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Sleeping Single in a Double Bed: Windsor's Widows at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

Catherine MacNeil
University of Windsor

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"SLEEPING SINGLE IN A DOUBLE BED":
WINDSOR'S WIDOWS AT THE TURN OF
THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

BY

CATHERINE MacNEIL

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF WINDSOR
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THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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Catherine MacNeil

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The successful completion of this paper would not have been possible without the help of the University of Windsor. I would like to thank Dr. Ken Pryke for his help, time, guidance and patience. Additional thanks go out to Dr. Christine Simmons who provided me with encouragement, time and counsel. I would also like to thank Rhyn in the computer centre who helped me countless times on this project. I would also like to thank Dr. Terry Aitken, Arlene and Sylvia in the history department.

This paper, as well as this degree, would not have been possible without the support of my family. I have to thank my parents, Joe and Pat for their unconditional love, encouragement and reassurance.

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Approved by:

\[\text{Dr. K. Pryke}\]

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

In the recent past there has been substantial historical research completed regarding gender and family roles in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Canada. Many of these histories provide examples of the role of women within the family and society; however, very few historical studies have examined the impacts of widowhood on the aforementioned roles. Studies of widowhood survey the impacts of not only losing a husband, but in many cases, a father as well. Families, households and often entire communities were affected when a person became widowed. Using the data gained from the 1901 manuscript census, as well as other primary and secondary sources this study fills in some of the voids in many histories and provides a comprehensive view of widowhood and the effects of losing a spouse, which included alteration in gender roles and family structures.

The introduction of this study briefly outlines why Windsor was chosen as the location, why this topic has been largely ignored by many historians, and how it has been treated in literature that does exist on the history of widowhood. Information that cannot be determined using the manuscript census, including remarriage, inheritance and bereavement, will be examined through the use of secondary sources. In addition, a brief outline of some of the general characteristics of Windsor's widows will be provided.

The focus of this essay is on two aspects of the economic
survival of widows: waged labour and living arrangements. The
second chapter examines the living arrangements of widows,
illustrating how widows adapted to suit their economic
situations. In this chapter household composition is
analyzed. Chapter Three outlines the variety of occupations
of the widows in Windsor. It also shows that many children
of widows were working and therefore it can be determined that
child labour was often essential for familial survival. The
impacts of ethnicity, literacy and language on both living
arrangements and employment are explored. Through this study
it can be seen that the ideologies and social values of the
day had a great impact on the lives of widows.

Patriarchal norms present at the turn of the century
resulted in the majority of women being under the control of
men.¹ The repercussions of patriarchy varied with both
industrialization and commercialization. Jane Ursel provides
an interpretation of patriarchal influences in Private Lives,
Public Policy. She states that prior to industrialization
women and children were primarily influenced by the power and
authority of the head male within the family.² Male power
centred around his control of essential resources. With

¹ Patriarchal influences have been constant in Western
civilization; however, the impacts of patriarchy have altered
over time and did not identically impact all individuals.

² Jane Ursel, Private Lives, Public Policy: One Hundred Years
of State Intervention in the Family (Toronto: Women's
industrialization the husband/father lost a great deal of the control of the labour power of his family to those who controlled the productive resources—the employers.  

The impacts of industrialization is examined by Jeanne Boydston in her study *Home and Work: Housework, Wages and Labour the Ideology of Labour in the Early Republic*. She argues that industrialization changed the source of male power. Property was the primary source of male power prior to industrialization. After industrialization waged labour was power and the male role as the family breadwinner was emphasized.

The influences of industry on the family and women varied throughout Canada because at the turn of the twentieth century industrialization was not uniform. D. A. Muise in his article "The Industrial Context of Inequality: Female Participation in Nova Scotia's Paid Labour Force," outlines that the variety of occupations for women depended on where they lived. Women who lived in Yarmouth had opportunities to work in the cotton industries, while women living in other areas of the province did not have the same opportunities and

3 Ibid., 34.


5 Ibid., xiii.
had to work as domestics.\textsuperscript{6} If women were not living in industrial areas their fathers and husbands obviously had more control over their lives than their employers.

Industrialism and commercialization had great impacts on women on farms. Marjorie Griffen Cohen in her studies of the women in the dairy industries outlines how the commercialization of dairying excluded women.\textsuperscript{7} Prior to industrialization women were responsible for the cheese and butter production and sale at a household level. Industrialization took the production of butter and cheese out of the home and into the factory, where women were excluded.

Patriarchy at the turn of the century took on many forms and had a variety of impacts.\textsuperscript{8} It was greatly influenced by industrialization, urbanization, availability of waged labour and societal ideologies. Widowhood put patriarchy to the test and illustrated patriarchy's liabilities for women. Widowhood shows how human life, in which death and disability occur, can never fully fit into ideological "norms." A women's relative independence from the influences of familial patriarchy was a


\textsuperscript{7} Marjorie Griffin Cohen, \textit{Women's Work: Markets, and Economic Development in Nineteenth Century Ontario} (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988)

\textsuperscript{8} For example, Bettina Bradbury points out in her study \textit{Working Class Families} that the patriarchal legal systems in the mid-nineteenth century made women dependent on men. Bettina Bradbury, \textit{Working Class Families} (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Inc., 1993), 182.
variation from the social standard. Widowhood illustrates how women, as well as society as a whole, had difficulties adapting to a female in the role of primary breadwinner. It is obvious that many women overcame gendered obstacles after becoming widowed to provide for themselves and their family. Despite the fact that widowhood frequently provided women with opportunities to become independent, societal ideology and economic realities limited the freedom of widows.

To determine how widows in one place—Essex County Ontario—overcame almost insurmountable odds to survive as societal anomalies, variables were recorded from the 1901 manuscript census for each household member residing with a widow/widower and included: sex, age, marital status, place of birth, racial origin, nationality, religion, occupation, mother tongue, yearly wage and surname. In addition, school attendance, the abilities to read, write, speak English and/or speak French were also recorded.9 This essay uses SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) to analyze the data recorded from specific Essex County townships to investigate widowhood and show how the coping strategies of

9 Variables such as the ability to read and write are important as they may be indicators of what class a woman belonged to. For example, if a widow could not read or write one could assume that she was a member of the working class. A comparison of language proficiency, place of birth and religion may also provide an indication of class. Moreover, the abilities to read and write may have an influence on the type of employment a widow might gain. For example, if a widow was illiterate she could be employed as a domestic or factory worker, but not as a bookkeeper or teacher.
the 667 women without husbands varied according to their ages, ethnicities, religions and literacy. Some of these strategies included: taking in boarders, finding employment, and living with working adult and young children. It was through the aforementioned means that a number of widows were able to remain the heads of their households; however, in many cases the structures of the families with widows as members altered from nuclear to extended or multiple families.\(^\text{10}\)

Essex county includes modern Windsor and the townships of Sandwich East, South and West, as well as, the towns of Sandwich, Walkerville, and the city of Windsor.

\(^{10}\) The experiences of the 262 widowers in the area will be used for comparative purposes.
The selection of this area was based on a number of criteria. The location of the research and the sources available played a fundamental role in Windsor's selection. The various townships of Sandwich provide examples of rural life, while the towns and city illustrate early twentieth
century urban life. The area that is contemporary Windsor provides a vast mixture of classes, occupations, religions and ethnicities. There were a number of employment opportunities available for the population including work on the railways and/or within a limited number of factories, including Hiram Walker's distillery. Moreover, the location of Windsor along the Canadian border provided employment opportunities in customs or the United States. The diversity of this area provides a well rounded view of widowhood at the turn of the century.

In Windsor ten percent of the female population over the age of twenty were widowed. A description of some of the characteristics of the 667 Windsor widows clarifies their situations. Attributes such as age, religion, ethnicity will be briefly touched on. It would be difficult if not impossible to find two widows with identical experiences of widowhood. The ages, occupations, ethnicities and family structures of the widows in Windsor varied greatly; however, some generalizations about specific aspects of the lives of these women can be made.

When one pictures a widow an image of an old grey haired

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11 It is important to examine the widows living in rural areas as they have been sorely neglected in the past. The majority of the studies dealing with widowhood focus on women in urban settings. Moreover, the consequences of widowhood in rural versus urban areas are vastly different.

12 Seven percent of all adults above the age of twenty were widows/widowers in 1901.
woman often comes to mind. This is not necessarily an accurate visualization when examining widows in early twentieth century Canada. The youngest widow in this study was nineteen years old while the oldest was one hundred and three. Graph One outlines the ages of widows in Essex North. It can be noted that the majority of the widows were between the ages of forty and sixty-five. In addition, only seven percent were under the age of thirty. Later discussions show that age had notable repercussions on a widow's employment and household structure.

**GRAPH ONE: AGES OF WIDOWS IN WINDSOR**

13 See Appendix A for a comparison of the ages of the female and male widowed populations.
Ethnicity, religion, and literacy also impacted the life experiences of widows. Fifty-five percent of the widows in this study listed their "racial origin" as English, Irish or Scottish. Other statistically significant populations were widows of French (27%), African/Negro (11%) and German (5%) backgrounds. A closer examination of the African widows provide interesting findings. The statistics show that only five percent of the population of Essex North was of African origin; however, eleven percent of all widows were African. The other ethnicities examined had a lower rate of widowhood than occurrence in the population. The fact that African women had the highest probability of becoming widowed indicates that the husbands of these women were dying at a substantially higher rate than the rest of the population. African men likely had the most dangerous occupations, lived in the poorest housing and received insufficient medical treatment.

Of all religious denominations in Windsor the largest percentage of widows, thirty-seven percent, practiced Roman Catholicism. Other religions with statistically significant congregations included: Methodist (21%), Church of England

14 The term racial origin was used in the 1901 manuscript census to denote ethnicity. It should be noted that although the racial origin is listed as from areas outside North America, the majority of widows were born in Canada and ninety-five percent listed their nationality as Canadian.

15 Hereafter all widows with their racial origin listed as Negro or African will be referred to as African, African-Canadian or Black.
(18%), Presbyterian (11%) and Baptist (8%). (For a complete listing of the racial origins, places of birth, nationalities and religions of widows see appendices) Data collected on literacy indicated that seventy-eight percent of the widows were literate, seven percent were semi-literate and fifteen percent could neither read nor write. An examination of African widows and literacy shows that the literacy rate of seventy-eight percent can be somewhat misleading. Sixty-one percent of the African widows were literate, sixteen percent were semi-literate and twenty-three percent were illiterate.

There are a number of limitations to this project and many stem from the major source being used. Using the manuscript census for only one year provides a glimpse at one moment in time. If this were a larger research project it would be important to look at least at two census years and try to trace the lives of an number of widows. Thus, changes in the widows' experiences in regard to living arrangements and occupations would be evident. Another drawback to using this source to study widows is that the manuscript census fails to provide information on remarriage, inheritance, class, and the psychological components of widowhood. If a widow or her family members did not have occupations listed on the census and they are living independently, it is impossible to determine how they survived economically.

