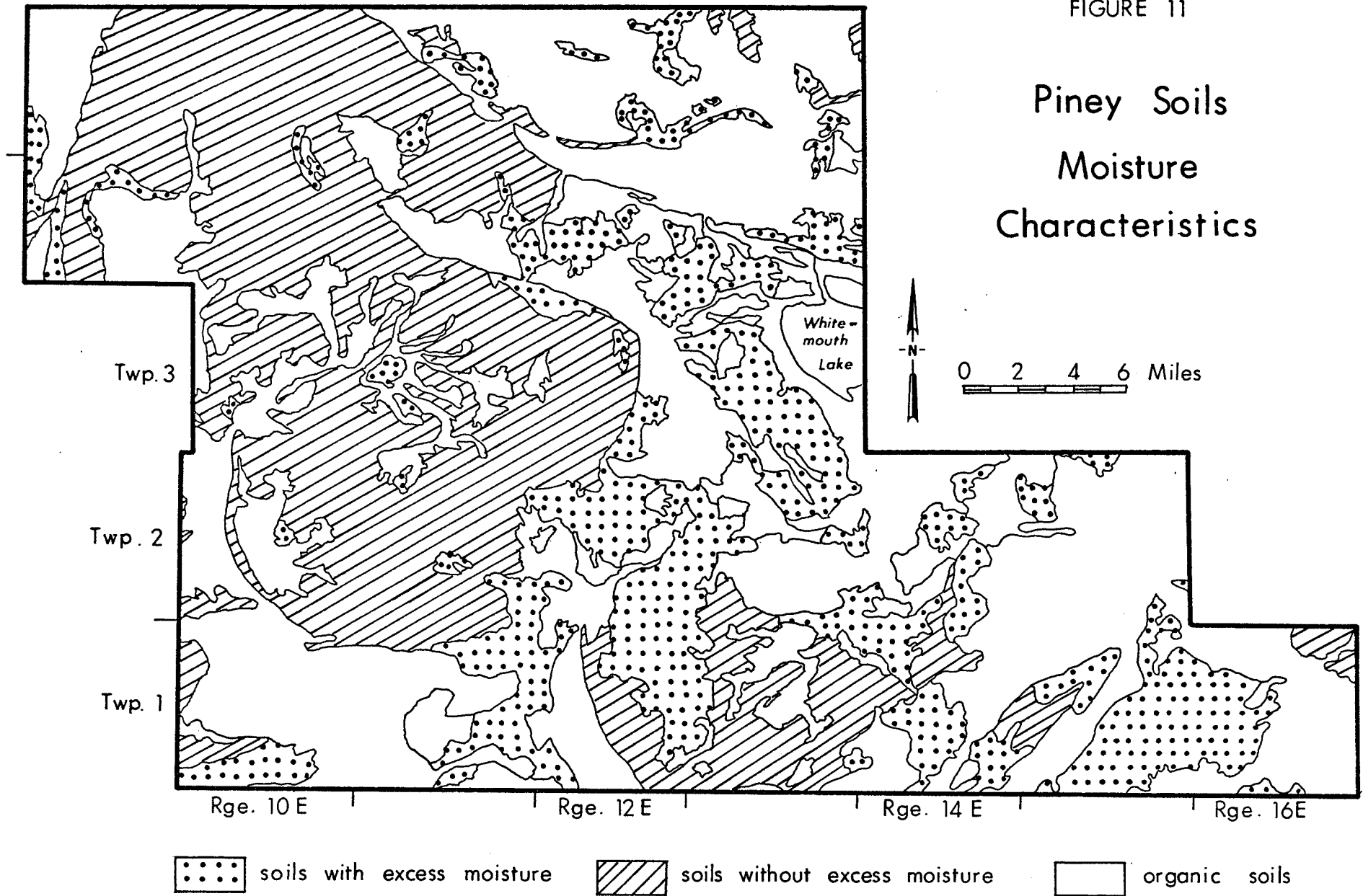
SUMMARY

The Local Government Districts of Stuartburn and Piney are located in a transitional zone between the Canadian Prairies and the Canadian Shield. As such, they contain a wide range of agricultural land types, most of which are of marginal quality.

Less than one-quarter of the total land area in its virgin state was considered fit for agricultural settlement by the region's first surveyors. Two major problems in the region are excess moisture and stoniness. For example, approximately 80 percent of Stuartburn's and 60 percent of Piney's land area suffers from excess moisture. The two problems of stoniness and excess moisture are found in a

FIGURE 11

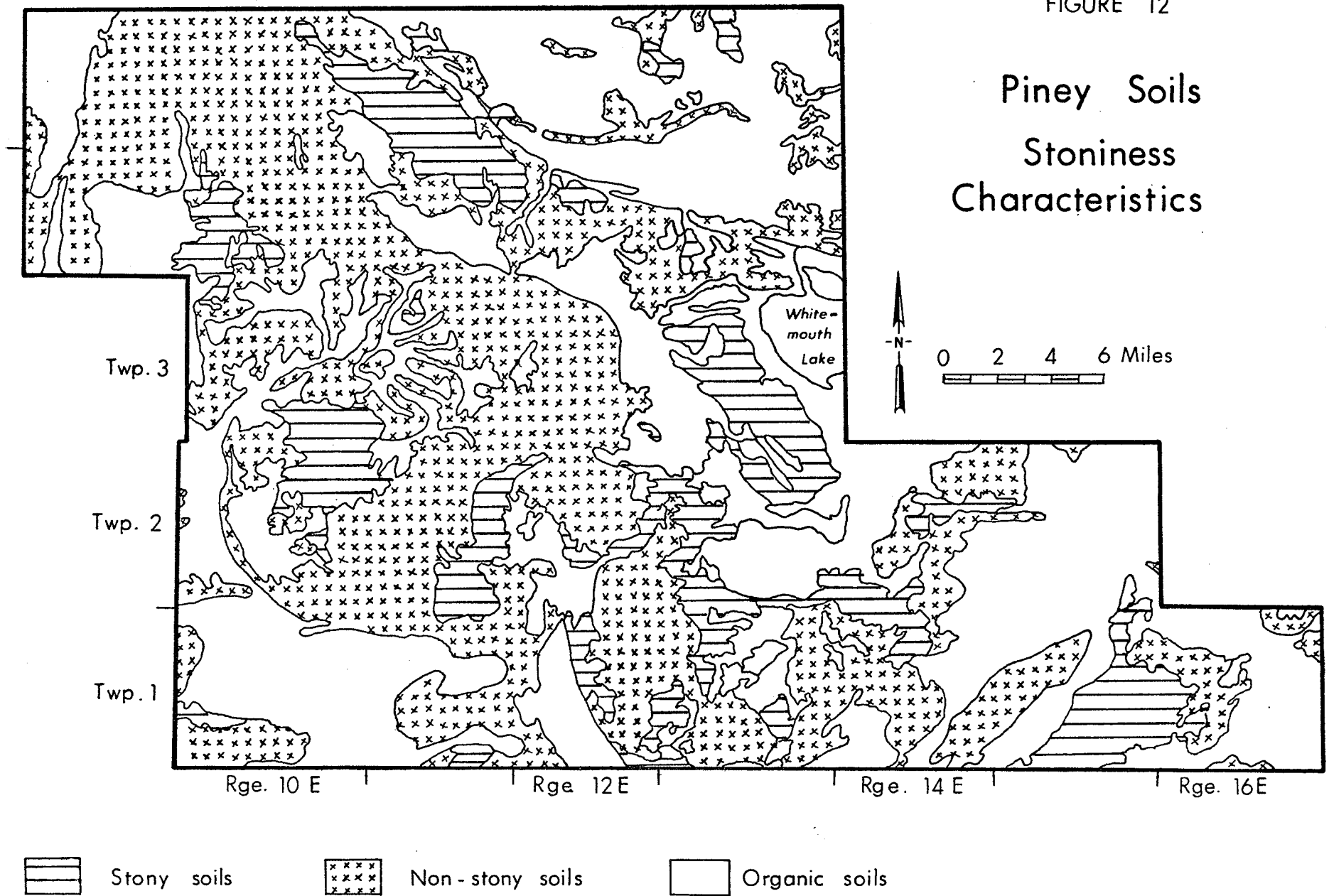
Piney Soils Moisture Characteristics



Source: Canada Land Inventory

FIGURE 12

Piney Soils Stoniness Characteristics



Source : Canada Land Inventory

high proportion of the District's soils (See Figures 13 and 14).

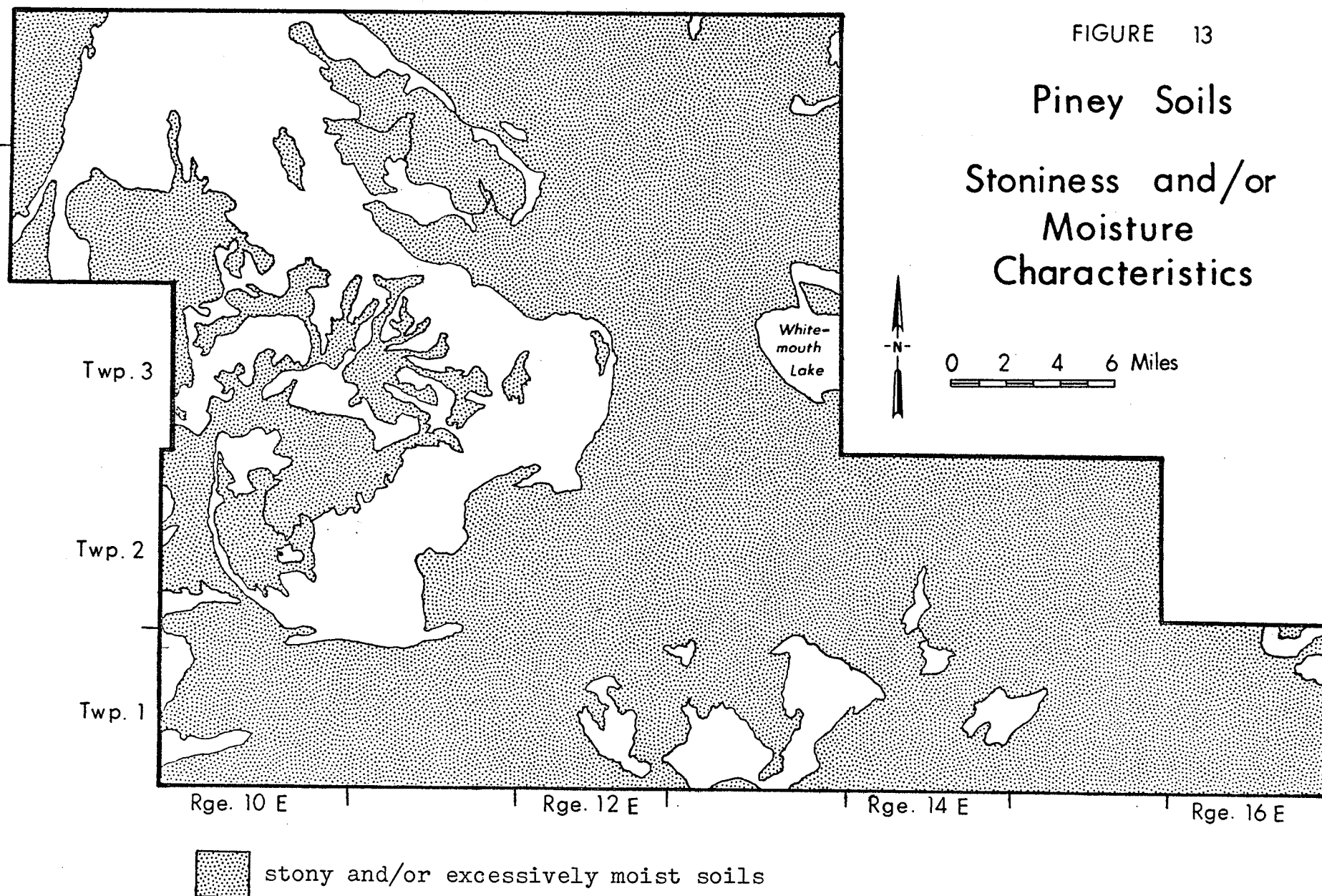
Two government sponsored soil surveys suggest that the best agricultural usage of Stuartburn's and Piney's soils is that for cattle raising. Grain crops are discouraged in the district primarily because of the low fertility in the region's soils.

Piney has both better and poorer quality agricultural lands than has Stuartburn. Six percent of its soils are Class 3 or better, while Stuartburn has only one percent. But it also is composed of 44 percent organic soils as compared to 27 percent for Stuartburn.

FIGURE 13

Piney Soils

Stoniness and/or
Moisture
Characteristics

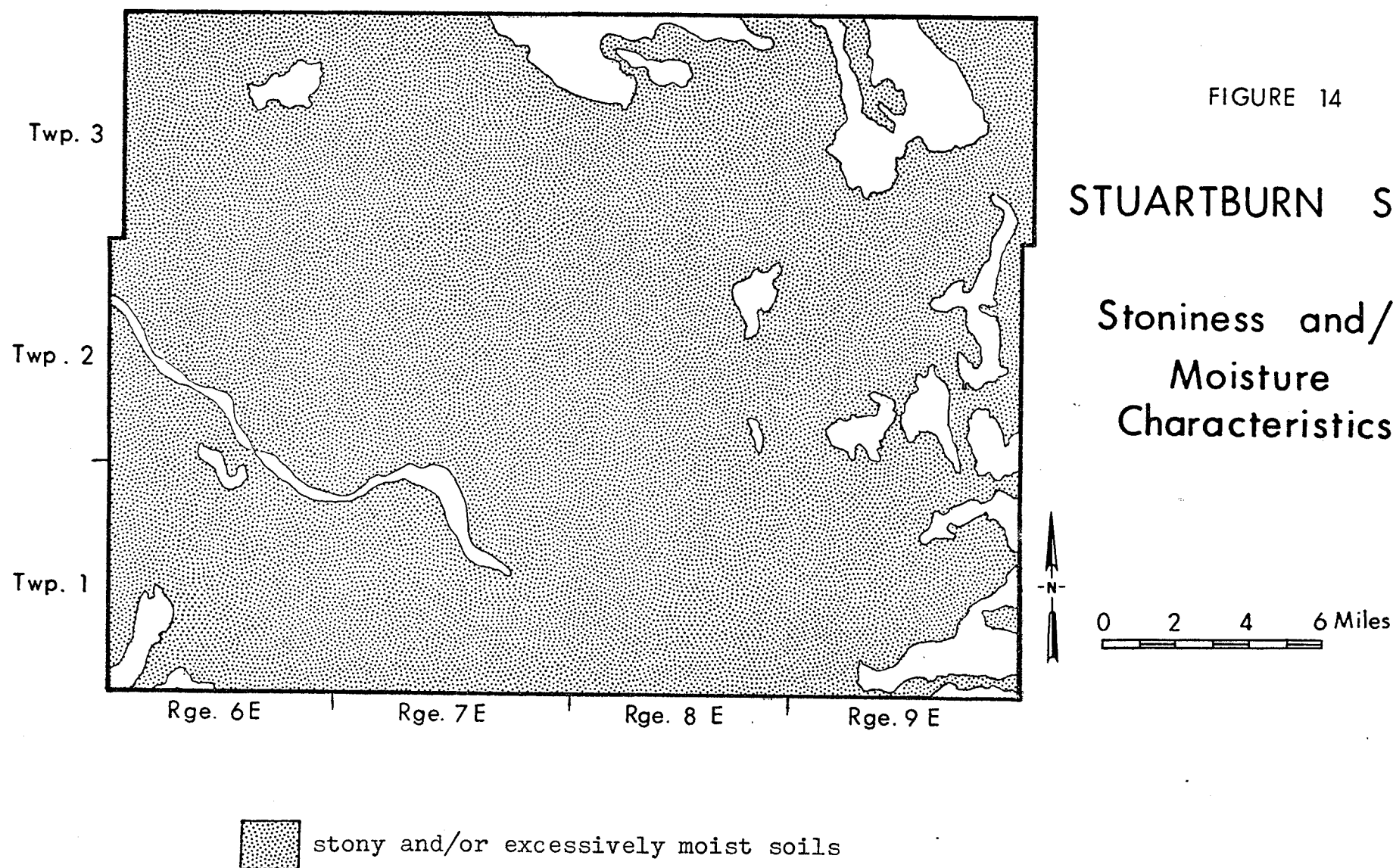


Source : Canada Land Inventory

FIGURE 14

STUARTBURN SOILS

Stoniness and/or
Moisture
Characteristics



Source : Canada Land Inventory

CHAPTER IV

SOUTHEASTERN MANITOBA'S HUMAN RESOURCE BASE

The resources of a region do not only consist of physical features and characteristics, but also include the people occupying that region. Differences between peoples as commonplace as ethnicity can have profound influences on a region's economic state.³⁶ The human resources of a people in a region in part consist of their demographic characteristics, historical experiences, and "cultural baggage". The following chapter will view the above human elements as they influenced the development of Stuartburn and Piney.

³⁶"Ethnic origin obviously affects the individual's position in the economic structure...little research has been done on Canadians of ethnic origin other than British or French...Some factors are obviously important: these include patterns of settlement, time of arrival, immigrant and ethnic occupations, ethnic values, the incidence of discrimination and exploitation, and the problems created by language barriers." Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book IV, The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969), pp. 40-41.

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT DISTRICT OF STUARTBURN

Although the Ukrainians were not the first settlers in the District of Stuartburn, the influence of other ethnic groups on its present state is relatively minor. The proportion of people of Ukrainian extraction to other people, for all but the first few years prior to 1896, has been very high. The census data for racial and ethnic breakdowns does not exist for all census years. Table 4, composed from available data, quite clearly illustrates the Ukrainian dominance within the District.

Since there was confusion as to the name to be given to the people who immigrated to Canada from the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, there may well have been a higher percentage of Ukrainians in Stuartburn in 1931 than the 85.9 percent indicated. Some of the 3.3 percent denoted as being Austrian were probably of some other ethnic group but had been living in a former province of Austria. This is supported by the fact that no people of Austrian extraction are indicated to have been living in the L.G.D. of Stuartburn in the census years of 1941 and 1961.

When we include the Polish people with the Ukrainians, and they are in many ways quite similar, having come from the same general area in Europe and frequently having the same religion, we find that approximately 90 percent of the population of Stuartburn is composed of this Slavic group. Such a concentration will produce a

TABLE 4

RACIAL AND ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE L.G.D. OF STUARTBURN
IN THE CENSUS YEARS 1931, 1941 and 1961

(Note: Percentages are reduced to the nearest decimal.)

<u>Groups</u>	<u>1931</u>		<u>1941</u>		<u>1951</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
English	47	1.0	42	0.9	-	0.0
Irish	25	0.5	19	0.4	-	0.0
Scottish	3	0.0	19	0.4	45	1.8
Other British	-	0.0	-	-	-	-
Isles	-	0.0	1	0.0	-	0.0
French	4	0.0	10	0.2	26	1.1
Austrian	159	3.3	-	0.0	-	0.0
Belgian	-	0.0	-	0.0	-	0.0
Czech and	-	-	-	-	-	-
Slovak	5	0.0	12	0.3	-	0.0
Dutch	42	0.9	212	4.6	121	4.9
Finnish	-	0.0	-	0.0	-	0.0
German	61	1.3	42	0.9	28	1.1
Hebrew	3	0.0	-	0.0	-	0.0
Hungarian	1	0.0	1	0.0	-	0.0
Italian	-	0.0	-	0.0	-	0.0
Polish	218	4.6	257	5.5	152	6.1
Romanian	8	0.0	6	0.1	-	0.0
Russian	21	0.0	19	0.4	-	0.0
Scandinavian	71	1.5	54	1.2	24	1.0
Ukrainian	4,085	85.9	3,946	84.8	2,074	83.6
Other	-	-	-	-	-	-
European	-	0.0	2	0.0	9	0.4
Chinese	-	0.0	-	0.0	-	0.0
Other Asiatic	-	0.0	-	0.0	-	0.0
Indian and	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eskimo	-	0.0	-	0.0	-	0.0
Unspecified	1	0.0	-	0.0	-	0.0

relatively homogeneous human landscape largely reflecting the experiences and values of this people.

The backgrounds of the Ukrainians, and that of most other ethnic groups who came from Eastern Europe, are quite similar. The Ukrainians, prior to their immigration to Canada, had but recently emerged from serfdom and were in many ways still an oppressed people.

M. H. Marunchak describes some of the earlier Ukrainian experiences as follows:

The XVIII century was marked by the failure of Ukrainian efforts and the ultimate enslavement of its people, both politically and socially. Half of the cultivated lands came into the hands of the great landlords. In both occupations serfdom was established. The peasants were obligated to work several days of each week as the landlords' portion. They were not allowed without the permission of the 'pann' (lord) to transfer to another place. In order to keep the people in ignorance, there was no stress on education, but instead distilleries and taverns were established in the villages. The peasants drank themselves out of their last coin or product and so this made them further dependent on their masters, the landlords and the innkeepers.³⁷

The question as to whether the Ukrainians and people of other ethnic groups from Eastern Europe who immigrated to Canada were wholly of a peasant background is disputed by some authors. Kaye, in his detailed book on early

³⁷M. H. Marunchak, op. cit., p. 19.

Ukrainian settlements, takes exception to frequent comparisons made of the Ukrainian with such groups as the Irish immigrants. He agrees with and quotes Oscar Handlin as follows:

Unlike the Irish immigration of the middle of the last century, it was not the evicted, starving paupers who emigrated from Galicia and Bukowina in the last decade of the past century. They were small landowners, who through subdivision of the inheritance came to the limit of making a living on their few acres and when they heard about 'free land' in Canada, started a movement which embraced practically the whole province.³⁸

Some of the Ukrainian immigrants were well-to-do peasants, and some were the descendants of Ukrainian nobility. Such individuals were probably quite rare among the first Ukrainians to settle at Stuartburn. This fact is not only indicated by the early accounts of this settlement, but by the fact that Stuartburn was the earliest Ukrainian settlement in Manitoba. These first immigrants were of rural background, and from the lower end of the socio-economic scale. The urban and materially better-endowed Ukrainians began to emigrate as the movement of these people from Europe to Canada developed and expanded.

Marunchak writes regarding the three waves of Ukrainian immigration, "the first was totally of rural

³⁸ See V. J. Kaye, op. cit., preface XIII-XIV.

origin, the second was composed of various origins but the rural predominated, whereas the third immigration was by far mostly of urban origin.³⁹ Yuzyk agrees when he writes, "The vast majority of Ukrainians who arrived in Canada were of peasant stock; comparatively few were skilled tradesmen and a still smaller number belonged to the intellectual class."⁴⁰

Most of the Ukrainian settlers in the Stuartburn district came from the Austro-Hungarian Empire's provinces of Galicia and Bukowina. Marunchak cites that 83 percent of the former and 90 percent of the latter province's people were rural. In Galicia in 1902, 80 percent of the farm units were less than 12.4 acres (five hectares) while 42.7 percent of the farm units were less than 5 acres (two hectares) in size.⁴¹ This small-holding background is explanatory for many of the relatively small farm units existing today and for the fact that some of the original settlers took only 80 acres for their homesteads as they felt that 160 acres was too large an area for them to farm.

³⁹M. H. Marunchak, op. cit., p. 571.

⁴⁰P. Yuzyk, The Ukrainians in Manitoba, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953), p. 53.

⁴¹M. H. Marunchak, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

An enlightening insight into the character and placing of the peasant immigrants from Eastern Europe into rough lands, such as those of the southeastern corner of Manitoba, was made by Clifford Sifton when he spoke in Montreal in 1923,

In northern Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan we have enormous quantities of land perfectly fit for settlement. These are not lands on which the ordinary Englishman or American will go, but they are fit for peasant settlement. Twenty years ago, I scattered a number of European peasants on these lands, and those are the only parts where the people are not in debt. They have never left the land, and bankers agree that these European peasants have made the most successful settlers. If you have to settle rough lands, you have to settle them with these people, because the average Canadian or American farmers will not do it. There are tens of thousands of these peasant settlers in Hungary, Bohemia and Galicia who can be obtained and if settled they will stay there. They don't know any other business in the world but that of extracting their living out of the soil. These people have not as high standards of living as we have... Well, you have to put these men who will be satisfied with the standard of living associated with that class of country there or leave the land untilled. It will have to be the standard of living of the pioneer.⁴²

The peasants' hardy character, their love for the land and freedom made them desirable immigrants to settle the less viable agricultural lands which the first Anglo-Saxon immigrants to Manitoba had by-passed. These characteristics tended to mold an economy centered around a subsistence form of agriculture in which the individual farmer had a low overhead, high labour input and a much

⁴²The Winnipeg Free Press, February 26, 1923.

valued independent existence.

Other than the Polish and the Ukrainian ethnic elements, which have consistently formed more than 90 percent of the total population in the Local Government District of Stuartburn, the only interesting and significant trend determinable from Table 4 is the increase of the German-Dutch element from 2.2 percent in 1931 to six percent in 1961. This ethnic element is primarily composed of Mennonites who, because of their migrations in Europe which resulted in a blurring of ethnic divisions, classify themselves as being either Dutch or German.

The Mennonites, who have a strong agrarian tradition, were given two Reserves in southern Manitoba prior to the Ukrainian's arrival to the province. They have maintained to a considerable extent the agrarian emphasis so prominent in their history.

During the "Great Depression" of the 1930's, a number of farm families from the Reserves moved to the District of Stuartburn (See Table 4). The economic prostration experienced by these Mennonite farmers on the commercial-farming-oriented Reserves with their cash economies, motivated these people to seek a less demanding subsistence-based form of life as could be led in southeastern Manitoba.

In recent years, Mennonites have again begun to move to the Stuartburn District. The costs of setting up

economically viable farming units on the rich soils of the Red River Valley are so prohibitive as to have caused many a young farmer to either seek his fortune in the city or move to the less fertile lands in the province where it is much less expensive to set up and maintain a farming operation. The development and extent of this recent Mennonite influx into the District will be further revealed by the 1971 census.

