NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

HOME, YARD AND NEIGHBOURHOOD: WOMEN'S WORK AND THE URBAN WORKING-CLASS FAMILY ECONOMY, OTTAWA, 1871

by

Lorna Ruth McLean

Thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
and Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the M.A. degree in History.

Université d'Ottawa/University of Ottawa

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

ISBN 0-315-60543-X

UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

To Hazel M. McLean

ABSTRACT

HOME, YARD AND NEIGHBOURHOOD: WOMEN'S WORK AND
THE URBAN WORKING-CLASS FAMILY ECONOMY, OTTAWA, 1871

Lorna R. McLean,
University of Ottawa, 1989

Supervisor:
Professor Michael J. Piva

This thesis examines the work of married women in working-class families in Ottawa in 1871. It demonstrates that home production by women for consumption, sale and/or exchange, together with arrangements of household structures, made a primary and fundamental contribution to the survival of the family unit. Women laboured and their labour was vital. Using the 1871 manuscript census, the study analysed the myriad of ways that married women utilized their available resources to reduce expenditures and to increase the wage-based family income. It was the work of women that provided some protection against the insecurity of inadequate wages, seasonal employment, illness or death.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF MAPS

PREFACE

> The popular impression seems to be that women today are taking a larger share of the world's work than they have ever done before--that this is a new departure, the outcome of the factory system. As a matter of fact the share taken by women in the work of the world has not altered in amount, nor even in intensity, only in character.
> --Ada Heather-Biggs, 1894.[1]

Women have toiled to exist in a society where survival was determined by their labour. Within the family, individuals contributed their wage and non-wage work. It is through a study of the family economy that the contribution of these individuals can be acknowledged and assessed. This thesis will examine the economy of Canadian working-class families during the latter half of the nineteenth century from the perspective of women who performed their labour primarily within their families.

An analysis of the family economy which includes the paid and unpaid labour of all family members provides a composite view of the past. Its perspective highlights the conditions of working-class families, the role of all individuals within the family, the impact of the wider social and economic influences on the structure of the household, and the pliancy of the family in response to social change. Furthermore, the concept of a family economy challenges previous orthodox perceptions of work and interpretations of economic activity[2] as well as the debates regarding the public and private spheres of men and women, the usefulness of life course as an approach

to family history, and the appropriateness of a domestic ideology for working-class families.

This essay examines in particular a period of intense social and economic change. As industrialization began to transform the economy Canadian families had to adapt to an urban/industrial capitalist environment. They accomplished this using a variety of complex household structures all of which had at their core a central dynamic: inadequate wages. A working-class family unit based on productive wage labour in an economy of consumption,[3] faced precarious life prospects. A "health and decency"[4] standard of living required more than the wages of an adult "head of household." Other members of the family unit had to consider a range of non-wage strategies. This study considers the criteria which determined individual roles within the family and the organization of the household structure. As individuals faced the uncertainties of an urban industrial environment and experienced concerns about employment, food, clothing, and shelter, they turned to the home and the family to ensure their survival.[5] By utilizing the home for shared household accommodation and the yard for domestic food production, women substantially reduced expenditures and increased income. Children contributed as well through their wage and non-wage labour.

The transition of families from production to consumption and from rural to urban was a continuous process of adaptation of traditional customs to survive in a society undergoing an uncharted transformation. Despite the economic inequalities and worker transiency, working-class families survived within the bounds of a rigid social structure.[6] Families were not "stripped to a nuclear core

by the imperatives of industrial capitalism,"[7] but increasingly maintained complex households notwithstanding the impact of industrialization.

The Canadian economy changed dramatically during the course of the nineteenth century. The traditional analysis of Canadian economic development describes a sequential process by which a commercial economy at the beginning of the century first industrialized and then consolidated with the emergence of corporate capitalism at the end of the century. In pre-industrial Canada most people lived in rural areas and farmed, while in towns and villages, artisans, journeymen and masters produced goods in small handicraft shops. New industrial technologies applied to manufacturing brought a greater division of labour as groups of workers completed successive manual operations. The increase in the size and scale of manufacturing meant that by the end of the nineteenth century the great concentration of capital signaled the final success of industrial production.[8]

Ian McKay and Joanne Burgess have modified this chronological concept of industrial development. Their research demonstrates that a unidimentional approach obscures the varying timing and process of change from industry to industry and even within a particular industry. Traditional handicraft and modern industry existed concurrently during most of the late nineteenth century.[9] This uneven development of an industrial economy occurred over decades. It created an urban, economic geography where small artisanal shops survived alongside expanding factories.[10]

The growth of both handicraft and industrial production, meanwhile, occurred more rapidly in urban areas after mid-century.

This, combined with the passing of the frontier stage of agriculture characterized by its relatively easy access to new land, ensured that cities grew rapidly as skilled and unskilled workers and their families arrived seeking employment. The demand for labour throughout this period was supplied from two sources. The large migration of people from England, Scotland, and Ireland which peaked during the late 1840s[11] provided the initial source of labour. The second wave occurred as women and men departed rural areas where available land became increasingly difficult to acquire. Changes in inheritance patterns in the mid-nineteenth century and the introduction of the "Canadian" system meant that many non-inheriting heirs sought employment in the cities.[12]

In her article on hired men in Ontario, Joy Parr notes that many young men in rural Ontario did not leave the farm simply because there was no work, they left because they knew that working on the farm was no longer a possible means to owning one. Men sought better paying jobs in cities rather than remain hired workers on the farm.[13] Suzanne Cross among others also notes the large influx of women, as well as men, to the cities in search of employment.[14] On the farm a single woman's prospects were limited. As David Gagan demonstrates, few heirs among rural families were female.[15] The future for women, lay in the city, not on the farm. This thesis examines the circumstances of these men and women once they arrived in an industrial city.

Before proceeding with an analysis of our data two terms require clarification: working-class and family. For the purpose of this thesis the definition of a family, unless otherwise stated includes mother, father, and in most cases children. The term working-class describes an

individual or individuals who work as manual labourers for wages. The class designation of families is determined by the occupation of the primary wage earner within the economic unit. The distinction between manual and non-manual workers is important to consider in light of the nature of the work, the method of payment, and, consequently, the implications for the strategies of the family unit. Generally non-manual workers earned annual salaries. In contrast, manual workers depended on the wages provided through the sale of his or her own labour. This frequently involved either piece-rates, hourly or day labour. In any case, manual workers received compensation only for work actually performed. This ensured maximum vulnerability to short term, seasonal employment and cyclical depression. The nature of manual labour meant that earning an adequate income was frequently precarious. Manual workers lacked job and income security.[16] Wages for work that was often seasonal and dangerous was more often than not insufficient to meet family needs. Families depended on the labour of other members of the household, in particular, the creative and industrious endeavours of married women who struggled "to transform wages into sustenance and shelter."[17] Through home production for consumption, sale and exchange, together with an arrangement of the household structure, women made a primary and fundamental contribution to the survival of the family unit. That contribution will be the primary subject of this analysis.

In his study of the emergence of the working-class in Britain, E.P. Thompson concluded that the effect of industrialization on the family was traumatic. He wrote:

> Each stage in industrial differention and specialization struck also at the family economy, disturbing customary relations between man [sic] and wife, parents and

> children, and differentiating more sharply 'work' and 'life' . . . Meanwhile the family was roughly torn apart each morning by the factory bell.[18]

Thompson's notion of "social breakdown" suggests that the pre-industrial extended family fragmented as nuclear family structures emerged to accommodate the demands of industry. With traditional kinship ties severed the newly formed nuclear family was isolated in the emerging industrial society and "the pressures of industrial work and urban life caused a disintegration of the family unit."[19] In particular the primary relationships between men and women, husband and wife, were, he argues, fundamentally altered. Subsequent research has challenged both of these notions. Peter Laslett (1965) and later John Demos (1970) and Philip Grevens (1970) have shown that the nuclear family was not a recent phenomenom, nor was it a product of industrialization. Single family households, have existed as the dominant family organization in pre-industrial western society.[20] Other research, meanwhile, finds little evidence of a breakdown of kin groups as a consequence of the transition from a rural to an urban environment. In her study of working-class families in a nineteenth-century New England industrial town Tamara Hareven demonstrates the importance and effectiveness of community-based kinship ties. Hareven also shows the importance of kin support in critical life situations as well as the long distance kinship networks that reached across wide geographic region. In this New England community the nuclear families were not "isolated" but rather were part of a broader network of extended kinship ties.[21] Michael Anderson came to similar conclusions in his study of a working-class community in England. In Manchester, workers maintained relations with kin as part of "a framework within

which reciprocal relations occurred".[22] Similarly, Joy Parr observed that, although most early families in Canada were nuclear, these individuals were "highly dependent upon one another for material and moral support even when they did not share the same roof."[23] Other Canadian studies confirm that nuclear families maintained extensive supportive kin relationships in urban and rural nineteenth-century communities.[24]

Studies on household structures, meanwhile, note that as production expanded and moved out of the house a complex system developed. Established traditions about work and reproduction were challenged.[25] "The composition of the household was no longer dictated by a need for household labourers, as in the family economy--but by a need for cash."[26] The balance between the wages earned and the economic needs of the family necessitated alternate family strategies.[27] Historians traditionally emphasize the wage rather than the alternative strategies to working-class conditions.

Bettina Bradbury offers an interesting challenge to the traditional approach which emphasizes wages. She examined the contribution of all individual members of the family within the context of the family as an economic unit.[28] In particular, her work focussed on the non-wage work of women in working-class families: raising animals, tending gardens, taking in boarders and doubling up of families. In so doing Bradbury demonstrates that, despite the separation of "work" and "life" for wage labour the majority continued to labour at home. Moreover many aspects of the sexual division of labour remained intact. "Work" and "life" were not differentiated more sharply for all members of the family--in particular for women.

Bettina Bradbury analyzed the domestic work of women in one community. This study will test Bettina Bradbury's thesis by examining the lives of the working-class families in Ottawa in 1871. A study of the family economy provides a framework for the analysis of the role of women within the family unit and an examination of their contribution.[28] It will identify the strategies implemented by women and examine the influence of class, ethnicity, age, marital status and family life course on those choices. Women will be considered within the framework of a "gender" analysis. The interrelatedness of these factors will be considered in terms of a family economic unit rather than for individual women.[29]

Throughout the writing of this thesis I have received the support and encouragement of many people. In particular, Odette Vincent-Domey and Don Bradley gave helpful advice in the initial stages and Professor Marilyn Barber offered insightful criticism of an earlier draft of the chapter on widows. My research at the National Archives of Canada, the National Library, the City of Ottawa Archives and the University of Ottawa Library was facilitated by the capable assistance of the staff.

I would like to acknowledge the earlier scholarship of Professor Bettina Bradbury which inspired this study. I also want to express my gratitude to my thesis supervisor, Professor Michael J. Piva, who consistently offered support and perspicacious comments of my work. I have benefitted from his astuteness as a scholar and teacher.

Finally, I would like to thank Gord, Heather and Andrea for their love and understanding throughout the writing of this thesis and for their practical contribution towards daily domestic chores. I also appreciated the enduring support and friendship of Diane, Wendy and Chris. This thesis is dedicated to Hazel M. McLean--a caring friend and my mother.

ENDNOTES TO PREFACE

1. Cited in Louise A. Tilly and Joan W. Scott, Women, Work and Family (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984).

2. Nanneke Redclift and Enzo Mingione, Beyond Employment, Household Gender and Subsistence (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1985), 1.

3. Tilly and Scott, Women, Work and Family 232.

4. Michael J. Piva, The Condition of the Working Class in Toronto--1900-1921 (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1979), 36.

5. John Bullen, "Hidden Workers: Child Labour and the Family Economy in Late-Nineteenth Urban Ontario," Labour/Le Travail, 18 (1986), 163.

6. Michael Katz, Michael Doucet and Mark Stern, The Social Organization of Early Industrial Capitalism (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), x, 2-3.

7. Gordon Darroch and Michael D. Ornstein, "Family Coresidence in Canada in 1871: Family Life-Cycles, Occupations and Networks of Mutual Aid," Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers, (1983), 30.

8. Katz, et al., The Social Organization of Early Industrial Capitalism 19.

9. Ian McKay, "Capital and Labour in the Halifax Baking and Confectionary Industry During the Last Half of the Nineteenth Century," Labour/Le Travailleur, 3 (1978), Joanne Burgess, "L'Industrie de la chaussure à Montréal: 1840-1870, Le passage de l'artisanal à la fabrique," Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, 31 (1977).

10. H. C. Pentland, The Development of a Capitalistic Labour Market in Canada," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 25 (1959), 457-458.

11. Helen Cowan, British Immigration Before Confederation The Canadian Historical Association Booklets, No. 22 (Ottawa, 1968), 18.

12. David Gagan, Hopeful Travellers: Families, Land and Social Change in Mid-Victorian Peel County, Canada West (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 47-58.

13. Joy Parr, "Hired Men: Ontario Agricultural Wage Labour in Historical Perspective," Labour/Le Travail, 15 (1985), 100.

14. Suzanne Cross, "The Neglected Majority: The Changing Role of Women in Nineteenth Century Montreal," in The Neglected Majority ed. by Susan Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), 100.

15. Gagan, Hopeful Travellers 47-58.

16. Piva, The Condition of The Working Class in Toronto--1900-1921 xi.

17. Bettina Bradbury, "Women's History and Working-Class History," Labour/Le Travail, 19 (1987), 36.

18. E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working-Class (New York: Pantheon, 1963), 416, cited in Tamara Hareven, Family Time and Industrial Time (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 1.

19. See Hareven, Family Time and Industrial Time 1.

20. Peter Laslett, The World We Have Lost (London: Methuen, 1965); John Demos, A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970); and Philip Greven, Four Generations: Population, Land and Family in Colonial Andover Massuchusetts (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1970) cited in Hareven, Family Time and Industrial Time 2.

21. Hareven, Family Time and Industrial Time 364-465.

22. Michael Anderson, Family Structure (Britain: University Press, 1971), 401.

23. Joy Parr, ed., Childhood and Family in Canadian History (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), Introduction, 9.

24. See Bettina Bradbury; "The Working-Class Family Economy, Montreal 1861-1881," (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Concordia University, 1984); Michael Katz, The People of Hamilton (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978); Chad Gaffield, Language, Schooling and Cultural Conflict (Montreal: McGill-Queens Press, 1987); Sheva Medjuck, "Family and Household Composition in the Nineteenth Century: The Case of Moncton, N.B. 1851-1871," Canadian Journal of Sociology, 4 (1979); and Gordon Darroch and Michael D. Ornstein, "Family Coresidence in Canada in 1871: Family Life-Cycles, Occupations and Networks of Mutual Aid," Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers, (1983); David Gagan, Hopeful Travellers: Families, Land and Social Change in Mid-Victorian Peel County, Canada West (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981).

25. Tilly and Scott, Women, Work and Family 227.

26. Ibid., 105.

27. For a recent discussion on the usefulness of "family strategy" as a concept for analysis see "Family Strategy: A Dialogue," Historical Methods, XX, 3 (1987), 113-125.

28. Bradbury, "The Working-Class Family Economy, Montreal 1861-1881." For an international perspective on the family economy see Jane Lewis, Women in England 1870-1950 (Sussex: Wheatsheaf Books Ltd., 1984); Louise Tilly and Joan Scott, Women, Work and Family (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978). For a later period see Elizabeth Roberts A Woman's Place (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publisher Ltd., 1984).

29. For an overview of the debate on domestic labour see the collection of articles in Bonnie Fox, ed., Hidden in the Household (Toronto: Women's Press, 1980).

30. Diana Gittens, "Marital Status, Work and Kinship, 1850-1930," Labour and Love, Women's Experience of Home and Family 1850-1940, ed. by Jane Lewis (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1986), 265-266.

CHAPTER 1

URBAN COMMUNITY, OTTAWA

> It is a Canadian myth that the nation's capital is a fat, inflation-proof civil service town and that there is no poverty in it.[1]

Ottawa, the nation's capital, was a city united by proclamation, but divided by its origins. The enforced blending of frontier community with civil service town reinforced the earlier traditions of a fragmented city--economically, politically, socially and culturally.[2] The pioneering community of Bytown, later known as Ottawa, was settled in the early nineteenth century on the banks of the Ottawa and Rideau Rivers. Water and forest provided the natural resources and Britain the market for the square timber trade which dominated the Valley. Here could be found one of the most productive timber exporting regions in North America. British commercial and mitilary needs promoted the granting of "Colonial Preference" with the introduction of the 1795 tariff. That tariff ensured for Britain a constant flow of towering pine and hardy oak and for British North America, a steady market. Exports of square timber from British North America soared: from 1807 to 1820, the number of annual loads shipped to Britain increased from 15,000 to 300,000. Bytown emerged at the centre of this industry cutting and shipping rafted timber down the Ottawa River and the St. Lawrence to Quebec and on to Britain.[3]

The security of the colonies provided another impetus for Bytown: the construction of the Rideau Canal in the 1820s. Conceived as a defense measure the canal served as a major transportation link for

the expanding commercial trade. The small valley community, once the home of farmer-settlers, was now claimed by a culturally and economically divided community of Irish canal workers, French shantymen and a local elite of predominately English and Scottish entrepreneurs and employees of the crown.[4] Bytown expanded to accommodate and to service the demands of this diverse, burgeoning population.

The late 1840s witnessed the decline of the square timber trade and the emergence of the sawn lumber industry. With the construction of connecting railways between Ottawa and the northern United States, a second lumber market emerged south of the boarder. The availability of land transportation to the American market and the sustaining trade to Britain provided the basis for a booming lumber industry.[5] The production of board lumber intensified from 20 million board feet in 1859 to 200 million by 1871.[6]

The rapid growth and apparent prosperity in the Ottawa Valley created a high demand for labour. The milling of lumber necessitated hiring workers both in the bush and in the mill. By 1870, an estimated 16,000 shantymen felled trees in the forests west of Ottawa.[7] The cut timber was then transported to the seven mills operating 1,200 saws, where approximately 2,000 mill workers sawed the wood into lumber.[8] But lumber explains only half of Ottawa's economy.

The union of the Canadas had proven more federal than legislative, and when Kingston, Sydenham's original choice, proved unacceptable the capital had shifted back and forth between first Toronto and Montreal and then Toronto and Quebec. Seeking a compromise solution the government chose the only town of any size on the border of the two sections--recently incorporated Bytown then renamed Ottawa.[9]

That decision "grafted a second personality"[10] onto this rowdy lumber town,[11] creating in the capital a dual economy based on the lumber industry and on the government.

Increased demands for labour were a direct result of both the expanding lumber industry and the construction of government buildings and housing. Throughout the 1860s immigration officers for the Ottawa Valley reported the desperate urgency for labourers and servants.[12] Skilled and unskilled workers were needed to meet the heavy demand for of a growing urban population. The local paper noted that despite the appeals for labourers "the supply of labour is far below the demand and all classes of industry are in a most flourshing condition."[13]

Although the lumber industry flourished, the labourers working within the industry faltered from the effects of this notoriously dangerous and unhealthy work environment. The felling of trees in the forest, the transporting of lumber by water, and the work in the sawmill created perilous working conditions that contributed to the high accident and death rate among working-class males. An E.B. Eddy mill worker recorded 562 fatal accidents at the Chaudiere Mills between 1859 and 1888.[14] The use of phosphorus and other gases in overcrowded, dusty, hot and poorly ventilated buildings, made the mills a wretched, unhealthy working place causing bronchitus, loss of teeth and infections of the jaw bone. Phosophorous, like the dust that collected on the mill floor, was also flammable and explosive.[15] Although death was a common occurrence within many families, the work environment of the labouring class made them society's "high risk" group.[16]

The arrival of the government in Ottawa promoted additional, and usually safer, jobs for both manual and non-manual workers. Non-manual

workers earned incomes as clerks and government employees. More numerous manual workers were employed in trades, and the building and service sectors. One of the largest employers of skilled labour was the print shops; 206 men "printed the Parliamentary debates, sessional papers and city newspapers". Within the building trades, 152 stonemasons and 372 joiners and carpenters earned incomes in public works. Another 1,150 labourers worked on government related projects.[17] Confederation made Ottawa the capital of an enlarged Dominion which lead to greater expansion. As the 1860s drew to a close the city was booming. The Ottawa Citizen reported that by 1871 "Trade and business was never more prosperous in this city for many years as at present. The number of new buildings going up is enormous."[18]

The expansion of manual and non-manual jobs in Ottawa created employment opportunies primarily for males. The rigid division of labour by gender restricted the wage labour opportunities of women except of course in domestic service where there was a similar "boom." Jobs in the lumber and construction industries were not for women. The majority of women reporting jobs in 1871, listed their occupation as "servant;" and beyond domestic service there were few prospects for female waged labour. Where they existed at all, the jobs, with the notable exception of a local match factory,[19] involved essentially cottage industry. The clothing industry was the obvious case-point.

In Ottawa in the 1870s clothing manufacturers and sub contractors hired 425 workers. Most were women who worked at home as dressmakers and seamstresses.[20] The demand for seamstresses is reflected in an advertisement that appeared in the The Ottawa Citizen. The Quebec Clothing, Hat and Fur Warehouse Whole Sale and Retail store located in

the By ward area boasted that their clothing department,

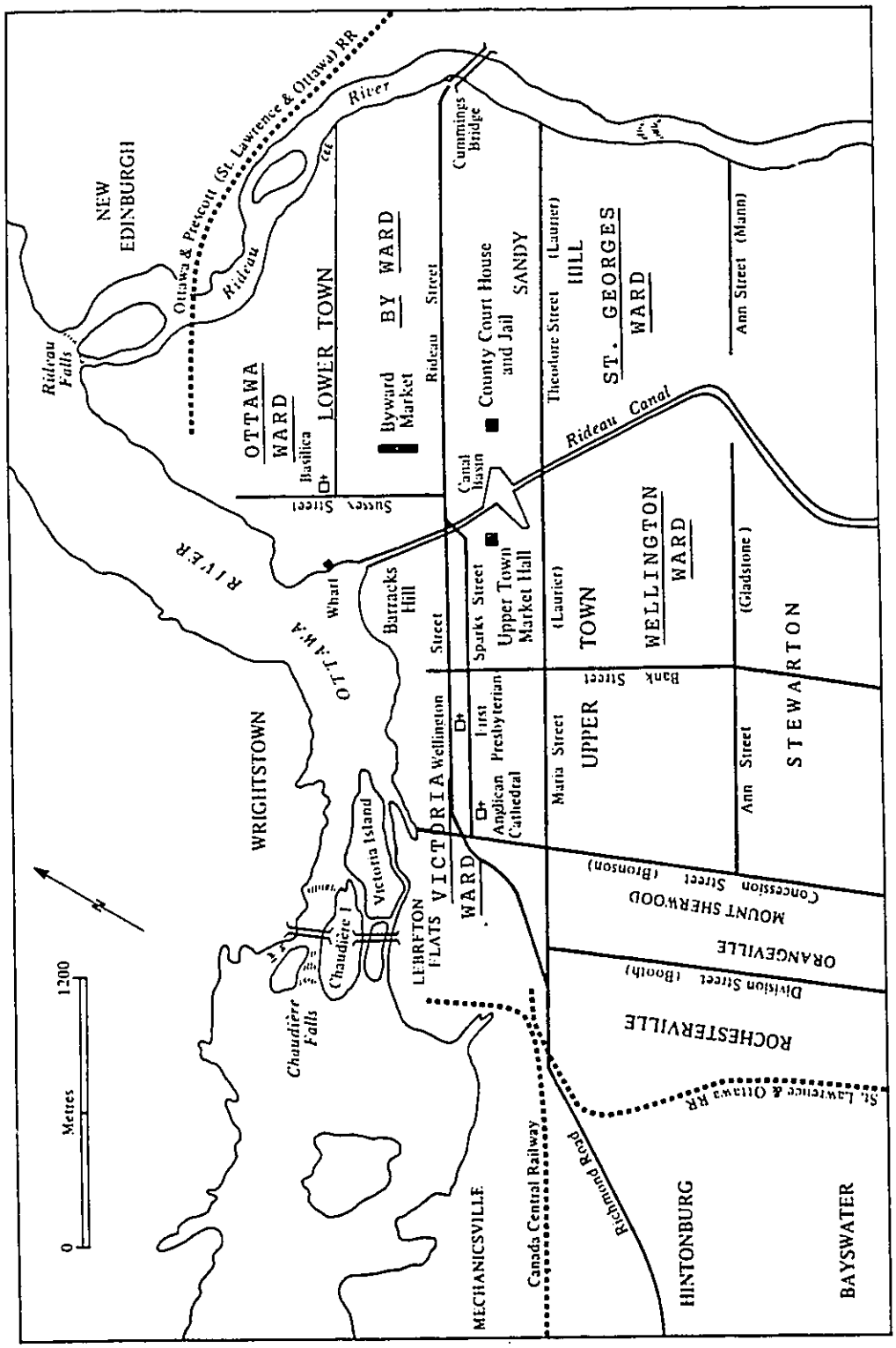
> ensured the services of the best Cutters and Makers. They will engage to satisfy every patron who may favour them with a call with an easy and comfortable fit, excellent cloth, sound Work and Above All The Cheapest Ever Offered to the Public."[21]

Clothing which was the "cheapest ever" ensured that production would occur in home sweat shops.