One of the basic problems using the census is that the enumerators' writing was occasionally illegible or difficult
to decipher. In addition, the use of the manuscript census results in interpretation of the census taker being examined. The census taker may have incorrectly listed items such as occupation or separate residencies. In the same vein the categories listed within the census reflect societal norms and middle class attitudes of the day but may not consider the social reality of the time. For example, the ideology regarding the sexual divisions of labour often resulted in only the males in widowed-headed families being listed with occupations even though their female relatives may also have been participating in them. An illustration of this point is that the sons of many of the widows on farms occupations were listed as 'farmer's sons' or 'farmers' while daughters in the same family were listed without occupations. Another example can be seen by looking at widows with occupations listed as boarding house keepers. Often the adult sons of these women had occupations listed while the adult daughters did not. The daughters were likely performing tasks similar to their mothers for the efficient running of the boarding house. The reason that the daughters were listed without an occupation may stem from the breadwinner ideology that emerged in the nineteenth century, whereby the term "work" was associated only with waged labour.16 Because many daughters working with their widowed mothers were not receiving a wage their

16 Jeanne Boydston, Home and Work, xviii.
labours were not considered work. 

Widowhood, perhaps more than any other event in the aging process, resulted in dramatic changes in the lives of individuals. Unless a married couple died at the same moment, either partner would endure widowhood for a period of time. There was a higher probability for women to experience widowhood in this period as by 1881 women’s life expectancy in Canada exceeded men’s, especially after the age of fifty. 

Widowhood was a universal experience; it could be found in all levels of society; however, it had a myriad of characteristics. The situations of widows were far from homogeneous; rather, there were enormous variations, especially in terms of emotions and economic security. Widowhood was influenced by historical time, societal

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17 The instructions for the manuscript census indicate that if women were carrying on domestic affairs without wages they are not to be classed with occupations. (The Fourth Census of Canada, vol. 1, xix.) Although the topic of women’s unwaged labour has been neglected in the past, through recent historical surveys such as Jeanne Boydston’s Home and Work, it has been acknowledged as essential. Women who did not have formal employment helped provide adequate living conditions for their families. The work women did in their homes could make the difference between comfortable living and starvation with intolerable living conditions. Women who did not have waged occupations balanced budgets, grew and made surplus goods to sell, cooked, cleaned and provided child care.

18 Beth Light and Joy Parr eds., Canadian women on the Move, (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1983), 225. Prior to the age of fifty, there were likely to be more men than women. Women often died during their child bearing years. In addition, more males were born than females.

19 Widowhood held different ramifications during a depression as opposed to a boom time, or during periods with or without social welfare policies.
conditions, class, age, ethnic background, religious beliefs, availability of family/kinship and other support networks, autonomy within and the quality of marriage, previous work experiences and skills, presence or absence of dependent or adult children, nature and timing of spouse's death, emotional and personal factors and economic preparations made for death and widowhood.\textsuperscript{20}

Despite the commonality of widowhood, it has been a topic largely ignored by many historians. The few historians who have focused on widowhood provide numerous reasons for the neglect of this group in history. Ida Blom, in "A History of Widowhood: A Bibliographic Overview," maintained that the interest in other areas of the life cycle resulted in disregard of widowhood. She points out that histories of childhood, marriage and fertility problems have been the dominant areas of both family and women's history.\textsuperscript{21} Blom argues that historians have avoided widows because of the negative stereotyping of old women. She suggests that the majority of feminist researchers are young women, either married or unmarried, and are more concerned with issues relevant to their own lives.\textsuperscript{22}


\textsuperscript{22} Ibid., 192.
Blom goes further to hypothesize that the increasing amount of work done on widowhood is a result of the aging of many women's historians. Although this theory is interesting it leads readers to believe that historians can only understand and write about what they experience. Moreover, it overlooks the fact that a number of young women lost their spouses.

One of the few larger studies dedicated entirely to widowhood is *On Their Own: Widows and Widowhood in the American Southwest*. Arlene Scadron, editor of *On Their Own*, claimed that historians of old age treat widowhood as an afterthought. Scadron argues that historians evaded confrontation of the topics of death and/or women alone (especially older women) and therefore they have not written on widowhood. She also states that the large number of variables that shape the experience of widowhood has caused historians to avoid the topic. She points to problems locating sources regarding the psychological components of widowhood. Moreover, she states that the dominance of men as both writers of, and actors in, history has led to the comparative invisibility of widows.

Arguments made by Scadron and Blom are similar to ones found in essays by Bettina Bradbury, "Widowhood and the

Canadian Family," and Marjorie Chary-Feinson, "Where are the Women in the History of Aging?". Bradbury states that approaches and methodologies of family history allowed for only glimpses of people who outlived their partners. She also indicates that widows are sometimes mentioned in family history; however, they are often stereotyped as victims of patriarchy and poverty or heroic exercisers of power. Chary-Feinson complains that historians of women, family and aging have overlooked old women. She states that the focus of the aging process in history has been on the experience of white men.

This brief review of the literature indicates that the history of widowhood covers a wide range of subjects such as family history, women's history, economic history, demographic history and gender history. However, an examination of the literature shows that the topic is rarely explored in any one of the aforementioned categories in isolation. The contribution of gender, women's, demographic, economic and family history to the study of widowhood will be briefly explored.


26 Ibid., 7.

27 If histories of old age had examined women, information about widowhood would have likely been discussed as many of these older women were probably widows.

Both gender and women's history explore gender roles as well as the impacts of patriarchal society. An examination of widowhood clearly contains characteristics of both gender and women's history as the study focuses on a specific group of women whose only similarity may be the loss of a husband.

Widowhood and its impacts on household structures can be studied using the methodological approaches of family historians. A typical family in 1901 was nuclear. It will be demonstrated that many households including widowed members can be considered anomalies during the early twentieth century as they were often multi-generational and/or included non-related members. Unfortunately, households headed by widows are often overlooked by family historians who tend to focus attention on the predominant two-parent, male-headed nuclear families.

Economic history also provides insights into widowhood. Attention to the nature of the economy during the period and the specific area under examination is essential. It is

A number of historians indicate that the majority of Canadian families in the nineteenth century were nuclear in structure including: Michael Katz in The People of Hamilton: Canada West, Emily M. Nett in "Canadian Families in the Social Historical Perspective," Sheva Medjuck in "Family and Household Composition in Nineteenth Century the Case of Moncton New Brunswick," Gordon Darroch and Michael Ornestein in "Family and Household in Nineteenth Century Canada: Regional Patterns and Regional Economics," and Chad M. Gaffield in "Canadian Families in Cultural Context: Hypotheses from the Mid-Nineteenth Century."

Feminist scholars often criticize family history as they reject biological family roles, and censure the idea of a monolithic family form.
important to note what employment opportunities were available for women. In addition, the variation of options available to widows living in urban versus rural societies should be noted.

Historical demography can be utilized to study widowhood. It usually results in one of three types of research: incidence of widowhood studies, remarriage surveys or the examination of the households where widows lived.\(^{31}\) Demography as a field, however, tends to concentrate on fertility, which results in the subject of widowhood being neglected.\(^{32}\) Moreover, this approach provides little information regarding the emotional components of widowhood.\(^{33}\)

When historians have ventured to study widows, the focus has usually been on economic survival. Regardless of class, the loss of male breadwinners often resulted in both precarious financial positions for families and decreased standards of living. "Prior good fortune was no guarantee of future economic security in an era when savings, life

\(^{31}\) Geraldine Mineau, "Utah Widowhood: A Demographic Profile," On Their Own, 140.

\(^{32}\) Bettina Bradbury, " Widowhood and Canadian Family History," 140. An example of widows being overlooked in favour of fertility can be found in Ellen M. Gee's "The Life Course of Women: A Historical and Demographic Analysis" in Social Indicators Research (1986): 263-283.

\(^{33}\) Ibid., 12.
insurance, and private pensions were rare or non existent."^34 For women the sexual division of labour and the dangerous reliance on male breadwinners were made clear by widowhood. Neither labour markets nor societal ideology was able to accommodate a female providing primary support to a family.\(^35\) Widows' methods of gaining subsistence for themselves and their families in this patriarchal period, when women were considered subordinate, clearly demonstrate the survival skills of widows.

Despite available options, many widows were unable to earn enough money to subsist. Priscilla Ferguson Clement in her study of nineteenth-century welfare policy indicates that female-headed households were frequently poor.\(^36\) The poverty of female-headed households raises questions such as whether there were histories of poverty within the families or whether the poverty was the result of the absence of a male breadwinner. Nonetheless, one thing is almost certain: a household headed by a widow would only be prosperous if her family was wealthy prior to the death of her husband. An example of extreme poverty provided by Clement in her article was a widow selling her furniture piece by piece to purchase

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35 Ibid., 185.

food for her family.37

Charity was an option for widows in dire straits. Ida Blom states that in small close-knit communities, needy older people were often cared for without shame. Both Blom and Bettina Bradbury point out that widows were considered worthy poor. According to Bradbury widows were favoured by charities because their poverty was not their fault unless they behaved immoral manner.38

In the mid-nineteenth century a few widows obtained workers' pensions or payments from mutual benefit societies after their husbands' death. For example, in Montreal, Irish widows whose husbands had paid dues to the St. Patrick's Benevolent Society received payments of thirty dollars for funeral expenses and $1.50 a week (plus $0.20 per orphan).39 For the most part, employers did not accept the responsibility of providing pensions to widows for job related deaths despite an 1888 Royal Commission suggesting that compensation be awarded.40

Obviously the incomes of many widows were far from guaranteed. Inheritance was an aspect of widowhood that sometimes led to financial security. Laws regarding

37 Ibid.
38 Bettina Bradbury, Working Class Families, 211.
39 Ibid., 186. If the widow remarried her payments were cut off.
40 Ibid., 187-8.
inheritance varied locally and nationally. A widow commonly inherited one-third of her husband's estate.\textsuperscript{41} It was only after the passing of the married women's property acts that women were allowed to dispose of their inheritance at their discretion. According to Ida Blom, the majority of men left the bulk of their estates to their wives.\textsuperscript{42} Other sources have shown that some wills were 'patriarchy from the grave,' where women were controlled by their husbands and fathers even after their deaths.\textsuperscript{43} "Even women from relatively wealthy families 'liberated' from legal incapacity by the death of their husbands could find their potential freedom limited by specific provisions of marriage contracts and wills."\textsuperscript{44} Wills which included strict stipulations regarding the behaviour of widows were common in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Examples of wills illustrate how

\textsuperscript{41} In the most of the United States a husband was required by law to will his wife at least one-third of his estate. These dower rights existed whether a husband did or did not make a will; however, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries a widow did not have the right to sell or mortgage any land. At the same time if the husband was in debt prior to his death a widow could lose all of her personal property. Suzanne Lebsack, \textit{The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784-1866} (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1984), 42. Marylynn Salmon, "women and Property in South Carolina: the Evidence from Marriage Settlements, 1730-1830," \textit{Women's America} (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 41.


\textsuperscript{43} Bettina Bradbury, "Widowhood and Canadian Family History," 18.

\textsuperscript{44} Joy Parr and Beth Light eds., \textit{Canadian Women on the Move}, 114.
uncompromising endowment provisions could be. The husband of a woman in, Richibucho, New Brunswick, specified in his will that his wife would lose her right to the family property if she remarried. The will of George-Etienne Cartier made his mistress the executor and forbade his daughters from marrying anyone in his wife's family.

There were a number of variables that influenced a wife's inheritance. Using wills, inventories of estates, accounts of administration, censuses and estate settlements, Gloria L. Main in "Widows in Rural Massachusetts on the Eve of the Revolution" studies inheritance and determines how it was affected by different variables. Main states that men in the commercial and maritime areas willed their entire estates to their wives more often than men living in rural areas.