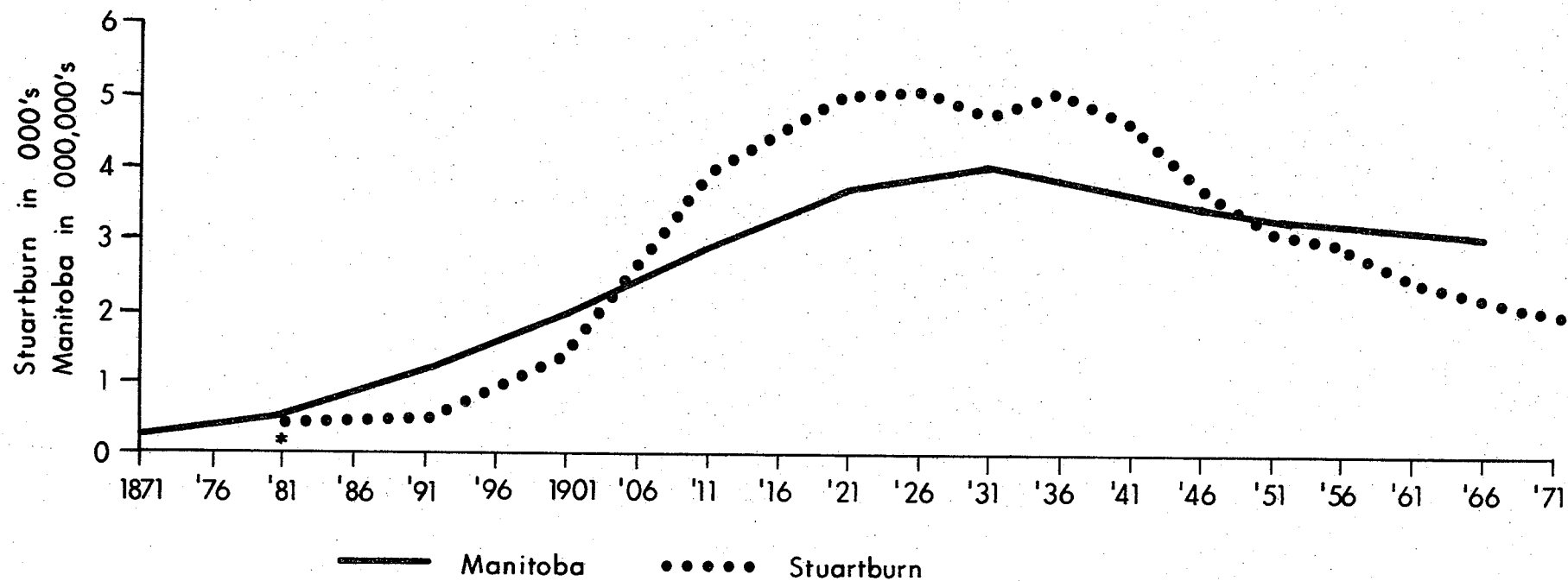
A final way in which we will assess the human resource base of Stuartburn is the consideration of its population characteristics. Figure 15 shows the relationship of Manitoba's and the Local Government District of Stuartburn's rural population trends.

Large-scale settlement of Stuartburn (Figure 15) began later than that of Manitoba west of the Red River. The first rural agricultural settlements in Manitoba, which were primarily composed of Anglo-Saxon peoples from Ontario, developed on the more fertile lands of southern and western Manitoba. When most of the best land had been taken, the more marginal lands, as in southeastern Manitoba, came to be occupied. The multi-faceted subsistence based farming, which was the best adaptation to the resources of southeastern Manitoba, also proved attractive to the immigrating Slavic peoples.

Stuartburn experienced its most rapid population

FIGURE 15

Rural Population of Stuartburn and Manitoba



* estimate probably more accurate than Census data.

Source : D.B.S. , 1871 - 1966

growth during the period 1901-1911. These years were characterized by the occupying of most of the available land in this District, and by the setting up of the small subsistence-oriented farms. The acreage of land brought under cultivation in these years also represent a maximum.

By the mid-'20's, the L.G.D. of Stuartburn was experiencing a decrease in population (Figure 15). This trend lasted only a few years. The depression of the thirties induced a small return of people to the farms, and a movement of people from the more drought stricken areas of the west to the wetter parts of southeastern Manitoba.⁴³ The trend since 1936 has been one of continual decline.

The age-sex pyramids (Figure 16) graphically illustrate the fact that the percentage of older people in the population is relatively high and that the District is experiencing a high percentage of out-migration of its young people, especially those in their late 'teens and early twenties.

A further way of indicating the population age composition change within a district is to compare its percentage age composition by specific age cohorts to that of a larger area over a period of a number of years. Table 5

⁴³ A number of farmers interviewed indicated this was a reason for their moving to southeastern Manitoba.

FIGURE 16

A Population Age - Sex Pyramid Manitoba and Stuartburn 1971

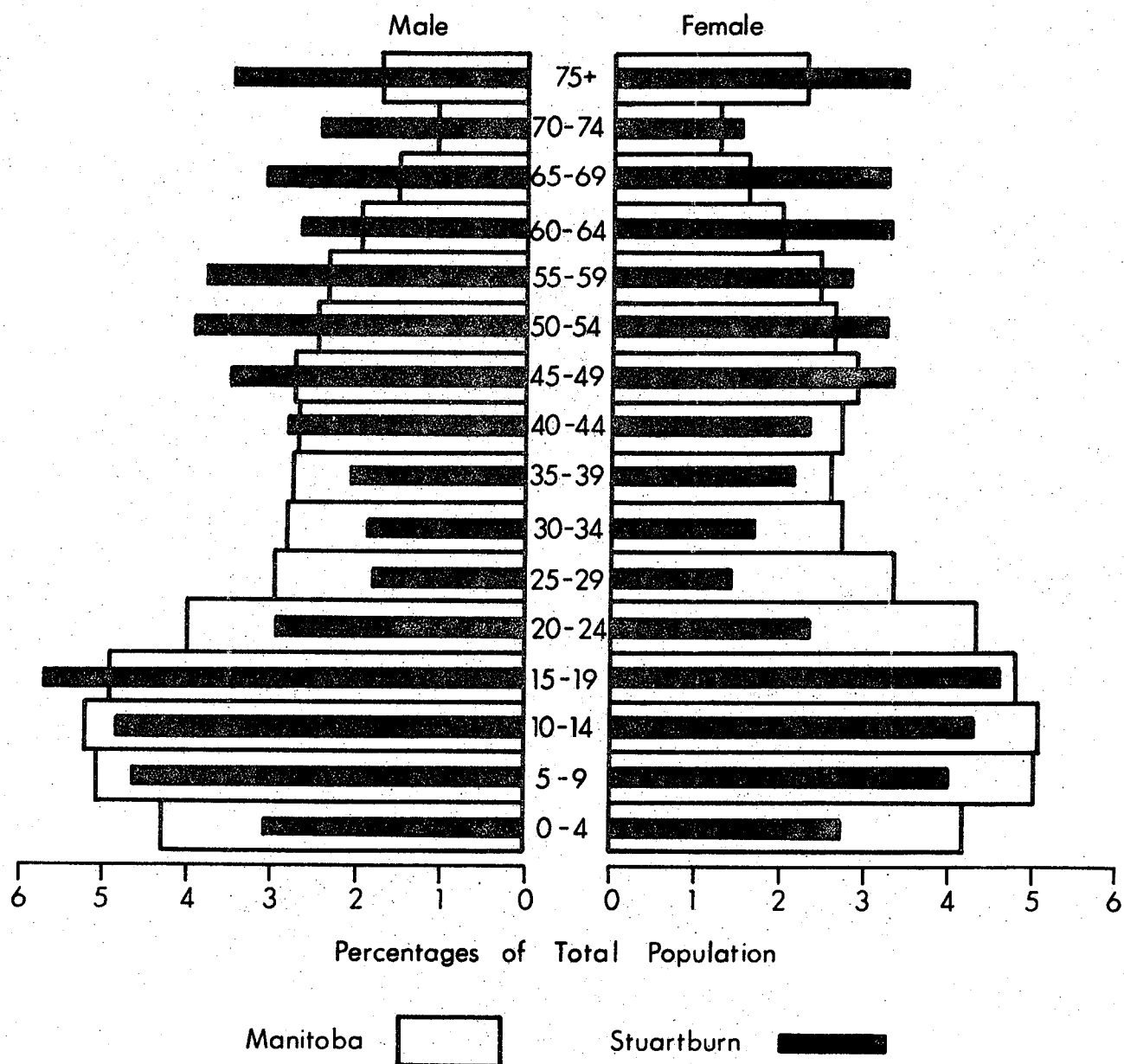


TABLE 5

RESIDUAL METHOD OF POPULATION
DISTRIBUTION OF THE L.G.D. OF STUARTBURN

(Note: Manitoba Population Used as a Basis)

	Age Cohorts										
<u>Year</u>	<u>0-4</u>	<u>5-9</u>	<u>10-14</u>	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-34</u>	<u>35-44</u>	<u>45-54</u>	<u>55-64</u>	<u>65-69</u>	<u>70+</u>
1951	- .81	1.36	4.20	1.77	-1.63	-2.97	-2.31	- .10	- .57	- .33	1.41
1956	-2.17	- .17	2.63	3.41	-1.49	-3.89	-1.21	.78	.86	- .01	1.27
1961	-3.45	- .56	1.44	1.47	-2.29	-4.06	- .89	1.96	2.78	1.70	1.92
1966	-2.25	-2.25	.07	.94	-2.95	-4.02	- .75	2.23	4.02	1.58	3.27
*1971	-2.79	-1.42	-1.15	.61	-3.50	-5.49	-1.33	3.30	4.04	3.24	4.50

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics

*1971 data has been obtained from the registration files of the subscribers of the Manitoba Health Services Commission. These files represent a listing of the total Manitoba population. The data indicated is valid as of June 1, 1971.

Note: All numbers are rounded off the nearest second decimal.

illustrates the differences between percentage age compositions of Stuartburn District and the Province of Manitoba. Positive numbers indicate the percentage points that Stuartburn District's composition exceeds that of Manitoba's percentage composition at the associated age cohort. Negative numbers indicate the reverse.

Some general facts which may be gleaned from Table 5 are that Stuartburn's proportion of population between the ages of 20 and 34 has been consistently declining, and that the proportion of population above 45 years of age has been consistently increasing the past twenty years. According to these figures, Stuartburn's age composition has still not reached its apex of disproportion. Facts like these do not indicate a vigorous and growing economy but rather one that is either stagnant or declining, resulting in a selective out-migration of population.

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT DISTRICT OF PINEY

The ethnic composition of Piney is much more diverse than that of the neighbouring Stuartburn District. As such its human landscape is also much different.

Because the present L.G.D. of Piney is composed of all of the former Districts of Piney and Sprague and part of the former District of La Broquerie, no racial nor

ethnic population breakdown can be given for any year other than 1961 (See Table 6).

TABLE 6

RACIAL AND ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE
L.G.D. OF PINEY IN 1961

(Percentages are given to the nearest decimal place.)

<u>ETHNIC OR RACIAL GROUP</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
French	31.1
Ukrainian	15.9
Scandinavian	15.6
British Isles	12.1
Other European	9.8
German	7.8
Polish	3.7
Netherlands	2.7
Indian	0.5
Russian	0.3
Italian	0.2
Jewish	0.0
Asiatic	0.0
Other	0.0

The numerically dominant French element (Table 6) is concentrated both in the northern portions of Piney, and around the hamlet of South Junction. Although people from French extraction are all categorized into one group, namely French, there are a few definite sub-groups within this class.

The village of St. Labre is characterized by French speaking people who migrated directly from France, Belgium

and Switzerland. These immigrants, who settled here in the beginning of the 20th Century, were chiefly of non-agrarian backgrounds. Many of them, being tradesmen and craftsmen, found it difficult to adjust to the demands of homesteading.

Many of the French people around the railroad hamlet of Woodridge were originally of Métis descent. These people were attracted to this region by the work available in the building of the railroad and in the lumber industry. Their contribution to the agriculture of this area is quite unimportant.

The French-Canadians who settled around South Junction had more of a farming history. The land on which they are situated is not only more fertile, but their adjustments to its agricultural potential have proven more successful than those of the other French groups.

The Ukrainian people in Piney L.G.D. represent mostly those who moved eastward from the original Ukrainian center at Stuartburn. Their background is therefore quite similar to the Ukrainians of Stuartburn, but in most cases they are second generation Canadians. As such the cultural values which were deeply implanted in the first settlement by settlers from Eastern Europe are not as dominant here. Quite frequently the subsistence farming emphasis in the Stuartburn District was replaced by 'bush work' emphasis in Piney.

The Scandinavian peoples, who are the most prominent in the southern sections of Piney around the hamlets of Piney and Sprague, (Figure 4 in Chapter I) have cultural characteristics much different from those of either the Ukrainians or the French. Because of this, certain significant patterns are noticeable in the district.

The Icelanders, who form the major sub-group of Scandinavians in Piney, were formerly characterized by a seemingly insatiable drive for adventure. One author has written "what drove the Norsemen on was a yearning, a quest they may not have fully understood themselves."⁴⁴ In past history, this drive not only led them to become the first Europeans to visit North America, but also directed them to settle and quickly develop a number of sites in and surrounding Manitoba.

In Canada, "The first major settlement of Icelanders was at what is now Gimli on the western shore of Lake Winnipeg and it is still the center of the largest settlement of Icelandic people."⁴⁵ Many Icelanders became disillusioned with Gimli, and migrated southwards into the United States of America. It was from the resulting

⁴⁴W. J. Lindal, The Icelanders in Canada, (Winnipeg: National Publishers Ltd. and Viking Printers, 1967), p. 32.

⁴⁵J. Fisher, "Centennial Message," The Icelandic Canadian, Volume XXV, No. 4, 1967, p. 24.

American settlements in North Dakota and Minnesota that the first settlers came to Piney district. Hard times with grain farming, including bankruptcy because of crop failures, were some of the motivating factors in moving to Manitoba.

Another agricultural settlement was developed by the Icelanders at Argyle, Manitoba.⁴⁶ As this settlement enlarged, a number of Argyle settlers came in 1903 to homestead land near Vassar.⁴⁷

Although some of the impetus to move came from the attractions of free homestead lands and from various pressures in the parent settlements, including that of overcrowding, the venturesome spirit of the Scandinavian peoples must not be overlooked. Some of the older Icelandic farmers in Piney indicated that the pioneering spirit was one of the reasons for their fathers' having moved to the district.

The Icelanders were also noted for their preference for raising cattle as opposed to growing grain. This fact is substantiated by their settling on land suitable for cattle ranching. Carrol, in his surveyor's notes, has com-

⁴⁶T. Walter, Modern Sagas, the Story of the Icelanders in North America, (Fargo, North Dakota: North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, 1953), p. 59.

⁴⁷Carillon News, September 7, 1967.

mented regarding the settlement at Piney, "The land being suitable for grazing, seems to suit them, as they are naturally inclined to the raising of cattle rather than cereals."⁴⁸ Lindal also writes, "In fact the Icelanders, through the whole period of homestead settlement, with very few exceptions, avoided the flat open treeless and hayless prairies and selected areas where hay was available around sloughs or in lowlands. Raising stock loomed larger in their minds than producing crops. They sought to become what later was called 'mixed farmers', held by many to be the ideal type of farming."⁴⁹

The next largest group after the Scandinavians, (Table 6) is that classified as "Other Europeans." This group, comprising almost ten percent of the population of Piney, includes Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks and Russians.

Many of these people also came from the former Austro-Hungarian Empire which was characterized by "the largest proportion of agriculturists to the total population of any of the continental countries."⁵⁰ These immigrants, like the Ukrainians, were of small-holding backgrounds and frequently set up farm units reflecting

⁴⁸C. Carrol, Surveyors Field Book, No. 6781, Surveys Department, Norquay Building.

⁴⁹W. J. Lindal, op. cit., p. 110.

⁵⁰J. W. Dafoe, Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times, (Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada Ltd, 1931), p. 141.

this limited perspective.

Most of the people of German extraction in Piney are not of Mennonite backgrounds as were the Germans in Stuartburn District. One small German settlement, Kerry, (formerly called Carlstal) locally known as "The German Settlement," was founded by Mr. Carl Kesterke in 1908. He and the people who accompanied him became disillusioned with the problems of prairie life in the West. Their retreat to this area was influenced by their desire to lead a more simplified form of life than that which the prairies with its commercial farming emphasis would allow.

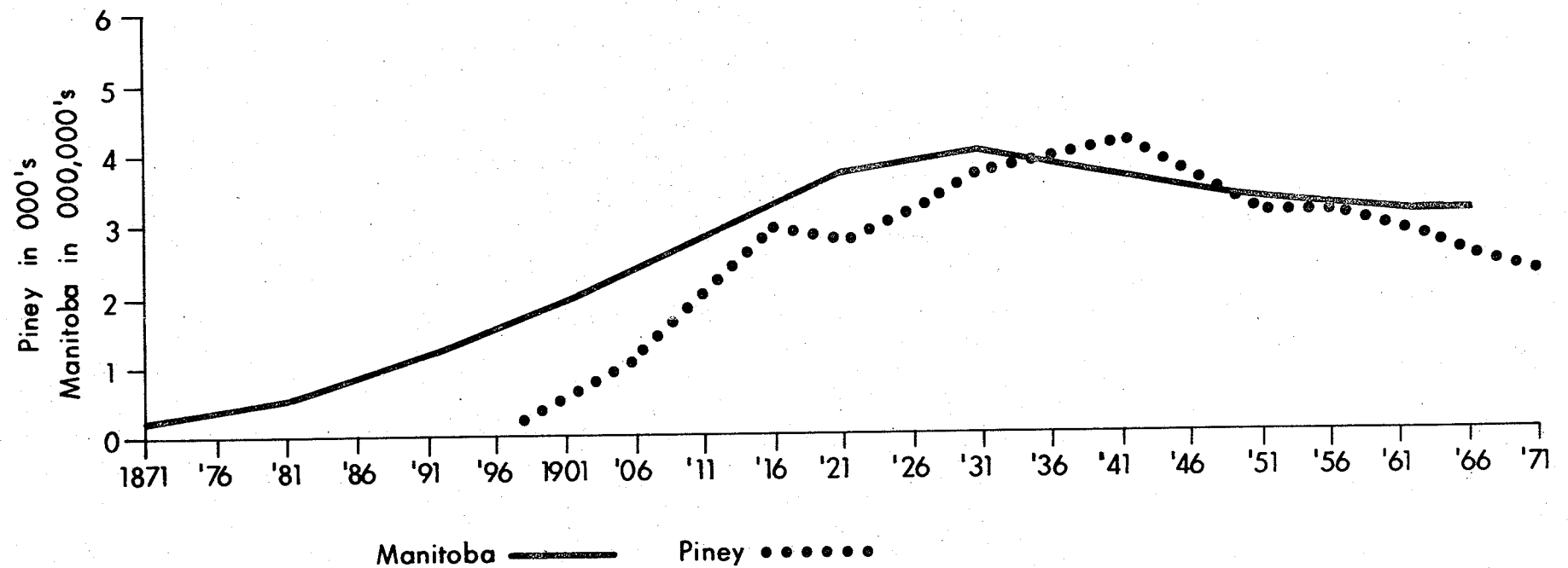
The population trends of Piney are quite similar to those of Stuartburn (Figure 17). Piney District was not settled as early, however, primarily due to the isolation of the District because of surrounding bogs and much of the area being forested.

An interesting decrease in population occurred in the years between the 1916 and 1921 census. This period, immediately following the time of the most rapid population growth, was one in which the people who settled on the more marginal tracts of land were forced to re-locate.

Population growth persisted until 1941, longer than either Stuartburn's or Manitoba's. Because Piney was more recently settled, offered large tracts of unoccupied land, and benefited from the lumber industry, it had more attraction and keeping power than did Stuartburn. Even today

FIGURE 17

Rural Population of Piney and Manitoba



Source : D.B.S. , 1871 - 1966

people are opening up new areas for agriculture in Piney, while in Stuartburn lands formerly used for agricultural purposes are now being abandoned and reverting back to a natural state.

The age-sex pyramid for Piney (Figure 18) resembles the age-sex pyramid for Manitoba more closely than does that for Stuartburn. Piney does not have as high a percentage of people in the 70-plus age group nor does it have as small a percentage in the 20-34 age group as does Stuartburn. This is probably due to its having been settled later, and offering more chances of employment for its young people.

The identifiable population trends in the past twenty years are not as pronounced as in the case of Stuartburn (Table 7). Both Districts are experiencing high rates of selective out-migration resulting in atypical proportions of older people in their populations, but Piney L.G.D. has not experienced this trend to the same degree as has Stuartburn L.G.D. Again, Piney appears to possess more chances for employment than does Stuartburn.

SUMMARY

The settlement and development of Stuartburn, for all but the initial few years, has been dominated by one

FIGURE 18

A Population Age - Sex Pyramid Manitoba and Piney 1971

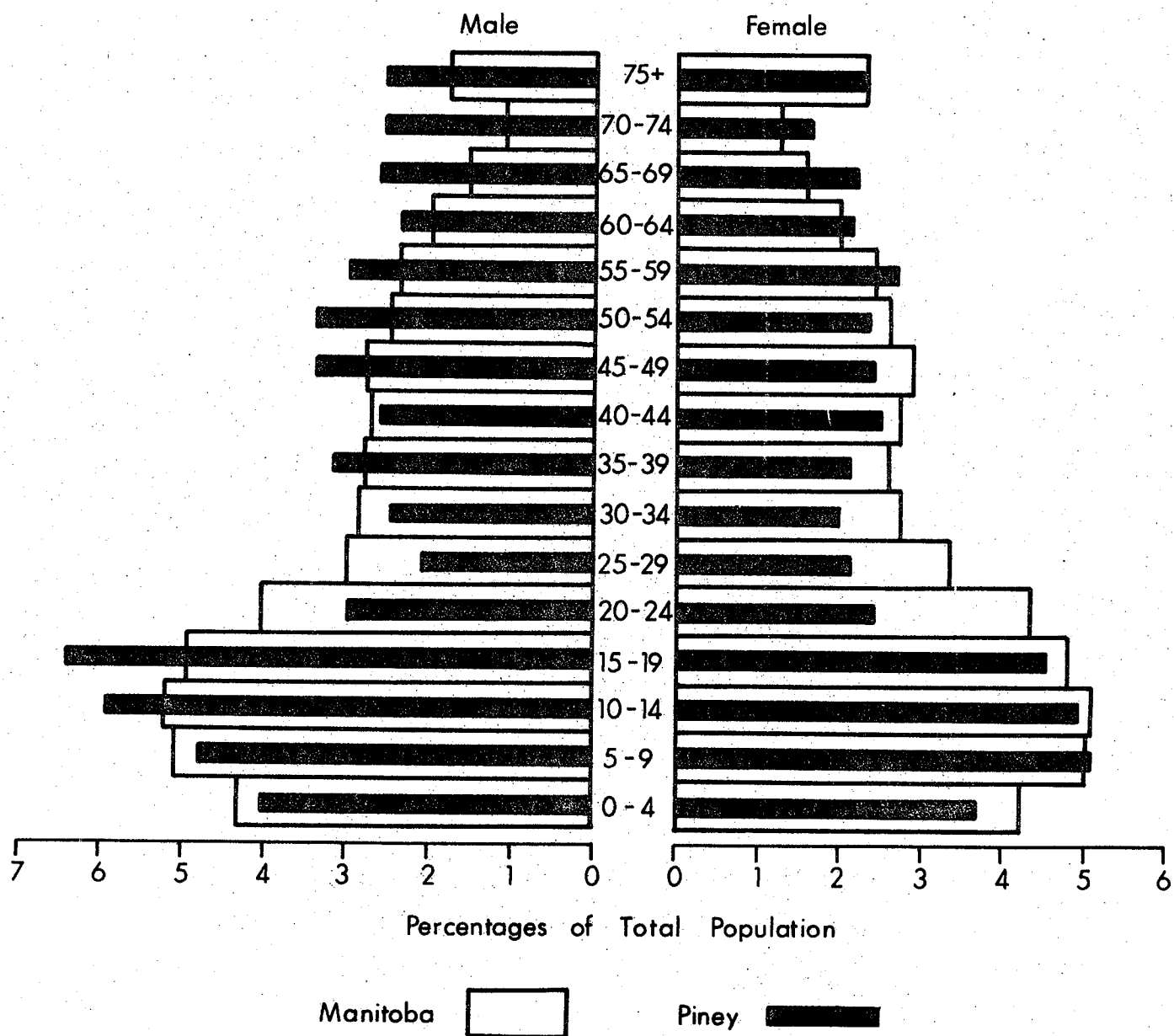


TABLE 7

RESIDUAL METHOD OF POPULATION

DISTRIBUTION OF THE L.G.D. OF PINEY

(Note: Manitoba Population Used as
a Basis)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Age Cohorts</u>										
	<u>0-4</u>	<u>5-9</u>	<u>10-14</u>	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>25-34</u>	<u>35-44</u>	<u>45-54</u>	<u>55-64</u>	<u>65-69</u>	<u>70+</u>
1951	.74	2.68	3.88	2.22	- .85	-3.90	-1.97	- .44	-1.63	- .08	- .64
1956	1.21	2.51	2.81	1.57	- .76	-3.00	-2.24	-1.16	.24	- .68	- .50
1961	- .44	1.84	2.70	.96	-2.38	-2.38	-1.28	-1.14	1.97	.23	- .07
1966	- .35	.89	2.07	- .24	-2.15	-2.09	-1.71	.25	1.20	1.48	.54
*1971	- .67	.21	.57	1.27	-3.48	-3.80	- .40	.75	1.39	1.67	2.50

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics

*1971 data has been obtained from the registration files of the subscribers of the Manitoba Health Services Commission. These files represent a listing of the total Manitoba population. The data indicated is valid as of June 1, 1971.