The growth of both lumber and the "public sector" led to rapid and fundamental changes in the city. Between 1851 and 1871 the population tripled from 7,760 to 21,545.[22] Despite rapid in migration, however, the largely immigrant population in the early 1800s was by 1871 predominately native born.[23] The ethnic compositon of the city by 1871 indicates an almost equal division in the population between the 37 percent Irish, (primarily Catholic) and the 33 percent French. The smaller English and Scottish communities comprised 17 and 11 percent respectively of the population. Within the religious community, 60 percent were Roman Catholic and 38 percent were Protestant.[24]

From its early existence social classes in Ottawa were geographically segregated. (See Map). The wealthy, predominately Anglo-Protestant, elite inhabited Upper Town. The working-class and small entrepreneurs, largely Roman Catholics of Irish and French origin, lived in Lower Town--which included Ottawa and By wards. To the west, Lebreton Flats housed a working-class population of Irish and French descent.[25] All classes inhabited an essentially frontier town but under differing circumstances. Although one disgruntled MP claimed that to live in Ottawa in the 1870s was to endure "simple banishment"[26] the Ottawa inhabited by politicans, professionals and business elite was preferable to the living conditions abided by working-class families.

MAP 1: OTTAWA, 1871



Source: Map outline from Taylor, Ottawa, 36.

Working-class families were poor: living conditions were miserable. Estimates of a labourer's wages in 1871 range from $1.00 a day[27], to $17.00 a month.[28] At a time when the rent on small house cost between $2.50 to $4.00 a month, coal $6.00 per ton and a cord of wood $3.50, the monthly costs of providing shelter and fuel absorbed approximately a third of the wages earned.[29] The remaining $12.00 to $20.00 went towards the purchasing of food and clothing for the family. Those purchases were limited. A single loaf of bread, a common food item among poor families cost $.14.[30] A labourer would have to work three days to earn enough money to replace his heavy work boots at $2.75 a pair.[31] Inadequate wages barely provided the necessities, and accumulation of savings was unlikely. No wages, however, created even greater hardships.

The seasonal nature of the construction and sawmill industries placed heavy demands on labourers for only nine months of the year. Work began in the spring when the ice melted on the river and the logs travelled by barge to the sawmills. Labourers toiled from sunrise to sunset six days a week.[32] Similarly, within the construction industry the climate was a factor in determining periods of employment. It was not until the shovels pierced the ground and the bricklayer's mortar flowed that construction resumed in Ottawa.

As a consequence, many working-class families faced the cold winter months without the income of the primary wage earner. In addition to the regular monthly costs of rent, clothing and food, households were faced with additional costs of fuel and warm outer garments. In Ottawa some wealthy residents responded to the exigencies of the poor by sponsoring a "fuel fund" that provided free fuel to the

needy. These individual responses were in keeping with the nineteenth century perception of and response to the poor. Often seen as social failures, the poor and destitute were considered largely responsible for their own misfortune. Local aid frequently took the form of private charities which provided temporary relief.[33]

With no welfare and inadequate relief, working-class families had to find means of their own to survive periods of illness and unemployment in their ongoing struggle to survive on an inadequate wage. Working-class families needed more than the wages of an adult male; all members of the family shouldered the economic burden of survival.[34] Within the family the domestic labour of the working-class wife provided a vital supplement to the family wage income. She made fundamental contributions through her non-wage labour, by raising pigs and cows, by tending gardens, and by housing boarders and additional families.[35]

Nineteenth-century Ottawa was, like many industrializing cities, a community burdened with the problems of urban growth. Local efforts to respond to the blight of urban expansion were often ineffective and unequally distributed among the wards housing wealthy, influential families and those housing poorer working-class families. For example, the municipal waterworks system started in the 1870s was halted before Lower Town benefitted;[36] these families continued to rely on the delivery of water by carters at a cost of "15 cents a barrel in summer; 25 cents in winter."[37] Despite the appointment of a local Board of Health in 1867 and the passage the following year of the city's first health bylaw[38] "to clean up the city," Ottawa remained a city "of filth".[39] The 1875 Annual Report of the Medical Health Officer noted

that "large quantities of household refuse and garbage are constantly thrown upon the throughfares." In addition "Pools of stagnant water were everywhere, especially before the completion of the main sewer in the 1870s, and these pools were often filled with 'decaying animal and vegetable matter and filth.'"

Although individuals from all classes endured the "lungfulls of dust . . . mud . . . and stench of manure"[40] in the spring and summer months, and the frigid temperatures in winter, indigent workers faced additional problems. Unsanitary conditions, overcrowding, poverty and poor nutrition contributed to the high death rate in the nineteenth century[41] and, in particular, among the poor.[42] A local printer commented on the distressing housing situation in Ottawa: "I have lived in Kingston, Toronto, Port Hope and Napanee, and in other places, and I have never met with worse--that is the houses rented by the working classes."[43] There were, in addition, other factors which made life in the Victorian period precarious.

The threat of fire confronted all individuals because of the extensive use of coal oil lamps, and wood burning stoves. While, the affluent resided in houses built with Trenton limestone,[44] poorer residents occupied cheaper wooden housing. So concerned was the city about the spread of fire that in 1860 the Council approved a By-Law "for the prohibition of erecting wooden structures in certain areas of the city." These "certain areas" were initially in the area around the Parliament Buildings and later extended to the west side of Lower Town,[45] an area occupied by wealthy merchants. In contrast to the restriction on wooden houses in the more prosperous parts of town, there was the unrestricted piling of drying lumber spread across

Victoria Ward.[46] Piles reportedly as high as the Supreme Court bluffs[47] that had the potential to fuel a "towering inferno."

The images of Ottawa, like the city itself are bifurcated. On the one hand, the picture of the prosperous, influential families enjoying the leisure of a skate on the pond at Rideau Hall presents one image. Their stately homes in "Upper Town" represent a monument to "their" past. This vision of nineteenth-century Ottawa obscures the historical reality of the lives of the working poor. Grime, soot and the sounds and smells of industry are not images for postcards. Within the city, working-class families provided the labour to build and service the needs of the expanding population. Thus, it remains the task of the historian to document the daily struggle of working-class families and present the picture of the human conditions at the foot of Parliament Hill.

As a first step this thesis focuses its attention on a single point in time: 1871. That census collected data during a critical transitional epoch when British North American society began to move from a pre-industrial, rural-based economy to an urban industrial economy. Families shifted from a productive economic unit to a family wage unit based on consumption. In particular, it was a period when some historians including Katz and Cooper, claim that families depended mainly on the wages of the primary wage earner.[48] The transformation of dependency raises questions regarding the survival strategies of working-class families in an economy predicated on wages, and highlights the significance of the productive, domestic contribution of the married women.

This examination of the 1871 Ottawa census provides a

"snapshot"[49] of the families' in three wards in Ottawa--Victoria, By and Ottawa. Two criteria determined the selection of these wards. First, the population of the wards represented a high percentage of working-class families, and second, these wards also comprised a representative number of other classes which serve as a comparison for the analysis.[50]

When Ottawa was incorporated in 1855 it included five wards. Lower Town, the original Bytown was divided into By and Ottawa wards.[51] Victoria ward, the newest of the Ottawa wards, comprised "the mixed population of Lebreton Flats, but with a curious panhandle (See Map) through a heavily populated and wealthy portion of Upper Town." The remaining portion of Upper Town, designated as Wellington ward, and the newly created St. Georges ward were not included in this study of working-class families. Predominately wealthy and politically influential families resided in these wards. Local historian John Taylor suggests in his study of Ottawa that the arrangement of the five wards was politically motivated. With the creation of these wards "the three, population poor, and predominately Anglo-Protestant wards across the southern part of the city would dominate the population rich Lower Town area, particularly so if it fractured."

The oldest and most established areas of Ottawa were in the Lower Town wards of By and Ottawa. Artisanal shops, commercial businesses, hotels, boarding houses and market stalls, provided the services for the rapidly expanding lumbering and government community. The diverse population of By ward consisted of tradespeople and the more prosperous shopkeepers living and working within these traditional pre-industrial wards. Towering over the community was the Basilica, the religious symbol of this predominately Catholic population.

The newly created Victoria ward with its burgeoning population, stacks of lumber and the clatter and clammer of the railways and barge traffic exemplified "the lumber village" of Ottawa. Here many men worked in the recently established sawmills. Neighbourhoods in Victoria included "hundreds of rough cast wooden dwellings" with the occasional "modest stone houses of the entrepreneurs."[52] Primarily, Irish and French working-class families lived in Victoria ward, mainly in the heavily populated section known as Lebreton Flats. The Flats were close to the sawmills at Chaudiere and within the shadow of the Parliament Buildings. As in Montreal industrial workers occupied a "city below the hill."[53]

Data on Ottawa's families comes from the manuscript census, a source whose reliability has been examined by a number of social historians. Alan Brookes raises questions about the accuracy and validity of the 1861 census and suggests that historians using this source must "place the data in its historical context."[54] Moreover, he discusses the "inaccuracies caused by enumerator or respondent deficiences." This inaccuracy, he concludes, resulted from unclear instructions to the enumerator, "unwilling" or "unable" respondents and delays in filing the returns.[55]

David Gagan also discusses the fundamental issues of "accuracy" and "completeness" in the 1852 and 1861 census. He notes the lack of "consistency" between districts and the variation "in the attention that was paid to form and detail." This, he suggests, resulted from the appointments of enumerators that "apparently had more to do with political affiliaton than education and trustworthiness."[56]

Some local newspapers and courts championed the cause of accuracy in the nineteenth-century census enumeration. The Ottawa Citizen reported the distressing story of a labourer in Quebec who had been summoned for refusing to give the correct age of his two elder daughters.[87] Two days later the paper informed its readers approvingly that this uncooperative citizen had been "hauled up before the magistrate and made suffer the penalties of the law for his silly conduct." Dutifully the paper reminded the residents of Ottawa that "people must give their proper ages to the enumerators. This is a fundamental part of the census taking. If they don't the Hon. Mr. Dunkin's book of numbers will bring down a wrath upon his head."[88] The message, at least in Ottawa, was clear--accurate information must be reported to the enumerator.

For wage labour, the timing of the enumeration presents another problem. Taken at one point in time the census tends to under enumerate part-time or full-time seasonal work and therefore leads to an underestimation of employment. An obvious example is female waged labour. In Britain, both Richard Wall and Michael Anderson argue, for example, the "amount of wage-earning work done by married women has been grossly underestimated."[89] More specifically, Elizabeth Roberts states that the census returns systematically "underestimate the amount of paid work carried out by married women because they ignore casual part-time jobs."[90] In Canada, under enumeration of part-time labourers undoubtedly occurred as well. The 1871 Manual for the census officers, instructed enumerators that:

> In the case of women, unless they have a definite occupation besides their share in the work of the family or household, the column is to be filled with the sign -; as also in the case of children.

> If they have a special occupation, such as seamstress, clerk, factory hand, etc., then it should be entered accordingly."[61]

No doubt the census contains errors and ommissions. Yet as a primary source of data it remains valuable. A relatively small number of individual errors will not significantly distort the aggregate trends and results remain representative of social trends even when they may not be absolutely definitive. The margin of error in this case is narrow enough to allow analysis of general patterns.

Four data bases were compiled for this study. One was based on a random sample[62] of 350 of the 2,683 families listed on the 1871 census Schedule No. 1 "Nominal Return of the Living", residing in the three Ottawa wards, Victoria, By and Ottawa. This sample size provides a reliability of plus or minus five percent.[63] Following an initial analysis of this sample, a number of specific problems, as will become clear, emerged. As a result three additional data bases were created to better explore these issues. Among the families in Ottawa, By and Victoria wards only a limited number raised animals and grew crops. In order to render a more complete picture than would be provided in a random sample two additional data bases were compiled from each relevant schedule. The first data base amassed from Schedule No. 5, "Live Stock, Animal Products, Home-Made Fabrics and Furs," reported all families keeping animals in 1871 in Ottawa, By and Victoria wards. A second data file created from Schedule No. 4, "Cultivated Lands, Field Products, Plants and Fruits," identified all the families living in this ward who reported growing crops. Finally, a third compilation garnered from Schedule No. 1, "Nominal Return of the Living" consisted of only those women in By ward who listed their marital status as

"widow".[84] Again it was necessary to record information on all the families, in this case in only one ward, instead of a random sample. This provided a more complete and accurate picture of the total number of widows and their families.

This thesis adapts Michael Katz's classification of occupations based on his study of Hamilton,[85] and the more detailed description in his article "Occupational Classification in History."[86] Adaptation for this thesis involved two problems, one mechanical, one substantive. First, we regrouped several of Katz's classifications. For the purposes of this study, Katz's fourth category, "Semi and Unskilled Labour" became "Semi-Skilled" to reflect more precisely the partial degree of skill in these occupations. Katz's fifth category "Low" then became in this study "Unskilled."

Of far greater importance, Katz's classification system systematically and consciously excludes an analysis of female occupations. These occupations, as Katz observes are "lumped . . . under a category called female occupations." According to Katz "this was the only solution to the problem created by the looseness of female occupational designations. It was unusual for a woman to be called by the same occupational title in both the census and assessment."[87] Despite the disclaimer and his acknowledgement of the "controversial" nature of this decision Katz, then outlined a similar problem with male occupational classification: "frequently the same person listed a different occupational title on the Hamilton census of 1851 from that which was listed on the assessment of 1852, which was taken approximately three months later."[88] To correct this problem Katz

devised a scheme to determine male, "occupational equivalencies," and concluded that it "has been generally successful and, what is more to the point, of considerable use."[69] Such a solution appears equally appropriate when dealing with the "looseness of female occupations," particularly since women occupied a paucity of occupations at mid-century.

This study addresses the lacuna in the Katz system of classifying women's occupations by using socio-economic determinants similar to those he used for male occupations. These female classifications, together with the modified male classifications can be found in Appendix 1. We will now turn to an analysis of the data beginning with household structure.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. Peter Trueman, "Public Housing, Private Grief," Ottawa Magazine, September 1989, 78-77.

2. John Taylor, Ottawa: An Illustrated History (Toronto: James Lorimar and Company, Publishers, and Canadian Museum of Civilization, National Museums of Canada, 1986), 209.

3. Shirley E. Woods, The Capital of Canada (Toronto: Doubleday Canada Ltd., 1980), 89-90.

4. Taylor, Ottawa 11-14.

5. L. H. Officer and L. B. Smith, "The Canadian-American Reciprocity Treaty," Journal of Economic History, XXVIII (1968), 612-613.

6. Taylor, Ottawa 55.

7. National Capital Commission, (NCC) "If the Chaudiere Could Talk," (January 1988).

8. Debi Wells, "The Hardest Lines of the Sternest School, Working-Class Ottawa in the Depression of the 1870s," (unpublished M.A. Thesis, Institute of Canadian Studies, Carleton, 1982), 23. See also Taylor, Ottawa 55.

9. In 1850 Bytown was confirmed as a town. Five years later it was incorporated as the city of Ottawa. It was not until 1858 that the legislature confirmed Ottawa as the capital of Canada. Woods, The Capital of Canada 117-119.

10. Taylor, Ottawa 75.

11. Ibid., 56.

12. Canada, "Annual Report of Ottawa Immigration Agent," Sessional Papers, (SP) Vol. I-IV, 1867-1870.

13. The Ottawa Citizen, 22 April 1871.

14. Cited in NCC, "If the Chaudiere Could Talk," (January 1988).

15. Ibid.

16. Diane Farmer, "Widowhood in the Parish of Notre Dame: An Examination of Death and Remarriage in Mid-Nineteenth Century Lower Town," (unpublished M.A. Research Essay, Institute of Canadian Studies, Carleton, 1981), 39-47.

17. Wells, "The Hardest Lines of the Sternest School," 19.

18. The Ottawa Citizen, 22 April 1871.

19. Odette Vincent-Domey, "Filles et familles au milieu: le cas de Hull, Québec, à la fin du XIXe siècle," (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Ottawa, 1988), 134, and NCC "If the Chaudiere Could Talk," (Jan. 1988).

20. Canada, Census of 1870-1871, "Occupations of the People," Vol. II, Table XIII, 277, 283.

21. The Ottawa Citizen, 7 January 1854.

22. Taylor, Ottawa Appendix, Table 1, 210.

23. Ibid., 63.

24. Ibid., Appendix, Table XI, 214, and Table VI, 211.

25. Ibid., 81-84.

26. Wells, "The Hardest Lines of the Sternest School," 15.

27. J. G. Snell, "The Cost of Living in Canada in 1870," Histoire Sociale/Social History, XII (1979), 189.

28. Taylor, Ottawa 88.

29. Snell, "The Cost of Living in Canada," 191.

30. Canada, "Annual Report of the Ottawa Immigration Agent," SP Vol. V, No. 2A, 1872, 59.

31. Snell, "The Cost of Living in Canada," 191.

32. NCC, "If the Chaudiere Could Talk," (Jan. 1988).

33. Sharon Cook, "'A Helping Hand and Shelter,' Anglo-Protestant Social Service Agencies in Ottawa 1880-1910," (unpublished M.A. thesis, Carleton University, Spring 1987), 8-12. See also Richard Splane, Social Welfare in Ontario, 1791-1893 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 79-116.

34. For a comprehensive analysis of the contribution of children to the working-class family economy see John Bullen, "Children of the Industrial Age: Children, Work and Welfare in Late Nineteenth Century Ontario," (unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Ottawa, 1989) and Bettina Bradbury, "The Working-Class Family Economy, Montreal 1861-1881," (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Concordia University, 1984).

35. See Bettina Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows and Boarders: Non-Wage Forms of Survival Among Montreal Families, 1861-1891." Labour/Le Travail, 14 (1984).

36. Wells, "The Hardest Lines of the Sternest School," 17.

37. Cost of water was for 1866 and might have been slightly higher by 1871. John Taylor, "Fire, Disease and Water in Ottawa: An Introduction," Urban History Review, VIII (1979), 16.

38. Ibid., 24.

39. The following discussion is from Taylor, Ottawa 108.

40. Wells, "The Hardest Lines of the Sternest School," 15.

41. Taylor, Ottawa 106.

42. Michael Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West, Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 254.

43. Testimony from the Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labour in Canada, "Ontario Evidence," Vol. 2, (Ottawa: 1889), 1154-1157, cited in Wells, "The Hardest Lines of the Sternest School," 17.

44. Wells, "The Hardest Lines of the Sternest School," 16-17.

45. Michael Newton, Lower Town Ottawa, 1854-1900 Vol. 2 (Ottawa: National Capital Commission, 1981), 89-90.

46. Taylor, Ottawa 104.

47. NCC, "If the Chaudiere Could Talk," (Jan. 1988).

48. Katz, et al., The Social Organization of Early Industrial Capitalism (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 18. For Montreal see John Cooper, "The Social Structure of Montreal in the 1850s," Canadian Historical Association, Annual Report (1956), 63, cited in Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows and Boarders," 13.

49. Bradbury, Pigs, Cows and Boarders," 14.

50. NCC, "If the Chaudiere Could Talk," (Jan. 1988).

51. The following discussion is from Taylor, Ottawa 68.

52. Ibid., 64.

53. Ames, Herbert Brown, The City Below the Hill (Montreal, 1897), cited in Terry Copp, Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working-Class in Montreal, 1897-1929 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1974), 15.

54. Alan Brookes, "Doing the Best I Can': The Taking of the 1861 New Brunswick Census." Histoire Sociale/Social History, IX (1976) 90.

55. Ibid., 80-81.

56. David Gagan, "Ennumerator's Instructors for the Census of Canada 1852 and 1861." Histoire Sociale/Social History, 7 (1974), 355.

57. The Ottawa Citizen, 20 April 1871.

58. Ibid., 22 April 1871.

59. Michael Anderson, unpublished paper, Urban History Conference 1983; Richard Wall, Workshop in Household and Economic Arrangements, University of Essex, 1984, cited in Elizabeth Roberts, "Women's Strategies, 1890-1940," in Labour and Love, Women's Experience of Home and Family, 1850-1940 ed. by Jane Lewis (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1986), 227.

60. Roberts, "Women's Strategies," 227.

61. Canada, Department of Agriculture, Manual Containing 'The Census Act,' The Instructions to Officers Employed in the Taking of the First Census of Canada, 1871 (Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, 1871), 23.

62. R. S. Schofield, "Sampling in Historical Research," in Nineteenth-Century Society, Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data ed. by E. A. Wrigley (Cambridge: University Press, 1972), 146-190.

63. Herbert Arkin and Raymond R. Colton, Tables For Statisticians (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1963), 145. I am grateful to Professor Paul Lachance for directing me to these sources on the use of statistics for historical research.

64. Manuscript Census, 1871, By ward.

65. Katz, Hamilton Appendix 2, 343-348.

66. Michael Katz, "Occupational Classification in History," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, III (1972), 63-88.

67. Ibid., 76.

68. Ibid., 70.

69. Ibid., 80.

CHAPTER 2

HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE

A man works from dawn to dusk,
A woman's work is never done.
Proverb.

The demands of an industrial society influenced family roles.[1] Traditionally the adult male of two-parent households provided the primary source of cash income for the family. Unable to secure an adequate wage, working-class families enacted a plan of "defence" to cope with the insecurities of wage dependency and the constant threat of recurring crises.[2] Secondary wage earners, predominately the children, earned money in factories, on the streets, in sweat shops and in the home.[3] Married women with children rarely sought a wage income outside the home. They made major contributions none the less.

Although "wages set the parameters for the standard of living"[4] of a family within an industrialized society, the transition from a traditional family economy to a family wage economy did not diminish the wife's domestic responsiblities.[5] It is clear that "continuities (existed) between the type of work women did prior to, during, and after the development of industrial capitalism."[6] For women the home continued to combine "life" and "work." It was within the urban household structure, meanwhile, that working-class families exhibited a degree of "control over the means of subsistence" and "the dictates"[7] of capitalism, a result in no small measure of the economic and "managerial" role of women.

An examination of the domestic work of women requires a complex

framework of analysis. Within this framework the work of married women divides into three categories. These areas are not entirely separate nor do they apply to all women at all times. They do, however, indicate the complexity of women's role within the family. The first category, domestic production, includes the production of goods for home use, sale or barter and includes baking, gardening and the raising of animals. The second, household management, entails caring for children, managing the daily household chores and budget, taking in boarders, and housing additional relatives and on occasion other families. The third category, wage labour, includes employment most often paid by piece or by task. The first two categories resemble, in varying degrees, the tasks performed by women in rural agrarian societies and illustrate the continuity of the family structure. The final category represents a variation from women's pre-industrial work. It also, as will be demonstrated, was infrequent on a full-time basis, although qualitative evidence suggests more frequent experience with wage labour on a part-time or cyclical schedule.

