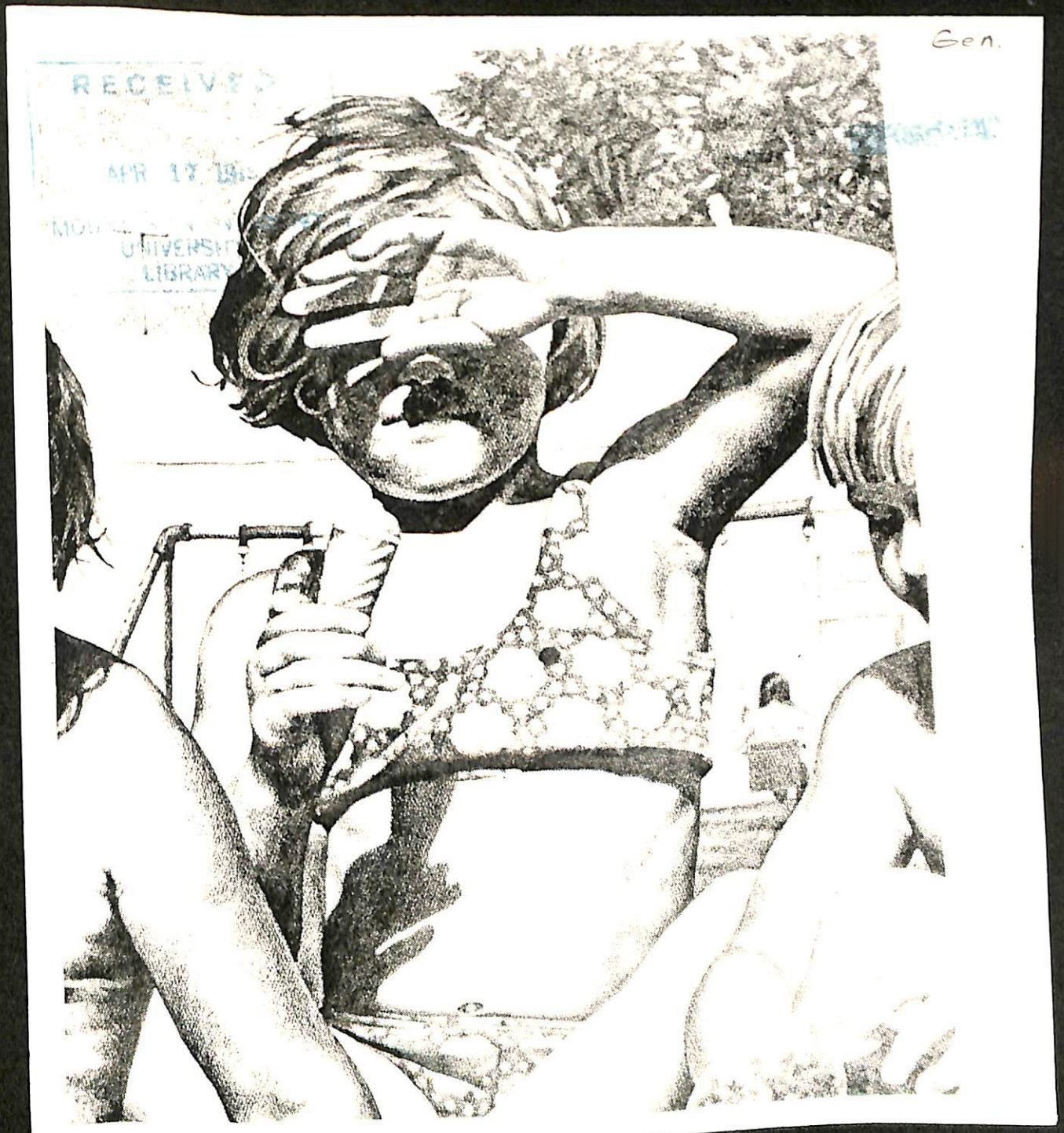
Atlantis

A Women's Studies Journal
Journal d'Etudes sur la Femme



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Review Essays

Reviews

Ce numéro a été publié avec l'aide financière du Conseil des Artes du Canada.

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Atlantis was an ancient kingdom, an island in the Atlantic, which disappeared during an earthquake. Fabulous stories are told about the beauty of the people who lived there and the kind of civilization they created. We take Atlantis as a symbol of the lost kingdom which women are striving to rediscover by discovering themselves.

L'Atlantide, royaume du temps jadis, était une île perdue dans l'Atlantique qui disparut lors d'un tremblement de terre. Des histoires fabuleuses nous parlent de la beauté de ses habitants et du type de civilisation qu'ils avaient créé. Le mot Atlantis est pour nous le symbole de ce royaume perdu que des femmes essayent maintenant de faire revivre tout en retrouvant leur propre identité.

Art work by Sarah Jackson and Susanne MacKay is available upon request.

NELLIE McCLUNG AND THE FIGHT FOR THE

The Methodist Church played an important part in Nellie Mooney McClung's life from her earliest years. In her autobiography, Clearing in the West, she tells of the minister who struggled through the storm to bring them hope and practical advice when her sister was seriously ill. She speaks of the thrill she felt when a church was finally established in the small Manitoba town near their farm and she was able to attend Sunday School. She explains how the church became the centre of social life in the pioneer community. As a young teacher in other small towns she again sought fellowship and activity within church organizations. In Manitou and Treherne she lived with the minister's family and found in Mrs. McClung, the minister's wife, a model. In 1896 she married Wesley McClung, the eldest son of the family, who was at that time a druggist in Manitou. During the fifteen years of their life in Manitou the young couple actively participated in the life of the church and continued to do so when they moved to Winnipeg in 1911.

Despite her appreciation of the pioneer work of the church in the West, despite her activity in and love for the church, Nellie, like many other women, became dissatisfied with the role delegated to women by the men of the church. In 1915 she put in satiric verse her version of what she titled "A Heart to Heart Talk with the Women of the Church by the Governing Bodies:"

Go, labor on, good sister Anne,
Abundant may thy labors be;
To magnify thy brother man
Is all the Lord requires of thee!

Go raise the mortgage, year by year,
And Joyously thy way pursue,
And when you get the title clear,
We'll move a vote of thanks to you!

Go, labor on, the night draws nigh
Go, build us churches - as you can.
The times are hard, but chicken pi
Will do the trick. Oh, rustle, Ann

Go, labor on, good sister Sue,
To home and church your life devote;

ORDINATION OF WOMEN IN THE UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA

But never, never ask to vote,
Or we'll be very cross with you.

May no rebellion cloud your mind,
But joyous your race be run.
The conference is good and kind,
And knows God's will for every
one.(1)

McClung believed that women should be on equal footing with men within the church. She was impatient with theological arguments or the citing of traditions to oppose this goal of equality. Women had the right to a voice in the administration of the church and there could be no valid argument against this fundamental right. Nellie liked to point out that she did not blame God for women's in-

by Mary E. Hallett

ferior place in the church. As she said:

> Men and women got off to a fair start. "God created man in His own image . . . . Male and female created He them, and he gave them domination. . . ," there were no special privileges. Whatever inequality has crept in since, has come without God's sanction.(2)

On occasion she would quote, or misquote, the Bible to defend her position, or stress the practical need for more ministers but fundamentally her argument was that of the right of equality for men and women.

At this point what women were seeking in the Methodist Church was merely the right to be voting members at all levels of church government and the right to be elected to all administrative bodies of the church. One argument advanced by the men who opposed women's entry into the full fellowship of the church was that women would then ask for the right to be ordained. McClung agreed that this demand would indeed follow but she saw this as a natural and inevitable outcome of the women's movement and she, and others, male and female, believed that the time had arrived when that forward step should be taken in the church.(3)

At the Canadian Methodist Assembly in 1918 a resolution was introduced that women should have equal rights with men in regard to all the privileges of church membership. Surprisingly, the resolution passed unanimously; perhaps the delegates were influenced by the surge of women's gains in the political world at this time. As the Christian Guardian put it: "No one voted against it, and only a very few extra brave refused to vote for it." (4) But a second resolution, that the ministry be opened to women, met a different fate. A heated debate took place. Finally, it was decided to refer the whole matter to the Quarterly Official Boards. The Christian Guardian commented: "Probably the whole discussion was largely academic, as we have yet to hear of any sister who is desirous of entering the Methodist ministry."(5)

While the matter was under discussion at the Board level there seems to have been no active campaign to influence the decision. In fact throughout the whole period there was no attempt at organization by the proponents of ordination and McClung had little contact with others on the issue. However, in 1921 she got the opportunity to express her views on the role of women in the church to an international audience. She was chosen to attend the Methodist Ecumenical Conference in England, the only woman delegate from Canada. In today's terms she was a 'token woman.' As delegates were being appointed by the Special Committee of the General Conference one man suggested that there should be a woman among the twelve delegates. His re-

Nellie McClung (Public Archives of Canada)

mark was followed by silence but when he suggested Nellie McClung, who would bring back a good report, the committee approved the nomination.(6) Nellie accepted, thrilled at the opportunity to visit England. On the eighth day of the Conference she was asked to reply to an address or "essay," as they called it, entitled: "The Awakening of Women." According to the newspaper accounts it was the conference which awoke. One reporter said: "Mrs. McClung carried the conference by storm with her unconventional and daring sayings," and another called her "racy, delightfully frank and behind all reasonable."(8) All accounts of her speech mention that it was punctuated by applause and laughter.

Today, reading the speech she made at that session, it is hard to understand why her remarks were considered "racy," "unconventional," or "daring," but there is still a breath of fresh air, a wit, a liveliness, that jumps out even from the printed page in contrast to the stodgy speeches which came before and after hers.

She began by expressing her distaste for the title, "The Awakening of women," which suggested that women had been asleep. "Women," she said,

> . . . have always been awake. The woman of fifty years ago who carded the wool, spun it, wove the cloth to clothe her family, made the clothes without any help from Mr. Butterick, or the Ladies' Pictorial, brewed her own cordial, baked her own bread, washed, scrubbed, ironed, without any labour-saving devices, and besides that, always had dinner on time, and incidentally raised a family, and a few chickens and vegetables in her spare time, may be excused if she did not take much interest in politics. But her lack of interest was not any proof that she was asleep - she was only busy.

McClung went on to scold the church for not having supported women in their fight for women's suffrage:

> It preached resignation when it should have sounded the note of rebellion. Many of the brightest women grew impatient and indignant and went out of church figuratively slamming the door behind them. Slamming an innocent door. . . .

she commented

> . . . has always seemed to me a misdirection of energy. It is better to linger after the sermon to interview the minister.

But she emphasized that the church had not afforded women the means of self-expression. "On special occasions," she said,

> . . . womanhood has been garlanded with roses and smothered with praises. The motives in all this have been the highest and best, but it does not appeal to the average woman to hear womanhood

spoken of in such condescending terms of sickly sentiment [as if were] a sort of glorified disease.

"It is no use blaming it on Paul," she admonishes her large and mainly clerical audience, "just because he once told a chattering group of women to stop their noise. Remember he also said 'there is neither Jew nor Greek, male nor female, bond nor free'--for all are free." She told them that in Canada there were needs to be met by the church. Only a third of the rural population of Western Canada had adequate preaching facilities and the answer to the problem did not lie in theology. As an ironic aside she added: "I have listened to a lot of theology in the last eight days - more than I ever knew existed in all the world." She was convinced that those who were working to interpret God's love to Canada's immigrants had little time for theology. She ended with a plea for doctors and ministers to come to Western Canada and for support for the desire of women to be admitted to full ordination.(9)

After a speaking tour in England and Scotland and a brief visit to France, McClung returned to her very busy life in Edmonton, taking the seat in the legislature to which she had been elected in June, 1921. Perhaps because of these duties she was not one of the delegates to the Methodist Assembly of 1922--the first assembly for which women were eligible. The Christian Guardian smugly commented:

> The women delegates are on hand in full force and have been given an exceedingly cordial reception, and everything is being done that can be done to make them feel at home. Several of the women delegates happen to be the wives of ministers, the Annual conferences in this matter showing both their good taste and their good judgment. We note that in most instances the ministers themselves, though not delegates, have accompanied their better halves to see that nothing untoward happens to them in this, their first adventure out into the great world of ecclesiastical politics.(10)

The Assembly received a summary of the reports from the Quarterly Official Boards on the question of the ordination of women. The summary revealed that 509 Boards were in favor and 558 opposed, but only 54% of the Boards had voted at all. Seven conferences gave majorities against the proposal, and five majorities for it. The Committee which examined these reports recommended to the conference that the proposal for ordination of women be turned down. Women delegates, led by Mrs. Keeton and Louise McKinney moved for the appointment of a committee of twelve, including three women, to examine the question and report to the next General Conference. Although McKinney was, according to the Christian Guardian, one of the ablest debaters at the Conference the proponents

of women's ordination were not able to win even this limited victory. The opponents argued that a committee could accomplish nothing, the facts were clear and indisputable: women could not stand the hardships of the ministry, women's first Christian duty was motherhood and the family and, finally, ordination for women at this point might interfere with the negotiations for church union with the Presbyterians. This latter argument was convincing to many who might, in principle, have supported equality for women in the church. However, the Christian Guardian editor did not stress this point but ended his editorial with the words:

> The debate was interesting, but back in the minds of most of the delegates was the unmistakable conviction, that we could not afford to allow our young women to face the hardships of our ordinary work upon terms of equality with men, and the problem of a married woman preaching while her husband cared for the family and provided the meals, is one that cannot be dismissed with a joke.(11)

For the next three years the question of church union overshadowed the matter of ordination but when union of the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational churches was accomplished in 1925, the women returned eagerly to their efforts for the ordination of women. In 1922 the Presbyterian Church, like the Methodist, had turned down a proposal for the ordination of women. The Congregationalists had always permitted the ordination of women but none had been ordained in Canada.(12) Now the women had renewed hope that a new church would be ready to respond to new ideas. And this time there was a candidate. As Nellie put it: "Whenever the matter of ordination was raised the answer came back: 'There is no woman asking for ordination. Hold your tongues. Leave well enough alone. When we get a request for ordination we will deal with it.'" McClung went on to say:

> Now there is an overture from the Saskatchewan Conference [to the General Conference] requesting ordination for Miss Lydia Gruchy. Here now we have what you have always desired to see, a woman graduate in theology, asking for ordination. She has been two years preaching and carrying on very acceptably. What are you going to do with her? Dear. Dear. This is most embarrassing.(13)

No embarrassment could equal the inconvenience of non-ordination for Lydia Gruchy who, despite the fact that she served a three-point charge like any male clergyman, was unable to perform marriages or serve communion to the members of her three congregations.

Faced with this embarrassment the General Council of 1926 decided that

Lydia Gruchy could not be ordained without a change in the church laws. The laws could not be changed without the approval of the presbyteries. Therefore, a committee was established to prepare a statement for the information and guidance of the presbyteries--this statement to be circulated to all ministers with the remit asking the presbyteries for their opinion on the ordination of women.

The committee was all male, all ministerial and the one westerner appointed, Dr. E.H. Oliver of St. Andrew's College, Saskatoon, was apparently unable to attend the committee meetings which were held in Toronto. The statement circulated as required and the presbyteries made their replies. Few women were involved because few were members of presbytery. However, they obtained an indication of how the matter was being handled from an article written by the chairman of the committee, Dr. Ernest Thomas, and published in the church magazine, The New Outlook. The article entitled, "Shall we Ordain Women?" had a very definite answer: "NO."(14) Instead, a new order of the deaconate should be established so that women could be ordained to this lower order and, according to Thomas, would thus be satisfied. He argued as did the document circulated to the presbyteries that:

(a) the history of the church revealed that women had never been ordained,

(b) the ordained woman would not be accepted by congregations, particularly by the women of the congregation and

(c) ordination would provide an obstacle to further church union.(15)

Although Lydia Gruchy was a former Presbyterian as were some of her strongest supporters, there was a fear that opening the ministry to women might be a divisive issue in the rather insecure new church and might stand in the way of establishing communion with the Church of Scotland.(16) To supporters of ordination of women the arguments appeared trivial and one clergyman emphasized their triviality by summarizing them as follows:

(a) we never heard of such a thing,

(b) your sisters might not be pleased and

(c) whatever would the Jones's say. (17)

Furthermore, the arguments completely ignored the need which was clearly expressed by the Saskatchewan Conference for a fully ordained minister. As a deaconess, Lydia Gruchy would be unable to do anything more than she was already doing.

In the two years between conferences the debate was carried on in the church paper, in magazines and on the platform.(18) McClung played an active part in this ongoing controversy and no doubt her forceful speech to the Al-

berta Conference helped produce the result headlined by The New Outlook as "Edmonton Presbytery Approves."(19) Not surprisingly McClung was one of the delegates from Calgary to the General Council held in Winnipeg in September, 1928. She was made a member of a committee to consider the replies from presbyteries on the ordination of women and to bring a recommendation to council. Within that committee a very heated debate took place with McClung and a Rev. Neal Campbell on one side of the issue, the Rev. J.R. Sclater steadfastly on the opposite side and other members on middle ground. There was basic disagreement as to the meaning of the responses from the presbyteries. According to Nellie McClung, only 12 presbyteries returned a definite "No," 33 said "let's do it right away," and 43 said "we believe in the principle." She interpreted this as 76 in favour and 12 opposed. Dr. Thomas interpreted the returns as 55 opposed, 33 in favour, and 21 who did not return the remit, "probably opposed."(20) Even he, however, had to admit that his idea of a diaconate had been completely turned down. The committee finally arrived at a compromise resolution. They agreed that McClung, as committee secretary, would present the report and speak to it, and that Dr. Sclater would also speak. They also decided that they would both vote for the committee's recommendation and urge the Council to accept it without amendment. The recommendation was: that "the General Council takes no action in the matter of the ordination of women to the ministry, but puts itself on record as holding that there is no bar in religion or reason to such ordination."(21)

According to a Winnipeg paper McClung's speech on the report "brought excitement to its peak." She began by describing it as a not very heroic resolution but indicated that women could take hope from the fact that it was now admitted that there was no bar in religion or reason for ordination of women. She said that a member of the committee from an Ontario city had assured her that women of his church had come to him opposing the ordination of women. Knowing the problems in the West, Nellie was incensed. "What difference will it make to these women . . .? They would never have to listen to a woman preacher. But in some places it would make a difference." She told of the work being done by Lydia Gruchy and scoffed at the idea that women who could labour on homesteads could not stand the work of the pastorate. But, she assured her audience, even if ordination was granted it would be a long time before many women would be ready. "Some men," she said, "seem to be afraid that immediately they grant ordination the women will wash their hands at the kitchen sink and rush to them pleading 'Ordain me.' People," she added, "can be too careful. I heard of a man who would not buy a calendar because he was afraid he would not live the

year. I thought it was only a story until I sat on this committee. Now I am ready to believe anything." However, despite her disappointment she urged the council to support the resolution, ending her speech with the following words: "the bright spot in it all is 'there is no bar in religion or reason to such ordinations.' I like that. I love it. I have every reason to know that when the council sets its approval on that, it will do something."(22)

Dr. Sclater followed with a speech also urging the council's support for the resolution. He too earned a laugh from his audience when he said: "Once a Scottish preacher could pray, 'Lord we thank thee that God created women to make men comfortable.' He could not pray that way now." He tried to minimize the significance of the resolution by pointing out that there is no bar in religion or reason to republicanism in this country but nobody would think of taking steps to set it up. He urged the council to show the country that the United Church was truly united.(23) It was with considerable relief, one imagines, that the executive of council saw this resolution pass without amendment.