Main outlines numerous factors that influenced a widow's inheritance including, the number of children, the age and sex of children, the presence of a grown son, the age of the widow, whether children were from a widow's previous marriage, and urban or rural living environment.

In her study of wills in Petersburg, Suzanne Lebsock

45 Alison Prentice ed., Canadian Women: A History, 118.
46 Joy Parr and Beth Light eds., Canadian Women on the Move, 261. Cartier seems to have made prior arrangements for his wife's settlement.
47 Gloria L. Main, Widows in Rural Massachusetts on the Eve of the Revolution, Women in the Age of the American Revolution, 80.
48 Ibid., 74-75.
states there were changes over time regarding women's inheritances. Up to 1830, only one-third of wealthy men made their wives executors of their wills.\textsuperscript{49} The reason for this decision was the concept of female gentility; women were not supposed to be concerned with money matters.\textsuperscript{50} Husbands involved in overseas trade often did not feel that their wives were competent enough to successfully maintain their businesses.\textsuperscript{51} It is clear that when inheritances were small, women were usually left in control; however, when large amounts were at stake women were not consulted regarding major decisions.\textsuperscript{52}

Bettina Bradbury's examination of wills and inheritance in nineteenth century Montreal illustrates legal variances depending on location. The Quebec Civil Code contained measures that protected widows. For example, widows were safeguarded from having to pay their husbands' arrears. The widow could renounce the community property accumulated during the marriage if her husband was in debt. She would then have a difficult but debt-free start to her new life. In addition, women were allowed to manage and sell the inherited estate if

\textsuperscript{49} Suzanne Lebsock, \textit{The Free Women of Petersburg}, 37.
\textsuperscript{50} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{51} \textit{Ibid.}
\textsuperscript{52} \textit{Ibid.}, 39, 40. In some cases women did not have official guardianship of their children, rather an outsider was chosen. Prior to the 1840s mothers were chosen as official guardians in only one half of the cases.
necessary. Without a marriage contract widows retained whatever property they brought into the marriage and received one half of the community property acquired during the marriage. Another interesting aspect about the Quebec Civil Code is that unlike its model the Napoleonic Code the Civil Code did not forbid a widow from marrying within ten months of her husband's death.

Constance Backhouse examines the evolution of the married women's property act in English-Canada and states that there was a dramatic change in laws between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Backhouse states that by the turn of the twentieth century women had gained significant control over their real and personal property, wages and business profits. The changes in the married women's property acts provided women with limited income when their marriages were no longer working.

Remarriage was another option available for widows.

53 Bettina Bradbury, Working Class Families, 186.

54 Bettina Bradbury, 10/05/94. Dr. Bradbury also explained that with the 1841 Registry Act widows dower rights were threatened if their property was not registered.


56 Constance Backhouse, "Married Women's Property Law in Nineteenth Century Canada," Canadian Family History. It is important to note that Backhouse examines only the common law provinces, which excludes Quebec.

57 Ibid., 345.

58 Ibid., 345.
According to Benjamin Franklin, "a rich widow is the only second-hand good that will always sell at prime cost". 59 Although remarriage was an option for women, especially the rich, the possibilities for it fluctuated over time. For example, the editors of Marriage and Remarriage in Populations of the Past indicate that remarriage rates at the beginning of the nineteenth century declined. In addition, there were longer periods of time between the death of a first spouse and remarriage. 60 An example showing differences in historical period is Helen Znaniecka Lopata's Women as Widows: Support Systems. In this sociological study the author briefly examined the history of widowhood in the United States. She argues that colonial American widows had greater chances for remarriage because of the shortage of women. 61 The multitude of skills these pioneering women possessed made them attractive marriage partners even when poor and/or with dependent children. 62

Geraldine P. Mineau uses large sets of family genealogies


61 The 1901 published census for Essex North indicates that there were 16442 women and 16976 men living in the area. Interestingly in Essex North there were one hundred and forty less men then women between the ages of twenty and fifty.

62 Helen Znaniecka Lopata, Women as Widows, 27.
from the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to examine widowhood in her article, "Utah Widowhood: A Demographic Profile". Mineau's profile of Utah widows indicates that remarriage was almost exclusively for younger women. Her statistics showed that ninety-eight percent of widows under forty with children remarried, while only one percent of widows sixty and older remarried.

Like Mineau, Suzanne Lebsock's study The Free Women of Petersburg illustrates that young widows were more likely to remarry in the nineteenth century. Her statistics show that 33.6 percent of widows under thirty remarried compared to 9.1 percent of widows over forty. This history also concludes that the poorest group of widows were the most likely to remarry. According to Lebsock, "... the widow who had the best chance of finding a new husband usually did not want one".

One aspect of widowhood that has been pushed aside by

63 These 180,000 computerized genealogies were initially for medical genetics research undertaken by the Church of the Later Day Saints.
64 Geraldine P. Mineau, "Utah Widowhood: A Demographic Profile," On Their Own, 158.
65 Mineau also stated that the practice of polygamy among Mormons provided more opportunities for young widows to remarry. (Ibid., 156)
67 Ibid., 26.
68 Ibid.
numerous historians, usually because of the lack of sources, is bereavement. Information about how a woman felt about the death of her husband can be found in diaries or letters but these sources are difficult to obtain. In "Letting Go: Bereavement Among Selected Southwestern Anglo Widows," Arlene Scadron examines the diaries of fourteen white Anglo widows. She points out that bereavement was unique. The experiences of widowhood were determined by how the husband died, individual temperament, cultural and socioeconomic conditions and psychological makeup. Despite individual differences of widowhood, there were some shared themes. The widows generally felt a sense of restlessness and isolation, many migrated for financial and emotional reasons, and many had difficulties restructuring their lives. In addition, Scadron outlined the common stages of bereavement: impact or numbness, recoil and/or depression and recovery. Scadron indicated that religious beliefs often relieved some of the pain of being widowed.

It is clear from the review of literature that widowhood can be studied using the methodologies of numerous historical fields such as demographic, family, economic, gender and women's history. Moreover, histories of widowhood often provide insight into legal variances, charity, remarriage,

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69 Arlene Scadron, "Letting Go: Bereavement Among Selected Southwestern Anglo Widows," *On Their Own*, 244.

family and gender roles. This examination of widowhood in Windsor will confirm some of the conclusions made by other historians regarding the economic survival of widows.\footnote{This study obviously will not confirm all of the conclusions made by historians of widowhood. The secondary sources used for this project deal with Canadian, American, British and European examples. Obviously the situations and living conditions of widows in Windsor will greatly differ from the widows living in the American Southwest. If possible only Canadian sources would have been used; however, there is not a great deal of information regarding the history of Canadian widowhood. Even if only Canadian sources were used the regional variations in laws and experiences would restrict generalizations.} At the same time it will show how the situation of the widows in Essex North is unique as a result of available resources. The experiences of widows in the past were multifaceted and dependent on numerous variables, especially age. How widows provided for themselves and their families in a patriarchal society after the deaths of their spouses will be examined in the following chapters.
CHAPTER TWO: HOUSEHOLDS

An examination of household structures provides insights into widowhood and how in many cases losing a spouse altered the living arrangements of a woman and her family. This chapter compares the households of Windsor's widows and briefly summarizes some influences on family structure in the nineteenth century including industrialization, family life cycle, regional differences and urbanization. The characteristics of the wide assortment of household structures found in Windsor including widows living in nuclear, extended, and multiple families, or as boarders or with workers will be explored. The very definition of widowhood indicates that families which included widows varied from the social norm where a family included a woman, her husband and their children. This chapter outlines Windsor widows' household compositions and the influences on and the impacts of these living arrangements.

Prior to an examination of the literature regarding household structure it is important to determine how the manuscript census defined a household. The instructions for the 1901 manuscript census indicated that the term 'house'

72 The term nuclear will be used indicates that a family consisted of at least one parent and children. This is how the term was used in the research of Gordon Darroch and Michael Ornstein in "Family and Household in Nineteenth Century Canada: Regional Patterns and Regional Economies," Journal of Family History 9 (1984): 158-177.
consisted of any structure which provided shelter for a human being. Furthermore, the guidelines outlined that if the dwelling had a single entrance it was considered one house no matter how many floors it had or families it sheltered. A structure was considered separate houses if the dwelling had two front or principle doors leading into distinct residences.\textsuperscript{73} The rigid census definition of households may not actually capture all separate residences. Many buildings probably only had one principle entrance but contained two or more separate dwellings inside of the building.

According to a number of sources on Canadian family history an enumerator in 1901 would discover nuclear families inhabiting the majority of houses that he/she visited. Michael Katz in his study \textit{People of Hamilton: Canada West} states that the majority of historians write about ideal families which were nuclear in structure.\textsuperscript{74} Emily M. Nett in her article "Canadian Families in the Social Historical Perspective" reveals why historians write about nuclear families by asserting that "... the type of household in which most Canadians resided was the nuclear or 'simple' family household."\textsuperscript{75} Unfortunately for historians of widowhood,

\textsuperscript{73} The Fourth Census Of Canada 1, xvii.

\textsuperscript{74} Michael Katz, \textit{People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century City} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 237, 243.

\textsuperscript{75} Emily M. Nett, "Canadian Families in the Social-Historical Perspective," \textit{Family Bonds and Gender Divisions} (Toronto: Butterworths Ltd., 1988), 129.
less than fifty percent of widows lived in nuclear families.\textsuperscript{76}

According to some historians the predominance of nuclear families is a byproduct of industrialization; however, other family historians would disagree. Historians including Tim B. Heaton, Caroline Hoppe, and Lutz Berkner present different interpretations contemplating the influences of industrialization on the family.\textsuperscript{77} It is agreed that prior to the industrial revolution the workplace and the home were seldom separated. Some historians argue that with industrialization household structure changed, allowing members to fulfil their new industrial functions.\textsuperscript{78} In general, in the nineteenth century Canadian families decreased in size, marriages were delayed and more people were living alone.\textsuperscript{79} Tim B. Heaton and Caroline Hoppe in their article,

\textsuperscript{76} This statistic is true for both the widows in Windsor and the Ottawa widows examined by Lorna McLean. Lorna McLean, "Single Again: Widow's Work in the Urban Family Economy Ottawa, 1871," \textit{Ontario History} 83 (June 1991): 140.

\textsuperscript{77} Although only Heaton and Hoppe examine Canada the ideas of Berkner and Anderson are useful.

\textsuperscript{78} Nancy Mandell and Ann Duffy, \textit{Canadian Families: Diversity, Conflict and Change} (Toronto: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1995), 34. Many historians argue that industrialism resulted in the modification of families from extended to nuclear. Not all historians agree that families were extended prior to the industrialism. Peter Laslett in his article "The Comparative History of Household and Family," indicates that nuclear families were prevalent prior to industrialism. (Peter Laslett, "The Comparative History of Household and Family," \textit{The American Family in Social-Historical Perspective} (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), 19.)

\textsuperscript{79} \textit{Ibid.}, 34.
"Widowed and Married: Comparative Change in Arrangements, 1900-1980," argue that prior to industrialization the position of the elderly was secured in the household. The shift from household production to waged labour often excluded older family members and resulted in the latter being victims of social change. Moreover, industrialization resulted in the isolation of the nuclear family and the destruction of kinship ties.

