

Urban History Review Revue d'histoire urbaine

URBAN HISTORY REVIEW
REVUE D'HISTOIRE URBAINE

Reid, Richard M., ed. *The Upper Ottawa Valley to 1855, The Publications of the Champlain Society, ONTARIO SERIES XIV. Don Mills: Carleton University Press, 1990. Pp. cxxxi, 354. Black and White photographs, maps. \$21.95, (paper)*

Robert Peter Gillis

Volume 19, Number 3, February 1991

URI: <https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1017605ar>

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7202/1017605ar>

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Publisher(s)

Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine

ISSN

0703-0428 (print)

1918-5138 (digital)

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Cite this review

Gillis, R. P. (1991). Review of [Reid, Richard M., ed. *The Upper Ottawa Valley to 1855, The Publications of the Champlain Society, ONTARIO SERIES XIV. Don Mills: Carleton University Press, 1990. Pp. cxxxi, 354. Black and White photographs, maps. \$21.95, (paper)*]. *Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine*, 19(3), 244–245. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1017605ar>

Daniel Knechtel, in contrast, was a model for his workers of Christian manliness in work, thrift and public service. The craft ethos of the Hanover furniture industry was underlined by the failure of the efforts of Knechtel's son to introduce managerial Taylorism in the strike of 1923.

In the third chapter of each sequence, Parr explains the technicalities and gendering of work processes in Penmans knitting mills and Knechtel's furniture factory. She shows that "sexual division in the labour force is the sum of the sex labelling of specific tasks," and that "the same jobs have been assigned to different genders at different times in the same place and in different places at the same time." The relationships between wage work, the domestic division of labour and family and community attitudes and values are discussed in the fourth chapter of each study. Paris mill families headed by women were accommodated rather than accepted, with a "denying and dismissive tolerance of their domestic values and family forms." In Hanover, "there was no doubt . . . that wage work was both men's to do and part of the measure of a man's worth"; men's privileged position in community life rested also on their married status as well as their essential maleness and entitlement to paid work. The final chapter of each study considers labour unionism. Paris was seared by the experience of "womanly militance and neighbourly wrath" in the 1949 strike against Penmans. Failure of the strike "intensified local distrust of class-based actions as a way to bring social change," and reinforced the earlier "gender- and community-based solidarities." The greater success of Hanover men in the strike of 1937 is explained less by class consciousness than by their consensus of brotherhood grounded in "common standards of dignity and self-worth in their common gender."

In her conclusion, Parr argues that "we are burdened in trying to understand what work means within a way of life by a history of analytical dualisms—capitalist and non-capitalist production, waged and non-waged labour, public and private life, masculine and feminine roles." She finds that class, gender and ethnic identities and solidarities were uniquely intertwined and constantly changing in each community and that they cannot be fully understood or explained either in terms of mainstream ideologies of the day or of categories of social theory of our times: "[n]ever did class and gender, either singly or in conjunction, map the whole of social existence; both personally and collectively, understandings and obligations were also framed in religious faith, ethnicity and nationality." She advocates "putting questions that tolerate specificity and diversity as answers" as "a way to begin to craft explanations that more fully comprehend both the access to power and the grounds upon which this access, successfully and unsuccessfully, has been challenged."

In *The Gender of Breadwinners*, Paris and Hanover are used as settings for detailed and sensitive explorations of the inter-relationships of work, gender, class and community. With the author, the reader may wonder how typical these places are of other small industrial communities. Could there be other places "more authentic and less anomalous," "where class and gender relations were more systematic and predictable, where meanings were more straightforward and settled"? Or would any town or village, examined under the social historian's microscope, be revealed to have equivalent idiosyncrasies?

Parr herself provides little context of time and place for Paris and Hanover.

For urban historians, her brief comparison of the two communities tends to oversimplify their situations. For example, the two places are described as "still rural villages" in 1880, that grew in population "from roughly 1,000 to 4,000" between 1880 and 1950. In fact Paris, with a population of 3,173 in the 1881 census, ranked 38th among all Ontario urban centres, being somewhat larger than such county towns as Whitby or Brampton. Hanover, in contrast, was not incorporated as a village until 1899. With a population of perhaps 850 in 1880, it might have ranked 150th in southern Ontario. While Hanover's population grew at a faster rate in most decades thereafter, Paris with 5,249 people in 1951 was still one and a half times the size of Hanover at the end of the study period. Perhaps this minor criticism simply points out a challenge to some Canadian urban historians to provide a better comparative understanding of communities in the urban system.