Note: All numbers are rounded off to the nearest second decimal.

ethnic group--namely the Ukrainians. They have, since about 1900, formed more than 80 percent of the District's total population. Piney, on the other hand, has received people from a number of ethnic backgrounds. Ethnicity is not as important a social force in Piney as it is in Stuartburn.

The majority of settlers, being of peasant backgrounds, arrived in Stuartburn with the desire to set up agricultural enterprises. Settlers to Piney came for more than only agricultural reasons. Some came because of work opportunities in construction and maintenance of rail lines, while others came for employment in "bush-work."

Clifford Sifton's policies in attempting to settle Canada's mid-west included the placing of immigrants with peasant-like backgrounds on marginal agricultural lands. This general policy seems to have had an effect in the settling of the two Districts.

Stuartburn was settled, reached its maximum population and began a rapid population decline earlier than Piney. The resulting age-sex compositions of the Districts, because of continuing outmigration, have not yet reached a relatively stable state. Because Stuartburn experienced a greater proportion of de-population than Piney, its population has a more atypical age-sex composition.



Glacial erratics exposed in process of road construction. (9 - 3 - 8E)

Plate 1



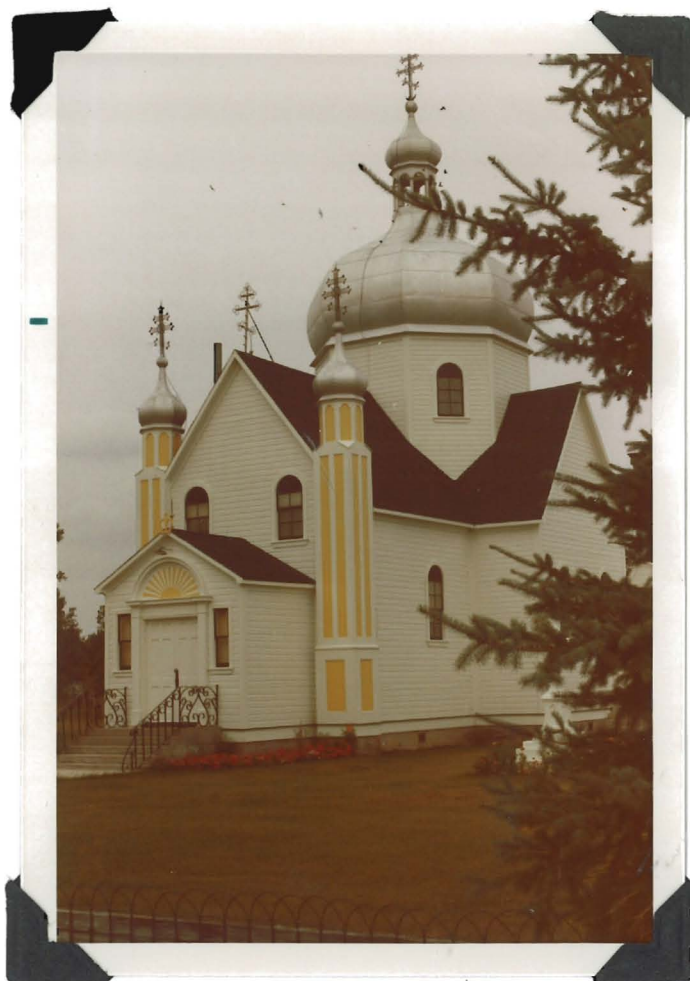
Cattle and horses near typical old sweep well. (16 - 1 - 6E)

Plate 2



Stacking hay by hand. The use of horses is still quite common. Grass covered outbuilding (not thatched) is in background. (14 - 1 - 6E)

Plate 3



St. Michael's Greek Orthodox Church
at Gardenton. (35 - 1 - 6E)

Plate 4



Low lying land in southern L.G.D. of Stuartburn.
(9 - 1 - 6E)

Plate 5

Washed out roadway.
A common situation
on sideroads in
Spring. (35-3-7E)

Plate 6



Arbakka: Store,
post-office, filling
station and farm
house of proprietor.
The house was built in
1916 by Mr. Eliuk, a
Ukrainian. (20-1-8E)

Plate 7

Abandoned farmstead,
a common sight in
both the L.G.D.'s
of Stuartburn and
Piney. (21-2-7E)

Plate 8



Pioneer Ukrainian home. Thatching was common among the first homes built. It has not been used in construction for many years. (6-2-8E)

Plate 9



Thatched hog barn. (20-2-7E)

Plate 10

Typical Ukrainian home of early 20th Century. Homes of this style frequently had thatched roofs as original. (17-2-6E)

Plate 11





Windmill, constructed in 1915, and
its Norwegian builder, Mr. G. Styve.
(1-3-10E)

Plate 12



Main street of hamlet of Wampum.
(18-1-13E)

Plate 13

Preparing winter's
supply of fuel wood.
(4 - 3 - 10E)

Plate 14



Site of C. Kesterke
homestead. He, in
coming to the District
in 1908, became the
first homesteader in
what is now the
Kerry District.
(19 - 5 - 11E)

Plate 15

Woodridge from fire
tower. An end moraine,
known locally as the
Bedford Hills, is vis-
ible on the horizon.
(11 - 4 - 10E)

Plate 16



Fall colours
near Carrick.
(28 - 3 - 11E)

Plate 17



Main street of
Menisino.
(35 - 1 - 10E)

Plate 18

Stand of larch
off Highway #12
near Piney.
(4 - 2 - 12E)

Plate 19



CHAPTER V

THE FARM SURVEY

As pointed out in the introduction, the object of this thesis is in particular to examine the major contributing, social and economic factors of Stuartburn's and Piney's farming communities. Chapter V deals specifically with this objective by examining in detail the character, structure and quality of these farming communities.

The source of data for this chapter is based on a field survey taken by the author.⁵¹ The questionnaire⁵² used in the survey was divided into five sub-sections. The first sub-section was designed to determine some general characteristics of the farming population. Age, ethnic background, education and origin of the population were some of the elements measured. Answers obtained for this section expose the character of the farming populations.

The second sub-section examines the structure of the farm units. Farm size, emphasis and land use are

⁵¹For complete information on how the survey was taken, see Chapter I, pp. 8-10.

⁵²See Appendix A.

analyzed. The quantity and quality of machinery, and the farm use of services is also determined. Information from this section aids in analyzing the farms as economic units.

The third sub-section reviews the farming communities' use of services and service centers. Some measurements taken have important economic while other have important "quality of life" implications.

The fourth sub-section studies the importance of a subsistence⁵³ element among the population. This emphasis was at one time a very important concept among farming peoples who came from smallholding backgrounds and who settled in the more marginal regions of the province. The economic state and quality of life of a people may frequently be inferred from the relative importance of a subsistence emphasis.

The fifth sub-section attempts to measure some aspects of 'life quality' in southeastern Manitoba. The primary basis of questioning was the attitude the farmers displayed towards their situation, and what they felt were the area's greatest shortcomings in providing the kind of life they would like to live. Government involvement and activity was also investigated.

⁵³ Subsistence is here defined as the providing for ones basic needs, especially food, directly from ones unit of production.

A. THE FARMING POPULATION

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT DISTRICT OF STUARTBURN

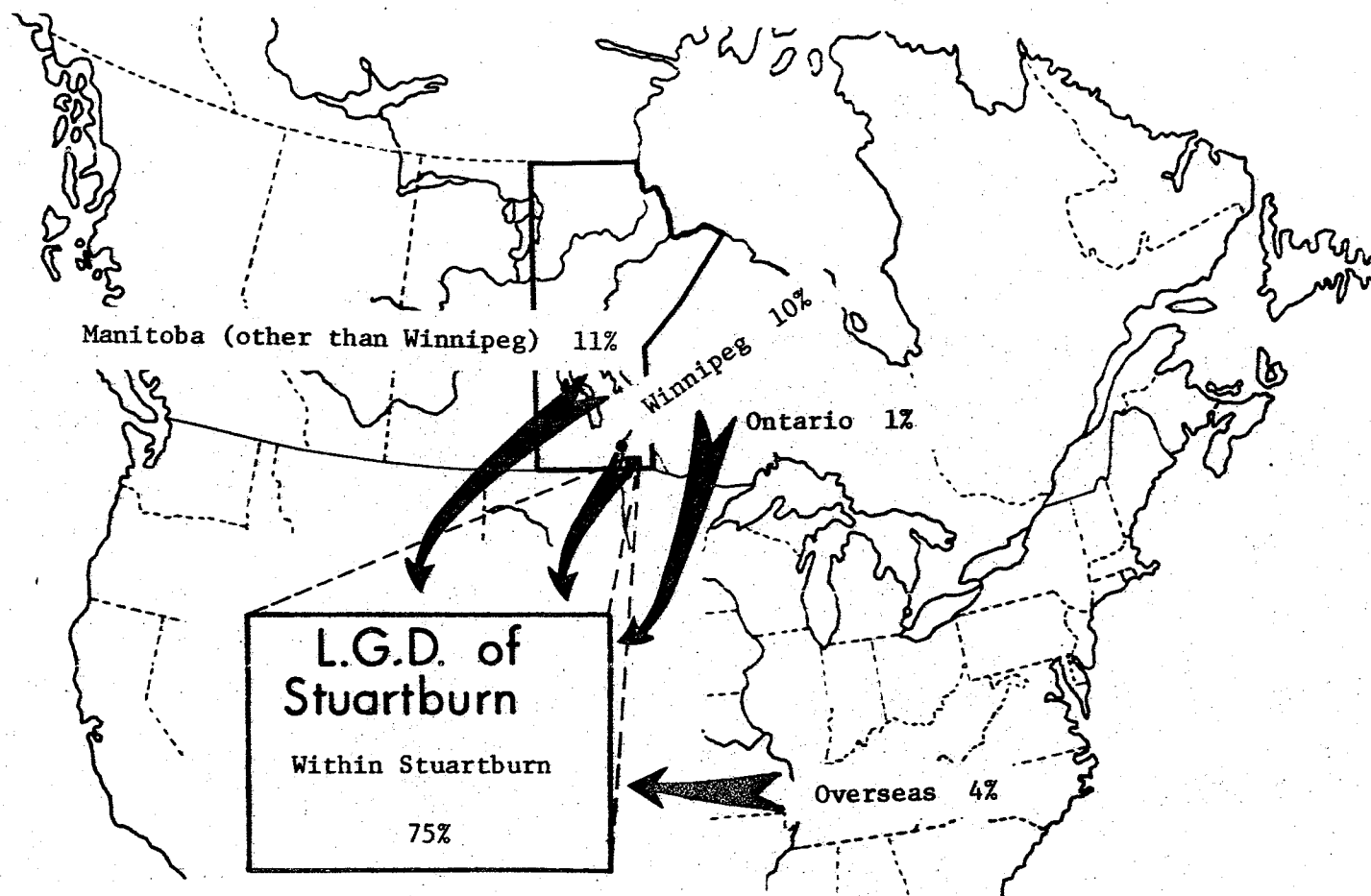
Farm Proprietors. Of the 113 heads of households interviewed in Stuartburn, classified as farmers, 87 were married, 25 were single men and one a single woman. The high proportion of single men, about 22 percent of the farming units interviewed, is due to a minor degree to the selective male immigration to Canada, but more so because of the greater predisposition of rural young females to migrate to urban areas outside of the district.

Geographical Origin. The origin of Stuartburn's farming population (Figure 19) indicates that approximately three-quarters of the people in the sample lived within the District prior to their move to their present location. This high figure well illustrates the principle expressed by Lee that, the less diverse the origin area the less the volume of out-migration.⁵⁴ The strong cohesive forces of a concentrated ethnic group such as the Ukrainians in Stuartburn militates against a rapid dispersal of these people to other parts of Canada.

⁵⁴E. S. Lee, "A Theory of Migration", Population Geography: A Reader, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1970), pp. 288-298.

FIGURE 19

Origin of Stuartburn's Farming Population



NOTE: Origin is defined as the location lived at immediately prior to present residence.

The 11 percent of farmers who moved into Stuartburn from parts of Manitoba other than the city of Winnipeg are primarily of two types, fellow Ukrainians from surrounding regions and Mennonites who formerly lived in or near the Mennonites' East and West Reserves.

One other major source of in-migrating farmers is the city of Winnipeg, from which about 10 percent of the farm families are derived. This fact again follows the basic principles of migration in that wherever a stream of migration develops a counter-stream will soon appear. The stream of migrants to Winnipeg is in part offset by the return of some of the people due to their dissatisfaction with city life, not finding an adequate source of income and employment, or their retirement to a less expensive mode of living.

The origin of farmers from Europe, at only four percent, seems relatively low considering the Districts' history. This low percentage is due to the fact that most of the original immigrants have by now retired from active farm life.

Ethnic Origin. The ethnic origin of Stuartburn District's population as a whole has already been discussed.⁵⁵ The ethnic origin of the sample farming population is quite similar (Table 8).

⁵⁵See Chapter IV.

TABLE 8

DOMINANT ETHNIC ORIGIN OF SAMPLE
FARMING POPULATION IN THE L.G.D. OF STUARTBURN

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Ukrainian	89	69
German	8	7
Polish	9	3
Dutch	2	3
Scottish	1	1
Irish	1	-
French	1	2
English	-	2
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	111	87

Note: The figures indicated refer only to the heads of households of the sample farming population selected, and their spouses where applicable.

The percentage of endogamous marriages⁵⁶ in Manitoba in 1961 was approximately 69 percent.⁵⁷ The percentage of endogamous marriages as determined from the sample population was 88.5 percent. The primary reasons for this higher-than-average rate of endogamy is related to the nearly homogeneous ethnicity and the ethnic consciousness of the people involved.

⁵⁶Endogamous marriages are here defined as marital unions in which the partners identified similar ethnic backgrounds.

⁵⁷This figure was determined by the author through averaging male and female endogamy rates for each ethnic group in Manitoba and weighing the percentages thus obtained according to the proportion these various groups form of Manitoba's total population.

Years of Arrival. The fact that more than one-half of the farmers in the sample (Table 9) took possession of their present farm units after 1940 indicates that the majority are not the original tenants of the land. The peak periods of arrival on present farms were experienced in the decades of the 1920's, '40's and '60's.

TABLE 9

YEAR OF ARRIVAL OF L.G.D. OF STUARTBURN'S SAMPLE FARM
POPULATION TO THEIR PRESENT LOCATION

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Number</u>
1902	2	1926	2	1950	4
1903	-	1927	3	1951	-
1904	-	1928	1	1952	3
1905	-	1929	2	1953	3
1906	-	1930	1	1954	1
1907	-	1931	-	1955	1
1908	-	1932	2	1956	1
1909	-	1933	1	1957	1
1910	-	1934	1	1958	2
1911	2	1935	1	1959	-
1912	-	1936	1	1960	3
1913	-	1937	3	1961	1
1914	-	1938	1	1962	7
1915	2	1939	2	1963	3
1916	2	1940	2	1964	3
1917	-	1941	5	1965	-
1918	-	1942	3	1966	-
1919	1	1943	-	1967	3
1920	2	1944	2	1968	5
1921	3	1945	5	1969	1
1922	3	1946	3	1970	-
1923	-	1947	2		
1924	2	1948	3		
1925	-	1949	4		

In the 1930's the economic depression kept many farmers from attempting new ventures of any kind. The difficulties experienced in the nation's economy made it advisable to wait until economic re-adjustment had taken place.

Few new farmers arrived during the 1950's. It was during these years that the trend to urbanize became pronounced.⁵⁸ Associated with the trend to urbanize was an expansion in farm size and mechanization. These trends discouraged new farm ventures.

Age. The age of the L.G.D. of Stuartburn's farmers is, as the District's whole population, relatively high, with few young people taking over existing farming operations. The age group representation of the farmers is shown in Table 10.

Education. The formal education levels of the farmers and their spouses are, as might be anticipated both

⁵⁸"The 1961 Census figures for Metropolitan Winnipeg indicate that the 1951-1961 period has been one of comparatively heavy growth. The 33 percent rate of increase was the highest rate of decennial population growth experienced in the past 30 years." S. G. Rich, Director, Planning Division, Metropolitan Winnipeg Population Study 1961-1986, (Winnipeg: Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, 1962), p. 15.

TABLE 10

FARMERS, L.G.D. OF STUARTBURN BY AGE COHORTS

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Number of Farmers</u>
25 and under	1
26-35	12
36-45	28
46-55	42
56-65	20
65+	<u>10</u>
Total	113

from their ages and occupations relatively low (Table 11). Educational achievements, though not necessarily related to success in farming, may well indicate the awareness these people have of modern agricultural trends and related phenomena.

TABLE 11

EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT,
STUARTBURN L.G.D. FARMERS AND THEIR SPOUSES

<u>Educational Level Grades</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
0	3	3
1 - 5	39	20
6 - 8	40	45
9 - 12	19	22
12+	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Total	102	91

Offspring Residences. The age at which children leave their parental homes begins quite early in a rural

agricultural setting. Table 12 reveals the age at which farm children leave their homes in Stuartburn.

TABLE 12

AGE AT WHICH OFFSPRING LEAVE PARENTAL RESIDENCES, STUARTBURN

<u>Age in Years</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>21</u>
Children having left parental homes	1	1	2	7	5	10	13
Total children	13	15	10	16	6	13	14

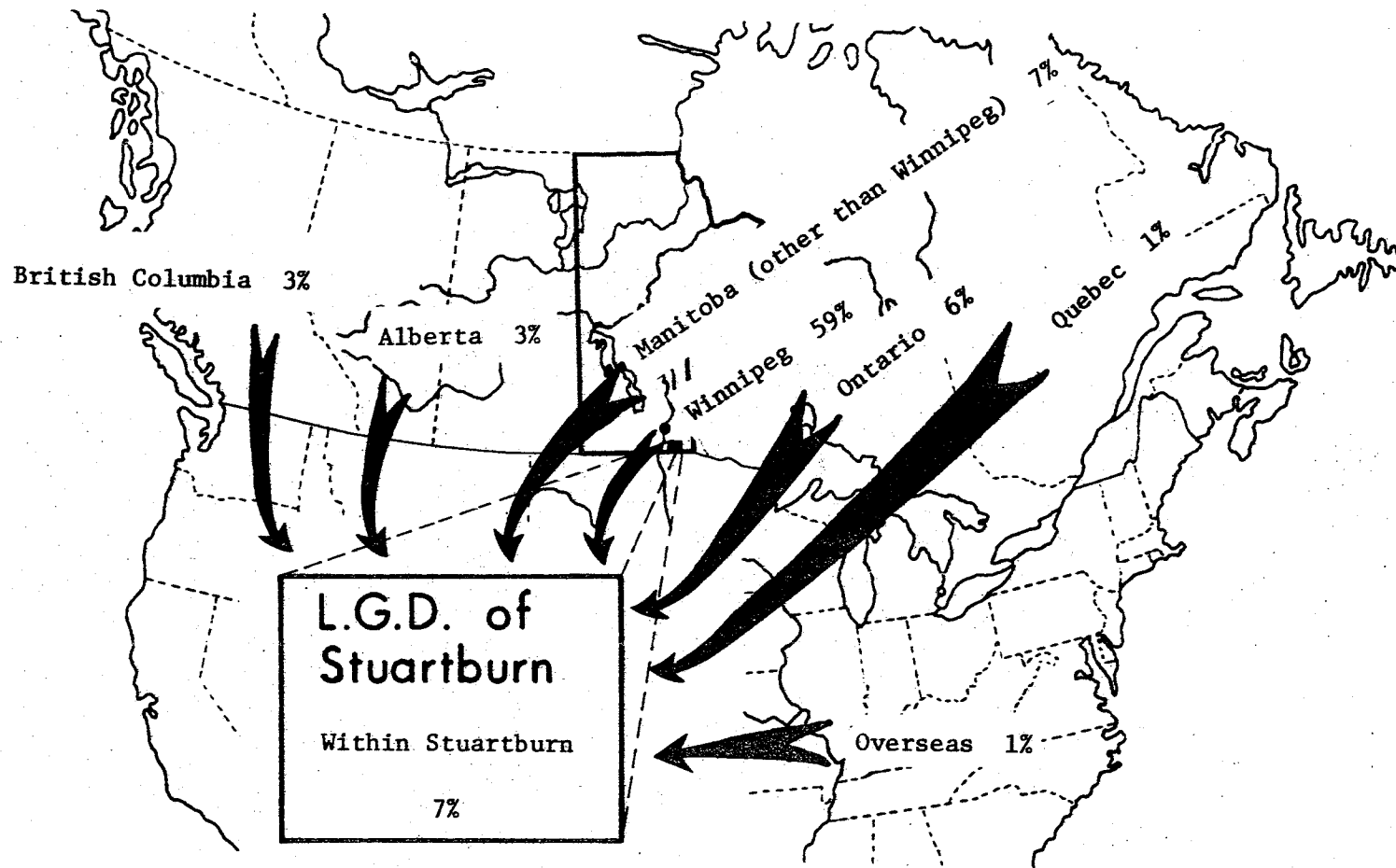
The present residences of the sample farm population's children who are not living at home with their parents are shown in Figure 20. Although the L.G.D. of Stuartburn only retains about seven percent, the province of Manitoba retains approximately 73 percent.

The city of Winnipeg receives more than one-half (59 percent) of all of the L.G.D. of Stuartburn's farming population's adult offspring. This rather high percentage is influenced by Winnipeg's attractiveness in terms of jobs, its proximity, its being Manitoba's largest city and also because the Ukrainians of the L.G.D. of Stuartburn moving to Winnipeg are moving to a city which is, in relation to other cities in Canada, a Ukrainian stronghold.

Migration to areas outside of Manitoba are about

FIGURE 20

Residences of Stuartburn Farmers' Adult Offspring



NOTE: Offspring living with their parents are not considered and therefore percentages do not total 100.

equally divided between the east and the west of Canada. Ontario was the destination of the greatest number, while British Columbia and Alberta ranked second. Saskatchewan is not a destination area.

Attitude. The attitude of farmers to their situation was particularly well revealed by the answers given to the questions, whether they planned to stay on the farm, and whether they thought any of their children would stay. The following table indicates the answers received.

TABLE 13

ATTITUDE OF STUARTBURN FARMERS TOWARDS THEIR REMAINING
AND THEIR CHILDREN'S BECOMING FARMERS

	Number of Respondents			
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Total*</u>
Are you planning to stay?	90	18	5	113
Do you think your children might stay?	18	53	16	87

*Totals differ because some farmers sampled had no children.

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT DISTRICT OF PINEY

Farm Proprietors. Sixty farm unit proprietors were interviewed in Piney. All proprietors were men--53

were married and seven were single.

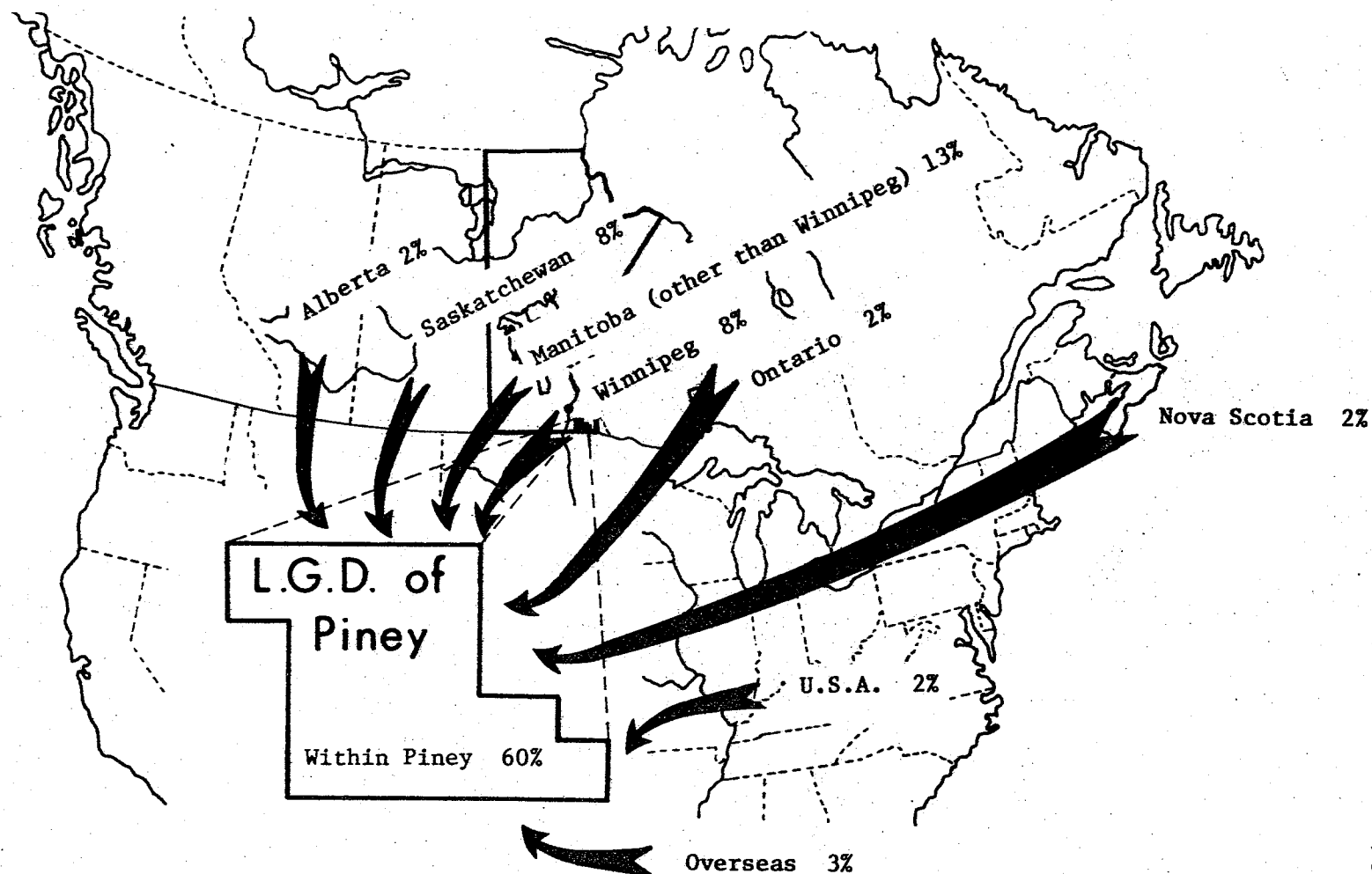
Geographical Origin. The origins of Piney farmers (Figure 21) differ from those of Stuartburn. Only 60 percent of the farmers lived within the District prior to their moving to their new location, as compared to 75 percent of those in Stuartburn. Fewer people came from Winnipeg while more came from the Western Prairie Provinces. Some also came from Ontario, the Maritimes and even the United States. The eight percent coming from Saskatchewan are directly related to the effects of the depression and the dry thirties.