Lutz K. Berkner studies households in "The Stem Family and the Developmental Cycle of the Peasant Household: An Eighteenth Century Austrian Example." Berkner's research indicates that the bulk of households were nuclear; however, at some time in the life cycle the majority of the population lived in extended families. According to Berkner, households expanded and contracted depending on family members' ages and/or family life cycle stage. Berkner's explanation that familial structure was age related is reiterated by Michael Katz in People of Hamilton, Canada

81 Ibid., 262.
82 A stem family is the same as an extended family.
84 Ibid.
In their article Heaton and Hoppe argue that "widowhood may initiate the final stage of the family life-cycle when the widowed person as the only household survivor must either change residence or live alone." 86

The brief review of the literature shows that the majority of Canadian households were nuclear; however, nuclear families were influenced by family life cycle. The following section will examine the household structures of widows in Windsor consisting of solitary, nuclear, extended and non-related living arrangements. Without an examination of more than one census year it is almost impossible to determine if there were modifications in living arrangements resulting from the loss of a spouse. It can be assumed that prior to becoming widowed few married women lived alone, rather, they lived with their husbands and children. After becoming widowed many women continued to live in their households with their children; nonetheless, some widows moved into different houses and resided with their adult children who previously left home. Other widows boarded or lived with their employers. In addition, as illustrated in Table One, six percent of all widows resided alone. 87

85 Michael Katz, People of Hamilton, Canada West, 241.
87 It should be noted that a higher percentage of widowers lived alone.
Table One: Number of Widows Living in Various Household Structures in Windsor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HOUSEHOLD TYPE</th>
<th>FEMALE number</th>
<th>percent</th>
<th>MALE number</th>
<th>percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NUCLEAR</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>33.73%</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>27.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXTENDED</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>30.28%</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>26.34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCLUDES NON-RELATED MEMBERS</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>29.54%</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>37.02%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MULTIPLE FAMILIES</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOLITARY</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9.54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNKNOWN</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.14%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>667</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fact that very few widows lived alone indicates that only a limited number of widows could manage without the support of a family. Seventy percent of all widows who lived alone were above the age of sixty. This suggests that children of these widows were grown and living in their own residences.\textsuperscript{88} Idealistically widows would be able to retain autonomy after the death of their husbands, however, only a few widows had total financial independence.\textsuperscript{89}

The widows who were living alone retained autonomy, however, one would assume that women living in a household

\textsuperscript{88} Michael Katz indicates the highest proportion of solitary dwellings housed mostly the younger and older adults of a population and were always only a small fraction of the total. \textit{(The People of Hamilton, Canada West, 249)}

\textsuperscript{89} Tim B. Heaton and Caroline Hoppe, "Widowed and Married: Comparative Change in Arrangements 1900-1980," \textit{Social Science History}, 264. Heaton and Hoppe indicate that prior to the mid-twentieth century few older Canadian widows lived alone. (p. 262)
with adult males would lose their independence. However, fifty-five percent of both the female and male widowed population were listed as heads of their household. Unfortunately, the instructions to the 1901 manuscript census do not define the category 'head of household.' The instructions do state that it was the responsibility of the head of the household to provide the census taker with the necessary information. One would expect that if an adult male lived in a house he would be considered the head of the household. However, in many cases widows were listed as the head of household even when they were living with adult sons, while in the similar circumstances other adult sons were listed as head of households and widows listed as mothers. The dynamics of family structure are not revealed by the census. Neither sex nor age determined who headed a household in an explicit manner. Moreover, employment or unemployment did not seem to determine whether a widow was the head of her household. It could be speculated that whoever inherited the house was recorded as the head of household, unless of course the inheritor passed on the leadership responsibilities during his/her lifetime. Despite the cultural definition of a male head of household the statistics show that some unknown criteria, perhaps home ownership or personal authority, determined head of household. Similar to the findings of Bettina Bradbury, Graph Two illustrates that fifty-five

90 Fourth Census of Canada 1 (Ottawa, 1902), xviii.
percent of the widows in Windsor headed their own household.

As mentioned earlier, most historians write about nuclear families which included a woman, her husband and their children. The nuclear families in this study were widows and their young or adult children and/or widowed daughters who returned home to live with their parents. Statistics from Table One shows that only thirty-four percent of the widows and twenty-seven percent of the widowers examined lived in
nuclear family households. Seventy-one percent of the widowed women in nuclear families were between the ages of forty and sixty-five. The ages of the widows coincided with statistics from Gordon Darroch and Michael Ornstein as they state that nuclear families were the most common for individuals over the age of thirty five, while the oldest and the youngest groups were likely to live in another form of household.91

Eighty-two percent of Windsor widows living in nuclear families were listed as the heads of their households.92 Widows who headed nuclear families strove for independence and, if they had children to support and/or children to help maintain the family, they often retained autonomy.93 A number of widows sustained the role of the head of their households by having adult children stay at home or return home.94 Female widowed heads took over the responsibilities of their deceased spouses, making the decisions regarding the effective operation of the household. Using the 1871 manuscript census Darroch and Ornstein determined that over seven percent of all nuclear families in Canada were headed by

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91 Ibid., 171.

92 The remaining eighteen percent were listed as mothers or daughters of the head of household.

93 Michael Katz, People of Hamilton, Canada West, 253.

94 It was usually the youngest daughter who would stay at home to help her widowed parent. Tim B. Heaton and Caroline Hoppe, "Widowed and Married Comparative Change in Arrangements 1900-1980," Social Sciences History, 263.

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widows. Their research indicates that farmers, merchants and manufacturers were the most likely to live in nuclear families. In contrast the people employed in semi and non skilled occupations were probably living in extended families.

The statistics for Windsor indicate that eighty-three percent of the widowed farmers and seventy-six percent of the shopkeepers and small business women lived in nuclear families. For example, Mrs. O'Neal, a forty-four year old farmer in Sandwich South Township, headed a nuclear family which included her thirteen children aged two to twenty-two.

The Windsor findings show that unlike the bulk of society, many widows did not live in nuclear families. The majority of widows who resided in nuclear families were between the ages of forty and sixty-five. In addition, eighty-two percent of the widows who lived in nuclear families headed their own household. The widows who did not live in nuclear families resided in other household structures such as extended family.

When widows experienced poor economic conditions or failing health, many resorted to moving in with extended family members. Bettina Bradbury, in her studies on widowhood and family, indicates that the support of extended

95 Gordon Darroch and Michael Ornstein, "Family and Household in Nineteenth Century Canada: Regional Patterns and Regional Economies," Journal of Family History, 163.

96 In correlation to the jobs these heads of household ninety-two percent of these business owning widows were literate or semi-literate.
family members was essential. Kin often provided food, coal, shelter and other necessities. Ida Blom argues in her historiography that often the support of family members was less than traditionally believed. She points out that the family members of an impoverished widow were just as likely to be poor. 97

Forty percent of Windsor widows and thirty-eight percent of widowers lived in extended families. 98 It can be noted that fewer than one quarter of all widows living in nuclear families were above the age of seventy while in extended families one half of all widows were above the age of seventy. This statistic shows that as the widowed population aged and were less able to care for themselves and effectively run the household they resided in extended family households. 99

97 Ida Blom, A History of Widowhood," 197. It is interesting to note that Michael Katz in his study indicates that the size and complexity of a household increased in correspondence to its wealth. (People of Hamilton: Canada West, 238) One could conclude that the opposite was true. Widows were likely to move in with adult children when they were no longer able to pay for their accommodations or needs. In addition, the concept of multiple family living leads one to believe that households co-resided to save on property expenses.

98 This number includes extended families with non-related household members. In the case of widows there were 202 extended families living with only relations. There was an additional 65 extended families which included non-related members. Therefore, forty percent of all of the widows lived in extended families that may or may not have included non-related members. The total for widowers was calculated in a similar manner.

99 A close examination of the membership in extended families illustrates that in twenty-three cases two widows lived in one extended family.
Unlike the high percentage of widows heading nuclear families, only twenty-nine percent of the widows living in extended families were listed as head. This returns to the question of whether or not a woman lost her autonomy when she became widowed. Fifty-seven percent of the widows in extended households were listed as mothers or mother-in-laws.\textsuperscript{100} The widows listed as mothers and mother-in-laws probably had less power and input in family decisions than widows listed as heads of households. The traditional roles and authorities of mothers and mother-in-laws in families was lost to their daughters and daughter-in-laws.

Extended families took a variety of forms. An example of an extended family is that of sixty-nine year old Mrs. McLaird of Sandwich Town. She lived in a house with her daughter, grandchildren, son-in-law and her son-in-law's uncle. Many of the extended families in this study, including that of Mrs. Helm of Sandwich East, consisted of a widow, her married child and spouse and her grandchildren. According to Darroch and Ornstein nearly eight and a half percent of all individuals in Canada lived in extended families; moreover, households containing a married couple, their children and a widow or widower constituted the largest proportion of extended

\textsuperscript{100} Interestingly only sixteen percent of widowers were listed as fathers or father-in-laws. This indicates widowed men moved in with their extended families at a much smaller rate than widowed women.
families. Living in extended families provided widows with some form of economic security.

This overview of extended families showed that older widows were more likely to reside in extended family households. As Table One shows there were approximately the same number of nuclear and extended families in this study; however, a close examination shows a difference in roles widows played depending on their household structures. The majority of widows in extended families were recorded as mothers or mother-in-laws, while in nuclear families widows were often listed as heads of households. Therefore, it can be concluded that widows in nuclear families frequently had more power than widows in extended families. Where widowhood in nuclear families provided women with potential freedom from male influence, widowhood in extended families often placed the power over a woman, previously exercised by her spouse, in the hands of her son, son-in-law or often back with her father.

A question arises from the examination of widows and their families: what happened to a widow who had no family, or a widow whose family could not take care of her? A variety of afflictions associated with aging, such as incontinence, memory loss and psychical ailments, hindered the ability of the family to care for a widow as well as her proficiency to

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101 Gordon Darroch and Michael Ornstein, "Family and Household in Nineteenth Century Canada: Regional Patterns and Regional Economies," 164.
properly look after herself. Some of these widows became the responsibility of the government and lived in the limited number of old age homes and psychiatric hospitals. Once again the limitations of using the manuscript census can be seen as information about Essex county widows living in hospitals or old age homes is not included in the data.

It is obvious from the census that a number of widows did not live with just their immediate or extended families. According to a number of sources one would think that more than three percent of Windsor widows would be living in multiple families; however, the statistics from the published census of Essex North indicate that less than one percent of all families were living in multiple family households. Two Windsor widows lived in multiple family households. Both widows were born in the United States, of African-American origin and resided together. One was fifty-five year old Mrs. Sims who lived in a family headed by her son-in-law. The other family living in the household was headed by thirty-eight year old Mrs. Crowen.102

The fact that only two widows lived in multiple families indicates that many Windsor widows owned their houses and it contrasts with other studies. Lorna McLean in her article, 102

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102 In total there were ten people living in this household: Mrs. Sims, her daughter, her son-in-law, Mrs. Crowen and her six children. It should be noted that this household could be considered working class. Mrs. Sims's son-in-law was a labourer, as were Mrs. Crowen's three sons aged seventeen to twenty-two.
"Single Again: Widows Work in the Urban Family Economy Ottawa, 1871," states that widows heading their own households were far less likely to live in single family dwellings. Over one-half of the widows she examined shared accommodations with relatives beyond the nuclear form, boarders and other families.\(^{103}\) Darroch and Ornstein indicate that eight percent of all Canadian families in 1871 contained two different family names.\(^{104}\) Multiple family households were common in industrial cities; however, they were not evenly distributed throughout Canada. For example, a study examining Moncton, New Brunswick, in 1851 shows that twenty-four percent of all households contained more than one family. In the same year in Hamilton only 1.7% of dwellings were multiple family households.

