

Balancing the scales

*Women's economic contribution through
dairy and textiles, Argentina, 1831-1861*



BALANCING THE SCALES:
WOMEN'S ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION THROUGH DAIRY AND TEXTILES,
ARGENTEUIL, 1831-1861

by

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INTRODUCTION

Money talks. In the nineteenth century it was increasingly the value of the fruit of labour that brought attention to it. Attention was focused on waged labour, field crops and export markets. Labourers were paid for their work, tradespeople and farmers exchanged the products of their labour for cash or credit with store keepers or merchants. Exports often characterized a geographic area and were considered a measure of its success. Indeed, men's labour and agricultural exports was usually the focus of attention, while the labour of women—wives, mothers, and daughters—remained hidden from public sight, occasioning few concerns or considerations. Child care, cooking, cleaning fell under the rubric of routine domestic chores that were necessary for the day-to-day survival and maintenance of the family and household. Ordinary people knew that the efforts of women had an economic impact on family or community, but political economists ignored them. Those tasks may have been important but they were not valued because they were not public and seldom had a cash value attached to them. Out of sight, out of mind, women's work in pre-industrial Canada was invisible to most contemporaries and has been also for modern historians.

Recent research has shown that much of women's labour contributed significantly to the family's ability to accumulate capital and to sustain the farm. For instance, dairying brought many women into the market economy as their surplus butter and cheese was exchanged for credit in the store, traded for other products, or used to prevent creditors from taking over the family farm in bad crop years when the crops were inadequate to cover costs. Marjorie Cohen and Heather Menzies each have documented the involvement of women in dairying in nineteenth century Ontario, the importance of dairy products to the farm economy, and the transition of

dairy production from women's control into men's control in a factory setting towards the end of the century.¹

Recently, Adrienne Hood has drawn attention to another sector dominated by women: textile production. She has repositioned it in both the family and the larger community economy.

Labor- and resource-intensive, and therefore costly to make, fabrics and clothing represented the largest expenditure on household goods for most families. An understanding of the place of textiles in early America is fundamental to current historiographical debates over rural household self-sufficiency, the transition to capitalism, and the emergence of a consumer culture.²

While more and more research into women's lives in the late nineteenth century has focused on the importance of rural women's labour in the American north and midwest, and on women's economic participation in urban settings, very little research has been done on rural women's labour in the pre-Confederation period.³

I. HISTORIOGRAPHY AND THEORY: FARM WOMEN'S ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTIONS

One of the greatest difficulties concerning any attempt to assess the economic importance of farm women's work is to place a value on labour traditionally outside the market place, away from the public domain. Indeed, this work was essential to the operation of a farm, but has been devalued because no market value had been attached to it. As historians start to examine in greater detail how rural wives, mothers, daughters and spinsters spent their days on family

¹ Marjorie Cohen, "The Decline of Women in Canadian Dairying," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 17, 34 (November 1984): 307-34 and *Women's Work, Markets, and Economic Development in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988); Heather Menzies, *By the Labour of Their Hands: The Story of Ontario Cheddar* (Kingston: Quarry Press, 1994).

² Adrienne D. Hood, "The Material World of Cloth: Production and Use in Eighteenth-Century Rural Pennsylvania," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Series, LIII, 1 (January 1996): 43.

³ Andrée Lévesque, "Historiography: History of Women in Québec since 1985," *Québec Studies* 12 (Spring/Summer, 1991): 85.

farms, theoretical frameworks emerge to address this lack of recognition and to assess the value of women's work and to integrate that work into the larger community economy. Many of these theoretical approaches inform this paper.

Economic history is dominated by market-led, and more particularly, by export market-led models. Yet, recent work by Marvin McNinnis, Douglas McCalla, Rusty Bitterman⁴ and others show that internal markets and interfamily barter played a key role in pre-Confederation economic development. Further, those historians are moving away from the old dichotomy between subsistence and commercial farming. Historians of farm women further blur these distinctions.

Marjorie Cohen's path breaking analysis of *Women's Work, Markets, and Economic Development* (1988) argued that traditional analysis of economic development and economic relations neglected the household economy, an economy which she described as the "most prevalent mode of production."⁵ Because women's production was not paid labour it was not included in traditional economic theory. Men's labour in the fields provided commodities to be sold on the market, while women's production in the household provided subsistence to the family. Cohen has argued that in effect an interdependent

dual economy existed: subsistence production, which provided the most basic needs of the household, and the market-oriented production, which provided income. Women's labour in this scheme was critical to capital accumulation....to the extent that the total income from market production need not be expended on consumption, accumulation of capital in the family productive unit could occur.⁶

⁴ Marvin McNinnis, "Marketable Surpluses in Ontario Farming, 1860," *Social Science History*, 8 (1984): 395-424; Douglas McCalla, *Planting the Province: The Economic History of Upper Canada 1784-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), Rusty Bitterman, "Middle River: The Social Structure of Agriculture in a Nineteenth Century Cape Breton Community," M.A. Thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1987.

⁵ Cohen, *Women's Work, Markets, and Economic Development*, 3.

⁶ Cohen, "Capitalist Development, Industrialization, and Women's Work," in *Perspectives on Canadian Economic Development: Class, Staples, Gender and Elites*, ed. Gordon Laxer (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1991): 314.

Jeanne Kay argued that on the nineteenth century North American frontier the public and export-oriented economy of farming was balanced against the private, domestic economy of butter or dressmaking because "when the wheat crop fail(ed) ... consumption and marketing of women's home-grown produce and eggs [became] more important to the frontier family's survival."⁷ Indeed, an expanded understanding of what constitutes the economy and of the meaning and value of *work* is essential to a full understanding of nineteenth century productive labour. Joan M. Jensen follows a similar line of reasoning and defines "household production for the market...to include both commodities and services that were produced by women beyond those used by the immediate members of the family."⁸ New research characterizes women's work generally as "production for household use as well as for exchange, plus the myriad informal activities through which women conserved or increased household economic, political and cultural resources."⁹ Such studies highlight "the importance of participation in the informal economy for understanding female contributions to the economy."¹⁰

Much of the analysis of farm women's work is also tied to theories of separate spheres, and a gendered division of labour on the farm. John Mack Faragher has argued that it makes "methodological sense" to research farm women and men based on the way in which they divided work among themselves "if for no other reason that because outward behavior is what historians can best determine, and broad areas of behavioral uniformity suggest the presence of

⁷ Jeanne Kay, "Landscapes of Women and Men: Rethinking the Regional Historical Geography of the United States and Canada," *Journal of Historical Geography* 17, 4 (October 1991): 444.

⁸ Joan M. Jensen, "Cloth, Butter and Boards: Women's Household Production for the Market", *The Review of Radical Political Economics* 12, 2 (Summer 1980): 15.

⁹ Louise Tilly, "Women and Work, plus Gender," review of *Women's Work and the Family Economy in Historical Perspective*, ed. Pat Hudson and W.R. Lee, In *Gender & History* 4, 1 (Spring 1992): 90-91.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 91.

roles.”¹¹ The division of labour on farms associates activities such as dairying, making cloth, poultry operations, and vegetable gardening with women, field and livestock operations with men. While such divisions were not always strictly adhered to, they provide a general framework from which to investigate women’s labour on the farm. However, as Kay argued, researchers should view domestic and commercial spheres as “useful economic and spatial abstractions independent of gender, and then ... see how men and women moved between them.”¹²

This paper fills a gap in the existing literature on farm women’s economic contributions in pre-Confederation Canada. The seigneurie d’Argenteuil was chosen for this study because it was located in a prosperous farming region within the Montreal plain, was within easy reach of urban markets, and experienced early village development. Argenteuil, by 1850 was not a subsistence, frontier society.

The activities of farm women in Argenteuil between 1831 and 1861 are examined to place a value on the fruit of women’s labour. This includes production for credit and exchange, as well as the costs avoided due to women’s labour and production in the home. Like Cohen, this paper argues that domestic production of goods and services must be included in economic analyses of nineteenth century Canada. Only by including the goods and services made by women can a more accurate picture be developed which reflects the broad range of economic initiatives that sustained families and communities and to which women were instrumental.

This paper accepts that rural women and men divided labour among themselves. Women were primarily responsible for producing butter and cheese before production moved from the farm to the factory and men’s control. Processing, spinning, and transforming wool into

¹¹ John Mack Faragher, “The Midwestern Farming Family, 1850,” in *Women’s America: Refocusing the Past*, 4th ed., ed. Linda K. Kerber and Jane Sherron De Hart (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995): 120.

¹² Kay, “Landscapes of Women and Men,” 444.

homespun was also women's work, as was sewing clothes from homespun and cloth and notions purchased at local stores. Argenteuil farm women produced surplus dairy products and cloth, exchanged those products in the public market for money or credit, and helped the family accumulate capital through the production of additional articles that did not then have to be purchased. When these activities are added together, women's labour on the farm brought significant financial benefits to the family economy, as well as providing marketable surpluses for consumption by the greater Argenteuil community.

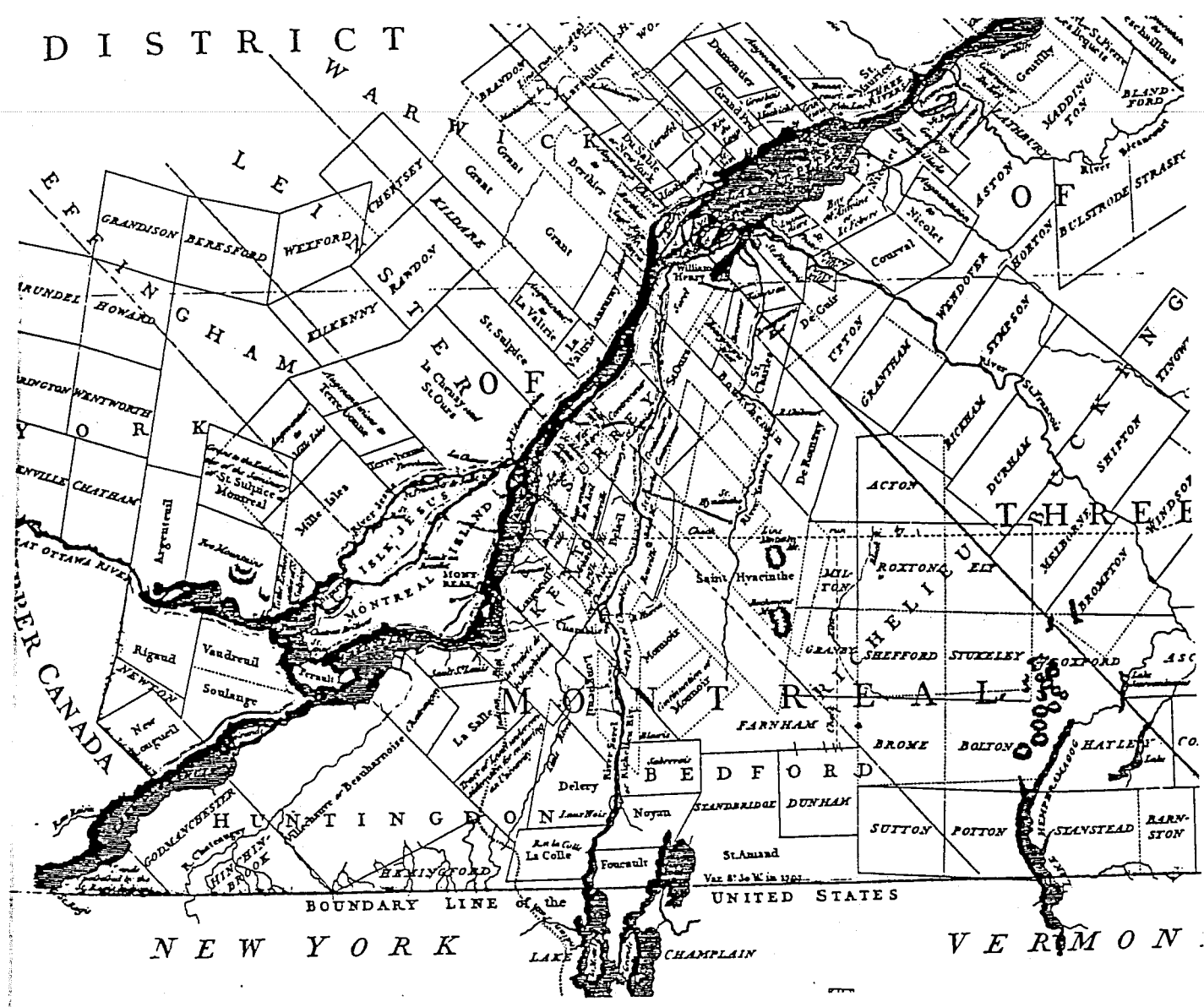
II. THE ARGENTEUIL SEIGNEURIE

Argenteuil is uniquely suited to study the impact of women's labour and household production within the family, and its integration into the larger community economy. Originally granted in the seventeenth century under the French seigneurial land tenure system, it was sparsely populated until a Scottish seigneur at the end of the eighteenth century actively sought settlers from his own homeland and other English-speaking settlers of British origin. A few late Loyalists primarily from Vermont and New Hampshire also settled in the area between 1785 and the turn of the century and provided an American-connection that continued throughout the pre-Confederation period. Some French-Canadian settlers arrived in the late eighteenth century and a few more settled in the early part of the nineteenth century, but they were, and remained, a minority. Even among the Scots, who dominated the settlement there was a "distinct separation of the two races" with the Highlanders (mainly Catholics) settling along the banks of the Ottawa River in the south, while the Lowlanders (mainly Protestants) in the north.¹³ Settlement patterns

¹³ Cyrus Thomas, *History of the Counties of Argenteuil, Que., and Prescott, Ont., From the Earliest Settlement to the Present* (Montreal: John Lovell and Son, 1896; reprint, John Lovell and Son, 1981), 63 (page references are to reprint edition).

also show diversity in language, ethnicity and religion, although any heterogeneity was muted by the English-speaking, Protestant nature of the dominant population.