It is difficult to determine the extent of the commodities produced in and around the home for sale in the market. It is possible that some "extra" baking, garden produce, or slaughtered animals were sold, or bartered for other goods and services. More typically domestic production contributed to family subsistence.[8] Growing and raising food enabled families to reduce expenditures and extend the family budget to purchase the necessities of shelter, heat and clothing. Domestic production offered "a vision of a survival economy based, not solely on the cash income of waged labor, but on a far larger and more intricate fabric of resources."[9]

Household management for women meant caring for the children and transforming a labourer's wage into sustenance and shelter. With little cash to spend, a married woman had to make prudent decisions regarding the purchase of food and other necessities.[10] Recent studies suggest that mothers collected the money and managed most financial transactions for the family. Gail Cuthbert Brandt states that children's earnings were put on "l'assiette de maman."[11] As Tilly and Scott show "her (mother's) purse or pocket is the common fund, and from this she distributes the family income. The (husband and children) are the (wage) earners but she is the spender."[12] Similarly, Ellen Ross refers to the "internal wage" system that operated within late nineteenth and early twentieth century working-class London households. "Most husbands handed over to their wives the largest part of their weekly earnings, retaining `pocket money' for themselves." Further, Ross points out "this arrangement gave wives considerable domestic power, but it also made them solely responsible for sustaining life under very unpromising conditions."[13] Qualitative sources suggest it was mother, as the financial planner and household manager, who made decisions concerning moving, house buying, choice of rental accommodation,[14] the housing of boarders and families, and determined when children sought wage work.[15] "The degree of role segregation, division of labour and division of responsibility made decisions regarding domestic matters her (mother's) responsibility."[16]

When examining the wage labour of married women it is important to note its infrequency, its organization around the domestic tasks of wives and mothers and the prevailing attitudes regarding women and wage labour. Married women rarely worked for wages except when "critical

life situations" or "crises" in a family--illness, unemployment, or death of a husband--forced them.[17] In her study of the Conditions of Female Labour in Ontario, Jean Thompson Scott observed:

> Women whose husbands are dead or are not able to support them, will not go out as along as they have children at home to care for, but prefer if they can, to engage in some work which will keep them at home. Women in poor circumstances go out washing and ironing to private houses or else take it home to do. In many cases they take in sewing or dressmaking, and do tailoring for the wholesale trade at their homes."[18]

John Benson notes in his article on penny capitalism that the wage work women often completed in the home clearly resembled the work performed as part of their domestic duties.[19] Taking in washing, housing lodgers, babysitting, sewing, or home-work allowed women to remain in the home.[20] Taking on "extra" work, of course, increased the already burdensome household chores. The diary of a twentieth-century working-class woman outlines what could be considered a typical response to "laundry day."

> It was a hot day--too hot to move really but it was washday so I stoked up the stove this morning and I scrubbed all day. The sweat was just pouring off me in puddles. My back aches and my arms are tired and I'm bone weary tonight. The clothes are clean--folded waiting to be ironed tomorrow but it's terrible work. Just as fast as I wash they get dirty again. Laundry is the worst work a woman's got.[21]

The intense nature of domestic labour meant that for women "work was never done."[22]

Conflicting views appear in the literature concerning the response of the working class to the prevailing middle-class values which condemned wage labour for married women. Cuthbert Brandt notes that male wage earners assailed the idea of women working outside the

home, because it reflected on their (the males) inability to provide for the family and lowered their status in the home and community.[23] Frances Early notes a similar response in her study of working-class families in Lowell, Massachusetts. Citing the comments of a French-Canadian emigrant, she reported his response to his wife earning a dollar as payment for laundry, "I have not reached a level here which requires you to work."[24] Hareven, on the other hand, argues that "Most couples interviewed perceived no conflict caused by the wife's work outside the home. Most husbands had recognized the economic necessity of having their wives' work."[25] The variation of responses may occur because of the inherent problems of applying the ideology of one class to another. By re-examining the problem and asking questions concerning the decisions of working-class families from within their own parameters, a different interpretation emerges.

Bradbury's comprehensive examination of the family strategies of working-class families in Montreal led her to conclude that although cultural ideas kept some working-class women at home, this was not "simply a borrowed middle class ideology. It also reflected a sensible and rational allocation of labour power within families attempting to survive in the capitalist system at that time."[26] Bradbury's interpretation among others suggests that for many working-class families the pattern of married women's employment (or unemployment) and the allocation of domestic responsibilities, reflected the household preference that men and children would be the wage earners and the household could then benefit from mother's management of domestic affairs.[27]

The term "household preference" warrants further discussion for

it developed within a society based on patriarchal relationships. In working-class families, adult males and females made decisions concerning family economy within a limited range of resources and opportunities for the health and survival of the family. "The restrictive conditions under which the family economy had to ensure its survival in fact necessitated a `maximum . . . of familial cooperation.'"[28] In the context of the wage labour market an adult male earned more than an adult female: it made sense "economically" for the husband to work outside the home and for the wife/mother to work inside the home. This "household preference" may have reflected "equal" participation between husband and wife, but the external parameters were in fact a product of systematic, rigid, gender-based wage discrimination. Thus it remained the responsibility or "household preference" for the adult male to be the primary wage earner and for the adult female to structure her domestic duties to "make ends meet." This chapter analyzes the household arrangement in working-class families as a survival strategy.

Determining household structure and the relationship among the occupants presents the researcher with a plethora of methodological problems. Nevertheless, establishing the significance of coresidence, boarding, and kinship networks and their relationship to class, gender, ethnicity and life course requires overcoming these obstacles.

In this analysis, a random sample of 350 households from Ottawa, By and Victoria wards was selected from The Machine Readable Data File of the 1871 census as prepared by the National Archives of Canada and the Ontario Geneological Society of Ontario.[29] The Machine Readable Data

File provided selected information on the "head of household or any stray residing therein"[30] and formed the basis for the data collection. The sample size, subsequently reduced to 345 families because of the elimination of the five nuns from the sample, represents a confidence level of 95% for a population of 4,000 with a reliability of plus or minus five percent.[31] Since only 2,683 families lived in the three wards, our confidence level would be somewhat higher.

The vast increase in the population in the 1860s[32] "created a boom situation in the local housing and construction industry."[33] The rapidly expanding lumber industries and government facilities accelerated the demand for workers in the building, industrial and service sectors. Repeatedly, throughout the late 1860s and early 1870s the Ottawa Immigration Agent announced the increasing demand for labourers--despite noting in his report the large influx of workers into the city.[34] By 1871, 37 percent of the workforce listed their occupation as "industrial."[35]

This swelling population was not distributed equally throughout the five wards in the city. Between 1867 and 1871, Ottawa ward had the highest percentage increase in population among the five wards. The increase in this ward alone accounted for a third of the total rise in the city's annual population. (See Table 1).

TABLE 1

POPULATION OF OTTAWA BY WARDS, FOR SELECTED YEARS

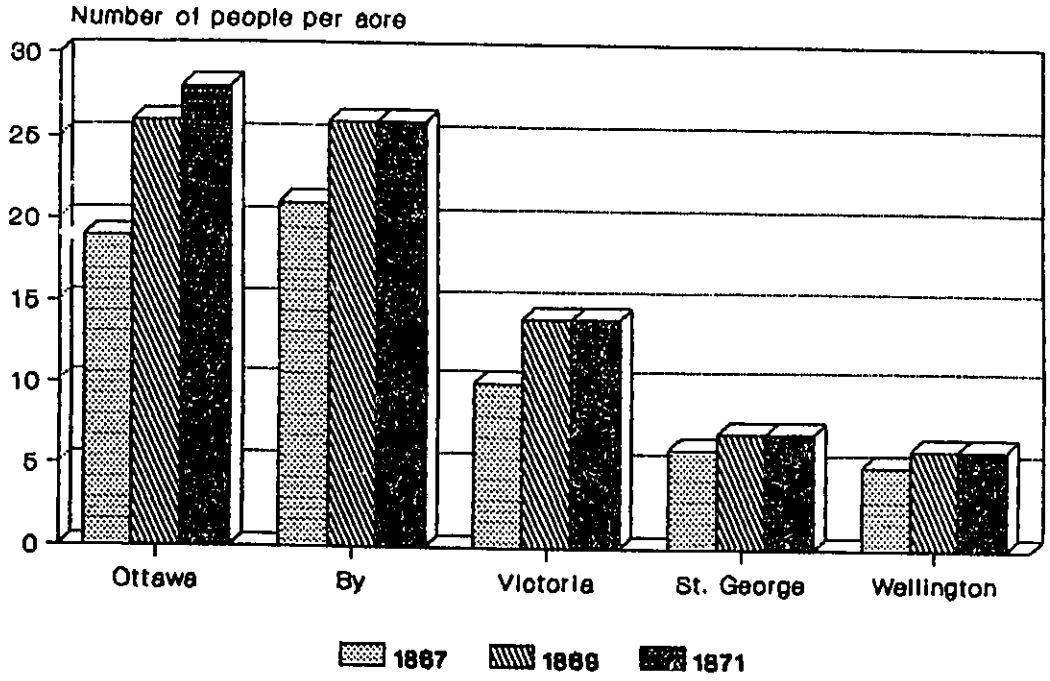
	1867[1]	1871[2]	Percentage Increase
Victoria	2,315	3,156	36
Ottawa	3,975	5,738	44
By	4,255	5,138	21
Wellington	2,827	4,039	43
St. George	2,838	3,474	22
Totals	16,210	21,545	33

Source: [1]Ottawa Street Directory, 1872-73, 6.

[2]Census of Canada 1870-1871, Vol. 1, 26-27.

The rapid population increase in Ottawa and Victoria wards and to a lesser extent in the heavily populated By ward, reflects the settlement pattern of labourers and their families. Moving into the city throughout the 1860s workers established residency in close proximity to their work. The more affluent civil servants also arrived in Ottawa and inhabited the more prestigous and less populated Wellington and St. George wards. An increase in population, however, provides only an overview of the city's growth. An examination of the population density reveals, more precisely, the location of familes among the working-class wards of Ottawa, By and Victoria. (See Figure 1).

FIGURE 1. POPULATION DENSITY BY WARDS: OTTAWA, 1867, 1869, 1871



Source: Ottawa Street Directory, 1872-73 and Census of Canada, 1870-1871, Vol.1

The earlier settled and more densely populated Ottawa and By wards exhibited a similar trend of "overcrowding" before and after Confederation. The newly created Victoria ward had a population density of 14 people per acre by 1871. The Victoria ward ratio is misleading and no doubt significantly under represents the actual extent of overcrowding in the ward because of the vast acreage of the Parliament Buildings (which is included in the calculations). The trend, however, is clear. The population density in the predominately working-class wards of Ottawa was five times greater than the population density in the more "upper" class wards. A further breakdown of the 1871 population by dwellings and families demonstrates the extent, and in particular the location of the "overcrowding" in Ottawa. (See Table 2).

TABLE 2

DWELLINGS AND FAMILIES BY WARDS, OTTAWA, 1871

Ottawa Wards	Dwellings	Families
Victoria	529	592
Ottawa	936	1030
By	971	1061
Wellington	726	749
St. George	563	599
Totals	3,725	4,031

Source: Manuscript Census, Victoria, Ottawa, By, Wellington and St. George Wards, 1871.

The large number of families doubling up in Ottawa, By and to a lesser degree in Victoria ward may been, in part, a consequence of the rapid growth in the city after Confederation. The local newspaper reports reflected the inadequacy of the housing stock during this period of intense population growth. As a consequence, the data may show artifically high numbers and increase the number of families relative to the number of dwellings. The pattern, however, remains valid. The data demonstrates the imbalance in the patterns of residency, particularly, in By and Ottawa wards. The variation in motivation and implications of doubling up will be assessed in light of the class, ethnicity, religion and life course of the families in By, Ottawa and Victoria wards.

Single family households in Ottawa represent the majority in 1871 but do not "dominate" household living arrangements.[3*] (See Table 3).

TABLE 3

SIMPLE FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS AND CLASS OF PRIMARY WAGE EARNER[1] VICTORIA, BY AND OTTAWA WARDS COMBINED.

	Simple	Simple With Servants	Percentage of all Households
High white collar	14	2	62
Low white collar	29	10	54
Skilled worker	65	2	65
Semi-skilled worker	16	0	52
Unskilled worker	60	2	63
Unclassified	9	0	60
Total	209	16	61

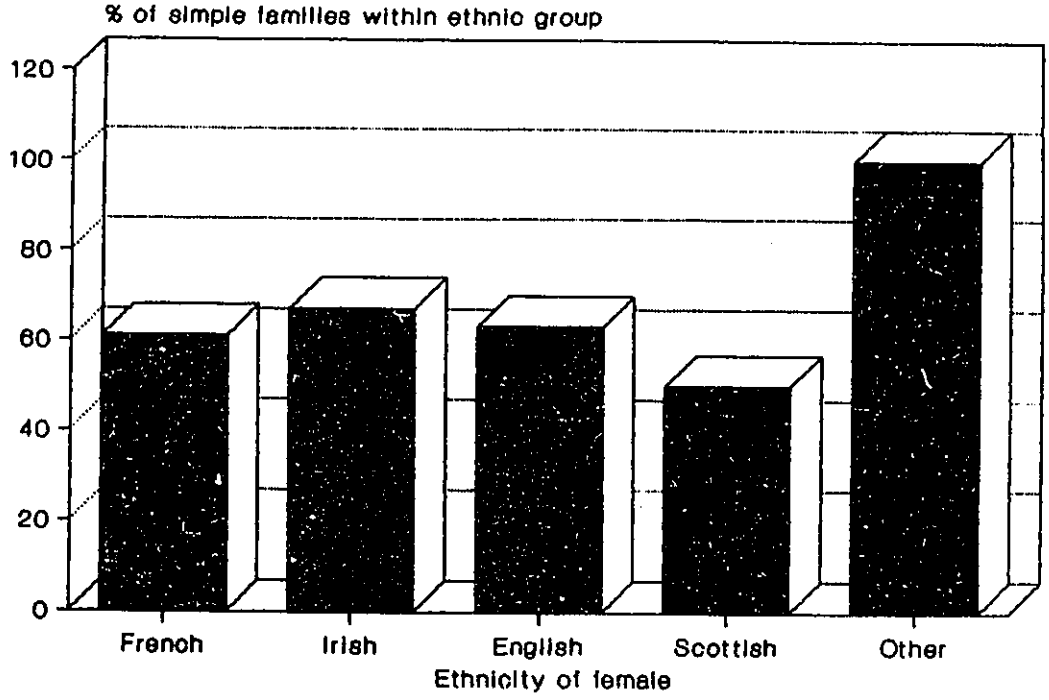
Source: Mss. Census, 1871, Ottawa, By and Victoria Wards.

[1] In the sample eight married women, all of French origin and living in Ottawa Ward, reported occupations. In most cases their occupational classification was the same as their spouse, when it differed I classifed the family according to the male's occupation. As seamstress' women's wage-work provided a secondary income for the household economy.

In the Ottawa sample of 345 families, 61 percent of all the sample families and 63 percent of the two-parent families lived within a simple family arrangement. Overall the percentage for Ottawa is substantially less than the almost 80 percent Katz reported in Hamilton for 1861,[37] and the 79.5 percent nuclear families Gordon Darroch and Michael Ornstein reported for the 1871 urban Ontario population.[38] The even distribution among all the classes is surprising--particularly, the high percentage of skilled and unskilled workers and to a lesser extent among the semi-skilled.

An examination of the ethnicity of the two-parent family population reveals that in the three wards combined, 52 percent of the population was of French origin, 30 percent Irish, 13 percent English and 4 percent Scottish.[30] (See Figure 2).

FIGURE 2: SIMPLE FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS BY ETHNICITY, THREE WARDS COMBINED



Source: Mss. Census, 1871, Ottawa, By and Victoria Wards.

Overall among the simple family households, there was an insignificant variation among the different ethnic groups. The French and English families do not show any variation and the Irish families were only slightly higher than the overall population average of 63 percent. The minority Scottish families were under represented at 50 percent. Within the sample almost three quarters of the population was Roman Catholic and one quarter Protestant. There was little variation by religion among the nuclear families, 64 percent were Catholic and 60

percent Protestant.

Although families from all classes and cultures occupied simple family dwellings, the motivation for and the experience of this household arrangement differed substantially. Qualitative and architectural evidence points to the fundamental difference in the living conditions between the homes of the affluent and those of the poor. A single "skilled or unskilled" family occupied considerably less space in a 16-25 foot wide wooden house than a single "professional" or "business" family occupying the more spacious 35-60 foot stone houses.[40] Two specific examples contrast the differences in living conditions. Ms. Gilbeau and her husband, a mason, owned a single family dwelling in Victoria ward. The Gilbeaus shared their home with seven children ranging in age from 2 to 19. Two critical factors enabled this family to live in a nuclear household. First, financial pressures had eased with the ownership of their home, and second, although the family dwelling was "nuclear," the two eldest sons, who worked as labourers, may have in fact contributed to the household income like boarders. Although "nuclear" this house was clearly "crowded."[41] Another Victoria family, Mr. Philion, a clerk, and his wife also occupied a single family dwelling but under differing circumstances. The Philion family shared their house with two young children and had enough additional space and income, to hire and house a servant.[42] Although all manual labourers' families were not large, and all non-manual workers' families were not small, the point remains--all houses recorded as nuclear did not necessarily share a similar experience as demonstrated by the two examples.

Determining the precise relationship between the nuclear family

and other members of the household proves difficult. For this study, however, the classification of individuals as boarders or part of the extended family was not a problem. As Katz observes, traditionally the "distinction" between boarders and relatives was based on the terms of payment or non-payment of room and board. However, he asserts, there is no reason to believe that boarders paid and relatives did not.[43] The possibility also exists that relatives and boarders contributed to the household economy by their services. Based on the evidence provided in his study Katz concludes:

> no very clear distinction between relatives and boarders on the basis of language, demographic characteristics, or place within the household existed in earlier societies or in nineteenth-century Hamilton. The distinction between boarders and relatives should therefore be minimized, boarders should be recognized as an integral part of the household.[44]

Therefore, for the purposes of this study, the term boarder will be used to define any individual or individuals residing with a family who may or may not be related to that family.

In Ottawa, 21 percent of all the families in the sample housed relatives and boarders. This figure is similar to the 20 percent recorded in Hamilton for 1861[45], but considerably greater than the 14 percent reported by Bradbury for Montreal in 1871.[46] (See Table 4).

TABLE 4

OCCUPATION OF MALE PRIMARY WAGE EARNER AND HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE[2], VICTORIA, BY AND OTTAWA WARDS COMBINED[1]

	Simple				Extended Families				Multiple Families			
	Sim	Boa	Ser	B&S	Ext	Boa	Ser	B&S	Mult	Boa	Ser	No.
Prof	45%	5%	10%	25%	-	5%	5%	-	5%	-	-	20
Low	42%	11%	16%	13%	2%	-	2%	-	11%	5%	-	64
Skilled	63%	13%	1%	2%	4%	-	-	-	13%	1%	1%	97
Semi	50%	18%	-	5%	-	-	5%	-	23%	-	-	22
Unskill	69%	9%	2%	-	-	-	-	-	19%	1%	-	86
Unclass	60%	40%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Total												294

Source: Mss. Census, Ottawa, By and Victoria Wards, 1871.

[1] This data includes only two-parent families. These families are then divided into "Simple," "Extended," in which at least one additional relative other than a child resides in the household, and "Multiple," in which at least two families live within the household. Each of these categories is further sub-divided according to whether or not boarders and/or servants were also present within the household.

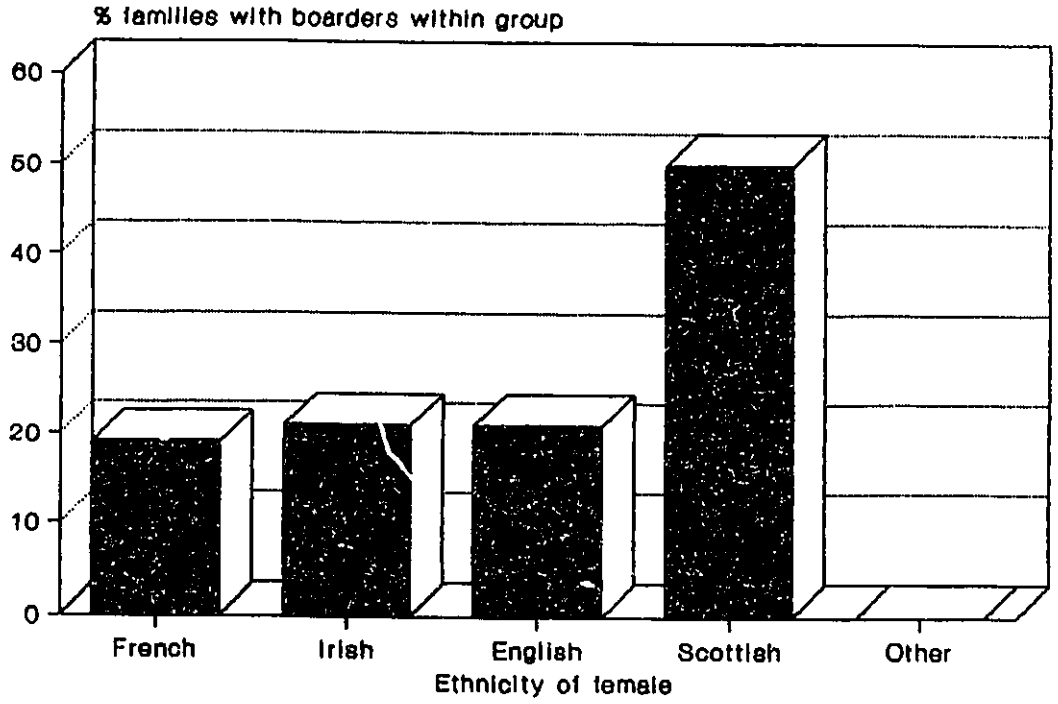
[2] The categorization of household structure was adapted from Bettina Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows and Boarders," 43.

Ottawa demonstrates the predominance of boarding among the non-manual workers and its existence to a lesser degree among some of the working-classes. In Ottawa, the families of 40 percent of the married high white collar workers[47] and 28 percent of low white collar workers housed boarders and relatives, compared to the 19 percent skilled and 28 percent semi-skilled groups. The least likely to accommodate

additional single individuals were the poorer class of unskilled workers. Only 9 percent listed boarders.

A comparison of households by ethnicity demonstrates that, with the exception of the minority population of Scottish families, there was little cultural variation among boarding families. (See Figure 3).

FIGURE 3: HOUSEHOLDS WITH BOARDERS BY ETHNICITY, THREE WARDS COMBINED



Source: Mss. Census, 1871, Ottawa, By and Victoria Wards.

The Irish and English families equal the 21 percent population average, with the French families slightly under represented at 19 percent. Only the Scottish families, the smallest of the ethnic groupings, took in a higher proportion of relatives or boarders. Between the Catholic and Protestant population, there was a slight variation, with the Protestants over represented at 25 percent and the Catholics slightly

under represented at 19 percent.

Historical studies of boarders have traditionally focussed attention on the motivation of families housing additional individuals. Implicit in the rhetoric is the economic basis of this activity. In their examination of the "malleable household" John Modell and Tamara Hareven note, "families took in boarders for economic considerations, which in turn depended in part on the characteristics of the housing market and in part on the uncertainties of income in a period of high morbidity and mortality, and oppressive cyclical unemployment."[48]

If economic considerations were the motivation for housing boarders one would have expected to find them predominately among the impoverished working-class households. In Ottawa this was not the case. In fact the majority of boarders resided in the residences of the more affluent professional and business families. This trend was also noted in studies on Hamilton, Philadelphia, and Montreal, and more explicitly, within a class analysis, by Bradbury.[49] Michael Katz suggests a reason for this trend.

Athough "at some point nearly every household probably contained either a boarder or relative,"[50] housing boarders, servants, relatives or visitors increased the size of the household and, as Katz observes, "marked a wealthy man."[51] Large spacious, multi-roomed houses occupied by professional, and entrepreneurial classes accommodated the individual needs of a lodger whose demands for services were satisfied by servants. The households of some of the wealthier Scottish and to a lesser extent the English families met this criteria. For example, Mr. Boyden, a Scottish merchant, and his wife shared their By ward

residence with a young child, two boarders and two servants.[82] The smaller dwellings inhabited by the French, Irish and some English working-class families were less able to provide the private household space sought by boarders. Ms. Joyce and her husband, who was a wheelwright from England, resided in Victoria ward. As the parents of five children, one employed and all listed as living at home, they reported housing two boarders.[83] Although all classes housed boarders, this does not preclude the fact that boarding represented a different experience for women in poorer families as compared to women living in more prosperous circumstances.

A notable class difference appears between families housing only boarders and those with boarders and servants. Amongst the non-manual boarding families two thirds also had servants, which contrasts with the working-class households, predominately the semi-skilled group, where less than 20 percent had hired help. The presence or absence of a servant in the house had a significant impact on the daily work of the adult female. Paid domestic help meant either less household drudgery or the opportunity to accommodate others in the house without substantially increasing a wife's chores--an option not available to poorer women. Additional people in the house, whether it was an elderly parent requiring care, or a single, unrelated individual paying fees for services, increased the time spent on laundry, housework, shopping and preparation of meals. Boarding meant a lot more work for working-class wives and mothers.