Elizabeth Bloomfield
Guelph, Ontario

Reid, Richard M., ed. *The Upper Ottawa Valley to 1855*, The Publications of the Champlain Society, ONTARIO SERIES XIV. Don Mills: Carleton University Press, 1990. Pp. cxxxi, 354. Black and White photographs, maps. \$21.95, (paper).

The Upper Ottawa Valley to 1855 is part of the long-standing Champlain Society project to publish documents relating to unique events, institutions and regions in Canadian history. This particular volume is done in cooperation with the Ontario Heritage Foundation, and the paper edition forms part of the Carleton Library Series.

Canadian history. This particular volume is done in cooperation with the Ontario Heritage Foundation, and the paper edition forms part of the Carleton Library Series.

The editor, Richard Reid, has done a competent job in pulling together a myriad of documents, organizing them and producing a full introduction based on this information. The Introduction and the Documents parallel each other under seven chapter headings—British Emigration Policy and the Settlement of the Ottawa Valley; Social Order and Growth in the Valley; From Timber to Lumber; Changing Patterns of Transportation; Urban growth in the Ottawa Valley and the Rise of Bytown; Ottawa Valley Politics, 1820–1855; and Religion and Education in the Valley. The documents are keyed to the Introduction by number and accompanied by extensive and useful biographical notes on the creator, recipient and subjects of the information involved. All this makes for interesting reading, since many of the documents have not been published before, and several excellent maps help give a sense of place and distance.

Having stated the above is not to absolve the book from some flaws. The most basic of these is a failure to locate what exactly comprises the Upper Ottawa Valley. Is it the whole area above Montreal? Sometimes Reid would have us think so with references to everything up from the St. Lawrence front. It definitely includes the townships stretching out from the Rideau and Mississippi Rivers; an area in which the author seems most at home with his research and which he uses to try to counter-balance the influence of the timber frontier on the Upper Ottawa. Does it include the area above Bytown and the Chaudière? Well

yes, but the amount of documentation in the volume directly reflecting any area beyond Arnprior is minimal. This is particularly troublesome in the chapters dealing with the settlement and growth of villages, both of which centre on an axis through Smiths Falls, Perth, Lanark and Bytown. Finally, does it encompass the Quebec side of the Valley? Always a problematical question when dealing with the Ottawa Valley, but particularly so when the volume is part of a provincial series. Nevertheless, the nature of the Valley is as an integral whole and Reid does, at times, recognize both its sides. But the author is, at best, tentative in his approach to boundaries and location. This vagueness results, in turn, in a missed opportunity to begin to delineate the unique set of communities which are the subjects of his book.

Equally disturbing, the book lacks definition of period or periods. Its title indicates that it will look at the Upper Valley up to 1855. Is this intended to include the era of first contact and the French Regime? Apparently not, since there is virtually nothing about natives in the volume, even though they have had an important role in the history of the Valley, nor of the French penetration or the fur trade. No note places these subjects beyond the scope of the volume and one is left thinking that British settlement marks the beginning of history on the Upper Ottawa. Even more puzzling is the selection of the terminal date of 1855, which seems to have no particular significance for the Valley in historical terms.

This is not to say that there is not a lot of useful insights in *The Upper Ottawa Valley*. As mentioned above, the sections on the settlements off the Rideau and Mississippi river systems are strong and useful. The chapter on social order presents a

good counterpoint to the more traditional view of the lawless timber frontier, though it does fail to look at the nature of the transient population that resided in the woods up above the Chaudière, the true Upper Ottawa Valley. By the same token, the work on urban growth in Bytown, Smiths Falls and Perth provides a good overview of that process.

Unfortunately, however, these remain pieces which do not meld into a satisfactory whole. There is a failure to adequately capture the essence of all the various communities which formed the socio-economic fabric of the early Upper Ottawa Valley. The book is strong when it deals with the Scots and Irish farming communities of Carleton and Lanark Counties, but struggles when it deals with the French, Irish and American communities centred on the timber trade. It misses the dynamism of communities striving to find a place on the resource frontier which was the Upper Ottawa Valley portrayed so vividly in the opening chapter of Ralph Connor's *The Man from Glengarry*. Reid provides glimpses of these struggles in his chapters on social order and resource exploitation, but misses it in others such as the chapter on politics. The result is an uneven book which does not quite achieve a synthesis of the nature of that unique area which is the Upper Ottawa Valley.

Robert Peter Gillis
Treasury Board Secretariat Canada