MAP 1: Showing Argenteuil and its distance from the major market centre of Montreal. (Taken from *A New Map of the Province of Lower Canada*, Samuel Holland, London, 1802).



Approximately 72 square miles in all, Argenteuil extended six miles along the north side of the Ottawa River and 12 miles northeast into the Laurentian mountains of Lower Canada. Strategically positioned between the major markets of Montreal a few miles to the southeast and of Ottawa to the northwest across the Ottawa River, the entire seigneurie of Argenteuil was formed into the parish of St. Andrew's in 1822.¹⁴ When the parish of St. Jerusalem was established by 1852, more than half of the original seigneurie was placed into the new parish "much to the dismay of St. Andrew's."¹⁵

Serge Courville has pointed out the importance of studying agriculture at the parish level, determining the number of people directly involved in agriculture, and examining the development of villages in the seigneuries.¹⁶ Due to the difficulty of finding a "suitable" definition of village, and the imprecision of census to denote boundaries clearly "it is often difficult, or even impossible, to establish where the village ended and the c tes began (grouped vs. semi-dispersed settlement)." To avoid oversimplification, Courville used the expression "grouped settlement nodes" to describe clusters of settlement where the inhabitants "dealt with activities generally different from those of their agricultural counterparts, even though the two were often closely related."¹⁷ Other historians have noted the importance of not studying village populations and rural populations in isolation since the village acts as "a meeting point for urban and farm lives and as an essential unit in binding together urban and rural communities."¹⁸

¹⁴ Ibid, 66.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Serge Courville, "Villages and Agriculture in the Seigneuries of Lower Canada: Conditions of a Comprehensive Study of Rural Quebec in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," *Canadian Papers in Rural History* V (1986): 122.

¹⁷ Ibid, 123.

¹⁸ Donald G. Wetherell and Irene R.A. Kmet, *Town Life: Main Street and the Evolution of Small Town Alberta, 1880-1947* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1995): XV.

In this paper the development of grouped settlement nodes, or villages, plays an important role in the development of a community economy and the creation of a demand for the products that farm women supplied. Additionally, the interpretation of surplus production varies significantly when farm women and their households are assessed separately from those who lived in grouped settlement nodes.¹⁹

The main grouped settlement node, or village, in the northern parish of St. Jerusalem was Lachute, but the more populated village of St. Andrew's, at the junction of the Ottawa River and the North River in the parish of St. Andrew's was the main centre and hub of village activity in the seigneurie. A second, smaller village, Carillon, was situated two miles northwest of St. Andrew's on the Ottawa River. Throughout the period under study, demographic statistics show that in the parish of St. Andrew's the number of farm households accounted for less than half the population, while in the northern parish the number of non-farm residents never rose above more than 32 per cent of the population (See Table One). Since most non-farm households did not generally produce dairy products or cloth, farm women looking for markets to motivate them to produce surplus products never had to look beyond their own seigneurial backyard. If they did, Montreal and Ottawa were close enough to provide extra incentive.

¹⁹ Recent research has examined other aspects of the Argenteuil economy. See for example, Noreen E. Lowe, "Settlers in St. Andrews, Lower Canada: A Study of Rural Life in an Anglophone Seigneurie, 1830-1839." M.A., University of Ottawa, 1993; Béatrice Craig and Elizabeth Turcotte, "L'agriculture dans les seigneuries d'Argenteuil et du Lac des Deux Montagnes 1831-1842," *Congres de ITHAF*, Ottawa, Octobre, 1995; Craig and Turcotte, "Argenteuil and Chatham in 1831 and 1842: A case study of seigniorial and freehold agriculture in Lower Canada in the first half of the nineteenth century," paper presented at "Land, Labour, and Tenure: the Institutional Arrangements of Conflict and Cooperation in Comparative Perspective", pre-conference to the XII International Economic History Association Congress in Seville, 1998, University of Leicester (England), August 21-24, 1996.

Table One: Demographics of the Seigneurie d'Argenteuil and its parishes.

Seigneurie of Argenteuil

Year	Households	Rural	Percent	Non Rural	Percent	Population	Women	Men	Children
1831	448	274	61	174	39	2,496	604	764	1,128
1842	592	345	58	247	42	3,545	912	1,116	1,622
1851	607	361	59	246	41	4,435	1,312	1,351	1,772
1861	685	362	53	323	47	4,461	1,430	1,331	1,700

St. Andrew's Parish, Argenteuil

Year	Households	Rural	Percent	Non Rural	Percent	Population	Women	Men	Children
1831	263	127	48	136	52	1,477	343	449	685
1842	345	166	48	179	52	2,136	574	702	965
1851	332	121	36	211	63	2,315	705	710	900
1861	410	176	43	234	57	2,682	860	772	1,050

St. Jerusalem Parish, Argenteuil

Year	Households	Rural	Percent	Non Rural	Percent	Population	Women	Men	Children
1831	185	147	79	38	21	1,019	261	315	443
1842	247	179	72	68	27	1,409	338	414	657
1851	275	240	87	35	13	2,120	607	641	872
1861	275	186	68	89	32	1,779	570	559	650

III. METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES

(a) Sources: The Censuses of Lower Canada

Much of the past research into women's productive if unvalued labour has been made through the use of women's diaries and business records.²⁰ While this evidence established evidence of the quantity and quality of women's work, as well as the separation of labour along gender lines, it provided only specific examples which may or may not reflect a broader picture. In addition,

²⁰ See for example, Nancy Grey Osterud, *Bonds of Community: The Lives of Farm Women in Nineteenth-Century New York* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991); Joan M. Jensen, *Loosening the Bonds: Mid-Atlantic Farm Women, 1750-1850* (Westford: Yale University Press, 1986); Elizabeth Manke, "At the Counter of the General Store: Women and the Economy in Eighteenth-Century Horton, Nova Scotia," in *Intimate Relations: Family and Community in Planter Nova Scotia 1759-1800*, ed. Margaret Conrad, (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1995); Sally McMurray, *Transforming Rural Life: Dairying Families and Agricultural Change 1820-1885* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995); Menzies, *By the Labour of Their Hands*.

since usually only the financially better-off or better-educated left written records, analysis of a broader range of the productive labour of farm women across levels of wealth distribution remains to be undertaken.

Other historians have used manuscript censuses to investigate the problem. Bettina Bradbury has successfully used nineteenth century manuscript census to analyze the participation of Montreal women in the paid labour force and to determine the economic survival strategies of widows in that urban centre.²¹ American Margo Anderson has argued that "statistical knowledge" such as that gleaned from census records is a necessary, if not necessarily sufficient, form of knowledge for women's history because it provides information on a "wide variety of questions on population, economics, and social relations."²² This paper uses the manuscript censuses of 1831, 1842, 1851 and 1861 for Argenteuil, as the primary source to examine patterns of production and consumption. The censuses help us to determine to what extent production of dairy products tried to meet a local or regional market demand. The daybook from one of the general stores in the village of St. Andrew's provides the data for attributing financial value to dairy and homespun production. It also offers insight into the extent to which the potential to earn cash or credit could have motivated farm women in Argenteuil to produce surplus dairy products.

American and Canadian researchers have drawn attention to the problems manuscript census pose for historians of women. The most notable disadvantage is the gender blindness of the questions asked. Bruce Curtis studied the making of the 1861 Canadian census and questioned "the relation between census making and the realities captured by the census as an investigative

²¹ Bettina Bradbury, "Surviving as a Widow in 19th Century Montreal," *Urban History Review* 17, 3 (1989): 148-60.

²² Margo Anderson, "The History of Women and the History of Statistics," *Journal of Women's History* 4, 1 (Spring 1992): 17.

instrument."²³ Since men designed the census questionnaire, the social realities they attempted to uncover were those that men considered important. Enumerators were men and

census enquiries were matters of oral history and in many instances, of rather distant memory-work as well. Enumerators regarded it as entirely legitimate that only certain informants engage in this memory work. Men and male heads of households were clearly preferred. Enumerators frequently went out of their way to find male informants and, when compelled to rely on information from women, frequently expressed reservations about its quality and reliability. Men, and preferably patriarchs, were commonly allowed to speak to the experience of women and children.²⁴

Married women were assumed not to have any occupation other than that of wife, the production of goods or services by women for the household were not counted as occupational labour, errors were made in taking down responses, misunderstanding surrounded the interpretation of census questions, and enumerators made presumptions and assumptions when recording data.²⁵

All these factors affect the ability of the manuscript census to accurately reflect the reality of different individuals of the district as they themselves perceived it, especially the social and economic reality of women. Still, the manuscript census provides a great deal of information that can be used tentatively to establish a foundation from which to examine the lives of a broad range of women in a whole community. Such analysis is a reasonable foundation to begin to closely examine the lives of ordinary women in pre-Confederation Lower Canada, women who would otherwise remain invisible due to the absence of other records and information such as

²³ Bruce Curtis, "On the Local Construction of Statistical Knowledge: Making up the 1861 Census of the Canadas," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 7, 4 (December 1994): 416.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 426.

²⁵ These and other problems with manuscript censuses are discussed in Alan A. Brookes, "'Doing the Best I Can': The Taking of the 1861 New Brunswick Census," *Histoire sociale/Social History* IX, 17 (Mai/May 1976): 70-91; David P. Gagan, "Enumerator's Instructions for the Census of Canada 1852 and 1861," *Histoire sociale/Social History* VII, 14 (novembre/November 1974): 355-365; Normand Fortier, "Les recensements canadiens a l'étude de l'agriculture québécoise 1852-1901," *Histoire sociale/Social History* XVII, 34 (novembre/November 1984): 257-86; and Curtis, "On the Local Construction of Statistical Knowledge."

diaries and letters. This initial investigation of ordinary women's lives can uncover, problems, concerns and questions to direct further study.

Difference in the composition of the manuscript census for the period studied, however, presented other analytical problems. The 1831 and 1842 censuses are both head of household enumerations, have similar categories of data and record the information on a single schedule. The 1831 census includes the name of the head of each family and his/her occupation. The number of people in each family is recorded, but the ages of each are grouped into categories and given as aggregates only. There are two age categories for *all* children under 14 years. The only distinction between boys and girls is another column which listed females 13 years of age and under.²⁶ Two columns listed females 14 to 45 years, married or single, and, 45 years and older, married or single. Five age categories divided males into married or single also. A variety of data on land holdings, crop yields and livestock information was also reported. The information on the 1842 census was similar, but recorded the number of males and females under five years of age, and the number of boys and girls aged five to 14 years separately, allowing a more accurate counting of the total number of children. There was no separate category for females 0-13 years. New columns recorded the number of male and female servants. Categories for land holdings, field produce and livestock remained the same. Neither the 1831 nor 1842 census listed the number of milk cows separately (they both include them with the neat cattle). They did not enumerate the amount of butter or cheese that was produced either. The number of sheep per household was included in both 1831 and in 1842, but

²⁶ The assumption I made was that subtracting the number of females listed in the 13 years and under column from the number of "persons" 0-5 and 5-13 would result in the number of boys 13 years or under. However, when I did this calculation for Argenteuil for 1831 the proportion of boys to girls was abnormally high (70 percent boys to 30 percent girls) so there remains some confusion as to how to interpret the three columns listing ages for children under 13 years which could affect calculations for determining adult equivalency.

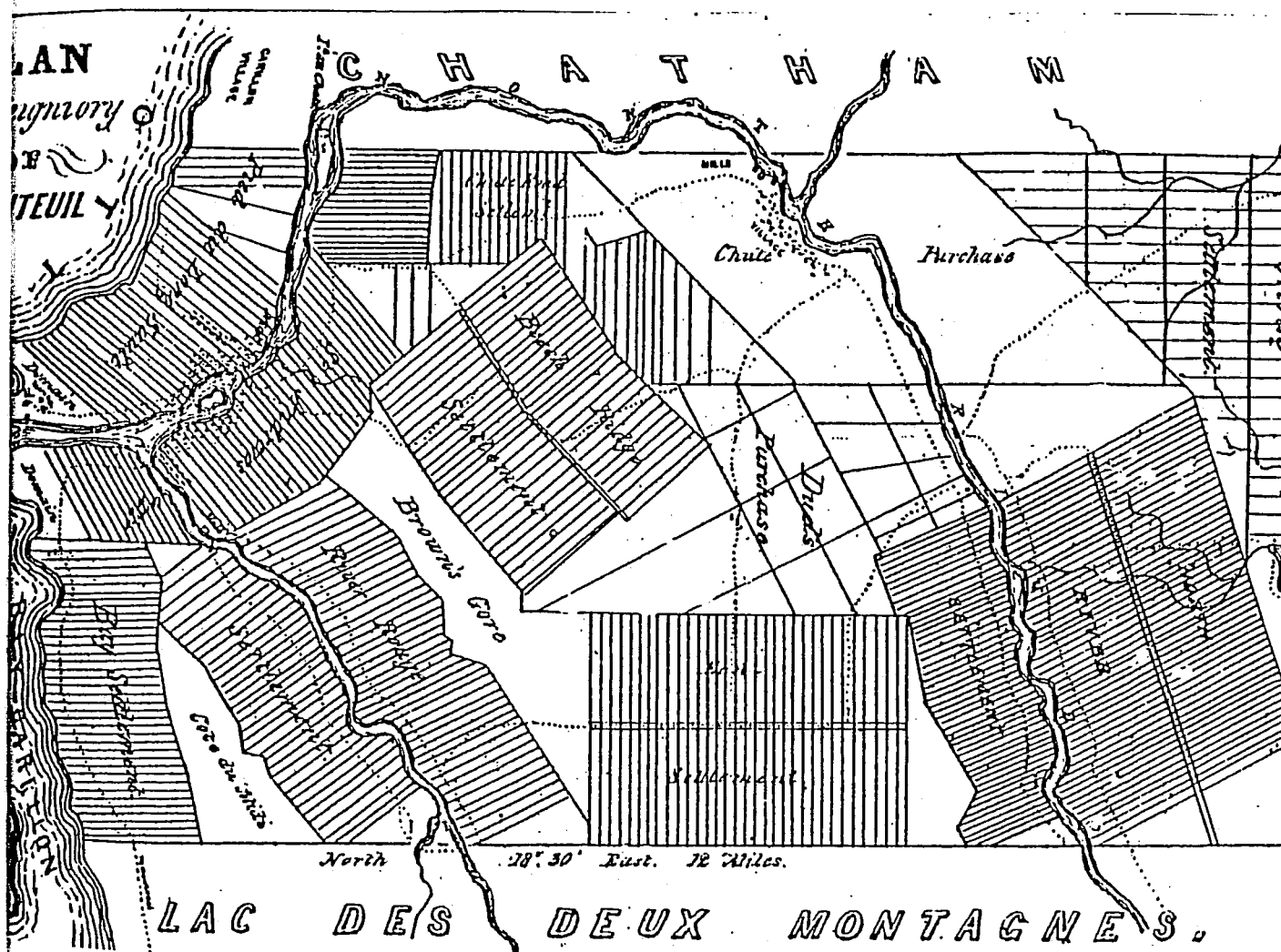
information on wool and linen, flannel and fulled homespun was included for the first time only in 1842. (For a complete listing of census categories for 1831 see Appendix A and for 1842 see Appendix B).