A noteworthy difference between the two Districts exists in their relation with the United States. Piney, as was expressed earlier, is more isolated from Winnipeg than is Stuartburn. Piney also has three border crossings (at the villages of Piney, South Junction and Middlebro). As such, many of the services required by its residents are provided in the state of Minnesota. This communication with Minnesota has set up a stream and counterstream of migration with the United States.

Ethnic Origin. The ethnic origin of the L.G.D. of Piney's farmers and their spouses are relatively diverse (Table 14). This fact and its resulting influences are quite apparent in the District.

FIGURE 21

Origin of Piney's Farming Population



NOTE: Origin is defined as the location lived at immediately prior to present residence.

TABLE 14

DOMINANT ETHNIC ORIGIN OF SAMPLE
FARMING POPULATION IN THE L.G.D. OF PINEY

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
French	14	9
German	8	8
Ukrainian	6	6
Norwegian	5	4
Czechoslovakian	5	4
Icelandic	4	2
Hungarian	4	5
Swedish	3	1
Belgian	3	1
Scottish	2	-
Dutch	2	3
English	2	6
Irish	1	1
Russian	1	1
Polish	-	1
Total	60	52

Note: The figures indicated refer only to the proprietors of the sample farming population and their spouses where applicable.

The rate of endogamy⁵⁹ among the farming people of the L.G.D. of Piney is only about 36.5 percent. The primary reason for this is the heterogeneity of the District's ethnic origins resulting in a lesser degree of ethnic self-consciousness among the people involved.

⁵⁹Endogamy is here defined as the number of marital unions in which the partners identified similar ethnic backgrounds.

Years of Arrival. The years of arrival of the farm proprietors to their present farms are shown on Table 15. The numbers surveyed are too few to show any definite trends, but as in the case of Stuartburn, the 40's and 60's appear to have more occurrences than average.

TABLE 15

YEAR OF ARRIVAL OF L.G.D. OF PINEY'S SAMPLE
FARM POPULATION AT THEIR PRESENT LOCATION

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Number</u>
1910	1	1931	1	1952	2
1911	-	1932	1	1953	-
1912	1	1933	-	1954	1
1913	1	1934	3	1955	2
1914	2	1935	1	1956	-
1915	-	1936	-	1957	1
1916	1	1937	1	1958	-
1917	1	1938	-	1959	1
1918	-	1939	1	1960	1
1919	1	1940	1	1961	1
1920	-	1941	-	1962	2
1921	-	1942	2	1963	2
1922	-	1943	-	1964	3
1923	-	1944	-	1965	2
1924	1	1945	4	1966	2
1925	-	1946	1	1967	4
1926	1	1947	1	1968	-
1927	1	1948	2	1969	1
1928	-	1949	1	1970	-
1929	1	1950	2		
1930	-	1951	1		

Age. The ages of the sample farming population of Piney are quite high (Table 16). Again, as in the case

of Stuartburn, few young couples are entering the farming occupation. The existing trend is still toward a continuing reduction in the number of farm units with an associated increase in farm acreage.

TABLE 16

FARMERS, L.G.D. OF PINEY BY AGE GROUPS

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Number of Farmers</u>
25 and under	-
26 - 35	6
36 - 45	16
46 - 55	16
56 - 65	14
65+	8
	<hr/>
Total	60

Education. The educational achievements of the farmers of the L.G.D. of Piney and their spouses, although not high, are higher than those for Stuartburn (Table 17).

TABLE 17

EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT,
PINEY L.G.D.'S FARMERS AND THEIR SPOUSES

<u>Educational Level</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
0	1	-
1 - 5	10	5
6 - 8	36	23
9 - 12	13	18
12+	-	3
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	60	49

Offspring Residences. Most young people in Piney, as in Stuartburn leave home at an early age, and move to places outside the District. Table 18 indicates the age at which the children leave their parental homes.

TABLE 18

AGE AT WHICH OFFSPRING LEAVE PARENTAL RESIDENCES, PINEY

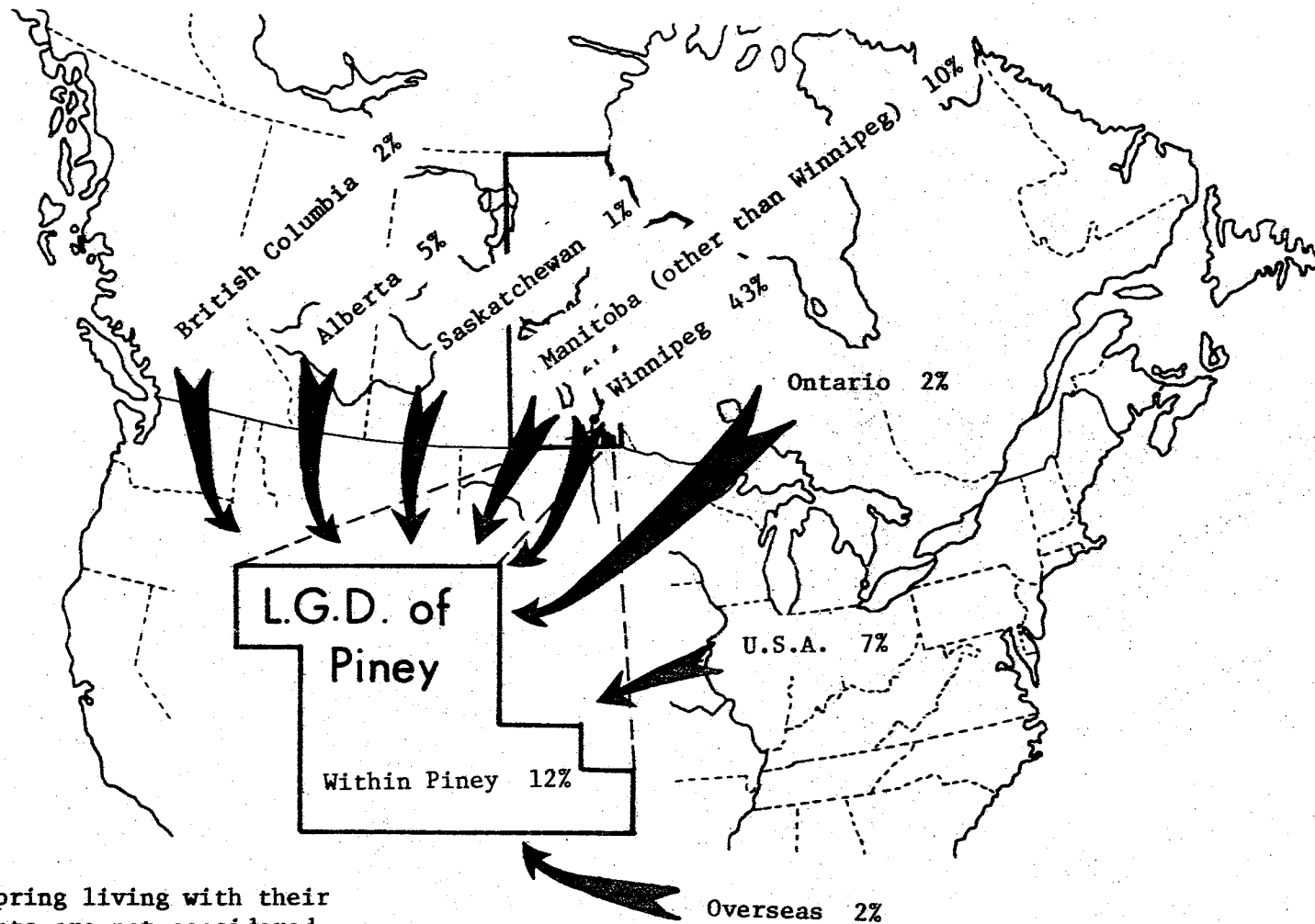
<u>Age in Years</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>21</u>
Children having left parental homes	0	0	2	4	7	4	8
Total children	11	5	9	7	9	5	8

The areas of residence of Piney farmers' adult offspring are shown on Figure 22. There are significant differences between this map and the similar one for Stuartburn. Manitoba retains only 65 percent of Piney's adult offspring while it kept 73 percent of those from Stuartburn. Winnipeg is not as much a destination area in this case as it was in the former.

Most of Piney's out-migrating people tend to move westwards, while a significant number have moved southwards to the United States. The 12 percent of Piney's young adult farm population remaining in the District is almost twice as high as that of the L.G.D. of Stuartburn. This fact reveals the greater occupational potential existing in Piney.

FIGURE 22

Residences of Piney Farmers' Adult Offspring



NOTE: Offspring living with their parents are not considered and therefore percentages do not total 100.

Attitude. The attitudes of the farmers to their own and their children's remaining and becoming farmers are not quite as overtly negative in Piney as they are in Stuartburn. This fact indicates better farming conditions and probably more successful farms (Table 19).

TABLE 19

ATTITUDE OF PINEY FARMERS TOWARDS THEIR REMAINING
AND THEIR CHILDREN'S BECOMING FARMERS

	Number of Respondents			
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Undecided</u>	<u>Total*</u>
Are you planning to stay?	57	3	-	60
Do you think your children might stay?	13	13	21	47

*Totals differ because some farmers sampled had no children.

Many of the older people of Piney, as in Stuartburn, want to remain in their present location because it has become "home" to them. This fact should be considered in all future planning for these Districts.

B. THE FARM UNIT

The economy of southeastern Manitoba is largely based on agriculture. Because of this, a detailed study of the farms in Piney and Stuartburn is essential to under-

standing the present social and economic state of the Districts.

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT DISTRICT OF STUARTBURN

Size. The farms in Stuartburn, as established earlier, are relatively small in size (see Table 20) as compared to Manitoba's average.⁶⁰ Much of the land involved is also of marginal productivity, which further diminishes the farms' economic potentials. By far the majority of farms, according to today's criteria of economic viability, are too small to produce an adequate income for the owners. This fact will be further revealed in the detailed study.

TABLE 20

FARM SIZE, STUARTBURN L.G.D.

<u>Acres</u>	<u>Number of Farms</u>
0 - 160	19
161 - 320	47
321 - 480	23
481 - 640	13
641 - 800	4
801 - 960	3
1120	1
1280	1
1920	1
Total	112

⁶⁰ Statistics Canada indicates that in 1971 there were 34,981 farms occupying 19,008,259 acres in Manitoba. The average farm is, therefore, approximately 540 acres in size.

Emphases. The raising of beef cattle was the main source of most of the sample farmers' agricultural incomes. Some 80 of the farmers surveyed owned a total of approximately 2,900 head of beef cattle. Most herds involve less than 100 head, although a few farmers had larger herds. These larger operations show convincing evidence of greater economic viability.

The need for specialization, such as the raising of beef cattle, has not yet adequately impressed itself on Stuartburn farmers. This response will probably materialize more generally as the older generation of subsistence-oriented farmers retires.

Dairying is the second most important source of farm income. Fifty-one farmers owned approximately 1,000 dairy cattle. Most of these cattle are not of pedigreed stock. Many animals are young and not yet producing. The majority of the interviewed farmers felt their herds were not producing an adequate income for their needs. Further development towards larger herds and shipping of bulk milk is desirable.⁶¹

⁶¹

After the survey was taken, it was established that a number of the beef and dairy herds were not wholly owned by the resident farmers, but by investors outside the District. The extent of this phenomenon is not known, but available evidence indicates that it numbers into the hundreds of head of cattle.

Emphasis on the raising of beef cattle was the most common characteristic (61 percent) of the farm sample. Planned changes in farm enterprise when indicated were usually directed towards increasing the beef emphasis. Answers given to the questions, "what do you most emphasize?" and "what do you plan to emphasize in the near future?" were as follows:

TABLE 21

PRESENT AND PLANNED FARM EMPHASIS, STUARTBURN

Present		Planned	
<u>Emphasis</u>	<u>Number of Farms</u>	<u>Emphasis</u>	<u>Number of Farms</u>
Beef	65	Beef	7
Dairy	30	Quit or Retire	8
Grain	0	Grain	1
Mixed	5	Unknown or	
Hay	5	remain the	90
Chickens	1	same	

Land Use. Most agricultural land in Stuartburn is not cultivated annually. The sample population, in response to the question, established that more land was formerly cultivated (approximately 6,650 acres) than at present. Although some land-clearing and breaking is still going on within the District, it is safe to say that this is more than offset by the abandonment of cultivated land. Reasons given why the land was no longer under tillage included: "poor drainage," "too many rocks," "it does not

pay," "cattle need land for pasture," "retirement," "conflicting jobs," "no machinery," and "it was cultivated at the time I took over."

Only approximately 55 percent of the farms sampled regularly cultivate any land.⁶² Sixty-one farmers claimed a total of approximately 5,270 tilled acres. This amounts to less than 100 tilled acres per farmer cultivating any land, and less than 50 acres of cultivated land per average farm.

The small acreages annually in crop were primarily used for production of feed grain such as oats. Only one farmer interviewed had sown wheat, and this involved less than 25 acres of land. Of the 112 farmers surveyed, 22 had sown some grain, involving about 825 acres. This amount indicates the lack of importance that grain farming has in the region.

The seeding of tame fodder is becoming a progressively more common form of land use. Approximately 66 percent (74 of 112) of the farmers practised the seeding of some acreage to fodder crops.⁶³ Native hay acreage, a-

⁶²Cultivated land was specified as land which was under tillage at least one year in five.

⁶³It appeared to the writer that many farmers had a "loose" definition of tame hay. Much of the acreage designated tame hay should probably not have been thus classified.

part from pasture land, however, still outranks tame fodder acreage, other than pasture lands, in the ratio of about 1.5 to 1. (6,047 acres: 4,149 acres)

A significant amount of tame fodder, especially alfalfa, is imported from the Red River Valley. The farmers there plant alfalfa in rotation with grain crops. Since the raising of cattle does not enjoy particular emphasis within the Red River Valley, much of the fodder produced finds its way to the more marginal agricultural areas such as southeastern Manitoba where cattle raising predominates.

Machinery Investment. The investment in farm machinery on the sample farm units was generally low. Many a farmer's major implements consisted only of an old tractor, a mower, and a hay rake. A request to estimate the value of all of their machinery generated the following answers:

TABLE 22

STUARTBURN FARMERS' INVESTMENT IN MACHINERY

<u>Number of Farms</u>	<u>Value of Machinery</u>
66	0 - \$ 2,500
28	\$ 2,501 - \$ 5,000
12	\$ 5,001 - \$ 7,500
4	\$ 7,501 - \$10,000
1	\$10,001 - \$15,000

The 0 - \$2,500 category was found to be too general for many cases as approximately 20 percent of the 66 farmers indicated owned machinery worth considerably less than \$1,000. Some of the machinery of the more well-to-do farmers was used for more than only farm use, but basically the figures shown represent the total established value of the equipment used.

Income. The percentage of total income which the sample population derived from their farms was lower than anticipated (Table 23). Approximately 47 percent of the sample received less than one-half of their annual income from their farms. This fact illustrates well the economic inadequacy of the present farming operations.

TABLE 23
FARM INCOME, AS PROPORTION OF TOTAL INCOME,
STUARTBURN FARMERS

<u>Number of Farmers</u>	<u>Percentage Income</u>
41 (37%)	10-25%
11 (10%)	26-50%
9 (8%)	51-75%
50 (45%)	76-100%
<hr/> 111 Total	

Other sources of income included pensions, bush work, construction, utilities, carpentry, school bus driving, Department of Mines and Natural Resources, sewing

factory, laboratory technician, mechanic, agricultural labor, trapping, pasture manager, welfare, railway section work, nurse's aide, and feed sales and transport. At least 10 individuals within the sample worked in Winnipeg full or part time.

Major Problems. The major problems in farming identified by the sample are consistent with the problems indicated by ARDA in its maps of the district. More than half of those sampled felt that the lack of an adequate drainage system was the chief problem inhibiting the success of their farming operations. Approximately 25 percent felt that stony soil was their major problem. Low fertility, which is very characteristic of the soils of the district, was not recognized by many as being a significant hindrance to them. This attitude is probably due to the overriding significance of poor drainage and stony soils.

Services. Because Stuartburn is situated within an area of Manitoba's marginal agricultural lands, it lacks many of the services enjoyed by physically better endowed areas of the province. Some of these services, which are accepted as commonplace by many people, still are infrequent or have only recently been established in the District.

For example, all of rural Manitoba received access to public electricity between 1945 and 1954. Rural electrification was completed in Stuartburn in 1954.⁶⁴ Prior to the availability of power from Manitoba Hydro, a few farmers owned and operated their own "wind chargers" which supplied minimal electric power (Table 24).

Statistics Canada information indicates that in 1970 more than 90 percent of all households in Manitoba had some plumbing, namely running water.⁶⁵ In Stuartburn, however, 75 percent of the sample had no plumbing whatsoever.

The occurrence of electrical service, telephones and running water and the time of their installation on the farms was as follows:

TABLE 24

THE USAGE OF ELECTRICITY, TELEPHONES AND RUNNING WATER
AMONG STUARTBURN FARMERS

<u>Service</u>	<u>Percentage of Sample having Service</u>	<u>Time of Service Installation</u>		
		<u>Pre-1950</u>	<u>1950-59</u>	<u>1960-70</u>
Electricity	95%	5%*	79%*	16%*
Telephone	67%	0%*	17%*	83%*
Running Water	25%	0%*	18%*	82%*

Note: Percentages are rounded off.

*These percentages are stated as percentages of the percentage figures in the left-hand column.

⁶⁴Established from interviews at Manitoba Hydro, 820 Taylor Avenue, Winnipeg.

⁶⁵Statistics Canada, Household Facilities and Equipment, Catalogue No. 64-202, Ottawa 1971.

When we consider all the above facts together, we quite clearly see that Stuartburn is an underdeveloped agricultural area. This is due to many factors including low-income farm units, lack of good management and the relatively low agricultural potential of the land. However, there are undeveloped agricultural possibilities in the District. The District was suitable for subsistence farming in past years when such practices represented a viable man-land adjustment. However, in the economic context of the present it could very well support viable farming operations if the District's true potential were realized through intelligent exploitation.

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT DISTRICT OF PINEY

Size. The sample farms within the District of Piney are, on the average, larger than those in Stuartburn, but they are still relatively small (Table 25). A few of the larger farms, as can well be expected, have proven to be the most successful. Absolute numbers of acres is, however, a relatively weak criterion for productivity since there is considerable variation in potential among the District's soils.

TABLE 25

FARM SIZE, PINEY L.G.D.

<u>Acres</u>	<u>Number of Farms</u>
0 - 160	9
161 - 320	18
321 - 480	21
481 - 640	3
641 - 800	2
801 - 960	2
961 - 1120	3
1500	1
3000	1
Total	60

Emphases. The raising of beef cattle, as was in the case in Stuartburn, represents the main agricultural emphasis in Piney (Table 26). Approximately one-half of the sample indicated that beef cattle accounted for the bulk of their farm income.

The beef herds were generally small. Only three of the sixty farmers interviewed had herds of more than one hundred head. Such small herds are inefficient in terms of maximizing income relative to labor inputs.

Dairying, which was the second most frequently encountered dominant farm enterprise in Piney, was primarily centered around the hamlet of St. Labre. A number of large herds, basically of Holstein stock were observed in this area, but the majority of dairy cattle are not pedigreed animals. The cross-breeding of dairy and beef cattle

allows the farmer to have both emphases without totally segregating his operations. Although this may not be the most efficient procedure, it is consistent with the philosophy of the farmer with a low emphasis on maximization of cash-flow.

The present and anticipated farm emphasis, as determined from answers given to the questions "what do you now emphasize?" and "what do you plan to emphasize?" is indicated in Table 26. Both present and future farm emphases center on beef raising.

TABLE 26

PRESENT AND PLANNED FARM EMPHASIS, PINEY

Present		Planned	
<u>Emphasis</u>	<u>Number of Farmers</u>	<u>Emphasis</u>	<u>Number of Farmers</u>
Beef	28	Beef	10
Dairy	12	Sell or Retire	5
Grain	5	Alfalfa Seed	1
Alfalfa Seed	4	Sheep	1
Hogs	1	Unknown, or	
Hay	1	remain the same	40
Mixed	6		

Land Use. Cultivated land, proportionately much less than in the Red River Valley, represents a higher percentage of the total than in the neighbouring District of Stuartburn. Approximately 36 percent of Piney's total

farm acreage, as compared to 16 percent of Stuartburn's is cultivated.⁶⁶ The average Piney farmer cultivates approximately 130 acres of land compared to Stuartburn's 50 acres.

Although there are fewer farmers in Piney, they have more cultivated land in grain. Only about 20 percent of Stuartburn, while 67 percent of Piney farmers annually sow some grain crops. Besides being used for grain and fodder, some cultivated land is used for such specialized crops as alfalfa for seed.

There are several reasons for this. One chief problem with any commercial crop grown in Piney is the distance it must be transported to the nearest market. Although Stuartburn produces few if any commercial grain crops, it has better access to grain elevators, in such towns as Ridgeville and Dominion City, than does Piney. The nearest elevator to which Piney farmers, however, may bring their grain is in the town of Ste. Anne, which ranges from 20 to 80 miles from the farmers in the District.⁶⁷ This fact discourages grain production for direct marketing. Seed crops, such as alfalfa, are frequently delivered

⁶⁶Cultivated land was specified as land which was under tillage at least one year in five.

⁶⁷Interviewed farmers indicated that transporting their crops to market was one of their major problems.

to points in Winnipeg. This requires some farmers to transport their crops well over one hundred miles.

Because Piney contains more fertile soils than Stuartburn, tame hay is both more common and more successful. Some of this fodder is even transported to Stuartburn for cattle feed. Should the cattle emphasis in Piney increase, and there are some real drawbacks, including many summer insect pests, fodder production may well represent the best economic use of the better quality agricultural land.

Piney also has more undeveloped agricultural potential than has Stuartburn. This is shown particularly by the amount of land formerly and presently being cleared and broken. Fifty-four of the 60-farmsample had cleared land in the past for a total of more than 5,000 acres. Most of this land was broken and placed under cultivation.

Machinery Investment. The value of machinery per farm unit in Piney is also small (Table 27), although slightly greater than in Stuartburn. This, at least in part, is because some of the machinery owned is also used for bush work in winter and because the greater grain emphasis in the District frequently requires more machinery than does a cattle emphasis.

TABLE 27

PINEY FARMERS' INVESTMENT IN MACHINERY

<u>Number of Farms</u>	<u>Value of Machinery</u>
25	0 - \$ 2,500
15	\$ 2,501 - \$ 5,000
14	\$ 5,001 - \$ 7,500
2	\$ 7,501 - \$10,000
1	\$10,001 - \$15,000
2	\$15,001 - \$20,000
1	\$20,001 - \$25,000

Income. The proportion of total income which the sample farmers obtained directly from their farming was very low (Table 28).

TABLE 28

FARM INCOME, AS PROPORTION OF TOTAL INCOME,
PINEY FARMERS

<u>Number of Farmers</u>	<u>Percentage Income</u>
32 (53%)	10-25%
4 (7%)	26-50%
6 (10%)	51-75%
18 (30%)	76-100%
<hr/>	
60 Total	

Two-fifths of the farmers sampled obtained more than 50 percent of their total earnings from their farms. Approximately 40 percent of the sources of income other than the farm, involved part-time employment for the Columbia Forest Products' plant at Sprague. This consisted of work in lumber camps, at the plant, and cutting pulp-

wood from private woodlots for the plant.

Major Problems. The main problems which the farmers in Piney face were indicated as being poor drainage and stony soils. A few felt that the lack of cleared land was their major problem. This problem is quite complex in that the Manitoba Department of Mines and Natural Resources has determined that much of the land presently used for agriculture should be returned to forest vegetation. The consolidation of large tracts for wood production involves the expropriation of some farmers' lands. These farmers find it most difficult to understand why some relatively good agricultural land should be taken or kept from them for this purpose.

A further set of problems stemming from the natural conditions includes distance to market, poor roads, and swarms of insect pests in the summer months. All of these problems could be overcome, but the feasibility of doing this is questionable from the point of view both of the economic return and of the ecological balance.

Services. The Piney sample indicates a greater use of public utilities than does the Stuartburn sample (Table 29). The two Districts gained access to public electricity in 1954--the last year of Manitoba Hydro's

program of rural electrification. Although none of the sample indicated having had electrical service prior to 1950, only one of them when interviewed did not at present have it.

In everyone of the three categories checked, namely electricity, telephones and running water, Piney has a greater proportional density than has Stuartburn. This is especially true in the case of running water in which 60 percent of the former as compared to 25 percent of the latter District's samples have this household utility. These facts indicate a greater economic capability in Piney L.G.D.