Multiple family households were common in urban areas where there were housing shortages, low paying jobs and frequent unemployment, and they helped alleviate some acute housing problems. For financial reasons in Montreal in 1871 over fifty percent of working class couples started their married lives in residence with another family.\(^{105}\) The fact that Windsor had a minute number of multiple families may


\(^{104}\) Gordon Darroch and Michael Ornstein, "Family and Household in Nineteenth Century Canada: Regional Patterns and Regional Economies," 165.

\(^{105}\) Emily M. Nett, "Canadian Families in the Social-Historical Perspective," 130.
have resulted from a number of reasons such as limited industrialization, high employment rates, sufficient amount of available housing and a high rate of household ownership. Multiple family households allowed some widows to remain in their own homes and keep their families together by sharing responsibilities and maintenance with another family.

In nuclear and extended families widowed boarders and workers were often present. If a widow could not afford to live independently or pay board she might have acquired a position as a live-in servant to secure accommodations. In Windsor there were thirty-six widows employed in personal service occupations living in the houses where they worked. The majority of these women were between the ages of forty and sixty. In a few cases there was more than one widowed worker in a household. Moving in with an employer provided some widows and their families with homes. For example, Mrs. Lach of Windsor and her three children aged two to five lived with her employer and his family. Another widowed worker, Mrs. Camillion also lived in this household.

Many widows boarded or took in boarders, providing themselves with surrogate families.

106 There were only ten widowers living in the houses where they worked.

107 This was especially common for women who worked in hotels.

characteristics of boarders at the turn of the century indicate single young men between the ages of twenty and twenty-nine were the most likely to board. Evidence from Windsor shows that widowed males and females also boarded. Boarding provided widowed women with more independence than moving in with her extended family. As a boarder a widow was in control of where she lived and she had the power to make her own choices without being directly accountable to her family. In Windsor there were thirty-three female and forty-one male widowed boarders. Over one half of female widowed boarders were between the ages of forty-five and sixty-five. Remarkably, seventy-nine percent of the boarding widows had no occupation listed, which raises questions of how these women paid for their accommodations.

Instead of leaving their homes and boarding to save money many women provided rooms for lodgers. Widows took in boarders for a number of reasons but especially for the regular income contributed by the lodger's rent. Taking in boarders provided a way for widows and single women from their forties to sixties to remain the heads of their households. Seven percent of the households headed by widows included boarders. Over sixty percent of these women were between the ages of forty-five and sixty-five. Mrs. Laway of Ward Four Windsor took in boarders. She was twenty-six and lived with

109 Although the numbers a close for female and male boarders the percentages are quite different. Of the boarding widowed population 4.9% were female and 15% were male.
her two young daughters aged five and three, and three single female factory workers.

Although living with boarders provided many widows with additional income, middle class ideologies at the turn of the twentieth century tended to disapprove of the practice of boarding.\textsuperscript{110} John Modell and Tamara K. Hareven in their article, "Urbanization and the Malleable Household: An Examination of Boarding and Lodging in American Families," state that early twentieth century reformers felt that the practice of boarding led to overcrowding.\textsuperscript{111} Reformers maintained that boarding resulted in a lack of privacy for families and a government report from the turn of the century stated that

\[ \ldots \text{the loose quarters often destroy all privacy... they can not but blunt a girl's sense of proper relations with the other sex and foster standards which are not acceptable in this country.} \textsuperscript{112} \]

Despite the disapproval from reformers, taking in lodgers was a common practice for a number of widows.

\textsuperscript{110} Prior to the 1880s boarding was seen as a middle class process whereby acceptable socialization occurred. As the twentieth century approached boarding became associated with the working classes and it was identified with "... tenement squalor and the poverty of immigrant life." John Modell and Tamara K. Hareven, "Urbanization and the Malleable Household: An Examination of Boarding and Lodging in American Families," Family and Kin in Urban Communities, 182.

\textsuperscript{111} Ibid., 166.

\textsuperscript{112} Ibid., 166.
Modell and Hareven's research on boarding at the turn of the century determined that there was ethnic and occupational clustering among lodgers. In Windsor over half of the boarders and their landlords shared the same cultural origins and the majority of widows in Windsor who had boarders living with them listed their ethnic origins as English, Irish and Scottish. It is difficult to determine if occupational clustering was occurring as many of the boarding widows were unemployed. Interestingly, none of the secondary sources examined for this paper indicated whether or not there was clustering based on religion. In Windsor, sixty-six percent of the boarding widows and their landlords shared the same religion.

The fact that almost thirty percent of the households in this study included non-related members once again demonstrates how widows deviated from the societal norm of living in nuclear family households. Many of Windsor's widows lived as boarders and live in workers, moreover, a number of widows opened their houses to non-family members. Numerous variables changed and influenced household structure. For the most part the household structures of widows in Windsor were malleable. The statistics indicated that before becoming

113 Ibid., 173.

114 Studies done by Sheva Medjuck, "Family and Household Composition in the Nineteenth Century: The Case of Moncton New Brunswick," and John Modell and Tamara Hareven, "Urbanization and the Malleable Household: An Examination of Boarding and Lodging in American Families," both argue that households were
a widow a woman had a high probability of living in a nuclear family. After the death of her spouse a widow tended to move into a cheaper house with friends and relatives or board with families that did not seem to be related.\textsuperscript{115} Age often had an impact on household structure and the next segment of this chapter show that urbanization and regional variations also had repercussions on household structures.

Household compositions were distinct according to urban and rural settings as well as regional variations. Gordon Darroch and Michael Ornstein used the manuscript census in their study, "Family and Household in Nineteenth Century Canada Regional Patterns and Regional Economies," and determined that household structure changed depending on the region examined as it corresponded to family subsistence.\textsuperscript{116} Their research shows that nuclear families were predominate in all of the provinces.\textsuperscript{117} Ontario had the greatest percentage of nuclear families, Nova Scotia had the largest proportion of extended families, while Quebec and New


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pliable. Not all research would agree with Medjuck, Modell and Hareven. Medjuck points would that her study conflicts with Michael Katz's \textit{People of Hamilton: Canada West}. Katz maintains that household structure remained stable in the years that he examined. The differences between the conclusions of Katz and the others may stem from regional disparities between the examined areas.
\end{flushleft}

\textsuperscript{115} Bettina Bradbury, \textit{Working Class Families}, 207.

\textsuperscript{116} Gordon Darroch and Michael Ornstein, "Family and Household in Nineteenth Century Canada: Regional Patterns and Regional Economies," 167.

\textsuperscript{117} \textit{Ibid.}, 166.
Brunswick had the majority of multiple family households.\textsuperscript{118} The general characteristics of Ontario households were quite distinct from those of the other provinces, and Darroch and Ornstein indicate that availability of wage labour within Ontario may have caused in its distinguishing attributes.\textsuperscript{119}

Darroch and Ornstein compared rural and urban households. Their statistics show that extended families were more common in rural areas except in Ontario.\textsuperscript{120} Unlike extended families, multiple family household were concentrated in urban areas. An examination of the differences between urban and rural households in Windsor shows similarities to the conclusions made by Darroch and Ornstein.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{118} Ibid., 167, 168.
\textsuperscript{119} Ibid., 167.
\textsuperscript{120} Ibid., 166. Gordon and Darroch indicate that the number of extended families in rural and urban Ontario are approximately the same.
\end{flushright}
Table Two: Comparison of the Number of Widows in Urban and Rural Household Structures in the Windsor Area.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HOUSEHOLD TYPE</th>
<th>RURAL</th>
<th>URBAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NUCLEAR</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXTENDED</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCLUDES NON-RELATED HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MULTIPLE FAMILIES</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOLITARY, MEMBER</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNKNOWN</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>469</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Corresponding to the arguments of Darroch and Ornstein, Table Two illustrates that multiple families (although only two widows were living in them) were located in the urban areas. The table shows that there is little difference in the number of people living in extended families in urban and rural areas. If one calculates the proportion of extended families in both the urban and rural areas, including the ones with non-related members, the totals are both forty percent.121

This chapter clearly delineates that the family in the early twentieth century was malleable and that widowhood altered family structures. Sources indicate that the majority of families in the period examined were nuclear;

121 This figure is calculated by adding the nuclear and extended families with and without boarders. Therefore, there were 282 nuclear families and 267 extended families.
however, the widows in this study did not fit into this societal status quo as in Windsor fewer than one-half lived in nuclear families. The majority of women who lived in nuclear families were the heads of their households and were between the ages of forty and sixty-five. Thirty percent of widows lived in extended families. Most of the widows who lived in extended families were over the age of sixty-five and were listed as mothers and mother in laws. In both extended and nuclear families a number of widows were listed as heads of their households. The labelling of head of household in the census is perplexing as there are no specific characteristics exhibited in common among widows who were listed as heads of households or among those not listed as heads. Sex and age likely influenced who was listed as head of household but no systematic classification can be determined. As a result of their relationship to the heads of households many of the widows living in extended families likely had less influence regarding family decisions than widows living in nuclear families.

Widows not only lived in nuclear and extended families but also in households with boarders and as boarders and workers in households headed by non-related people. Household compositions and a widow's relationship to the head of household were modified by numerous factors such as urban/rural setting and age. There was very little difference between the living arrangements of the male and
female widowed population; however, a few differences can be noted. In the widowed population more males were boarding and more females were living with their employers. Obviously many widows changed the structure of their households in order to survive. The next chapter outlines a way in which a widow could remain the head of her household and keep her family together, employment.
CHAPTER THREE: EMPLOYMENT

This chapter will show that Windsor widows had a variety of occupations at the turn of the twentieth century such as domestics, business owners, farmers and boarding house operators. Employment opportunities for widows at the end of the nineteenth century were limited as jobs were often being taken by young, educated, unmarried and formally trained women. Moreover, gender ideologies present in society affected the wage labour available for women. This chapter will look at the importance of waged labour for women and outline the characteristics of the specific employment of Windsor's widows focusing on domestic servants, factory worker, teachers, nurses, business operators, boarding house keepers and farmers. The occupations of children and the impacts of childhood employment will also be explored. The significance of this chapter is that it shows that the employment of both widows and their children was often essential for their survival and that the occupations of widows were influenced to varying degrees by their skills, literacy, age, ethnicity, religion and gender roles.

Bettina Bradbury in both her article, "Surviving as a Widow in Nineteenth Century Montreal," and her book Working Families, used the manuscript census to uncover information regarding the work of widows. Bradbury argues that for

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working-class widows, wage labour provided the best chance for security.\textsuperscript{123} After the death of a spouse a widow became responsible for earning enough money to support herself and her family. Often for the first time, it was a woman's responsibility to find a job. A widow was sometimes able to draw on trades learned during her husband's lifetime; nevertheless, the majority had few skills and limited working experience.\textsuperscript{124} Restricted opportunities often resulted in widows taking undesirable and poor paying jobs. Widows' employment was also limited depending on where they lived as location played a large role in available opportunities. Over seventy-five percent of the widows listed with employment, with the exception of farming, lived in the city. The widows' meagre wages in many cases caused a dependence on the supplementary earnings of their working children. As Table Three shows that almost thirty-five percent of the widows of Essex North employed and were involved in an assortment of occupations. It should be noted that in 1901 very few married women were employed.\textsuperscript{125} Table Three also clearly demonstrates that in the widowed population more men than

\textsuperscript{123} Bettina Bradbury, \textit{Working Families}, 200. One out of five widows were employed, however, older women were less likely to have jobs.