Manuscript census for 1851 and 1861 collected information in two separate schedules. The personal schedule for both years included the name, occupation, age, marital status, origin and religious affiliation of each member of the household, as well as the births and deaths during the previous year. The agricultural census for both years recorded the head of household only, but contained greater detailed information concerning land holdings, crops, and livestock. The most useful columns for analyzing dairy production, which were first added in the 1851 and continued in the 1861 agricultural censuses, were those that recorded the specific number of milch cows and those that listed the number of pounds of butter and of cheese produced.²⁷ The number of pounds of wool and the number of yards of linen, flannel and fulled homespun continued to be reported. Another useful feature of the 1851 and 1861 was their division of Argenteuil into two enumeration districts: the parishes of St. Jerusalem and St. Andrew's. This allows an analysis of dairy production by individual parish, as well as for the entire seigneurie. The concession and lot numbers for each household are often provided so that it is possible to locate groups of individuals on a map of Argenteuil that shows these settlements. Many of these geographic settlements within Argenteuil were named before the 1831 census and kept their names until 1861. Consequently, it is possible to track families who, in 1831, were enumerated in such settlements as La Baie, Côte des Hetres (Beech Ridge), River Rouge, Pied du Long Sault,

²⁷ The 1851 Personal Census for this district did not record the number of cows that non-farmers had, but the 1861 census did. Thus, the 1861 personal census is the source of an additional number of cows that could have produced milk which could have been turned into butter and/or cheese; but while the number of cows is listed in the Personal Census, there is no reference to butter or cheese produced, leaving the agricultural census as the only official record of dairy production.

Carillon, St. Andrew's, Chute Road, Jerusalem, and North River Settlement, and, who were enumerated in the same settlements in 1861.²⁸

MAP 2: *The Davis Map*, Plan of the Seigneurie of Argenteuil showing settlement areas, circa 1850, in B.A. Wales, *Memories of Old St. Andrew's and Historical Sketches of the Seignory of Argenteuil* (Lachute: Watchman Press, 1934).



²⁸ The exception to this is the 1842 census which does not give any indication of where individual families lived. However, there is a high probability that a family listed in 1831 and in 1851 in the same settlement likely lived there in 1842 as well. On this assumption, I also separated the manuscript census data for 1842 into the parishes of St. Andrew's and of St. Jerusalem in order to facilitate parish comparisons throughout the period of study.

(b) METHODOLOGY

1) *Estimating Marketable Surpluses*

The methodology used for this analysis was developed by Marvin McInnis and has been picked up and adapted by many others.²⁹ The basic principle of this method is straightforward: a surplus is equal to the total production minus on-farm needs such as food, feed and seeds. It is assumed surpluses are sold and large surpluses are thus an indication of an intent to produce for markets. U.S. agricultural historian Clarence Danhoff considered a farm that sold 60 percent of its production was commercial.³⁰ Craig considers that a 60 percent surplus for any commodity is indicative of that commodity being a commercial one.³¹

2) *Dairying*

Since the census of 1831 and of 1842 provided no information on the amount of butter or cheese produced, nor on the precise number of milch cows, the analysis of these years is an estimate of Argenteuil's *potential* for dairy production. Marvin McInnis and Frank D. Lewis determined the potential milk output per cow per milking season to be the equivalent of 92

²⁹ Marvin McInnis, "Marketable Surpluses in Ontario Farming, 1860," *Social Science History*, VIII (Fall 1984): 395-424; Frank Lewis and Marvin McInnis, "Agricultural Output and Efficiency in Lower Canada," *Research in Economic History* 9 (1984): 95-87; Jeremy Atack and Fred Bateman, *To Their Own Soil: Agriculture in the Antebellum North* (Iowa University Press, 1987); Rusty Bitterman, "Middle River: The Social Structure of Agriculture in a Nineteenth Century Cape Breton Community," M.A. Thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1987; Béatrice Craig, "Agriculture in a Pioneer Region: The Upper St. John River Valley in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," in *Farm, Factory and Fortune: New Studies in the Economic History of the Maritime Provinces*, ed. Kris Inwood, (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1993); Craig, "Le développement agricole dans la haute vallée de la rivière St Jean en 1860," *Journal de la société historique de Canada*, (1992):13-26; T.W. Acheson, "New Brunswick Agriculture at the end of the Colonial Era: A Reassessment," in *Farm, Factory and Fortune*. This methodology was also used in Béatrice Craig and Elizabeth Turcotte, "L'agriculture dans les seigneuries d'Argenteuil et du Lac des Deux Montagnes 1831-1842," Congrès de l'I.H.A.F., Ottawa, Octobre, 1995 and in Craig and Turcotte, "Argenteuil and Chatham in 1831 and 1842: A case study of seigniorial and freehold agriculture in Lower Canada in the first half of the nineteenth century," paper presented at "Land, Labour, and Tenure: The Institutional Arrangements of Conflict and Cooperation in Comparative Perspective, pre-conference to the XII International Economic History Association Congress in Seville, 1998, University of Leicester, England, August 21-24, 1996.

³⁰ Clarence Danhoff, "The Farm Enterprise: The Northern United States, 1820-1860," *Research in Economic History* 4 (1979): 131.

³¹ Craig, "Agriculture in Pioneer Region", 30 and "l'développement agricole," 13-26.

pounds of butter.³² In 1851 and in 1861 milch cows accounted for approximately 60 per cent of the Argenteuil herd, therefore, 60 per cent of the neat cattle listed for 1831 and 1842 were assumed to be milch cows for this analysis.³³ Since Lewis and McInnis argued half of all milk produced in this period was consumed as fluid milk,³⁴ the butter needs of the number of *adult equivalents*³⁵ in Argenteuil were determined for both census years and then subtracted from half of the potential total amount of butter that could have been produced. The annual butter consumption needs of the community was estimated at 30 pounds of butter/cheese per adult.³⁶ Analysis was made for Argenteuil as a whole, and for the two areas that became St. Andrew's and St. Jerusalem by 1851.³⁷

³² Lewis and McInnis, "Agricultural Output and Efficiency in Lower Canada", 74. The authors assumed a cow could produce 2300 pounds of milk per year, and estimated that at 25 pounds of milk per pound of butter, a single milch cow would be capable of producing 92 pounds of butter during the milking season. This amounted to a butter output equivalent to 30 pounds of butter per person in Lower Canada.

³³ Although it is impossible to have .6 of a cow these figures were used to maintain a standard statistical analysis between 1831 and 1842 (and between 1851 and 1861). The number of cows equal to 60 percent of the herd was multiplied by 92 (the estimated total production of milk per cow in a butter equivalent) to determine the total pounds of butter potential per cow.

³⁴ Lewis and McInnis, "Agricultural Output", 74.

³⁵ This analysis assumes that two children under the age of 14 years consumed the equivalent of one adult. The number of adult equivalents in Argenteuil is determined by dividing the number of children under 14 years by two and adding that number to the total number of adults. This is the method used by Béatrice Craig to convert her population into adult-equivalents in "Agriculture in a Pioneer Region", 27. I use age 14 as the dividing line between adult and child because this appears to be an important age of maturity for women, especially in the earlier censuses. Since the term *adult equivalent* is an awkward phrase the term *adult* will be used synonymously throughout the rest of the paper. Therefore, when used in conjunction with consumption *adult* includes both children and adults

³⁶ Lewis and McInnis estimated that "the production of dairy products for the whole of Lower Canada would work out to a butter equivalent of 30 pounds per person" in 1851 (using 25 pounds of milk to a pound of butter); "Agricultural Output," 74. Craig found in deeds of maintenance that a "typical retiree" would need a half pound of butter a week, which equals 26 pounds per year, Craig, "Agriculture in the Upper St. John," 27; Atack and Bateman suggest an annual consumption of 24.8 pounds (p. 158) but do not include cheese in the figure which is estimated at 5.6 pounds (p. 160) in *To Their Own Soil*. In addition, 30 pounds of butter is the equivalent of between three and four cups of milk a day which is the current *Canada Food Guide* recommended servings of dairy products for adults.

³⁷ It was not difficult to separate Argenteuil in 1831 into the parishes of 1851 since the enumerator listed the settlement area of each head of household. While enumerators in 1842 did not list the settlement areas of each household, the separation of Argenteuil in 1842 was made by tracking families from 1831 through 1851. In addition, the order in which the names were enumerated suggests the enumerator began in the north (St. Jerusalem) and then enumerated the south since the St. Jerusalem households end midway through one folio, and St. Andrew's parish households begin anew on a fresh folio page.

3) Homespun Production

As far as I know, no one has used census records to estimate textile production.

Consequently, I have tried to devise a method reflecting the same underlying principles that McInnis and others used to estimate market production. Atack and Bateman assume homespun production is a mark of subsistence farming and do not factor its value into their estimate of farm gross or net income.³⁸ By their definition, a farm where people weave is not a commercial one, and therefore is outside the scope of their analysis. Because I have defined economic value differently, I work homespun production into the equation. Atack and Bateman also, when discussing butter, cheese and homespun production, constantly refer to the "farmer" and "he" either neglecting or ignoring the gender specificity of those tasks.

The manuscript census for Lower Canada from 1831 recorded the number of sheep per household, but pounds of wool and yards of linen, flannel and fulled cloth were only reported in 1842, 1851 and 1861. The census category reporting wool is ambiguous because it is unclear whether the category is recording raw or processed wool.³⁹ However, contemporary authors wrote that the average sheep in early nineteenth century North America "yielded on the average from 2 to 3 pounds of coarse short-staple wool *at a shearing* (emphasis added)."⁴⁰ If the number of sheep reported per household on each census is multiplied by three, the result is almost always very close to the number of pounds of wool reported in the adjacent column per household. This

³⁸ Atack and Bateman, *To Their Own Soil*,

³⁹ Tina Lloyd, a researcher at the National Archives of Canada with expertise in the area of RG31 (Statistics Canada) told me in a telephone conversation that there is no mention of wool in the instructions to enumerators for these censuses, so there is no official clarification available on what this category represents. Further, Jeff Murray of the NAC, who works with RG17, (Agriculture Board of Canada) said he and others with expertise in this area believe there would be nothing in that record group concerning wool since it was not a marketable commodity and therefore of no real interest to government officials.

⁴⁰ Percy Wells Bidwell and John I. Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860* (New York: Peter Smith, 1941): 110.

suggests that it is raw wool and not processed wool that is recorded. Adrienne D. Hood studied sheep ownership and textile production in Chester County, Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century. She found that "an average fleece of three pounds could make about three yards of wool cloth..."⁴¹ If this is accurate, then the number of yards of cloth should reflect the amount of wool recorded by the enumerator, and this is often the case. Instances where the length of cloth is less than expected, could indicate that some of the wool recorded is used for knitting and not for cloth. There is only one reference to wool by any enumerator of any district in Argenteuil in any of the census years from 1831-1861. Charles Benedict, enumerator for the parish of St. Jerusalem in 1852 wrote on one census page that he had no trouble obtaining information from households about "the quantity of wool *sheared*..."⁴² The processes of sorting, washing and carding usually reduced the amount of wool by half.⁴³ If the census recorded processed wool, that would mean that the number of pounds of wool recorded should be multiplied by two to determine the amount of raw or sheared wool. Since the results of these calculations are contrary to contemporary evidence as well as Hood's observations based on personal experience as a weaver, this paper assumes the wool reported in the census to be raw wool. Because there were carding mills reported on the 1842 census,⁴⁴ it is not possible to assume that all women reporting cloth carded the wool for that cloth themselves, although some may have. It is however likely

⁴¹ Hood, "The Material World of Cloth," 52.

⁴² Charles Benedict, notations on the Personal Census of the Parish of Lachute (sic, St. Jerusalem) 1851, Microfilm Reel C-1147, National Archives of Canada.

⁴³ According to the "wool spinning woman" at Upper Canada Village, a three pound fleece would be exceedingly light-weight. She said that she has bought sheep fleeces (in 1990) that weighed as much as 13 pounds. She, and the workers at the carding mill at Upper Canada Village said that in processing the fleece, about half the fleece is lost and that the wool that is the product of this processing would be at least half the weight of the original fleece.

