
Other minor faults can be found: the taped recollections from the Algoma University College Archives which add depth to Heron’s portrayal of the men who toiled are surely inadequately cited. While the names of those interviewed have been withheld at the request, one surmises, of the repository, some identification in addition to the bare acronym A.U.C.A.I. (Algoma University College Archives, Interviews) is essential for anyone who might wish to follow up Heron’s work on this material (see, for example, note 69, p. 199; note 95, p. 201). Another potential impediment to further scholarship is Heron’s ruthless abbreviation of all end note citations after the first full reference. This is an accepted practice, to be sure, but as done here, without any bibliography or any index references to secondary sources, it forces the reader to search interminably through very fine print to locate the bibliographic information. Those tempted to abandon the effort and locate material from the truncated references are destined to fail: William Kilbourn’s *The Elements Combined: A History of the Steel Company of Canada* (Toronto, 1960) appears only once cited in full (note 4, p. 179), buried among eleven other citations; in subsequent references it becomes, inexplicably, Kilbourn, *A History of the Steel Company of Canada* (for example, note 24, p. 215).

A final criticism which might be made applies equally to all the works so far published in this series, that of unimpressive physical appearance. The volumes are, in general, poorly designed, and in Heron’s book one of the darkly unimpressive photographs, positioned vertically, has a horizontal caption (p. 62). The paper used throughout the series is yellow-tinged, acidic (5.5 pH), and of no more than outhouse quality. For shame, McClelland and Stewart; this significant series deserves better!

K.E. Garay
McMaster University


In a recent article, Dr. Helen Caldicott noted that “women are 53 per cent of the earth’s population, [yet] do two-thirds of the world’s work, and [own] 1 per cent of the property. ...” Facts like these continue to challenge scholars to probe more deeply into the experiences of women in Canada’s history. Moving beyond merely unearthing women’s experiences from archival sources in order to fill in the gaps in the more traditional histories, today’s feminist scholars are reweaving Canada’s history and prompting Canadians to rethink the ways they have come to view themselves. One such way is to examine the interrelationships between women and men regarding work: women’s work, although not always remunerative, can no longer be ignored, for it has significantly contributed to the development of the economy over time.

Marjorie Griffin Cohen, a sociologist at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, is one of these scholars. In *Women’s Work, Markets, and Economic*
Development in Nineteenth-Century Ontario, she upsets the traditional analysis of the nature of economic development in nineteenth-century Ontario by placing “the most prevalent mode of production and its labour relations — the household economy” at centre stage. She shows that women’s productive activities were crucial to Ontario’s economic development in ways that have been largely ignored. Instead of focusing exclusively on the “neutral” market economy and ignoring the household economy which supported it, Cohen investigates the shift from a staple-exporting economy to a more specialized one in terms of the division of labour by gender within the household structure. In doing so, she uncovers the patriarchal control of the means of production.

In the simple staple-exporting economy of early nineteenth-century Ontario, men’s work was oriented toward the market and women’s work centred on production for household use. Women’s work in the home at that time of course underpinned and supported the work done by men for market returns. The areas of production women did control — such as poultry, garden produce, and dairy products — grew during these early years, but were focused on household rather than market needs. Later in the century when such areas had become “the primary focus of the productive unit” and the source of market items, control over them passed to the male members of the household, despite women’s proven experience and competence in these areas.

By maintaining that the “productive relations of the household” are critical to analyses of the nature of economic development, Cohen challenges traditional economic interpretations of Ontario’s history. She points out that economics as a discipline is basically concerned with market behaviour and, as women’s work primarily has been non-market oriented, their labour has not been considered in traditional economic theory. She emphasizes — in a tone similar to Dr. Caldicott’s — that the discipline of economics does not address non-market activities, “even when the market does not govern the bulk of productive activity and does not involve the labour of most people.”

Cohen’s use and analysis of secondary sources is impressive. From Mackintosh and Innis to McCalla and Greer, she shows how pioneering works in Canadian economic history have not told the whole story. Furthermore, one of her strongest critiques concerns several applications of explanations of the British experience to Canada. Unlike the situation in England, the transformation to industrialization in Ontario apparently did not result in a major split in the public and private spheres of life for men and women, nor did it more sharply differentiate the division of labour by gender. These features were already common in the pre-industrial staple-exporting economy of Ontario.

By concentrating on women and the household economy, Cohen retells the economic history of nineteenth-century Ontario by integrating the economic activities of women and men in her study. Women’s work is not treated in isolation. This undoubtedly is one of the strengths of the book. Based upon primary sources such as the Wills Collection at the Archives of Ontario, censuses, the Canada Year Book, and a host of secondary studies, Women’s Work contains thirty tables. Almost 100 pages of this 258-page book are devoted to the appendix of tables, notes, an
unannotated but extensive bibliography, and index. There also are several photographs from collections at the Geological Survey of Canada, the National Archives, the Archives of Ontario, and the City of Toronto Archives depicting women at work.

*Women's Work* certainly merits attention, but one wonders how much to rely on this kind of economic study — integrated and innovative as it is — as the dominant explanation of women and work in nineteenth-century Ontario. At a very basic level, this is a case of unveiling “new old” statistics and presenting the numbers in different ways to come up with results which challenge the more traditional economic interpretations. In other words, *Women's Work* is similar to other economic histories in that it uses a rationale for explaining life and the life activities of human beings which is based on the needs of subsistence; the needs of subsistence are, in turn, determined by the means of production, according to this type of analysis. The presupposition is that women’s existence, like all human existence, is based on subsistence.

But what about the other facets of the human experience and, more important for this study, of women’s experience? A consideration of motivational forces (even within the economic sphere) — spiritual, ideological, moral, psychological, and physical — is missing from *Women's Work*. In order to better understand women of the past and present — their ideas, their fears and joys, as well as their work — it may be necessary to use different tools and broader frameworks than those accepted by Cohen.

*Women's Work* obviously contributes to Canadian women’s history and nineteenth-century economic history by pushing beyond previous limits. By using more innovative approaches to traditional records and by taking advantage of new sources on women increasingly acquired by archival repositories, future studies of women in history will creatively surpass the present boundaries of our understanding of women’s experience.

*Candace Loewen*
National Archives of Canada

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En s'installant de plus en plus comme discipline, l'archivistique acquiert lentement mais sûrement ses spécificités. Qu'elles soient nationales ou régionales, il importe de bien se rendre compte que ces particularités, ces adaptations de l'archivistique, loin d'être contradictoires, font de notre discipline un secteur d'activité à la fois assez large pour bénéficier de la reconnaissance sociale et assez près de la réalité pour garder sa viabilité et son efficacité.

*Keeping Archives* est une heureuse illustration d'une archivistique “discipline,” maintenant assez bien établie pour laisser place à l'intérêt de spécificités. *Keeping Archives* est un collectif réalisé par treize auteurs australiens sous la direction de