TABLE 29

THE USAGE OF ELECTRICITY, TELEPHONES AND RUNNING WATER
AMONG PINEY FARMERS

<u>Service</u>	Percentage of Sample Having Service	Time of Service Installation		
		Prior to 1950	1950-59	1960-70
Electricity	98%	0%*	80%*	20%*
Telephone	75%	0%*	11%*	89%*
Running Water	60%	0%*	31%*	69%*

Note: Percentages are rounded off.

*These percentages are stated as percentages of the percentage figures in the left-hand column.

There is much room for improvement in farming practices in Piney. It is, however, more advanced and in many ways has more potential in cropping, in forestry, and in

cattle enterprise, than Stuartburn L.G.D. Future improvements will probably depend on markets, individual and collective initiative, and government policies towards this District.

C. SERVICES AND SERVICE CENTERS

The importance of a town to a district is largely determined by the variety of services it provides. A district's lack of a service may also be determined by the distance the residents have to travel to obtain the service.

This section includes a series of cartograms drawn so as to indicate the service centers at which the farm proprietors sampled most frequently obtain the following basic articles and services:

1. Groceries
2. Clothing
3. Furniture
4. Medical
5. Dental
6. Farm Machinery
7. Cars and Trucks
8. Seed and Fertilizers
9. Gasoline and Oil.

The relative ease with which the above basic needs can be met, indicates the importance of the Districts' centers to the economic life of the farmers. The importance of outside centers to the District is also brought out in this study.

TABLE 30

THE L.G.D. OF STUARTBURN'S LEADING SOURCE CENTERS FOR THE
SPECIFIED ARTICLES AND SERVICES

(Centers are rank ordered from 1-3, with 1 being the most important)

	<u>Groceries</u>	<u>Clothing</u>	<u>Furniture</u>	<u>Medical</u>	<u>Dental</u>	<u>Farm Machinery</u>	<u>Cars & Trucks</u>	<u>Seed & Fertilizers</u>	<u>Gas & Oil</u>
Steinbach	2	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	2
Vita	1	3	3	1	-	-	2	-	1
Winnipeg	-	1	2	3	2	-	3	3	3
Tolstoi	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Dominion City	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3	-
Menisino	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Ridgeville	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
Lancaster, Minn.	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
Sundown	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