⁴⁴ Three carding mills were reported in 1842: one in St. Andrew's and two in St. Jerusalem parish. In 1852 one enumerator noted a carding and fulling mill in his district that was "not constantly employed" and another noted a carding mill that had fallen into disrepair and no longer of any use. None were reported in St. Andrew's parish in 1852, nor were any carding or fulling mills, nor were any carding mills reported in 1861 in either parish.

that they spun the carded wool into yarn. Additionally, since the census recorded *homespun*, this paper assumes it was women who produced the cloth reported.

The total cloth production is determined both on an individual and aggregate basis by adding the yards of fulled cloth and of flannel cloth reported.⁴⁵ Hood has estimated that "a household of six would consume about 45 yards of cloth, or some 7 yards per person, just to replace a minimal amount of worn apparel."⁴⁶ Consequently, those women whose households reported more than 45 yards of cloth, were considered to have surpluses that could have been exchanged for credit or other goods and services.

4) *Economic Value of Women's Labour*

The market surplus method is not quite sufficient to evaluate the economic contribution of women. For instance, even the commodities that women produced but were not marketed had a value, because the family did not then need to buy those commodities.

The methodology used to evaluate the potential economic contribution of women's dairy and homespun production in Argenteuil is a multi-pronged approach. Once the surpluses are estimated, a monetary value is assigned, based on prices recorded at Duncan Dewar's General Store in Argenteuil between 1834 and 1862. Duncan Dewar was one of a dozen merchants in Argenteuil throughout the period studied, but the only one whose books have survived. The economic value attached to butter, cheese and cloth are derived from the prices he gave or sought when he bought and sold these commodities. Throughout this period, his daybook records numerous instances of women and men bringing large quantities of butter and cheese to

⁴⁵ The census statistics for each of the census years in this study, excluding 1831 which did not report cloth or dairy products, have a column for homespun linen which was made from flax, but since so little was made to affect overall totals it is not included in the statistics for determining a monetary value for cloth made in the home by women.

⁴⁶ Hood, "The Material World of Cloth," 49.

his store for credit, as well as many entries of debits to other accounts for regular purchases of smaller quantities of those commodities, usually in one or two pound amounts. The prices of butter and cheese fluctuated by about two pence, based probably on quality and quantity, but also on time of year. The credit to women bringing dairy products to the store ranged from six pence per pound to eight pence per pound, and it was sold generally for nine pence per pound, or one shilling two pence per two pound (and a little less for larger quantities, but not always).⁴⁷

This paper used six pence (.5 shillings) as the price women most often received as credit when they brought butter and cheese into the store to sell. The price of nine pence (.75 shillings) is the price attached to the butter made to meet the needs of the family, since this is generally what people paid per pound for this product at Dewar's store. Some women produced only enough dairy products to meet their family's consumption needs. The value of those products was assessed at what it would have cost to buy the same quantity at store prices. Those women who were able to make enough butter to meet their needs and have some left over, received a double credit: the economic value of the surplus, and the economic value of the avoided cost.

There is no evidence of women selling or exchanging cloth at Dewar's store, but the daybook does record many instance of selling *etoff domestic*, or *etoff paye*⁴⁸ so it is possible that there was a market for the cloth that was not recorded. The most common price for this cloth was six shillings a yard. The daybook also recorded varying prices for flannel cloth, and the

⁴⁷ Duncan Dewar Daybooks, 1835-1878, Carillon Museum, Carillon, P.Q. It is difficult to find a pattern to the pricing of butter and or cheese from these daybooks. The same account holder might be charged different prices at different times, larger quantities did not always guarantee a lesser price and the price of butter could be more or less to different customers on the same day. It may be that the price of the butter or cheese also depended on its quality.

⁴⁸ The word *etoff domestic* may have been an Anglicized version of the French word *éttoffe domestique* or *etoffe du pays* meaning *fulled cloth*. The daybook records no instance of fulled cloth being sold but many of *etoff domestic* or *etoff paye* (sic) at a relatively high cost.

lowest price, two shillings 11 pence, (2.92 shillings) was used for that kind of homespun. The value assigned to surplus cloth is then underestimated.

Making cloth at home, even if there was no surplus, helped women avoid the cost of purchasing material from the store. Thus the store price of the amount of cloth made is also included in the assessment of the economic value of woman's homespun production. The amount of fulled cloth and of flannel cloth were then each given a separate value, and then the two values were added together. The amount of surplus cloth is determined by adding fulled and flannel together for a total price and a total amount of yards. Thus the surplus cloth and its value is based on total cloth since there is no way to determine whether women exchanged flannel or fulled, or used and exchanged a little of both.

Finally, the value of the surplus cloth and of the surplus dairy products were added together. Surplus values, were then added to the value of the avoided costs, to determine the total value of women's production in these two areas. It should be noted that this paper recognizes, but does not place a value on the labour women put into production of dairy and homespun products. That women's work could be given a fixed value is suggested by the wages a man would have paid to another woman to do that work in the event of his wife's or daughter's illness or death.⁴⁹ However, people in the nineteenth century did not cost out their time, only the products of those labours, and consequently to avoid being anachoristic this paper does not cost women's labour.

⁴⁹ The diaries of Osterud's women and men for example, recorded a number of times when a wife was sick and rather than the husband performing the woman's labour, another female was hired to do the work his wife could not, and he would not do. This valuation of women's unpaid labour has recently been theorized for twentieth century housewives who have sought recognition and compensation for this unpaid labour in the home.

IV. DAIRY PRODUCTION

Dairying and the production of dairy products was primarily women's work on farms before dairy production moved from the farm to factory production and into men's control. Even early nineteenth century sources emphasized the importance of the dairy.

In 1816, William Powers agreed to let one of his farms in the parish of St. Jerusalem to Andrew Whiteside. Part of the terms of agreement were that

the produce of said cows, milk, butter and cheese, said William is to have at his own disposal and expense except(ing) the said Andrew should get him a wife or house helper to take the charge of the said Dairy, in that case the Dairy is at the disposal and charge of Said Andrew.⁵⁰

It is interesting to note that Andrew, the renter, could not have the dairy products unless he were to marry or hire a house helper who likely would have been a woman as well. One inference is that Andrew, as a male, would not be involved in the dairy, so the *expense* of running it (probably by hiring a dairy maid) would remain with William until Andrew married and his wife took charge of that part of the farm.

Around the same time, Montrealer Charles Frederick Grece explained why he included a chapter on "the management of the dairy" in his collection of essays on practical husbandry.

The care of the dairy belonging to the farmer's wife, any remarks thereon may be deemed superfluous; but when it is considered that there may be some who might profit by the observations of attentive dairy women, I am enduced to offer the following remarks.⁵¹

Although acknowledging that dairying was women's work and theoretically outside male concerns, Grece attempted to direct men's attention to this area of farm production by

⁵⁰ William Power and Andrew Whiteside, Agreement for Letting Farms, August 30, 1816, MG 24 I 28, Vol. 8, File Folder: William Barron, 1816, National Archives of Canada.

⁵¹ Charles Frederick Grece, *Essays on Practical Husbandry: Addressed to the Canadian Farmers* (Montreal: William Gray, 1817): 104.

emphasizing the potential profit of properly made dairy products. Grece continued his essay with advice concerning the best utensils and dishes to use, the importance of washing and scalding the implements after each use, how to make the cream rise quickly, and the proper way to milk the cows to get the greatest quantity of milk. His careful considerations are indicative of not only the optimum skills and patience needed to produce dairy products, but also of the importance of dairy production as a source of farm income that should be taken seriously.

a) 1831-1842

Dairy production was analyzed at several levels. Calculations were first made at the level of the seigneurie, and then, at the parish level. Then, the data for the seigneurie was divided between farm and non-farm populations to determine the impact of grouped settlement on production levels.⁵²

Overall, Argenteuil would have needed 57,960 pounds of butter equivalent⁵³ to meet its 1831 dairy consumption needs. An estimated 80,813 pounds of butter⁵⁴ could have been produced, leaving a surplus of 22,853 pounds of butter⁵⁵ which was equal to 28 percent of the

⁵² A farm household in this paper was one that had five acres or more of land. Generally those households with less than five acres were located in a grouped settlement node, or reported no livestock, dairy products or homespun. There are some instances where no number of acres of land is reported and these were excluded from analysis unless the household reported more than two cows.

⁵³ Since butter and cheese are calculated into total butter equivalent in 1851 and in 1861; and since no butter or cheese is recorded for 1842 and 1831, this paper uses butter to mean both butter and cheese. Thus, when the word butter appears, it means butter and cheese.

⁵⁴ This is based on McInnis's argument that half of all milk produced by cows in this period would have been consumed as fluid milk, leaving only half of the total production available to make butter. Thus, 80,813 equals the amount of butter that could have been made from half of the total potential milk for the milch cows recorded in the census.

⁵⁵ In 1831 Argenteuil could have had 1,756.8 milch cows which could have produced 161,625.6 pounds of milk (in butter equivalent) if each cow produced 92 pounds of milk per season. The total adult population of Argenteuil according to the 1831 census was 1,932. A dairy consumption rate of 30 pounds per adult amounts to 57,960 pounds of butter.

seigneurie's total potential butter production. There were 47 percent more adults⁵⁶ to feed in the 1842 census, but only a five percent increase in milk cows. Argenteuil needed 85,170 pounds of butter but only 85,891 pounds of dairy products could have been provided, which would have been almost entirely consumed by the population. A small surplus of just 721 pounds, representing less than one percent of the potential butter production, remained. A comparison of farm and non-farm populations (see below) shows that this apparent drop in production was not related to the agricultural crisis of Lower Canada.

St. Andrew's parish in 1831 regrouped 58.7 per cent of the entire population and half the cows but produced only 31 per cent of the potential surplus butter production of 7,061 pounds. However, the potential surplus of St. Andrew's equalled just 17 percent of its potential butter production. St. Jerusalem parish had just over 40 per cent of the population and half the cows, but produced 69 per cent of the surplus. St. Jerusalem's potential butter surplus, though, amounted to 40 percent of its potential production. There was only a two percent difference in the number of cows, and thus potential butter production; clearly the proportionately greater population in St. Andrew's parish explains at least partly the lower surplus in this parish.

By 1842, St. Andrew's share of the total population increased to almost 62 percent. It had almost the same number of cows as St. Jerusalem, but in this census year showed a 10,000 shortfall in butter production. St. Jerusalem, on the other hand, represented only 38 per cent of the population and boasted almost 11,000 pounds surplus butter, about 30 percent of its potential butter production. Again, both parishes had a similar number of cows and thus similar production potential, but consumption needs in St. Andrew's had again outgrown production.

⁵⁶ This means adult equivalents: the number of children divided by two, added to the number adults.

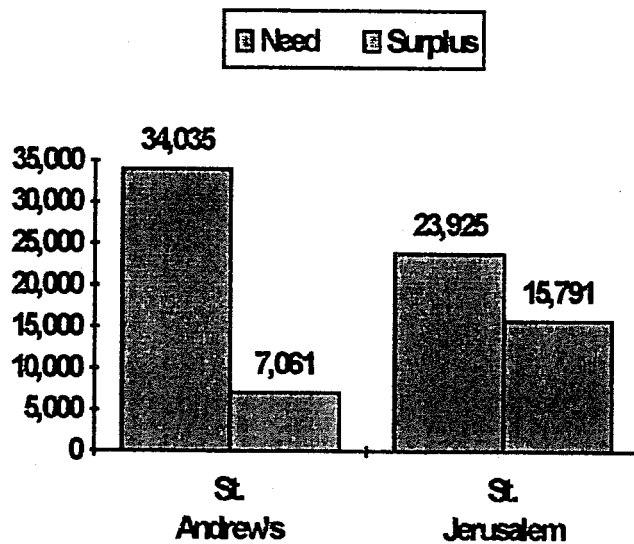
Comparing Argenteuil's farm with its non-farm population simultaneously adds complexity to the picture and clarifies it. Overall, the farm population made up 67 percent of the total population in 1831 and owned almost all the cows (96.8 percent). If the farm population had to meet only farm consumption needs, its surplus could have been 38,666 pounds,⁵⁷ almost 50 percent of its total potential butter production.

Even more interesting are the individual parish results. When the non-farm population is separated from St. Andrew's, the surplus for that parish's farm population amounted to 51 percent of its potential butter production, or 19,662 pounds. St. Jerusalem's farm surplus increased slightly in quantity, but represented 49 percent of its potential. More importantly, instead of showing that St. Jerusalem produced more than twice the amount of surplus butter than St. Andrew's, the comparison between farm populations demonstrates that women in both parishes produced almost equal quantities of butter surplus, with these surpluses amounting to roughly 50 percent of total potential production.

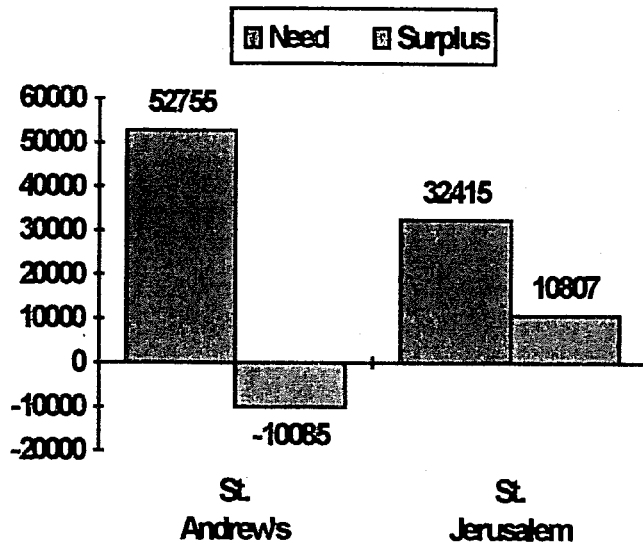
Overall in 1842, St. Andrew's parish had a 10,800 pound butter shortfall. But the farm subgroup analysis demonstrates that women in those farm households could have produced almost 12,000 pounds of surplus butter, an amount that equals 30 percent of its total potential butter production. St. Jerusalem women still produced more surplus butter—equalling 39 percent of potential butter production, but the difference in its net surpluses with and without the non-farm population is not as great.