This, of course, was not the end of the controversy. As a member of the committee McClung felt that she should not speak in public or in print against the resolution but when Dr. Thomas published an article in Chatelaine in which he attacked McClung's speech to Council(24)Nellie felt freed from any restraint and replied to him on the platform and in letters to Chatelaine and The New Outlook. She reminded the church members that the Home Missions had reported a shortage of 52 men. She said:

> Districts are left without church services. Children are growing up without Christian teaching and the church is losing its opportunity of helping the brave pioneers. In the face of these conditions the church refuses to ordain the one woman who is qualified, and refuses to encourage any woman to study theology. Its attitude is brutally clear. It is this. "We can't supply men for all the districts of western Canada. Children are growing up in ignorance - and it is just too bad. But even that is easier for us to bear than to have to lay aside our prejudice against women. We won't say that of course. We'll say women could not stand the hard work. We'll say it might disrupt the church. We'll say there is no demand for women preachers. We'll be scriptural and quote Saint Paul."

McClung dismissed with apt sarcasm the pedantic forty-one page statement which had been circulated by Thomas's committee to the presbyteries. She said:

> It raked the past and explained

> the future. It gave the presbyteries a peep into the Canon of Hippolytus and the Ignation Epistles. It mentioned Pentadià, Silvina, Sabiniana, Olympias, and Philip's four daughters (excellent ladies, no doubt, but quite dead), yet not once did it ask the brethren what they thought should be done in the matter of ordination for Miss Lydia Gruchy.

The document, she argued, did not provide information to help the presbyteries make an informed judgment. Instead it tried to influence the decision with biased information about the committee's views. Moreover, by introducing the diaconate they clouded the issue which should have been clearly and simply: "Are you in favour of ordaining women, yes or no?" (25) She particularly resented Dr. Thomas's reference to the woman preacher's sex appeal.

> He sees in the woman preacher not the theologian, not the exhorter, not the prophetess. No, no, he sees only this--the "Woman Temptress"--and with that thought in his mind he sounds a solemn warning to the Church. 'Beware of women! Do not flaunt the age old prejudice against women preachers. Prejudice is a good thing in this case.'. . . Dr. Thomas, the great expositor of doctrine, the encyclopedia of church history who can dash off a brilliant essay while another man would be thinking of the opening sentence. Dr. Thomas, whom we think of as a great mind, not subject to human frailties, thinks of even a woman preacher as a "temptress" stirring up mixed emotions in her audience. Dear me. How surprising.(26)

In December 1928, two months after Conference, a public debate was held in Central Church, Calgary and later repeated in Macdougall Church, Edmonton, on the subject: "Resolved that the United Church of Canada should grant ordination to women on the same terms as men." The affirmative was upheld by McClung and the negative by the Rev. W.A. Lewis, of Calgary. On both occasions large crowds attended. (27) Mark McClung, Nellie McClung's youngest son, remembers this debate as the first time he really saw his mother in action on the platform. He vividly recalls how she dominated the debate and captivated the audience--speaking with her hands, her body, her eyes, moving up and down the platform --pointing an accusing finger at her innocent opponent. He says: "I knew she'd prepared herself as she prepared me for debates. But not a note, not a hesitation in speech and the flow of words and the gestures and her eyes going around all the time. She really was a magnetic speaker."(28) As usual there was wit and humour in such remarks as, "It is about time we got rid of this old-fashioned idea that we are a sort of glorified Ladies Aid with the great work in life of pushing

some man up the ladder." Reverend Lewis brought forth the well-worn argument of women's inability to face the hardships and difficulties of a rural charge with an attempt at a humorous picture of a woman preacher in her Sunday best trying to free her horse from a slough. Nellie demolished this picture with the observation that a woman would have sense enough to be carrying her "Sunday best" in a bag and be wearing suitable clothes for a dirty ride across the prairies. Lewis was no match for McClung in argument or witty rebuttal. The judges awarded her victory on both occasions.

When the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council declared, in 1929, that women were eligible for Senate seats, Nellie used the occasion in a radio speech to point out the hurdles still to be taken, among others, the right to be ordained. "It is a matter of humiliation," she stated,

> . . . that the church has been the last to yield to women full rights, and I believe the women themselves are to blame for that. One of the leaders in the women's work of the church defended her position that women must not be ordained by saying that women must first "prove their place in the church." That shows how poverty-stricken she was for an argument.(29)

Throughout the controversy McClung was more indignant with the women who opposed ordination than she was with the men. She was particularly disappointed with the lack of support from the Women's Missionary Society whose president had betrayed the women with her comment at the 1928 Conference: "You have not asked us what we [the W.M.S.] think of the ordination of women--and it is just as well. You will find us very conservative." On hearing these words Nellie looked with consternation at one of the older ministers who supported ordination and he drew his finger across his throat. "How the men who opposed ordination loved her for her few words," wrote Nellie later. "The man who reported that day's proceedings for The New Outlook spoke glowingly of her--how feminine and attractive she was, and how becomingly dressed." Her idle words, Nellie believed, set ordination back ten years.(30)

The controversy continued. In the years after the disappointing 1928 resolution McClung never missed an opportunity to prod the United Church for failure to act. In an article in The Country Guide she wrote:

> We cannot understand the mentality of men who dare to set the boundaries of women's work. We object to barriers, just as the range horses despise fences. For this reason we protested the a action of the Alberta Hotelmen's Association when they decided that women must not enter their beer parlours. Not but what we knew it was better to be out than in, but we believe in equality.

> And now with the Senate doors open there are only the two great institutions that will not accept women on equal terms--the church, and the beer parlours.(31)

McClung, of course, was not alone in her fight for the right for women's ordihation. The Saskatchewan conference steadfastly continued to sing the praises of Lydia Gruchy and to put forward her name for ordination. In 1934, Rev. J.L. Nicol reporting to General Council for Northern Saskatchewan singled out Gruchy for special mention. He told of her six regular preaching appointments and her four Sunday schools. He described his visit to her charge and of their fifty mile drive over muddy roads with Gruchy at the wheel. She was appreciated by young and old alike and "her field was the only one in the superintendency this year that returned the last quarter's grant to the Home Mission Board," but, he added,

> Notwithstanding all this, when a marriage has to be performed or the sacraments are to be administered our "Little Minister" has to send out for a man. . . to perform these rites. Why? Because our Church, welded to the tradition of the Fathers says in substance, "We can accept her services. We realize that she is fully trained, that she is giving people fine spiritual leadership. She can reveal Christ to men and women, youths and maidens. But she is a woman, therefore, we will not ordain her." I feel that if some of these antis had the privilege of spending a few days on Miss Gruchy's charge, or better still, undertook to do her work for a year, their theological ideas regarding the ordination of women, or the propriety of ordaining Miss Lydia Gruchy, B.A. would suffer a violent change.(32)

In addition, the Secretary of Saskatchewan Conference was instructed to notify the General Council that it intended to ordain Lydia Gruchy at the next Conference in 1935 "unless at its meeting in September 1934 objection thereto is made by the General Council." This bold stand was strengthened by an assertion of the Conference's "rights of determining whom it should ordain" and a request that "no obstacle" be placed in the way of her ordination.(33) As a result of this a new attempt was made by Council to obtain the opinion of the church as a whole, this time using the method which McClung had suggested in 1926. The Presbyteries were simply asked whether they approved of the ordination of women and were instructed to answer yes or no, without qualification. Significantly the resolution that the question be remitted to Presbyteries was moved by the Rev. H.E. Oliver, principal of St. Andrew's College where Lydia Gruchy--gold medalist for the University when she received her B.A. in 1920--had received high honours in her theology studies in 1923.(34)

At this time the economic picture had greatly changed from 1928. Many of the old charges in Western Canada were now unable to support themselves; to establish new ones seemed almost impossible. The employment of women in the field was seen as a threat to men as they were thought to be taking men's jobs. While recognizing the economic difficulties faced by the church, McClung felt that this should not affect the equality of men and women.(35) The majority of presbyteries agreed with her. When the remits came back, the vote was 79 for ordination of women, 26 against.(36) Appropriately, Lydia Gruchy became the first ordained woman minister in the United Church of Canada in 1936.(37)

Dr. Ernest Thomas took to print again in an article smugly entitled "Ladies - We Give you the Pulpit."(38) He grudgingly accepted the accomplished fact but still saw difficulties. With a certain condescension he pointed out the areas of the ministry which would be best suited to women which he listed as: "the guiding power in training schools for women workers in the church, in Christian education, missionary work or girls' work, home visitations and the care and oversight of children." He found it sarcastically amusing to contemplate that the Pension Fund might have to be amended to read minister's widower instead of minister's widow and facetiously wondered whether the woman minister would give the wedding fees to her husband.

McClung, by this time a resident of Victoria, summed up her feelings on the matter in an article entitled "The Long Road to Freedom:"

> It is a long time since Erasmus in a burst of enthusiasm said he would wish that even women might read the gospels, but it has taken the full 500 years to convince the brethren and fathers of the church that women have the same ability to understand the scripture as men, and the end is not yet. The United Church of Canada took ten years to make up its mind whether or not it could allow a woman to be ordained in its ministry. Only one application for ordination has been before the Council all these ten years. Miss Lydia Gruchy has a perfect record of eleven years in country service. Now she is to be ordained. So the United Church has at last endorsed what Saint Paul said more than eighteen hundred years ago, that there is no male or female, bond or free, but all are one in the service of God.(39)

Even in the United Church the fight for women's rights was not over, as in 1946 another controversy arose when the first married woman sought ordination. But after the debate she was accepted. (40) In recent years McClung's spirit must have been cheering on the women

in the Lutheran, Anglican and Roman Catholic churches as they carried on her fight and we may say today as she said in 1929:

> We may yet live to see the day when women will no longer be news! And it cannot come too soon. I want to be a peaceful, happy, normal human being, pursuing my unimpeded way through life, never having to explain, defend or apologize for my sex.(41)

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NOTES

1. N. McClung, In Times Like These (Toronto, 1915), p. 2.
2. Ibid., p. 103.
3. Ibid., p. 115.
4. The Christian Guardian, October 16, 1918.
5. Ibid. Reference to the Quarterly Official Boards meant seeking opinion at the local level. There were 2082 Quarterly Official Boards.
6. McClung, The Stream Runs Fast (Toronto, 1945), p. 218. The committee went one step further and named Mrs. W.E. Sandford of Hamilton as an alternative but she did not get an opportunity to attend. I assume she would have been asked had McClung refused, although this was not specifically stated. T. Albert Moore, Secretary General Conference, to McClung, June 3, 1920.
7. McClung Papers, Vol. 17, unidentified clipping, no date.
8. Methodist Record, September 16, 1921.
9. Proceedings of the Fifth Ecumenical Methodist Conference, September 6-16, 1921, pp. 257-260.
10. The Christian Guardian, October 18, 1922.
11. Ibid.
12. Report of the Committee on the Ordination of Women. Prepared by order of the General Council for submission to the Presbyteries, 1927, p. 3. In the Presbyterian Church women had equal rights with men in congregational meetings but they were not regarded as eligible for the eldership and did not have a place on the Session. Not being members of the Session they were not elected as representatives to Presbytery and therefore had no place in the membership of Synod or Assembly. In 1923 an overture from Saskatchewan Presbytery proposing that steps be taken to permit the ordination of women under the same conditions as men was sent down to all Presbyteries for consideration and report. Less than half the Presbyteries responded and only seven approved ordination of women at that time. Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1922, pp. 26, 279, 1923, pp. 98, 420; 1924, p. 264.
13. McClung Papers, Vol. 11(20), manuscript, undated, no title.
14. The New Outlook, January 18, 1928.
15. Report of the Committee on the Ordination of Women.
16. The minority report of Principal H.A. Kent of Queen's Theological College supported this view. He opposed any change in the Presbyterian practice
17. K. Edis Fairbairn, "Well! Why not Ordain Women?," The New Outlook, April 11, 1928.
18. L.M. England, "The Ordination of Women," The New Outlook, February 22, 192[illegible] F. Fairbairn, "Well! Why Not Ordain Women?," The New Outlook, April 11, 1928. McClung, report to Alberta Conference on behalf of W.M.S., typescript n.d. but internal evidence suggests 1928. Various letters to the editor, The New Outlook.
19. The New Outlook, March 7, 1928.
20. There are no minutes for committee meetings but the controversy was revealed later in the exchange between Dr. Ernest Thomas and McClung and in a letter Campbell to McClung, November 28, 1928, McClung Papers, Vol. 11(6).
21. The United Church of Canada: Year Book and Record of Proceedings, 1928. Report of the Sessional Committee on Ordination of Women, Thursday, Septe[illegible] 13, 1928, p. 120.
22. Free Press Prairie Farmer, September 19, 1928.
23. Ibid.
24. Dr. E. Thomas, "Women in the Pulpit," Chatelaine, October 1928.
25. McClung, letter to the editor, The New Outlook, December 19, 1928; McClung letter to the editor, Chatelaine, December 1928; McClung, "Shall Women Preach?," Chatelaine, September 1934.
26. McClung Papers, Vol. 5(16), undated, untitled, incomplete manuscript.
27. Edmonton Bulletin, January 31, 1929; The New Outlook, December 19, 1928; The Beaver, Canada First, February 21, 1929.
28. Mark McClung, "Portrait of My Mother," text of a talk given at the Nellie McClung Conference, University of Guelph, September 26-28, 1975, p. 15.
29. McClung, "Our Present Discontents," Canadian Home Journal, March 1929.
30. McClung, "Shall Women Preach?," Chatelaine, September 1934.
31. McClung, "A Retrospect," The Country Guide, December 2, 1929.
32. The United Church of Canada Year Book and Record of Proceedings, 1934, pp. 155-56.
33. Record of Proceedings of the Tenth Conference of the Saskatchewan Conference of the United Church of Canada, 1934, p. 23.
34. United Church Year Book 1934, Remit, Ordination of Women.
35. McClung, "Shall Women Preach?," Chatelaine, September 1934.
36. The United Church of Canada Year Book and Record of Proceedings, 1935.
37. Eva M. Ferguson, "Canada's First Woman Minister," The New Outlook, November 4, 1936.
38. Dr. Ernest Thomas, "Ladies - We Give You the Pulpit," Chatelaine, May 193[illegible]
39. McClung Papers, Vol. 24(4), "The Long Road to Freedom," typescript, undate[illegible]
40. The United Church Observer, September 15, 1945.
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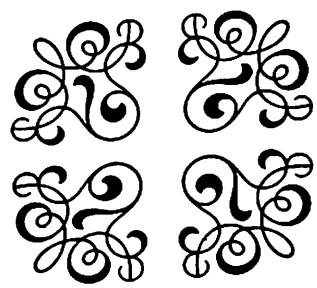
Poems by Marina Glazov

translated by Elizabeth Jones

Marina Glazov grew up in Moscow where she had an academic career in Viet Namese studies. She left Russia in 1972 and has lived in Halifax since 1976. Her poems have appeared in leading emigré journals and a play, Easter Roses, (co-authored with David Jones) was produced live by C.B.C. Radio Drama in November, 1978.



Мы пили чай и слушали пластинки.
И там в чаю несчастные чаинки
пытались всплыть и не пойти на дно.
С одной особенно была я заодно!

А дух давно носился над водою!
Чаинки бились,жаждая спастись.
Я дула к краю,будто бы прибоем
чаинку к берегу - на счастие - прибить!

Мне параллельный случай вспоминался.
Хотелось быть не в жизни,а в кино.
А чай неслышно в небо воспарялся,
мечтая осушить чаинкам дно.

1973

We were drinking tea and listening to records
and there in the tea were floundering tea-leaves
wanting to surface, not be sucked to the bottom--
I was in the same boat as one of them.

Long ago the spirit moved upon the waters,
tea leaves struggled, trying to save themselves--
my breath makes waves that float them to the shore
my tea-leaf arrives safely at the porcelain coast.

I remember a similar story--its's better such things
shouldn't happen in life, only in movies--
the tea steams, silently aspires to the sky
hoping to leave the cup dry for my tea-leaf.

Вцепляюсь в эти дни.
В минуты эти.
Пугаюсь,вдруг они
без дырок сети.

Картинки снов перевожу
водицей с ваткой.
И красочками подвожу,
где неполадки.

Сижу на тучке и гляжу.
Машу я ножкой.
Ох!Надо было бы бежать
вон той дорожкой!

А эта дурочка идет
Ой!Ой! По краю!
О как ее,о как ее
я понимаю!

Глаза мне солнышко слепит.
Необратимо.
И тучка-самолет парит
кругом и мимо!

1974

I'm clutching at these days
these minutes
I'm afraid they will
suddenly become nets without holes.

I'm pressing on transfers of my dreams
with hot water and cotton wool
painting in the places
where the colours haven't come through.

I'm perched on the edge of a little cloud
looking down and swinging my foot--
Oh dear, I was wrong! That's
the road I should have taken!

And that poor girl oh! oh!
she's near the edge
but, oh heavens! how well
I understand her

the sun blinds my eyes
it's too late to change things now
and this cloud-aeroplane
circles and circles but never lands.

How They Saw Us:

by Yvonne Mathews-Klein

Of all the thousands of films made by the National Film Board over the last thirty-odd years, only a relative handful have survived into the present catalogue. The rest, many of them made to serve specifically defined, utilitarian ends, have sunk to rest in the archives of the NFB after their particular purpose was achieved. Today, when the social concerns to which they addressed themselves have faded into history, they are still interesting, less for their specific cinematic qualities, than for what they reveal, often unwittingly, about the social preoccupations which produced them and which dominate their imagery.

N.F.B. film: Is It A Woman's World?

Images of Women

in National Film Board Films

of the 1940's and 1950's

Pictou Shipyard, Pictou, N.S., Jan., 1943
Mrs. A. Mac Mackay handles a rivetter,
N.F.B. film: Women are Warriors

Films drawn from the 1940s and the 1950s are of particular interest to students of women's history since this twenty-year period was of intense definition and re-definition of the role women were expected to play in society at large. During these decades, a number of films were made which reflect, in a Canadian context, the general North American fascination with "women's place." Almost all of them concern themselves with women working; all of them, whether intentionally or not, establish limits to women's full participation in the labour force which arise out of an underlying, and fixed, notion of what is appropriate feminine behaviour; all of them view women as a special

variety of human being and, hence, a problem. The films I will discuss document the widely different social demands made on women in the war years and in the post-war period. What unites them is the apparent enormous difficulty that woman-as-subject presented to the male film-makers of those decades.

The NFB films of the 1940s and 1950s are no different from virtually any other film of that era in regard to the way women are viewed: we see in them a profound confusion about the meaning of women when divorced from their traditional connections and occupations. Generally speaking, by 1940 the issue of women's rights, except in Quebec, was consciously dead. Women had achieved "equality" through the vote some twenty years previously; the succeeding decades had produced conspicuous examples of women of extraordinary achievement in virtually every possible "masculine" pursuit; in short, at least for the young, unmarried woman, absolute equality was assumed. And yet the most cursory examination of actual social fact revealed that this equality, even for the young working girl, was illusory. Most young women, then as now, were channelled into clerical and service occupations, and they were expected to view these jobs as timefillers until marriage and motherhood, which remained their natural careers.

Thus the problem confronting the propagandists who took on the task of recruiting women into the services in World War II was rather different from that of World War I. For the first war, the major concern was to convince women that they were indeed able to undertake the jobs that they had been told for generations they were physically and mentally unsuited for. The energy generated by the radical women's suffrage movement made this an easier task than it might otherwise have been. The government, especially in Britain, recruited women to war service on the tacit assumption that their activities would prove them ready for full citizenship after the war. But in the 1940s, there was no need to present the war to women as the route to profound social change, since all the change necessary was thought to have occurred. The recruitment pitch could not be made, however, on precisely the same grounds as it was to men. The connection between manhood, glory, duty and war has stood for thousands of years, and killing in appropriate circumstances has always been accepted as the proper business of men. Women, however, are classical non-combatants and one of the tasks of these films turned out to be to present women with the opportunity to engage in the war effort while simultaneously reassuring them that their role would remain secondary, supportive and non-lethal. Thus, from the very beginning, the films were caught in a contradiction:

war was for men; any participation by women had to be construed within the previously existing definitions of acceptable feminine activity.