Boarders meant more work: they also brought income. In working-class families some boarders or relatives contributed financially to the household economy and in some instances their contribution was

substantial. As the American historian Joan Jensen notes, taking in boarders

> could be as profitable or even more profitable for working-class wives than other forms of women's work. . . . Overall, women made 42.65 percent as much as their husbands when they took in boarders and 45.52 percent as much as their husbands in nonboarding type work.[54]

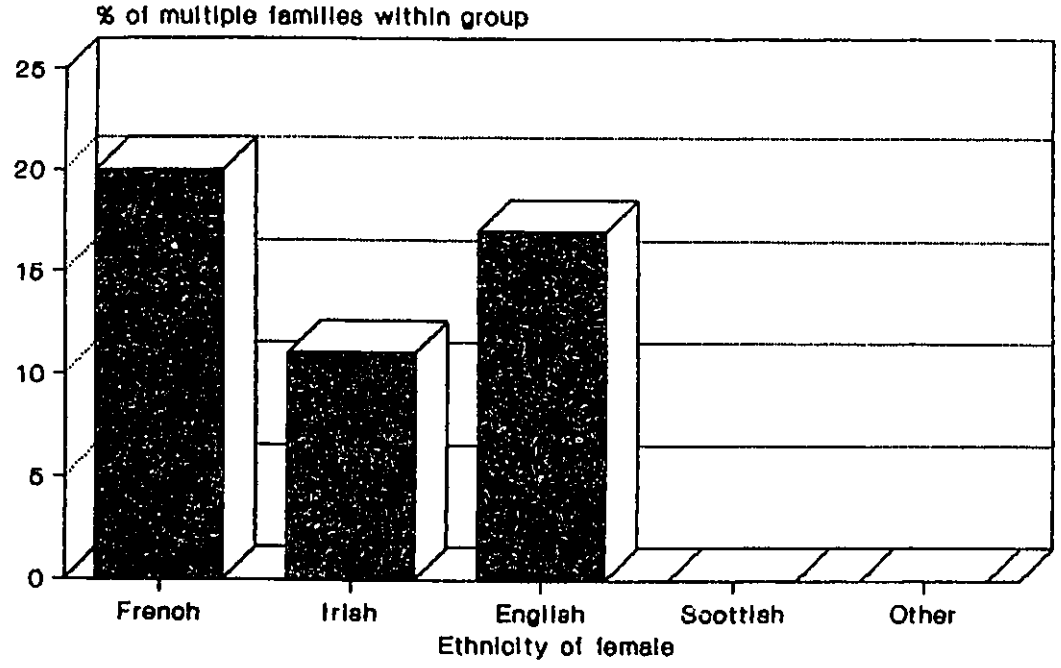
The $2.00-$3.00 weekly board charged for females and males respectively in Ottawa in 1870 provided an income of approximately $130.00 annually for the household budget.[55] This income from boarders amounts to almost half of the average income earned by males and equals the weekly $2.00-3.00 earned by a child in the sewing trade.[56] By boarding a single individual, a woman could then contribute as much cash to the household budget as an older child working for wages. Her boarding income, could, if necessary, "carry" the family during periods of unemployment of the male wage earner. Given the seasonal nature of manual labour, this work provided a critical source of income. By regulating domestic and childcare responsibilities with income-earning activities, married women successfully combined familial responsibilities with economic pursuits.[57] Thereby ensuring that work within the household was both a practical economic and social response to the needs of the family unit.

While some families adapted their living arrangements to accommodate boarders, others squeezed together to house additional families. In the families of semi-skilled and unskilled households the housing of additional people more frequently took the form of doubling up of families. (See Table 4) Overall, in the predominately working-class wards of Ottawa, Victoria and By, 16 percent of all two-parent

families housed a second or third family. This figure is higher than the overall coresiding family population for urban Ontario.[58] Among families identified as coresiding, 77 percent were working-class. This represents a striking contrast to the 23 percent among the professional and business families. This pattern demonstrates how the doubling up of families, occurred primarily within the dwellings of the poor.

In Ottawa neighbourhoods, it was within the modest menages of the French families that the highest percentage of multiple family dwellings existed. (See Figure 4).

FIGURE 4. HOUSEHOLDS WITH MULTIPLE FAMILIES BY ETHNICITY, THREE WARDS COMBINED



Source: Mss. census, Ottawa, By and Victoria wards, 1871.

The percentage of English families was slightly higher than the sample average of 16 percent, while the Irish and particularly the Scottish were under represented among multiple households. There was only a minor variation by religion from the sample average.

In Moncton, New Brunswick, Sheva Medjuck has noted the predominance of industrial workers among the multi-family households.[80] Moreover, Darrock and Ornstein's study of urban households in 1871 reports that:

> For all of Canada in 1871, our (Darroch and Ornstein) sample shows that 14.7 percent of the households headed by labourers and 15.8 per cent of those headed by semi-skilled workers involved coresidence; for households headed by merchants or manufacturers, professionals, or other nonmanual workers, and artisans the corresponding percentages were 9.2, 5.8, 8.8 and 12.3."[81]

Bradbury also identified the predominance of doubling up of working-class families in Montreal. She suggests that:

> the sharing of housing took two distinct forms. Some families rented a house, or in a few cases bought one, then sublet space to one or two other families. In other cases landlords, eager to squeeze as much profit out of their properties, subdivided buildings themselves. It was in the latter situation that one seems to find families confined to a single room.[82]

Bradbury's results, meanwhile, have been challenged by Gilles Lauzon who in a thesis on Montreal examined the accuracy of coresidence as recorded in the 1871 census.[83] Although the instructions to the enumerator state that "A separate house is to be counted, whenever the entrance from the outside is separate, and there is no direct and constant communication in the inside to make it one,"[84] Lauzon's study concludes that families listed as sharing a dwelling on the manuscript

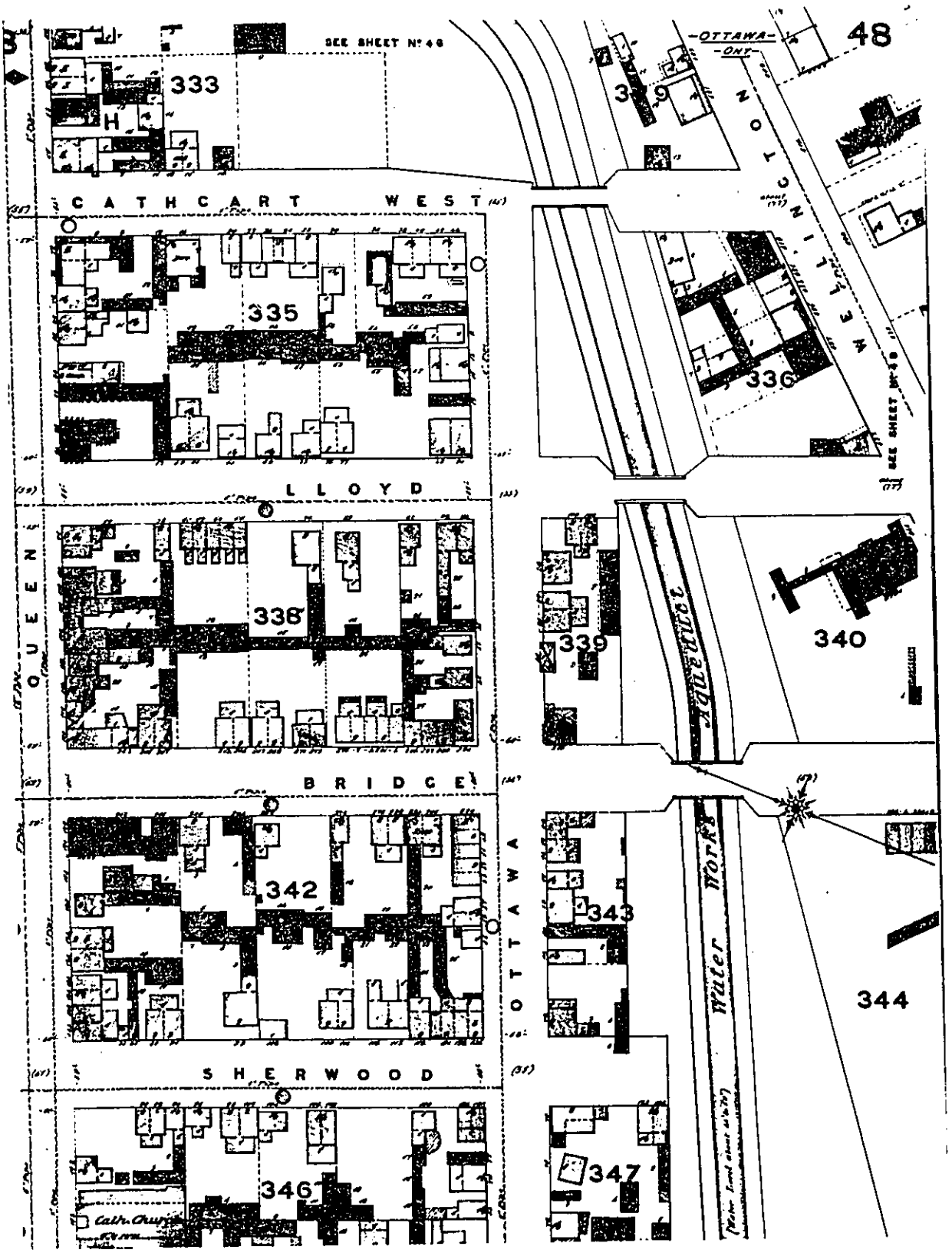
census were, in fact, living in separate and divided accommodation within the same building. In order to determine the possibility of this being a problem in calculating the household structure of families in Ottawa additional sources were consulted to verify the data.

Initially the Ottawa Directory was perused to identify the addresses of cohabiting families. This proved to be unsatisfactory. The directory did not number residential housing until 1875--four years after the completion of the census. Consultation of earlier directories also failed to identify the names and unnumbered addresses of any of the selected sample of coresiding families.[84]

A second attempt was made to identify the addresses of cohabiting families on the assessment rolls. The earliest assessment roll available for Ottawa is 1872 and was compiled a year and a half after the census. Although some of the property owners, identified as cohabiting on the census were listed, the tenants, when listed on the rolls, did not match the families listed on the census. In addition, the assessment rolls listed location only by lot numbers not street addresses.[85]

If either the directories or the assessment rolls had identified the addresses of coresiding families, the residences could then have been located on the 1878 fire insurance map of Ottawa and the precise physical structure of the building ascertained. Since this was not possible a survey of the physical characteristics of the housing in Ottawa, By and Victoria wards was undertaken. The housing in each ward was scrutinized on the 1878 fire insurance maps of Ottawa and the internal partitioning of houses recorded. Partitioning occurred in a minority of the housing in the three wards. (The following map includes

MAP 2: HOUSING IN OTTAWA, 1871



Source: N.A.C. NMC 0010731

only a five block sample from Victoria ward). In 90 percent of the cases, divisions within houses were identified by a separate number for the street address.** This suggests that in Ottawa, there is little probability that coresiding families mistakingly includes families living in separate households. As Darrock and Ornstein comment in their article on family coresidence, "tenements, row housing and crowded quarters were documented features of some nineteenth century Canadian cities, but they were not the primary features of the urban landscape."[7] Moreover, in the cities of Montreal and Ottawa, housing varied in structure and neighbourhood design. Tenement housing in Montreal, while not the predominate feature, occurred more frequently than in Ottawa neighbourhoods. Housing built around the perimeter of the block, as in Montreal, differed from the preponderance of single dwelling or rowhouses in Ottawa which extended along the streets back to back.

In Ottawa, as in other cities, house sharing offered financial and domestic benefits. These benefits are illustrated in the case of Mr. Charlebois, a labourer, who with his wife and four adolescent children shared a house with another labourer's family. Together these four adults and five children, one of whom listed her occupation as seamstress, cohabited in a house in Ottawa ward.** The pooling of the limited resources of two or more families meant sharing the cost of rent, heat and possibly clothing and food. This arrangement may also have included an exchange of services such as childcare, and domestic duties. While sharing a house may have cut costs it also increased the time spent on domestic chores.

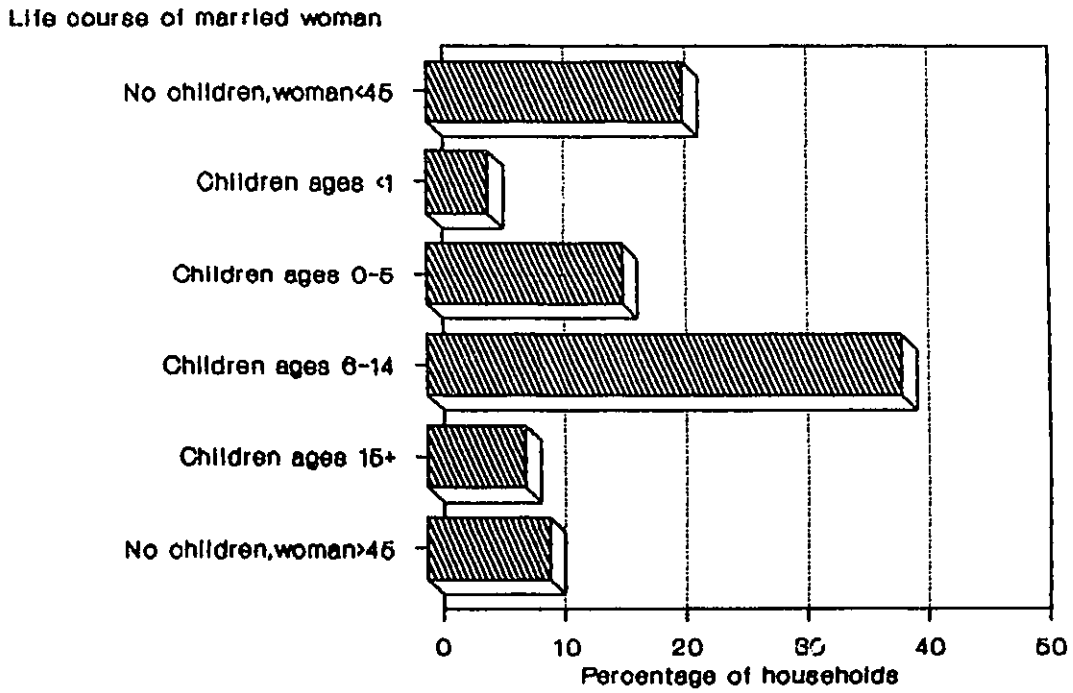
Studies on coresidence, for example the work of Modell and

Hareven, state that, although

> the progressives were correct in asserting that some crowding was a concomitant of taking in lodgers, they did not recognize that lodgers were on the whole taken in where there was some "excess" room in being."[66]

An examination of the life course and coresident housing patterns among two-parent families in Ottawa, in 1871, demonstrates a divergent trend. (See Figure 5).

FIGURE 5. HOUSEHOLDS WITH BOARDERS BY LIFE COURSE OF MARRIED WOMAN[1]



Source: Mss. Census, Ottawa, By and Victoria Wards, 1871.

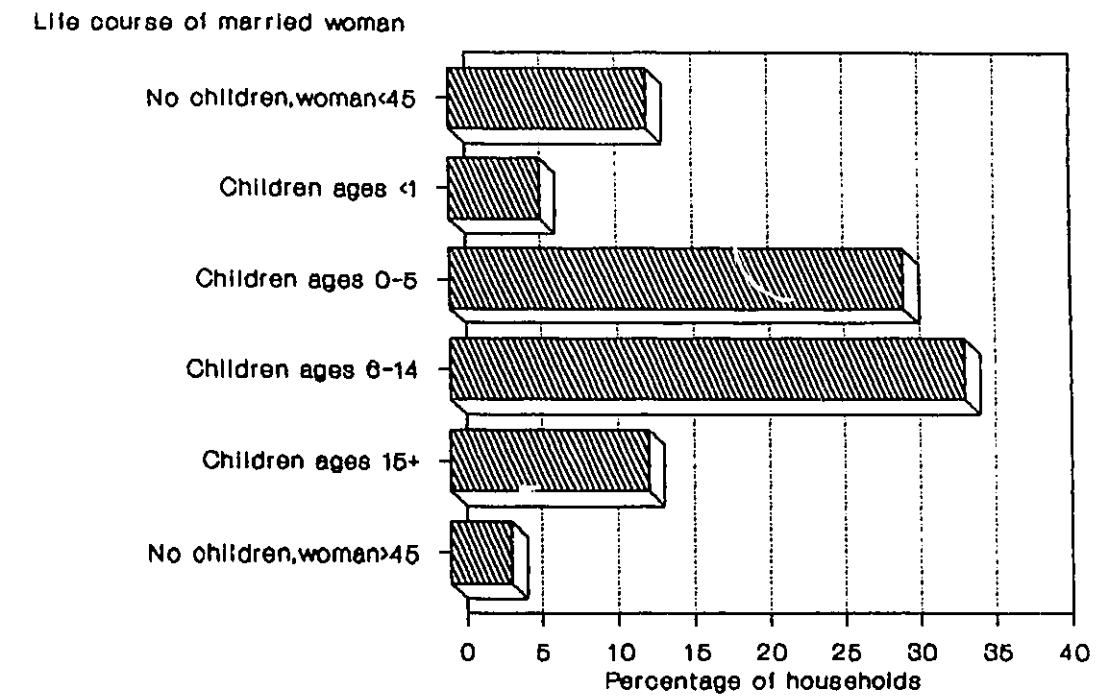
[1]Stages of life course were adapted from Bettina Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows and Boarders," 39.

In Ottawa, the distribution of boarders over the life course of

a married woman clearly identifies three trends; first, some women continued to house boarders when the house was filled with children; second, young married women without children took in boarders; third, as children moved out of the home, married women exhibited a preference for simple family households and did not "fill the empty nest" with boarders. Overall these trends suggest that families housed boarders when, economically the need was the greatest; in the early stages of married life; and, during the stages of the family life course when the cost of feeding and clothing children was the greatest but before children could reasonably work for wages. By the later stages of the family life course, when the children had left home and financial pressures eased, the preference was for no boarders. For some Ottawa families, housing boarders was not a choice but an economic necessity.[78]

Among the coresiding families, the trend to house additional families intensified precisely when the house was already "filled with children." (See Figure 6).

FIGURE 6. HOUSEHOLDS WITH MULTIPLE FAMILIES BY LIFE COURSE OF MARRIED WOMAN



Source: Mss. Census, Ottawa, By and Victoria Wards, 1871.

When burdened with the responsibilities of young children, some families continued to double up. Although families doubled up throughout the married woman's life course, it occurred most often when families needed to compensate for the household "imbalance between income and expenditure."[71] Over two-thirds of the multi-family dwellings had children between 1 and 14 years of age.[72] Unemployed children were an economic drain on families with limited incomes. This stage of the life course represented a time when impoverished families were forced to rely on alternative methods to "feed the family." Sharing household expenses with another family helped reduce costs or supplement the

income: it also increased the number of people in the house. No doubt adults and children spent much of their time on the streets[73] to escape the cramped living quarters.

As with boarders, families were least likely to house additional families during three specific stages of the life cycle; before children arrived (and in the case of the boarders when children were young); when children were old enough to work; and after the children had left home. New babies, additional income and fewer expenses account for the times when extra people were eliminated from the house. Thus, for poor families doubling up and taking in lodgers were strategies to provide additional income to supplement the household wage, or to reduce household costs by sharing the burden and the space. Utilizing the space in their home to earn extra income "was a practical answer to the challenges of the life course in the modern city".[74]

Qualitative evidence, as noted by Bradbury among others, illustrates the widespread practice of overcrowding and the frequent occurence of unhealthy living conditions among the poor in nineteenth-century urban cities.[75] She cites the 1881 testimony of a Montreal physican who reported "that 'about two' families generally occupied a day labourer's house."[76] As Richard Bushman notes in his study of American industrializing cities "city houses were stuffed with people."[77] The Ottawa data, however, clearly indicates that houses were not always "stuffed." They became "stuffed" at precisely that moment when the family began to grow in size and emptied when the family began to shrink again. (See Figure 7).

FIGURE 7. BOARDERS AND MULTIPLE FAMILIES
BY CLASS AND LIFE COURSE

Source: Mss. Census, Ottawa, By and Victoria Wards, 1871.

An analysis of households by class and life course clearly demonstrates distinct characteristics among the coresiding families. A comparison between the manual and non-manual families shows more precisely the distinct differences in the "preferences" and patterns of cohabitation. Among the working-class, almost two thirds of the families coresided when financial pressures, as a result of child raising, were the greatest. This contrasts with the 50 percent white collar coresiding families during the same stage. More significant, however, is the indication of "preference" or motivation as demonstrated by the contrast in coresiding families during the later

family life course stages. With the easing of financial pressures working-class families clearly demonstrated their "preference" for no additional householders by eliminating extra individuals or families. The desire to fill empty rooms or as Modell and Hareven have suggested the addition of a "surrogate family in the psychological sense"[78] to replace children who have left home, may have applied to the households of the affluent families, but not to the working-class. Coresiding for working-class households was not a choice or a preference--it was a burdensome necessity, one that working-class wives and mothers escaped when they could express their "choice."

This comparison of households by class and life course reveals a second aspect of the nature of boarding. In white collar households, a "boarding house" was frequently a male entrepreneurial enterprise. As the proprietor, he was undoubtedly assisted by his wife, children and servants. Boarding for these white collar families did not supplement the income; it was the income. The distinction between boarding as an entrepreneurial enterprise and boarding as a means to supplement wages suggests an even greater variation in the pattern of coresiding families between white collar and working-class households.

This analysis also suggests why in their study of family coresidence in Canada, Darroch and Ornstein found coresiding among households "often headed by artisans and those in bourgeoise and petty bourgeoise occupations as well as by farmers and labourers."[79] Families of varying occupations were cohabiting, but their distinct patterns and preferences help explain this phenomenom.

One final note on boarding. Michael Katz has observed that more people experienced boarding than appear as boarders at one point in

time, as recorded on the census. His long term study indicates that over a period of time, "nearly every household probably contained either a boarder or a relative."[88] The data on Ottawa partially confirms and to a degree explains this phenomenom. If, as indicated by the life course figures, families frequently absorbed additional householders during the "life course squeeze" then, in fact, most individuals, during their lifetime, did share accommodation with another individual or individuals.

In sum, although house-sharing was a common feature of this period, the pattern of coresidence in Ottawa varied according to the life course and class of the family. Class set the parameters and dictated the needs of the urban family. Working-class families, accommodated other families in their houses by doubling up, and occasionally taking in lodgers. Cohabiting meant either money earned or money saved. When other sources of income were available or household expenses were reduced working-class families "chose" to live independently of other individuals. Housing an additional family or boarder, meanwhile, increased the burden of household duties for working-class women in their own homes or as servants in the households of others.

Industrialization restructured the economy of nineteenth-century working-class families. Families responded to the transition from an economy based on production to an economy based on wage through a continuous process of adaption and invention to accommodate the demands of an industrialized urban society. In Ottawa, families were forced to adapt by abandoning the single family dwelling to house others and thereby satisfy pressing financial needs. Utilizing the

skills of family members, most notably those of the married woman, working-class families attempted to exercise some degree of autonomy and control in their one unrestricted area, the home; as a place of work, the home represented much more than a "haven in a heartless world."[81]

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. Veronica Strong-Boag, "Keeping House in God's Country: Canadian Women at Work," in On The Job: Confronting The Labour Process in Canada ed. by Craig Heron and Robert Storey (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986), 129.

2. Tamara Hareven, Family Time and Industrial Time (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 360.

3. See John Bullen, "Hidden Workers: Child Labour and the Family Economy in Late-Nineteenth Urban Ontario." Labour/Le Travail, 18, (1986).

4. Bettina Bradbury, "The Working-Class Family Economy, Montreal 1861-1881" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Concordia University, 1984), 57.

5. Louise Tilly and Joan Scott, Women, Work and Family (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978), 136.

6. Michael Katz's introduction in Tilly and Scott, Women, Work and Family X.

7. Bettina Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows and Boarders: Non-Wage Forms of Survival Among Montreal Families, 1861-1891," Labour/Le Travail, 14 (1984), 12.

8. Jean Thompson Scott, The Conditions of Female Labour in Ontario (Toronto, 1892) 25.

9. Jeanne Boydston, "To Earn Her Daily Bread: Housework and Antebellum Working-Class Subsistence," Radical History Review, 35 (1986), 8.

10. Bettina Bradbury, "Women and Wage Labour in a Period of Transition: Montreal, 1861-1881," Histoire Sociale/Social History, XVII (1984), 123-124.

11. Gail Cuthbert Brandt, "Weaving it Together: Life Cycle and the Industrial Experience of Female Cotton Workers in Quebec, 1910-1950," in Childhood and Family in Canadian History ed. by Joy Parr (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), 166.

12. Sir Alexander Patterson, Across the Bridges (London: E. Arnold Publ., 1911), 32, cited in Tilly and Scott, Women, Work and Family 205.

13. Ellen Ross, "Survival Networks: Women's Sharing in London Before World War I," History Workshop Journal, 15 (1983), 7.