⁵⁷ This should not be understood to mean that the women in all farm households produced enough butter to meet their families' needs with a surplus left over. Many families did have surpluses, but other women were able to meet only partial consumption needs, or none at all. However, the farm population as a sub-group was able to provide a much greater surplus than the population as a whole.

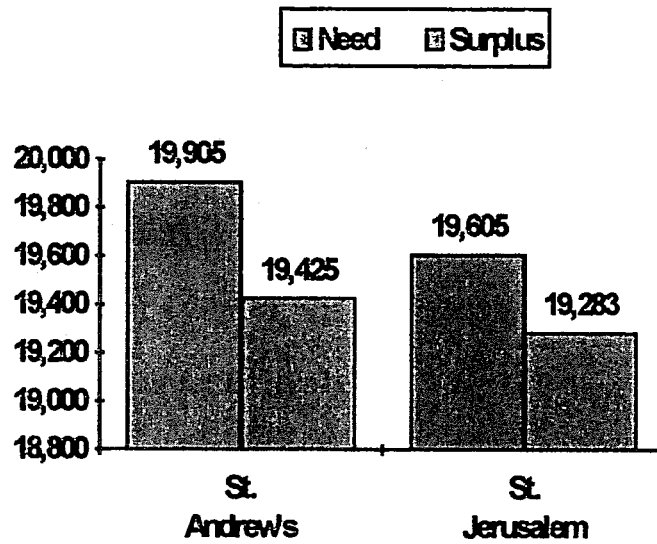
Graph One: 1831 Total Consumption and Surplus by Parish (in pounds of butter)



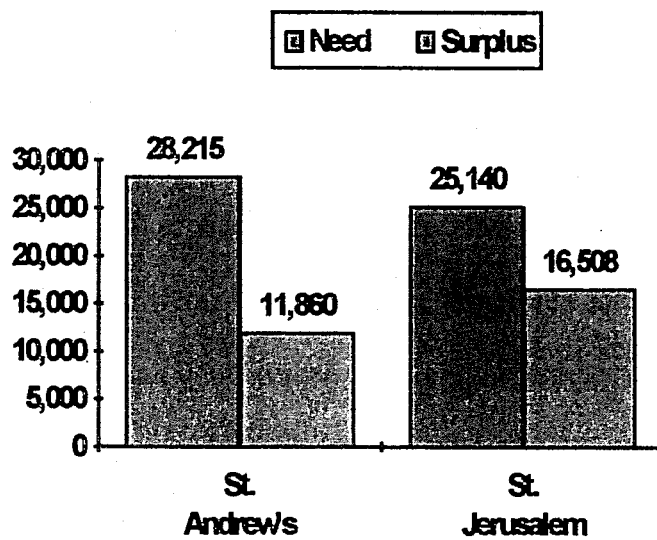
Graph Two: 1842 Total Consumption and Surplus by Parish (in pounds of butter)



Graph Three: 1831 Farm Consumption and Surplus by Parish (in pounds of butter)



Graph Four: 1842 Farm Consumption and Surplus by Parish (in pounds of butter)



c) 1851-1861

By 1851 Argenteuil's adult population and number of cows had increased again. This time, *actual* butter production (107,762 pounds), equalled 57.8 per cent of the total potential butter (equivalent) production for the dairy herd of the seigneurie.⁵⁸ However, the overall surplus amounted to only one percent of actual production. That 1,292 pounds would have been enough to feed only 43 additional adults for a year. On the surface it appears that women in Argenteuil did not engage in surplus production for the market.

However, a breakdown by parish suggests that at least the women in one parish were gearing production to market exchange. In 1851 St. Andrew's showed a butter production deficit even greater than in 1842. Consumption surpassed production by 25,108 pounds. However, this parish also regrouped a little more than half the population but only one third of the cows. St. Jerusalem on the other hand showed a 26,400 pound butter surplus, equal to 34 percent of actual production. That parish's overall population was about five percent less than St. Andrew's but it had 66 per cent of the cows which produced 71 per cent of all the butter in Argenteuil that census year. Actual butter production in St. Andrew's equalled 49 percent of potential for the number of cows it had, while actual production in St. Jerusalem equaled 71 percent of the potential for cows in that parish. St. Jerusalem cows were therefore either more productive, or less milk was consumed as fluid than in St. Andrew's.⁵⁹ The Argenteuil total surplus of 1,292

⁵⁸ Since the total percentage of actual production in 1851 is less than 10 percent more than in 1842, estimating production at 50 percent of the total potential was not far off the mark for 1842; considering that St. Andrew's farm production was just 53.4 percent of the total potential in 1851.

⁵⁹ In the nineteenth century, before the introduction of pedigree herds, the only way to increase dairy production was by better feeding and more industry in tending the cows.

pounds (one percent of the actual production), was the direct result of the efforts of women in St. Jerusalem.

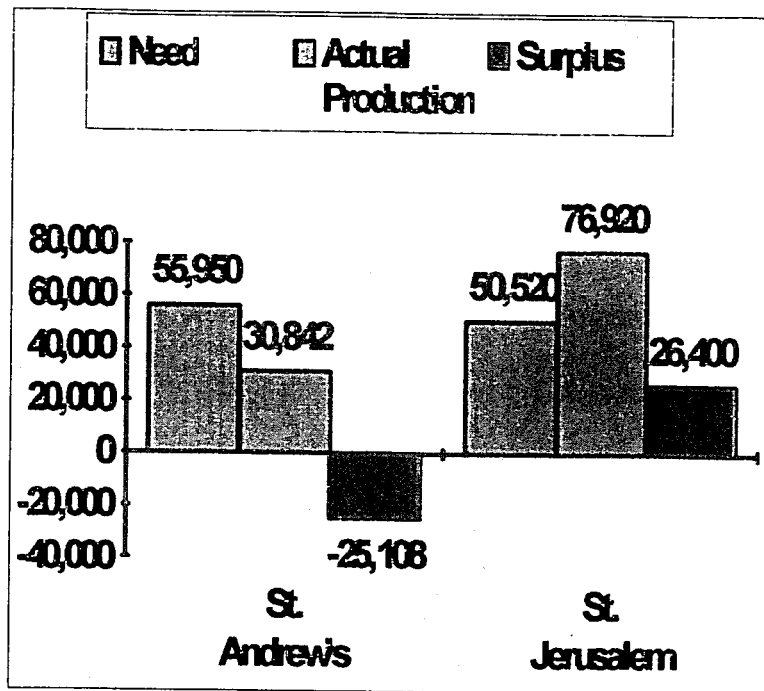
Contrasting farm and non-farm populations confirms the trend. The farm population accounted for just over half the entire seigneurie's population; farm women produced overall a surplus of almost 53,000 pounds of butter which equalled 49 percent of production. The surplus of St. Andrew's farm women accounted for 40 percent of actual production, while the surplus of St. Jerusalem women equalled 53 percent of actual production. However, in St. Andrew's parish farm residents accounted for only a third of the population, while in St. Jerusalem two thirds of the population were farmers. The women in St. Jerusalem owned two thirds of the cows and thus their potential for surplus production was greater. St. Jerusalem farm women also produced proportionally more butter, and a greater surplus than the St. Andrew's farm women.

By 1861 the population of Argenteuil had increased by almost 16 percent. Half the residents lived on farms. The seigneurie-wide surplus this year jumped to more than 35,000 pounds, but this surplus represented only 24.5 percent of actual production.

St. Andrew's parish accounted for 60 percent of the population and 45 percent of the cows. Actual butter production increased to 56.5 percent of the total potential, but even though St. Andrew's reduced its dairy deficit by more than half, it still had an overall deficit of 10,165 pounds. St. Jerusalem with 40 percent of the population and 55 percent of the cows had a surplus of 45,385 pounds, equal to 51 percent of actual production. Again St. Jerusalem farm women seem responsible for the net surplus across the seigneurie.

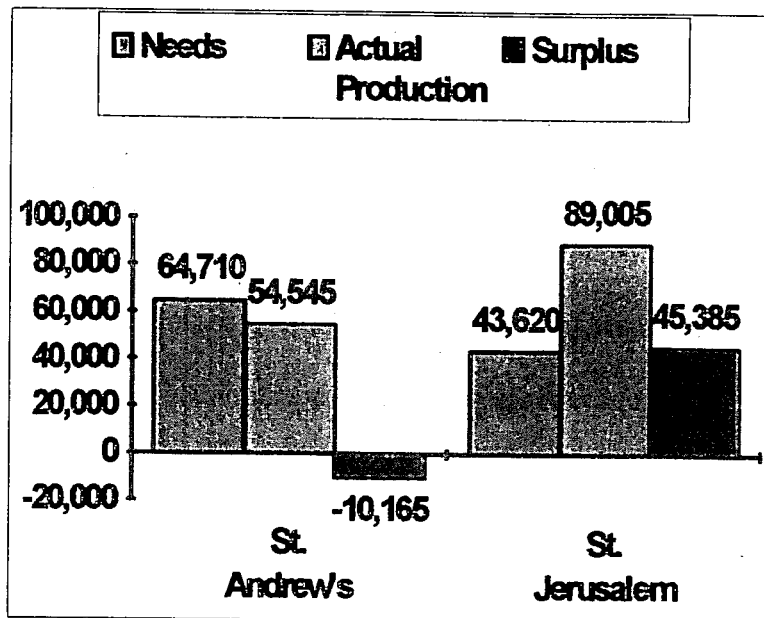
By this time, 50 percent of St. Andrew's population now lived on a farm, compared to 34 percent ten years earlier. Farm households owned 43 percent of the milk cows and women increased actual butter production to 64.6 percent of the potential and had a surplus of 27,395

pounds, equal to 50 percent of actual production. Although St. Jerusalem parish had an equal share of the farm households across the seigneurie, there were more cows to be milked and the women increased butter production to 78 percent of the potential. Their surplus of 61,720 pounds equalled 69 percent of actual production indicating a commodity commercially produced. Even though St Jerusalem still produced more butter, farm women in St. Andrew's slowly increased their surplus production from 40 to 50 percent of actual production from 1851 to 1861 also indicating a possible orientation to commercial production.



Graph Five: Parish Dairy Production, Consumption and Surplus, 1851

These two charts show the production/consumption in the parishes of St. Andrew's and St. Jerusalem in 1851 and 1861. In both census years, St. Andrew's had an overall production shortage while St. Jerusalem had a surplus.



Graph Six: Parish Dairy Production, Consumption and Surplus, 1861

c) 1831-1861 Overall Trend

Argenteuil had the *potential* to meet the dairy needs of its residents between 1831 and 1842, and produced surplus dairy products in 1851 and 1861. On the surface the data indicates that the supply of, and demand for, dairy products in the seigneurie of Argenteuil shifted between 1842 and 1851; the demand for dairy products in one section of the seigneurie may have been supplied by another. However, more detailed analysis shows that farm women in both parishes increased surplus production to meet the consumption of the non-farm population—located mainly in St. Andrew's parish. Although women in St. Jerusalem produced more, women in St. Andrew's were also producing surplus butter which could be sold, or exchanged for credit at the store.

In addition, women who produced enough dairy products to meet the needs of their families, but had no surplus, saved their family money by providing food. Although production for family use is treated as having no genuine economic value by economists because it has no cash value, the money the family did not have to spend to buy butter or cheese was a genuine contribution to the family economy. Such avoided costs could increase household capital accumulation; minimally they contributed to the economic prosperity of the farm household.⁶⁰ On the other hand, many rural women produced surpluses throughout the period earning both cash and credit through productive labour geared to the market economy.

The 1842 census reveals that the population of the village of St. Andrew's was growing and becoming increasingly settled by artisans, professionals, and labourers who had no cows and probably had to depend on the surrounding farm women of St. Andrew's parish for their dairy needs. Since the entire parish consumption grew at a faster rate than the potential supply, St.

⁶⁰ Cohen, "Capitalist Development," 314.

Andrew's may have relied on women in the neighbouring parish of St. Jerusalem to make up the shortfall in dairy products.

The impact of the village becomes even more evident if those people who had less than five acres of land are deleted from the census so that only farm families are considered. This reveals that the farm women of St. Andrew's parish were meeting their families consumption needs and producing surpluses. Although those women were producing surpluses which could be sold on the market, they were not able to fully meet the growing demand of the villages of St. Andrew's, Carillon and Lachute in the north.

When the non-farm households are distinguished from the farm, it becomes evident that farm women in both parishes produced substantial surpluses, although the potential surpluses of both parishes decreased in 1842 as needs increased. What is also obvious is that the parish of St. Andrew's had far greater needs than St. Jerusalem.

Overall, by 1851, women in the parish of St. Jerusalem appear to be much more productive, showing surpluses where St. Andrew's has deficits. Although there were fewer women available to engage in dairy production, there were more milch cows in the parish and consequently a greater potential. Because St. Jerusalem had surpluses in both years, and even increased its surplus in 1861, the data suggests that the women of St. Jerusalem continued to produce more butter, even when the parish's needs decreased. In 1851 the 26,400 pound surplus in St. Jerusalem could have met the 25,108 pound deficit in St. Andrew's with 1,292 pounds left over. Similarly, in 1861, the 45,385 pounds surplus in St. Jerusalem, could have covered the 10,165 pounds shortage in St. Andrew's with 35,220 pounds left over. Consequently, the surplus represented in the overall Argenteuil surplus seemed to be the result of dairy production in St. Jerusalem.