When we look at a film like Proudly She Marches (1943), we can see the traces of these uneasily resolved and conflicting counter-currents. Beginning as it does by recalling the most patronizing and condescending definitions of womanhood as "the flower and ornament" of the race, it consciously seeks to ally itself with women's aspirations to extend the scope of their activity and broaden their sense of involvement in the war effort. The challenge to men in a comparable film would be to prove their manhood; to women it is to re-define femininity. But as the film progresses, this laudable direction begins to be lost under the filmmakers' compulsion not to attack too profoundly the traditional definition of appropriate feminine behaviour.

In the early scenes of basic training, for example, in this film and in Wings on Her Shoulders, a similar film of the same vintage, it is assumed that women will need to be reassured about questions of personal vanity. A recurrent motif in the women's recruitment films is the attention paid to hair-styles--the short hair required of women in the services seemed to trouble the filmmakers whereas the induction haircut remained a source of considerable comedy in films about servicemen. Women are reassured that, though shorn, they are still pretty and male hair-stylists are introduced to demonstrate that the government cared about the sacrifice represented by the new coiffure.

In recruitment films for both men and women, raw recruits are frequently exposed in their unavoidable awkwardness. The point in the men's films is initiatory--once through the learning stages, the boys will have become men. In the women's films, whatever the intention, the effect is different, for the awkwardness of the women in these sequences arises from the fact that they are physically out of place: too short to reach the top bunk, designed for taller, stronger men. Tear gas drill becomes trivial when the narrator comments that "every girl likes to have a good cry," because the drill is not serious for women: presumably they will never be gassed. What for men is a deadly possibility remains for women a kind of game, and a game involving stereotypical "feminine" behaviour at that.

Even more to the point is the way Proudly She Marches is constructed. As each career possibility is examined, we see the same sequence of events--the male expert trains the woman in her new job; he examines her for competence; then graduates her into the man's world in a ritual sequence which shows her literally replacing

a man who hops up in the middle of what he is doing and rushes off, presumably to kill the enemy. The effect of this repetitive series of gestures is to remind the viewer that the jobs these women are doing are both secondary and temporary. The indecent haste with which the naval draughtsman quits his desk affirms a male hierarchy of values: if this job were really worthy of a man during a war, he would be loath to leave it. Since each man is being relieved for combat, clearly women will hold these jobs only temporarily, as the end of the war was already in sight when the film was made.(2) Even when a recruitment film openly expresses the sentiment that women will carry on their newly-learnt skills after the war, as Wings on Her Shoulders does, it is with little confidence. The repetitive visual and narrative message of that film is that women wear "wings on their shoulders so that men might fly," a statement that accurately forecasts the service role of women in post-war civil aviation.

The point I am attempting to make about these films may emerge more clearly perhaps when they are compared with the British film made by women, Women at War (1942). Even when we allow for the profound differences between England and Canada during World War II--for the total mobilization of the British population, for the fear of invasion and the pressures on a society under siege, there emerges in this film a subtly different consciousness and set of priorities. Women at War is a film about women, by women, and is primarily addressed to women, to the North American women whose war relief activities were so greatly needed in Britain. Rather than viewing the activities of women at war as extraordinary, this film makes the overt statement that women's war work is the direct extension of their normal peacetime activities, of traditional "women's work." But whereas in the Canadian films, the women portrayed are invariably subtly condescended to, and their work seen as secondary to the primary male task of killing, in this film the women are seen performing tasks which are primary in themselves. From the male point of view, expressed in the Canadian films, women hardly existed in the "real world" at all before the war; the work they traditionally did was not perceived as real work, but instead as a natural extension of their biological reality. But the women who made Women at War obviously understood that the work women had done before the war, like that they did during it, was "real," that the tasks of feeding, nurturing, supporting and succouring, which men tend to discount until they are withdrawn, are central to the maintenance of social coherence. Thus the film unself-consciously couples shots of women engaged in heavy industry and fighting

fires on rooftops with shots of women decorating shop windows blown out in the blitz. According to the melodramatic scale of values implicit in, say, Wings on Her Shoulders, in which progress toward victory is judged solely in terms of numbers killed and cities destroyed, an activity like painting windows might seem quaintly "feminine" and largely irrelevant; to the British women, however, concerned as they were with the necessity of preserving social values under the pressure of mass warfare, such an undertaking is clearly honourable and important war work in its own terms.

When we view the Canadian films and Women at War together, what strikes us immediately is the degree to which the British film accepts without question the competence of women to do what they are in fact doing. The male tutor, so dear to the Canadian films, is almost wholly absent. We see women in this film at the point when they have learned the work and are proceeding with it autonomously. The world of women at work is the normal world in Women at War.(3)

Also absent from this film is a motif which figures prominently in the Canadian films--the element of sexual competition. The men who made the recruitment films evidently felt that the opportunity provided by the services for women to "get back" at men, to humble their pride, might be a strong selling point. The persistence of this motif, for example in the jeep sequence or in the footage dealing with target practice, suggests indeed a certain masculine uneasiness at the prospect of being found out, of having their preciously-guarded trade secrets demystified when they have to share them with women, an uneasiness which is masked by visual humour. The women of Women at War, confident of their own capabilities, seem under no compulsion to score points in a war between the sexes dictated on masculine terms.

The contradictions inherent in the war recruitment films become even more apparent in Careers and Cradles (1947), which addresses itself to the vexed question of the role of women in the post-war world. The primary concern following World War II was to avoid the economic and consequent social dislocations which had followed the first war. It was essential somehow to find a means to convert wartime production to peacetime uses. The significant factor in war production is that what is produced is wholly disposable--a bomb can be dropped only once. To find a peacetime analogue to wartime disposability it was necessary to base an economy on rising expectations and infinite duplication. Suburban tract housing reflects these principles to perfection. But to make the style of life implied by this kind of housing attractive, women had to be converted from production to consumption; had to be convinced indeed that consumption

was a kind of production, that consumption could be seen as a career. In North America generally in the years after the war, women were subjected to an overwhelming pressure of propaganda from all sides which sought to persuade them that their social duty was to consume; to consume wisely, intelligently, cleverly, but above all to consume. The population as a whole, furthermore, had to be convinced of the worth and wisdom of a middle-class set of values--the predominantly agricultural and working-class population of the pre-war years was transformed in the post-war era to an upwardly mobile, fuzzily-defined class which abandoned its traditional neighbourhoods for suburban individualism. It was impossible, and probably unwise, to attempt to convince women to forgo higher education; more promising was to encourage them to go to college, not as a step toward a career, but as a route to marriage. Thus, throughout the decade following World War II, women were the object of a complex and confused series of double messages. Flattered and assured of their immense, if undefined, power, women were simultaneously trivialized at every opportunity. The primary message that a young woman growing up in the fifties received was that no undertaking which deflected her energies from her primary task as wife and mother was to be taken seriously. Careers outside the home were made to seem subtly abnormal; homemaking was magnified so that it appeared to demand a woman's entire waking attention.

Careers and Cradles nicely expresses the transition between the relative openness of the war years to the stifling domesticity of the fifties. It begins by announcing the achievement of complete equality between the sexes, thanks to the suffrage movement and the war. But even as it does so the visual images provide another message. The young woman off to work is hyper-conscious of her sexual attractiveness--we suspect she will not be working long. As she competes with men in the business world "on an equal footing" we see her teetering on absurdly high heels and we know that it is her own fault if she does not succeed--her "feminine" vanity stands in the way. Would she not be happier in the home? As the roll of Canadian women of achievement is called, we note that virtually all of them are practically unique in their respective fields; yes, we nod, it is possible for a woman to become an aircraft engineer or an astronomer, but is it likely? Is the undertaking worth the sacrifice implied if success is so improbable?

The film almost audibly heaves a sigh of relief as it turns from "careers" to "cradles." Trumpeting a wholly incomprehensible statistic (for every eight women who married in grandmother's day, twelve women are choosing marriage today), the film inves-

tigates the problems a highly-educated, middle-class woman faces in marriage. Her education has not prepared her adequately for the work she will now be doing: she cannot even make the toast properly. Moreover, she may have developed abilities and skills which she fears will be wasted in repetitive household drudgery, but her anxieties are unfounded. Her education in fact provides a way out of the monotony--the film cuts from dishwashing to a sign proclaiming "House of Ideas." If we expect to find some sort of creative alternative to housework behind this sign, we are disappointed. We find instead the model rooms of a department store and a model kitchen with every possible appliance. The film assures us that this typical young housewife, with her college education, "wants it all," that whatever disappointments or frustrations she may experience in her daily life, she has been trained to understand that these scientifically designed appliances represent the modern way to deal with age-old problems, represent a better life. This young housewife is encouraged to demand day-care for her child, not so that she can go off to work, but to free her for a day's shopping. Hers is a modern marriage, so she may go off from time to time with a woman friend while her husband stays home with the baby, but his awkwardness with a diaper is so apparent, and the amusement of the women at his incompetence so evident, that we know this is an exceptional occasion and not part of the daily routine. Finally we are assured that women exercise real power in society: the matronly members of a woman's organization are shown inspecting the plans of what appears to be a new sub-division. The power is, however, an illusion--the women are viewing the site after construction has begun and it seems unlikely that they have been consulted by the developers in any serious way. The film ends with a montage of key images and with the narrator's enthusiastic conclusion that whatever a woman chooses, a career, the home or a combination of the two (a possibility in no way touched on by the film itself) she can rest content in the knowledge that no woman in history has been so fortunate as she.

However tentative a commitment the filmmakers of the forties may have had to the principle of women's equality, nevertheless the overall impression left by these films is that women are competent to carry out work on the same terms and under largely the same conditions as men. The women we see in the war films may not be Amazons, but neither are they the subservient, decorative adjuncts they often are in the films of the fifties. The separation between the masculine "real world" of serious work and the feminine fantasy world of glamour, fashion and ambitionless inconsequence which the films of the forties had done much to

dissolve is re-established in the succeeding decade with a new rigidity.

The rapidity with which the ground gained by women during the war was lost after it can be seen in three films of the 1950s which deal with working women. Woman at Work (1958), was made as a propaganda film to be shown to prospective female immigrants to Canada, designed to inform them of the employment opportunities they might expect here. By the time this film was made, the contraction of career opportunities for women had progressed to such a degree that the makers of this film seem wholly unaware that the picture of Canadian employment for women they present is something less than attractive to the ambitious woman. Although the narrative promises great opportunities to the woman immigrant, the revolving card file of actual jobs visually suggests the degree to which women were actually being confined to conventional and dead-end employment. The soundtrack emphasizes that a large number of the women appearing in the film still hold the same job they took when they arrived in Canada three, four or five years previously, a situation which might have seemed attractive in terms of security, but which hardly depicts Canada as a land open to women's significant upward advancement. In fact, one of the more dramatic promotions in the film is the one which shows a woman moving from meat wrapper to cashier in a supermarket.

There is no consciousness of the enormous waste of women's talents which certain of these jobs entail. For example, a woman who speaks six European languages is said to find a satisfactory outlet for her abilities being a waitress in a downtown Montreal fish restaurant. The film consistently describes the employment opportunities open to women in inflated language: the "ever-widening field of opportunity" presented by banking means employment as a bookkeeping machine operator or teller; the "vast field of merchandising" shows us department store clerks, department assistant (after five years on the job) and the previously-mentioned wrappers and cashiers. In general, the film strenuously avoids any mention of salaries or promotions and any discussion of what it cannot avoid showing us, that in the main, executive, administrative, technical and professional positions were occupied by men. It prefers to concentrate on the fringe elements of the jobs it describes: the bowling alleys at Sun Life, the "ideal working conditions"in Steinberg's meat packing department and, of course, the possibility of finding a husband in one's new land. The peculiar double message of the fifties is very evident in this film--on the one hand, we see women doing mechanical or low level jobs

hile, on the other, the narration escribes what they are doing in in-flated language. Office work and aitressing are honourable and neces-ary; they are not careers in the ense the film makes them out to be. he conventional promise of the New orld to the (male) European immi-rant of unlimited opportunity in art accounts for the rhetoric of the erbal message of this film. The pro-ound social conviction of the 1950s hat women require less satisfaction nd stimulation from their jobs than en because their real work lies lsewhere--in the home--relieves the ilmmakers of any embarrassment at the ailure of this promise as far as omen are concerned.

The same kind of simultaneous trivializ-ation and inflation occurs in Service In the Sky (1957), the brief "Eyewit-ess" film about stewardesses. The ilm was made to document a new job pportunity for women: long-distance air travel was no longer so rigorous as to demand the presence of a registered nurse on board, so that middle-class college women could be recruited into what was touted as a glamour job. To interest this group, the work had to be made to appear de-manding enough to require higher educa-tion. A heavy-handed narration in this film magnifies the challenges of the job; the visual representation of the trainees, which emphasizes their fragility, makes them appear barely able to meet them. It is instructive to compare this film with either Wings on Her Shoulders or Women at War as an example of how quickly what appears to be a permanent social change can be eroded. If the women in Wings seemed somewhat out of place in the man's world of flying, in this film they seem descended from another planet as they hobble about in high heels and fur coats gazing in awe at the big planes the men are servicing. One of their more important functions aboard the planes, which goes unmentioned in the narration, is visually suggested by the open sexual admiration with which the mechanics stare back at them. The younger sisters of the same women who fought real incendiary bombs on the roof-tops of London here shrink timidly from a demonstration fire in a waste-basket. They struggle in per-plexity with the complications of filling out ticket forms and rise to meet the real challenge of the job--soothing an irate customer who has had coffee spilled in his lap. The women who were, in Wings, promised an equal spot in post-war aviation are firmly put in their place in Service in the Sky, where they are seen as decorative, though witless, adjuncts to the real business of flying. Toward the end of the film, the real attraction of the job for women emerges--stewardesses last only a few years on the job, we are told; they all marry and retire thankfully to the home, where their airborne skills of tactful service will presumably find ample expression.

In the fifties, the most visible woman was the one who has figured so largely in the films we have been discussing--the young, middle-class woman with considerable education. Publically, at least, working-class women, poor women, single mothers and the happily unmarried woman hardly appeared to exist. When the NFB turned its attention to the situation of the working-class woman, in Needles and Pins (1955), a film made with the cooperation of the ILGWU, it is characteristic of the period that both union and filmmakers should concentrate not on working conditions or the general quality of life in the garment trade, but on the opportunities for social advancement represented by the union's "self-improvement" programme. The general unreality of this approach is heightened by the fact that what we are seeing is a dubbed English version of the French-language original which had a narration written by Anne Hébert. Nevertheless, the English version is reasonably faithful to the original; the primary effect of the translation is to transform what was merely sentimental in the French commentary into occasional unreflective racism. The young woman in this film succeeds in becoming the Queen of the Dressmakers' Ball by taking a series of courses in ballet, elocution, charm and manners and she appears to do it all in English. The job she is hired to do in the dress factory fades into insignificance--it is the intangibles that count. The hard, mean, exhausting labour of the sewing-machine operator appears as merely another arena for individual self-expression, especially as the film maintains that the garment trade is centred in Montreal because of the innate talents of French women for couture. The film approves of the paternalism of the bosses, who make appreciative little speeches at the ball as our heroine is crowned with a tinsel thimble, wearing a dress donated by her kindly employer. Perhaps the most telling line in the film occurs when the young woman displays her finery to her family. She knows she is a success because her family treats her as a lady. (This is a motif even more significant in the French original where the young woman becomes emancipated from authoritarian paternal control because of her newly-learnt middle-class accomplishments.) This film might better be left in peaceful oblivion except for the fact that it documents so precisely the twin drives of the manipulation of women in the fifties: the imposition of middle-class values on the broadest possible social group in order to increase consumption and the distraction of women from genuine political complaint through the substitution of glitter and glamour for challenging and remunerative employment.

The final film in this series, Is It a Woman's World? (1957), serves as a kind of summary of the confusions of the period around the "woman question." Like Careers and Cradles, its counter-

part made ten years previously, this film attempts less to document women's actual role in society than to establish a theory of what that role ought to be. Is It a Woman's World? is more ambitious than the earlier film, however, for it is not so much concerned with establishing appropriate models of behaviour for the sexes within a social and economic context as it is with investigating the "nature" of the sexes themselves--the irreducible, biologically-determined differences which place iron limits on social change and transcend all political argument.

Made for early television and meant to be a kind of educational thought-provoker to stimulate living-room conversation, the film pretends to take an objective look at the question of the position of women in modern society. Through reversing the sexual roles, the film attacks certain of the old myths of women's inferiority but does so in such a context that the attack itself seems hardly credible. The women who act like men in the early part of the film are made to seem unlovely, sexually unattractive harridans--the underlying presumption of the film is that an inequality must exist between the sexes and that if men do not rule then ugly women will. When, in the second half, the men return the women's attack, a great many tired falsehoods are allowed to stand unchallenged. The great lie of the fifties was that women were said to have true economic power in society. As the film puts it, "eight out of every ten Canadian dollars" was spent by women. What this statistic ignores, of course, is the amount of discretionary spending available to the average household. Almost every cent of those famous eight dollars went to clothing, food and shelter, a fact which does much to undercut the projected image of woman as spendthrift. The woman who, for ten years, had been encouraged to regard consumption as a career is now held responsible for driving her husband into an early grave through extravagance.

The theoretical basis for this film may be found in the popular psychology of the period, much of which derived from Philip Wylie's famous attack on "Momism" of 1940. In the United States in the 1950s some explanation was being sought for the undeniable malaise which was demonstrably eroding the universal contentment promised for the post-war years. The demands of the Cold War made it imprudent to seek a political cause for an uneasiness which was becoming statistically apparent in the figures for divorce, alcoholism and psychological breakdown. Thus it became fashionable to seek a personal "psychological" explanation for what seemed to be troubling the nation as a whole. One very common analysis put the blame on the thwarted ambitions of women who, hyper-educated and led by an egalitarian society to expect full participation in social

decisions, found home-making an insufficiently challenging arena for her talents. Instead of gracefully accepting these limitations to her power and finding psychic and emotional fulfilment in the creation of a warm and supportive environment for her family, the woman, Philip Wylie's "Mom," selfishly turned her ambitions toward her husband and sons, seeking to bind them to her will and make of them emotional cripples, emasculated, harried little beings seeking only to do her bidding. This explanation of the American malaise took on the quality of myth and began to crop up everywhere--from True Romances and Love comics to the graduate departments of English literature which inflated the reputations of writers like Hemingway and D.H. Lawrence who were early exponents of this particular view of the relations between the sexes. Is It a Woman's World? demonstrates that Wylie's analysis was exported to Canada as well and, as the writer of the script recalls, was certainly used as one source for the film's analysis.

To its credit, the film treads, if gingerly, over some dangerous terrain. The sexual humiliation of women in business, the oppressive nature of chivalry, the virtual exclusion of women from positions of power, the limitations on women's career ambitions, the inequality of pay scales are all at least mentioned in the first half of the film. But the way the film is put together permits it to evade providing any answers to the questions it raises. By casting it in the form of a "problem" film, the filmmakers exempt themselves from the responsibility of making any overt statement. They do, however, suggest their answer to the question posed by the film's title, and that answer is "yes." The figure of the eternal feminine, who floats through the film in her high heels and full skirt, is there to remind the viewer that the source of woman's true power is her sexuality, her ability to enchant and bind the hapless male. The dream figure who becomes real at the end of the film transcends all rational argument as we watch the misogynist "hero" being drawn helplessly in her wake into a life of domesticity and service to the mythic female.

We end our series in the late nineteen fifties because our concern has been historical--to rescue from the oblivion of the archives films which document a particular period of Canada's recent past. But certainly there exist a number of later films in the current catalogue which may be subjected to a similar kind of analysis. The film industry in Canada, as in North America generally, whether public or private, has been a male preserve, at least as far as its executive, technical and directorial positions are concerned. The shimmering and shifting images of women on the screen which have shaped our idea of ourselves have been for the most part the product of the male imagination, bemused by the need to

deal with an experience which appears bewilderingly different to its own. Indeed, these films are notable because they do at least make an effort to come to terms with the existence of women; a significant number of NFB films simply do not portray women at all, suggesting that a more comfortable vision of the world is one which renders an entire sex invisible. The film industry has not changed much over the last twenty years; what has changed is women's consciousness of how the stereotypes in film oppress us and our growing determination no longer to bend ourselves to fit them. We still await the emergence of a significant number of filmmakers to whom women's experience is not an aberration but a simple reality.

