

Yet, these are minor quibbles. What Jennings did was quite remarkable and innovative. He used a powerful literary creation and tried to relate its authenticity to a particular individual in a particularly violent social environment. He also implied that when the violence was lacking, as it was on the Alberta frontier, the essential nature of the cowboy, or Wister's quintessential figure, remained largely unchanged. Jennings has no illusions as to which environment was better. In summary, I thoroughly enjoyed "The Cowboy Legend." It is a fine book well worth reading for enjoyment, knowledge, insights, and reflection.

Max Foran
University of Calgary

MCCALLA, Douglas – *Consumers in the Bush: Shopping in Rural Upper Canada*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013. Pp. 296.

All of us who have been engaged in the social and economic history or historical geography of Upper Canada have, as Douglas McCalla recognizes, viewed the issues studied from the perspective of what was achieved, produced, or, in the case of a patent or land price, simply manifest from some economic, legislative, or social process. McCalla has himself done this, especially in *Planting the Province: The Economic History of Upper Canada, 1784-1870*, which remains the pre-eminent interpretation in this substantive area of study. Since its publication, his emphasis has shifted to that of the consumer, and in this genre he has written on the acquisition of alcohol, textiles, guns, and "A World without Chocolate"—a theme first offered in *Agricultural History* and developed here under the same intriguing title. This is not so much about the absence of chocolate as it is about groceries and medications. Interestingly, though this commodity was thought by the traveller and writer, Patrick Campbell, to have been part of the life of the day labourer, and was enjoyed by the social elite, such as Frances Stewart, and by Surveyor General Thomas Ridout at his breakfast, McCalla's formal analysis did not find a single mention in ten thousand transactions (p. 68). Among groceries, the first ranking item purchased by five or more members in the sample used was, as expected in a British province, tea (390 buyers) followed by tobacco (373 buyers) and sugar (259 buyers). Coffee, with 58 purchasers, ranked eighth, and at the bottom of the continuum were lemon essence (33rd), nutmeg (34th), hops (35th), and caraway seed, last at 36th. With respect to medicines and drugs, McCalla recognized 38 products beginning with "pills" as the first ranking item among the commodities that commanded five or more purchasers with, in fact, 75 (Appendix A, Section C). The second item was castor oil (63 buyers in 9 of 10 time-frames), a tradition that continued with Irish mothers well into the 1950s and still in use today. These two were followed by "salts" (38 buyers), "pain extractor," (30 buyers) and "Cream of Tartar" or potassium hydrogen tartrate (27 buyers), used in things culinary and, unadvisedly, as a purgative. Too much "Cream of Tartar"

could produce excessive potassium or hyperkalemia with medical complications that could lead to death. If Upper Canadian mothers or wives used too much of it, those they fed would have been safer then, as now, with sixth ranking senna as a cure for the constipation with which it seems Upper Canadians were afflicted!

It is this detail, and the re-assurance of the methodology adjusted to particular needs (Appendix D) that lends confidence in the results. These become useful for comparative purposes within the province for themselves, and in, for example, assisting in calculating costs in the production of a farm. No doubt there are other applications such as determining well-being relative to earning capacity, including that of the wage-earner. This is well illustrated in Chapter 4, which deals with essential items as food stuffs, including, interestingly, brandy and wine, as opposed to whiskey, considered a local product. Chapter 4 also brings an awareness to contemporary readers of things unknown such as *opeldeldoc*, a medication used to rub the abdomens of Canadian babies with bowel problems and to ease leg cramps during pregnancy. There are additional major chapters dealing with the nature of rural stores and their customers, with textiles and clothing, with hardware and related purchases, and with local goods that included footwear that should interest a variety of readers.

The database for all this consists of more than 30,000 business transactions undertaken by 750 families at seven stores between 1808 and 1861. These transactions were drawn systematically from a variety of archival sources that include ledgers, day and invoice books as well as census and assessment rolls—an astonishing achievement in itself. Geographers of the rigidly rigorous scientific kind seeking spatial representation here may be disappointed: the seven stores are geographically concentrated in Leeds, Peterborough, and Northumberland Counties. Such are the insights generated in the book, however, that most readers will not be overly concerned; indeed, the author never explicitly makes any such claim. Many, if not all, readers will have little interest in spatial statistics, preferring to look instead for substantive insight to consumer acquisition. What Professor McCalla does claim is that the areas chosen are representative of agro-forestry areas in terms of the percentage of land occupied and cleared beyond the central Toronto/Hamilton axis in 1861. To this, there can be little objection.

The approach used is essentially empirical: there is no overt discussion of rigid theory in the sense of an integrated set of confirmed hypotheses or laws. Rather, there is a display of reasoned understanding of people in specific circumstances. For example, iron is shown to have increased in volume over the years in response to decreasing British prices even if the initial response was to resist such expensive items, especially in a province where wood was readily available. All of the stores analysed sold goods in all categories, and the number of goods increased over time because “Upper Canadians were on the edge of the expanding world economy” (p. 150). Once again, the price of many products declined in real terms over time with the exception of woollens. The numbers of buyers varied from store to store and over time. So did the quantities and frequency of purchases. Furthermore, purchasers used a number of different stores—all of which suggests

that things were more complicated than has hitherto been claimed. While most of these findings might have been anticipated—they have now been substantiated.

All of this is informed by the author's belief that, from the beginning, Upper Canada was a place where there was an integrated exchange economy connected locally and linked to the world economy by credit. It was upon such integration that the system was sustained; it required payment at each stage rather than the "bartering," "haggling," and "trading model" complementing the "self-sufficiency or Crusoe model" which has, for a long time, been the received wisdom. McCalla offers, as part of his argument, the fact that there were shops, that many individuals used them, and that when they did, they encountered prices associated with the expectation of payment— they were not necessarily bargaining. Most of the evidence employed here, "which reveals ambiguities and complexities that are frequently understood in dualities" (pp. 10-11), is derived from eight surveys of stores after 1842 and seven after 1852. Half of all buyers were from 1861. Only two surveys, both at York Mills, were conducted between 1808 and 1829 when self-sufficiency was likely to have been greatest. While this reviewer admits self-sufficiency/market integration to lie along a continuum in which culture, date of location, and family demography must have played a part, the imbalance in the survey timeframe might seem to weigh the evidence somewhat. Both conditions might have existed literally side by side, though this might have to be inferred since settlers rarely left notes of intention. It might be possible, having identified those purchasing at stores, to recognize the remainder, those of the "self-sufficient fraternity" in assessment rolls and census enumeration returns, and to test for associated differences in, for instance, data of location, settlement or legal patent, and in land cleared. This might provide a more secure metric. Of course, this is not the task of the author here, and this reviewer abhors claims for objectives that were never claimed by the author. Rather, this comment is offered as testimony to the worth that has been achieved here: Douglas McCalla should be offered a well-deserved round of applause for work that will undoubtedly stimulate others.

John Clarke
Carleton University

MILLS, Sean – *A Place in the Sun: Haiti, Haitians, and the Remaking of Quebec*.
Montréal & Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016, 330 p.

Considéré historiquement comme produit plutôt que producteur d'empire, le Québec est demeuré perméable au « grand retour du refoulé colonial » qui a marqué les sociétés occidentales au XX^e siècle. La persistance des préjugés raciaux et des discriminations systémiques invite pourtant à réfléchir à la place du Québec dans l'histoire du passé colonial occidental. Ce devoir de mémoire est au cœur du dernier livre de Sean Mills, *A Place in the Sun: Haiti, Haitians, and the Remaking of Quebec*. Consacré à l'histoire de la communauté haïtienne