However, farm only analysis shows a much different picture. Farm women in St. Andrew's parish actually increased surplus production from 40 percent in 1851 to 50 percent in 1861, while St. Jerusalem farm women increased surplus production from 53 percent to 69 percent of actual production. Thus, the farm women of both parishes seemed to be gearing their production to the commercial markets of the surrounding non-farm community, or to the urban markets of Montreal or Ottawa. While the degree of surplus production suggests a commercial operation, the census shows no evidence of a creamery or cheese factory that would indicate a male takeover of production. Census figures are still for *home* production which is presumably still women's work since when men stepped in farmers shipped the milk out to be processed. Thus, it was the women of Argenteuil who were actively engaged in the market economy, trading surplus butter for cash, credit, or other commodities. The overall income that could have accrued to families as women entered the public sphere to exchange their products at the local stores cannot be overlooked.

Table Two: Argenteuil Consumption and Potential Dairy Production 1831-1842

Argenteuil *Total* Consumption and Potential Dairy Production, 1831

Parish	Adult Eq.	Need	Cows	Tot. Pot.	Butter	% Tot. Pot.	Sur/Def
St. Andrew's	1135	34,035	893	82,193	41,096	50	7,061
St. Jerusalem	798	23,925	863	79,432	39,716	50	15,791
Argenteuil	1,933	57,960	1,756	161,625	80,812	50	22,852

Argenteuil *Farm* Consumption and Potential Dairy Production, 1831

Parish	Adult Eq.	Need	Cows	Tot. Pot.	Butter	% Tot. Pot.	Sur/Def
St. Andrew's	628	18,840	837	77,004	38,502	50	19,662
St. Jerusalem	667	19,995	848	77,998	38,999	50	19,004
Argenteuil	1,295	38,835	1,685	155,002	77,501	50	38,666

Argenteuil *Total* Consumption and Potential Dairy Production, 1842

Parish	Adult Eq.	Need	Cows	Tot. Pot.	Butter	% Tot. Pot.	Sur/Def
St. Andrew's	1,759	52,755	928	85,339	42,670	50	-10,805
St. Jerusalem	1,081	32,415	940	86,443	43,222	50	10,806
Argenteuil	2,840	85,170	1,868	171,782	85,892	50	721

Argenteuil *Farm* Consumption and Potential Dairy Production, 1842

Parish	Adult Eq.	Need	Cows	Tot. Pot.	Butter	% Tot. Pot.	Sur/Def
St. Andrew's	941	28,215	871	80,150	40,075	50	11,860
St. Jerusalem	847	25,395	907	83,462	41,731	50	16,336
Argenteuil	1,788	53,610	1,778	163,612	81,806	50	28,196

Table Three: Argenteuil Consumption and Actual Dairy Production 1851-1861

Argenteuil *Total* Consumption and Dairy Production 1851

Parish	Adult Eq.	Need	Cows	Tot. Pot.	Act. Butter	% of Pot.	Sur/Def
St. Andrew's	1,865	55,950	687	63,204	30,842	48.7	-25,108
St. Jerusalem	1,684	50,520	1,340	123,280	76,920	62.4	26,400
Argenteuil	3,549	106,470	2,027	186,484	107,762	57.8	1,292

Argenteuil *Farm* Consumption and Dairy Production 1851

Parish	Adult Eq.	Need	Cows	Tot. Pot.	Act. Butter	% Tot.Pot.	Sur/Def
St. Andrew's	618	18,525	628	57,776	30,742	53	12,217
St. Jerusalem	1,208	36,240	1,330	122,360	76,920	63	40,680
Argenteuil	1,826	54,765	1,958	180,136	107,662	60	52,897

Argenteuil *Total* Consumption and Dairy Production 1861

Parish	Adult Eq.	Need	Cows	Tot. Pot.	Act. Butter	% Tot. Pot.	Sur/Def
St. Andrew's	2,157	64,710	1,063	97,796	54,545	57	-10,165
St. Jerusalem	1,454	43,620	1,311	120,612	89,005	74	45,385
Argenteuil	3,611	108,330	2,374	218,408	143,550	66	35,220

Argenteuil *Farm* Consumption and Dairy Production 1861

Parish	Adult Eq.	Need	Cows	Tot. Pot.	Act. Butter	% Tot.Pot.	Sur/Def
St. Andrew's	905	27,150	918	84,456	54,545	65	27,395
St. Jerusalem	910	27,285	1,238	113,896	89,005	79	61,720
Argenteuil	1,815	54,435	2,156	198,352	143,550	73	89,115

d) Costing of Average Production and Average Surplus & Comparison with Value of Field and Meat Production

Farm women's production should not be dismissed as negligible. Indeed, when a monetary value is attached to the quantity of dairy products made by women in these two parishes and compared with the value of surplus crops and meat, the economic contribution of women in this field becomes tangible.

The average cash or credit a woman could earn from surplus production in Argenteuil in 1831 was £3 12/. That amounts to about 11 percent of the value of the crop and meat surplus estimated for Argenteuil at £33 /4.⁶¹ The average value of surplus butter dropped in 1842 to about £2, the equivalent of eight percent of the value of surplus crops and meat of £24 8/.

If the average savings of home production for consumption is factored in, then the economic value of women's production becomes even greater. The average value of production for consumption in 1831 was £5 8/. Added to the surplus value of £3 12/, the combined value of women's butter production rises to £9. That represents 35 12/ percent of the value of crops in 1831, or, 23 8/ percent of the value of animal products.⁶² In 1842 the average value of production for consumption was £5 16/ for a combined value of butter production of £7 16/. That was the equivalent of 27 percent of the value of crops, or, 26 percent of the value of animal products. The average value of surplus butter and of production for home consumption does not vary significantly in each parish.

⁶¹ Craig and Turcotte, "Argenteuil and Chatham in 1831 and 1842," 20.

⁶² Ibid.

Although there is no way to demonstrate that all women who were capable of producing a surplus did so and did exchange it for economic credit, Duncan Dewar's daybook does provide evidence that a number of women who lived in the parish of St. Andrew's (and some who lived in the parish of St. Jerusalem) particularly in the 1830s and 1840s exchanged butter and cheese for credit at the local store. For example, during the summer of 1841, Mary McConnel, a widow, exchanged a total of 42.5 pounds of butter at an average price of seven pence per pound. This money helped her purchase a cooking stove in August.⁶³ She was just one of several women who exchanged their products in person with Dewar during this period. Consequently, although the manuscript census for 1842 did not enumerate pounds of butter or cheese, other evidence indicates women were engaged in marketing surplus dairy products in this period.

In 1851 the average surplus value totaled £3 8/, and in 1861 it almost doubled to £6 2/. Individually, those averages did vary in the two parishes significantly. As might be expected, the greater surplus production in St. Jerusalem also shows in its average value. In 1851 the average value of surplus production was £4 4/ in St. Jerusalem and £2 12/ in St. Andrews. By the next census in 1861 those average surplus values increased to £8 6/ in St. Jerusalem (where the percentage of surplus butter production reached 69 percent of actual production) and £3 18/ in St. Andrew's.

The economic significance of butter production becomes even more apparent when the value of production for home consumption is included. In 1851 it amounted to £5 12/, bringing the combined economic value of butter production to an average of £9 per household. There are differences between the parishes, however. In St. Jerusalem the combined average value of

⁶³ *Duncan Dewar Daybook*, May 1841-December 1842, Argenteuil Museum, Carillon, Que.

surplus and production for home consumption equals £9 16/, while in St. Andrew's it totals slightly less at £8 2/. By 1861 the combined values add up to £13 16/ in St. Jerusalem and £10 4/ in St. Andrew's.

Although there are no ready comparisons to be made with values of crops or livestock in these years,⁶⁴ by 1861 the production of butter by women can be seen to be an important component of the farm household income.

V. WOOL PROCESSING AND TEXTILE PRODUCTION

The census data concerning cloth production provides additional information concerning the economic contribution of women.⁶⁵ The enumerators were asked to record the number of pounds of wool produced on the farm, as well as the number of yards of each of the three categories of homespun. Although the census does not explicitly say so, women did most of the wool processing: the men sheared the sheep and the women sorted and cleaned the fleece, a particularly disagreeable task, as urine was usually used to scour raw wool. The cleaned fleece may have been taken to the carding mill, or carded at home. Women spun the carded wool; the cloth recorded was very likely made by the females of the household, and likely used by women to make clothes or other household material articles. As Hood discovered in her study of eighteenth century Pennsylvania

Everyone needed clothing and textiles for warmth and protection against the environment. In addition, farmers required such things as winnowing cloths, sieves, grain sacks, and wagon covers for their agricultural operations. As one's economic and social standing improved, textiles provided increased comfort. They also acted as visible indicators of status and wealth in the form of luxurious and fashionable clothing, bed hangings, window coverings, upholstery, and table linens.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ The paper cited above only focuses on crop and livestock in the 1831-1842 period.

⁶⁵ The 1831 census does list the number of sheep per household, but does not record pounds of wool, or yards of homespun. Consequently it is not part of the specific textile analysis.

⁶⁶ Hood, "Material World of Cloth," 46.

Home production required a loom⁶⁷ and the ability to operate it in order to produce this material. There is no way to determine how many households actually had looms, or how many women knew how to operate them. On the other hand, sewing clothes and mending old ones were women's responsibility and did not require specialized equipment—all women sewed and darned and patched.

Almost without exception women ... had to be able to sew and make dresses. They did it well, and were ingenious at altering and making over. (Additionally) these busy and practical women spent most of their time in simple and serviceable dresses, of gingham or printed cotton when available, but more often of home spun and hand woven wools and linens—plain, checked or striped—which they made themselves.⁶⁸

Evidence from Dewar's daybook offers insight into sewing activities in Argenteuil and help put homespun production in context. Dewar was only one of a dozen merchants operating in Argenteuil throughout the thirty year period of this study. Extant daybooks for his business dating from 1834 through 1874 show that almost any kind of cloth or notion could be purchased at his store. Some women made purchases of cloth on their own accounts and cloth appears on many men's accounts as well with the notation that the purchase was made by the man's wife or daughter. In fact, cloth and cloth accessories were one of the largest categories of sales in the 1830s and 1840s.⁶⁹ By the 1850s, however, the amount of cloth and frequency of purchase declined. Since there were other stores operating at the same time, the decline in sales cannot be said to be a decline in cloth purchases, since customers may have begun to make those purchases

⁶⁷ An employee spinning wool at the McDiarmid Home at Upper Canada Village told me this during conversation in July, 1996. Another women at this interpretive exhibit pointed out that to design and set a warp for a pattern for weaving cloth could take as long as two weeks to set up since the warp could be composed of as many as a thousand lines of yarn.

⁶⁸ K.B. Brett, *Women's Costume in Early Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966.): 3.

⁶⁹ Lowe's study of purchases at Dewar's store between 1830-39 found that "materials and notions accounted for fifty-six percent of total sales, more than twice the nearest category, Food." *Settlers in St. Andrews*", 40.

at another store for a variety of reasons. Thus it cannot be concluded that a decline in cloth purchases at Dewar's store is evidence of a trend representing a decline in cloth consumption and home production of clothes with store bought material.

These daybooks for the 1830 and 1840s do, however, provide evidence of what Elizabeth Manke found in one eighteenth century Nova Scotia town. Planter "women consumed to produce and men produced to consume."⁷⁰ The cloth and notions had to be transformed by the labour of women into clothes and other domestic articles. Consequently the labour women put into the production of clothes from this cloth can be interpreted as an economic contribution in the form of the avoided costs of purchasing ready-made clothes. Women's household production of clothes for the family should be seen as an important economic contribution.

When evidence of women's production pieced together from the daybooks, is put together with evidence of homespun production from the census, it becomes quite clear that women's *labour* in this area, whether making clothes from cloth purchased, or making cloth itself (probably from the wool from their sheep) is an important factor in the economy of the family and the community.⁷¹

a) Production 1842-1861

The three censuses used in this paper show that homespun was an activity carried out for at least thirty years by many rural women in Argenteuil. If the amount of cloth produced at home by women had been purchased at the general store, then the cost of that cloth would have been

⁷⁰ Elizabeth Mancke, "At the Counter of the General Store: Women and the Economy in Eighteenth-Century Horton, Nova Scotia," in *Intimate Relations: Family and Community in Planter Nova Scotia 1759-1800*, ed. Margaret Conrad, (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1995): 171.

⁷¹ Although twentieth century feminists have developed approaches to value the labour of women in the home, this approach would be an anachronism for nineteenth century women, since only the fruit of anyone's labour—women or men—had a value.

substantial, and that dollar value should be attached to homespun to make women's labours more visible as a source of economic contribution to the family.

Overall in Argenteuil between 1831 and 1861 the number of farm households remained fairly constant, but the number of those families producing cloth dropped from 65 percent in 1842, to 39 percent in 1851 and then rose again to 61 percent in 1861. In St. Andrew's parish the percentage of farm households reporting homespun dropped from 69 percent in 1842 to 49 percent in 1851 and 46 percent in 1861. In St. Jerusalem the pattern was different. In 1842 62 percent of farm households reported making cloth. That dropped significantly to 34 percent in 1851 but rose sharply again by 1861 to 75 percent.