NOTES

1. This article, in a slightly different form, was originally prepared as support material for the archival film package, "How They Saw Us: Images of Women in National Film Board Films in the 1940s and 1950s," and is reprinted here with the permission of the National Film Board.

2. See Ruth Pierson, "Women's Emancipation and the Recruitment of Women into the Labour Force in World War II," in Trofimenkoff and Prentice eds., The Neglected Majority (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977) for a discussion of the larger context of women's war-time employment. In the factory as well as the armed forces, there seems never to have been any intention to encourage women to regard their employment as anything other than a temporary expedient.

3. A film which incorporates substantial footage from Women at War, Women are Warriors, directed by Jane Marsh Beveridge in 1943, has a similar perspective. In the section of the film dealing with a Canadian aircraft factory, the women workers far outnumber the men and are shown not merely working without male supervision but acting as supervisors themselves.

"For quenys I myght have inow . . ."

by Raymond H. Thompson

"For quenys I myght have inow . . . ": the Knight Errant's Treatment of Women in the English Arthurian Verse Romances.

In the last book of Malory's Le Morte Darthur, as the conflict between Arthur and Lancelot steadily grows, the King is moved to lament: "And much more I am soryar for my good knyghtes losse than for the losse of my fayre quene; for quenys I myght have inow, but such a felyship of good knyghtes shall never be togydirs in no company."(1)

In Malory's French source, The Vulgate Mort Artu, Arthur's lamentation is for the death of Gareth only.(2) At no point does he express grief for those other knights slain by the side of his beloved nephews; nor does he refer to his queen. Malory may have developed Arthur's sentiments at this point from the Middle English stanzaic Le Morte Arthur, where the king complains

"Suche knyghtys as there ar slayne
In All thys worlde there is no mo."(3)

Once again however there is no allusion to Guenevere.

Whatever the source for Arthur's speech, the relative value set upon the good knights on the one hand and the fair queen on the other, is one that occurs in other English works, and it is my intention here to consider the knight errant's treatment of women in the English Arthurian verse romances.

In the medieval romances, it is the duty of the knight errant to ride about the countryside, righting wrongs, protecting the weak from the oppression of the strong. In the French romances the role of the weak and oppressed victim is most frequently filled by a lady, the traditional damsel in distress. In fact, in many romances the hero's adventures are initiated by a quest to give aid to a lady.(4) Moreover, the knight errant was expected

the Knight Errant's Treatment of Women in the English Arthurian Verse Romances

to offer not only his sword in service but also the comfort of his unfailing courtesy. A fine example of this occurs in Les Merveilles de Rigomer when Arthur boasts that Gawain is the finest knight in the world. Somewhat injudiciously, Guenevere responds that she knows of a knight who is as good, whereupon the enraged monarch threatens to behead his queen if she does not produce this paragon at once. Gawain, however, intervenes, consoles the queen and brings about a reconciliation between the royal pair. Not only does the knight save his aunt from her husband's wrath but he manages to protect her dignity by agreeing publicly with her judgement:

"Car tel i sai et tel i voi,
Qui mout est plus vaillans de
moi."(5)

(For I know and see just such a knight who is much more valiant than I)

The English knight errant continues to give aid to ladies but much less frequently than does his French counterpart. Furthermore, the quality of the assistance offered shows a marked deterioration from the continental standard, as a scrutiny of the English verse romances shows. Of the 27 English verse romances dealing with Arthur and his knights, 17 are devoted to the activities of knights errant. The remainder deal with wars, when there is no time for deeds of knight errantry; or with the early history of the Holy Grail, in which women play no role; or, in the case of the stanzaic Le Morte Arthur and the English verse Sir Tristrem, with the activities of knights who perform their deeds in order to merit the rewards of their mistress, rather than out of a more disinterested love of adventure, or, it must be admitted, love of glory for its own sake.

Of these seventeen, one of the most striking examples of the diminished role of women occurs in Golagros and Gawane, a Scottish poem written in the alliterative metre shortly before 1500. The two episodes upon which it is based are found in the First Continuation of Chrétien's Perceval. In the second of these two episodes, the French poem describes how Gawain, in order to save the life of a brave adversary whom he has just overcome in combat, agrees to surrender to his defeated foe. This knight would rather die than risk yielding in a combat witnessed by his lady. This love theme is suppressed in favour of a political theme, clearly closer to a Scotsman's heart.(6) The defeated Golagros prefers to die not out of concern for his beloved but rather than acknowledge King Arthur as his overlord without the approval of his people.

The concern of Golagros for the welfare of his subjects is reflected in his distress over the loss of his knights who fall in combat against Arthur's followers. Thus the poem exhibits not only the tendency to diminish the role of women but also

the complementary tendency to emphasize the bonds between men, in this case that which exists between a ruler and his subjects.

Rather than change their source as did the composer of Golagros and Gawane, some poets merely chose to deal with episodes in which women do not figure. In two ballads, The Turke and Gowin and Sir Lancelot of Dulake, other men benefit from the knights' service: in the former, Gawain unspells a dwarf, in the latter Lancelot rescues several of his comrades from Tarquin's prison. That the only surviving ballad which deals with Lancelot's exploits should focus upon this particular incident out of a long career devoted to the service of Guenevere says much about the tastes of the English ballad-makers and their audience.

When the English poets actually do feel obliged to let the knights errant assist ladies, they frequently pass rapidly over those episodes in which the knights are in contact with the opposite sex. Thus Ywain and Gawain, a fine adaptation of Chrétien's Yvain, is two-thirds the length of its French original, largely because as the editors have noted in their Introduction, it omits passages which analyze the effects of love and which dwell upon the finer points of courteous behaviour.(7) Thus, while Chrétien carefully explores the problems inherent in the change of heart that permits the lady of the fountain to be married so hastily to her husband's slayer, the English poet ignores the lady's feelings and merely indicates that she needs a champion to defend her lands and fountain.

Ywain, in the English poem, is decidedly more comfortable exchanging blows with a savage adversary than verbal conceits with a fair lady. When he first confronts his beloved, he avoids the sophisticated dialogue entered into by Chrétien's character, in favour of a brief declaration of attachment and future loyalty, uttered with such bluntness as to verge on embarrassment. Since the hero emerges as a restrained and phlegmatic figure, not given to the displays of sentiment so frequent in the French poem, his lapse into insanity seems strangely incongruous.

The reluctance of the English poet to develop male-female relationships undoubtedly accounts for the omission of the amorous dalliance that takes place between Gawain and Lunete in Chrétien's Yvain. However, the combat between Gawain and Ywain, neither of whom recognizes the other initially, still concludes with the two friends vying to acknowledge the superiority of each other. While elegant courtship is of little interest to the English poet, the same cannot be said of the friendship between brothers in arms. The French poem's criticism against over-indulgence in the fruitless pursuit of honour remains but the service which the knight owes to a lady no longer

extends to charm and polite conversation. Provided that the lady is kept sound in wind and limb, there is little call for an English knight errant to distress himself with the subtler needs of the female mind. Those knights and ladies who, at the outset of Chrétien's poem, lament the debasement of love, would wring their hands at their English counterparts, whose idea of a courteous discussion is to talk "Of dedes of armes and of veneri." (v.26)

The decline of sophisticated concern for ladies that is so apparent in Ywain and Gawain is still more marked in Sir Perceval of Gales, a rather free adaptation of Chrétien's Perceval which excludes all reference to the Grail. With the observation that the heroine talks pleasantly at dinner, the English poet passes rapidly over the interview during which the heroine persuades Perceval to fight on her behalf. Instead he devotes much more space to the fighting that takes place. Whereas in the French romance Perceval has but to defeat in personal combat the two leaders of the opposing army in order to raise the siege, in the English version he slaughters the entire army single-handed. The English poem also develops the friendship between the hero and Gawain, who acts with unfailing courtesy in the face of the young man's ignorance.

The preference of the knight errant for fighting rather than female company is further evidenced in another Scottish alliterative romance, The Awntyrs off Arthure.(8) When a fearsome ghost confronts Gawain and Guenevere, the knight endeavours to reassure the queen. However, the explanation he offers to allay her fears leaves much to be desired: "Hit ar þe clippes of þe son, I herd a clerk say," (It is the eclipse of the sun I heard a clerk say, v.94) Gawain states soothingly. This smacks of the stolid, but unimaginative, English gentleman rather than the sensitive French courtier, and, as the gruesome creature advances, "ȝauland ȝamerly, with many loude ȝelle" (wailing dolefully, with many loud yells, v.86), we can sympathize with Guenevere's failure to feel comforted that this is not her "deþday." (death day, v. 98) The true measure of her distress is revealed when she bursts into a lament at the absence of such companions as Kay. Anyone who knows the sharp-tongued seneschal as well as does Guenevere and yet seeks comfort from him is clearly in a desperate state indeed, and it is with obvious relief as well as alacrity that Gawain leaves the agitated queen and advances, trusty blade at the ready, to perform the less formidable task of confronting the grisly spectre.

The ghost turns out to be none other than Guenevere's own mother, come to deliver her daughter a warning against pride and lechery. Indeed the horrifying spectacle she presents is

greatly heightened by the serpents which plague the spirit, serpents, we are told, that represent "luf paramour, listes and delites." (illicit loves, pleasures and delights, v.213)

This association of Guenevere with lechery introduces another element that is widespread in the English verse romances, namely anti-feminism. One well-known example is Gawain's somewhat uncharacteristic outburst near the end of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight:

Bot hit is no ferly þaȝ a fole madde,
And þurȝ wyles of wymmen be wonen to sorȝe,
For so watz Adam in erde with one bygyled,
And Salamon with fele sere, and Samson eftsonez--
Dalyda dalt hym hys wyrde--and Dauyth þerafter
Watz blended with Barsabe, þat much bale þoled.
Now þese were wrathed wyth her wyles, hit were a wynne huge
To luf hom wel, and leue hem not, a leude bat coube. (9)

(But it is no wonder if a fool behave madly, and through the wiles of women be brought to grief. For here on earth so was Adam beguiled by one, and Solomon by many different [women], and Samson also--Delilah dealt him his fate--and afterwards David was deluded by Bathsheba and suffered much misery. Now since these were brought to disaster by the wiles of women, it would be a great gain to love them well and never believe them, if a man could do it.) Gawain's sentiments are not to be wondered at in the light of his experience at the hands of Bercilak's wife but they are scarcely to be expected of one described earlier in the poem as "þat fyne fader of nurture." (that fine father of good breeding, v. 919) Gawain's speech here may be a measure of the bitterness he feels at his failure to maintain the high standards which he sets himself but it also fits into a broader pattern of anti-feminism that affects many English romances.

One common aspect of this anti-feminism is indicated by the role played by Bercilak's wife, that of temptress. Succumbing to the allurements of such women means departing from the path of duty, almost always at the risk of death. In the ballad version of Gawain's encounter with the Green Knight, the wife again plays the role of temptress and again the outcome of the beheading game is dependent upon the chastity test. However, since the wife in the ballad is trying to deceive her husband by seducing Gawain, her character is further blackened. By contrast with the lady's infidelity, the hero refuses to betray his host. The masculine bond of brotherhood is further developed at the end of the ballad, when the two knights become friends and ride back together to Arthur's court.

In the story of Gawain's encounter

with the Carl of Carlisle, the host's wife also functions as a temptress, though in this case at her husband's behest. Gawain resists her allurements, though he needs a timely reminder from the Carl at one point and is rewarded with his host's daughter as a bedmate. The purpose of all Gawain's trials turns out to be the reformation of the Carl. In one version of the tale he abandons his wicked customs, notably killing those knights who would not obey his commands instantly; in the other version, Gawain's courteous compliance with his wishes breaks the spell that created his monstrous appearance and nature, so that the Carl becomes a handsome knight once more. Thus here too, men benefit from the hero's loyalty and courtesy, while women merely serve as a means to accomplish this end: a temptation to be overcome in the case of the wife, a reward for success in the case of the daughter.

While not a temptress in the strictest sense of the word, the Lady of the Ile d'Ore in Thomas Chestre's romance Libeaus Desconus certainly distracts the hero from his duty to rescue the Lady of Sinadowne. Although the hero's amorous dalliance is also found in the French version of the poem, Renaut de Beaujeu's Le Bel Inconnu, the delay is not there described as a betrayal of trust. Chestre, however, charges the lady with deliberate deceit and tells that,

> With false lies and fayre
> Th[u]s she blered his eye:
> Evill mote she thryue!(10)

(with lies both false and fair thus she bleared his eye: evil may she thrive!)

As in Ywain and Gawain, the more sentimental episodes are passed over somewhat abruptly, though curiously enough, the English poet allows the hero a brief affair with Elene, the messenger who is bringing him to rescue the Lady of Sinadowne, something his French counterpart does not do. This suggests that Chestre may have objected to amorous encounters only in so far as they came between knight errant and his duty.

This surmise is supported by Thomas Chestre's other poem, Sir Launfal, in which the hero's affair with his fairy mistress goes uncriticized, whereas Guenevere's adultery is sharply censured, for it does involve a betrayal of her duty to her husband and king. Guenevere's role in this tale is never flattering. She is guilty of betraying Arthur when she tries to seduce the hero; and she is forced to suffer the double humiliation of being rejected by him, a story Arthur's knights all believe despite her protestations,and also of having her beauty eclipsed by that of his fairy mistress. But Chestre goes out of his way to blacken her character still further. He condemns her for lechery by relating that "sche hadde lemmannys vnþer her lord, /So fele þer has noon

end" (she had lovers as well as her lord, so many there was no end).(11) Where other versions of the story attribute the hero's poverty to Arthur's neglect or to his own extravagance, Chestre blames the queen who resents Launfal's disapproval of her misconduct. Nor is the English poet content with Guenevere's public humiliation at the end, for he has the fairy lady strike her blind as a punishment for her sins.

Guenevere's reputation suffers again in two ballads. In King Arthur and the King of Cornwall, the King of Cornwall boasts that Guenevere has borne him a daughter. The Boy and the Mantle relates the well-known story of a magic garment which will fit only a woman who has been completely faithful to her husband or lover. All the women present but one are humiliated and so it serves as another striking specimen of anti-feminism. The English ballad, however, treats Guenevere more harshly than do the other versions. As elsewhere, she is the first to try on the mantle and to be embarrassed by the consequences. However, her downfall is made worse by her own reactions, for, jealous of the lady whom the mantle finally does fit, the queen protests that she has seen no fewer than fifteen men taken out of her rival's bed. The boy who brought the mantle to the court not only tells Arthur to restrain his queen but goes on to denounce her in forceful terms:

"Shee is a bitch & a witch,
& a whore bold!
King, in thine owne hall
Thou art a Cuchold!(12)

Another tale that reflects to the discredit of women in general is included in The Avowing of King Arthur. The romance opens innocently enough, describing the rescue of an abducted damsel, though it must be admitted that this episode follows an exciting boar-hunt probably more to the audience's taste. However, when one of the figures in the poem is called upon to explain why he never feels jealous, he relates a very cynical story which demonstrates rather crudely that some women are never satisfied with their lot. While mild-mannered women may improve themselves with much effort, those malicious by nature can never be restrained from their folly, he concludes. Jealousy, therefore, is futile.

The cynicism apparent here is still more pervasive in The Jeaste of Syr Gawane, though in this poem it taints all the characters, male as well as female. The romance describes how Gawain is obliged to interrupt his amorous dalliance with a damsel in order to beat off the attacks of her father and three brothers. The story is based upon the First Continuation of Chrétien's Perceval but events are contrived so as to rob all the characters of dignity. However, it is the damsel whose reputation suffers most

severely. After receiving a sound beating from her brother, she runs away never to return. And since she ends up "wandrynge to and fro" (v. 526), one suspects that her brother's judgement of her as a "harlot stronge" (v. 506) is confirmed.(13)

The two remaining English verse romances are adaptations of the loathly lady transformed theme. In this story, women are not really presented in an unflattering light, except in so far as the repulsiveness of the old woman can be held against them. However, in the adaptation that makes Gawain the central hero and which survives in two slightly different accounts(14)the focus of the story is upon the loyalty of the knight who is willing to undertake so imposing a task as to marry such an ugly creature to save the life of his king.

Service to the king is a popular theme in the English verse romances and another manifestation of the English tendency to develop the bonds of loyalty between men rather than those between men and women. Gawain elsewhere renders invaluable service to Arthur in The Awntyrs Off Arthure where he defends Arthur's rights to dispose of conquered lands as he sees fit; in Golagros and Gawane he fights to impose Arthur's rule over new territories; and in Sir Gawain and the Green Knight he tactfully relieves the king of his rash undertaking to play the beheading game with the Green Knight. In King Arthur and the King of Cornwall, though he sensibly reproves his uncle for making another rash vow, Gawain is the first to commit himself to his assistance.

Even more common than service to the king is the bond of brotherhood that exists between knights. Its presence has already been noted: in Ywain and Gawain, the two friends compete in praising each other's prowess; in Sir Perceval of Gales Gawain serves as a patient and helpful friend to the uncouth hero; in Sir Lancelot of Dulake Lancelot rescues his comrades in arms from Tarquin; and in The Turk and Gowin Gawain's conduct achieves the unspelling of the dwarf. To these instances should be added the loyal behavior of the knights in Sir Launfal, a loyalty which underlines the infidelity of Guenevere. When the hero is accused, Gawain and Perceval both stand for surety, an action that makes stern demands upon loyalty, since if the accused is found guilty, then they too must share his punishment. Furthermore, the English poet departs from his sources to add another tribute to the bonds of male friendship. When the two knights who had been in Launfal's service are released by their poverty-stricken lord, they return to Arthur's court where they are questioned about their wretched clothing. Rather than shame Launfal by revealing his dire straits, they pretend that he still prospers, much to the chagrin of the vindictive Guenevere. Even in The

Avowing of Arthur, Gawain encounters the damsel's abductor initially to win the freedom of Kay, his companion of the Round Table.

However, the male bond is observed at its most striking in the conduct, not between friends but between enemies. Gawain's willingness to surrender to the defeated Golagros is only the most impressive example of the generosity with which antagonists regularly treat each other. In The Awntyrs off Arthure Gawain again displays generosity in giving back his lands to the enemy against whom he has been engaged in deadly combat. In Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, the two antagonists separate with feelings of deep mutual respect and, in the ballad version of the tale, they establish a firm friendship which contrasts with the infidelity of the Green Knight's wife. Gawain also behaves with careful courtesy towards the brutal Carl of Carlisle who is a dangerously hostile host. In Libeaus Desconus, the hero is able to strike up a friendship with his former antagonist, Sir Otys de Lyle, even after he has slaughtered many of the latter's friends. Even in The Jeaste of Syr Gawane, the damsel's family display for the valiant bearing of Gawain a respect that they callously deny the damsel herself.

There is one exception among the English verse romances to this persistent pattern of emphasizing the knight errant's services to men rather than women, and that is Chaucer's The Wife of Bath's Tale.(15)However, that the tale told by so ardent a defender of women's rights should be the sole exception to the trend thus far observed, serves to confirm rather than weaken the argument. Moreover, it does suggest that supporters of women's rights were very scarce in medieval England, at least in the ranks of the poets. The Wife of Bath herself touches on this point in her Prologue, when she attributes the number of anti-feminist stories to the preponderance of male clerics writing: "By God!" she grumbles, "if wommen hadde writen stories, /As clerkes han withinne hire oratories, /They wolde han writen of men moore wikkednesse." (vv. 693-95) In the light of such opposition, The Wife of Bath's defiance is all the more notable and radical. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that whatever service is rendered to women by the knight in the Wife's tale is an unwilling compensation for an initial offence against women, namely rape. Unlike the typical knight errant, this knight is not a free agent, offering assistance to the oppressed. He is the oppressor being punished for his transgression.

