

Respectable Citizens: Gender, Family, and Unemployment in Ontario's Great Depression By Lara Campbell

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such as Save Ontario Shipwrecks, following the principles of taking only pictures and leaving only bubbles. Carroll also applauds the efforts of museums and preservation-minded divers in protecting underwater cultural heritage sites and educating the public regarding what shipwreck preservation should involve.

Carroll has written an engaging book about the history of *Wexford*, the people who lost their lives aboard, the impact of the Great Storm on Ontario's Lake Huron coast, and the modern, continuing story of the shipwreck as an historic site. The first

two sections of the book share a good deal of overlapping information and can be difficult to follow, but generally this is an easy book to read. *The Wexford* (the book) is both an exciting story of shipwreck exploration and a timely examination of issues surrounding maritime and underwater cultural heritage. It clearly shows Paul Carroll's passion for maritime history and would make an excellent addition to the libraries of shipwreck enthusiasts.

Ben Holthof,
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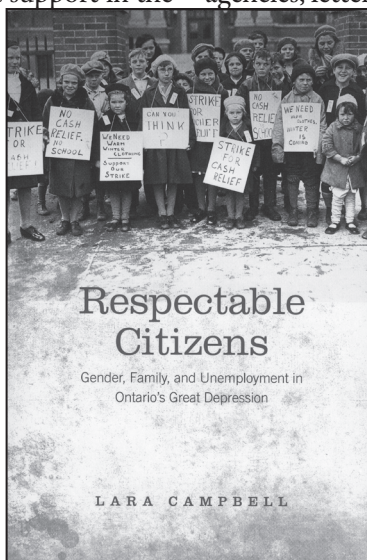
Respectable Citizens: Gender, Family, and Unemployment in Ontario's Great Depression

By Lara Campbell. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009. xi + 280pp.
\$29.95 softcover. ISBN 978-0-8020-9669-2 (www.utppublishing.com)

Lara Campbell's study of the Depression in Ontario places families front and centre. Adequate parental support for children, relationships of husbands and wives, relationships of families with the state, and weak government support in the face of massive unemployment: such concerns as these led to the public debate on the role of the state in the area of social welfare. This debate, Campbell argues, marked the beginning of the transition to the liberal welfare state which emerged in the post-war period. Although the Great Depression is generally recognized as a pivotal moment in Canadian history, there are few monographs on the social history of the Depression. Campbell's insightful study, sensitive

to regional variations and to class, race and gender differences, is therefore a welcome addition to the historiography.

Using sources such as oral history interviews, case files from the courts and welfare agencies, letters to the premiers of Ontario, and regional newspapers, the author begins by looking at the material needs of families and their strategies of survival. Campbell brings to life the meaning of the phrase 'making do' as she examines the family economy and the crucial domestic work of women. She looks not just at "respectable" married women but also at those whose strategies moved them beyond that demarcation line. Unlike many previous studies of the Depression which fo-



cused on single men, in the breadlines and riding the rails, Campbell examines how the Depression affected men as husbands and fathers whose masculinity was linked to their status as breadwinners. The shame they felt over accepting relief was real; they wanted work, not charity. The breadwinner ideal, Campbell argues, survived the stress of this period and was embedded into the programs of the liberal welfare state which later emerged.

That children and youth had a critical role to play in the family economy during the Depression is hardly surprising. Based largely on case files, Campbell presents this role in terms of the conflict and negotiations which took place, both within the family and between the family and the state. Examples include older children who resisted handing over most of their earnings to parents, adult children forced to support elderly parents, and young men brought to court to provide support for a child born out of wedlock. The state increased its efforts to ensure that family members lived up to the ideal of family mutual support thereby minimizing the responsibility of the public purse. Using case files to uncover these tensions and conflicts means, however, that the 'good moments' in family life are largely missing, as Campbell herself notes.

Family strategies of 'making do' were simply not enough to cope with the problems related to unemployment created by the Depression. Yet Ontario accepted responsibility only reluctantly, even in the face of protests and political action by citizens who framed their demands in terms of their role as parents and breadwinners. The last two chapters of Campbell's study add to a growing literature on these types of protests. Because the home was much more than a place to live—it was a visible symbol of status within the community—the fear associated with foreclosure and eviction

radicalized many homeowners. While community action to fight evictions was seldom successful in the long run, it highlighted the suffering caused and put pressure on public officials to provide housing aid to those on relief.

The home is also discussed as the site of conflict and negotiation over gender roles. Although unemployment was recognized as a key factor in such cases, Campbell concludes that the courts and relief agencies supported the ideal of the respectable male-headed family and, even when abuse was an issue, tried to keep families together. Campbell examines various other collective and individual political actions, and shows how these protests were shaped by both gender and ethnicity. Those people of British ancestry saw themselves as 'true citizens' and more entitled than others to claim assistance from the state. The extensive use of letters to the premiers, a previously untapped resource, gave a voice to the 'respectable citizens' of Ontario.

Respectable Citizens has already received national acclaim and it is easy to see why. It weaves together strands of the history of the family, of the rise of the welfare state and of the development of a Canadian national identity in the Ontario context, not just in the larger cities but also in rural areas and in northern Ontario. It contributes significantly to our understanding of masculinity during the Depression. It also tells the stories of individuals and families who experienced the Great Depression first hand, showing them as actors and not just as victims of hard times. *Respectable Citizens* is essential reading for teachers and researchers in Canadian social history but it will also appeal to a larger audience interested in the social conditions of the Depression era.

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