Table Four: Distribution of Wool and Homespun Production

St. Andrew's Parish

Year	HH	45+ Yds	%	No. Yds	%	22-45 Yds	%	No. Yds	%	0-22 Yds	%	No. Yds	%	Lbs Wool	Yds Cloth	lbs wool no cloth
1842	117	27	23	1,743	45	47	40	1,490	39	43	37	616	16	4,629	3,849	686
1851	62	12	19	729	35	31	50	1,039	50	19	31	317	15	3,317	2,085	1,278
1861	82	15	18	933	37	33	40	1,046	42	34	42	516	21	5,750	2,494	2,862

St. Jerusalem Parish

Year	HH	45+ Yds	%	No. Yds	%	22-45 Yds	%	No. Yds	%	0-22 Yds	%	No. Yds	%	Lbs Wool	Yds Cloth	lbs wool no cloth
1842	122	22	18	1,347	38	49	40	1,528	43	51	42	676	19	3,546	3,551	178
1851	83	17	20	1,146	43	33	40	1,025	38	33	40	506	19	5,308	2,677	2,884
1861	142	35	24	2,033	44	62	43	1,973	42	45	31	633	14	5,057	4,638	283

Women in Argenteuil made 7,400 yards of cloth in 1842. Production decreased to 4,762 yards in 1851, but returned to almost the same level in 1861 with 7,132 yards of homespun reported. If Hood is correct and the number of pounds of wool approximates the number of yards of cloth that can be made, then almost all the wool was spun into cloth in 1842; about half of it was made into cloth in 1851 and two thirds in 1861. In St. Andrew's the amount of wool made into cloth decreased steadily (83 percent in 1842, 63 percent in 1851 and 43 percent in 1861). All the cloth in St. Jerusalem was woven into cloth in 1842, half in 1851 and almost all of it again in 1861.⁷²

A small minority of households produced 45 yards or more of cloth. The percentage of households who could be considered self-sufficient steadily decreased from 23 to 18 percent in St. Andrew's but took the opposite pattern in St. Jerusalem starting at 18 percent and increasing to 24 percent. Still that means that only a quarter of the farm households produced enough to meet their needs. In both parishes about 40 percent of households only met half their clothing requirements in homespun and less than 20 percent consistently did not even make half of the amount needed.

⁷²The decrease in production of cloth in 1851 may be due to the American salesmen buying the wool as noted by the enumerator that year as noted earlier in this paper.

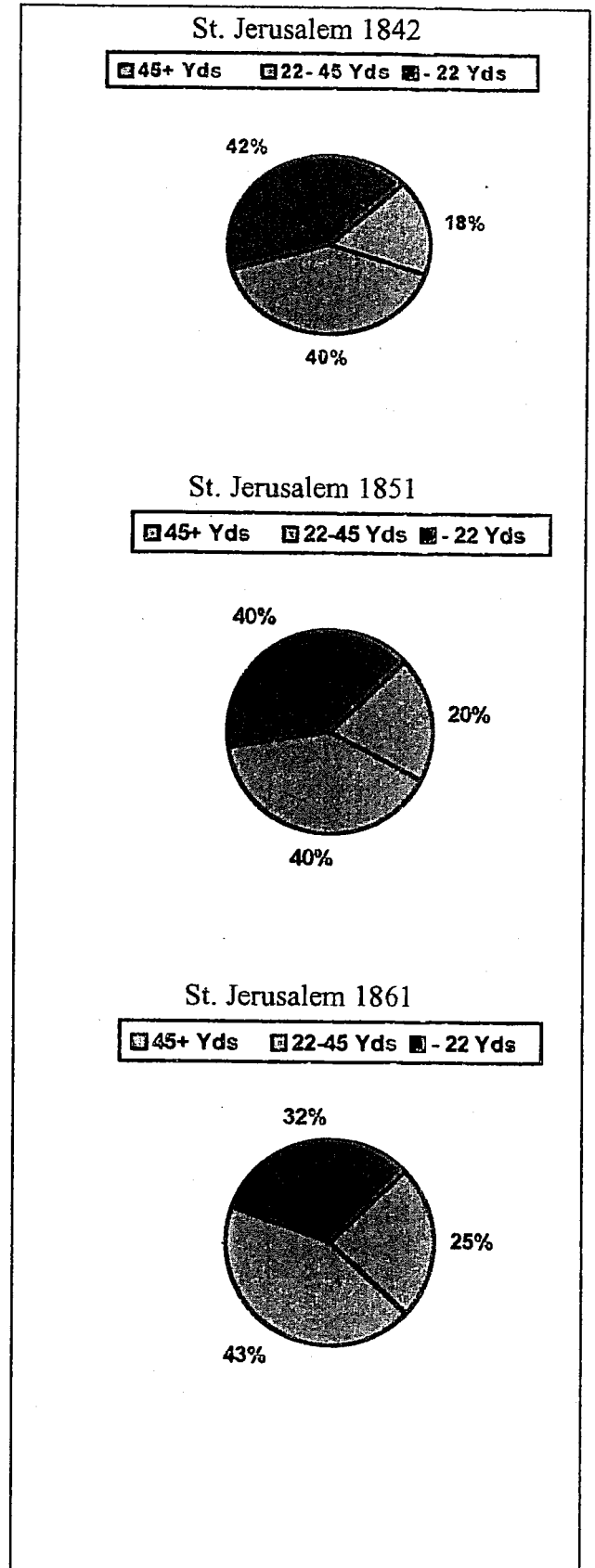
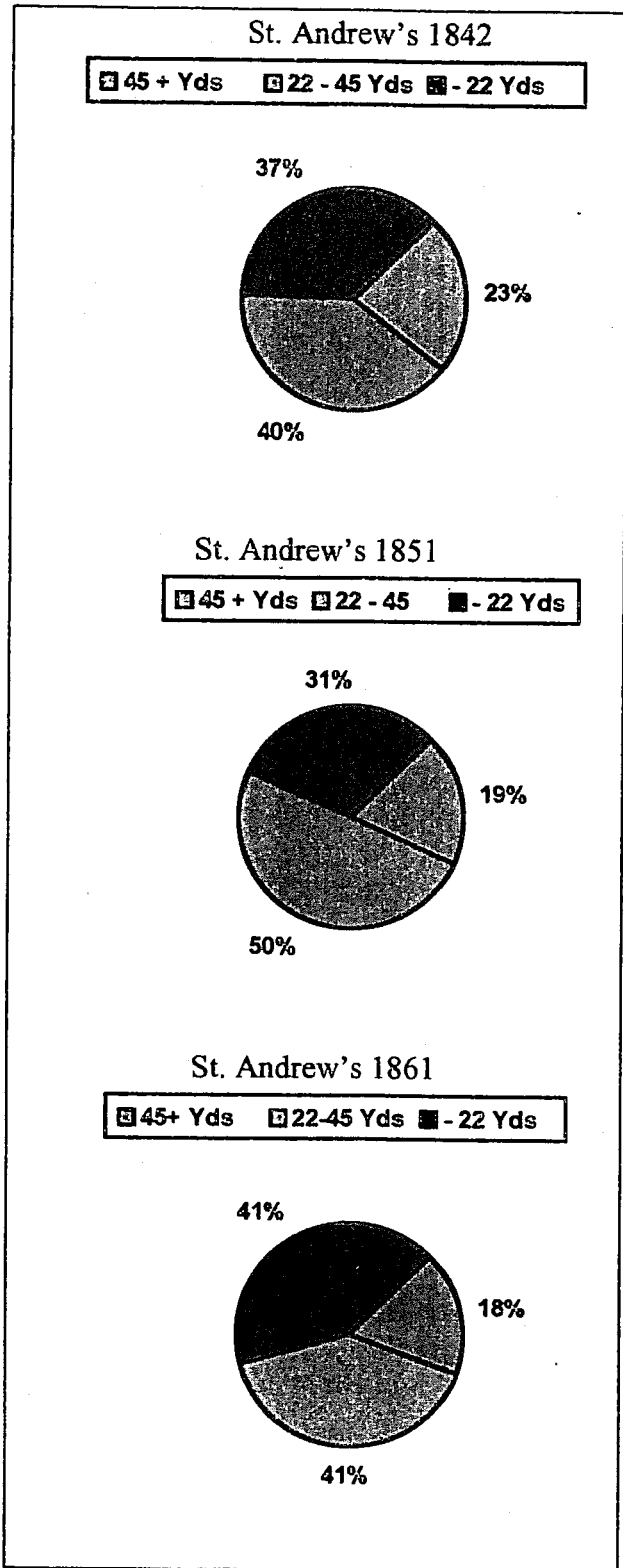


Figure Seven:
Cloth Production by Percentage of Households

There were also a number of rural families that reported sheep and wool, but no cloth.

This suggests that their wool production was not turned into cloth, and perhaps it was traded at one of the stores, or sold to one of the itinerant wool merchants the enumerator mentions, or to households which produced homespun. There was only one entry of wool being sold at Dewar's store,⁷³ but several accounts had purchases of wool and woolen yarn debited to their accounts during the year.

b) Costing of Average Production

The economic impact of homespun production is determined by assuming that a cost is avoided when women make material at home and thus do not have to buy that material at the village store.

In 1842 the average value of the cloth produced in those Argenteuil households where surplus production of cloth occurred equalled £11 14/; £10 2/ in 1851 and £8 in 1861.⁷⁴ There is little difference in the average in each of the parishes.

The average value of the cloth in those households producing half of their clothing requirements decreased slightly from £5 14/ in 1842; £4 18/ in 1851 to £4 6/ in 1861. Neither did the average value of homespun change much in those households that produced less than half the amount of cloth needed for basic needs: £2 8/ in 1842; £2 14/ in 1851, and £2 in 1861.

⁷³ There was only one entry in Dewar's daybook recording the purchase of wool. Hugh Dewar exchanged 9¼ lbs. of "laine" for a credit of /6 per pound for a total credit recorded of 4/10½. on April 1, 1842.

⁷⁴ The decrease in average value may be due to a decline in the price for fullled cloth which represented the greatest potential for profit. Dewar's daybooks record an average cost of six shillings per yard of etoff (sic) in 1842, five shillings in 1851 and 2.5 in 1861. However, the lowest price for flannel was actually an increase to 2.92 shillings per yard in 1861 which may have offset the price reduction in etoff (sic).

Consequently, although cloth production was a minor activity across the seigneurie, in those households where surpluses were made, the potential value of that cloth was significant.

ECONOMIC IMPACT

The total economic value for the products of women's labour is a combined value based on surplus butter marketed at Dewar's store, the avoided costs of home production of butter for family consumption, and the avoided costs of making homespun which reduces the amount of cloth a family must purchase to meet clothing needs.

First of all there is an average monetary value for the dairy and textiles produced by women in the home and consumed on site. This is the *avoided* cost. In 1842 the average combined value of cloth and butter made and used in the home was £11 4/; in 1851 it was £10 14/; and in 1861 it was £8 8/.

Then there is an average value of surplus butter and of surplus cloth for the households which had a surplus. This amounted to £16 2/ in 1842; £17 14/ in 1851 and £17 10/ in 1861. Surplus values increased, although avoided costs decreased, because the latter figure includes village households with little or no production. The average avoided cost can be considered the average minimum value of women's production; the value of the surplus, on the other hand, would represent the upper limit of the value of women's production.

Although there is no evidence that women exchanged their surplus cloth for cash or credit, the rural women of both St. Andrew's and St. Jerusalem actively produced a marketable surplus of dairy products and the most likely market for those products was the growing village neighbourhood in St. Andrew's parish. That many women and their families did exchange butter and cheese at Dewar's store suggests the local market could have been an incentive for women

to produce butter. The fact that men like Henry Williams visited Dewar's store every other day to buy a pound or two of butter is indicative of the real need for dairy products as well as an outlet for their sale and exchange. While economists may debate the value of bringing a few pounds of credit into the home from such labour intensive activities, such contributions should not be ignored.

CONCLUSION

Overall, the manuscript census data suggest that the potential to engage in surplus dairy production in Argenteuil could have existed in 1831 and in 1842. Although the data does not provide enough specific information to draw any solid conclusions it does suggest that the population of the parish of St. Jerusalem had the potential to produce a greater surplus than did the parish of St. Andrew's. The general store daybooks demonstrate women were engaged in surplus production even though the census did not record it. On the other hand, the detailed data in the agricultural census schedules for 1851 and 1861 show many rural women in both parishes actively produced surplus dairy products, even though in St. Andrew's parish, production did not keep pace with the growing consumption needs. Because the 1831 and 1842 data does not provide information on dairy production, it is impossible to state with any degree of accuracy when the women of St. Jerusalem became the leaders in surplus dairy production in the seigneurie of Argenteuil. Women in the parish of St. Jerusalem not only sustained production to meet local needs and generated a surplus above needs in 1851, but doubled production by the following census in 1861. Clearly St. Jerusalem women were the major producers by 1851, and entrenched that position by 1861. Still, while women in the parish of St. Andrew's could not produce enough to meet all the needs of their immediate community, that demand for dairy

products must have encouraged the rural women of that parish to increase production, since they too, already produced more than enough to meet the needs of the rural population.

Homespun production is a less tangible indicator of women's economic contributions to their families and their communities, yet the fact that it was included in the census continuously from 1842 to 1861, suggests that this production was considered more important by the state than those of the vegetable garden or henhouse. Additionally, since all kinds of cloth were available to women through the local general stores, it seems logical to conclude that no cloth had to be made unless absolutely necessary, especially given the amount of time and energy that had to go into such production. Nonetheless, many women continued to make their own cloth, some of them weaving twice or three times their annual need. Some women then, may have produced surpluses for exchange, particularly since some homespun such as fulled cloth was sold at relatively high price at the store. Homespun was more resistant to tear and abrasion than factory woolen, and therefore may have been preferred for work clothes. Since women who made homespun avoided some if not all the costs of buying material to make clothes for their families, homespun can be seen as an economic contribution.

The money women could have earned through surplus production of butter and cheese, in addition to the money saved by providing their families with butter and homespun cloth was a substantial economic contribution not only to their immediate families but to the wider community and surrounding villages. We do not know though whether women did indeed sell small surpluses, nor whether they controlled the sale of dairy products or processed wool, nor whether they controlled the money, credit or barter that resulted from these products. However, women did contribute economically to their families and communities and the costing of this

contribution shows it was significant.⁷⁵ This evidence suggests that a broader understanding of economics and work and labour should be used to include women in the broader picture of pre-Confederation economies.