14. Elizabeth Roberts, A Women's Place (Oxford; Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1984), 111-112.

15. Brandt, "Weaving it Together," 164.

16. Roberts, A Woman's Place 117.

17. Michael Anderson, Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire (Cambridge: University Press, 1971), 18, 23, 34-41, 147-148, cited in Tilly and Scott, Women, Work and Family 126.

18. Scott, The Conditions of Female Labour in Ontario 25.

19. John Benson, "Working-Class Capitalism in Great Britain and Canada, 1867-1914," Labour/Le Travail, XII (1983), 150.

20. Tilly and Scott, Women, Work and Family 124.

21. Meg Luxton, More Than A Labour of Love (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1980), 153.

22. Ibid., 45-46.

23. Brandt, "Weaving it Together," 167.

24. Frances Early, "The French-Canadian Family Economy and Standard of Living in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1879," Journal of Family History, 7 (1982), 183, cited in Bettina Bradbury, "Women and Wage Labour in a Period of Transition: Montreal, 1861-1881," Histoire Sociale/Social History, XVII (1984), 124n.

25. Hareven, Family Time and Industrial Time 202.

26. Bradbury, "Women and Wage Labour in a Period of Transition," 125.

27. See also Tilly and Scott, Women, Work and Family 126; Boydston, "To Earn Her Daily Bread," 13-16.

28. Hans Medick, "The Proto-Industrial Family Economy: The Structural Function of Household and Family During the Transition From Peasant Society to Industrial Capitalism," Social History, III (1976), 310.

29. David L. Brown of the Government Archives Division of the National Archives of Canada supplied the Machine Readable Data File and The Documentation Manual. National Archives of Canada, "Documentation Manual for the Machine Readable Data File," 1988.

30. Ibid., 5.

31. Herbert Arkin and Raymond R. Colton, Tables For Statisticians (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1963), 145.

32. John Taylor, Ottawa: An Illustrated History (Toronto: James Lorimar and Company, Publishers, and Canadian Museum of Civilization, National Museums of Canada, 1986), Appendix, Table II, 210.

33. Michael Newton, Lower Town Ottawa Vol. II, 1854-1900 (Ottawa: National Capital Commission, 1981), 49.

34. Published annually as the Return of the Ottawa Immigration Agency, Sessional Papers Vol. I-IX, 1867-1876.

35. Taylor, Ottawa Appendix, Table IV, 211.

36. Michael Katz, The People of Hamilton (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 227.

37. Ibid., 223.

38. Gordon Darroch and Michael D. Ornstein, "Family Coresidence in Canada in 1871: Family Life-Cycles, Occupations and Networks of Mutual Aid, Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers, (1983), 34.

39. The ethnicity and religion of the households in the sample was based on the response of the married woman in all two-parent households. As household managers, it was the married woman who determined the residential living arangement and therefore, only her "culture" was considered in the analysis.

40. National Archives of Canada, Robert Hayward, Fire Insurance Plan in the National Map Collection/Plans d'assurance-incendie de la collection nationale de cartes et plans, Ottawa: Public Archives, National Map Collection/archives publiques, Collection nationale de cartes et plans, 1977.

41. Mss. Census, 1871, Victoria Ward, District 2, p. 42, line 12. In order to retain some degree of anonimity for these individuals whose private lives are revealed on the census records, only family names will be used.

42. Mss. Census, 1871, Victoria Ward, District 2, p. 23, line 16.

43. Katz, The People of Hamilton 231.

44. Ibid., 232.

45. Ibid., 221.

46. Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows and Boarders," 35. Bradbury's 14 percent excludes individuals identified as kinfolk or apprentices.

47. These totals include under "Simple" boarders, boarders and servants, and all "Extended Families."

48. John Modell and Tamara Hareven, "Urbanization and the Malleable Household: An Examination of Boarding and Lodging in American Families," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 35 (1973), 473.

49. See Katz, The People of Hamilton, 36, and Michael Haines, "Poverty, Economic Stress and The Family in a Late Nineteenth Century American City. Whites in Philadelphia, 1880," in Philadelphia. Work, Space, Family and Group Experience in the Nineteenth Century ed. by Theodore Hershberg. (New York, 1981), 244 cited in Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows and Boarders," 33, and Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows and Boarders," 38.

50. Katz, The People of Hamilton 227.

51. Ibid., 35.

52. Mss. Census, 1871, By Ward, District 2, p. 121, line 8.

53. Mss. Census, 1871, Victoria Ward, District 2, p. 91, line 6.

54. Joan Jensen, "Cloth, Butter and Boarders: Women's Household Production for the Market," The Review of Radical Political Economics, XII (1980), 19.

55. J. G. Snell, "The Cost of Living in Canada in 1870," Histoire Sociale/Social, XII (1979), 191.

56. 'Toronto and the Sweating System,' The Daily Mail and Empire 9 Oct. 1897, reproduced in The Workingman in the Nineteenth Century ed. by Michael S. Cross (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1974), 129-35, cited in Marjorie Cohen, Women's Work (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 134.

57. A 1904 survey of boarding income conducted in New York reported that a woman's boarding income "could pay the rent, clothing and part of the fuel bill." Jensen, "Clott, Butter and Boarders," 20.

58. Darroch and Ornstein, "Family Coresidence in Canada in 1871," 34-35.

59. Sheva Medjuck, "Family and Household Composition in the Nineteenth Century: The Case of Moncton, N.B. 1851-1871," Canadian Journal of Sociology, IV (1979), 281.

60. Darrock and Ornstein, "Family Coresidence in Canada in 1871," 37.

61. Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows and Boarders," 42.

62. Giles Lauzon, "Habiter Un Nouveau Quartier Ouvrier de la Banlieue de Montréal; Village Saint Augustin," (unpublished Memoire, L'Université du Québec à Montréal, 1986), 77-100. Bradbury, addresses the question of the accuracy of census data in "The Family Economy and Work in an Industrializing City: Montreal in the 1870s," Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers, (1979), 94; Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows and Boarders," 42; and Bradbury, "Surviving as a Widow in Nineteenth Century Montreal 1861-1881," (unpublished paper, 1988), 28.

63. Canada, Manual Containing "The Census Act," and The Instructions to Officers Employed in the Taking of the First Census of Canada, 1871 (Dept. of Agriculture, Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, 1871), 22.

64. City of Ottawa Archives (COA), Ottawa City Directories 1870-1875.

65. COA, Assessment Rolls, City of Ottawa, 1872.

66. National Archives of Canada, Robert Hayward, Fire Insurance Map in the National Map Collection/Plans d'assurance-incendie de la collection nationale de cartes et plans. Ottawa: Public Archives, National Map Collection/Archives publiques, Collection nationale de cartes et plans, 1977.

67. Darroch and Ornstein, "Family Coresidence in Canada in 1871," 36.

68. Mss. Census, 1871, Ottawa Ward, Subdistrict 2, p. 61, line 7.

69. Modell and Hareven, "Urbanization and the Malleable Household," 477.

70. Bradbury notes a similar trend for 1871 in Montreal. "Pigs, Cows and Boarders," Figure 1, 39.

71. Ibid., 32.

72. Darroch and Ornstein note a similar tendency in urban Canadian households to coreside when children were at home. "Family Coresidence in Canada in 1871," 46-49.

73. Elizabeth Roberts, A Women's Place 131.

74. Richard Bushman, "Family Security in the Transition From Farm to City, 1750-1850." Journal of Family History, VI (1981), 250.

75. Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows and Boarders," 41.

76. Ibid.

77. Bushman, "Family Security in the Transition From Farm to Family," 249.

78. Modell and Hareven, "Urbanization and the Malleable Household," 475.

79. Darroch and Ornstein, "Family Coresidence in Canada in 1871," 55.

80. Katz, The People of Hamilton 227.

81. Christopher Lasch, Haven in a Heartless World (New York, 1978), cited in Michael Katz, Michael Doucet and Mark Stern, The Social Organization of Early Industrial Capitalism (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982) 311.

CHAPTER 3

OTHER STRATEGIES

> You cannot expect to marry in such a manner as neither of you shall have occasion to work, and none but a fool will take a wife whose bread must be earned solely by his labour and who will contribute nothing towards it herself.
>
> --A Present for a Servant Maid, 1743.[1]

Within the home many families co-resided with boarders and other families. In the yard and on the streets, families implemented other strategies for survival. Street selling or huckstering, for example, enabled women to raise money selling goods obtained through scavenging, preparation in the home, (baking, soap, candles) or from produce grown in the backyard garden. Providing additional money for the family budget required creative thought, wise and skillful use of available resources concomitant with long hours of arduous labour.[2] Jane Lewis reports that in England large numbers of homemakers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries pursued an equally large number of odd jobs, "including the making of matchboxes, shirts, artifical flowers, umbrellas, brushes, carding buttons, furpulling, bending safety pins and covering tennis balls."[3] Similarly, in Ottawa women worked making brooms, matchboxes, furpulling, separating mica, sewing, huckstering and the illegal selling of liquor.[4] Christine Stansell also notes that in situations of extreme poverty women and children used the streets for "peddling, scavenging, and the shadier arts of theft and prostitution . . . to earn their keep."[5] Through scavenging, another persons "garbage" became useable or saleable possessions. Finding food, clothing, fuel, or household items meant

either money saved or money earned. Poor families relied not simply on a waged economy but on "a far larger and more intricate fabric of resources."[6]

By combining strategies of household production and co-residence arrangements, women laboured to maintain a health and decency standard of living for their families. Depending on individual family circumstances, working-class wives and mothers utilized the space around their house to raise animals and tend gardens for the same reasons they used their household space to accommodate additional boarders or families. Moreover, they often combined the two. Ms. Bigras for example, a French-Canadian woman kept house for her husband, a day labourer, four children and two boarders. In the yard grazed one horse and one pig.[7] In Victoria ward, almost a quarter of all the two-parent households with animals, and possibly gardens, also had additional people living in the house. This chapter focuses on two of these resources--raising animals and gardening.

Such activities did not go unnoticed; the keeping of animals in particular drew a variety of comments and responses. On Saturday, 18 May 1871 The Ottawa Citizen reported the rigid enforcement of the Cow By-Law.

> The police, were actively employed all day in driving to pound all the vagrant cows, pigs and horses found roaming at large. The consequence is all the pounds are full of these animals. Owners of the dear missing ones can find them on application and paying costs.[8]

The local newspaper routinely reported infractions of the city By-Laws restricting animals from running at large within the city limits and magistrates routinely fined "negligent" animal owners $1.00 to $2.00.[9]

Large and small animals that roamed the streets with "the most daring effrontery"[10] were not in keeping with the offical image of Ottawa as the nation's capital. Local officials viewed the raising of animals in nineteenth-century industrializing cities as an offensive nuisance.

Many urban families kept a wide variety of animals for an equally varied number of reasons in backyard sheds, barns and vacant lots. Horses and oxen transported people and goods; cows and goats supplied a daily, fresh supply of milk; cattle, pigs and sheep provided meat; and poultry brought the double benefits of fresh eggs and meat. Procurring of animals, as one historian suggests, represented the "instinctiveness" of migrant urban workers "to bring the farm into the town" as a "means to remain self-supporting."[11] An examination of families' motivation for raising animals separates the two notions of "instinctiveness" from "means to remain self-supporting." It also, as will be demonstrated in this study, separates the kinds of animals raised and their use by different families.

Within working-class families raising animals was one of many methods adopted by wives to supplement the household wage either through increasing income or reducing costs. On the one hand, the sale of eggs or milk to neighbours or the family pig to the local butcher provided additional household income. Alternatively, raising animals for home consumption cut costs in the weekly food budget. No doubt these women made the decision to sell or consume food based partly on quantity, consuming some eggs and selling "extras." More importantly, the decision to sell or to consume food was probably based on family needs--either immediate or long term.[12] Animals or their products could have been used to put food on the table, or sold, either to pay the

month's rent or to purchase the winter's fuel. Regardless of their uses, women raised these animals as part of the "complex array of subsistence-producing labour"[13] performed in the home, the yard and on the streets.

The gender-based division of labour in the nineteenth century, meanwhile, determined that it was men who kept animals for occupational needs or financial benefits. Some like the carters used horses for their jobs. They frequently owned one horse, which could be kept in the backyard shed. Others like lumber merchants Mr. Booth[14] and Mr. Perley[15] kept horses for transportation of goods. They each owned over 50 horses which they housed in their stables by the mills. Other livestock was also raised as an entrepreneurial enterprise. Many butchers and hotel keepers for example kept pigs. For the hotel keeper raising pigs reduced the cost of food. For the butcher, livestock provided meat for customers.

In 1871 large and small animals grazed throughout all wards in Ottawa. Earlier By-Laws restricted their "running at large" but not their presence within the city limits.[16] In 1871, there were 1146 pigs, 715 milk cows and horned cattle, and 238 sheep living among the 4031 families. (See Table 5).

TABLE 5

WARDS IN OTTAWA BY NUMBER OF ANIMALS AND FAMILIES, 1871

	[1] Horses	Oxen	Cows	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs	All Dw[2]	All Families
Victoria	305	0	85	6	0	156	529	592
Ottawa	218	0	96	6	2	279	936	1030
By	263	10	136	52	183	442	971	1061
Wellington	205	0	166	33	34	144	726	749
St. George	162	0	130	5	19	125	563	599
Total	1153	10	613	102	238	1146	3725	4031

Source: Mss. Census, 1871.

1. The 1871 census did not record the number of goats or poultry.
2. Includes all families listed on manuscript census, not simply those with animals.

On the surface it appears that approximately one in four families kept pigs, one in eight owned cows and one in ten raised sheep. A closer examination of families which kept animals classified by ward, class and ethnicity, reveals a more subtle set of variables. (See Table 6).

TABLE 6

ANIMALS IN VICTORIA WARD, BY OCCUPATION OF ADULT MALE, 1871[a]

	Horses	Oxen	Cows	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs	No. of Fam.[a]
High white collar	152	0	12	1	0	16	9
Low white collar	22	0	25	0	0	57	32
Skilled	15	0	14	2	0	13	17
Semi-skilled	25	0	6	0	0	17	14
Unskilled	24	0	17	1	0	49	43
Unclassified	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	238	0	74	4	0	152	115

ANIMALS IN OTTAWA WARD BY OCCUPATION OF ADULT MALE, 1871

	Horses	Oxen	Cows	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs	No. of Fam.
High white collar	9	0	6	1	0	18	8
Low white collar	28	0	36	3	2	97	38
Skilled worker	10	0	8	0	0	45	25
Semi-skilled	27	0	7	1	0	34	22
Unskilled	6	0	13	1	0	65	37
Unclassified	2	0	7	0	0	1	4
Totals	82	0	77	6	2	260	134

cont'd

TABLE 6 CONT'D

ANIMALS IN BY WARD BY OCCUPATION OF ADULT MALE, 1871

	Horses	Oxen	Cows	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs	No. of Fam.
High white collar	27	0	16	13	3	20	16
Low white collar	90	8	61	27	146	177	56
Skilled worker	23	0	16	7	7	100	54
Semi-skilled	24	0	7	2	0	19	13
Unskilled	5	0	8	0	1	40	28
Unclassified	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	169	8	108	49	157	356	167

Source: Mss. Census, 1871.

[1]Horses were used primarily for work and pleasure in the nineteenth century. Therefore, families with only horses are not included in this data. The number of families applies to only two-parent households. Single parent families are not a part of this analysis.

[2]In six Ottawa ward families the wives reported an occupation. In one case the husband was listed as retired, and the family was classified by her occupation.

Among the three wards Victoria ward had the highest percentage of animals. Twenty percent of all Victoria families owned animals, compared to 16 percent in By ward and a low 14 percent in Ottawa ward. A closer examination of ownership of specific animals, and the distribution of the animals by class, demonstrates a variation in the motivation and consequently the implications of animal ownership.

Although families in all classes raised animals, they did so for different reasons. In By ward, for example, among the 72 families identified as high and low white collar workers, 63 percent owned the

117 cattle, and 38 percent owned the 197 pigs. Within this group the cattle were distributed relatively equally among the families; one or two cows per family were kept in the backyard. However, the unequal distribution of a large number of pigs among the families owning boarding houses, hotels and shops indicates that raising pigs was more an entrepreneurial enterprise than a family strategy to supplement food costs. The sixteen pigs owned by Mr. Skead, a wealthy merchant and his Irish wife Ms. Skead required more than a backyard as a pen.[17] A large landowner, Skead, housed his pigs within a fenced lot distanced from his house, thereby separating his home and family from the offensive odour frequently associated with swine. He was also better able to comply with a local By-Law that restricted the building of a shed or pen for swine from being erected near houses or streets.[18] Among working-class families a different pattern of urban husbandry emerges. Of the 95 working-class families in By ward raising animals, cattle were distributed equally among more than a third of the families, in particular among the families of skilled workers, averaging one or two for each household. The 159 pigs, were distributed one or two per family among almost two thirds of the working-class families. Clearly these animals provided additions to family diet.

The working-class families in Victoria and Ottawa wards demonstrated a slightly different pattern. Approximately one half of the families raising animals kept a cow and three quarters of the families kept a pig. A higher proportion of families may have been able to keep pigs and cows in certain parts of these wards, because of the availability of unoccupied "grazing" space by the river and railway yards, not found in the more densely populated By ward.[19] For example

Ms. Flood a mother of two children lived with her husband who worked as a teamster in Ottawa ward. She kept one cow and two pigs. The nearby pasture might also have fed her husband's two horses.[20]

Although ownership of vacant lots and barns enhanced the ability of families to accommodate a large number of animals, space was not the only factor. Individual characteristics of each specie of animal also determined their distribution among the families of manual and non-manual workers. Pigs, as shown in this study and in an earlier study by Bradbury were "the working-class animal."[21] The residential arrangement of housing and backyard sheds in Ottawa, as indicated on the map, provided a restrictive but adequate living space for one or two animals in the spring and summer months. Prior to the appointment of the Health Inspector, in 1874,[22] families with small yards appear to have escaped the penalty for keeping pigs "within 10 feet of any house."[23] Pigs were relatively inexpensive to purchase and to feed. The edible garbage and swill that accumulated around the house and on the streets, provided cheap nourishment for the household pig.[24] By the end of the summer the pig was ready for slaughter. A slaughtered pig could provide bacon, ham, pork, and lard for the family or additional income from its sale to the local butcher. In 1871, the Ottawa market prices recorded fresh pork at $10.00 per 100 pounds, smoked ham $.18 and lard $.08 per pound.[25] In other words, a 150 pound pig sold with a dressed weight of approximately 100 pounds could pay the rent for two to three months, or provide enough cash to purchase part of the winter's fuel. Within working-class families a pig provided economic benefits within the restrictive living and budgetary arrangements of their daily lives.

Pork was a popular food among Irish and French-Canadian

families.[26] In the three wards of Victoria, Ottawa and By, families of differing ethnicities kept pigs. Irish families, however, raised the highest proportion. Representing only one third of the population of the three wards they raised 41 percent of the pigs. Studies of other Canadian and American cities also note the higher percentage of pig raising among Irish families. Bradbury notes that in the Montreal ward of St. Anne the Irish comprised only 50 percent of the population, but 70 percent of the pig keepers.[27] Similarly, in the United States, Richard Bushman observes that it was the poor Irish who were identified as the urban pig raisers.[28] (See Table 7).

TABLE 7

ANIMALS AND ETHNICITY OF FAMILIES
OTTAWA, BY AND VICTORIA WARDS COMBINED, 1871

Ethnicity	% Families With Cows	% Families With Pigs	% All Families by Ethnicity[1]
French	32	48	52
Irish	43	41	30
English	13	7	13
Scottish	10	3	4
Other	2	0	1

Source: Mss. Census, 1871.

[1]Includes all families in Ottawa, By and Victoria Wards. Percentages are tabulated from random sample.

Although animal raising was common for all ethnic groups, a higher proportion of Irish and French-Canadian Catholic families kept animals. Among the smaller Protestant English and Scottish population

fewer families reported owning livestock, particularly swine. This cultural bias may account for the difference in pig population between Ottawa and other Ontario cities. Although the 1871 "family" population of Toronto, for example, was twice as large as Ottawa, there were 100 fewer pigs in Toronto than in Ottawa. Toronto, however, had a far larger Anglo-Protestant population. In Ottawa, English Protestant families, meanwhile, kept few pigs. Toronto, had almost twice as many cows as Ottawa, and this too seems related to the different ethnic mix. Ottawa English Protestants kept few pigs but a lot of cows.[29]

The raising of animals may also have represented part of a cultural transfer from the rural to the urban environment. Among rural wives, animals represented an important possession.[30] Marjorie Cohen comments on the common practice of subsistence farming among rural Canadian women.[31] She cites the example of a woman who raised two cows and managed to use the extra butter at the store in exchange for household necessities.[32]

Although the preference for a regular supply of fresh milk and butter motivated many families to purchase cattle for household and perhaps market needs, owning cattle was clearly a costly endeavour. Milch cows, for example, required a regular diet of grasses, which necessitated large purchases of hay throughout the year. The 1871 Ottawa Market quotations for May reported hay priced at $16.00 per ton.[33] Based on an estimated daily requirement of 30 pounds of hay for a lactating cow, one cow required approximately 8 tons of hay annually. That represented an annual household expenditure of $128.00. The two quarts of milk provided per day,[34] which sold for $.03 a quart[35] meant that the daily cost of maintaining a cow was approximately $.26. The

cost factors involved in raising a cow clearly exceeded its cost effectiveness. No doubt, as indicated in the newspaper articles, families attemped to reduce this cost by allowing their cattle to graze in vacant lots and pastures. The Cow By-Law, however, eliminated this opportunity, thereby restricting ownership of cattle to families who could afford this additional "feeding" expenditure. Although a cow provided the fresh milk required by all families, only those families who could afford this premium price for freshness kept cows; frequently among the middle class.

By raising animals and poultry, working-class wives also increased the daily demands on their labour. In wealthier homes, animal care, like many other domestic duties was predominately the responsibility of paid help. Advertisements for a servant specifically demanding the ability to "milk a cow" make this clear.[36] In working-class families, however, tending animals added to the daily drudgery of mother's household chores. Ms. Poulin a French-Canadian woman married to a carpenter, kept one cow and one pig to help feed her family of seven children, all under the age of sixteen.[37] Along with feeding, milking, and disposing of the backyard animal waste she also had to ensure that the animals remained in the yard in order to avoid the $1.00 to $2.00 fine that could be imposed on wandering livestock. Undoubtedly Poulin's children assisted with domestic chores.[38] However, as household managers it was the responsiblity of working-class wives and mothers to fulfil their domestic duties in order to put food on the table.[39]

Other animals, including goats and poultry, resided in urban yards. Unfortunately the 1871 census did not record their numbers.

Other qualitative and quantitative sources, however, confirm their existence in nineteenth-century urban cities. Studies of Toronto and Montreal indicate that by the end of the nineteenth century, thousands of chickens and hens clucked in backyard pens and roamed the streets.[40] Hens were easily housed in small backyards and supplemented their diet of grain with "bugs." Purchased as chicks in the spring they could be slaughtered for meat in the fall. Eggs or fowl not consumed by the family could have been exchanged among neighbours for either services or goods, or sold at the market. In 1871, the Ottawa market sold eggs at $.14 a dozen and fowl at $.50 each.[41]

Urban yards were not just for animals. The long, hot summer days provided the right temperature and animals provided the fertilizer for another household activity, gardening.