FIGURE 23
STUARTBURN L.G.D.'S SOURCE OF GROCERIES

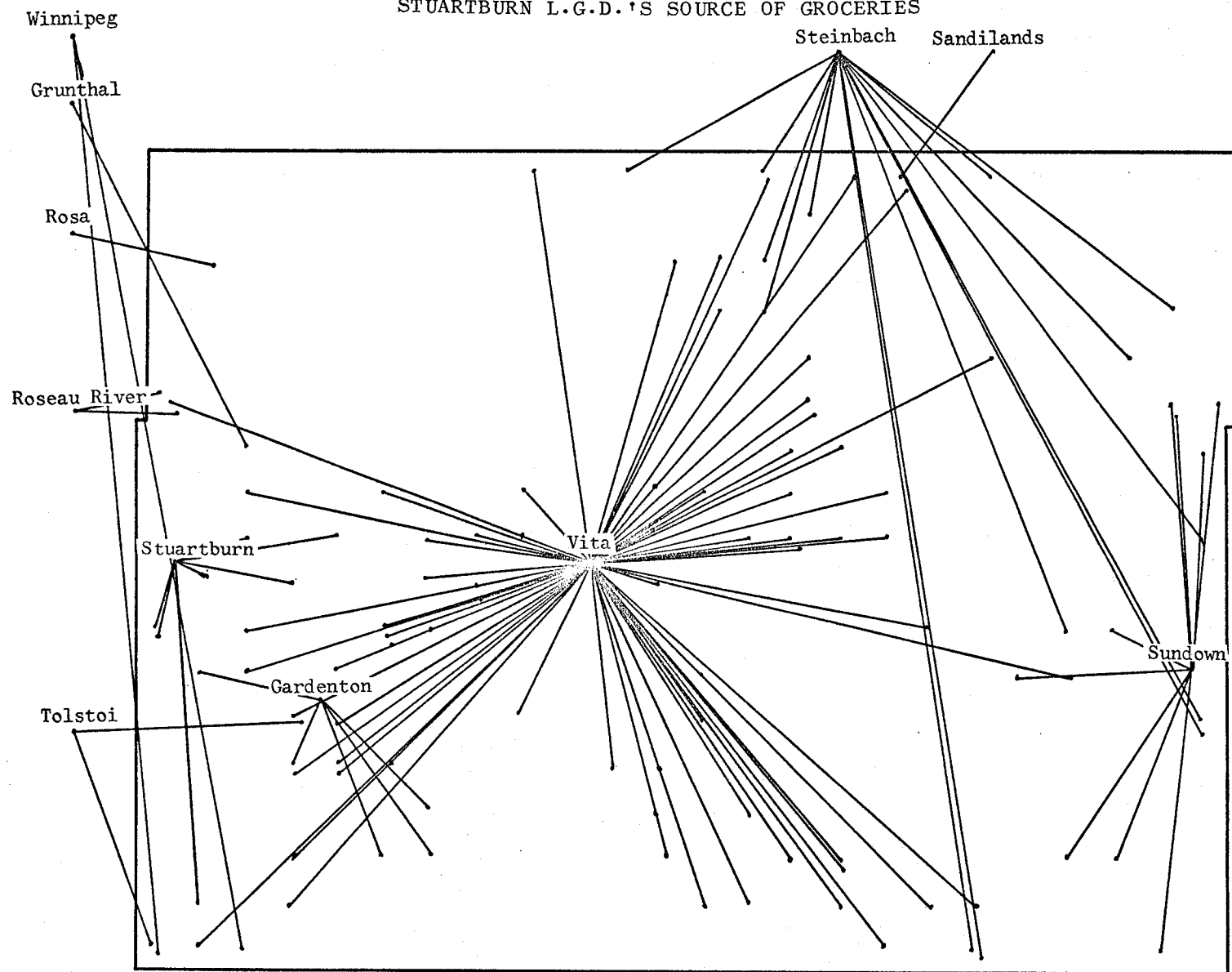


FIGURE 24
STUARTBURN L.G.D.'S SOURCE OF CLOTHING

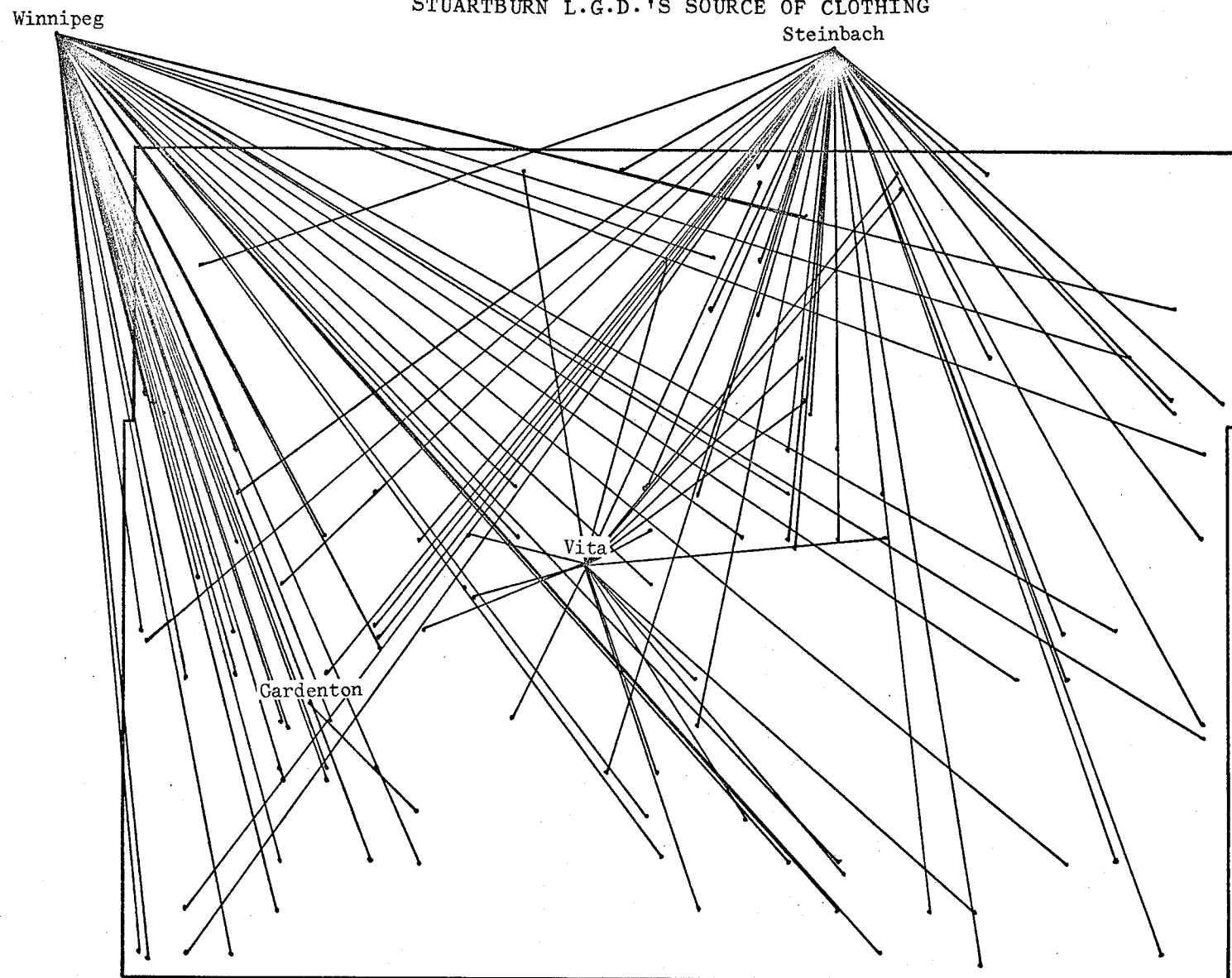


FIGURE 25
STUARTBURN L.G.D.'S SOURCE OF FURNITURE

Winnipeg

Steinbach

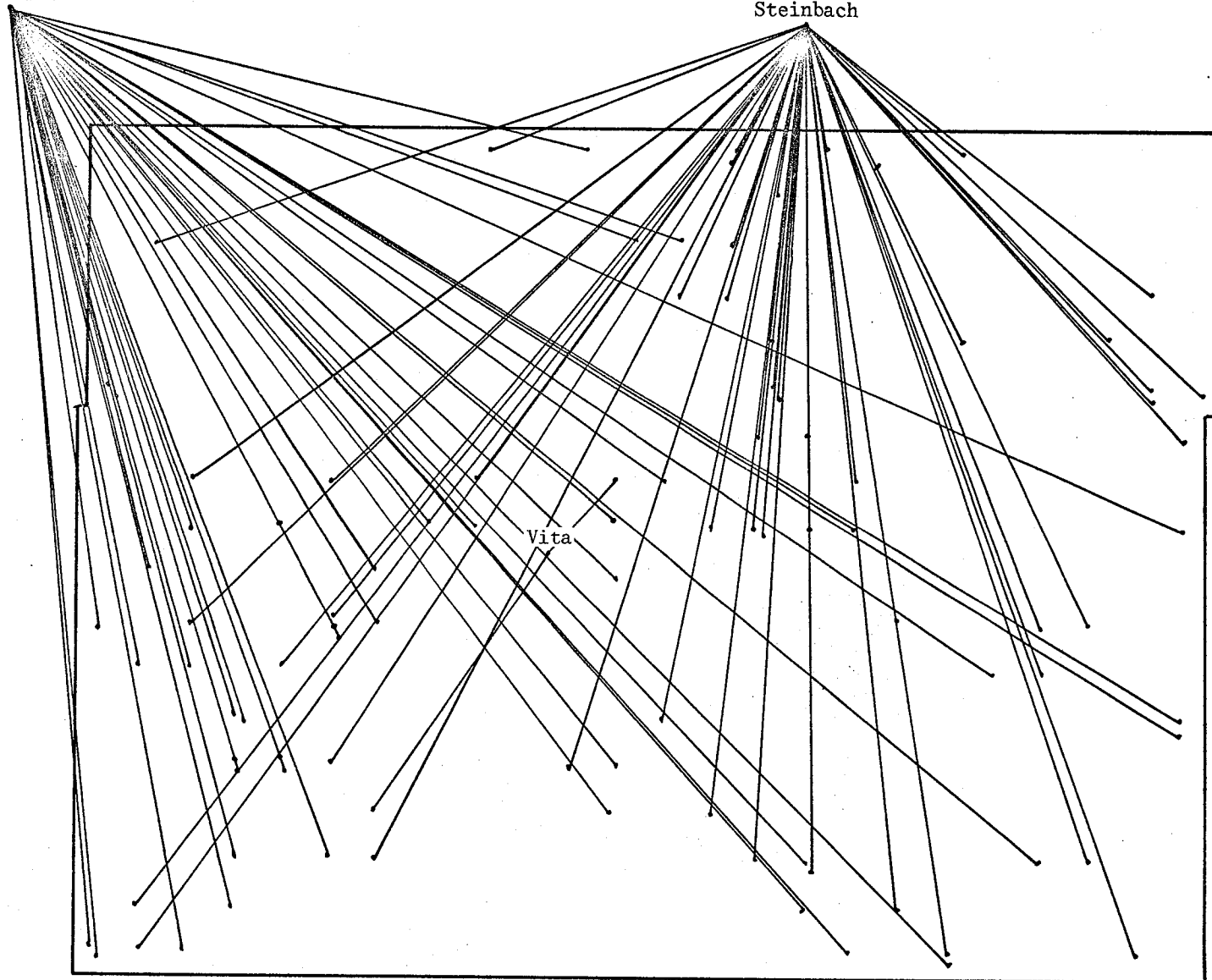


FIGURE 26
STUARTBURN L.G.D.'S SOURCE OF MEDICAL CARE

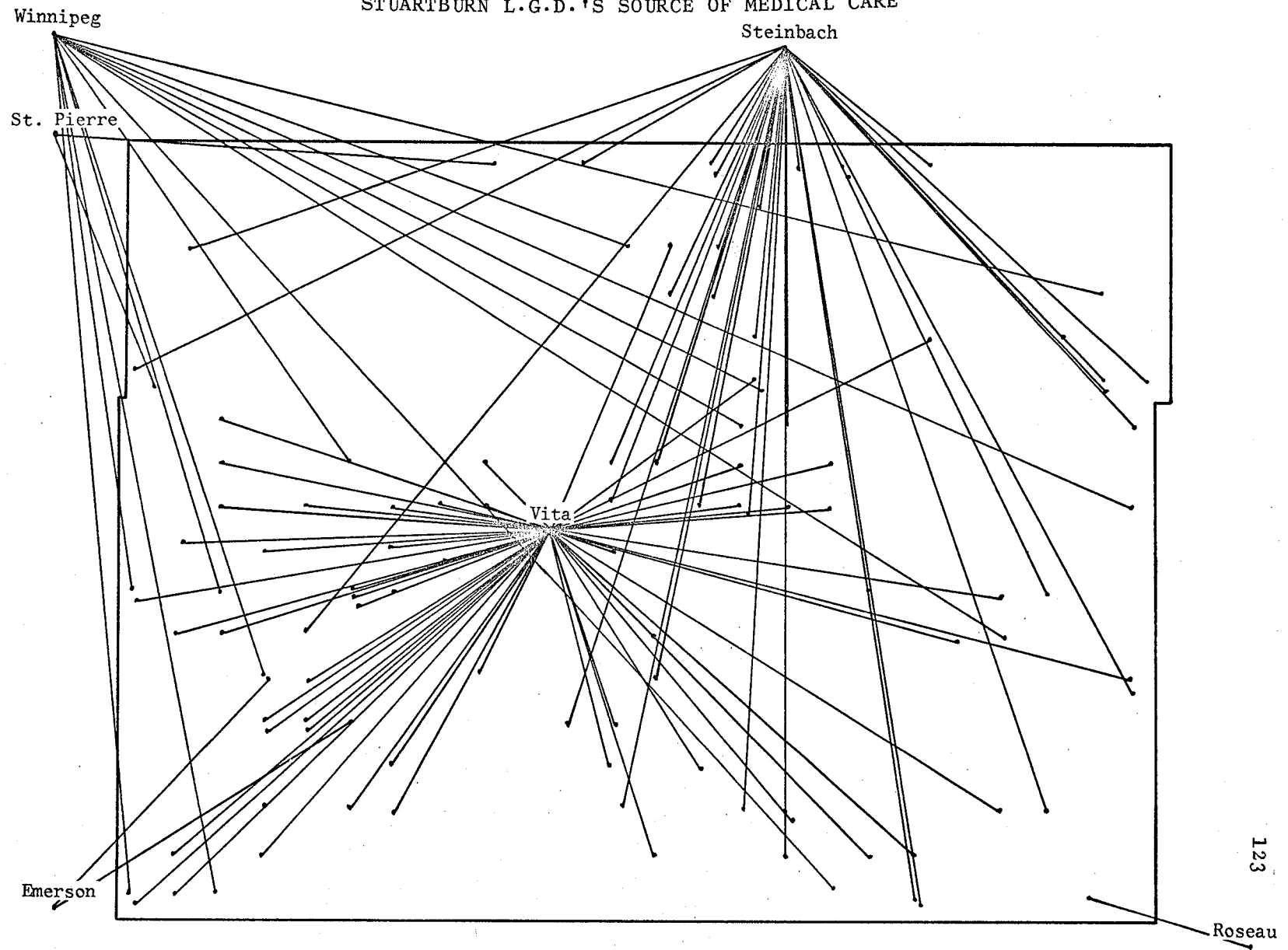


FIGURE 27
STUARTBURN L.G.D.'S SOURCE OF DENTAL CARE

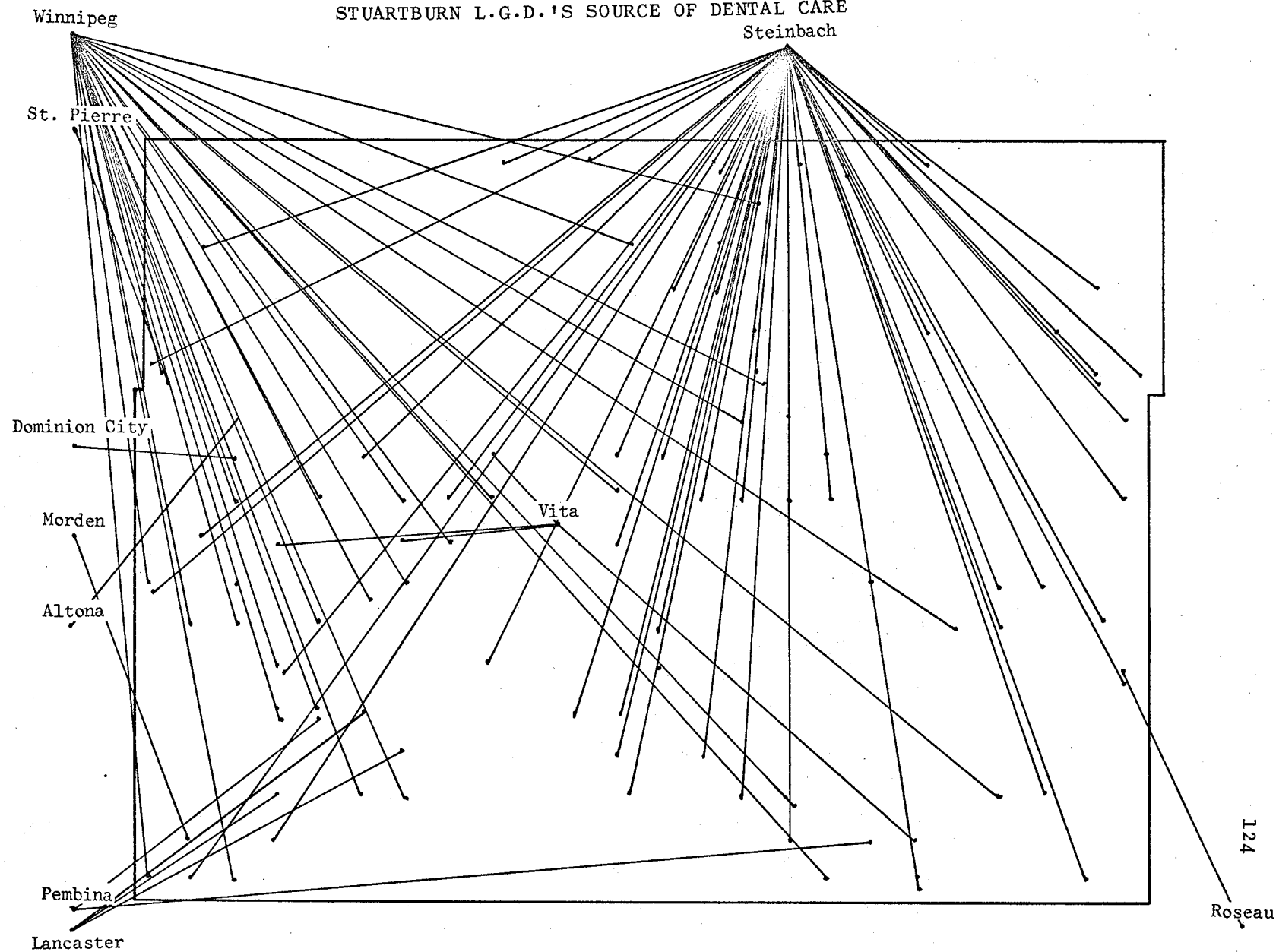


FIGURE 28

STUARTBURN L.G.D.'S SOURCE OF FARM MACHINERY

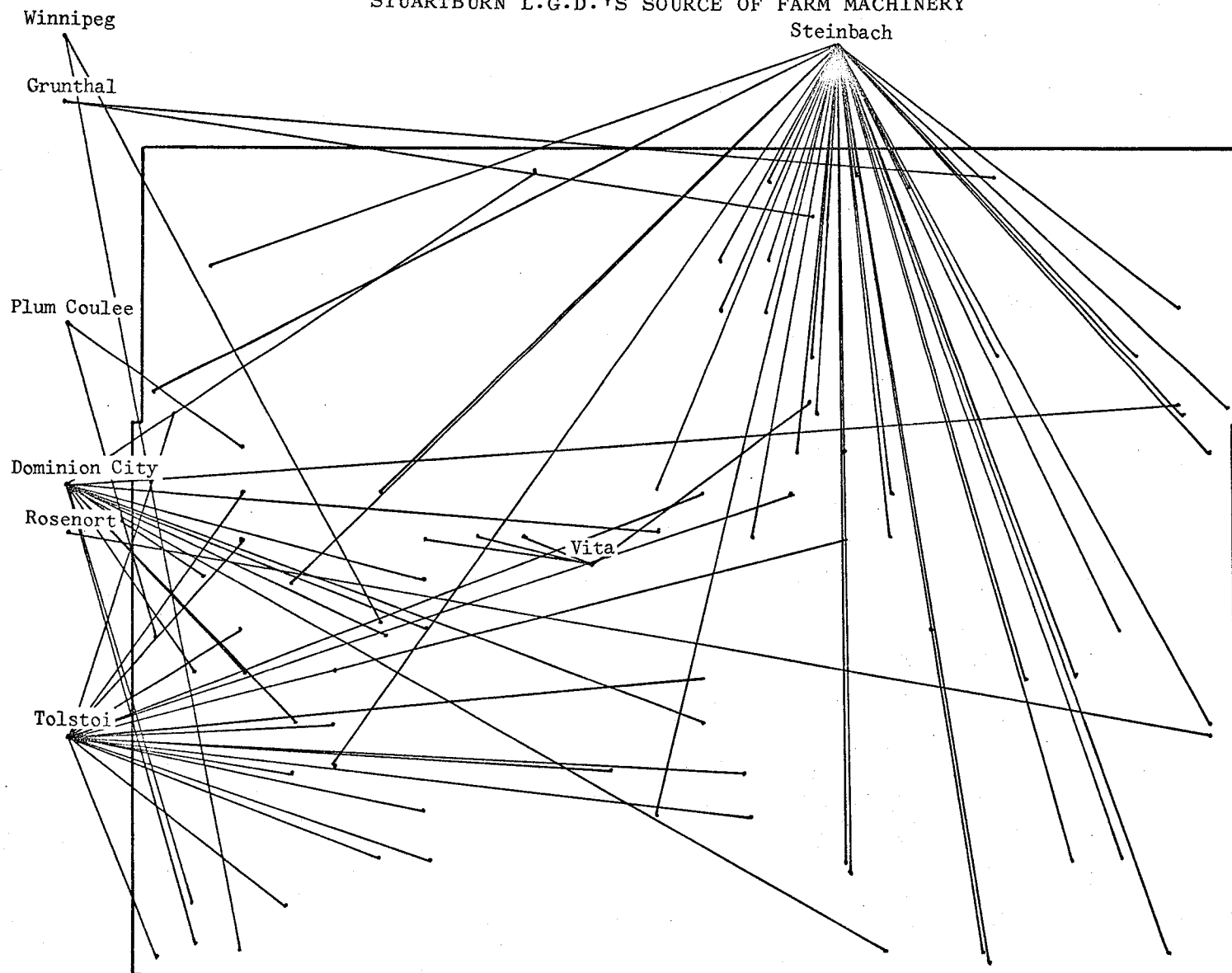


FIGURE 29
STUARTBURN L.G.D.'S SOURCE OF CARS AND TRUCKS

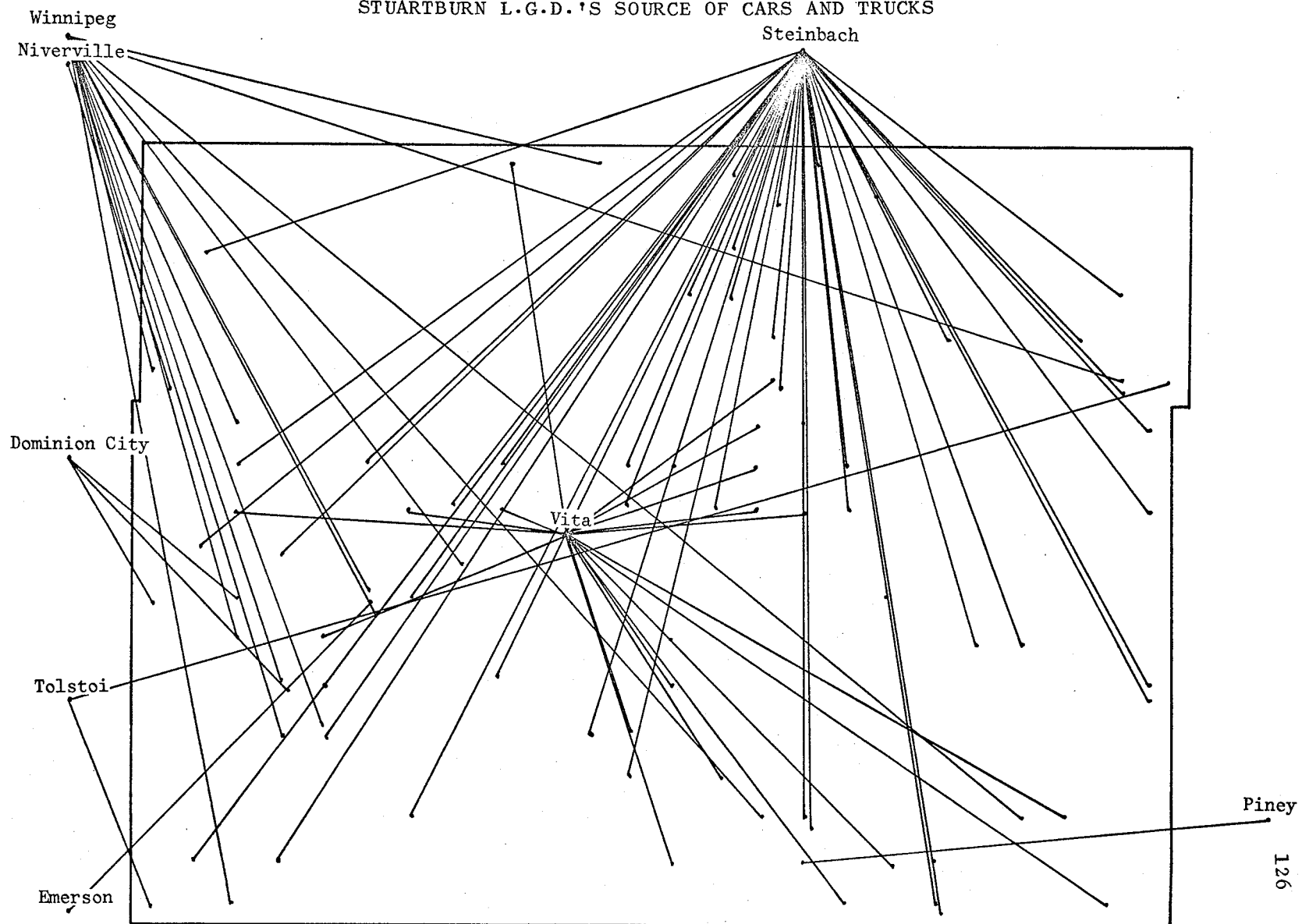


FIGURE 30
STUARTBURN L.G.D.'S SOURCE OF SEED AND FERTILIZER

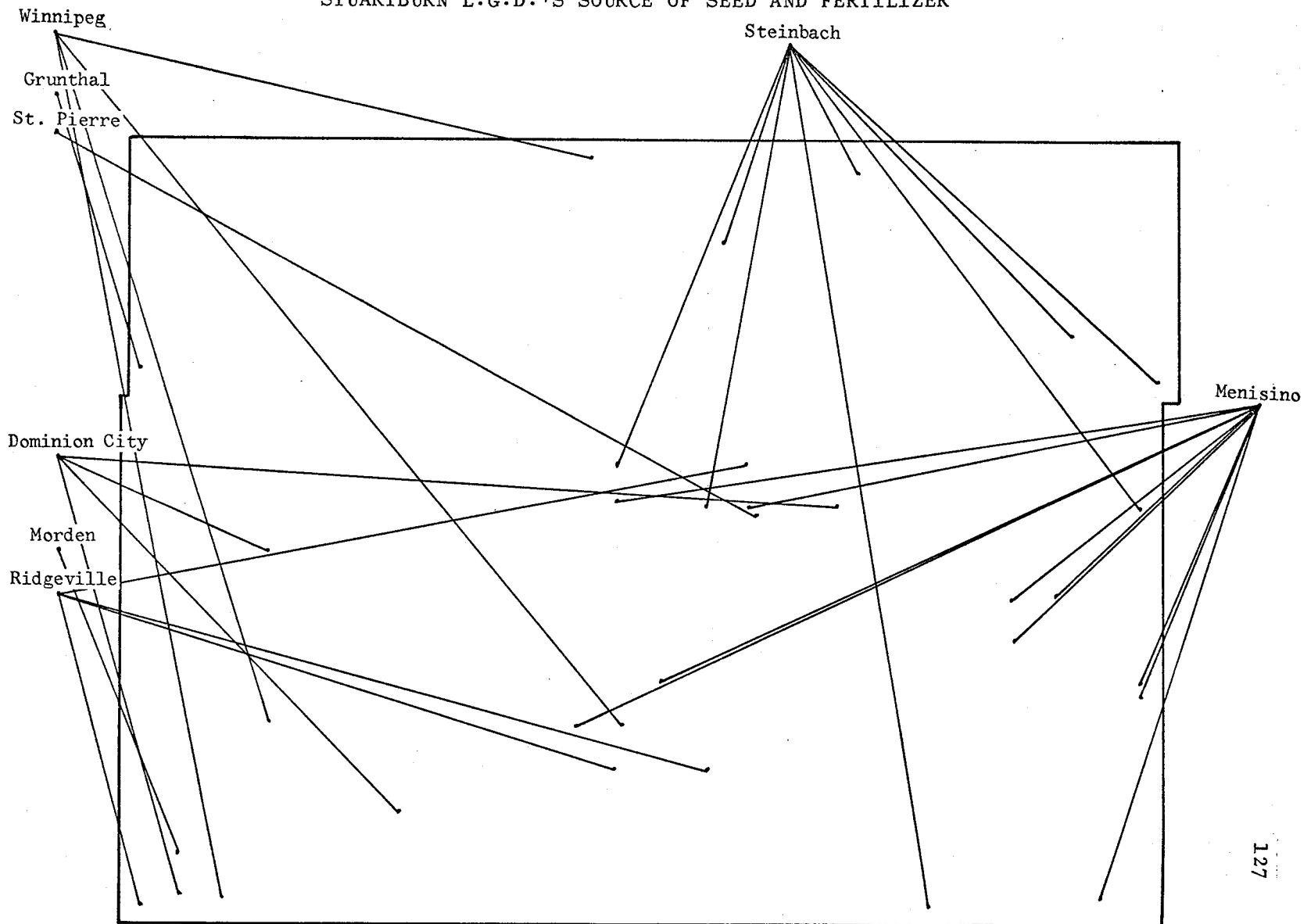
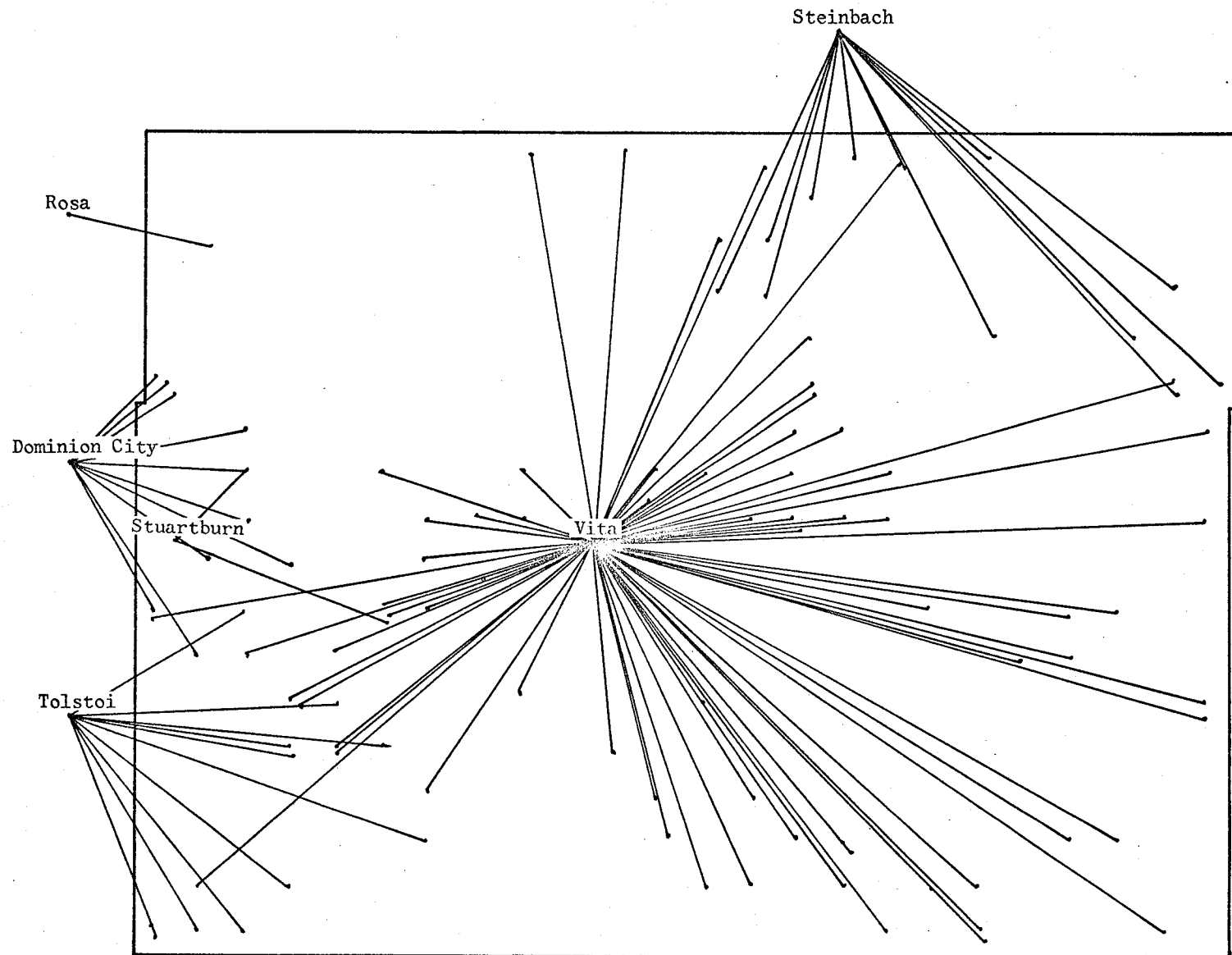


FIGURE 31
STUARTBURN L.G.D.'S SOURCE OF GAS AND OILS



Only householders who obtained the above articles and services are indicated on the cartograms. Because of this, not all maps contain the same amount of information.

All comments in this chapter referring to frequency are based on the number of similar responses, and do not in actual fact necessarily indicate the amount of business generated.

Distance and direction on the cartograms may only be accurately inferred from service centers which lie within the two Districts. All service centers outside the Districts are marked in the general direction the individual must travel in order to go to these places.

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT DISTRICT OF STUARTBURN

Table 30 indicates the centers which play the three leading roles in providing the articles and services checked. The three centers which are most important to the L.G.D. of Stuartburn, from the most to the least important, are Steinbach, Winnipeg and Vita.

Groceries. The sample population obtained most of its grocery purchases in only four centers in Stuartburn, namely Vita, Sundown, Stuartburn and Gardenton. Seven source centers outside Stuartburn L.G.D. were identified, but only Steinbach drew a substantial amount of this bus-

iness. The importance of larger centers such as Vita and Steinbach is increasing as the rural market becomes more selective, demanding and mobile.

Clothing. The primary sources of clothing are Winnipeg and Steinbach. Much of the Winnipeg shopping is done via the mail order catalogue, while personal shopping occurs in Steinbach. The few people who claimed to purchase most of their clothing within the Stuartburn L.G.D. were usually bachelors whose clothing demands did not extend much beyond overalls, shirts and boots.

Furniture. Steinbach and Winnipeg, as in the case of clothing, are the main sources of furniture. Some furniture, such as major electrical appliances, are purchased in Vita.

Medical. Vita, having Stuartburn's only hospital, is prominent as a medical center for the sample population. Because the Vita hospital has only one doctor and its facilities are inferior to those of the Steinbach hospital, many patients prefer to go to Steinbach for their medical needs. Complex medical cases are usually referred to Winnipeg doctors and hospitals.

Dental. There are no dentist offices within Stuartburn. Tooth extractions can be performed at Vita

hospital. Steinbach and Winnipeg, in that order, are the main centers for dental services. Three U.S.A. centers also provide dental services; Pembina, North Dakota, and Lancaster, and Roseau, Minnesota. This is the only service among those checked for, (other than medical care received in one isolated case) which is met in the U.S.A.

Farm Machinery. Very little farm machinery is purchased within Stuartburn. Tolstoi and Dominion City to the west are important, but Steinbach is the most important center. Former retail machinery outlets within the District have gone out of business due to increasing competition from the neighbouring larger centers.

Cars and Trucks. Vita is the only center within Stuartburn at which new motor vehicles can be purchased. It receives more of the area's automotive business than does Winnipeg, but Steinbach receives by far the most.

Seed and Fertilizers. Very little seed and fertilizer was purchased by the sample population. Menisino proved to be the major source with Steinbach a close second.

Gas and Oil. Vita is the major source of farm fuels and lubricants. Steinbach, Tolstoi and Dominion City, in that order, follow in importance.

TABLE 31

THE L.G.D. OF PINEY'S LEADING SOURCE CENTER FOR THE
SPECIFIED ARTICLES AND SERVICES

(Centers are rank-ordered from 1-3, 1 being the most important)

	<u>Groceries</u>	<u>Clothing</u>	<u>Furniture</u>	<u>Medical</u>	<u>Dental</u>	<u>Farm Machinery</u>	<u>Cars & Trucks</u>	<u>Seed & Fertilizers</u>	<u>Gas & Oil</u>
Steinbach	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	-
Winnipeg	-	2	2	3	3	-	3	3	-
Piney	2	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-
Sprague	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	3
Woodridge	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Roseau, U.S.A.	-	-	-	2	1	2	-	-	-
Warroad, U.S.A.	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
Menisino	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Vassar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
La Broquerie	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2