⁷⁵ If a value could be attached to other women's work, such as the produce from the vegetable garden or the poultry and eggs from the henhouse, the economic contribution of farm women would be even greater.

Appendix A
1831 Census Categories

Houses:

1. Houses inhabited
2. Houses vacant
3. Houses being built

Family Statistics:

4. Name of head of each family member
5. Proprietor of real property
6. Not proprietor of real property
7. Trade or profession
8. Total number of inmates in each family
9. Number of persons belonging to the family temporarily absent from province
10. Number of persons in the family 5 years of age and under
11. Number of persons in the family above 5 years and under 14 years

Males:

12. Number of males 14 yrs. but not 18, married
13. Number of males 14 yrs. but not 18, single
14. Number of males 18 yrs. but not 21, married
15. Number of males 18 yrs. but not 21, single
16. Number of males 21 yrs. but not 30, married
17. Number of males 21 yrs. but not 30, single
18. Number of males 30 yrs. but not 60, married
19. Number of males 30 yrs. but not 60, single
20. Number of males 60 yrs. and upwards, married
21. Number of males 60 yrs. and upwards, single

Females:

22. Number of females under 14 yrs. of age
23. Number of females 14 yrs. and not 45, married
24. Number of females 14 yrs. and not 45, single
25. Number of females 45 yrs. and upwards, married
26. Number of females 45 yrs. and upwards, single.

Infirmities:

27. Number of deaf and dumb persons in each family and indicate the occupation for which they shew the greatest aptitude
28. Number of blind persons in each family
29. Number of insane persons in each family

Appendix A

(continued)

Religious Affiliation:

30. Church of England
31. Church of Scotland
32. Roman Catholic
33. Methodist
34. Presbyterian and Congregational not in connexion with the Church of Scotland
35. Baptists
36. Jews
37. All other denominations

38. Number of families earning their subsistence by agricultural employment
39. Number of male farm servants employed by each family
40. Number of families employed in commerce and trade
41. Number of persons in each family subsisting on alms

Land:

42. Number of acres or arpents of land occupied by each family
43. Number of acres or arpents of improved land in each family

Produce Raised by Each Family During the Last Year:

44. Number of minots of wheat
45. Number of minots of pease
46. Number of minots of oats
47. Number of minots of barley
48. Number of minots of rye
49. Number of minots of Indian corn
50. Number of minots of potatoes
51. Number of minots of buckwheat

Tenure:

52. Under what tenure such land is held by family
53. rate of seigneurial rent paid for the land á titre de cens
54. Average money rent of land farmed by each farm
55. Proportion of produce allowed to the proprietor for the land held on lease or cultivated on shares by each family

Livestock:

56. Number of neat cattle on each farm
57. Number of neat cattle on each farm
58. Number of neat cattle on each farm
59. Number of neat cattle on each farm

Appendix A

(continued)

Education:

60. Number of colleges, academies and convents in each parish, seigneurie, township, extra-parochial place, ward or division of a town.
61. Number of elementary schools
62. Number of Scholars in each college, academy convent or elementary school, male
63. Number of Scholars in each college, academy convent or elementary school, female

Industry:

64. Number of taverns or houses of public entertainment
65. Number of stores where spirituous liquors sold
66. Number of grist mills
67. Number of saw mills
68. Number of oil mills
69. Number of fulling mills
70. Number of carding mills
71. Number of iron works
72. Number of trip hammers
73. Number of distilleries
74. Number of pot and pearl ash manufactories
75. Number of manufactories of any other sort containing any machinery moved by wind, water, steam or animal power, specifying the purpose
76. Average price of wheat
77. Average wages paid in every such place to servants employed in agriculture, who are boarded by their employers, per month
78. Average wage to day labourers, per day
79. Number of actual settlers, natives of the U.K. who have arrived in the province by sea since the first day of May 1825.
80. Number of actual settlers from all foreign countries who have arrived since the first day of May 1825
81. Name of the person by whom the return is made and by whom the information was personally obtained and the date of such return
82. Place where the duplicate of such return has been lodged according to requirements of Act
83. General remarks

Appendix B
1842 Census Categories

1. Houses inhabited
2. Houses vacant
3. Houses building
4. Name of the head of each family
5. Proprietor of real property
6. Non proprietor of real property
7. Tenant entitled to vote at any election in city, town &c.
8. Trade or profession
9. Total number of inmates in each family, male and female, now resident
10. Number of persons belonging to the family, male or female, now temporarily absent

11. Number of natives of England belonging to each family.
12. Number of natives of Ireland belonging to each family
13. Number of natives of Scotland belonging to each family
14. Number of natives of Canada belonging to each family, of French origin
15. Number of natives of Canada belonging to each family, of British origin
16. Number of natives of the Continent of Europe, or otherwise, specifying the same separately
17. Number of natives of the United States of America.
18. Number of years each person has been in the province when not natives thereof
19. Number of aliens not naturalized

20. Number of persons in the family, five years of age and under, male
21. Number of persons in the family, five years of age and under, female
22. Number of persons in the family, above five and under fourteen years of age, male
23. Number of persons in the family, above five and under fourteen years of age, female

24. Males 14 and under 18, married
25. Males 14 and under 18, single
26. Males 18 and not 21, married
27. Males 18 and not 21, single
28. Males 21 and not 30, married
29. Males 21 and not 30, single
30. Males 30 and not 60, married
31. Males 30 and not 60, single
32. Males 60 and upwards, married
33. Males 60 and upwards, single

Appendix B

(continued)

34. Females 14 and not 45, married
35. Females 14 and not 45, single
36. Females 45 and upwards, married
37. Females 45 and upwards, single

38. Number of deaf and dumb persons in each family, and the occupation for which they show the greatest aptitude, male
39. Number of deaf and dumb persons in each family, and the occupation for which they show the greatest aptitude, female
40. Number of blind persons in each family, male
41. Number of blind persons in each family, female
42. Number of idiots in each family, male
43. Number of idiots in each family, female
44. Number of lunatic persons in each family, male
45. Number of lunatic persons in each family, female

46. Number of persons in each family belonging to the Church of England
47. Number of persons in each family belonging to the Church of Scotland
48. Number of persons in each family belonging to the Church of Rome
49. Number of British Wesleyan Methodists in each family
50. Number of Canadian Wesleyan Methodists in each family
51. Number of Episcopal Methodists in each family
52. Number of other Methodists in each family
53. Number of Presbyterians not in connexion with the Church of Scotland in each family
54. Number of Congregationalists or Independents in each family
55. Number of Baptists and Anabaptists in each family
56. Number of Lutherans in each family
57. Number of Quakers in each family
58. Number of the Dutch Reformed Church in each family
59. Number of Jews in each family
60. Number of persons of all other religious denominations not herein enumerated in each family

61. Number of male coloured persons in each family
62. Number of female coloured persons in each family
63. Number of male farm servants employed in each family
64. Number of other male servants in private family
65. Number of other female servants in private families
66. Number of persons engaged in trade or commerce
67. Number of persons in each family subsisting on alms or paupers

68. Number of acres or arpents of lands occupied by each family
69. Number of acres or arpents of improved land occupied by each family

Appendix B

(continued)

Produce raised by each family during the last year, and estimated in Winchester bushels

70. Wheat

71. Barley

72. Rye

73. Oats

74. Pease

75. Indian Corn

76. Buck wheat

77. Potatoes

78. Number of hives of bees kept by each family last season

79. Number of pounds of maple sugar made by each family last season

Livestock owned by each family

80. Neat (sic) cattle

81. Horses

82. Sheep

83. Hogs

84. Number of yards of fulled cloth manufactured in domestic way in the same family

85. Number of yards of linen, cotton, or other thin cloth, manufactured in the domestic way in same family

86. Number of yards of flannel or other woolen cloth, not fulled, manufactured in the domestic way in the same way

87. Number of pounds of wool procured during the last year in each family

89. Under what tenure such land is held by each family

90. Rate of seigniorial rent paid for land held a titre du cens

91. Average money rent of farm, farmed by each family

92. Proportion of produce allowed to the proprietor for land held on lease or cultivated on shares by each family

93. Number of colleges, or academies, in each parish, township, extra-parochial place, ward, or division of town, &c

94. Number of elementary schools in every such place

95. Number of scholars at each such college, academy, convent or elementary school, male

96. Number of scholars at each such college, academy, convent or elementary school, female

97. Number of taverns or houses of public entertainment in every such place

98. Number of stores where spirituous liquors are sold in every such place

99. Number of grist mills in every such place

100. Number of pairs of mill stones used in each mill

101. Number of oatmeal mills in every such place

102. Number of barley mills in every such place

103. Number of saw mills in every such place

104. Number of oil mills in every such place

Appendix B

(continued)

105. Number of fulling mills in every such place
106. Number of carding mills in every such place
107. Number of paper mills in every such place
108. Number of iron works in every such place
109. Number of trip hammers in every such place
110. Number of nail factories in every such place
111. The weight of nails so manufactured in such place
112. Number of distilleries in every such place
113. Number of breweries in every such place
114. Number of tanneries in every such place
115. Number of pot and pear ash manufactories in every such place
116. Number of manufactories of any other sort in every such place, containing any machinery moved by wind, water, steam or animal power specifying the purposes to which such machinery is applied, and by what power it is moved
117. Average price of wheat in every such place since last harvest
118. Average price of agricultural labour per day throughout the year

Appendix C

1851 Census Categories

Personal and Household Census

1. Names of Inmates
2. Profession, Trade or Occupation
3. Place of Birth
4. Religion
5. Residence if Outside of Limits
6. Age Next Birth Day
7. Sex: Male
8. Sex: Female
9. Married or Single
10. Coloured Persons—Negroes
11. Indians, if any
12. Residents: Members, Male
13. Residents: Members, Female
14. Residents: Not Members, Male
15. Residents: Not Members, Female
16. Members Absent: Male
17. Members Absent: Female
18. Deaf and Dumb: Male
19. Deaf and Dumb: Female
20. Blind: Male
21. Blind: Female
22. Lunatics: Female
23. Lunatics: Male
24. Attending School: Male
25. Attending School: Female
26. Births During the Year 1851: Male
27. Births During the Year 1851: Female
28. Deaths During the Year 1851: No., Male
29. Deaths During the Year 1851: No., Female
30. Age and Cause of Deaths
31. Homes: Brick, Stone, Frame, Log, Shanty, or other kinds of residence
32. Homes: No. of Stories
33. No. of families occupying
34. Homes: Vacant
35. Homes: Building
36. Shops, Stores, Inn, Taverns Ec.
37. Public Buildings
38. Places of Worship
39. Information on Mills, Factories Ec., Ec. their cost, power, produce, Ec.
40. Number of Persons usually employed therein
41. General Remarks of the Enumerator

Appendix C

(continued) - Agricultural Census

1. Name of Occupier
2. Concession or Range
3. Lot of Part of Lot

Number of Acres of Land:

4. Held by each person or family
5. Under Cultivation
6. Under Crops in 1851
7. Under Pasture in 1851
8. Gardens or Orchards
9. Under Wood or Wild

- | | |
|--------------|-------------|
| Wheat: | 10. Acres |
| | 11. Bushels |
| Barley: | 12. Acres |
| | 13. Bushels |
| Rye: | 14. Acres |
| | 15. Bushels |
| Peas: | 16. Acres |
| | 17. Bushels |
| Oats: | 18. Acres |
| | 19. Bushels |
| Buckwheat: | 20. Acres |
| | 21. Bushels |
| Indian Corn: | 22. Acres |
| | 23. Bushels |
| Potatoes: | 24. Acres |
| | 25. Bushels |
| Turnips: | 26. Acres |
| | 27. Bushels |

28. Clover, Timothy or other grass Seed (bushels)
29. Carrots (bushels)
30. Mangle Whitzel
31. Beans (Bushels)
32. Hops (lbs.)
33. Hay (Bundles or Tons)
34. Flax or Hemp (lbs.)
35. Tobacco (lbs.)
36. Wool (lbs.)
- 37.
- 38.
- 39.
40. Maple Sugar (lbs.)
41. Cider (gals.)
42. Fulled Cloth (yds.)
43. Linen (yds.)

44. Flannel (yds.)
45. Bulls, Oxen or Steers
46. Milch Cows
47. Calves or Heifers
48. Horses of all Ages
49. Sheep
50. Pigs
51. Butter (lbs.)
52. Cheese (lbs.)
53. Beef (Barrels or Cwts)
54. Pork (Barrels or Cwts)
55. Quantity of Fish Cured
56. Remarks

Appendix D

1861 Census Categories

Personal and Household Census

1. Names of Inmates
2. Profession, Trade or Occupation
3. Place of Birth
4. Married During the Year
5. Religion
6. Residence if not in Limits
7. Age Next Birth Day
8. Sex: Male
9. Sex: Female
10. Married or Single
11. Widowers
12. Widows
13. Coloured Persons, Mulatto or Indian
14. Residents: Members of Family, Male
15. Residents: Members of Family, Female
16. Residents: Not Members, Male
17. Residents: Not Members, Female
18. Members of Family Absent: Male
19. Members of Family Absent: Female
20. Deaf and Dumb
21. Blind
22. Lunatics or Idiots
23. Children Attending School Within the Year: Male
24. Children Attending School Within the Year: Female
25. Persons over 20 who cannot read or write: Male
26. Persons over 20 who cannot read or write: Female
27. Births in 1860: Male
28. Births in 1860: Female
29. Deaths in 1860: No. Male
30. Deaths in 1860: No. Female
31. Age and Cause of Death
32. Houses: Brick, Stone, Frame, Log, etc. etc.
33. Houses: No. of Stories
34. Houses: No. of Families Living in House
35. Houses: Vacant
36. Houses: Being Built

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