All this is not to argue that the writers of French romance were uncritical of women, for whose sake they caused knights errant to ride energetically throughout many a realm. Evidence to the contrary is afforded by a fabliau-like tale preserved in

Le Chevalier à l'Epée and La Vengeance Raguidel, in which the infidelity of women is contrasted unfavourably with the fidelity of dogs.(16) Yet, such incidents are a small minority among the many instances of knightly service to grateful damsels. It is true that the English knight errant does continue to give aid to ladies. Nevertheless, both the frequency and quality of this aid do show a marked decline compared to the French verse romances. Instead of ladies, it is other men who most frequently benefit from the activities of the English knight errant. Indeed the knight's own bitter experience often justifies this preference. While temptresses do abound in the pages of French romance, they are usually to be found assailing the chastity of Grail knights, or the single-minded devotion of a courtly lover like Lancelot.(17) Presumably, they found the knight errant too easy prey, for there was nothing in his ideals that prevented him from accepting the advances of a seductive damsel, provided that she was not the wife of his feudal lord. However, in Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, the hero is forced into the realization that, had he kept his oath to Bercilak, and rejected the deceitful offer of his hostess, then he might not "have lacked a little," as the Green Knight puts it. To make matters worse, the entire plot to test the quality of Arthur and his knights was conceived by that archetypal female villain, Morgan Le Fay, in order to frighten that other disruptive influence among good knights, Queen Guenevere.

Thus we are faced with an intriguing situation. Although the English poets generally showed little interest in the story of the Holy Grail and in the intrigues of courtly lovers, they nevertheless adopt the portrayal of woman as temptress that is found there and incorporate this portrayal into romances of knight errantry. In the English Libeaus Desconus we find that, on one hand, the poet accepts the amorous affair between the hero and the damsel who conducts him to rescue the Lady of Sinadowne; while on the other, he denounces the Lady of the Ile d'Ore for her seduction of Libeaus Desconus. The former attitude is traditional enough in the French romances devoted to the deeds of the knight errant: for example, Gawain seems to have a brief affair with a damsel serving as his guide in L'Atre Périlleux. Conversely, amorous encounters are almost never criticized, (18)even when they delay the knight's efforts to fulfil his quest. At the most there is covert humour at Gawain's expense in La Vengeance Raguidel, when a lady laments his delay in avenging the death of her lover, noting that he is always so busy giving assistance to others that he never arrives when he is needed. Yet even this measure of criticism is rare.

To account for this pattern of in-

creased suspicion of women in the English verse romances, we must look to the changing condition of women in the Middle Ages. As Friedrich Heer notes, "The continent which in the twelfth century was open and expanding by the mid-fourteenth century had become closed, a Europe of internal and external frontiers."(19) Prejudice and intolerance were ripe in the twelfth century, as they have been in every century for that matter, but they were balanced by open-mindedness and liberalism. However, the very diversity encouraged by the latter contributed to the conservative reaction of those with positions of authority to defend: the Church condemned "heresy;" the monarchy and aristocracy united to crush the peasant revolts; and men closed ranks against women. The earlier period boasted of great ruling ladies like Eleanor of Acquitaine and Blanche of Castile, but although women continued to work alongside their husbands and even dominate such partnerships on occasion,(20) as the Wife of Bath's career suggests, by the fourteenth century women could no longer wield power as freely as they had done. In England, this change is reflected by the decline in the legal position of women. The rights of widowhood, which survived from Anglo-Saxon custom until about the fourteenth century, entitled the wife to one-third of the family goods if there were children, one-half if there were not. But as ecclesiastical courts assumed jurisdiction over testamentory matters, it became established in Common Law that the husband could leave all his goods wherever he wished.(21)

In literature, the more positive attitude of the twelfth century towards the rights of women appears in the courtesy of the knight errant and devotion of the courtly lover who typically give aid to distressed damsels in the romances of the period. But as the thirteenth century progressed the current of anti-feminist writings grew stronger,(22) while in the pages of romance new heroes arose to challenge the supremacy of the champions of womanhood: the ascetic Galahad replaces Perceval with his matriarchal family connections and Le Bon Chevalier Sans Peur in the Palamedes is renowned more for his loyalty to his feudal lord than for his service to his lady. The change is equally pronounced when we compare the two parts of Le Roman de la Rose. That begun by Guillaume de Lorris before 1240 is imbued with the old spirit of courtly love, whereas the second part, completed by Jean de Meun by 1280, is a cynical attack upon women.

Nevertheless, two factors hindered the spread of anti-feminism in later French romance. One was the tendency of compilers to reproduce the attitudes to women found in their sources.(23) The other was the attempt at the French Court in the fifteenth century to revive the older ideal of courtly love under the influence of Bouci-

cault's Mirror of Chivalry and of the poetess Christine de Pisan.(24) However, it is clear that in England these mitigating factors were less influential. This confirms the already existing evidence that the English poets selected and adapted their sources with greater freedom than their continental counterparts, and imbued their romances with their own attitudes.(25) Chaucer reflects the revival of interest in courtly love but his contemporaries were largely untouched by this renewed French preoccupation, partly because they were not as close as he was to the fashionable court of Richard II.(26) And, in the succeeding century, the growing sense of nationalism helped discourage any departure from this pattern. The influence of French tradition upon Chaucer further explains why "The Wife of Bath's Tale," alone among the English Arthurian verse romances, should stress the service which the knight owes to ladies.

The English romances generally view their heroes in a more critical light than do the French and women are one of the instruments through which their shortcomings are sometimes revealed. So the knight may well be wise to keep his distance from the opposite sex. The hero's standards of behaviour are more rarely criticized in the French romances, and thus he can give assistance to women with impunity. Since women are the weakest and most vulnerable members of that society which the knight errant of French romance is sworn to protect, it follows that women very frequently benefit from his actions. However, in English romances of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it seems that women were to be less trusted. In an age of contradictions, as the Middle Ages are often characterized, women were creatures of contradictions, exalted by the courtly lover, condemned by misogynistic clerics, hailed and worshipped in the figure of the Virgin Mary, castigated as Eve, the source of the Fall. The honest English knight, never a complex or subtle figure, clearly felt safer in the company of his fellow-knights.

NOTES

1. The Works of Sir Thomas Malory, ed. Eugène Vinaver, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1967), Vol. III, p. 1184.

2. See La Mort le Roi Artu, Roman du XIII[e] Siècle, ed. Jean Frappier, 3rd ed. (Geneva and Paris, 1964), p. 129, ll. 23-29.

3. Le Morte Arthur, ed. J. Douglas Bruce as E.E.T.S.E.S. 88 (London, New York and Toronto, 1903), vv. 1976f.

4. E.g., Erec et Enide by Chrétien de Troyes, L'Atre Perilleux, Les Merveilles de Rigomer, La Mule sans Frein.

5. Les Merveilles de Rigomer von Jehan, altfranzösischer Artusroman des XIII ed. Wendelin Foerster (Dresden, 1908-15), vv. 16, 279f.

6. See William Matthews, The Tragedy of Arthur: A Study of the Alliterative "Morte Arthure" (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960), pp. 152-63.

7. See Ywain and Gawain, ed. Albert B. Friedman and Norman T. Harrington as E.E.T.S. 254 (London, New York and Toronto, 1964), pp. xvi-xxxiv.

8. The Awntyrs Off Arthure at the Terne Wathelyn, ed. Ralph Hanna III (Manchester, 1974).

9. Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, ed. J.R.R. Tolkien and E.V. Gordon, 2nd ed. by Norman Davis (Oxford, 1967), vv. 2414-21. See Peter J. Lucas, "Gawain's Anti-feminism," Notes and Queries, XV (1968), 324f.; David Mills "The Rhetorical Function of 'Gawain's' Antifeminism," Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, LXXI (1970), 635-40.

10. Lybeaus Desconus, ed. M. Mills as E.E.T.S. 261 (London, New York and Toronto, 1969), MS Lambeth, vv. 1494-96.

11. Thomas Chestre, Sir Launfal, ed. A.J. Bliss (London and Edinburgh, 1960), vv. 47f.

12. Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript: Ballads and Romances, ed. John W. Hales and Frederick Furnivall (London, 1868), vol. II, p. 310, vv. 147-50.

13. The Jeaste of Syr Gawayne, ed. Sir Frederic Madden in Syr Gawayne, A Collection of Ancient Romance Poems by Scotish and English Authors, relating to that celebrated Knight of the Round Table (London, 1839), p. 222.

14. Both accounts are included in Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, ed. W.F. Bryan and Germaine Dempster (Chicago: [1941]) as The Marriage of Sir Gawaine (pp. 235-41) and The Weddynge of Sir Gawen and Dame Ragnell (pp. 242-64).

15. The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. F.N. Robinson, 2nd ed. (Boston, [1957]), pp. 84-88. Properly speaking, the poem is an exemplum, but retains many of the elements of its romance analogues.

16. See Two Old French Gawain Romances: "Le Chevalier à l'Épée" and "La Mule sans Frein", ed. R.C. Johnston and D.D.R. Owen (Edinburgh and London, 1972), vv. 861-1204, and the notes on pp. 98-101.

17. On the different ideals of knighthood in French romance, see Sidney Painter, French Chivalry (Johns Hopkins, 1940 [rpt. Ithaca, New York, 1957]).

18. The possible exception is Chrétien de Troyes' Erec et Enide but the love between knight and lady, which leads to the former neglecting his duty as a knight errant, is much more than an "encounter." Erec is married to Enide, Mabonagrain serves his lady as a courtly lover: see Z.P. Zaddy, Chrétien Studies (Glasgow, 1973), pp. 16-19, and 44-48.

19. The Medieval World: Europe 1100-1350, trans. Janet Sondheimer (New York, 1961), p. 17.

20. See Eileen Power, Medieval Women, ed. M.M. Postan (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 42-46.

21. See Evelyn Acworth, The New Matriarchy (London, 1965), p. 75.

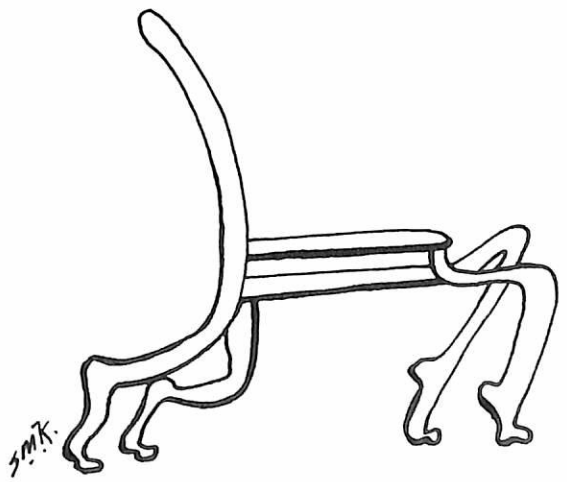
22. See Power, pp. 28-30; Joan M. Ferrante, Woman as Image in Medieval Literature from The Twelfth Century to Dante (New York and London, 1975), pp. 99-128; Theodore Lee Neff, La Satire des Femmes dans la Poésie Lyrique Française du Moyen Age (Paris, 1900 [rpt. Genève, 1974]), passim.

23. See J. Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages, trans. F. Hopman (1924 [rpt. Penguin, 1965]), pp. 281-83; Cedric E. Pickford, "Miscellaneous French Prose Romances," in Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages, ed. R.S. Loomis (Oxford, 1959), pp. 348-57.

24. See Huizinga, pp. 111-13; Power, p. 31.

25. See Dieter Mehl, The Middle English Romances of the Thirteenth Centuries (London, 1968), p. 5.

26. The poet's debt to continental literature is studied by Charles Muscatine, Chaucer and The French Tradition (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1957).



"Women and Unions: Help or Hindrance"

by Joan McFarland

The issue of women and unions vis-a-vis women's liberation is a complicated one. On the one hand, if women's liberation is based upon women's economic independence and women's economic independence upon paid work(2), then in all likelihood, women will receive better pay and fringe benefits and enjoy better working conditions in a union than out of one. This logical sequence would argue for women supporting, joining and forming unions. Unfortunately, the question is not quite so simple. At one level, there is the problem of the treatment of women and women's issues within individual unions and within the labour movement as a whole. At another level there is the question of the role unions are playing. Are they co-opted by management as some in the women's movement would suggest? Does this explain why unions seem to shy away from dealing with issues that would fundamentally alter the status quo? If the latter is the case, it augurs ill for the kind of changes some women would like to see both in the workplace and in society.

To investigate some of these questions, I studied the actual treatment of women in unions in New Brunswick. I examined, by use of a questionnaire, a sample of current New Brunswick collective agreements covering female employees.(3) What measures were included to ensure the equality of females with their male counterparts--i.e., non-sexist language, a no discrimination clause? What special provisions were made with respect to

women's particular needs--i.e., maternity leave, part-time work? Were there any aspects of the contracts which were actually detrimental to women--i.e., separate pay scales for men and women, an anti-nepotism clause? These are just some of the questions examined. Hopefully, the results will provide a set of concrete facts which throw light on that central question--are unions doing anything for women?

Before turning to the research, some of the previous work on women and unions in Canada must be mentioned. In each, the author explicitly or implicitly answers the above question. The answers range from "yes" to "no, not as they are presently constituted."

The most positive view is found in either surveys of policies to improve women's position or in writings by people within the union movement.(4) The authors implicitly posit unions as a solution to most of working women's problems. In their papers they move on from questioning the role of unions for women to concentrating on the problem of increasing the participation of women in unions both as members at large and as executives.

A second group of writings takes a closer look at particular unions or groups of unions. Almost without exception, the result is a more tentative attitude toward the value of unions for women--at least as unions presently operate. One such study is a background paper prepared for the Royal Commission on the Status of Women which surveyed attitudes of a group of Quebec male union members toward their female counterparts.(5) There was a contradiction in the male union members' attitudes. On the one hand, they felt that a woman's place was in the home. In addition, it was suggested that the men would use women's issues for their own benefit--i.e., they would try to secure benefits for women to put the employer off hiring women. On the other hand, male workers recognized women's equal rights as union members. Another interesting aspect of this study's findings involved the attitudes revealed by the few questions asked of the female union members themselves. Because of their insecurity in the workforce, the women preferred not to make any demands of the employer. Nor were they progressive in their views. They did not support provisions which did not benefit themselves personally. Both older women and young single women, for example, were against paid maternity leave. In fact, in concluding their study, the authors suggest that it is the attitudes of the women themselves which must change first. Then the women must become the prime movers "in a sustained and enlightened effort" to transform the situation. This must come before a significant improvement in the attitudes of male workers can be achieved.

Another article which doubts the value of unions to women as they presently exist is by Jean Rands in Women Unite. She blames unions for allowing the persistence of an unequal division of labour between men and women in the workplace--i.e., between nurse and doctor, teacher and principal and secretary and boss. She recognizes that unions have done very little for working women but notes that neither has the Women's Liberation movement which only offers ways for the individual to get ahead--more women managers, more women professionals, etc. What Rands suggests is that working women and the Women's Liberation movement get together. Working women need to learn from the Women's Liberation group how to organize as women while Women's Liberation needs to become involved in bread and butter issues rather than just discussion and political action.

A paper by Patricia Marchak adds to our understanding by examining the position of women in white-collar unions. She concludes that "white-collar unions as they are presently constituted are no help to most white-collar women."(6) She found in her study that women had not only substantially lower pay than men both inside and outside of unions but also significantly lower job control. And, in fact, this lower job control was reflected even more in union women's pay than in non-union women's. The author attributes this to the more careful evaluation procedures in the former case. Marchak is pessimistic about the future of women in unions as they presently exist suggesting instead the establishment of new unions of women only.(7)

None of the Canadian authors whose writings are surveyed above rejects the institution of the union itself. However, Selma James, the very influential British feminist leader of the Wages for Housework campaign has done just that in her two papers, "Women, the Unions and Work" and "The Perspective of Winning."(8) James rejects unions for their non-revolutionary potential and advocates substituting the issue of Wages for Housework for trade union organizing and recruiting. The Wages for Housework issue involves all women not just "working" women. Also it would have the advantage of being outside of capital's direct control.

The Invisible Workers: The Treatment of Women in New Brunswick Collective Agreements

In 1975 in Canada, women were 26% of all union members, in New Brunswick they were 20.1%.(9) This is an increase from the year 1972 when the figures were 22.3% and 16% respectively. There are particular sectors where most of the women are unionized. In public administration, 59.7% of Canadian women are unionized; transport, 51.1%; manufacturing, 34.5%;

services, 20.9%. Although public administration leads in the percentage of women unionized, in absolute numbers, most union women are found in services, manufacturing and public administration. But only in services are there more female than male union members. This is the case in New Brunswick also.

As to the question of representation on executive boards, out of 1005 total union executives in Canada in 1972, there were 94 women which comprised 9.4% of the total. Women were best represented on the executive boards of Canadian unions where they were 65 out of 460 or 14.1% of the board membership. In government unions, they were only 24 out of 413 or 5.5% whereas for international unions, the figures were 5 out of 132 or only 3.8%.

To sum up this information, it is clear that only a minority of women employees are union members, most of these in services, followed by manufacturing and public administration; and women are only in the majority as union members in that sector where women are also in the majority as employees. The situations in Canada as a whole and in New Brunswick are similar although there is a slightly higher percentage of union women in Canada and they are somewhat more spread out over industries. In addition, women are under-represented on executive boards of unions.

We worked with 59 contracts covering 13,827 female union members which was over half of the total 22,706 female union members reported in New Brunswick in 1976. The reader may refer to Appendix A for a listing of the 59 contracts with particulars. As well, Charts 1 and 2 give a breakdown of female membership in absolute numbers and as a percentage of total membership. In the group of contracts, 41 had a minority of female union members while 18 had a majority of the same. Of these latter 18, 4 had 100% female membership. This division into majority and minority female membership is significant in that a contract that did not recognize the fact of female employees was even less understandable in those cases where the contract in fact applied primarily to women.

Of the 18 female majority contracts, most were in the service industry, while there were several each in manufacturing, trade and public administration. The division into international, Canadian and New Brunswick unions was a little more even. There was only one independent company union in the group.

Our questionnaire was designed to evaluate the contracts on the basis of being non-sexist, offering equal treatment and opportunity for women and providing for their particular needs. Specifically this meant, to begin with, examining the language of the contract--i.e., the pronouns--to see whether both male and female em-

CHART 1

Distribution of contracts surveyed by percentage female of total membership

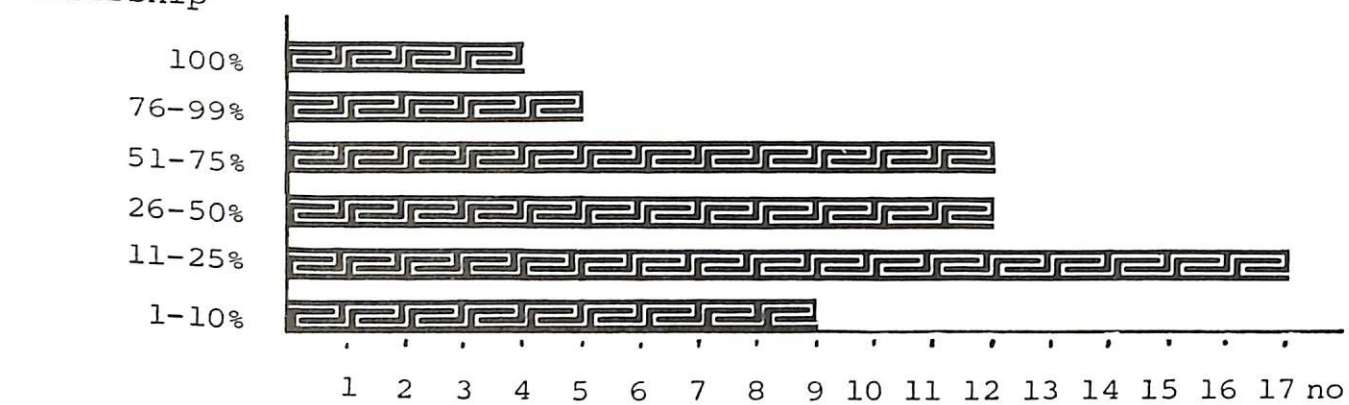


CHART 2

Distribution of contracts surveyed by numbers of female employees covered

ployees were referred to, or just the former. Along these same lines, occupational titles were scrutinized to see whether they implied sex differentiation. The next step was a search for certain specific clauses. These included a "maternity leave" clause, a "no discrimination" clause--a clause guaranteeing no discrimination to employees on the basis of sex or marital status--and an anti-nepotism clause--a most undesirable clause precluding the employment of relatives in the same department or institution. Next, the fringe benefits provisions and pay scales were examined for sex discrimination. Finally, note was made of the rights and privileges of part-time workers and any other special treatment of female employees--i.e., the so-called "protective" clauses.