FIGURE 32
PINEY L.G.D.'S SOURCE OF GROCERIES

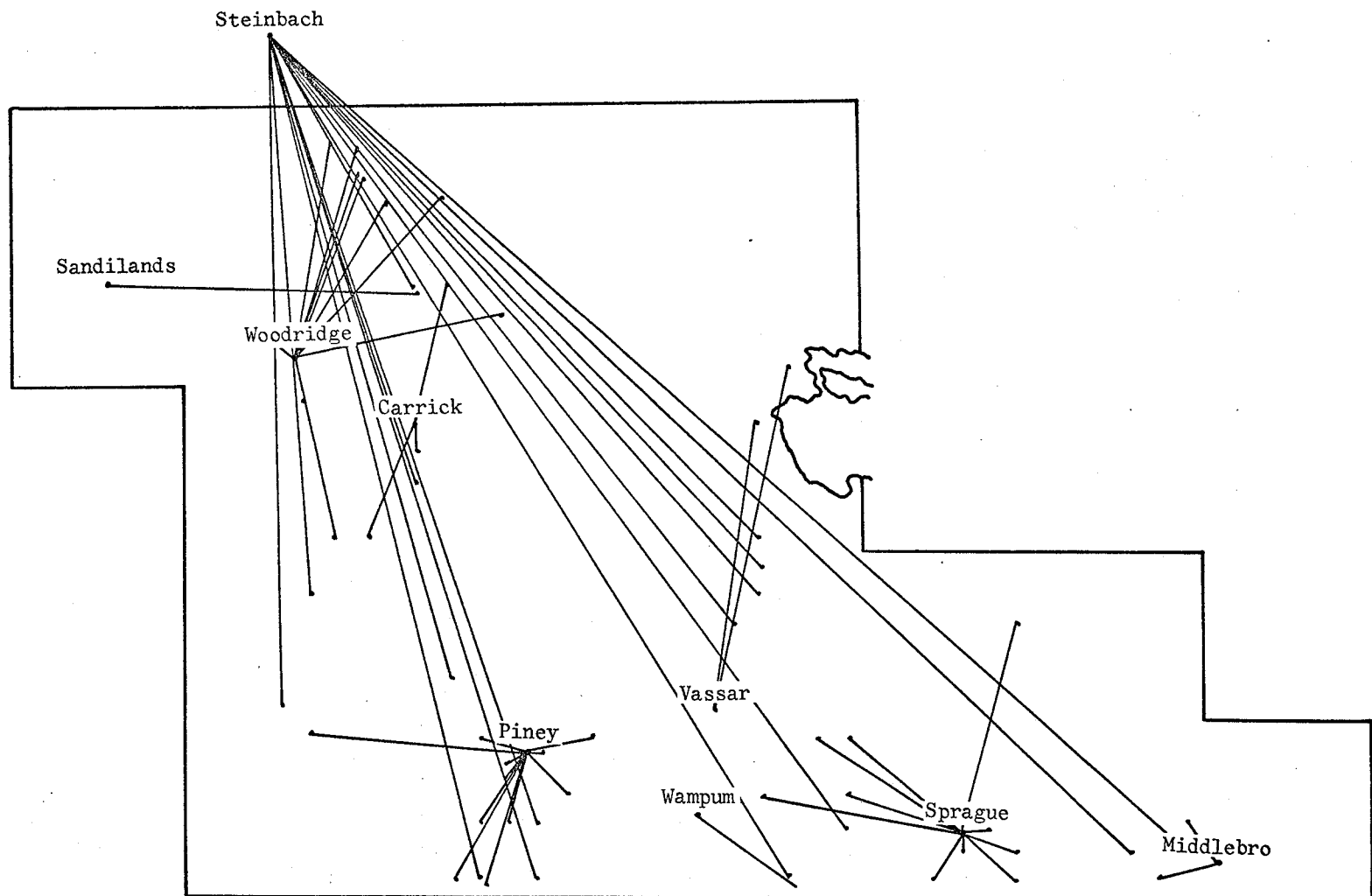


FIGURE 33
PINEY L.G.D.'S SOURCE OF CLOTHING

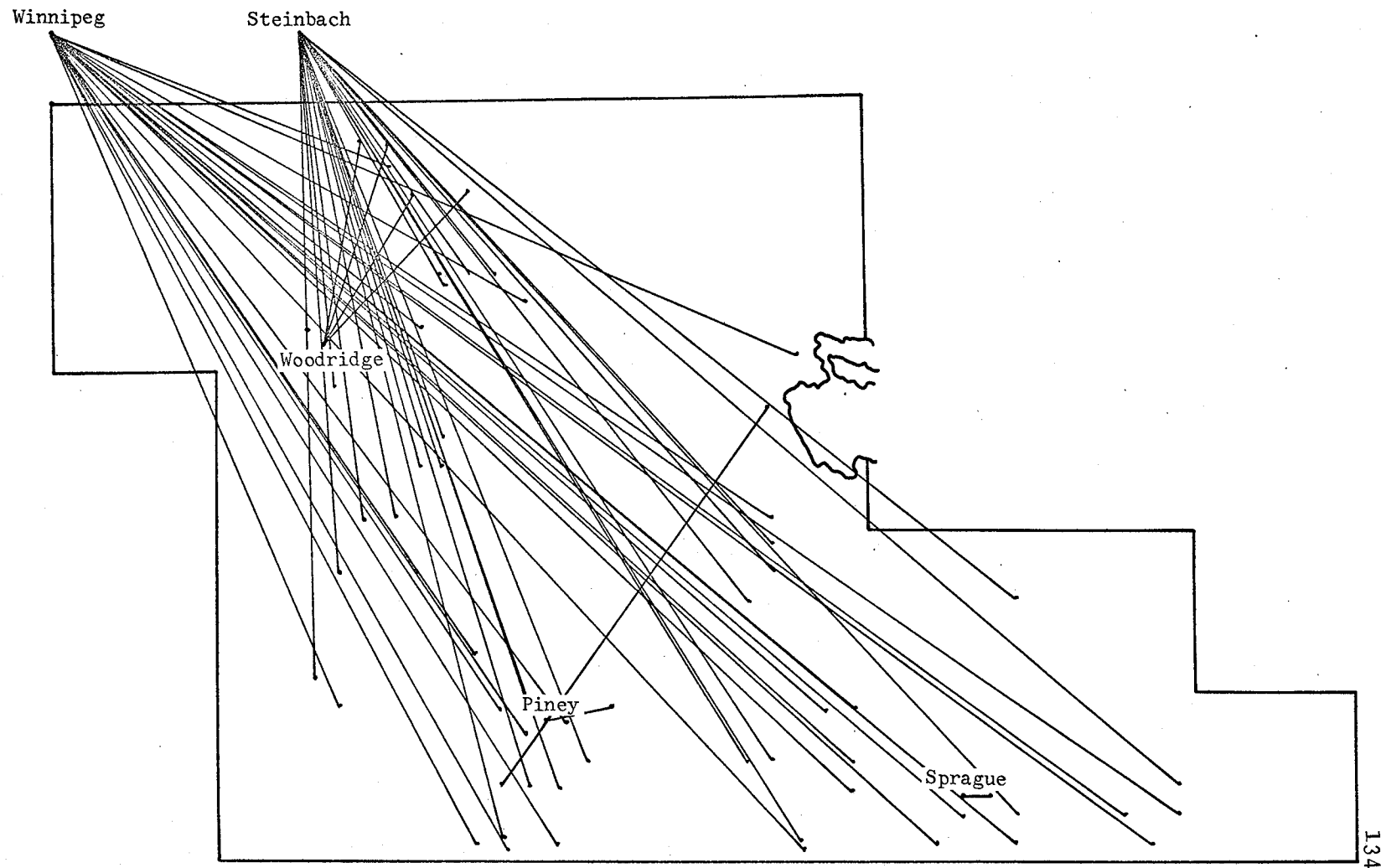


FIGURE 34
PINEY L.G.D.'S SOURCE OF FURNITURE

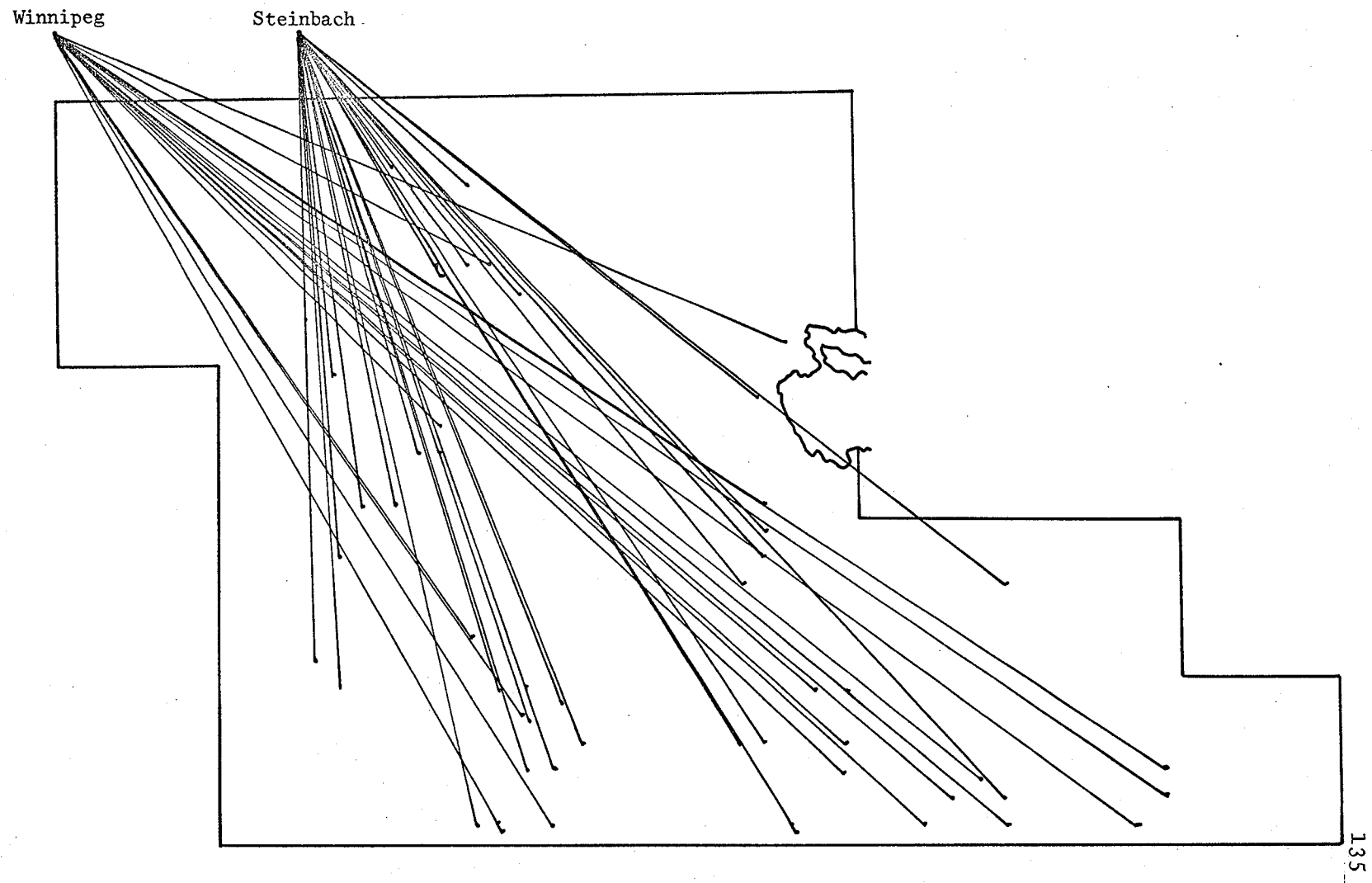


FIGURE 35
PINEY L.G.D.'S SOURCE OF MEDICAL CARE

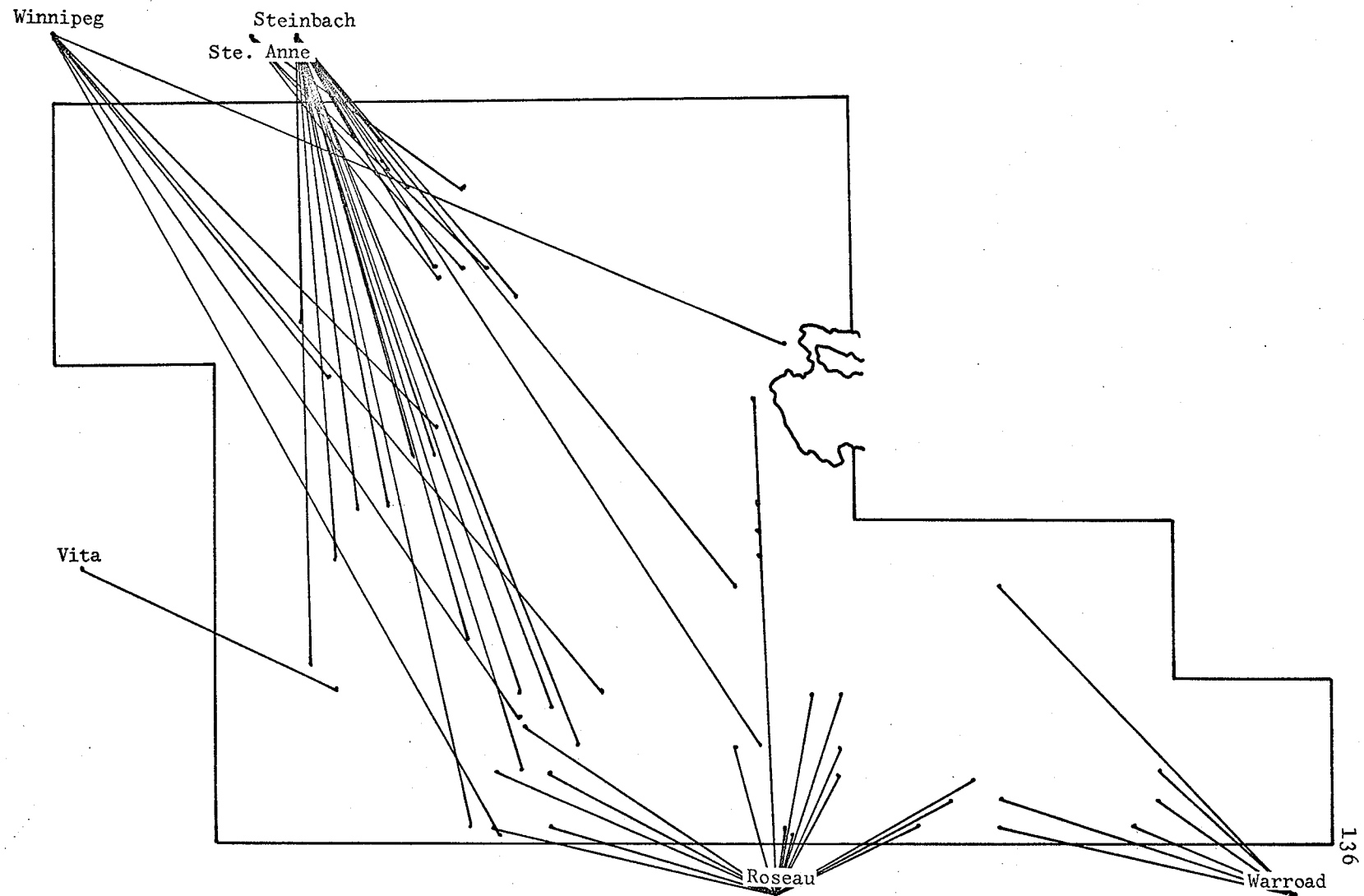


FIGURE 36
PINEY L.G.D.'S SOURCE OF DENTAL CARE

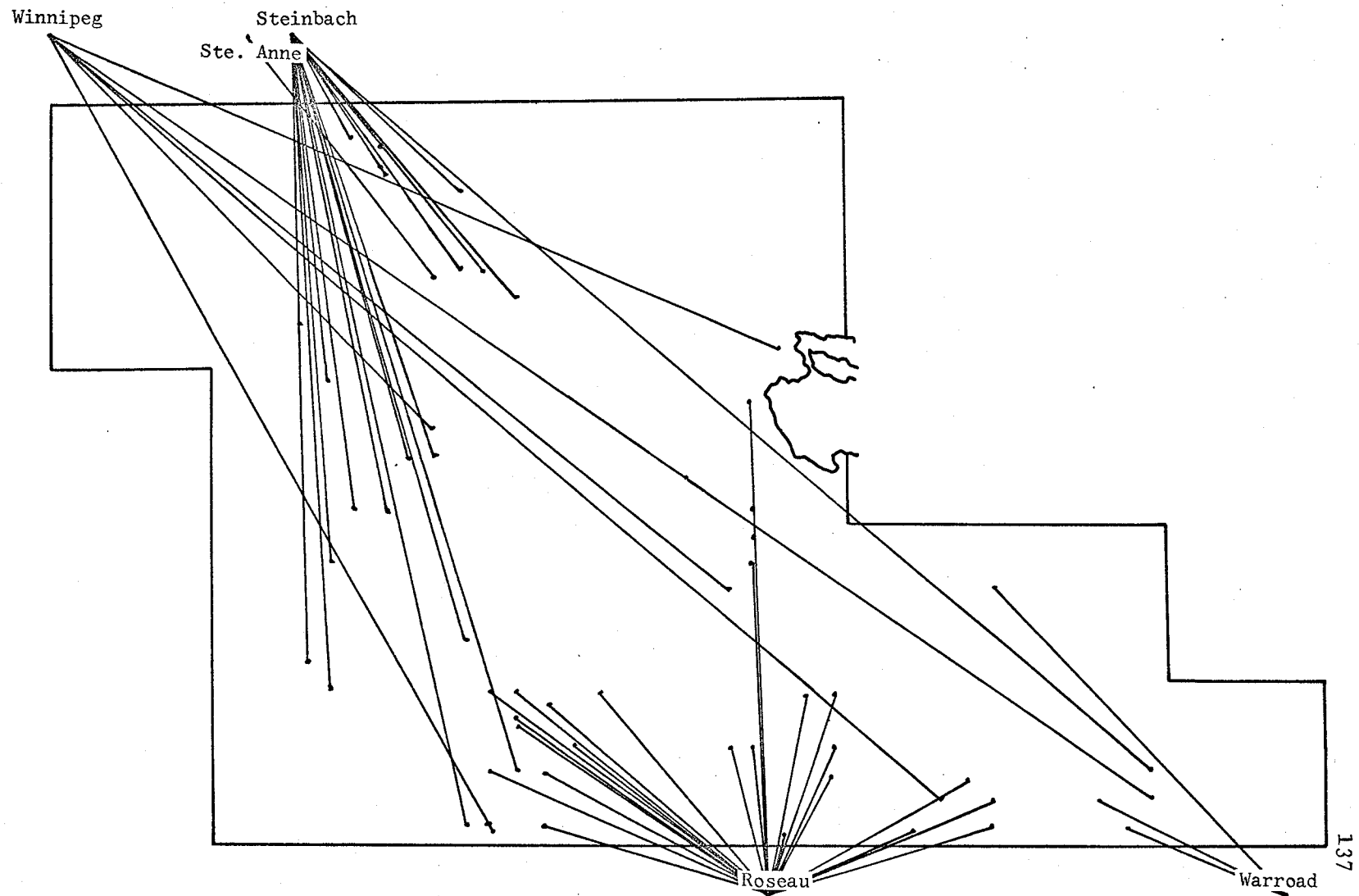


FIGURE 37
PINEY L.G.D.'S SOURCE OF FARM MACHINERY

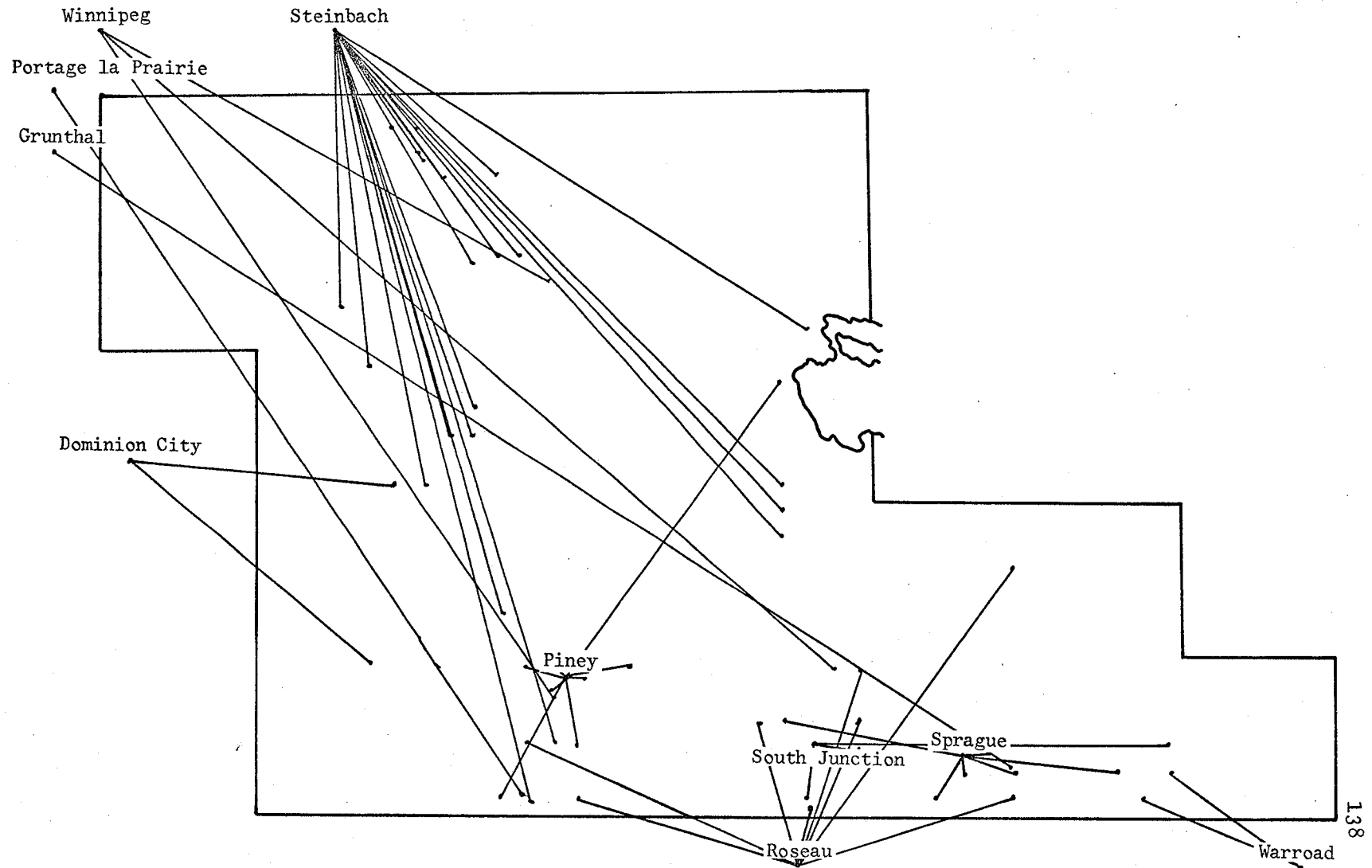


FIGURE 38
PINEY L.G.D.'S SOURCE OF CARS AND TRUCKS

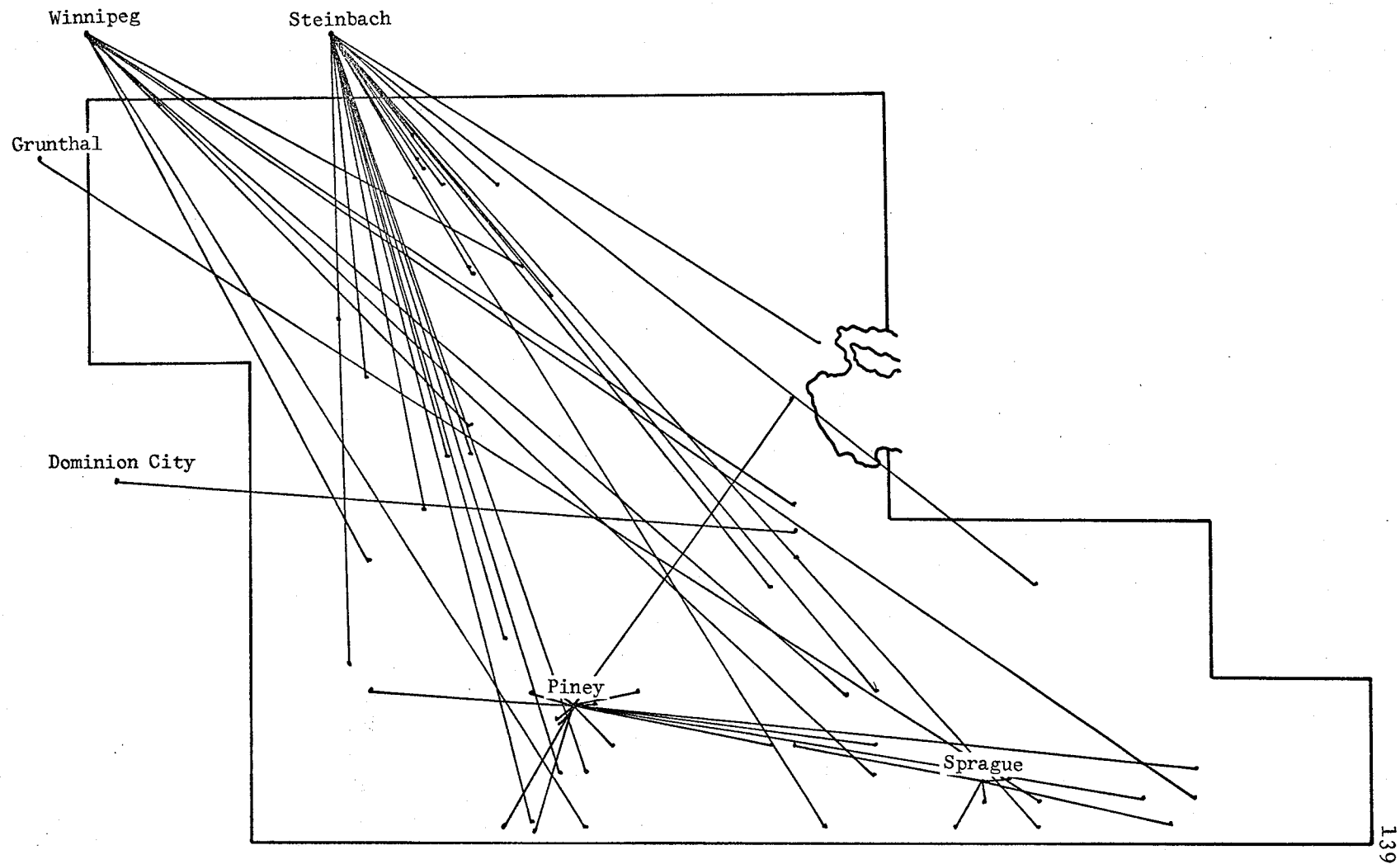


FIGURE 39
PINEY L.G.D.'S SOURCE OF SEED AND FERTILIZER

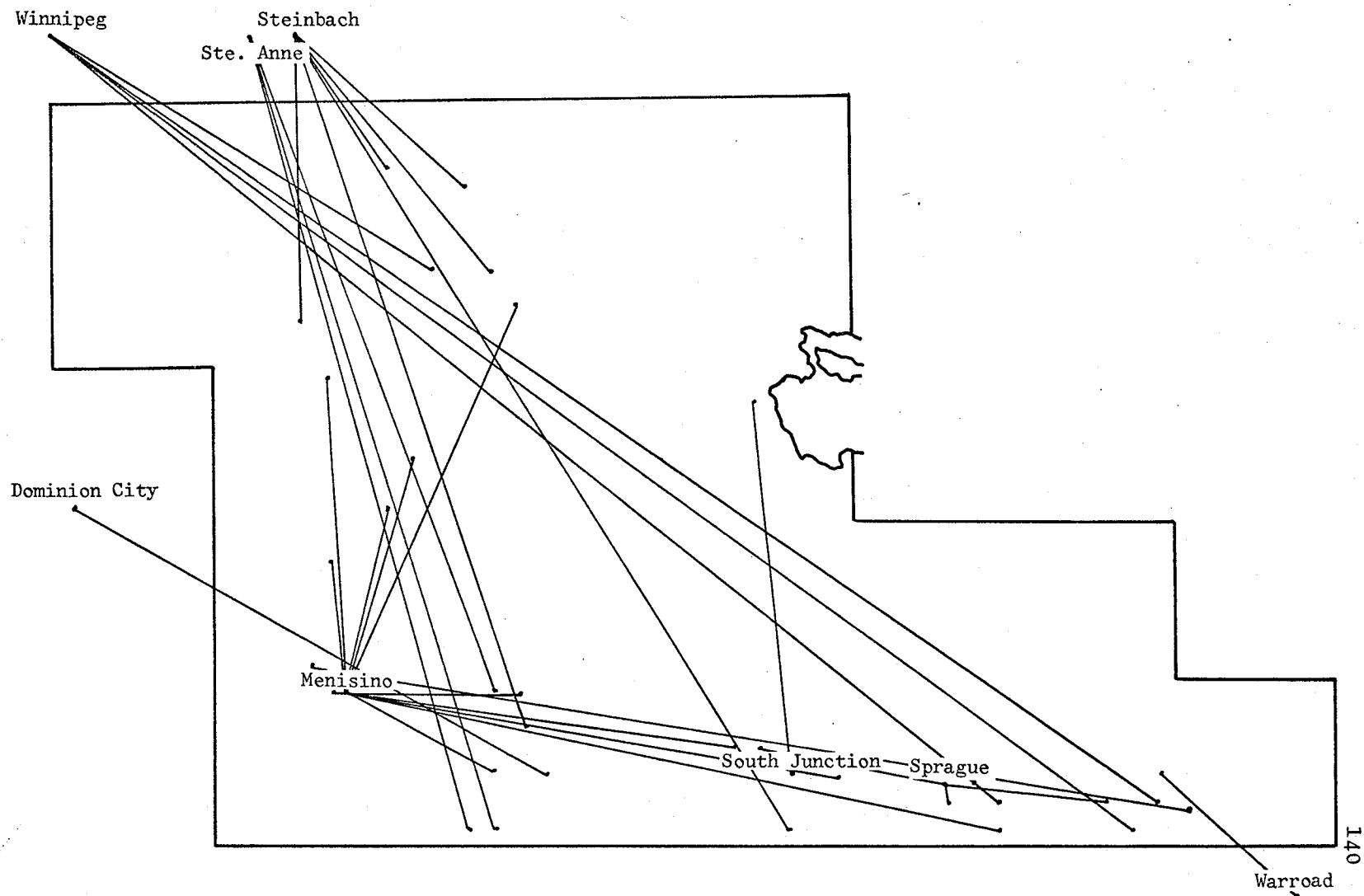
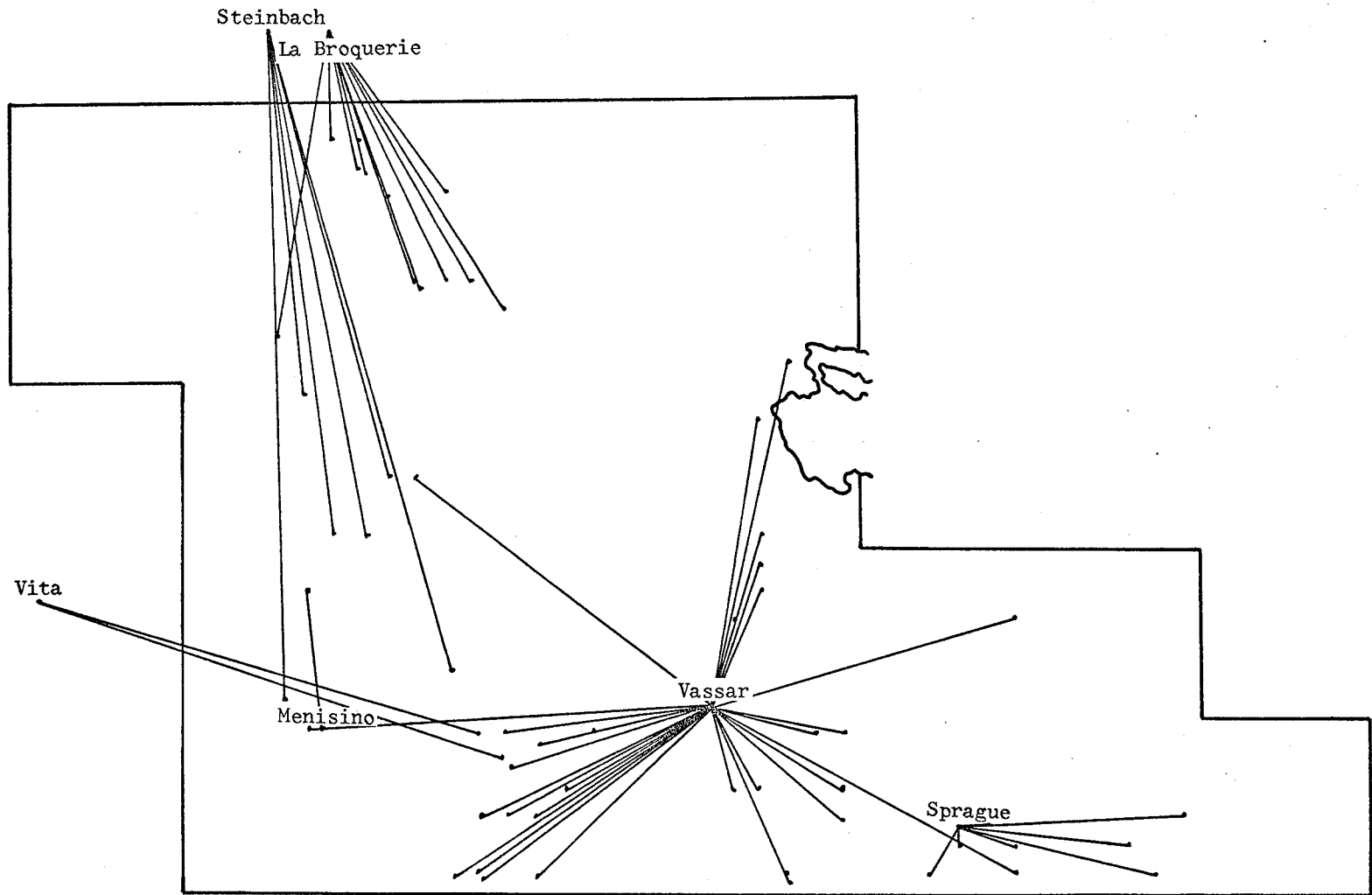


FIGURE 40
PINEY L.G.D.'S SOURCE OF GAS AND OILS



THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT DISTRICT OF PINEY

Table 31 shows the three most important centers for each article and service analyzed. As is clearly visible from the table, Steinbach, Winnipeg, Roseau (Minnesota) and Piney, in that order, are the most frequent sources of the checked articles and services.

Groceries. Steinbach, although it may be as much as 80 miles away from parts of the L.G.D. of Piney, is the main center for grocery shopping. This phenomenon is due both to the good No. 12 Provincial Trunk Highway which leads to Steinbach and also because of Steinbach's offering the retail variety which allow for most of a family's various needs being met in a single trip to town.

Piney is the most frequently used center for groceries within Piney District, while Sprague and Woodridge are tied as close seconds.

Clothing. As in the case of Stuartburn, few clothes are purchased within Piney. Most clothes are bought at Steinbach; Winnipeg is also an important center for supplying clothes, again mainly via the mail order catalogue.

Furniture. Steinbach and Winnipeg, in that order of importance, are the centers at which the sample pop-

ulation purchased most of its furniture.

Medical. The District of Piney does not have a hospital, and therefore its residents must go outside the L.G.D. for medical attention. Most of the sample in the southern half of Piney go to doctors practising in the U.S.A. The nearest Canadian hospital and doctor, at Vita, served only one of the interviewed sample. A number of people of French extraction from the Woodridge-St. Labre districts go to the predominantly French town of Ste. Anne for medical care.

Dental. Residents of Piney go with about equal frequency to American and Canadian dentists. Roseau, Minnesota is the center most frequently visited for dental care. There is no dental service available within Piney.

Farm Machinery. Steinbach, as in the case of Stuartburn, is the most frequented center for farm machinery purchases by the residents of Piney. A significant number of people purchase used farm machinery, which enters Canada duty-free, from the U.S.A.

Cars and Trucks. Steinbach is again the most frequent source of cars and trucks. Piney and Sprague are the only centers where similar purchases are made within the Piney L.G.D.

Seed and Fertilizers. Approximately 50 percent of the interviewed sample in Piney, as compared to 30 percent in Stuartburn, indicated they purchased seed and fertilizers. Menisino is their chief source.

Gas and Oil. Vassar supplies approximately 50 percent of fuel and lubricants to Piney farmers. Although most fuel and oil is purchased within the District, Steinbach and La Broquerie share about 30 percent of the market.