\textsuperscript{124} \textit{Ibid.}, 197.

\textsuperscript{125} Prior to mid twentieth century marriage resulted in women leaving the work-force. After World War Two marriage became less of a transition as women often continued to work outside the home. Alison Prentice, et al. \textit{Canadian Women: A History}, 13.
women had waged labour.

Table Three: Number of Widowed Individuals Working in Specific Occupational Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY</th>
<th>FEMALE number</th>
<th>FEMALE percent</th>
<th>MALE number</th>
<th>MALE percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.73%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4.31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Commercial Enterprises</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9.09%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4.31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Collar / Public Service</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.46%</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crafts-person</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8.66%</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>15.79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi and Non Skilled Labour</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6.06%</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>23.92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Service</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>38.10%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Occupation Listed but has Boarders</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>16.45%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Worker</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>12.55%</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>33.49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illegible</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.46%</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5.74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Employed</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>34.63%</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>80.38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>437</td>
<td>65.52%</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>19.62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>667</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Domestic service was the largest employer of Windsor's widows. Of the working widows in Essex North, thirty-eight percent held positions in personal service occupations. Many widows utilised their household skills after their husband's deaths taking on jobs outside of the home that they had been doing domestically. "... it was precisely their skills as
sewing women, house cleaners and washer women that these women [widows] could and did turn to when they sought employment.\textsuperscript{126} In Windsor forty-one percent of the widows holding personal service jobs lived in the houses where they were employed. It is interesting to note that four out of five of the youngest widows were in domestic service. These young widows could illustrate how domestic service occupations were easy to enter. As well, the large numbers of women employed in this field shows the demand for this type of worker.

A striking fact about domestics in Windsor was that forty-two percent of the widows working as domestics had either Negro or African listed under racial origin. Almost seventy percent of all African widows were employed in the personal service. Historically, Black women were most frequently hired for jobs that were in the service industry such as cooks, cleaners, household helpers and seamstresses. Very few African women worked outside of the domestic service.\textsuperscript{127} This indicates that African-Canadians had very little choice about the jobs which they took. Nineteen percent of African domestics lived in the houses where they

\textsuperscript{126} Bettina Bradbury, "Surviving as a Widow in Nineteenth Century Montreal," \textit{Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History}, 119.

\textsuperscript{127} Linda Carty, "African Canadian Women and the State: 'Labour only Please'," \textit{We're Rooted Here and They Can't Pull us up: Essays in African Canadian Women's History} (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 207.
worked. The ethnicity with the second highest proportion of widows employed in the domestic service were the Scottish with eleven percent.

Personal service was one of the earliest and most traditional forms of waged labour for women. In Honest Womanhood Wayne Roberts asserts that domestic service at the turn of the century was a relic of a dying hierarchically ordered society. He indicates that domestics were often experienced sexual harassment during their work day. The poor working conditions and wages of domestic service often led to an exodus from this type of employment.

Genevieve Leslie surveyed domestic service in Ontario between 1880 and 1920 and states that domestic service was an acceptable female employment because the nature of the job was traditional female labour--housework and child care.

Domestic service often provided a home for the workers and

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128 According to Nancy Mandell and Ann Duffy in Canadian Families: Diversity Conflict and Change up until the 1940s, eighty percent of Black women worked as domestics (p. 37)

129 The next two ethnic groups with significant numbers of domestics included the Irish (9%) and German (3%).


131 Ibid., 14-15.

132 Of the annual wages listed for Windsor women in personal service the average was $164.73. The highest and lowest annual wages were $400.00 and $48.00 respectively.

thus catered to the sensitive Victorian morals of the day. Leslie also points out that domestic service was sought less often than manufacturing jobs. She maintains that domestic service declined because it was not considered an integral part of an economy based on capital and productive labour. Like Roberts, Leslie indicates that domestic servants were often at the mercy of lecherous employers.

Another article on personal service by Marilyn Barber entitled, "The Women Ontario Welcomed: Immigrant Domestics for Ontario Homes," takes a different approach to the study of domestic servants. She demonstrates how the shortage of domestic servants in Ontario resulted in an active enlistment of domestics from the United Kingdom by the government, private agencies and women's organizations. Barber reiterates a theme of many historians: that domestic servants saw their positions as only temporary. Foreign domestics used this position primarily as a way to get easy entrance into Canada.

Barber indicates that women were recruited from other countries, a fact which indicates that few Canadian-born women wanted to work in domestic service. The significant

134 Ibid., 71.
135 Ibid., 73.
136 Ibid., 85.
incidence of widows in domestic service indicates that these women were not selective about the employment they took. Widows with few skills and limited education were forced into domestic service in order to survive.

According to both Leslie and Roberts many women left the domestic service to work in factories; however, the limited number of factories in the Windsor area resulted in only six percent of working widows were employed within the non or semiskilled category which included factory workers. Windsor was not a highly industrialized centre at the turn of the twentieth century and did not have all the industrial features analyzed by Bettina Bradbury or Lorna McLean in their studies of Montreal and Ottawa.

According to the published census there were only sixty-one manufacturers in Essex North with a total of 224 workers. Therefore, less than one percent of the total population in the area worked in factories. Moreover, in an 1893 Royal Commission Report on Liquor Traffic the Mayor of Windsor, Mr. Oscar E. Fleming, stated that Windsor was not a manufacturing city rather it was a "... residential city and a rail-road centre."  

Women migrated to factory work in areas where it was available in hopes of better pay and hours; however, in the

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139 Oscar Fleming, Royal Commission on The Liquor Traffic in Canada (Ottawa, 1896), 293.
research done regarding factories one can see the influence of stereotypical gender roles. According to an 1889 Royal Commission Report on Labour, very few factories in Windsor hired women. Two industries that did hire women were the Ferry Seed Merchant and tailor shops. The Ferry Seed Merchant had fifty employees in peak season, which included a number of young girls.\textsuperscript{140} James Wren, a tailor interviewed for the report stated that a number of women were employed doing piecework in Windsor's textile enterprises.\textsuperscript{141}

From the manuscript census it can be determined that almost ten percent of all working widows in the Windsor area were employed in textile and garment businesses. They included one upholsterer, one weaver, one fancy sewer, two tailors, eight seamstresses and ten dressmakers. Some of these were likely working in/for a factory doing piecework. In a study of cotton workers in Quebec Gail Cuthbert-Brant describes the textile industry as one of the largest employers of female workers in the first half of the twentieth century.

Both Gail Cuthbert-Brant and Bettina Bradbury indicate that women could not remain financially independent with only

\textsuperscript{140} Royal Commission to Inquire into and Report on the Subject of Labour (Canada, 1889), 435.

\textsuperscript{141} James Wren, \textit{Ibid.}, 406.
the wages they received from working in factories. In general, factory work was viewed as unsuited to the ideals of womanhood of the period. Compared to the six percent of employed Windsor widows who were working in factories, twenty-three percent of widowers were working in similar occupations. On the other hand, teaching and nursing were considered more acceptable forms of employment as women would practice the nurturing skills that they used with their own children. According to Veronica Strong-Boag in The New Day Recalled, teachers and nurses were the majority of female professionals. There was only one widowed school teacher in this study. This female was thirty-six years old and lived in household with her two children, aged ten and twelve who attended school. A reason why there were not more widowed school teachers was that teachers were constrained by regulations that made them acceptable to society: "...female teachers were obliged not to be more than thirty years old, nor may they get married or chew gum." The one Windsor widow who was employed as a teacher likely worked in this

142 Gail Cuthbert-Brant, "Weaving in Together: Life Cycle and the Industrial Experience of Female Cotton Workers in Quebec 1910-1950," The Neglected Majority, 173. Bettina Bradbury, "Women and Waged Labour in a Period of Transition 1861-1881," 27. The two Windsor widows employed in factories annually earned $200.00 and $312.00. It should be noted that both of these incomes were higher than the average $164.73 earned in domestic service.


144 Wayne Roberts, Honest Womanhood, 31.
professions prior to her marriage.

Teaching was a typical female job, as was nursing. In Windsor there were eleven widowed nurses. The average age of these women was 61.7 years old and four of them lived with their employers. The fact that the nurses were over sixty indicates that they were trained prior to the professionalization of nursing. Interestingly, women working as nurses were some of the highest paid in the category of personal service with an annual income of up to five hundred dollars a year. In comparison the highest paid general servant and washer-woman earned annual wages of four hundred dollars and three hundred dollars respectively. Judi Coburn in her study, "I See and Am Silent," states that nursing, like teaching, was based on acceptable female attributes. Therefore, even though nursing took women out of the home, it was an tolerable occupation.

Another way in which a widow supported her family was to take over a business previously operated by her husband or open her own business. In Windsor, twenty-one widows owned and operated small businesses. Of these twenty-one women,

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145 It can be assumed that these women were not nannies or governesses as in the early twentieth century most nursing took place outside of hospitals. Nurses commonly lived in the houses of where they were carrying out their duties. For more information see David Gagan, A Necessity Among Us: The Owen Sound General and Marine Hospital, 1891-1985 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

146 Judi Coburn, "I See and Am Silent: A Short History of Nursing," Women and Work, 128.
thirteen listed their occupation as boardinghouse keepers. An additional thirty-eight widows had boarders living with them but had no occupation listed. The rent paid by boarders living within a household provided widows with a steady source of income. At the same time, the burdens of a widow and her family increased as there were cooking and cleaning duties for additional household members.

In a study of widows in nineteenth century business entitled "A Man of Business: The Widow of Means in South Eastern Pennsylvania," Lisa Wilson Waciega states widows became competent financial managers and used their husbands' legacies to successfully run businesses. 147 Bettina Bradbury indicated widows often opened small businesses to provide additional income. In addition, widows broke the law to survive when they opened brothels and liquor selling establishments. 148 Suzanne Lebsack's *The Free Women of Petersburg* provides examples of widows in the nineteenth century who took over their husbands' trades. For example, Judith Cary worked in river traffic, and Mary Thayer entered into her husband's partnership with her son in a blacksmith shop renamed 'Mrs. Thayer and Son.' 149 For widows, their active participation in their husbands' shops provided on the

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job training in non-traditional female occupations.\textsuperscript{150}

In the case of rural areas of Essex County, many widows took over the operating of family farms after their husbands' deaths. Farming was listed as the employment of thirteen percent of the working widows.\textsuperscript{151} All of these women lived in the Sandwich townships outside of the city and town limits and the majority were under the age of sixty-five.\textsuperscript{152} In all of the cases the farmers had either young or adult children to help out with the responsibilities of the farm. For example, fifty-two year old Mrs. Rivard of Sandwich East Township had five children between the ages of thirteen and twenty-nine. Her two sons, twenty-two and seventeen had occupations listed as farmers. Her three daughters thirteen, twenty and twenty-nine did not have occupations listed and did not go to school; therefore, one can conclude that they were helping out on the farm.