More difficult to document from the manuscript census, but undoubtedly no less important than the raising of animals was the growing of urban crops. Historians frequently rely on literary, pictoral and oral sources to document the extent of gardening in nineteenth-century urban communities because quantitative evidence is limited.[42] The 1871 census recorded only garden plots equal to or greater than one quarter acre within each division.[43] Gardening, a common practice in backyard plots, reduced at a minumum cost household food purchases. By preserving produce, women, provided a relatively inexpensive supply of food for the winter months.[44]

In Ottawa only the gardens of 51 of the 2,683 families met the census criteria for inclusion. By ward listed the most gardens. Forty-four families, the majority of whom owned one quarter of an acre, grew mostly potatoes and other root vegetables that could be stored for use

over the long winter months. Among the "gardening" families in By ward, 11 listed their occupation as storekeeper, boarding-house owner or civil servant, and lived in residences that frequently employed servants. Within this group it is evident that some men grew crops for business reasons. Mr. Salmon, an English boarding house keeper, harvested 5 bushels of corn, 2 bushels of beets and carrots, 15 bushels of potatoes and 10 bushels of turnips on one acre of land. This produce provided food for the 21 guests and six servants residing in the boarding house.[45] The remaining 30 "gardening" families were working-class, and an additional 3 were widows. Among the working-class families, 80 percent of the primary wage earners were skilled. The land needed for extensive garden plots was accessible only to workers receiving higher wages. The fact that the majority of households with large gardens also occupied single family dwellings suggests that for these families, gardening was a primary strategy for supplementing wages.[46]

The Irish families were over represented among the gardeners. Although they represented only a third of the total population in By ward they comprised 39 percent of the gardeners. The French families are slightly under represented, while the representation among the minority English and Scottish families remains consistent with their pattern of distribution among the By ward population. Amongst the mainly two-parent families, an average of 10 to 15 bushels of potatoes, and 3 to 5 bushels of carrots, beets and turnips were produced. At $.60 per bushel for potatoes, a woman selling produce could augment the family income through sales of approximately $6.00 to $8.00.[47] More likely these root vegetables were exchanged or stored for future use in

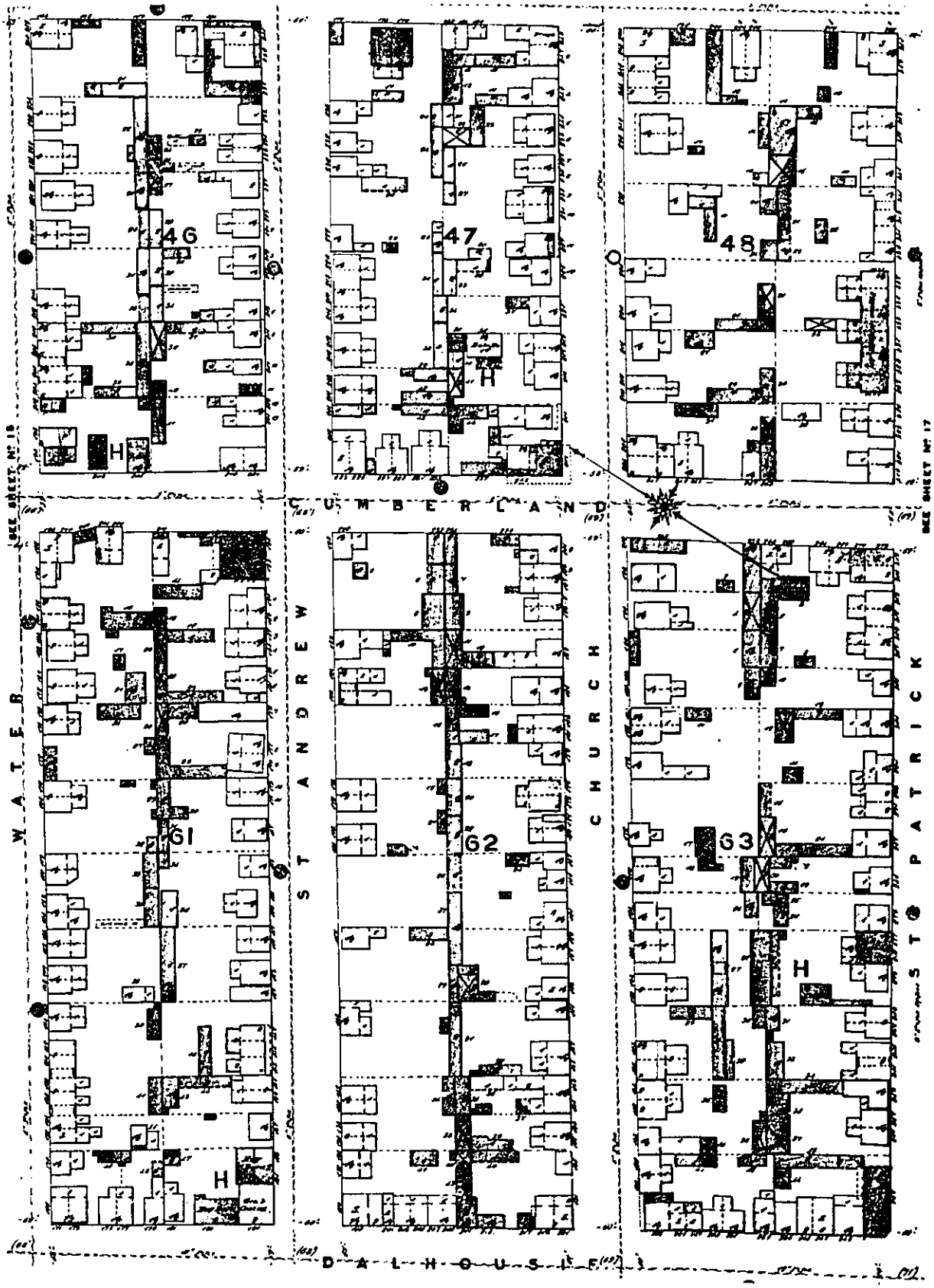
soups and stews in the fall and winter months. In the case of one gardening family, Mr. Ponder a messenger, and his Irish Catholic wife harvested 20 bushels of potatoes from their quarter acre of land. This represents enough potatoes to feed their five children ages 1 to 14, with some extra to sell or exchange for other necessities or services.[48]

In Ottawa it appears that most families were limited to backyard garden plots for planting. It is doubtful that the tiny lot sizes in Victoria, Ottawa and By ward, provided adequate space for extensive market gardening. (See Map). This suggests that for many families, backyard garden plots produced fresh vegetables for personal or community consumption.

It is important to consider the significance of gardening beyond its economic value. Growing produce represented more than just food on the table. The sharing or exchanging of produce among neighbours also promoted community cohesion. Among neighbourhood women "reciprocity was the rule. `You always got it (what you lent) back.'"[49] Sharing rendered a sense of friendship and security among neighbours--someone to call on in times of need or distress. "Amicable relations with one's neighbours could yield someone to sit with a sick child or a friend to borrow a pot or a few pieces of coal."[50]

Animals and vegetables co-existed in many nineteenth-century urban yards. The manure, a persistent problem for disposal, provided the benefit of fertilizer for the garden. Growing vegetables and raising cows and pigs ensured some flavourful and nutritious meals for impoverished families and were a welcome relief from the cheaper and more regular diet of bread. However, among the more influential sectors

MAP 3: BACKYARDS IN OTTAWA, 1871



Source: N.A.C., NMC 0010731

of the Ottawa population, it became apparent that despite the widespread practice of keeping animals "some" animals were becoming unwelcome.

The local newspaper continued its regular "humourous" reporting of infractions against the Cow By-Law. Under the column "Local Intelligensia" this announcement appeared in May 1871: "there will be a very large and highly respectable levee at the police court this morning. Those who will dance attendance are owners of vagrant cows etc."[51] The following day the list of names was published; they included a number of prominent Ottawa families. The same day petitions were presented to council against the recent Cow By-Law.[52]

Local council and citizenry, however, continued to express concern about the presence of some animals in the city. A letter to the editor under the heading "Sanitary Precautions" protested the existence of "cow yards, hog pens and dirty yards in such abundance (in the city) as to originate, let alone the nuturing of, disease and pestilence."[53] Writing under the pseudonym "Pro Bono Publico" the author was convinced that his words echoed the concerns of many other Ottawans.

Although problems of public health and sanitation arose with all animals, subsequent municipal legislation throughout the 1870s and 1880s singled out swine for particular attention.[54] Unsure of where pigs belonged in the urban industrializing city, council By-Laws over a ten year period attempted to impose restrictions on their habitation.

Two years after passing the Cow By-Law, council banned the keeping or "harbouring" of swine within the city limits, except those parts of town south of Theodore and Maria Streets. Penalties were severe. Fines no less than $1.00 and no more than $50.00 were to be

levied. Failure to pay the fine could result in imprisonment in the county jail "WITH OR WITHOUT HARD LABOUR, and for such period not exceeding TWENTY-ONE DAYS."[56] By restricting the pigs to the southern most part of the city, it appears council was attempting to eliminate the backyard pig pens, not necessarily all pig raising. Pigs were excluded from the working-class wards of Ottawa, By and Victoria but permitted in the wealthier wards of Wellington and St George. In effect, this by-law sanctioned only those families that owned property in the southern less populated areas of Ottawa to continue keeping swine.

Five years later, council ammended this legislation. In 1878, the members decided to permit no more than two pigs per household within the western portion of By ward and the northern and eastern portion of Ottawa ward near the river. Although families could again keep pigs they would be subject to the inspection of the Board of Health "To regulate the mode in which such pigs shall be kept."[56] Such inspections seem not to have achieved their objectives as council decided in March 1883, to again banish all pigs from the city.[57] This time there were to be no exceptions. The restriction, however, lasted only three months. Council reversed its decision and again allowed pigs in a more confined area in Ottawa and By wards "providing for such sanitary regulations as are necessary for the preservation of Public Health."[58]

Although council clearly wanted to rid the city of swine, "respectable" cows continued to forage relatively unmolested alongside the goats, sheep and poultry in yards and vacant lots. Working animals such as horses and oxen, meanwhile, were a necessity for business and

pleasure; they too remained in the city undisturbed by urban reformers. Issues of health and sanitation concerned only the swine. Issues of survival concerned only the poor.

In the urban industrializing community impoverished families survived within the context of a "fragile"[65] family wage economy dependant on insecure wages supplemented by alternate family strategies. The significance of these strategies cannot be over estimated. By adapting earlier traditions and customs working-class families struggled to exist in the harsh industrializing city. Families relied on a limited number of options. While some chose cohabitation, others chose to raise animals and grow crops. Some combined both. Within the households of the poor, family life course influenced the pattern of coresiding among working-class families more than culture. However, among families raising animals, cultural preference was demonstrated by the greater proclivity of Irish families to keep pigs and Anglo Protestants to keep cows. Each strategy provided working-class families, with a "means to remain self-supporting"[66] and to reduce the otherwise enforced dependency on wages. The gradual exclusion of the pig from backyard pens, represented for working-class families the elimination of one of the more important options for survival. Without their pigs families became increasingly dependent on an even more limited number of resources.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. Quoted from Ivy Pinchbeck, Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution 1-2, cited in Louise Tilly and Joan Scott, Women, Work and the Family (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978), 9.

2. Christine Stansell, "Women, Children, and the Uses of the Streets: Class and Gender Conflict in New York City, 1850-1860," Feminist Studies, VIII, 2 (1982), 313-315.

3. Jane Lewis, Women in England 1870-1950 (Sussex: Wheatsheaf Books Ltd., 1984), 55.

4. For information on broommaking: Ottawa City Directory 1870-1871. For information on huckstering, furpulling and sewing: Manuscript census, 1871, Schedule No. 6. For information on selling of liquor: The Ottawa Citizen 1871. For information on separating mica: Odette Vincent-Domey, "Le quartier no. 3 de Hull en 1891: milieu de travail, milieu de vie des journaliers en scierie et de leurs familles." Paper presented at the Rencontre Annuelle des Départments d'Histoire de l'Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières et de l'Université d'Ottawa. Université d'Ottawa, 7-8 avril, 1989. For information on making matchboxes: Odette Vincent-Domey, "Filles et familles en milieu ouvrier, Hull, Québec, à la fin du XIXe siècle," (unpublished M.A. thesis 1989), 134.

5. Stansell, "Women, Children, and the Uses of the Sreets," 312-313.

6. Jeanne Boydston, "To Earn Her Daily Bread: Housework and Antebellum Working-Class Subsistence." Radical History Review, 35, (1986), 8.

7. Mss. Census, 1871, Victoria Ward, District 2, Dwelling 32, Family 34.

8. The Ottawa Citizen 18 May 1871.

9. The Ottawa Citizen 1871.

10. The Ottawa Citizen 2 May 1871.

11. John Benson, "Working-Class Capitalism in Great Britain and Antebellum Working-Class Subsistence," Radical History Review, 35, (1986), 247.

12. Daniel S. Smith, "Family Strategy: More Than A Metaphor?" Smith et al., "Family Strategy: A Dialogue." Historical Methods, XX, (1987), 118.

13. Boydston, "To Earn Her Daily Bread," 13.

14. Mss. Census, 1871, Victoria Ward, District 2, Dwelling 413, Family 441.

15. Mss. Census, 1871, Victoria Ward, District 2, Dwelling 409, Family 437.

16. City of Ottawa Archives (COA), Minutes of the City Council of Ottawa By Law 4, 1850; By Law 28, 1850; By Law 98, 1853; By Law 112, 1854; By Law 263, 1868; By Law 301, 1871.

17. Mss. Census, 1871, Victoria Ward, District 2, Dwelling 323, Family 346.

18. COA, Minutes of the City Council of Ottawa Vol. XXXIII, 22 June 1868, 142.

19. Bettina Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows and Boarders: Non-Wage Forms of Survival Among Montreal Families, 1861-1891," Labour/Le Travail, 14, (1984) 22,26.

20. Mss. Census, 1871, Ottawa Ward, District 2, Dwelling 11, Family 12.

21. Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows and Boarders," 46.

22. John Taylor, "Fire, Disease and Water in Ottawa: An Introduction," Urban History Review, VIII, 1 (1979), 10.

23. COA Minutes of the City Council of Ottawa 22 June 1868, By Law 31.

24. See Richard Bushman, "Family Security in the Transition From Farm to City, 1750-1850," Journal of Family History, 6, (1981), 248; and Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows and Boarders," 19.

25. The Ottawa Citizen 3 May 1871.

26. Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows and Boarders," 19.

27. Ibid., 22.

28. Bushman, "Family Security in the Transition From Farm to City, 1750-1850," 248.

29. Marjorie Cohen, Women's Work, Markets, and Economic Development in Nineteenth-Century Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), Appendix, Table 18, 166.

30. Bruce S. Elliot, Irish Migrants in the Canadas (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), 199.

31. Cohen, Women's Work, 97.

32. Georgina Binnie-Clark, Wheat and Women (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 128, cited in Cohen, Women's Work 96.

33. The Ottawa Citizen 3 May 1871.

34. Information on milk production and consumption of hay was obtained from the Canada, Department of Agriculture, Telephone interview, 12 September 1989.

35. Snell, J., "The Cost of Living in Canada in 1870," Histoire Sociale/Social History, XII (May 1979), 190.

36. Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows and Boarders," 17-19.

37. Mss. Census, 1871, Victoria Ward, District 2, Dwelling 33, Family 35.

38. See John Bullen, "Hidden Workers: Child Labour and the Family Economy in Late-Nineteenth Century Urban Ontario," Labour/Le Travail, 18 (1986).

39. Tilly and Scott, Women, Work and Family 136.

40. Cohen records that in Toronto, in 1891 there were 18,183 chickens and hens, Cohen, Women's Work Appendix, Table 18, 166. Bradbury reports that in 1891 in Montreal there were 8,353 chickens and hens, Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows and Boarders," Table 5, 15.

41. The Ottawa Citizen 3 May 1871.

42. See for example Bushman, "Family Security in the Transition From Farm to City, 1750-1850," 247, and Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows and Boarders," 27-32.

43. Canada, Manual Containing "The Census Act," and The Instructions to Officers Employed in the Taking of the First Census of Canada (Dept. of Agriculture, Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, 1871), Schedule No. 4, 28.

44. Murray Nicholson, "Women in the Irish-Catholic Family," Polophony, VIII (1986), 9.

45. Mss. Census, 1871, By Ward, District 2, Schedule No. 4, p. 66, No. 2; Schedule 1, Dwelling 259, Family 277.

46. Mss. Census, By Ward, 1871, District 1 and 2, Schedule No. 4.

47. The Ottawa Citizen 3 May 1871.

48. Mss. Census, By Ward, 1871, District 2, Schedule No. 4, p. 94, No. 7; Schedule 1, Dwelling 364, Family 393.

49. Ellen Ross, "Survival Networks: Women's Neighbourhood Sharing in London Before World War I," History Workshop, 15, (1983), 11.

50. Boydston, Jeanne, "To Earn Her Daily Bread," p. 7.

51. The Ottawa Citizen 15 May 1871.

52. The Ottawa Citizen 16 May 1871.

53. The Ottawa Citizen 18 May 1871.

54. Bradbury notes similar restrictions against swine in the city of Montreal. See Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows and Boarders," 9,14,22-27,46.

55. COA, Minutes of the City Council of Ottawa 2 May 1873, By Law 332.

56. COA, Minutes of the City Council of Ottawa 9 May 1878, By Law 434.

57. COA, Minutes of the City Council of Ottawa 19 March 1883, By Law 535.

58. COA, Minutes of the City Council of Ottawa 21 May 1883, By Law 544.

59. Lewis, Women in England 53.

60. Bushman, "Family Security in the Transition From Farm to Family," 247.

CHAPTER 4

SINGLE AGAIN

On April 1871, thirty two year old Widow Cox, a mother of five children under the age of nine, appealed to the Assessment Committee of the City Council of Ottawa for an exemption from the payment of her taxes. The Committee recommended that she and a number of others "be exempted from the payment of taxes on account of poverty and inability to pay." Widow Cox retained her $5.20.[1] Again in 1872, Widow Cox petitioned for the remittance of her taxes of $4.60,[2] followed in 1873 by a third request for tax remittance of $6.04.[3] Her petitions were all approved. For Widow Cox the $4.00 to $6.00, saved each year may well have saved her home and kept the family together. Surviving as a widow in the nineteenth century was a continuous challenge for many women.

Boarding, raising animals, gardening and penny capitalism represented for most women a way of stretching or adding to the family income. For some women, however, these same activities represented their sole means of survival. Widows did not "supplement" the household income with their labour; their labour was the income.

An investigation of the experience of the nineteenth-century widow sheds light on the experience of all married women in society. It also reflects more accurately the reality of family structure in the nineteenth century. Single parent families represented a significant proportion of the family population. Therefore, to omit widows from a study of family economy would provide an incomplete picture of nineteenth-century society.

Recent scholarship has begun to examine the experiences of

widows in industrializing society. Bettina Bradbury's study of the family economy of widows living in Montreal identifies the variation in survival strategies adopted by widows. She concludes that working-class widows shared lives similar to the labour experience of married women; they continued to earn an income by utilizing their skills acquired as wives: washing, sewing and cleaning, and "intensified" other practices of animal raising and coresidence arrangements.[4] The same can be said of widows living in industrializing Ottawa.

The nineteenth-century idealized view of the family visualized the father as the major wage earner. Mother's role was in the home fulfilling her domestic duties. Within this idealized world, the widow and her family found no place.[5] Relegated to the fringe of society, the single woman as head of and sole supporter of a family represented an anomaly. Despite the public presence of widows in the wage labour force and occasional appeals to the public conscience for relief, widowhood for many women remained primarily their private concern. Although the nineteenth-century urban society responded to some, probably with a patchwork of aid through charities to widows deemed by their "circumstances" the "deserving poor,"[6] a widow was left to her own resources to provide for herself and her family. To survive women responded with a myriad of methods: wage labour, residing with kin or boarders, non-wage labour, remarriage, or when all else failed--relief. No matter which option she chose, a widow faced one overriding problem: the all-pervasive gender discrimination that severely restricted her options. Only a few jobs were open to her and those paid miserably low wages. She had only her imagination and her ingenuity to rely upon. Systematic gender discrimination made the experience of widows

fundamentally different from the experience of widowers.[7]

This chapter examines two central issues. The first part defines the meaning of widowhood by analyzing the experiences of 151 widows in By ward. It explores both the similarities and differences among widows and the general population. In part, this analysis suggests who was most likely to be widowed in By ward in 1871 and why. Demographic characteristics form the basis for this discussion. The second part of the study explores the range of options available to these widows. It defines their parameters as widows and as women. The strategies implemented by the widows are examined in light of the strategies implemented by many wives and mothers as outlined in previous chapters.

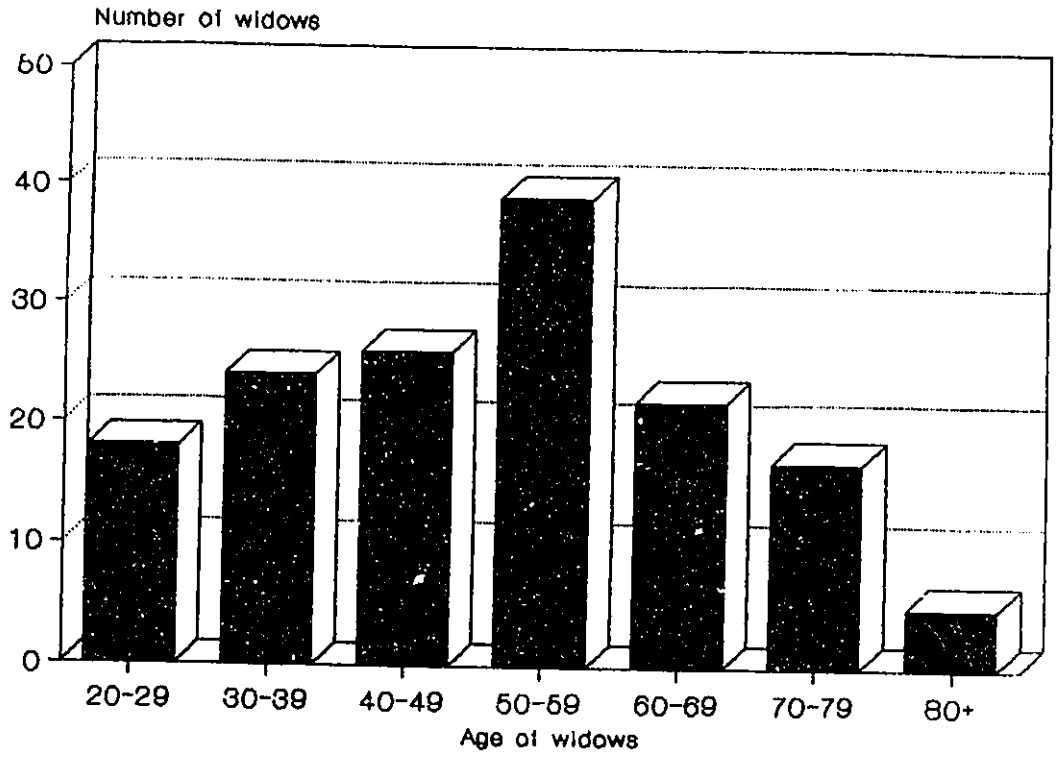
An examination of the word "widow" and its usage in a nineteenth-century context is instructive. As a result of restricted access to divorce either because of religious or legal impediments, some of the women who listed their status as "widows" on the census may have in fact been "separated" from their spouses.[8] Identifying oneself as a widow instead of separated or deserted provided a woman with advantageous legal, economic and social status.[9] As a widow a woman was free to remarry, act as a <u>feme sole</u> in conducting her own legal affairs, and enter into business contracts. Prior to the passage of a number of provincial Married Women's Property Acts,[10] a married woman living on her own "without the benefit of practical matrimonial support . (was) . . still subjected to the disabilies of coverture."[11] The desire on the part of women to be considered "widowed" rather than separated or deserted, might in part explain the high proportion of widows listed on the 1871 manuscript census. Whether abandoned, separated or widowed these "husbandless women" were on their

own and had to fend for themselves and their families.

For this study, data was collected on the 151 women in By ward who listed their status on the 1871 manuscript census as "widow."[12] This ward was selected on the basis of the diversity of occupation, wealth, ethnicity and religion. The 151 widows of By ward represented 6 percent of the total adult female population, in the ward. More importantly, widows headed approximately 10 percent of the families in the ward.[13]

Widowhood was not "a stage of an individual's lifecycle."[14] It did not occur, as traditionally thought, only during the latter stages of a women's life course. High death rates resulting from illness and accidents, particularly in the inherently dangerous lumber industry in Ottawa, meant that many women of all ages were left to survive without the support of a male wage earner. The Ottawa data confirms this analysis. In By ward 28 percent of the widows were under the age of 40, 45 percent were under 50, and 71 percent were under 60 years. (See Figure 8).

FIGURE 8: AGES OF WIDOWS



Source: Mss. census, 1871, By Ward.

The wide age distribution in the widow population indicates that these women faced widowhood at various stages of the family life cycle. Among the 151 widows in By ward almost two thirds had children, and 20 percent of the these widows had children under the age of 14. A widow's age and the presence or absence of children had implications beyond simply determining her stage of life course. These factors were also critical in determining whether or not a woman would remain a widow. According to Diane Farmer's study on remarriage in the 1860s, widows who remarried were usually under forty and childless.[15] Only 12 of the By ward widows fit this criteria, although remarriage likely eliminated other younger and childless widows from the sample.

Surviving on your own meant earning an income. In a society that

defined wage labour as the prerogative of males and young women before marriage female employment was viewed as either supplementary or temporary. This view represented a contradiction to the reality of a widow's life. A widow's options for generating income depended on a number of factors. The availability of capital, marketable skills, and presence of children were significant factors in determining her options. In By ward more than two thirds of the widows listed an occupation. An examination of widow's occupations reveals, in part, their limited range and choice of options. (See Table 8).