A non-sexist contract would use "he/she," "him/her" or "she/he," "her/him," or some variation of these throughout. This allows female employees to identify with the contract and know that it was written with them also in mind. Many contracts are written in only "he/him" although "she" may be used under maternity leave, if there is such a provision. It would seem that sometimes this language is simply a reflection of the attitude of male employees and male management. Women either do not exist or, if they do, they are not important. Other more sophisticated defenders of this language would say that "he" is a universal pronoun--that it can be used to refer to persons of either sex. But this is not comforting to a female employee trying to relate to the contract. A compromise is sometimes reached whereby a clause is inserted into the contract saying that "he" wherever it is used in the contract also subsumes "she." This may be better than nothing but again it is not satisfactory for the female employee who probably uses the contract to look up individual clauses as the need arises.

Of the 59 contracts examined with at least one female employee, 24 used "he/him" throughout. Of these, three were actually contracts covering more female than male employees. Twelve more only used "she" in specific clauses. Thirteen had a "he includes she" clause and only five were completely non-sexist. It is interesting to note, though, that two of these had 100% female employees and two more had a majority of such.

The matter of occupational titles is a somewhat awkward area for evaluation. Basically, a contract with a substantial number of occupational titles like salesman or lineman or delivery man implies job segregation of males and females. Some contracts actually differentiate between male and female clerks, salesmen and saleswomen, etc. What is difficult about this area, however, is that, in part, occupational titles are a reflection of the industrial or job area rather than the de-

gree of sexist or non-sexist consciousness on the part of the signatories of the contract. Thirty-seven of the 59 contracts tabulated had sexist occupational titles like oven man, delivery man, etc. Of these, four actually differentiated between males and females in the same occupation--i.e., male general labour versus female general labour.

All of the contracts were examined for the existence of a "no discrimination" clause. Twenty-two of the 59 contracts included such a clause that mentioned sex either explicitly or implicitly (some read "no discrimination for any reason whatsoever.") Only 7 contracts included marital status as well as sex in their clauses. Four of the contracts, however, had a "no discrimination" clause but did not include either sex or marital status among the specifics for such non-discrimination. Of these, one was a contract covering a majority of female loyees. The remaining 33 contracts e without a "no discrimination" ıuse.(10)

As explained earlier, the "anti-nepotism" clause is designed to prevent any so-called favouring of a family member by an employer. On the surface, this may seem reasonable but, in practice, it tends to discriminate against women. Between male and female family members, it is just about always the woman who is not hired or who cannot continue under the anti-nepotism regulations.(11) This is particularly unfair if there is only one such company or institution in a town or if it is in fact a one company town. A better regulation is to make all hiring decisions on the basis of merit. To ensure that this is done, the best protection against "anti-nepotism" clauses for women is to have "family relationship" as one of the categories for no discrimination in that clause.

Of the contracts examined, only one had an "anti-nepotism" clause. None had family relationship included as a category for no discrimination.
The next clause examined was that of maternity leave. Ideally, a contract would provide for paid maternity leave for a reasonable period of time before and after the birth of the child. A total of three months paid leave was what we had in mind. It should be recognized that there are minimum requirements of the employer set down by legislation. In New Brunswick, there is first of all the Minimum Employment Standards Act. This Act allows an employee a minimum of six weeks before and six weeks after the birth of a child, which could be extended to a total of sixteen weeks upon the presentation of a medical certificate, without the employer being allowed to dismiss her from her position. In addition, a woman may claim Unemployment Insurance Maternity Benefits for 15 weeks. These benefits would be two-thirds of her average

weekly earnings up to a specified maximum.(12) For this reason, although it is useful to have a maternity clause anyway, only the ones that offer more than the minimum available by law are really significant. On the other hand, these minimum standards can be used to explain the omission of this clause in a contract.

Of the contracts examined, 30 had maternity leave clauses, 29 had none. Four of these latter were majority female contracts. Not a single agreement offered paid maternity leave. The most that any of them offered was to allow the employee to use up her sick leave privileges during maternity leave. Eleven contracts allowed this but all but one specified limitations as to the amount of time allowed. Besides the one unlimited one, the most sick leave allowed was 30 days; more common was ten days only. Four of the eleven only allowed the employee to take sick leave for complications arising from pregnancy. It is interesting to note that of these same eleven, only seven were majority female employee contracts.

Only fifteen of the 59 contracts mentioned the job guarantee aspect of the leave. In most cases, this guarantee covered more than required under the Minimum Standards legislation--i.e., the majority guaranteed the same position, quite a few guaranteed the same or a higher rate of pay, a few guaranteed the same geographical location and a few allowed the employee to keep her seniority rights.

One quite pernicious aspect of the maternity leave clauses examined was the inclusion of provisions whereby the employer could force the employee to take maternity leave and not allow her to come back either before a certain set time or only upon presentation of a medical certificate. This suggested a desire by the employer to get rid of the pregnant or post-partum employee, at least until there was no trace of the event left. Of course, the employer might argue that this attitude was a result of concern for the health of the employee and child. But surely this should be up to the woman herself. Of the contracts examined, quite a number of them, fourteen in all, had some such provisions. Possibly for the same sort of reasons, most of the contracts allowed considerably more than the minimum legislation's twelve weeks for maternity leave--one allowed twelve months, another six months while most allowed approximately four months in all. The exceptions were notable. Nurses from both the public and private sectors got only the minimum twelve weeks.

Fringe benefits are a very important area of potential sex discrimination--i.e., unequal insurance payouts, greater benefits for males with dependents, etc. However, in most cases the details of the schemes were not available within the contracts per se.

The most we could look for was whether such schemes existed at all. In addition, we made a comparison of the range and scope of benefits offered between those contracts where males were in the majority and those where females were in the majority. Due to the prevalent view of the male as the provider, the female as a casual or temporary member of the labour force, we would expect more fringe benefit provisions for male-dominated contracts.

Sixteen of the 59 contracts had no fringe benefit provisions at all. Of these 16, three were contracts where females dominated. The rest had a variety of plans. Most generous usually was the health plan. Twenty-eight of the contracts had health plans and for the majority of these the employer paid at least 50% of the premium--in a few cases even 100%. Two had dental plans financed 100% by the employer.(13) Of the twenty-eight, 10 or approximately one-third were contracts where females were in the majority. In other words, the women more or less kept up with the men in this area. Nor were they far behind in retirement benefits and pension plans. Seventeen of the contracts had either retirement benefits or pension plans--seven of these were female majority contracts. However, in the area of life and disability insurance, women did less well than the men. Thirty-two of the contracts had life and disability insurance plans but only four were in establishments dominated by female employees. It might also be noted that of the details specified under these plans within the contracts, several were discriminatory--i.e., offering their male employees higher benefits than their female employees.(14)

Most of the contracts included pay scale information. What we would consider non-discriminatory would be pay-scales which neither explicitly nor implicitly differ between male and female employees. Those which explicitly discriminate would be those that have separate categories for males and females at different rates of pay--that of the females often substantially lower than that of the males. We encountered three such contracts. More common, however, was implicit discrimination. This would be where there are jobs which are obviously male or female and significant pay discrepancies between the two. The vast majority of the contracts was of this latter type. On the subject of pay-scales, it would have been very interesting to have known whether raises had been of a per cent or flat rate nature. It is the latter that are more advantageous for women at the bottom of the pay-scales since it decreases differentials in pay as compared to per cent raises which increase them. Unfortunately, the nature of the raise was impossible to tell from just an examination of the contract itself.

Part-time work can be a very suitable arrangement for female workers (or for men for that matter) with other responsibilities such as children. Unfortunately, however, part-time workers often receive second class treatment on the job in every aspect--pay, fringe benefits, job security, etc. A contract which gives equal treatment to part-time workers would give these employees rights and benefits on a pro rata basis--i.e., the same pay as a full-time worker per hour, per day or whatever, fringe benefits in proportion to the time worked (i.e., a half-time worker would get one-half the fringe benefits of a full-time worker). This would also include seniority according to time worked. This is what we looked for in the contracts examined.

Thirty-nine of the 59 contracts had no provisions for part-time workers. This means that the compensation and terms and conditions of employment were left totally up to the employer. Of the remaining contracts, only nine gave rights and privileges to part-time employees, only four of these on a pro-rata basis. Of the nine with privileges, five were majority female contracts. The other eleven actually imposed restrictions against part-time workers of which four were female majority contracts. These restrictions, found particularly in the supermarket contracts, were designed to protect full-time employees from encroachment by part-timers by restricting the number of the latter employable at any one time. The full-timers would argue that such restrictions are necessary because, since part-timers are paid less, the employer prefers to hire them. However, were part-timers treated on an equal basis as suggested above, this money-saving motive on the part of the employer would no longer exist.

In addition to the above specified clauses, other clauses were looked for which would affect women particularly. Most prevalent were the so-called "protective" clauses for women. This tradition of protective clauses originates with the nineteenth-century Factory Acts in England. They were introduced to protect women (and children) from inhuman working conditions in terms of hours, breaks, surroundings, etc. This seems all very laudable. However, there is ample evidence that in more recent times such legislation has been used by male unionists to discourage the employer from hiring women.(15) In other words, this legislation has had the practical effect of making the employment of women just too much of a nuisance.

Of whatever nature or for whatever purpose, such legislation does exist in a number of the New Brunswick contracts examined. One had a limitation as to the number of hours a female could be employed. Another had the regulation that the shop steward had to be on duty whenever a female worked

on production. Another required that female employees have two ten minute rest periods per day. Four contained provision that transportation home be provided for female employees working after midnight.

One other aspect of the contracts which must be noted was that certain of the contracts had questionable provisions of a disciplinary nature directed toward female employees. For example, one gave the employer the right to investigate a sick-leave claim, another required the employee to make up any cash shortage, another included "indecency" as grounds for dismissal, another specifically excluded "babysitting problems" as valid grounds for emergency leave and a last specified the colour of slacks a female employee might wear on the job.

Another way of looking at the contracts, apart from looking at them as a group on a clause by clause basis, is to evaluate each individual contract as a whole. This was done and the question posed was what were the contributing factors leading to a good contract--or a bad one.

The contracts were evaluated on a 1-6 scale according to how much awareness they showed toward the women's issues discussed above. Contracts which showed evidence of some enlightenment with regard to women's issues received from 1-3. A contract which seemed to show no such awareness received a 4. A contract which contained clauses actually detrimental to women received a 5 or 6. It should be noted that this is not meant to be an overall evaluation of the contracts. One significant omission is the value of the wage packet. Unfortunately, this was impossible to include as the information in the contracts was too incomplete.

The vast majority of the contracts received 4's on a scale of 6's. Only one was awarded 1--to the N.B. Teacher's Federation contract. Three 2's went to two N.B. nurses' union contracts and that of Optyl, a glasses frames factory; three 3's to a non-teaching Education group, Dominion, and Steinberg Stores' unions. On the other side of the coin, Atlantic Sugar and Sobey's Stores received 5's for their contracts while two fish-packing contracts, Connors and Blue Cove and the University of New Brunswick maintenance staff contracts received 6's. Information about these particular contracts and the particular reasons for the evaluation are summarized in Table 1.

In order to understand these results better, the contracts were separated into seven categories of union affiliation--CUPE (Canadian Union of Public Employees), New Brunswick Public Employees Association, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers (international), other international unions, other Canadian unions, other

TABLE 1

The Best and Worst Contracts

Contract	Position on 1-6 scale	Positive/Negative Aspects
Education 1 (teachers)	1	non-sexist language, 30 days maternity leave on sick leave pay, good fringe benefits, grievance procedure
Medical 3,4 (nurses)	2,2	he includes she clause, a no-discrimination clause, pro-rated part-time pay and benefits
Optyl Ltd.	2	non-sexist language, a no-discrimination clause, good fringe benefits
Education 5 (non-teaching)	3	he includes she clause, a no-discrimination clause, some part-time provisions, good fringe benefits
Dominion Stores	3	he includes she clause, good fringe benefits
Steinberg Stores	3	good appendix on part-time pay and benefits, he includes she clause in appendix
Sobey's Stores	5	lowest pay to female clerk, no fringe benefits, management rights receive priority in part-time hiring
Atlantic Sugar	5	clearly segregated job classification
UNB (maintenance)	6	an anti-nepotism clause, specifies baby-sitting problems as not allowed for emergency leave
Blue Cove Packing	6	male/female pay scales, protective clause (shop steward must work whenever female on production)
Connors Bros.	6	male/female pay scales, females get vacation pay only after 15 years of service

New Brunswick unions and independent. Three of the best contracts were New Brunswick unions--those of the teachers and the nurses (two contracts). However, none of the N.B. Public Employees Association contracts which covered 1587 female employees in the two big clerical worker unions in the provincial government were impressive. Contracts of unions with international affiliations, which were more than half of all of the contracts, showed an almost total lack of awareness of women's issues. Perhaps this should not be surprising when so many of them have retained the term"brotherhood" in their titles. The only notable aspect of this group of contracts, mostly contracts where women workers were the minority--often the office staff at an industrial site--was that a substantial number of them had good fringe benefit provisions. One among the best (Optyl) and one among the worst (Connors Bros.) contracts were of non-affiliated unions so this would suggest that this aspect is not significant in itself. Both one of the better--non-teaching Education--and one of the more objectionable--UNB maintenance staff--contracts were of CUPE unions. The contracts of the other Canadian union affiliates were all lacking in awareness on women's issues.

Another division of the contracts made was by type of work. Four categories were used--government, factory, service and industrial. In the government grouping, there are first of all the teachers and the nurses with their good contracts. But apart from these, the government contracts examined were uninspired. This included the contracts of the New Brunswick government clerical workers and several groups of municipal workers in CUPE unions. The factory workers' contracts were either 4's or worse with the one exception, Optyl. The worst ones of the group were either those where women were in the majority such as Blue Cove Packing or where the numbers of males and females were more or less even such as Connors Bros. and Atlantic Sugar. The service industry contracts were generally unexceptional apart from those of Dominion and Steinberg's on the positive side and the UNB maintenance staff contract on the negative side.

Dividing the contracts by size of employer as indicated by the number of employees in the union seemed to indicate that large numbers of employees could be helpful. For example, the teachers' union had 8159 members (5092 females) while the nurses had 2541 members in the two groups. The non-teaching Education contract also had 2971 members. However, on the other hand, the Connors Bros. contract covered 1200 employees while Atlantic Sugar's covered 300. The medium-sized and small firms generally had unexceptional contracts. The only case that did not fit this pattern was Optyl with 103 employees. Blue Cove, with one of the bad contracts, had

only 40 employees (31 women).

A final approach was to compare the female majority with the female minority contracts in the group surveyed. The main difference between the two groups was that the only contract that received a 1 on our scale was among the female majority group. The female minority group was mostly very poor on women's issues. This result should not be surprising. In fact, a greater difference between the two groups might have been expected. On the other side of the ledger, however, the female minority group tended to have better fringe benefits. This might also be expected from the tradition of man as the provider. In a male workplace, the fringe benefit package becomes a central bargaining issue.

The above groupings do offer some additional insights into the factors leading to a good or bad contract as it affects the women employed under it. However, it is possible to suggest additional factors that might be involved in the particular cases of the contracts examined. The first is the fact that the teachers' and nurses' contracts both cover professional workers. In fact, these are the only professional groups in the female majority contracts surveyed. The only other professional contract among the group was Professional 3, a N.B. Public Employees Association engineering and field staff union. This union's contract received a lowly 4 on our scale. However, it covered very few female employees--seven out of a total of 280.

The only other comparison would be the more national as opposed to regional nature of the firms with the more enlightened contracts--i.e., Dominion and Steinberg Stores contrasted to the firms with the poor contracts--i.e., Connors Bros., Atlantic Sugar, Sobey's, Blue Cove Packing and the University of New Brunswick.

Trade Unions and Women's Liberation

The evidence from collective agreements in New Brunswick does not suggest significant gains for women in unions. Only 7 out of the 59 contracts surveyed had anything to offer women. Even worse, 5 of them actually had discriminatory aspects. This situation is particularly serious because it is at the contract level where union women's rights and privileges are defined. The only other guarantees the woman employee has is in those areas covered by legislation.

The question is whether change will be just a matter of time. As women's participation in unions increases, their consciousness of the need for particular provisions in their collective agreements could become greater and the situation could improve. This is one possible scenario. The other possibility is that there are contradictions inherent in the trade union

process itself which will make it very difficult for women to make any real gains through this channel. It is this second question which we will deal with here.

We will begin by looking at some of the practical problems that arise in unions vis-a-vis women's attempts to make gains. We will then consider some issues crucial to women's liberation which have been left absolutely untouched by the union movement.

In looking at the practical problems which arise in unions, it is appropriate to start with the most usual situation: where women are a minority of the union membership. Under such circumstances, women and men in the union may gain higher pay, improved fringe benefits and better working conditions by bargaining with the employer. However, when it comes to issues of particular significance to women--equal pay for equal work, equal opportunity for advancement, discrepancy funds, maternity leave, part-time status, day care, etc., the gains that women make through the union channel are likely to be minimal. Not only will these issues pit the women against the men in the union since the men may feel that these benefits will be at the expense of others of direct advantage to them but also the employer can play on these fears by making the bargaining appear to be a zero sum game.

If, after a long struggle some clauses of particular interest to women are included in the contract proposal, there is a very strong likelihood that those clauses will be the ones sacrificed in the bargaining process, particularly where the union bargaining team is male or predominantly so. After all, it is in the bargaining process itself that the judgement and priorities of those particular individuals play a role. And even though the union could still refuse to ratify the negotiated contract, it is unlikely that this would take place in a predominantly male union if the only clauses that are at issue are those pertaining to women's special interests After all, the alternative to ratification would be a strike.(16)

What is the basis of the conflict between men and women within unions? At the very heart of it, no doubt, are the inherent conflicts of our patriarchal system--the view that men are superior, women inferior or that men are the breadwinners, women men's dependents. Women who are in the labour force are there on a temporary basis--between father and husband--perhaps between husbands--or to earn supplementary family income.(17) In addition to these basic attitudes vis-a-vis women are the men's own problems. They themselves are far from satisfied with their jobs, their pay, their working conditions, if they are secure at their jobs at all. In times of unemployment, this insecurity becomes all the more acute. In this state of mind and given their

fundamental attitudes, it is not surprising that men would feel less than generous about bettering women's positions.(18) And as mentioned above, a smart employer will play off these fears.

An all women's union would certainly solve some of these problems.(19) The women would not have to battle their fellow male union members as well as the employer to achieve their goals. It would be their priorities not the priorities of their male union leaders nor their male bargaining committee which would determine the clauses sacrificed in the negotiations and the issues which would warrant strike action if demands were not met. However, there is a fundamental problem with all-female unions; that is, the kind of jobs that are involved. To be a union representing all female workers implies female ghetto jobs and all the problems entailed in such jobs. And the union can only fight to improve conditions within those jobs but not do much to get women out of those jobs into other more rewarding ones.