Prior to a husband's death a farm wife was usually responsible to work within the household while it was the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{150} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{151} It is interesting to note that Martha Dehmke Loustaunau in her article "Hispanic Widows and their Support systems in the Mesila Valley of Southern New Mexico" states that the rural/agricultural environment of the valley greatly contributed to the physical survival of widows. The widows of the area were able to grow and sell food which prevented the starvation of themselves and their families. (Martha Dehmke Loustaunau, "Hispanic Widows and their Support Systems in the Mesila Valley of Southern New Mexico," \textit{On Their Own}, 92-93.)
\item \textsuperscript{152} There were three farmers between the ages of seventy and eighty.
\end{itemize}
man's responsibility to work in the fields. Farm wives maintained household sufficiency by growing and preserving their own food and making their own clothing. In addition, if extra money was needed women would sell the surplus goods such as vegetables, milk, butter, and eggs. The commercialization of the milk and cheese industry diminished the role of women on the farm and it removed a potential source of income and independence. Women's roles on the farm had decreased over the nineteenth century; however, widowhood created a reversal of this trend. Without a husband a widow was responsible for all of the aforementioned work as well as work which would have been done by her spouse. The assistance from kin or a hired hand would have been essential to sufficiently maintain a farm.

It is clear from this brief overview of the occupations of Windsor's widows that most women held socially acceptable positions. The majority of women were employed in the personal service performing tasks they did in their own homes. Keeping boarders also ensured women would continue to follow their gendered roles of cooking and cleaning. A few women were able to move into non-traditional occupations such as farming and business ownership; however, these non-traditional occupations were likely to have been previously done by their husbands. Therefore, it can be determined for the most part that even though widows were not controlled by family

153 Majorie Griffen Cohen, Women's Work.
patriarchy, societal norms made sure they conformed to the appropriate gender ideology.

The employment of widows has been outlined to some extent but it is important to determine how occupations correlated to different degrees with their ethnicity, age, and religion. (See Appendices B and C) In regards to age, only eleven percent of the Windsor widows over seventy were working. These working women over seventy included farmers, domestics, boarding house operators, a woman who owned her own business and a white collar worker. One could assume that if a widow over seventy was working, her wages were probably necessary to keep her out of the poor house. A much higher percentage (forty-nine percent) of widows between the ages of thirty and sixty had employment.

Ethnicity and religion impacted the employment of some widows and a few trends can be noted. The fact that over seventy percent of all African widows were employed indicates that of all ethnic groups African women were the most likely to have to find employment after the death of their spouses. In Windsor the English widows had the second highest employment rate with slightly more than thirty-seven percent widows working.

Other trends can be noted in regards to ethnicity as well as religion when examining the employment of Windsor widows. As mentioned previously the majority of working African-Canadian widows had positions in the personal service.
Another ethnic group that had a significant population working in personal service was the Irish. Over thirty-four percent of the Irish widows in this survey worked in the domestic service. An interesting aspect of domestic service in terms of religion is that slightly over one half of all the widowed women working in domestic service belonged to the Methodist Church.  

The widows with both French and English listed as racial origin had disproportionate representation in occupations such as farming and small commercial enterprises. In the Windsor area sixty-six percent of the female widowed farmers were of French-Canadian origin and seventy-two percent of the widowed farmers in the area were Roman Catholic. It is therefore obvious that the majority of female widowed farmers in Essex North were French Roman Catholics. In the category of small commercial enterprises widows of English origin were the most substantial with forty-eight percent of the positions. French widows with twenty-four percent had the second highest proportion of small business ownership. Not one African widow

154 Methodist widows had the second largest congregation in this study encompassing twenty-one percent of all widows. The Methodist religion also had the highest rate of employment. Fifty-three percent of all Methodist widows were in personal service. An examination of the African domestics indicates that fifty-eight percent were Methodist and thirty-three percent were Baptist. It should be noted that more African Baptists than Methodists were employed in craft occupations.

155 The other two Roman Catholic Farmers were of Irish origin.

156 Women of French origin were the next highest in this occupation with twenty-four percent.
in this study owned a small commercial enterprise. A final trend that can be noted is that forty-two percent of the widows who had boarders but were not listed as boarding house keepers were of English origin.\textsuperscript{157}

The abilities to read and write also affected the type of employment a widow would possess. Seventeen percent of all unemployed Windsor widows could neither read nor write. An additional seven percent could only write. All women employed in the categories of professionals, owners of small commercial enterprises, and white collar and public service workers could both read and write. The two occupations with the highest rates of illiteracy and semi-literacy were agricultural with forty-one percent and personal service with twenty-four percent. From the low literacy rates in the domestic service and agricultural sector one can conclude that in these trades practical skills were more important than formal education.

Over one-half of the widows in this study are listed without occupations. For many of these unemployed women financial support came from moving in with employed family members. For others, especially women living alone, it is difficult to determine how financial support was gained. For example, forty-eight year old Mrs. Elliot and seventy-four year old Mrs. Gignac of Ward Two Windsor were living alone without an apparent income. If widows such as Mrs. Elliot

\textsuperscript{157} In combination the widows of English and Scottish origin were sixty-seven percent of all who kept boarders but were not listed as boarding house keepers.
and Mrs. Gignac were living alone and had no occupation (likely a result of age) a question can be raised in regard to how widows living unaccompanied supported themselves. One could conclude that solitary widows were supported by the assets from their dead husbands (pensions or insurance) or funds from their children or through independent means. In addition, some of the widows who lived alone may have raised limited livestock and vegetables for consumption and trade. Unfortunately, the manuscript census does not shed light into most non-wage earnings. Very few widows lived alone, and it was likely because they could not afford to remain solitary. If a widow was living as the head of her family in many cases her children were working to help support the household. The next section of this chapter outlines the employment of children and it is shown that many children were working and not going to school. Furthermore, the impacts of gender ideology on the employment of young men and women are evident in this discussion.

Not only did widows need their own wages but they also often needed the wages of both young and adult children for family survival. In Windsor households headed by widowed mothers often had working children. In total were 126 households headed by widows with 316 children between the ages of six and twenty. Not one child under the age of ten

158 Both widowed males and females had working children.
159 There were 158 male and 158 female children.
had an occupation listed. Three females and seven males between the ages of eleven and fifteen had occupations listed and over one half of the children in this second age group were working in occupations included in the semi- or non-skilled category. In the age group from sixteen to twenty, forty-four percent of females and eighty percent of the males were employed. Table four shows the breakdown of the employment of the children.

Table Four: Employment of Children in Households With A Widow as Head

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY</th>
<th>FEMALE AGE GROUP</th>
<th>MALE AGE GROUP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>11-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Commercial</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enterprises</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Collar</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crafts-person</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi/Non Skilled</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Service</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illegible</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If a child under ten was working it was not likely that his/her mother would have listed the occupation as education and employment legislation restricted the employment of young children.

Five out of six of these children worked in factories.
There are a number of interesting examples of households with children working where one can see that the incomes of even the youngest family members were essential. In the household of Mrs. Moore living in Ward Two of Windsor all family members were working. Mrs. Moore was employed as were her two daughters aged fourteen and seventeen. The combined annual income of Mrs. Moore's daughters was three hundred dollars. Living in the same ward were Mrs. Smith and her seven children between the ages of eleven and twenty-two. Although Mrs. Smith did not have a job, her six working children provided a combined annual wage of $1540.00.

In Bradbury's study of Montreal widows, approximately two times as many children were working in female headed households as in households headed by males. In Windsor, thirty-three percent of children in a household headed by widows were employed while eight percent of children living with widowed fathers were employed. The greater necessity of

162 Mrs. Moore's job title was illegible.

163 Mrs. Smith's children all worked in jobs that were classified as semi and non skilled. She had five daughters and two sons. Her youngest daughter, aged eleven, attended school. It is interesting to note that in many cases when a widow had children of both sexes sons were employed more often than daughters. The fact that more young males than females were working coincides with Bettina Bradbury's article, "Gender at Work at Home: Family Decisions, The Labour Market, and Girls' Contributions to the Family Economy". In this article Bradbury indicates more young men than young women were involved in Montreal's workforce. Bettina Bradbury, "Gender at Home and Work," Canadian Family History (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd, 1992), 191.

164 Bettina Bradbury, Working Class Families, 203.
income in widows households indicates that they were not as financially secure as their male counterparts. In many cases, adult children stayed at home longer if the household was headed by a widow. One reason for the children staying longer in Montreal than in Ontario cities is because the Quebec Civil Code forced the responsibilities of maintaining "their father, mother and other ascendants who are in want" on older children.

According to Bettina Bradbury working class families headed by widows were in the most desperate need for the wages of their children. Bradbury provides examples of widows who applied for clemency for their children's crimes, illustrating how society readily accepted the employment of children when they were supporting a widowed mother.

Another difference between living in a household with a widower and a widow is pointed out by Bradbury in her study Working Class Families. According to Bradbury, a number of widows could not afford to keep their children and had to place them with extended family and in orphanages as they were not able to provide for their children's needs. Sometimes the giving up of children was temporary and other times it was permanent. From the census it is impossible to determine if any of the widows had to give up their children. In her study of working class families Bettina Bradbury indicates that it more one-sixth of all women placing children in orphanages were widows. She also notes that it was more likely for a widow than widower to return to the orphan-edge to reclaim female children. (Bettina Bradbury, Working Class Families, 208)

Ibid., 203.

Ibid.

An example provided is that of Catherine Morgan who pleaded with the judge to release her son who was up on assault charges. Mrs. Morgan indicated that without her son's
Of the Windsor children between the ages of six and twenty a number were listed without an occupation and as not attending school. Table Five outlines the school attendance and employment of the 316 children living with a widow as the head of a household. The table shows a number of children were not attending school or working, demonstrating how widowhood affected all family members.

Table Five: School Attendance and Employment of Children Living in Households With A Widow as Head.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SCHOOL ATTENDANCE</th>
<th>EMPLOYMENT</th>
<th>CHILDREN NEITHER EMPLOYED NOR ATTENDING SCHOOL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEMALES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MALES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-20</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to John Bullen in his article, "Hidden Workers: Child Labour and the Family Economy in Late Nineteenth Century Urban Ontario," the labour of working class children was income she would become destitute. (Ibid., 204)
essential for family survival. \( ^{169} \) Bullen's study shows that even though children may not have had waged employment they performed a number of jobs that helped to efficiently maintain a family. According to the author, children under the age of eight often performed various domestic duties. Children gathered coal and wood for fuel, fetched water, cleaned the house, cultivated gardens and cared for younger brothers and sisters. The duties of children were often assigned based on their gender. Young women would be responsible for duties inside of the house including cooking, cleaning and child care while young men would tend and cultivate gardens. Keeping a child at home to care for the house and younger siblings enabled a widowed mother to leave the house to find employment.

For Mrs. Benitiour, a widow in Sandwich East Township, the work of her young children was necessary for operating the family farm as she did not employ farm hands. Her three daughters aged seven, thirteen and fifteen were listed without occupations and as not attending school. \( ^{170} \) In cases where widows were running boarding houses and had children not attending school, the children likely helped with the additional chores that having boarders created. Mrs. Druscole


\( ^{170} \) The census also indicates that Mrs. Benitiour's daughters were unable to read or write.
living in Ward Four of Windsor had two boarders living with her family. While her older children were employed outside of the home, Druscole's twelve year old daughter neither had a job nor went to school. The daughter was likely performing tasks similar to chambermaid such as cleaning and maintaining rooms, serving meals and washing dishes, clothes and linens.

It is obvious that both the waged and unwaged labour of children living with widows was essential for familial survival. Some children acquired waged employment while some worked around the house. Others participated in street trades such as selling newspapers or surplus vegetables. Without the work of children more widows at the turn of the century would have had to turn to charity to endure.