TABLE 8

OCCUPATIONS OF WIDOWS

OCCUPATIONS	No. of Widows	Percentage
High White Collar		
Rentiere	40	26.5
Merchant	3	2.0
Bourgeoise	1	0.7
Low White Collar		
Boarding house keeper	4	2.7
Clerk	1	0.7
Nurse	1	0.7
Hotel keeper	1	0.7
Grocer	3	2.0
Storekeeper	2	1.3
Skilled Workers		
Milliner	3	2.0
Painter	1	0.7
Re-upholsterer	1	0.7
Semi-Skilled Workers		
Seamstress	18	11.9
Unskilled Workers		
Day worker	22	14.5
Washerwomen	2	1.3
Servant	2	1.3
No Occupation	46	30.5

Source: Mss. Census, 1871, By Ward.

Among our widows 38 percent held white collar positions and were usually listed as "rentiere" or "of independent means." This high proportion of affluent widows suggests that "rentieres" may well have shunned a second marriage in order to maintain their financial independence. Although it would be difficult to demonstrate, some widows in the nineteenth century may have been reluctant to relinquish their legal status as feme sole. For wealthier widows with property and capital this loss of control may have been a consideration. Forty-nine year old Widow McGee operated a successful boarding house that reported having ten guests.[16] Had she remarried, the boarding house and the income it provided would have been listed under her husband's name. For some women, this independence or the loss of it may have discouraged them from seeking another marriage partner. They may also have agreed with Widow Blackacre's observation that "Matrimony to a woman (or widow) is worse than excommunication in depriving her of the benefit of the law."[17]

In all, 70 percent of all the widows listed an occupation or method of earning an income--excluding widows of independent means, that figure is reduced to 44 percent. This figure varies considerably from the number of widows reporting an income in the working-class wards of Montreal. Bradbury's sample lists only 20 percent of the widows in the two wards reporting an occupation.[18] This variation in results could be due to a variety of factors one of which may have been a decision by widows in Ottawa to relocate in By ward. For widows with capital or seeking employment, By ward offered many business and investment opportunities. The large city market and shops in Lower Town attracted shopkeepers and grocers. Widows who operated shops may have

either taken over the business after their husband died or set up the store with their inheritance.[19]

Widows with a trade, typically milliners and seamstresses, may also have been attracted to By ward because of the large number of shops employing women. Schedule Six of the 1871 manuscript census listed 217 women employed in tailor, clothing or milliner shops in By ward.[20] Among the widows and female children in the sample, 21 widows and 13 of their children listed an occupation in the sewing business. For widows skilled in the sewing trade, living in By ward meant accessibilty to employment.

Working-class widows, the largest number of whom were unskilled, represented 33 percent of the widow population. The high percentage of working-class and "no occupation" widows may have reflected the high number of deaths among working-class husbands either by accident or because of ill-health. Widows without capital or a trade opted for occupations traditionally held by other working-class women: washerwoman, day worker, servant. No widows in the By ward sample listed employment in a factory. During the second half of the century, Ottawa's main sources of employment were the lumbering industry and the government. Both excluded women.[21] Lacking industries employing female labour, working-class women, void of capital and "skills," had little recourse but to sell their domestic labour to the wealthier families in Ottawa.[22] Widow Dickson, for example, a sixty year old woman, without children, listed her occupation as "day worker"[23] as did Widow Ebbs a thirty-five year old woman with four children under the age of thirteen.[24]

Almost half of the widows with children did not report an

occupation. Of those who did, their work as seamstress or milliner could be done on a part-time basis and/or in the home. Widow O'Brien, a seamstress, reported having two children, ages four and six listed as attending school.[26] The children's school time undoubtedly became her paid labour time.

Despite having an occupation, it is evident that many women lived precarious lives. Female occupations were among the poorest paid. Consequently, whether employed or not, widows relied on the earnings and work of their children in order to survive. When possible, children also sought work elsewhere for wages. At home, children assisted with domestic tasks, a particularly burdensome chore for widows who worked outside the home. As John Bullen has observed, in working-class families, when mother entered the paid labour force, her responsibilities "shifted" to other members.[26] The same could be said of widow's families as demonstrated in the following examples. Two of the four children of Widow Neagle, a day worker, attended school while the other two either remained at home, possibly doing household chores or assisting their mother "at work".[27] It is interesting to note that none of Widow Kelly's three school age children went to school.[28] Children were often needed at home to babysit younger sibblings or their labour was needed to earn an income.[29] Education played a secondary role to the economic necessities of the family.[30]

Bradbury's research highlights he fact that "On the average there were always twice as many children at work in widow-headed families as in those with a father."[31] Nineteenth-century Ottawa did not offer the factory employment opportunities for children found in the larger industrial cities studied by Bradbury and Bullen. However,

in her study on Hull, Odette Vincent Domey identifies the home-work of young girls making match boxes, and separating the layers of mica brought from the nearby mines.[32] Other sources, also confirm the employment of young boys in local artisanal and grocery shops.[33]

Stansell's work on the uses of the streets by women and children in New York describes the activities of children.[34] Bullen also comments on the uses of the streets by "newspaper boys and other vendors" to sell their wares.[35] This qualitative evidence indicates that in poor families whether widowed or not, children worked in the home, the factory and on the streets to assist in the daily struggle for the survival of the family unit. The difference in terms of the contribution of the children to the family income in a family without a male wage earner was more likely in degree than in kind.

In By ward 95 widows had children. Half of the families with children reported employed (adult) children still living at home. Widow Jeanveau, for example, a mother of six children, all under the age of sixteen, worked as a seamstress. Of her six children, two identified their occupation as a seamstress and the third as a painter. The other three children attended school.[36] The example of Widow Jeanveau suggests that in this family the combined incomes of the mother and the employed children allowed the younger children to attend school.

The experience of Widow Jeanveau among other widows in this ward, suggests that adult daughters and sons remained in the home longer than in two-parent families, no doubt a response to the more pressing economic and possibly emotional needs of their mother. Adult children of a widow, would, according to Bradbury, "marry later, form their own families later, and in some cases not marry at all".[37] Hufton

concluded that "a woman of restricted earnings was likely to keep her daughter at home beyond the usual age of marriage so that the pair could be mutually sustaining."[38] This restriction appears to apply to sons as well. The Ottawa Citizen 1871, reported the tragic death of a twenty two year old saw-mill worker. The paper noted that he left "An aged mother and a sister, who depended on him for their support."[39] In the case of Widow Westrick who did not list an occupation, three of her four children, between the ages fifteen and twenty nine reported employment: two worked as clerks, the other as a labourer.[40] "Older widows clearly exercised a powerful influence over these (adult) children."[41]

In addition to the contributions of children, widows sought assistance from neighbours and kin which was to some extent based on ethnicity. By ward for some widows may have provided important links or networks to their ethnic communities. This ward was in the process, as John Taylor observes, of changing from a mixed Irish-French neighbourhood into "a largely French encalve."[42] In 1871, amongst the general ward population, the French represented 49 percent, the Irish 26 percent, the English 9 percent and the Scottish 4 percent.[43] Among the widows in By ward, the Irish population was highly over represented and the French under represented when compared to the overall ward population. By ward was clearly attracting Irish widows and losing the French. (See Table 9).

TABLE 9

INCOME EARNING, ETHNICITY AND RELIGION OF ALL WIDOWS

	High	Low	Skilled	Semi	Unskilled	No.Occ.	Totals
Irish	28	4	1	9	18	17	77
	(19%)	(2.7%)	(0.7%)	(6.0%)	(11.9%)	(11.3%)	(52%)[1]
R.C.	19	2	1	7	15	13	57
Protestant	9	2	0	2	3	4	20
French	10	8	2	6	8	21	55
	(6.6%)	(5.3%)	(1.3%)	(4.0%)	(5.3%)	(13.9%)	(36%)
R.C.	10	8	1	6	8	20	53
Protestant	0	0	1	0	0	1	2
English	4	0	2	1	0	3	10
	(2.7%)		(1.3%)	(0.7%)		(2.0%)	(7%)
R.C.	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Protestant	2	0	2	1	0	3	8
Scottish	2	0	0	2	0	5	9
	(1.3%)			(1.3%)		(3.3%)	(5%)
R.C.	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Protestant	0	0	0	2	0	5	7

Source: Mss. Census, 1871, By Ward.

[1]Percentage of all widows.

There was only a minor difference between the minority English and Scottish widow population and the overall ward population. Both the English and Scottish widows were slightly over represented when compared to the general population.

An examination of ethnic composition by occupational distribution further supports the notion of relocation. A high percentage of the Irish widows were employed and therefore benefitted from the employment opportunities in By ward. Alternatively, the French widows, who worked predominately in the home may have been less

inclined to remain in By ward for purposes of employment and perhaps returned to their extended families in rural homes. The religious distribution, however, shows no variation between the general and the widow population of By ward; Roman Catholics comprised 75 percent and Protestants 25 percent. Thus the main cultural difference appears to be between the Irish and French widows and the general population.

The representation of widows was almost equally distributed between the 52 percent foreign born and the 48 percent native born. (See Table 1Ø).

TABLE 1Ø

COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND LITERACY OF ALL WIDOWS

	Canadian Born		Foreign Born				Total
	Quebec	Ontario	Irish	English	Scottish	U.S.	
Literate	24	9	46	6	1	1	87
Illiterate	37	2	23	1	1	Ø	64
Total	61	11	69	7	2	1	151

Source: Mss. Census, 1871, By Ward.

This equal distribution of foreign and native born widows varied considerably from the overall Ottawa population. Taylor reported a high 75 percent native population in Ottawa in 1871.[44] It appears therefore that a high proportion of immigrant women were settling in this ward. Unfortunately it is impossible to tell from this data whether or not these women were widows or married women when they immigrated to By ward and thus determine more precisely their motivations for migration.

Of the 79 widows listed as foreign born, the majority were

literate. The high number of literate immigrants confirms Graff's observations about the significance of literacy as a factor determining migration.[45] The low representation of literate Canadian born widows in a population that was considered "overwhelmingly literate"[46] suggests that these women came from poor families with limited opportunities for education.

This "profile" of the widow population of By ward has identified significant similarities and differences between widows, their families and the general population. The widows in By ward were far more likely to be Irish, foreign born and illiterate than the general population. Within the sample, the widows reflected the various stages of a woman's life course. There was a significant difference in the employment pattern of widows and married women. Widows listed employment outside the home, married women did not. Among the white collar families, a high percentage were of "independent means." The majority of working-class widows worked as seamstresses and day workers, both jobs traditionally performed by women. Children were a critical determinant for widows. Their presence affected opportunities for remarriage, employment and income. Young "unemployed" children were an economic drain, older employed sons and daughters clearly benefitted and at times sustained the family unit.

Families headed by widows were not restricted simply to earning an income through wage labour. Widows resorted to a wide variety of non-wage activities to support themselves. As the sole head of household, a widow was required to utilize all available resources to make ends meet. It was not simply a matter of efficient management of the budget, but of finding enough in the budget to manage.

Some widows resorted to extreme measures in order to survive. In her study on the uses of the streets by women and children in New York, Christine Stansell reports the story of a woman, who supported her family of two children by street peddling. Out of desperation she had been forced to sell her own possessions, including bedding, clothes and furniture.[47] Widows without occupations did precisely the same things all working-class women did--they took in extra laundry, boarded, coresided, kept animals and gardened. They did it, however, with a greater intensity as was demanded by their pressing needs.

The number of animals and gardens kept by widows was probably underestimated on the 1871 census because of the method of recording. If an indivdual was not listed as "head of a family" on Schedule I, her ownership of animals, gardens etc., was not recorded on subsequent schedules. As a consequence we have no knowledge of the assets of boarding widows. We do know, however, that among the 102 widows who were heads of families only 4 percent raised pigs. This figure is considerably lower than the 16 percent pig ownership in the general By ward population.[48]

The By ward census recorded a total of 108 cows. Only Widow Howard, a seamstress with two children, one of whom was also a seamstress, recorded having two cows that produced thirty pounds of butter.[49] Not suprisingly the number of cows among the widow population is low given the expense of raising them.[50]

James Winter comments on the importance of animals for widowed mothers in early Victorian Britain. He cites the following example to illustrate his point.

> Widow Mackinache had a hard landlord who,
> after the funeral, took her husband's horse

> and cart for rent. But, 'one way or another,' she got money and a little credit and bought a cow and sow. She partitioned the cow off at one end of the house and let the pig and its progeny come in with her. They, and a grant from Kirk Session of 2s. 6d. a fortnight, allowed her to pay the rent and have enough to send two of her four children to school.[61]

Three widows in By ward owned more than a quarter acre of land. Of these three, only Widow Corcoran grew crops. A woman of independent means, she harvested bushels of beets, carrots and corn.[62] Other qualitative sources, nevertheless, suggest that many families also had small gardens in their yards and raised vegetables and flowers for either home use, barter, or to sell at the local market.[63]

In addition to raising animals and gardening, widows shared living space with other individuals and families. For many widows "co-residence offered a buffer against poverty as well as a potential support system."[64] The presence of other individuals in the home added to the already heavy domestic burden of maintaining a home--washing, cooking, and cleaning. Nevertheless, optimum use of living space, yielded an opportunity for additional income. As well as housing boarders and other families, widows and their families also boarded. Consequently, these familial arrangements reflect a complex household structure.

Darroch and Ornstein's study, "Family Coresidence in Canada in 1871: Family Life-Cycles, Occupations and Networks of Mutual Aid", outline some of the problems they experienced in the classification of familial relationships. Because the 1871 census did not identify family relationships, some misclassifications may occur.[65] For this study the main problem involves identifying widows who lived with their own kin. In these cases surnames would differ and no kin relation would be

apparent in the record. The difference in terms of her overall contribution to the household family economy suggest that it may in fact not matter. As a grandmother she probably contributed to the household economy through her labour, assisting with domestic chores or childcare, as a boarder she contributed to the household by her payment.[58]

Not surprisingly, widows were far less likely to live in simple households and far more likely to live in both extended and multiple family households. (See Table 11).

TABLE 11

WIDOWS' HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE

	Widows as Head of Household	Widows as Boarders
Simple families	68	2[1]
Extended families	2	11
Extended not related	15	26
Multiple families	17	10

Source: Mss. census, By Ward, 1871.

[1]Two widows lived in simple family dwellings where the son was listed as head of household.

Less than half of the widows lived in a simple family dwelling. This represents a substantial decrease from the 61 percent simple family dwellings among the Ottawa population. Many widows appear either unable or perhaps unwilling to maintain their own homes. Half of the widow sample shared accommodation with relatives, boarders and other families. Among the cohabiting widows, fewer widows took in boarders

and families than the general population. This was no doubt a consequence of the high percentage of widows living not in their own household, but as boarders, in the households of others. Thirty two percent of the widows (including those living with relatives) boarded. Identifying the position of the widows in the household describes more precisely these living arrangements. (See Table 12).

TABLE 12

[1]WIDOWS' POSITION IN THE HOUSEHOLD

Widows position in household	No. of Widows	Percentage
Lived as head of family-with children	75	49.6
Lived as head of family-no children	27	17.8
Lived with a parent	1	.07
Lived with a son, who is head of house	10	6.6
Lived with other relatives	3	2.0
Lived as a boarder	34	22.5
Lived as a live in servant	1	.07

Source: Mss. census, 1871, By Ward.

[1]Adapted from Bettina Bradbury's, "Surviving as a Widow," 37, Table 5.

Widows residing "as a boarder" frequently did not have children. A small number lived with adult children, or relatives and one lived with her husband's parents. This "relative" living arrangement illustrates the significance of a widow's "three distinct family groups, his family, her own, and her children (who could, of course, be a liability), all of whom were of potential assistance."[57] The remaining 102 widows who represented 68 percent of the widow population, lived as head of their own independent households;[58] households which frequently contained other unrelated members, indeed

on occasion other families.

Shared living arrangements benefitted both widows and residing families. Widow Lapierre, for example, lived with her widowed daughter-in-law and her three grand children.[59] The younger widow worked as a milliner while her children were possibly cared for by the older widow. The latter, no doubt also assisted with other domestic chores. Among the coresiding widow population eighteen lived in what have been identified in this study as "widow clusters;" the grouping together of either related and/or unrelated widows, in twos or threes to either share household accommodation or live as neighbours.[60] The majority of the widows living in "clusters" were of the same ethnicity, which suggests the existence of a support system within ethnic communities.

Coresidence provided financial assistance, domestic help and companionship. It represented for many widows, as with working-class wives, one of the options that, when combined with other domestic activities, aided their survival. In the case of Widow Navion, it is evident that she combined several strategies. In addition to keeping five pigs, she shared her house with two other families--one headed by a widow.[61] Coupled with other strategies--the wages of children, gardening, taking in laundry--tnese widows utilized all their available resources to make ends meet. Although lack of property, capital or marketable skills severely restricted their options, it did not prevent these women from finding alternative methods of survival.

A study of coresidence identifies the importance of kinship and neighbourhood support networks established in the living arrangements of these widows. The system of mutual aid provided by this structuring of households and clustering of widows was an important cushion against

the ever-present threat of poverty. Widows who lacked this network of support and the capital, resources or marketable skills to generate an income turned to their last resort--charity.

Public relief in the nineteenth century was almost non-existent. In Ottawa, relief frequently amounted to no more than the remission of taxes to the poor. This "charity" was potentially available to only 19 of the property owning widows in By ward. Some, like Widow Cox were able to take advantage of this form of public assistance. It became over a period of several years a method to assist her in maintaining her own home with her five children.[62]

Little in the way of private charitable organizations existed in Ottawa until the mid-nineteenth century when two voluntary organizations formed. In 1845 the Grey Nuns established an Asylum to provide "medical and charitable assistance to the poor and destitute."[63] Twelve years later a group of prominent Ottawa women established the Protestant Orphan's Home, "for the relief of destitute widows and children, especially orphans."[64] This inadequate arrangement of charitable organizations responded to the needs of the destitute and meted out charity to the poor. Seen as the "deserving poor," widows were able in times of distress, to seek food and shelter from local refuge homes. A review of the register of the Ottawa "Protestant Orphan's Home" confirms that this refuge was used as a temporary lodging by destitute widows and married women.[65] The register also revealed the tragic story of Ms. Cox, a thirty one year old mother of three children. In 1875, two of her children, ages five and eight, were admitted to the home. They remained there for a year; at which time their mother and the third child were also admitted. One month later

the family left the "Home." A few months later Ms. Cox commited suicide. The children then returned to the refuge.[66]

Older widows unable to survive on their own turned to the refuge for extended periods of time.[67] The "Home" supported these women only as a last resort. One elderly widow lived in the home for a year, until it was discovered "that she had two sons able to support her, (and) she was dismissed, as not being a case for the charity of the institution."[68] The refuge maintained that the care of widows was primarily a family responsibilty, an option not available to all widows.

This study of 151 widows in By Ward, Ottawa identified the myriad of ways that widows utilized their available resources to survive in the nineteenth-century urban environment. The death of a spouse meant a loss of companionship and economic support. The selection of options for widows depended on individual circumstances. Children were a critical factor in determining survival strategies. Young widows without children may have considered remarriage. The presence or absence of children and the widow's age were critical factors in determining the likelihood of remarriage. At times youths assumed the role of primary wage earner within the family. In other circumstances, as with many married women, child care responsibilities dictated that women work in the home. Consequently both wage and non-wage strategies revolved around a widow's primary role as "mother."

Two thirds of the By ward widows sought employment in the wage labour force. Late nineteenth-century Ottawa did not offer women the factory employment opportunities found in other large industrial Canadian cities. Some of the widows utilized their skills and capital

to take advantage of other income earning opportunities available to women in an urban industrializing city. Affluent widows had a wider range of options than those widows without capital. Some assumed responsibility for a business, purchased new shops, set up boarding houses or invested in land. Working-class widows depended solely on their wages earned through the sale of their labour. Widows moved in and out of the public realm as their needs demanded and opportunites became accessible.

For many widows, their income and that of their employed children, was not sufficient. Supplementary measures were then required. Creative use of living space, an area over which a widow exercised some control, was used for generating an income, sharing costs and labour. Within the private sphere, the By ward widows relied on the benefits provided by coresidence--shared domestic, childcare and cost responsibilities. Over half of the sample population shared living accommodation with other individuals or families including the "widow clusters."

Widows challenged the traditional, nineteenth century view of the role of women. For many, work was in both the private and the public sphere; the "Cult of Domesticity" misrepresented the reality of a widow's life even more than it misrepresented the reality for the working-class woman. While widowhood brought a recognition in the law of a woman's independence, it also imposed severe economic burdens in a society which recognized only the male wage earner. Being "single again" in the nineteenth century meant independence in a traditional society that regarded all women as dependent.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. City of Ottawa Archives (COA), "Report of the Assessment Committee," Minutes of the City Council of Ottawa 24 April 1871.

2. Ibid., 21 March 1872.

3. Ibid., 7 July 1873.

4. Bettina Bradbury,"Surviving as a Widow in Nineteenth Century Montreal," (unpublished paper, 1988), 33. See also Olwen Hufton, "Women Without Men: Widows and Spinster in Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century," Journal of Family History, 47 (1984): 355-376; Barbara Todd, "The Remarrying Widow," in Women in English Society, 1500-1800 ed. by Mary Prior (London: Metheun and Company, 1985), 54-92; and James Winter, "Widowed Mothers and Mutual Aid in Early Victorian Britain," (unpublished paper, University of British Columbia, 1986).

5. Diane Farmer, "Widowhood in the Parish of Notre Dame: An Examination of Death and Remarriage in Mid-Nineteenth Century Lower Town," (unpublished M.A. Research Essay, Institute of Canadian Studies, Carleton, 1981), 4.

6. For a discussion on the "deserving poor" see Richard Splane, Social Welfare in Ontario, 1791-1893 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 79-116.

7. Bradbury, "Surviving As A Widow," 1.

8. Farmer, "Widowhood in the Parish of Notre Dame," 10.

9. Jane Lewis, Women in England 1870-1950 (Sussex: Wheatsheaf Books Ltd., 1984), 63. Lewis also notes that "deserted wives were regarded with even more suspicion than widows" when being considered for poor relief.

10. See Constance Backhouse, "Married Women's Property Law in Nineteenth-Century Canada," (unpublished paper, 1988).

11. Ibid., 1. Further, Backhouse notes "The need for reform was made even more pressing because of an apparently high rate of wife-abandonment."

12. Mss. census, 1871, By Ward.

13. Census of Canada, Vol. I, 26-27, and Mss. census, By Ward, 1871.

14. Bradbury, "Surviving as as Widow in Nineteenth Century Montreal," 7.

15. Farmer, "Widowhood in the Parish of Notre Dame," 65-66. See also Todd, "The Remarrying Widow," 61, and for an earlier period see Beatrice Craig, "Widowhood in Colonial North America, The Cases of New France, New England and Maryland," (unpublished paper, 1984).

16. Mss. census, 1871, By Ward, Subdistrict 1, p. 6, line 8.

17. Todd, "The Remarrying Widow," 75.

18. Bradbury, "Surviving as a Widow in Nineteenth Century Montreal," 18.

19. Ibid., 19. See also Hufton, "Women Without Men," 364.

20. Mss. census, 1871, By Ward, Schedule 6.

21. Women did not occupy clerical positions in large numbers until later in the nineteenth century.

22. As Bradbury has observed, widows seeking domestic work benefitted from living close to wealthy families. Bradbury, "Surviving as a Widow in Nineteenth Century Montreal," 15.

23. Mss. census, 1871, By Ward. Subdistrict 2, p. 5, line 18.

24. Mss. census, 1871, By Ward, Subdistrict 2, p. 35, line 5.

25. Mss. census, 1871, By Ward, Subdistrict 2, p. 39, line 3.

26. John Bullen, "Hidden Workers: Child labour and the Family Economy in Late Nineteenth Urban Ontario," Labour/Le Travail. 18 (1986), 169.

27. Mss. census, 1871, By Ward, Subdistrict 2, p. 86, line 1. John Bullen reported that "in 1882, a federal government inquiry studied the conditions of 324 married female workers. The investigation revealed that 272 women performed most of their work in their own homes. The women explained that in this way they could elicit the assistance of older children and watch over infants at the same time." Bullen, "Hidden Workers," 171-172.