What about a women's caucus within a mixed sex or predominantly male union or a women's department within a labour federation?(20) These enable women to focus better on issues of special concern to them and do serve as a valuable educational tool. They do not avoid, however, the final reckoning with male union members and ultimately the employer.

We have discussed, in the research section of this paper, issues and concerns of particular interest to women which women can fight to have taken account of in a proposed and negotiated contract; but, in many ways these do not include the fundamental issues--those that would significantly alter women's position and in so doing alter the status quo. In Canada almost no attempts have been made to attack such issues through unions.(21) The fear seems to be that they would be thrown out upon mention.

One such issue is that of day care. For women to work on an equal footing with men there needs to be provision for the free care of their children (since they do not have wives who will assume this responsibility). Otherwise, a large part of their paycheques are dissipated towards the expense of making private child care arrangements and their energy is wasted by the anxiety created in finding suitable care.

There is also the question of the role of part-time work. Since working women live in households, approximately one-third of them with children, they have heavy workloads outside of their official working day.(22) To end this inhuman schedule, two things are required: more part-time work and a sharing of domestic tasks by other members of the household.(23) This might in turn require more males working part-time if any part of the day is to be left for leisure. This

also should be an issue fought for by unions.

Another issue is the one, brought up by Jean Rands, of the unequal division of labour.(24) Why should the interesting jobs, the ones with high job control, status, responsibility and pay be distributed as they are between secretary and boss, nurse and doctor? Why should secretaries be considered unskilled? The female job ghettos have persisted for too long already. Should it not be the task of the labour movement to do something about it?

And what about housewives? Not only are they presently unorganized, they are unpaid as well. They are the last vestiges of the barter economy. The demand of "wages for housework" is almost surely a labour issue, yet which unions have become involved in this struggle?(25)

This concluding discussion has underlined some of the inherent problems for women in the union movement. The question is, if unions have not touched the really crucial issues--day care, the role of part-time work, the sexual division of labour both in the home and the workplace or wages for housework--whether there is hope for women's liberation through this channel. Certainly, we should not spend all of our energies blindly rounding up women into unions and leading them to expect that unions will solve their problems. At least some of our efforts must continue to be devoted to the analysis of the union movement and women's place or absence of such in it.

NOTES

1. I would like to express my gratitude first of all to the Department of Social Sciences at St. Thomas University for a grant which enabled me to hire a research assistant; second, to I.C. Okonkwo who, as my very able research assistant, examined the contracts and filled out the questionnaire for each; and finally, to the New Brunswick Department of Labour and Manpower, Labour Market Services Branch and particularly Vern Lacey, for their co-operation and generous assistance in doing the research for this project. Of course, the interpretation of the facts and the views expressed are my own.

2. This, for example is Simone de Beauvoir's conclusion in The Second Sex. See her last chapter. It is also the Marxian view. See Engels' The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, p. 148.

3. Where a current contract was not available, the most recent one on file was used. The survey was conducted in the summer of 1977. The questionnaire is available on request.

4. See, for example, the few pages on the subject of women and unions in the Royal Commission on the Status of Women pp. 61-65, in the Report of the Inter-departmental Committee on the Roles of Women in the New Brunswick Economy and Society pp. 97-101, or in Constantina Safilios-Rothschild's Women and Social Policy pp. 154-55. For writings by union women, see the Grace Hartman article in Women in the Canadian Mosaic or the papers from the March 1976 female trade unionists' conference presented in Canadian Labour, Sept., 1976.

5. Renée Geoffroy and Paule Sainte-Marie, Attitudes of Union Workers to Women in Industry.

6. "The Canadian Labour Force: Jobs for Women" in Women in Canada p. 209.

7. A Halifax Women's Bureau pamphlet, Women at Work in Nova Scotia, on the basis of women's experience in unions, comes to a very similar conclusion recommending "women's caucuses and new unions" p. 37.

8. These are both in a pamphlet published by the London Wages for Housework Committee and Falling Wall Press, 1976.

9. The sources of the data are:

   Canada and New Brunswick, 1975 - Annual Report of the Minister of Industry, Trade and Commerce under the Corporations and Labour Unions Return Act of 1971, Part II, Labour Unions, 1975, pp. 55, 69.

   New Brunswick, 1976 - 1976 Directory of Labour Organizations in New Brunswick, Labour Market Services Branch, Department of Labour and Manpower, pp. 6, 10-12.

   Canada, 1972 - Women in the Labour Force: Facts and Figures (1975 edition), Labour Canada, Women's Bureau, p. 287.

   It should be noted that the data from federal and provincial sources do not always match. For example, the New Brunswick figure for women as a per cent of N.B. union members in 1975 was 27% whereas the Canadian figure was 26.1%. It was suggested to me by provincial sources that the New Brunswick figure is the more accurate one since they have a closer access to the data sources. Also the Canadian data excludes any independent union with less than 100 members. The N.B. data is all-inclusive.

10. It could be argued that Human Rights legislation covers the "no discrimination" area but then complaints would have to be dealt with through that body rather than through the grievance procedures of the contract.

Grace Hartmann, op. cit., cites evidence of just such discrimination occurring in a City of Saskatoon contract in which it is the wife who must resign or move to another department, p. 252.

This is a significant limitation for professional women. For them to go on UIC would mean a substantial drop in their income at a time when they could least afford it.

It is worth noting that one contract, Dominion Stores, with 100% employer financed health and dental schemes, included a clause stating specifically that the dependents of female employees would also be covered in these plans.

Note that this contravenes New Brunswick Human Rights legislation.

See for example Attitudes of Union Workers to Women in Industry, op. cit., p. 23, where one union executive is quoted as saying:

> It isn't because they are liberal or soft-hearted that union-members favour the idea of wage parity. It is simply that the men are confident that when employers have to pay the same wages to women as to men, they will naturally prefer to hire men. Many have this idea.

See also the statements on pp. 24 and 84 of this same study. For an even more specific example see Heidi Hartmann, "Capitalism, Patriarchy, and Job Segregation by Sex," in Women and the Workplace: The Implications of Occupational Segregation, Martha Blaxall and Barbara Reagan, ed., p. 162 where the Cigarmakers International Union president in 1878 is quoted as saying:

> We have combatted from its incipiency the movement of the introduction of female labor in any capacity whatever, be it a bunch maker, roller or what not. . . We cannot drive the females out of the trade, but we can restrict their daily quota of labor through factory laws. No girl under 18 should be employed more than eight hours per day; all overwork should be prohibited. . . .

In the study done for the RCSW, The Attitude of Union Workers to Women in Industry, one of the questions posed to male union members was: "Would you be prepared to go on strike in order to secure female workers maternity leave without loss of income?" The answers were: Yes, 32.1%; No, 39.7%; Undecided, 22.2%.

The RCSW study found this a very prevalent assumption in interviews with union members regarding women's employment, p. 7:

> One of the constant and characteristic themes that emerges in discussions of female employment is its temporary nature. Women accept positions on a short-term basis, while expecting to get married, while expecting their first child or as a temporary measure to supplement their husbands' income at first to make the last mortgage payment on their house. Women themselves consider their involvement in the labour market as a temporary commitment,and unionized workers concur in this view. And thus, the working women may remain in an indefinite, transitory status for ten, fifteen, or twenty years. Hundreds and thousands of women are at work in offices, factories, hospitals, stores--all, apparently, on a short-term basis, the average unionized worker is convinced (underlining mine).

A union official in the RCSW study, p. 77, puts it very cynically:

> . . . if you insist on securing for women too advantageous a status (one that will cost the employer too much), the result will be simply that the employers will decide not to hire women. You can also have on hand a situation where a union, dominated by a male majority, will wish to negotiate all sorts of special benefits for the women simply because the men want to protect their own jobs and eliminate all female competition.

An important all-women's union has been formed in Western Canada, SORWUC or Service, Office and Retail Workers Union Canada which has recently been organizing female bank employees. The reason they give for having an all-women's union is to force women to face up to the problem of the prevailing attitudes of women themselves toward unions. A discussion of the question is given in paper entitled "Service, Office, Retail Workers Union Canada," mimeo, June 1977. Their conclusions are along the same lines as those of the RCSW background study (op. cit.)

Male union members, in general, are against any such division by sex saying that members must be united. See the RCSW study, p. 105. However, various women writers suggest it, especially as a transitional measure. Konstantina Safilios-Rothschild in Women and Social Policy, p. 155, is one of these.

21. However, a 1971 CUPE pamphlet did at least include a convention approved resolution for day care as a measure for collective bargaining.

22. The 1973 Canadian figures are 1,054,000 working mothers out of a total 3,152,000 women in the paid labour force. See Facts and Figures, op. cit., 1975 edition, p. 269. A Halifax time-budget study gives the figure of a 8.9 hour day in market and non-market work for a married woman with young children. However, this is an average figure for women with both full-time and part-time jobs outside the home--giving an average market work time of only 4.4 hr. See Susan Clark and Andrew S. Harvey, "The Sexual Division of Labour: The Use of Time," Atlantis, Vol. 2, no. 1 (Fall 1976), p. 57.

23. Gail A. Cook's study, Opportunity for Choice has a good discussion of part-time work and the length of the working day. See pp. 159-62.

24. Op. cit.

25. See Selma James, op. cit., for more on this.

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APPENDIX A

List of Contracts Surveyed

Name of Company	Union Affiliation	No. of female/ total employees	Location	Type of Work
FEMALE MAJORITY CONTRACTS				
Blue Cove Packing	Canadian Seafood and Allied Workers	31/40	Blue Cove	Fish Packing
Co-op Farm Services	RWDSW	54/100	Moncton	Dairy Factory
Canadian National Hotels	Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers	65/120	Moncton	Hotel Staff
Cara Operations	Bakery and Confectionery Workers International	7/7	Moncton	Flight Kitchen
Lavoie Save-Easy	RWDSW	6/10	Dalhousie	Supermarket
Memramcook Institute	CUPE	30/44	St. Joseph	Institute Staff
Mt. St. Joseph	Association of N.B. Registered Nursing Assistants	45/45	Chatham	Nursing Assistants
N.B. Telephone Co.	International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers	447/447	All of NB	Telephone Operators
Ocean Maid Foods	Fish Processing and Canning International	265/449	St. Andrews	Fish Canning
[illegible]	Independent	86/103	Oromocto	Assembly of Glasses Frames
[illegible]	International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers	82/100	St. Basile	Assembly of Small Electronic instruments
[illegible]	CUPE	21/39	Sackville	University Food Services

Name of Company	Union Affiliation	No. of female/ total employees	Location	Type of Work
FEMALE MAJORITY CONTRACTS				
Clerical 1 (NB gov't)	NBPEA	671/742	all of NB	Clerical and regulatory
Clerical 4 (NB gov't)	NBPEA	916/921	all of NB	Secretarial, stenographic and typing
Education 1 (NB gov't)	NB Teachers' Federation	5092/8159	all of NB	Teachers
Institutional Care and Institutional Services 1 (NB gov't)	CUPE	756/1398	all of NB	Maintenance
Medical 3 (NB gov't)	NB Civil Service Nurses Provincial Collective Bargaining Council	186/186	all of NB	Civil services nurses
Medical 4 (NB gov't)	NB Nurses Provincial Collective	2350/2355	all of NB	Public hospital nurses
FEMALE MINORITY CONTRACTS				
Atlantic Sugar	Bakery and Confectionary Workers International	35/300	St. John	Sugar refinery
Alcan Building	United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America	2/13	Moncton	Manufacture of windows, doors, screens
Bonar Packaging	United Paperworkers International	16/39	Fredericton	Paper bag manufacture
Consolidated Bathurst	United Paperworkers International	11/72	St. John West	Corrugated box manufacture
Canadian Packers	Canadian Food and Allied Workers	8/21	Moncton	Vegetable and fruit packing

Name of Company	Union Affiliation	No. of female/ total employees	Location	Type of Work
FEMALE MINORITY CONTRACTS				
Canada Packers	Canadian Food and Allied Workers	7/40	St. John	Meat packing
Connors Brothers	Independent	500/1200	Black's Harbour	Fish packing
Chestnut Canoe	International Woodworkers of America	6/40	Fredericton	Building of canoes
Canada Cement Lafarge	United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers International	1/4	Havelock	Office staff
City of Campbellton	CUPE	3/62	Campbellton	Clerical and maintenance
La Co-Operative Cartier	RWDSW	36/94	Richibucto	Grocery/general store
Dalhousie Co-Operative Association	RWDSW	18/38	Dalhousie	Groceries and gas bar
Dominion Stores	RWDSW	403/1675	all of NB	Supermarket
Eastern Bakeries	Bakery and Confectionary Workers International of America	18/155	Moncton	Bakery
Enterprise Foundry Co.	International Molders and Allied Workers	14/261	Sackville	Appliance manufacture
City of Edmundston	CUPE	11/91	Edmundston	Clerical and maintenance
Fraser Co. (W.H. Miller Co.)	United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America	1/120	Kedgwick	Sawmill
Fraser Co.	United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America	6/204	Plaster Rock	Sawmill
General Bakeries	Bakery and Confectionary Workers International	2/4	St. John	Bakery

Name of Company	Union Affiliation	No. of female/ total employees	Location	Type of Work
FEMALE MINORITY CONTRACTS				
Town of Grand Falls	CUPE	1/24	Grand Falls	Clerical and maintenance
Great Universal Stores	Retail Clerks International Association	38/80	all of NB	Retail stores i.e. furniture
Heath Steele Mines	United Steelworkers of America	3/27	Newcastle	Sash, wood and planing mill
Lock-wood Ltd.	United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America	22/164	Scoudouc	
Lane's Bakeries	Bakery and Confectionary Workers International	11/86	Moncton	Bakery
Marven's Ltd.	Canadian Food and Allied Workers	50/105	Moncton	Bakery
Mother's Own Bakery	Bakery and Confectionary Workers International	5/29	Fox Creek	Bakery
Miramichi Timber	United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America	3/352	Newcastle	Lumber mill
NB Telephone Co.	International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers	19/38	St. John	Head Office staff
Poly-cello	International Printing and Graphics Communications Union of North America	7/23	St. John	Manufacture of plastic bags
St. Anne Nackawic	Canadian Paperworkers Union	12/37	Nackawic	Pulp and Paper plant
Sobey's	RWDSW	89/190	all of NB	Supermarket
Steinberg's	Retail Clerks International Association	16/47	Oromocto	Supermarket
Westinghouse Canada	International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers	2/19	Moncton	Appliance repairs

Name of Company	Union Affiliation	No. of female/ total employees	Location	Type of Work
FEMALE MINORITY CONTRACTS				
Willett Fruit Co.	RWDSW	7/64	St. John	Sales (fruit)
Willett Fruit Co.	Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers	5/29	Moncton	Packaging and trucking
University of New Brunswick	CUPE	28/171	Fredericton	Maintenance
Clerical 2 (NB gov't)	NBPEA	12/59	all of NB	Drafting and graphic arts
Education 4 (NB gov't)	N.B. Non-Instructional Educational Employees' Association	15/65	all of NB	Non-instructional workers i.e. administrative
Education 5 (NB gov't)	CUPE	1179/2971	all of NB	Janitorial, bus-drivers, maintenance
Government Stores (NB gov't)	CUPE	66/450	all of NB	Liquor sales
Professional 3 (NB gov't)	NBPEA	7/280	all of NB	Engineering and field

KEY: CUPE - Canadian Union of Public Employees

NBPEA - New Brunswick Public Employees Association

RWDSW - Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers (international)

Is a Woman a Person?

Sex Differences in Stereotyping

by Elizabeth Percival and Terrance Percival

The fact that our society has placed greater value on what is considered stereotypically masculine (e.g., independence, self-confidence and ambition) than on what is considered stereotypically feminine (e.g., dependence, passivity and tenderness) can be easily documented (McKee & Sherriffs, 1957; MacBrayer, 1960; Williams & Bennett, 1975). This difference in value is evident even in concepts of mental health as demonstrated by the well-known Broverman, Broverman, Clarkson, Rosenkrantz and Vogel study (1970). Mental health professionals described a healthy adult male and a healthy adult person in nearly identical ways but a "healthy" adult female was something quite different. Their data revealed a "powerful, negative assessment of women." Further evidence that women and men are not only different but also unequal can be found in the literature on performance evaluation (e.g., Goldberg, 1968; Pheterson, Kiesler & Goldberg, 1971; and Deaux & Emswiller, 1974).

Today, many would argue that the stereotypes are changing or even disappearing. One recent study of college males' concepts of an ideal woman

*This research was partially funded by a Senate Research Grant from the University of Prince Edward Island.

(O'Leary & Depner, 1975) revealed a real "Wonderwoman"; she was perceived as more competent, competitive, successful and adventurous than the ideal man as perceived by females. Spence, Helmreich & Stapp (1975) also reported that both men and women are seen as having masculine-valued and feminine-valued traits; only 13 of their 55 traits were sex-specific (valued for one sex but not the other).

Other recent evidence, however, suggests that the stereotypes are alive and well (Der-Karabetian & Smith, 1977). How can this evidence be reconciled? What is the status of sex-role stereotypes today? Are they common? Do both sexes accept (or reject) them? Or are the stereotypes perpetuated predominantly by males? Many feminists would argue that males do perpetuate the stereotypes because of the built-in advantages for them, specifically in terms of power and prestige (Chafetz, 1974; Cox, 1976; Firestone, 1970; Greer, 1971).

This study was designed to examine some of these questions. The main focus of the study was on the relative value placed on masculinity and femininity. Additionally, we were interested in sex differences in the extent of stereotyping and differential valuing of what is stereotypically masculine or feminine. College males and females were asked to describe the Ideal Man (IM), the Ideal Woman (IW and the Ideal Person (IP) using 24 common behavioral traits. A within-subjects design was used so that the difference scores between the Ideals for each subject could be analyzed. A Q-sort technique was utilized. Subjects were forced to consider the relative value of the traits; it was impossible to rate everything as equally good or important.

While the design was similar to that of the Broverman et al. study (1970), there were several critical differences: (1) subjects were students, not professionals, (2) they described "Ideals" rather than making clinical assessments of "health," (3) a within-subjects design was used, allowing for comparisons for each subject, and (4) a Q-sort technique was used, forcing subjects to consider relative importance. It was also somewhat similar to the Spence, Helmreich & Stapp (1975) study except that subjects considered the ideal male and female rather than the typical male and female, and, even more importantly, they also considered the ideal person. The Ideal Person served as a standard of comparison and thus allowed for a direct test of the prediction of the value placed on masculinity as opposed to femininity (the Ideal Man-Ideal Person as opposed to the Ideal Woman-Ideal Person discrepancy).

The specific hypotheses of the study were as follows. Assuming a general tendency to place greater value on

masculinity than femininity, our first hypothesis was that the Ideal Man and the Ideal Person would be rated as more similar than the Ideal Woman and the Ideal Person. Secondly, we predicted that this effect would be greater for males. This second hypothesis followed from the assumption that the stereotypes work to the advantage of males. The third hypothesis which followed from the same assumption was that males would stereotype more than females, as indicated by larger discrepancies in all comparisons (IM-IW as well as IP-IW). Other recent evidence supports this prediction (Der-Karabetian & Smith, 1977).

METHOD

Subjects

Subjects were 106 undergraduate students who volunteered to participate for extra credit in their Introductory Psychology courses. There were 32 males and 74 females.