It can be seen that the adaptation of widows and their families after the deaths of their husbands/fathers could take many forms. A large number of Windsor widows found positions in personal service occupations, opened their homes to boarders, and managed farms and businesses that had been operated by their spouses prior to their deaths. The occupation of a widow was influenced by her ethnicity. The majority of farmers in the area were francophone, while the owners and operators of small businesses were anglophone. The bulk of African widows were employed what was considered a undesirable and low paying occupation, domestic service. The occupation of a widow depended on her ethnicity, skills, education and age. As a widow got older she was less likely
Thirty-five percent of the widows had occupations, however, sixty-five percent had no apparent income. These women without an income were supported by extended families, pensions, household production and working children. It is clear that children were greatly affected by the death of their father as the waged and unwaged labour of all family members was often necessary for household maintenance, and as a result a substantial number of widows' children were working instead of going to school. The opportunities for both widows and their children depended on the local economy. In Windsor, more widowers than widows were working. The Windsor area provided examples of a variety of occupations for widowers including farmers, rail road workers, customs collectors, sailors and brewers. If there were limited employment opportunities for women and children, as in the case of the restricted number of factory positions available in Essex North, then the survival of widows and their families was threatened.
CHAPTER FOUR: CONCLUSION

The history of widowhood is a topic sorely neglected in the past. Recently a growing body of literature has developed on the subject; however, more information is needed on widowhood in the Canadian context. One problem for historians who want to examine the lives of widows is the availability of sources, including diaries, letters and wills. As this project shows, information regarding widowhood can also be gained through the use of quantitative data such as the manuscript census. The use of this source in this essay provided examples of the lives of widows in Essex County, Ontario, in 1901, illustrating the influences of age, ethnicity, religion and literacy on the choices made and the options utilized by widows. Although there are problems with this source, its use has led to some interesting findings about the lives of Windsor's widows. It should be kept in mind that examinations of widowhood reveal a great deal of information not only about the widows themselves but also about societal ideologies and practices, in addition to gender and family roles. Widowhood was a common experience at the turn of the twentieth century, however, considering widows were not directly controlled by men they could be considered anomalies.

A few common characteristics were shared by the widows in this study. The majority of widows examined lived in the city
of Windsor, headed their own households and shared accommodations with immediate or extended families. In addition, more than half of the widows in Essex North were born in Canada, unemployed, and literate. In contrast to the aforementioned similarities a great deal of diversity can be found in this study, especially in terms of religion and ethnicity.

One of the biggest impacts on widows throughout this study was age. The majority of widows examined were between the ages of forty and sixty-five. To a noticeable extent age determined what type of household a widow was living in. Older widows were found most often living in extended families and listed in the census as mothers and mother-in-laws. Widows between the ages of forty and sixty were frequently living in nuclear families and listed as heads of their households. Moreover, the age of a widow had a bearing on the ages of her children. If a widow had children living with her and old enough to work living with her she could count on their waged labour to provide additional income for the family. It should be noted although the ages of widows impacted their situations, there was still variation within this category.

Employment was another aspect of a widow's life influenced by age. The bulk of the working widows were under the age of sixty-five and only a few women over the age of seventy had occupations listed. Thirty-five percent of
Windsor's widows were employed. Working widows had a variety of jobs, such as factory work, running a business, farming and textile work. The greatest number of widowed workers were employed in personal service occupations and as boarding house keepers and both these occupations fit nicely into gender ideologies of the early twentieth century. Unfortunately for widows, research on domestic service shows that this occupation was often the poorest paying.

It is obvious from the examples provided illustrating African Canadian widowhood, that in general these women experienced the worst conditions after losing a spouse. The majority of Black widows needed employment to survive and had to work in poorest paying occupation, the domestic service. Many of these women were forced into domestic service as they were semi-literate or illiterate and likely had few other options. It is clear from the Black widows' experiences in Windsor that widowhood did not affect all women the same.

Interestingly, the only major variation between the female and male widowed population was in regard to employment. While only thirty-five percent of widows had occupations, eighty percent of widowers had jobs. With the exception of employment there was little difference between the characteristics of widows and widowers. Men experienced smaller changes in their living situations as they were likely employed prior to the death of their spouses, and they often retained their positions as heads of households. The
household structures and the family lives of widowers were basically the same as widows, with the exception that there were slightly more male widowed boarders.

Men's and women's economic situations differed too, because female labour was so much less a part of the wage economy and they had to marry and rely on the male breadwinner. Fewer employment opportunities existed for women and the ones there were paid far less than men's. Thus the employment of widows was often not enough to ensure survival and family life and structure were irrevocably altered after the death of the male breadwinner. A number of widows in this study were supported by the work of their young and adult children. As a result of demand for their monetary sustenance a number of children were not attending school. Moreover, children were staying at home longer, postponing or forgoing marriage to help their widowed parent.

Younger widows who had unmarried working children to help support them were often able to retain their own households, while widows who were too old to work and had no children living with them changed households to survive. Widows lived with extended families, as boarders, with other families and as live-in workers when they could not afford their own homes. Nonetheless, a number of women remained the head of their household after their spouse's death. Widows who headed families lived in nuclear, extended, and solitary families and many took in boarders for extra income. The authorities of a
widow in her household depended what kind of household she was living in. Widows who lived in nuclear families were often listed as heads of their household, while the majority of women living in extended families were listed as mothers and mother-in-laws. A woman listed as the head of her household likely had more control over major family decisions than a woman with the title of mother or mother-in-law.

There are a number of similarities and differences between this and other Canadian histories of widowhood. Essex North provided some distinctive living conditions and employment opportunities for widows. The rural community was primarily French and Roman Catholic, while the urban community accommodated a wider variety of ethnicities and religious denominations. The urban settings of Walkerville and the city of Windsor also provided a larger assortment of occupations for the widows in comparison to the rural areas. The fact that Windsor was not a highly industrialized city at the turn of the century impacted the employment of women as it restricted their opportunities. Two striking differences in this survey when compared to other studies on widowhood are the infrequency of multiple family households and the popularity of farming as an occupation. The aforementioned unique characteristics of Windsor widows illustrate the importance of examining the effects of widowhood in a variety of settings.

This study clearly shows the dangers of universal
generalizations when it comes to widowhood; the experiences of widows in the past were multifaceted and dependent on numerous variables. Two sides of widowhood are illustrated by this research. Widowhood provided many women with the chance to experience power within their families. Unlike women's traditional marital roles and responsibilities, widows often were accountable for the major household decisions even when an adult male was present. At the same time this potential liberation was counterbalanced by economic realities. Widowhood freed many women from domination within the family at the same time they were subjected to binding societal ideologies that often resulted in restricted employment opportunities and poverty. This research on widows illustrates how many widows overcame formidable odds to provide for themselves and their families after the death of their spouses, when they were sleeping single in a double bed.
APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Ages of Widowed Adult Population

[Bar chart showing the ages of widowed adults by gender.]
Appendix B: The Ethnicity of Widows in Windsor in Relation to Their Occupations.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Scottish</th>
<th>Irish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNEMPLOYED</td>
<td>29.5%</td>
<td>62.5%</td>
<td>75.9%</td>
<td>77.9%</td>
<td>64.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROFESSIONAL</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHOPKEEPERS AND SMALL BUSINESS WOMEN</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHITE COLLAR</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRAFTS-PERSON</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEMI AND NON SKILLED</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERSONAL SERVICE</td>
<td>47.4%</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNKNOWN</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAS BOARDERS</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGRICULTURAL WORKER</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUMBER OF WIDOWS</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERCENTAGE OF ALL WIDOWS</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
<td>26.4%</td>
<td>24.9%</td>
<td>16.9%</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Only the most common ethnicities were chosen for this table which constitute ninety-two percent of the total. The other ethnicities include American (2), Belgium (1), Danish (1), Dutch (3), German (34), Indian (3), Norwegian (3), and illegible and not given (5).
**APPENDIX C:** The Religion of Widows in Comparison to Their Occupational Categories.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EMPLOYMENT CATEGORY</th>
<th>BAPTIST</th>
<th>CHURCH OF ENGLAND</th>
<th>METHODIST</th>
<th>PRESBYTERIAN</th>
<th>ROMAN CATHOLIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNEMPLOYED</td>
<td>52.7%</td>
<td>74.0%</td>
<td>44.7%</td>
<td>62.7%</td>
<td>76.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROFESSIONAL</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHOPKEEPERS AND SMALL BUSINESS WOMEN</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHITE COLLAR</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRAFTS-PERSON</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEMI AND NON SKILLED</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERSONAL SERVICE</td>
<td>23.6%</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>28.3%</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNKNOWN</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAS BOARDERS</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGRICULTURAL WORKER</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL NUMBER</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERCENTAGE OF ALL WIDOWS</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
<td>18.4%</td>
<td>21.3%</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
<td>35.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Only the most common religions were chosen for this table which constitute ninety-six percent of the total. The other religious denominations with representation in Windsor include: Christ Church (1), Congregationalist (2), Disciple (1), Brethren (1), Episcopal (8), House of Israel (1), Israelite (1), Lutheran (6), Salvation Army (1) and illegible and not given (7).
## APPENDIX D: The Occupations of Widows in Comparison to Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>0–29</th>
<th>30–39</th>
<th>40–49</th>
<th>50–59</th>
<th>60–69</th>
<th>70–79</th>
<th>80 plus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNEMPLOYED</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>54.3%</td>
<td>76.9%</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROFESSIONAL</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHOPKEEPERS AND SMALL BUSINESS OWNERS</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHITE COLLAR</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRAFTS-PERSON</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEMI AND NON SKILLED</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERSONAL SERVICE</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNKNOWN</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAS BOARDERS</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGRICULTURAL WORKER</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUMBER OF WIDOWS</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERCENTAGE OF ALL WIDOWS</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>16.5%</td>
<td>24.3%</td>
<td>25.3%</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX E: The Places of Birth of Windsor's Widows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLACE OF BIRTH</th>
<th>NUMBER OF WIDOWS</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>PERCENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British India</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>73</td>
<td></td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
<td>7.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario</td>
<td>320</td>
<td></td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>121</td>
<td></td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Provinces</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illegible</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>667</td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX F: Literacy and the Widows of Windsor

- (15.4%) illiterate
- (6.1%) can read
- (0.1%) can write
- (78.3%) can read and write
APPENDIX G: The Nationalities of the Widow's of Windsor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NATIONALITY</th>
<th>NUMBER OF WIDOWS</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>number</td>
<td>percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.05%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian</td>
<td>643</td>
<td>96.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwegian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Given</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>667</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX H: The Marital Status of All Family Members Used for this Study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MARITAL STATUS</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th></th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>number</td>
<td>percent</td>
<td>number</td>
<td>percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>667</td>
<td>32.8%</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>1052</td>
<td>51.7%</td>
<td>1060</td>
<td>64.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>19.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.06%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2033</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>1635</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX I: Relationship to Head of Household for the Adult Widowed Population.
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Catherine MacNeil was born in 1970 in Barrie, Ontario. She graduated from St. Joseph's High School in 1989. From there she went on to Nipissing University where she obtained a Bachelor of Arts (honours) in History in 1993 and a Bachelor of Education in 1994. She is currently a candidate for the Master's Degree in History at the University of Windsor and hopes to graduate in the Fall of 1995.