28. Mss. census, 1871, By Ward, Subdistrict 1, p. 110, line 9.

29. Bullen, "Hidden Workers," 171-172.

30. Ibid., 182-184.

31. Bradbury, "Surviving as a Widow in Nineteenth Century Montreal," 22.

32. Odette Vincent-Domey, "Filles et familles au milieu: le cas de Hull, Quebec, a la fin du XIXe siecle," (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Ottawa, 1988), 134. Vincent-Domey,"Le quartier no. 3 de Hull en 1891: milieu de vie des journaliers en scierie et de leurs familles," Paper presented at the Rencontre annuelle des Départements d'Histoire de l'Université du Québec à Trois Rivières et de l'Université d'Ottawa. Université d'Ottawa, 7-8 avril 1989.

33. Mss. census, 1871, By Ward, Schedule No. 6.

34. Christine Stansell, "Women, Children and the Uses of the Streets, Class and Gender Conflict in New York City, 1850-1860," Feminist Studies, VIII, 2 (1982), 312-313.

35. John Bullen, "Hidden Workers," 178.

36. Mss. census, 1871, By Ward, Subdistrict 2, p. 28, line 5.

37. Bradbury, "Surviving as a Widow in Nineteenth Century Montreal," 23.

38. Hufton, "Women Without Men," 362.

39. The Ottawa Citizen 18 May 1871.

40. Mss. census, 1871, By Ward, Subdistrict 1, p. 95, line 7.

41. Bradbury, "Surviving as a Widow," 23.

42. John Taylor, Ottawa, An Illustrated History (Toronto: James Lorimar and Company, Publishers and Canadian Museum of Civilization, National Museums of Canada, 1986) 82.

43. Mss. census, 1871, Victoria, By and Ottawa Wards.

44. Taylor, Ottawa 63.

45. Harvey Graff, The Legacies of Literacy (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987) 398.

46. Ibid., 347.

47. Stansell, "Women, Children and the Uses of the Streets," 309.

48. Mss. census, 1871, By Ward, Schedule No. 5.

49. Mss, census, 1871, By Ward, Subdistrict 1, p. 119, line 20.

50. See chapter three, 68-69.

51. James Winter, "Widowed Mothers and Mutual Aid in Early Victorian Britain," (unpublished paper, University of British Columbia, 1986) 19.

52. Mss. census, 1871, By Ward, Subdistrict 2, p. 77, line 8.

53. See chapter three, 70-72.

54. Bradbury, "Surviving as a Widow in Nineteenth Century Montreal," 28.

55. Gordon Darroch and Michael D. Ornstein, "Family Coresidence in Canada in 1871: Family Life-Cycles, Occupations and Networks of Mutual Aid," Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers, 1983, 33-35.

56. In our sample, the number of widows living with family members is probably under represented. If a widow was not specifically identified as a family member by name, she was listed as a boarder residing with non-relatives.

57. Hufton, "Women Without Men," 364.

58. Bradbury reports similar results for widows in Montreal. "Surviving As A Widow," Table 5, 37.

59. Mss. census, 1871, By Ward, Subdistrict 1, p. 75, line 9.

60. This is my adaptation of Hufton's term "spinster clustering." Hufton, "Women Without Men," 361.

61. Mss. census, 1871, By Ward, Subdistrict 2, p. 64, line 11.

62. Mss. census, 1871, By Ward, Subdistrict 2, p. 116, line 4.

63. Farmer, "Widowhood in the Parish of Notre Dame," 54.

64. COA, First Annual Report of the Ottawa Orphan's Home 1865, 2.

65. COA, Protestant Orphan's Home Case Register, 1865-1877 For an excellent analysis on the uses of charitable organizations by families see, Bettina Bradbury's "The Fragmented Family: Family Strategies in the Face of Death, Illness and Poverty, Montreal 1860-1891," in Childhood and Family in Canadian History ed. by Joy Parr (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1983): 109-128.

66. Protestant Orphan's Home Case Register, 1875-1877.

67. Protestant Orphan's Home Case Register, 1865-1877.

68. Protestant Orphan's Home Case Register, 10 March 1868.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The central theme of this thesis is domestic labour: poverty provides the material imperative; women are the main actors; and the family structure is the social/institutional context. Poverty competed with progress as dominant themes of the industrial era. The harsh reality of maintaining a health and decency standard of living on the inadequate wages of primary male wage earners was a continuous struggle. Women responded to this dilemma with their labour--at times for wages, at times for exchange, but always for the family. As household manager the responsibility of ensuring there was a roof overhead and food on the table fell on mother. It was a responsibility which placed an enormous emotional and physical burden on women as wives and mothers. Coping frequently entailed "extra work." Taking in boarders, raising animals and tending gardens meant balancing the family budget by the labour of women. Often unrecognized, always underpaid, the work of women nonetheless made a primary and fundamental contribution to the survival of the working-class family. Maintaining a home and caring for a family in the nineteenth century was a labourious, unending task. Women worked long hours, and frequently assumed additional tasks. This work was paramount to the survival of the family unit.

Several patterns have emerged from this study. Working-class families relied on a wide range of coping strategies. The "choice," however, depended on individual circumstances--capital, skills and labour. Work for married women centred around, but was not restricted to, the "private sphere." Family needs defined "mother's space," not

domestic ideology. Frequently the household space was shared with boarders and additional families; the backyard was utilized for raising animals and growing gardens; and the neighbourhood community formed an important resource to call on in times of need.

A second pattern identified the critical life course stages within working-class families. It was during the stages when household expenditures exceeded family income that women frequently maintained co-residental arrangements. During these stages houses were "stuffed" with people. They remained "stuffed" until children moved out and family costs were reduced.

This analysis of the family economy highlights several major considerations. Although two-parent families were the dominant family formation in the nineteenth century, a significant proportion of families were also headed by single parents. This study initially examined the family economy within the traditional two-parent model. To end there, however, would be to provide an incomplete picture of the nineteenth-century family. In reality a significant proportion of the families were not two-parent. A study of single parent households headed by women not only provides a more complete picture, it also demonstrates in a more explicit way the significance of the contribution of married women to the family. These women as widows survived on their own despite the restrictions and limitations of the nineteenth-century gender-based labour market and without the benefit of male wage earners. Widows survived, as did all women, relying on litle more than their undervalued skills, ingenuity and hard work. The study of widows also demonstrates the similarity in the work of married and widowed women. Although all women faced social and economic

restraints, in particular the systematic gender-based wage market, some aspects of a widows' life did differ. The imperative of poverty was far stronger and the margin of security far narrower for widows. Indeed, many nineteenth-century widows, lived a precarious "independence."

This study contributes to a growing body of literature on women and the working-class family economy. It builds on the earlier scholarly work of Bettina Bradbury that identified the non-wage based strategies of women in working-class families in Montreal. In many ways the structure of the two cities differed. Ottawa was a one industry town and government capital. Montreal was a highly industrialized city. Despite their different economic structures, however, broadly based patterns of daily life remained the same. Industrial capitalism, concomitant with the restrictive gender-based labour market, formed the external parameters for these studies. Inadequate wages knew no municipal or provincial boundaries. Comparable economic realities produced comparable responses. Two such examples are seen in the response of families and of the local community. Families adopted similar strategies based on their own limited resources. In the community, urban reformers in both Ottawa and Montreal shared a similar vision of a "progressive city." That vision did not include yards filled with obnoxious smelling swine. Although the timing of municipal By Laws occasionally differed, the intent was the same, focussing on the symptoms but never attacking the disease. Indigent families in Ottawa as in Montreal had to fend for themselves.

"The family, like class, is not so much a structure to be quantified as a functional socio-economic unit which must be understood."[1] Part of understanding that socio-economic unit includes,

as this study has demonstrated, the primary and fundamental contributions of women. This thesis, in part contributes to our understanding of the family economic unit.

ENDNOTES TO CONCLUSION

1. Bruce Elliot, Irish Migrants in the Canadas. (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queens Press, 1987), 7.

APPENDIX 1:***

CLASSIFICATION OF MALE AND FEMALE WORKERS

Male	Female
1. Professionals, and High White Collar	
bishop	bourgeoise*
bourgeois*	private means*
forwarder	mother superior*
gentleman	
lawyer	
merchant-lumber, flour	
military officer*	
minister	
physican	
private means	
2. Proprietors, and Low White Collar	
accountant	boarding house keeper*
agent	clerk*
architect	grocer-store keeper*
auctioneer	hotel-keeper*
baker**	nun*
boarding house keeper	nurse*
brewer	school teacher*
bookkeeper	
builder*	
butcher**	
cab owner	
city clerk	
civil servant*	
clerk	
contractor	
detective	
exciseman*	
farmer	
grocer-store keeper	
hotel keeper	
innkeeper	
manager	
manufacturer	
miller	
mill owner	
musician	
office keeper*	
school teacher	
slide master *	
toll keeper*	
trader	

APPENDIX CONT'D.

Male	Female
3. Skilled Workers	
blacksmith	milliner*
baker*	painter*
bookbinder	re-upholster*
butcher**	
cabinetmaker	
carpenter	
carriage maker	
cordwainer	
cooper	
draughtsman	
engineer	
furniture maker	
foreman*	
guilder	
gunsmith	
joiner	
machinist	
mechanic	
millwright	
molder	
painter	
pilot	
plasterer	
policeman	
plumber	
printer	
saddler	
sawyer	
shoemaker	
stone mason	
tailor	
tanner	
tinsmith	
typographer	
upholsterer	
wheelwright	
woodcarver	
4. Semi-Skilled Workers	
assistant slide master*	dressmaker*
barber	seamstress*
boomkeeper*	
cab driver	
carter	
carder(wool sorter)	
culler*	

APPENDIX CONT'D.

Male | Female

4. Semi-Skilled Workers

cutter*
express driver(cab driver)
fisherman
gardener
hunter(trapper)
lumberman
messenger
night watchman
raftsman*
sailor
stone cutter
teamster

5. Unskilled Workers

caretaker*houseporter
housekeeper*
janitor*
labourer
servant*
shantyman*
water carrier*

day worker*
charwoman*
servant*
washerwoman*

6. No occupation

7. Unclassified

retired*
unknown

* Indicates a variation from Katz's classification either by sex or category.

** Duplications in some occupations occurred because of individual differences in the relationship of workers to business ownership. For example only some of the butchers owned their own shop, while others were employed in a shop. Information on shop ownership was obtained from the Mss. census 1871, Schedule No. 3 "Public Institutions, Real Estate, Vehicles and Implements."

*** Among the wards selected for this study, By Ward and one division in Ottawa Ward were recorded in French. For translation we consulted the author of a study on Hull, Odette Vincent-Domey, who in her thesis classified occupational data from the manuscript census, which was also recorded in French.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. PRIMARY SOURCES

A. Manuscript Collections

City of Ottawa Archives. Assessment Rolls, City of Ottawa, 1872.

National Archives of Canada. Canada. Manuscript Census, 1871, By, Ottawa and Victoria Wards.

National Archives of Canada. Census 1871, Machine Readable Data File.

B. Printed Documents

Canada. Manual Containing "The Census Act," and The Instructions to Officers Employed in the Taking of the First Census of Canada, 1871. Dept. of Agriculture, Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin, 1871.

Canada. Census of 1870-1871, Vol. I-II, Ottawa, 1873.

Canada. Sessional Papers, Vol. I-IX, 1867-1876.

City of Ottawa Archives. City of Ottawa Orphans' Home," MG 7, Vols. 1-7, 1865-1880.

City of Ottawa Archives, Minutes of the City Council of Ottawa, 1871-1874.

Ottawa City Directory, 1870-1875.

The Ottawa Citizen, 1865-75.

The Ottawa Times, 1871.

Ontario. Sessional Papers, 1868-1874.

C. Other

National Archives of Canada. Hayward, Bobert, J. Fire Insurance Plan in the National Map Collection/Plans d'assurance-incendie de la collection nationale de cartes et plans. Ottawa: Public Archives, National Map Collection/ Archives publiques, Collection nationale de cartes et plans, 1977.

National Archives of Canada. Mora and Mangy. Map of the City of Ottawa. New York: H. H. Lloyd and Co., 1874. N.A.C. National Map Collection, N.M.C. 4239.

11. SECONDARY SOURCES

A. Books

Andersen, Michael. Family Structure. Britain: University Press, 1971.

Arkin, Herbert and Raymond R. Colton. Tables For Statisticians. New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1963.

Brault, Lucien. Ottawa Old and New. Ottawa: Ottawa Historical Information Institute, 1946.

Cohen, Marjorie. Women's Work. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988.

Copp, Terry. The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working-Class in Montreal, 1897-1929. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1974.

Cowan, Helen. British Immigration Before Confederation. Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association Booklets, No. 22, 1968.

Elliot, Bruce S. Irish Migrants in the Canadas. Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988.

Gaffield, Chad. Language, Schooling and Cultural Conflict. Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1987.

Gagan, David. Hopeful Travellers: Families, Land and Social Change in Mid-Victorian Peel County, Canada West. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981.

Graff, Harvey. The Literacy Myth. London: Academic Press, Inc., 1979.

_____. The Legacies of Literacy. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987.

Hareven, Tamara K. Family Time and Industrial Time. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Harney, Robert F., ed. Gathering Place: Peoples and Neighbourhoods of Toronto, 1834-1945. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1985.

Katz, Michael. The People of Hamilton, Canada West. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978.

Katz, Michael, ; Doucet, Michael. ; and Stern, Mark. The Social Organization of Early Industrial Capitalism. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982.

Lees, Lynn H. Exiles of Erin. New York: Cornell University Press, 1979.

Lewis, Jane. Women in England 1870-1950. Sussex: Wheatsheaf Books Ltd., 1984.

Luxton, Meg. More Than a Labour of Love. Toronto: The Women's Press, 1980.

Newton, Michael. Lower Town Ottawa, Vol. 2, 1854-1900. Ottawa: National Capital Commission, 1981.

Parr, Joy., ed. Childhood and Family in Canadian History. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982.

Piva, Michael J. The Condition of the Working Class in Toronto--1900-1921. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1979.

Prentice, Alison., et al. Canadian Women, A History. Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Canada Inc., 1988.

Redclift, Nanneke and Enzo Mingione. Beyond Employment, Household, Gender and Subsistence. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1985.

Roberts, Elizabeth. A Woman's Place. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1984.

Scott, Jean Thompson. The Conditions of Female Labour in Ontario. Toronto, 1892.

Splane, Richard B. Social Welfare in Ontario, 1791-1893. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.

Stone, Lawrence. The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800. New York: Penguin Books Ltd., 1979.

Taylor, John. Ottawa: An Illustrated History. Toronto: James Lorimar and Company, Publishers, and Canadian Museum of Civilization, National Museums of Canada, 1986.

Tilly, Louise A. and Joan W. Scott. Women, Work and Family. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978.

Woods, Shirley E. Ottawa, The Capital of Canada. Toronto: Doubleday Canada Ltd., 1980.

B. Articles

Anderson, Michael. "The Social Position of Spinsters in Mid-Victorian Britain." Journal of Family History, 9 (1984): 377-393.

Benson, John. "Working-Class Capitalism in Great Britain and Canada, 1867-1914." Labour/Le Travail, 12 (1983): 145-154.

Boydston, Jeanne. "To Earn Her Daily Bread: Housework and Antebellum Working-Class Subsistence." Radical History Review, 35 (1986): 7-25.

Bradbury, Bettina. "The Family Economy and Work in an Industrializing City: Montreal in the 1870s." Historical Papers, 1979: 71-96.

_____. "The Fragmented Family: Family Strategies in the Face of Death, Illness, and Poverty, Montreal 1860-1885." in Childhood and Family in Canadian History. Edited by Joy Parr. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1983: 109-142.

_____. "Women and Wage Labour in a Period of Transition: Montreal, 1861-1881." Histoire Sociale/Social History, XVII, (1984): 115-131.

_____. "Pigs, Cows and Boarders: Non-Wage Forms of Survival Among Montreal Families, 1861-1891." Labour/Le Travail, 14 (1984): 9-46.

_____. "Women's History and Working-Class History." Labour/Le Travail, 19 (1987): 23-43.

Brandt, Gail Cuthbert. "Weaving it Together: Life Cycle and the Industrial Experience of Female Cotton Workers in Quebec, 1910-1950." The Neglected Majority. Edited by Alison Prentice and Susan Trofimenkoff. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985: 160-173.

Brookes, Alan A. "'Doing the Best I Can': The Taking of the 1861 New Brunswick Census." Histoire Sociale/Social History, IX, (1976): 70-91.

Bullen, John. "Hidden Workers: Child Labour and the Family Economy in Late-Nineteenth Urban Ontario." Labour/Le Travail, 18 (1986): 163-187.

Burgess, Joanne. "L'Industrie de la chaussure à Montréal: 1840-1870, Le passage de l'artisanal à la fabrique." Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique francaise, 31 (1977).

Bushman, Richard. "Family Security in the Transition from Farm to City, 1750-1850." Journal of Family History, 6 (1981): 238-253.

Cooper, John. "The Social Structure of Montreal in the 1850s." Canadian Historical Association, Annual Report. (1956): 63-73.

Cross, Michael. "The Lumber Community of Upper Canada, 1815-1867." Ontario History, LII (1960): 213-233.

Cross, Suzanne. "The Neglected Majority: The Changing Role of Women in Nineteenth Century Montreal." The Neglected Majority. Edited by Susan Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977: 66-86.

Darroch, A. Gordon and Michael D. Ornstein. "Ethnicity and Occupational Structure in Canada in 1871: The Vertical Mosiac in Historical Perspective." Canadian Historical Review, LXI (1980): 305-333.

Darroch, A. Gordon. "Migrants in the Nineteenth Century: Fugitives of Families in Motion?" Journal of Family History, 6 (1981): 258-277.

Darroch, Gordon and Michael D. Ornstein. "Family Coresidence in Canada in 1871: Family Life-Cycles, Occupations and Networks of Mutual Aid." Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers, (1983): 30-55.

National Archives of Canada. "Documentation Manual for the Machine Readable Data File." (1988).

Early, Frances H. "The French-Canadian Family Economy and Standard of Living in Lowell Massachusetts, 1879." Journal of Family History, 7 (1982): 180-199.

Gaffield, Chad. "Canadian Families in Cultural Context: Hypotheses from the Mid-Nineteenth Century." Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers, (1979): 48-69.

Gagan, David P. "Enumerator's Instructions for the Census of Canada 1852 and 1861." Histoire Sociale/Social History, VII (1974): 353-365.

Gittins, Diana. "Marital Status, Work and Kinship, 1850-1930." Labour and Love, Women's Experience of Home and Family 1850-1940. Edited by Jane Lewis. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1986: 249-267.

Goldin, Claudia. "Household and Market Production of Families in a Late Nineteenth Century American City." Explorations in Economic History, 16 (1979): 111-131.

Griffin, Clyde. "Occupational Mobility in Nineteenth-Century America: Problems and Possibilities." Journal of Social History, V (1972): 310-330.

Hershberg, Theodore and Robert Dockhorn. "Occupational Classification." Historical Methods Newsletter, IX (1976): 59-99.

Hufton, Olwen. "Women Without Men: Widows and Spinsters in Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century." Journal of Family History, 9 (1984): 355-376.

Jensen, Joan M. "Cloth, Butter and Boarders: Women's Household Production for the Market." The Review of Radical Political Economics, 12 (1980): 14-24.

Katz, Michael. "Occupational Classification in History." Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 3 (1972): 63-88.

McKay, Ian. "Capital and Labour in the Halifax Baking and Confectionary Industry During the Last Half of the Nineteenth Century." Labour/Le Travailleur, 3 (1978): 63-85.

Medick, Hans. "The Proto-Industrial Family Economy: The Structural Function of Household and Family During the Transition From Peasant Society to Industrial Capitalism." Social History, III (1976).

Medjuck, Sheva. "Family and Household Composition in the Nineteenth Century: The Case of Moncton, N.B. 1851-1871." Canadian Journal of Sociology, IV (1979): 275-286.

Modell John and Tamara Hareven. "Urbanization and the Malleable Household: An Examination of Boarding and Lodging in American Families." Journal of Marriage and Family, 35 (1973): 467-479.

National Capital Commission. "If the Chaudiere Could Talk." (January 1988).

Nicolson, Murray W. "Women in the Irish-Catholic Family." Polphony, VIII (1986): 9-12.

Officer, L. H. and L. B. Smith. "The Canadian-American Reciprocity Treaty of 1855-1866." Journal of Economic History, XXVIII (1968): 598-623.

Parr, Joy. "Hired Men: Ontario Agricultural Wage Labour in Historical Perspective." Labour/Le Travail, 15 (1985): 91-103.

Parr, Joy. "Nature and Hierarchy: Reflections on Writing the History of Women and Children." New Directions. Edited by David Gagan and Rosemary Gagan. Hamilton: McMaster University, 1988: 169-176.

Pentland, H. C. "The Development of a Capitalistic Labour Market in Canada." Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, 25 (1959): 450-461.

Roberts, Elizabeth, A. M. "Women's Strategies, 1890-1940." Labour and Love, Women's Experience of Home and Family, 1850-1940. Edited by Jane Lewis. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1986: 223-247.

Ross, Ellen. "Survival Networks: Women's Sharing in London Before World War 1." History Workshop Journal, 15 (1983): 4-27.

Schofield, R. "Sampling in Historical Research." Nineteenth Century Society. Edited by E. A. Wrigley. Cambridge: University Press, 1972: 146-190.

Seccombe, Wally. "Domestic Labour and the Working-Class Household." Hidden in the Household. Edited by Bonnie Fox. Toronto: Women's Press, 1980: 25-99.

Sen, Gita. "The Sexual Division of Labour and the Working-Class Family: Towards a Conceptual Synthesis of Class Relations and the Subordination of Women." The Review of Radical Political Economics, XII, (1980): 76-86.

Smith, Daniel S. "Family Stategy: More Than a Metaphor?" D. S. Smith, et al. "Family Srategy: A Dialogue." Historical Methods, XX (1987): 113-125.

Snell, J. G. "The Cost of Living in Canada in 1870." Histoire Sociale/Social History, XII (1979): 186-191.

Stansell, Christine. "Women, Children, and The Uses of the Streets: Class and Gender Conflict in New York City, 1850-1860." Feminist Studies, 8 (Summer 1982): 309-333.

Srong-Boag, Veronica. "Keeping House in God's Country: Canadian Women at Work." On the Job: Confronting the Labour Process in Canada. Edited by Craig Heron and Robert Storey. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986: 124-151.

Taylor, John. "Fire, Disease and Water in Ottawa: An Introduction." Urban History Review, VIII (1979): 7-37.

Todd, Barbara. "The Remarrying Widow: A Stereotype Reconsidered." Women in English Society, 1500-1800. Edited by Mary Prior. London: Metheun, 1985: 54-92.

Trueman, Peter. "Public Housing, Private Grief." Ottawa Magazine. (Sept. 1989): 78-77.

C. Theses and Unpublished Papers

Andreser, Karen E. "Sarah Revisted: The Widow in Early New Hampshire." Unpublished paper, n.d., University of New Hampshire.

Backhouse, Constance. "Married Women's Property Law in the Nineteenth-Century Canada. Unpublished paper, 1988.

Bradbury, Bettina. "The Working-Class Family Economy, Montreal 1861-1881." Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Concordia University, 1984.

_____. "Surviving as a Widow in Nineteenth Century Montreal." Unpublished paper, 1988.

Bullen, John. "Children of the Industrial Age: Children, Work and Welfare in Late Nineteenth Century Ontario." Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Ottawa, 1989.

Craig, Beatrice. "Widowhood in Colonial North America, The Cases of New France, New England, and Maryland." Unpublished paper, 1984.

Farmer, Diane. "Widowhood in the Parish of Notre Dame: an Examination of Death and Remarriage in Mid-Nineteenth Century Lowertown." Unpublished Research Essay, Carleton University, 1981.

Lauzon, Giles. "Habiter Un Nouveau Quartier Ouvrier de la Banlieue de Montréal; Village Saint-Augustin." Unpublished memoire, L'Université du Québec à Montréal, 1986.

Vincent-Domey, Odette. "Filles et familles en milieu ouvrier, Hull, Québec, à la fin du XIXe siècle." Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Ottawa, 1988.

_____. "Le quartier no. 3 de Hull en 1891: milieu de travail, milieu de vie des journaliers en scierie et de leurs familles." Paper presented at the Rencontre annuelle des Départements d'Histoire de l'Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières et de l'Université d'Ottawa. Université d'Ottawa, 7-8 avril 1989.

Wells, Debi. "The Hardest Lines of the Sternest School, Working-Class Ottawa in the Depression of the 1870s." Unpublished M.A. thesis, Institute of Canadian Studies, Carleton 1982.

Winter, James. "Widowed Mothers and Mutual Aid in Early Victorian Britain." Unpublished paper, U.B.C., n.d.