D. THE SUBSISTENCE ELEMENT

A subsistence emphasis⁶⁸ was very common among the first agricultural settlers to come to Manitoba. This was especially true of the farming population which came from smallholding backgrounds and who settled in the more marginal agricultural regions in the province.⁶⁹

⁶⁸Subsistence is defined as the providing for ones basic needs, such as food, shelter and clothing, directly from ones immediate surroundings.

⁶⁹The peasant and smallholding backgrounds of most of southeastern Manitoba's settlers (See Chapter IV) discouraged a commercial agricultural emphasis with its large monetary turnover and investment. More typically they initiated a form of livelihood in their country of adoption similar to that experienced in their country of birth.

The mixed farm concept, involving a diversified as opposed to a specialized farm emphasis which prevailed among southeastern Manitoba's farmers promoted the continuance of a strong subsistence element. Frequently the individual farm unit fulfilled the majority of the basic needs of its proprietor and his family.

Included in the questionnaire used in the survey of southeastern Manitoba's farmers, was a series of questions on subsistence. The following section analyzes the answers given to these questions.

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT DISTRICT OF STUARTBURN

One aspect of subsistence, that of producing one's own requirements of vegetables, is common among southeastern Manitoba farmers. Of the 113 people in the Stuartburn District sample, 109 or 96 percent had their own vegetable gardens. The people who did not have gardens were usually bachelor farmers who could not be bothered with taking care of one.

Most people who had gardens also supplemented their production by purchases from retail stores. Table 32 indicates the degree to which the sample population's gardens supplied their annual needs of vegetables. It may be observed that 66 percent of the farmers who had

gardens obtained more than one-half their annual needs of vegetables from their own gardens.

TABLE 32

HOME-GROWN VEGETABLES AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL CONSUMED,
STUARTBURN

	<u>0-25%</u>	<u>26-50%</u>	<u>51-75%</u>	<u>76-100%</u>
Percentage of sample farms	13%	21%	30%	36%

Note: Percentages are rounded off.

Meat, another staple in the sample farmers' diets, is also largely self-produced. Of 113 farmers sampled, 81 percent indicated that they produce some of their own meat requirements. Approximately half of the whole sample produces more than 50 percent of all its meat requirements.

The purchasing of meat by one farmer from another is uncommon. Only about 2.6 percent of the sample indicated they purchased meat, usually only a small amount, from neighbouring farmers.

Table 33 indicates the relationship of meat purchased from retail stores and self-raised by the sample population.

Another aspect of subsistence, that of the utili-

zation of readily available natural products including game animals, is of interest. Only 43 percent (49 out of 113) of all farmers sampled did hunting of any kind. The white-tailed deer is the most commonly hunted animal.

TABLE 33

SOURCE OF ANNUAL MEAT SUPPLY, STUARTBURN

Proportion of Meat Consumed by Source				
<u>Source</u>	<u>0-25%</u>	<u>26-50%</u>	<u>51-75%</u>	<u>76-100%</u>
Own Farm	9%	27%	48%	16%
Retail Store	37%	37%	13%	13%

Note: Percentages are rounded off.

The 49 respondents who did hunt for a portion of their meat supply indicated they had taken approximately the following numbers of game animals and birds within the preceding five years:

TABLE 34

GAME ANIMALS AND BIRDS TAKEN BY STUARTBURN SAMPLE
FARMERS, 1966-70

<u>Species</u>	<u>Quantity</u>
Deer	180
Moose	8
Ducks	144
Geese	35
Prairie Chicken	306
Partridge	185

As can be noted from these figures, game animals and birds do not form a substantial portion of most of the sampled population's diet.

Some 72 percent, 81 out of 113 people, harvested other natural products such as berries and mushrooms. In Stuartburn, wild mushrooms were identified as being the most frequently harvested, with blueberries a close second. Included in the list of natural products harvested were saskatoons, plums, cranberries, chokecherries, raspberries, strawberries and hazel nuts.

Seneca snake root, a medicinal herb which grows wild in the district, was not harvested by any among the sample. Although some farmers had dug this root in the past years for additional income, the practice had seemingly ceased.

The trapping of fur bearing animals also was not carried out. Again, some of the older farmers had trapped in their younger years, but the market prices of furs no longer encouraged such activity.

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT DISTRICT OF PINEY

Of all the Piney farmers sampled, 59 out of 60 or 98 percent of the farms in Piney had gardens. The sample indicated that the dependence on gardens for the yearly supply of vegetables was greater than in the case of

Stuartburn. More than 80 percent of the sample with gardens obtained over one-half of their annual supply of vegetables from their gardens.

Table 35 indicates the relative degree of self-sufficiency in respect to the consumption of vegetables among the sample population.

TABLE 35

HOME-GROWN VEGETABLES AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL CONSUMED,
PINEY

	<u>0-25%</u>	<u>26-50%</u>	<u>51-75%</u>	<u>76-100%</u>
Percentage of Sample Farms	3%	13%	30%	53%

Note: Percentages are rounded off.

A smaller proportion of Piney's sample than that of Stuartburn's indicated they produced some of their own meat. Approximately 72 percent (43 out of 60) produced meat for home use. Most of the meat required, other than self-produced, was purchased from retail stores.

Table 36 compares the amounts of self-produced meat and meat purchased at retail stores.

Game hunting was substantially more common among Piney than Stuartburn residents. The survey revealed that 72 percent, or 43 out of 60, indicated that they hunted for a portion of their annual meat supply. The

TABLE 36

SOURCE OF ANNUAL MEAT SUPPLY, PINEY

<u>Source</u>	Proportion of Meat Consumed by Source			
	<u>0-25%</u>	<u>26-50%</u>	<u>51-75%</u>	<u>76-100%</u>
Own Farm	2%	12%	33%	52%
Retail Store	43%	17%	11%	28%

Note: Percentages are rounded off.

estimated number of game animals and birds taken in the previous five years was indicated as follows:

TABLE 37

GAME ANIMALS AND BIRDS TAKEN BY PINEY SAMPLE FARMERS, 1966-70

<u>Species</u>	<u>Quantity</u>
Deer	146
Moose	21
Ducks	399
Geese	81
Prairie Chicken	730
Partridge	620
Grouse	171

The greater number of game animals and birds taken in Piney appears to be directly related to a greater incidence of these animals and birds.

Approximately 88 percent of the sample gathered

wild fruit and berries. Blueberries were the most common although other products gathered included saskatoons, mushrooms, cranberries, plums, strawberries, chokecherries, raspberries and pincherries.

As in the case of Stuartburn, no seneca snake root was harvested. The trapping of fur bearing animals also was non-existent among the sample of farmers.

Although many small subsistence-oriented farms still exist in southeastern Manitoba, they are disappearing. The amount of labour input necessary to produce small amounts of food is very high. Since farm units with a commercial emphasis have already replaced many subsistence units, we can expect this trend to continue in the future.

E. THE QUALITY OF LIVING

The concept of "quality of living" has become, in recent years, prominent in research projects involving a social element. Governmental and private agencies have been set up to measure this elusive yet important concept. For example, the Center for Settlement Studies at the University of Manitoba has described its overall objectives as "the interdisciplinary study of 'quality of

living' in Canada's resource frontier communities."⁷⁰

The Department of Industry and Commerce, in conjunction with the University of Manitoba and the Regional Development Corporations, has set up a "Regional Analysis Program" whose first long-term objective is, "to improve the quality of life for the people of the area."⁷¹

Some geographers at the meetings of the Canadian Association of Geographers held at the University of Manitoba in 1970 expressed the idea that much of their research would be of greater relevance if they were more concerned with man's existence in terms of his life quality. ⁷²

The self-concept is a good indicator of a person's life quality. A certain level of satisfaction in a situation is not only a significant component of life quality, but it is also most helpful for the individual in making

⁷⁰The University of Manitoba, Center for Settlement Studies, Fourth Annual Report, (Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1970), p. 29.

⁷¹Regional Development Branch Department of Industry and Commerce, Province of Manitoba, "Regional Analysis Program," (Manitoba, 1971), p. 2.

⁷²Information was gained through personally attending the conference.

the best possible adjustments to his environment.

The questionnaire used attempted to gain information on the self-concept of southeastern Manitoba farmers, and what they felt were the area's greatest shortcomings in providing the kind of life they would like to live. Government involvement was also evaluated.

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT DISTRICT OF STUARTBURN

Most of the respondents, when asked, claimed they enjoyed life in their setting. Ninety-nine responded 'yes' and 12 responded 'no' to the question, "Do you enjoy living here?" This did not mean the respondents were without reservations about the quality of their present way of life. The following inclusive sample of the reasons given why they enjoyed life indicates some negative reasons: "everything," "do not like town," "fresh air," "quiet," "like farming," "home," "own boss," "born here," "lots of work, lots of eat," "have to," "slow pace of life," "low taxes," "friends are here," "own home," "scenery," "Ukrainian community," and "where you going to go?"

Although many of those interviewed were not well informed on the subject of the rest of Manitoba's farming communities because they did not read nor travel much, most

of them had opinions as to whose lives were more difficult. Fifty-three of the 100 respondents indicated they felt their lives were more difficult than those of most farmers in Manitoba, while 47 felt their lives were equally or less difficult.

The reasons given for these answers were confusing due to conflicting ideas. Some farmers felt that mixed farming was harder than grain farming while others felt the opposite. The only consensus of opinion lay in the arguments that the farmers in Stuartburn felt their land was less fertile, had poorer drainage, and had poorer roads than most farming lands in Manitoba. Roads, drainage and rocks were the basis of most of the farmers' complaints.

Most farmers (89 as compared to 14) felt the government was not helping them enough. A significant portion wished the government would give more and better advice as to the District's suitability for agriculture. A large proportion, however, had been conditioned to government handouts in terms of subsidies, floor prices for animal products, and relief in times of crop failures. These people wanted more of such programs.

Approximately 85 percent, 89 out of 104 respondents, felt that farming in Stuartburn District would decline in the future. The term "decline" conveyed many shades of meaning to the sample, ranging from "fewer farming units" to "less agricultural activity in total." The significance

of the choice of the word "decline" as opposed to "increase" probably lies in its pejorative nature. Most of the respondents had negative feelings towards the future of farming in Stuartburn.

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT DISTRICT OF PINEY

By far the majority of respondents, 59 out of 60, indicated they enjoyed living on their farms. The reasons given for their enjoyment of this life are similar to those given in the Stuartburn case. They included "good surroundings," "quiet," "scenery," "freedom," "own boss," "do not like city rat race," "home," "like farming," "clean fresh air," "peace," and "no pollution."

Approximately one-half of the respondents felt their life on the farm was more difficult than that of most Manitoba farmers. The reasons included "poor drainage," "poor soil," "stones," "not enough open land," and "market distance." The last two are more of a problem in Piney than in Stuartburn.

The greatest shortcoming of the District, as expressed by the sample, included the reasons given why they felt their lives were more difficult than those of most Manitoba farmers in addition to such factors as "insect pests", and "not enough community spirit." The wives of the sample also wished for better shopping and entertainment

facilities.

Most farmers interviewed (49 out of 60) wished the government would help them more in terms of drainage, roads, floor market prices, and the clearing of land. Many of those interviewed, as in the case of Stuartburn, felt that governments were not really interested in them because of the minimal economic potentials existing in the District.

The general view of farming held by the farming public is not as negative in Piney as in Stuartburn. Less than 45 percent of the respondents indicated they thought there was little farming future. Almost 50 percent felt the future for farming in the District was likely to be brighter than the present situation. This generally optimistic feeling, as compared to the pessimistic feeling in Stuartburn, became very obvious as the surveys were carried out.

F. SUMMARY

The field survey revealed certain population characteristics which carry important implications. At least 27 percent of farm proprietors in the L.G.D. of Stuartburn and 11 percent in Piney are bachelors. Over 60 percent of the farm proprietors in each District are 45 years of age or older. Although more than 70 percent of the children of the farm families remain in Manitoba, only seven

percent of those from Stuartburn and twelve percent of those from Piney continue to reside in their native Districts after reaching adulthood.

Formal education levels among farm proprietors and their spouses are relatively low: 78 percent of the men and 71 percent of the women in Stuartburn L.G.D. have grade VIII or less; for Piney these figures are 78 percent and 59 percent. That this imparts a certain immobility is borne out by the fact that although 80 percent of proprietors in Stuartburn L.G.D. and 95 percent of those in Piney plan to remain on their farms, only about 20 percent of the respondents from Stuartburn and 27 percent of those from Piney felt reasonably certain of any of their children ultimately succeeding them on the home farm or even remaining within the home District.

The survey further revealed that most farming enterprises in both Districts are not economically viable. Approximately 60 percent of Piney and 47 percent of Stuartburn farmers indicated they earned less than one-half of their annual income through farming.

The Districts' farms, more than one-half being less than 320 acres in size, are relatively diminished in area by varying proportions of most marginal agricultural lands. In Stuartburn District, the average farmer cultivates less than 50 acres while the Piney farmer cultivates approximately 130 acres. Tilled acreage in Stuartburn will

likely decrease, as more formerly cultivated land is being abandoned because of its quality than new land is being brought under cultivation. The reverse is true in Piney where sizeable tracts of virgin lands are still being brought under cultivation.

Beef raising and dairying, in that order, are the primary emphases among farmers in both Districts. Because of this, most of the tilled land in the Districts is used to produce forage crops and feed grains. Some of the best agricultural land in the region situated in Piney is, however, used exclusively for commercial crop production.

The economic investment by the proprietor in his farm is generally very small. In Stuartburn 66 percent, while in Piney 42 percent, indicated a total investment of less than \$2500 in farm machinery. This minimal investment in machinery, frequently inadequate, combined with small acreage farms and only small herds of cattle bear a strong resemblance to the formerly popular, presently outdated subsistence-oriented farms.

The sampled population is becoming more selective and demanding in its choice of articles and services. The majority of those articles and services checked for, namely groceries, clothing, furniture, medical, dental, farm machinery, cars and trucks, seed and fertilizers, and gasoline and lubricants are met outside the Districts. Steinbach, Winnipeg and Vita, in that order, are the most

important source centers for Stuartburn residents, while Steinbach, Winnipeg, Roseau (Minnesota) and Piney, in that order, are for Piney.

A subsistence element, once very prevalent among southeastern Manitoba farmers, is still in evidence today, but to a lesser degree. Its significance is, however, rapidly declining and presently consists of little more than producing some vegetables and meat for home use. Hunting, especially for some farmers in Piney, is more than a sport, and helps to provide an annual meat diet. The use of natural products, such as fruits and berries is still to some part of a way of life. Although many of the older generation well remember the times of an almost independent existence--"living off the land," the present generation views the subsistence element generally as a thing of the past.

Most respondents, over 90 percent, indicated they enjoyed living in their present situation, although approximately 50 percent felt their lives were more difficult than most farmers' lives in Manitoba. Reasons for this perceived difficulty included "infertile soil," "poor drainage," "poor roads," and "many rocks." In addition to these, Piney residents included "market distance" and "insufficient cleared land."

Generally, farmers from Piney are much more optimistic about their situation than are those from Stuartburn.

Less than 45 percent of the former while approximately 85 percent of the latter group felt that future farming in their District would decline from the present level. These attitudes have, no doubt, a significant influence on how these farmers attempt to deal with their perceived and experienced farming problems.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The foregoing study of Stuartburn and Piney carries important implications for the two Districts, areas immediately adjacent and regions with comparable characteristics.

Southeastern Manitoba was by-passed by settlers until most of the better land in the province was taken. It was considered from the beginning of the settlement era as being composed largely of marginal lands, and therefore not being a primary site for agricultural settlements.

It appears that the restrictions of such lands as contained in southeastern Manitoba were recognized at the time the land was opened for settlement, and that it was never expected that these lands should support its people with as high a standard of living as Manitoba's better agriculturally endowed lands.⁷³

The physical resources of Stuartburn and Piney range widely, but generally have only limited economic potential. Land use in both districts is almost totally

⁷³See quotation by C. Sifton, Chapter IV.

limited to agriculture and forest industries.

Excess moisture, stoniness and low fertility soils are the chief causes of the district's agricultural problems. These problems exist to such an extent that it is not economically feasible for governments and farmers to spend large sums of money attempting to alleviate them.

Southeastern Manitoba's population is dominated by peoples from eastern Europe. These people were generally of smallholding backgrounds with limited knowledge of advancing techniques in agriculture. The combination of cultural heritage and concentration of a people especially in the case of Stuartburn, appears to have affected the ease (or lack of it) with which the Districts joined the mainstream of the Province's economy.

Southeastern Manitoba's demographic characteristics have not yet reached a relatively stable state. Stuartburn, because it has a higher proportion of older people, a lower proportion of its residents' offspring remaining in the District and fewer job opportunities than does Piney, will probably experience a greater proportional population decline.

Most farms in Stuartburn and Piney are not economically viable units. This is due to many reasons including the district's true agricultural potential, farm sizes and farming practices. Many changes must be made in order for

the farm units to become profitable enterprises. The many farm units characterized by small acreages, low capital investment and the lack of a particular emphasis will probably not be able to continue in their present forms. In former years the small "mixed farm" was not only, to many, a desirable form of agricultural enterprise, but also served a valid role in the nation's economy. In the present, however, such farms cannot according to today's standards supply their proprietors with an adequate standard of living.

Generally, farming emphases should shift towards cattle enterprises, both dairying and beef raising. Markets for products from such farming are fairly stable, and the capital investments in the cattle enterprises are not greatly affected by the district's adverse agricultural qualities. Grain farming not only requires a sizeable cash investment for machinery, but the stoniness and low fertility soils makes it difficult for a farmer to get good returns on such an investment.

Southeastern Manitoba will probably never support Manitoba's wealthier farms, but it is well able to be the home for successful cattle-based enterprises. In order for this to occur, its farming residents must recognize the district's true potentials, and work toward their realization.

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No. 569	F. A. Martin	1875
No. 570	F. A. Martin	1875
No. 572	J. Grant	1875
No. 6592	J. A. Cote	1901
No. 6590	J. A. Cote	1902
No. 7098	C. F. Alysworth	1902
No. 7100	C. F. Alysworth	1902
No. 7923	J. Molloy	1904
No. 7924	J. Molloy	1904
No. 6596	J. A. Cote	1901
No. 7926	J. Molloy	1904
No. 8730	J. Molloy	1905
No. 9742	J. Molloy	1906
No. 9739	J. Molloy	1906
No. 7927	J. Molloy	1904
No. 7929	J. Molloy	1904
No. 8733	J. Molloy	1905
No. 6782	C. Carrol	1900
No. 9743	J. Molloy	1906
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No. 6597	J. A. Cote	1901
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No. 9745	J. Molloy	1906
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APPENDICES

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A. The Farm:

2. Size of farm 0-160 ☐ 481-640 ☐
 161-320 ☐
 321-480 ☐ _____ ☐

- | 3. How much of your farm is: | <u>OWNED</u> | <u>RENTED</u> |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 0-25% | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 26-50% | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 51-75% | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 76-100% | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

5. Have you sold any land since you arrived? Yes ☐
No ☐
If so, when? _____
How much? _____

6. Have you cleared any land since you arrived? Yes ☐
No ☐
If so, when? _____
How much? _____

7. Have you broken any new land since you arrived? Yes ☐
No ☐
If so, when? _____
How much? _____

- | Grain | (specify) | 0-25 | 26-50 | 51-100 | 101-200 | Specify | Yields |
|---------|-----------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------|--------|
| | | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |
| | | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |
| Fallow | | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |
| Fodder | Tame | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |
| | Wild | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |
| Grazing | Tame | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |
| | Wild | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |

- | | 1-5 | 6-10 | 11-20 | 21-30 | Specify |
|--------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------|
| Dairy cattle | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| Beef cattle | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |

10. Do you own any work horses? Yes ☐ No ☐ If so, how many? _____
11. Do you own any riding horses? Yes ☐ No ☐ If so, how many? _____
12. How many of the following do you own? Chickens _____
Ducks _____
Geese _____
Other _____
13. Which of the following do you most emphasize on your farm?
Beef ☐
Dairy ☐
Grain ☐

14. Do you plan to change this emphasis in the near future? Yes ☐ No ☐
If so, to what? Beef ☐
Dairy ☐
Grain ☐

15. Do you use the community pastures in the area? Yes ☐ No ☐
If so, which one? _____
How many cattle? _____
16. Do you employ any permanent help other than your immediate family? Yes ☐ No ☐
If so, how many? _____
17. Do you employ any seasonal help? Yes ☐ No ☐
If so, how many? _____
For what and approximately for how long? _____
18. What major implements do you own?
- | | <u>Size</u> | <u>Year</u> |
|----------|-------------|-------------|
| Tractors | _____ | _____ |
| | _____ | _____ |
| | _____ | _____ |
| | _____ | _____ |
| Trucks | _____ | _____ |
| | _____ | _____ |
| Combines | _____ | _____ |
| | _____ | _____ |
| Bailer | _____ | _____ |
-
- | | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> | <u>Quantity</u> |
|-----------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| Plows | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| Hay conditioner | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| Swathers | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| Cultivators | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | _____ |
| _____ | | | _____ |
| _____ | | | _____ |

10. Occupation at former residence

Farmer ☐
 Labourer ☐

(other) _____

11. Reasons for move _____

12. Are you planning to stay here Yes ☐
 No ☐

Why? _____

13. Do you think your children will stay? Yes ☐
 No ☐

Why? _____

14. Was your farm originally homesteaded by you? Yes ☐ By your parents? Yes ☐
 No ☐ No ☐

C. Markets, Service Centers & Services:

1. Where do you sell

- 1.1 Grain _____
- 1.2 Stock _____
- 1.3 Dairy products _____
- 1.4 Other _____

2. Where do your children go to school? _____

3. Where do you usually obtain the following articles and services?

- 3.1 Groceries _____
- 3.2 Clothing _____
- 3.3 Furniture _____
- 3.4 Medical _____
- 3.5 Dentist _____
- 3.6 Farm machinery _____
- 3.7 Cars and trucks _____
- 3.8 Seed and fertilizers _____
- 3.9 Gas & Oil _____

4. Do you regularly receive the following types of newspapers & magazines

4.1 Daily Yes ☐ If so, which ones? _____
 No ☐ _____

4.2 Weekly Yes ☐ If so, which ones? _____
 No ☐ _____

4.3 Monthly Yes ☐ If so, which ones? _____
 No ☐ _____

4.4 Other _____

D. Subsistence:

1. Do you have your own vegetable garden? Yes ☐
No ☐

If so, what percentage of your vegetables you use throughout the year does it provide for you?

0-25% ☐
26-50% ☐
51-75% ☐
76-100% ☐

2. Do you produce any of the meat you use? Yes ☐
No ☐

If so, what percentage do you:

	0-25%	26-50%	51-75%	76-100%
Produce for yourself	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Buy from other farmers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Buy at a retail store	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3. Do you do any hunting? Yes ☐
No ☐

If so, how much did you get in the last five years?

Quantity

Deer	_____
Moose	_____
Ducks	_____
Geese	_____
Prairie Chicken	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

4. Do you use any natural products for food such as berries, mushrooms and the like? Yes ☐
No ☐

If so, what and approximately how much.

Quantity

Saskatoons	_____
Blueberries	_____
Mushrooms	_____

5. Are there any other natural products, like seneca root, which you use or gather to sell? Yes ☐
No ☐

If so, what kind and approximately what is their value.

<u>Type</u>	<u>Value</u>
Seneca	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

E. Quality of Life:

1. Do you enjoy living here? Yes ☐
No ☐

Why? _____

2. Do you feel your life is more difficult than most farmers' lives in Manitoba? Yes ☐
No ☐

Why? _____

3. Do you feel that you could enjoy life more somewhere else? Yes ☐
No ☐

Why? _____

4. What are this area's greatest shortcomings in providing the kind of life you would like to live? _____

5. Do you feel that government is helping the farmers enough in this area? Yes ☐
No ☐

Please Comment. _____

General:

1. How many acres of land do you have under cultivation? _____

2. Do you have any land which was once cultivated and now no longer is?

Yes ☐

No ☐

If so, how many acres? _____

Why do you no longer cultivate it? _____

3. Do you have any land which was once cleared of bush and now has again been overgrown by it?

Yes ☐

No ☐

If so, how many acres? _____

For what reason do you no longer keep it cleared? _____

4. In what years do you feel that your farming in this area was most successful?

5. What do you feel is the future for farming in this area?

Decline ☐

Increase ☐

Why? _____

6. Approximately what percentage of your total income does your farm supply?

90-100% ☐

70-89% ☐

50-69% ☐

<50% ☐

7. What are your main sources of income other than the farm itself?

APPENDIX B

The soil capability classification is divided into seven classes. "The first three classes are considered capable of sustained production of common cultivated crops, the fourth is marginal for sustained arable culture, the fifth is capable of use only for permanent pasture and hay, the sixth is capable of use only for wild pasture, while the seventh class is for soils and land types (including rock outcrop and small unmappable bodies of water) considered incapable of use for arable culture or permanent pasture."⁷⁴

The capability classes as defined by the report are as follows:

- Class 1 - Soils in this class have no significant limitations in use for crops.
- Class 2 - Soils in this class have moderate limitations that restrict the range of crops or require moderate conservation practices.
- Class 3 - Soils in this class have moderately severe limitations that restrict the range of crops or require special conservation practices.

⁷⁴Department of Regional Economic Expansion, The Canada Land Inventory, Soil Capability Classification for Agriculture, Report No. 2, Reprinted 1969, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969), p. 3.

- Class 4 - Soils in this class have severe limitations that restrict the range of crops or require special conservation practices or both.
- Class 5 - Soils in this class have very severe limitations that restrict their capability to producing perennial forage crops, and improvement practices are feasible.
- Class 6 - Soils in this class are capable only of producing perennial forage crops, and improvement practices are not feasible.
- Class 7 - Soils in this class have no capability for arable culture or permanent pasture.⁷⁵

⁷⁵Department of Regional Economic Expansion,
op. cit., pp. 5-9.