Procedure

Subjects were given 24 cards with one trait on each card. Fifteen of the traits were from Rokeach's (1973) list of 18 instrumental values. Others were added which were particularly stereotyped (e.g., aggressive, confident, intuitive and sensuous). Subjects used a Q-sort technique to sort the 24 traits into seven categories from "Most Important" to "Least Important" for the Ideal Woman, Ideal Man and Ideal Person. The number of traits to be placed in each of the seven categories were 1-2-5-8-5-2-1 with no ordering within categories. Scoring was based on the category in which the trait was placed; scores ranged from 1 to 7 with "1" indicating most important and "7" indicating least important. For example, all eight traits in the middle category were scored "4." There were two different orders: (1) half of the subjects rated the Ideal Man first, Ideal Woman second and Ideal Person last, (2) half of the subjects rated the Ideal Woman first, Ideal Man second and Ideal Person last.*

RESULTS

Discrepancy Scores

The primary interest was in the various discrepancies between subjects' ratings of the Ideal Woman, Ideal Man and Ideal Person. Total discrepancy scores (IP-IM, IP-IW and IM-IW) for each subject were computed by summing the absolute value of the differences in ratings on each of the 24 traits. To test the hypotheses, the Ideal Person-Ideal Man and Ideal Person-Ideal Woman discrepancies were analyzed by an un-

*Preliminary analyses on all data yielded no significant order effects, thus this factor is excluded from the Results section.

weighted means analysis of variance with repeated measures (Winer, 1962). The means are presented in Table 1.

The first hypothesis was that the Ideal Man and the Ideal Person would be perceived as more similar than the Ideal Woman and the Ideal Person. The IP-IW discrepancy was significantly greater than the IP-IM discrepancy, F (1,104)= 7.52, $p < .01$. The second hypothesis was that this effect would be greater for males. This was supported by a significant interaction, F (1,104)= 11.64, $p < .01$. The third hypothesis was that males would stereotype more than females as indicated by males having greater discrepancies overall. The sex difference main effect was significant, F (1,104) = 4.85, $p < .05$.

The primary source of all of the significant findings was one very deviant cell: the male subjects' large discrepancies between the Ideal Person and the Ideal Woman. As tested by a Newman-Keuls (Winer, 1962), the discrepancies between the Ideal Person and the Ideal Man were not significantly different for males and females. And for female subjects, the Ideal Person-Ideal Woman discrepancy was not significantly different from the Ideal Person-Ideal Man discrepancy. But, as

TABLE 1

Mean Total Discrepancy Scores

	Ideal Person-Ideal Man	Ideal Person-Ideal Woman	Unweighted Mean Total Discrepancy Score
Males	15.69	19.63	17.66
Females	14.97	14.54	14.76
Unweighted Means Across Sexes	15.33	17.09	

predicted, for the male subjects, the Ideal Woman was very different from the Ideal Person/Ideal Man. That one cell (19.63) was significantly greater than all other cells ($p < .01$).

In addition to the primary analysis, a separate analysis was done on the Ideal Man-Ideal Woman discrepancies as a further test of the third hypothesis that males would stereotype more than females. This yielded a significant sex difference. The mean for the male subjects (21.19) was significantly greater than the mean for the female subjects (16.57), t (103) = 3.01, $p < .005$. That is, males perceived more differences between IM-IW than did females.

The Ideal Person, the Ideal Man and the Ideal Woman

While the focus of the study was on the overall differences that existed, the data on each of the 24 traits allowed us to examine the above findings in terms of the component parts. Specific comparisons of some of the traits helped to clarify and give support to the major findings. T-tests for IP-IM, IP-IW and IM-IW differences were computed for all traits. Because of the number of t-tests computed, these data should be interpreted with caution. However, since they were secondary and supportive analyses only, it was the overall pattern of findings rather than any particular finding which was of interest. Some relatively consistent and meaningful patterns did emerge which helped to clarify the results of the main analysis.

The overall picture of the Ideal Person served as a standard by which to judge the other findings. Using unweighted means across sexes, the most important (lowest mean rating) traits were loving (2.53), responsible (2.73), broad-minded (3.23) and forgiving (3.33). The least important (highest mean rating) traits were submissive (5.98), aggressive (5.60), sensuous (5.23), emotional (5.05) and intuitive (4.89). All other traits were grouped around the mean ($\pm$ .5 standard deviation) due to moderate ratings and/or a lack of consistency. The differences between this Ideal Person and the Ideal Man and Woman were quite revealing. The results were markedly different for male and female subjects, thus they are presented separately.

Males. Males rated the Ideal Woman as significantly more loving ($p < .05$), sensitive ($p < .05$) and sensuous ($p < .01$) than the Ideal Person (who was more courageous than the Ideal Woman, $p < .05$). Similar results were found for IM-IW differences. Males rated the Ideal Woman as more emotional ($p < .05$), forgiving ($p < .01$), loving ($p < .01$), sensitive ($p < .05$), sensuous ($p < .01$) and submissive ($p < .05$) than the Ideal Man; the Ideal Man was more ambitious ($p < .05$) and courageous ($p < .01$) than the Ideal Woman. On the other hand, tests on all 24 traits

yielded no significant differences between the Ideal Person and the Ideal Man for male subjects.

Females. In contrast, there were very few significant differences for female subjects. There were two differences between the Ideal Person and the Ideal Man (the Person was more clean, $p < .05$, the Man more sensuous, $p < .05$). There was only one significant difference between the Person and the Woman: the Ideal Woman was more sensuous than the Ideal Person ($p < .01$). Likewise, there was only one significant difference between the Ideal Man and the Ideal Woman: the Woman was more intuitive than the Man ($p < .05$).

Discussion

All hypotheses were supported. That greater value was placed on masculinity was evidenced by the small discrepancy between the Ideal Person-Ideal Man as compared to the Ideal Person-Ideal Woman. In other words, what is valued in general (Ideal Person) is the same as what is valued in particular for men (Ideal Man) but not women (Ideal Woman). This was especially true for males as predicted; in fact, it was only true for males. From the males' perspective, the sexes are not only different but also unequal. An ideal person is an ideal man; a woman, even an ideal woman, is something else. The stereotypes have not disappeared, at least for men. It is men who differentiate most strongly overall and men who see women as something other than an ideal person.

That the sexes are not only perceived as different but unequal receives some additional support from the relative rankings of the various traits. The traits which were least important (highest means) were, with one exception, stereotypically feminine--submissive, sensuous, emotional and intuitive (the one exception was aggressive which is stereotypically masculine). It is particularly interesting that there were significant differences between the Ideal Woman and the Ideal Man on each of these "feminine" traits. Although they were not highly valued overall for the IP, IM or IW, males rated the Ideal Woman as significantly more submissive, sensuous and emotional than the Ideal Man. Females did not differentiate on those but did see the Ideal Woman as significantly more intuitive than the Ideal Man.

On the whole, females stereotyped and differentiated much less than males. The few differences that did emerge were insufficient to provide a consistent picture. In contrast, the picture for males seems much clearer. They appeared to see the Ideal Woman in terms of her relationship to them. More than the Ideal Man or the Ideal Person she should be loving, emotional sensitive, sensuous and submissive.

he is someone to love, perhaps, more than someone to respect.

o be ideal in the eyes of men, women ay be forced to be some of the very hings which men do not value in gen-ral, i.e., to become more like an deal Woman, on some dimensions, is to become less of an Ideal Person. Is not this the crux of the problem of female identity (Komarovsky, 1946; Bem & Bem, 1973)? The stereotypes still exist, to the relative disadvantage of women, in the eyes of males. Perhaps one hopeful sign is that at least women do not appear to be buying this view so much anymore.

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Séduite ou Séductrice

Image littéraire de la femme au XVIII^e siècle

Dietlinde Sigrid Bailet

La littérature allemande de la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle nous "entoure" de mille variantes de la "Gretchen"(1) traditionelle, jeune fille à l'innocence presque angélique, séduite par quelque "méchant" séducteur aux allure de grand méchant loup, ce même loup qu séduit l'enfant innocent et le dévore dans les contes de Grimm.

Si l'on se tourne vers d'autres horizons littéraires contemporains—vers l'Angleterre ou la France—ce sont les mêmes victimes vertueuses qui sont mises en scène. Le lecteur attentif—ou plutôt la lectrice moderne—ne peut que s'étonner de cette marée littérair à sens unique: description toujours

détaillée du déshonneur de la femme et de sa souffrance. Où est donc passée cette Eve, archi-séductrice des temps obliques? Perdues sur quels chemins de traverse de l'Histoire de la femme ces hétaïres, enchanteresses de l'ancienne Grèce? Es-tu restée sans descendance, Armide(2)dont les charmes surent retenir le victorieux Rinaldo? Et toi, écrivain du XVIII^{e} siècle, as-tu entièrement oublié ces femmes séductrices? Pourquoi t'être tourné systématiquement vers la description complaisante des victimes féminines de la séduction masculine?

Dans le cadre restreint de cet article —de façon forcément schématique et incomplète—essayons cependant d'éclairer un peu la question: séduite ou séductrice?

L'écrivain qui fait exception aux tendances littéraires dominantes du XVIII^{e} siècle allemand c'est Wieland qui, dans son Agathon, nous fait le portrait d'une héroïne enchanteresse: Danaë, image féminine rajeunie du XVI^{e} siècle italien mise en scène par le Tasse sous les traits d'Armide, qui servait d'instrument de séduction à son vieux père sorcier.

Non plus *femme-objet* mais *femme-outil* (il s'agit d'un outil conscient qui quitte bientôt la main qui le dirige), la très belle hétaïre Danaë est l'instrument dont se sert le vieux sophiste Hippias pour séduire Agathon, jeune homme aux grands principes moraux qui ne résisteront guère à l'appel du plaisir. Mille artifices sont nécessaires mais la technique de base reste toujours la même: elle fait appel à la très grande sensibilité du jeune homme et à son imagination plutôt que d'essayer d'éveiller grossièrement les sens endormis de sa victime.

Par ce détour, elle mène Agathon plus lentement mais d'autant plus irrévocablement aux voluptés sensuelles. Un certain type de nature, des jardins babyloniens façon Armide, une musique toujours adaptée à la circonstance ont un rôle complémentaire et précipiteront la chute du héros qui, en chemin, a oublié sa vertu.

Différence significative cependant qui se dégage entre la création littéraire du XVI^{e} et l'imitation grecque, façon XVIII^{e} siècle: Armide, comme une fumée magique, se dissipe dans l'autodestruction symbolisée par le sac de ses jardins enchanteurs quand son charme a cessé d'agir sur Rinaldo. Danaë, au déclin de son pouvoir sensuel, reste victorieuse et retient sa proie grâce à sa *belle âme*.

Wieland est l'un des premiers écrivains de son siècle à donner *une belle âme* à une femme qui, aux yeux des canons moraux de la société, est,traditionnellement, déchue. Conscient de ce pas osé, l'écrivain s'en excuse longuement en arguant de la très grande liberté

des moeurs de la Grèce antique en rien comparables à celles de ses contemporains. Allant plus loin, il ose donner son héroïne en exemple et souhaiter la compagnie de celle-ci à tout jeune homme de bonne famille.

Outre sa "belle âme," de quel autre trésor de séduction dispose cette séductrice nouvelle manière? Une beauté indéfinissable attire tous les regards et lui donne un charme mystérieux dont elle use avec savoir-faire sur la bonne compagnie qui peuple sa luxueuse demeure. Wieland nous la montre distrayant ses invités par des talents artistiques certains, servis par une vive intelligence. Plaire est son métier et on peut dire, qu'à cause de son expérience des hommes, elle a "du métier." Sa connaissance parfaite des faiblesses masculines lui permet de *gouverner* les hommes sans y paraître, mais *son coeur*—avant tout autre organe—lui ouvre toutes les portes. Wieland y insiste et nous montre comment les circonstances ont poussé la jeune Myris, enfant au coeur sensible, à devenir Danaë, l'hétaïre "vertueuse" qu'Agathon pourra, par simple symbiose, ouvrir aux *plaisirs de l'âme* et à cette beauté supérieure que Platon nommait *vertu*. C'est grâce à elle que, finalement, tout en renonçant à son amant, elle finit par là où nos traditionnelles oies déblanchies du XVIII^{e} siècle commencent—par une vie vertueuse et ordonnée. Elle diffère en ceci de façon totale d'une Armide et de cette Eve, présentée à travers les siècles par une Eglise qui aimera en faire l'Archi-séductrice, péché incarné, mère, fille et esprit—saint du Vice.

Il aura fallu le courage de quelques écrivains "éclairés"—nous pouvons déjà citer Milton—pour modifier progressivement cette conviction triptyque: femme=séductrice=vice. Traditionnellement, au cours des siècles, la femme a toujours représenté la séduction fautive: non seulement elle personnifiait le vice, toujours conjugué au féminin, mais, encore, elle entraînait, par un prosélytisme coupable, l'homme innocent et pur vers des abîmes de stupres honnis par l'*Eglise* et la *Société*. La punition, bien sûr, était unilatérale, on avait comme oublié la mutilation d'Abélard. Un exemple: dans Historia de Grisel y Mirabella(3) roman du XV^{e} siècle, Mirabella, fille d'un roi d'Ecosse, est restée emprisonée dans une tour pendant plusieurs années. Au chevalier Grisel, son libérateur, elle ne sait rien refuser mais, capturés, les amants passent en jugement. Une dame et un chevalier durent représenter, chacun, son propre sexe devant une Cour spéciale: à jugement prononcé la femme fut trouvée responsable de la séduction de l'homme . . . Traduite en plusieurs langues, cette histoire apparaît en français sous le titre Jugement d'Amour!

Progressivement, ce type de jugement est de moins en moins bien accepté. Dans son Paradise Lost, Milton reproche à Adam d'avoir laissé Eve dans l'ignorance. Ce serait par ignorance que cette dernière se serait écartée du chemin prescrit. Aurait-elle péché par ignorance?

Une fois lancée, cette idée ira loin, le concept de cette dualité longtemps ignorée porte en germe bien des révolutions: Y aurait-il un rapport entre la *vertu* de la femme et son *éducation?* "Good wives and private soldiers should be ignorant;"(4) la phrase de Wycherly doit être interprétée ironiquement car les femmes ignorantes font, plus que les autres, des *maris cocus* et les soldats ignorants ne sont que des *robots*. De Bièvre, dans son Séducteur:

> "Par les vices adroits les moeurs
> ont tout perdu,
> Et ce n'est que *l'esprit* qui
> sauve la vertu. . ."(5)

De moins en moins représentée comme simple incarnation du vice, on essayera de comprendre la femme, on l'excusera, puis, finalement, elle incarnera la vertu elle-même. . . et deviendra, de ce fait, la victime toute désignée de l'homme séducteur. Ce n'est cependant qu'au terme d'une marche de plus d'un siècle pendant laquelle s'élaborera une lente évolution psychologique que ce "virement de bord" littéraire: femme=vice deviendra femme=vertu.

Nécessaire à une meilleure compréhension de notre itinéraire, une courte parenthèse rendra compte de ce changement de cap.

La création littéraire du XVIII^{e} siècle philosophique a été largement influencée par les idéaux psychologiques et sociaux caractéristiques de ce siècle. Si l'on s'intéressait au "bon sauvage," souvent esclave, la femme, considérée traditionnellement comme l'esclave de l'homme était, de fait, un bon sujet d'étude dans le cadre d'une société dont *l'homme* était le *maître-Dieu*.

Ce mouvement, libertin et égalitaire, fut lancé par des écrivains comme Diderot qui, dans ses Pensées, affirme: "Une femme ne peut être la propriété de son mari."

Dans La Religieuse, il accuse la société d'enfermer certaines des meilleures de ses filles dans des institutions à tous égards contre nature: *les couvents*. Ce n'est la, remarquons-le, qu'une répétition des critiques de Montesquieu dans ses Lettres persanes: la femme est prisonnière des institutions de la société et, même si parfois sa cage est dorée comme celle de Roxane, elle ne saurait s'y épanouir. Dans de telles conditions, la liberté ne peut être rejointe que dans la mort, parfois cruelle car, avant d'être libératoire, elle est précédée par les étapes de la séduction, de la

dépravation et souvent même de la folie (cf. La Religieuse).

Autre sujet à explorer, celui de l'univers carcéral du couvent en un siècle où, Dieu étant déjà mort guillotiné, un "ciel bas et lourd" pesait sur les filles de Dieu enfermées dans ces couvents, parfois demeure de l'Esprit Saint, parfois décalques des Châteaux de Sade.

L'alternative était au XVIII^{e} siècle, le mariage, autre institution dénoncée par la littérature. Mme de Graffigny observe à ce propos dans ses Lettres d'une Péruvienne:

> "Il semble qu'en France les liens du mariage ne soient réciproques qu'au moment de la célébration, et que dans la suite les femmes seules y doivent être assujetties.
>
> Je pense et je sens que ce seroit les honorer beaucoup de les croire capables de conserver l'amour pour leur mari, malgré *l'indifférence* et les *dégoûts* dont la plûpart sont *accablées*. Mais qui peut *résister au mépris!*
>
> Le premier sentiment que la nature a mis en nous, est le plaisir d'être, et nous le sentons plus vivement et par degré à mesure que nous nous appercevons du cas que l'on fait de nous (. . .).
>
> Si la possession d'un meuble, d'un bijou, d'une terre, est un des sentiments les plus agréables que nous éprouvions, quel doit être celui qui nous assure la possession d'un coeur, d'une âme, d'un *être libre, indépendant* et qui se donne *volontairement* en échange du plaisir de posséder en nous les mêmes avantages? (. . .) Conçois-tu par quelle inconséquence les François peuvent espérer qu'une jeune femme accablée de l'indifférence offensante de son mari, ne cherche pas à se soustraire à l'espèce d'anéantissement qu'on lui présente sous toutes sortes de formes."(6)
> (Souligné par moi)

Longue citation qu'on me pardonnera car elle montre bien le rapport *possession-chute*, clairement exprimé pour la première fois: *la femme-jouet*, trouve, dans la cause même de sa chute le germe de sa rédemption. Paradoxe involontaire d'ailleurs: les maîtres de la société enlèvent à la femme toute liberté pour lui permettre ensuite de s'échapper de la prison aux barreaux dorés. A peine libre, voilà que l'attend derrière la porte le "gentil" séducteur qui, le plus sûrement du monde, la précipitera dans une prison encore plus grande, celle du couvent, souvent synonyme de tombeau. Rien d'étonnant à ce cri poussé pour avertir tout un sexe:

> "La honte, ce tyran des âmes nobles, n'habite qu'avec *les hommes:* Fuyons-les!"(7)
> (Souligné par moi)

Société et *Homme* sont deux concepts souvent interchangeables et liés. Changeons l'un, l'autre changera. La société a corrompu les êtres, retournons à la nature, prône naïvement Rousseau, nous y retrouverons notre innocence: "Tout est bien sortant des mains de l'auteur des choses, tout dégénère entre les mains de l'homme." Cette pensée est vite reprise dans de nombreuses oeuvres littéraires de l'époque; on y voit les dogmes religieux remplacés par une "religion naturelle," les peuplades primitives puis l'enfant représentent l'innocence.

De l'enfant à la jeune fille, le pas est vite franchi et la conviction de la naturelle innocence de la jeune fille paraît vite évidente sur un terrain psychologiquement préparé.

En 1740, Richardson publie Pamela. Il ne s'agit pas seulement d'une des premières oeuvres importantes qui traite de la vie d'une jeune fille (et qui l'annonce clairement par son titre) mais, qui plus est, cette jeune fille, contrairement à Eve, incarne la vertu ("Virtue rewarded").

Quel est le rôle joué par cet ingrédient nouveau dans la séduction?

Dans Pamela, la vertu implique encore un côté physique qui—en littérature tout au moins—perdra bientôt toute importance. Sept ans après l'apparition de sa première oeuvre, Richardson donne, dans sa Clarissa, un sens plutôt religieux et moral à ce terme. Richardson s'efforce, dès le début de ses romans, de convaincre son lecteur de l'innocence de ses héroïnes: sans désir sensuel, elles aiment d'un amour "which never before reigned in a female heart." Dans sa lettre du 7 juin, Lovelace n'appelle-t-il pas Clarissa: "virgin saint?" Quelle victime plus choisie y aurait-il pour le diable?

Dans Faust, cette "sainte," cette *Archi-vierge* (Gretchen) doit faire face à *l'Archi-séducteur* (Méphisto). Dans Clarissa, Lovelace incarne ce côté diabolique de l'homme--séducteur.

Nous avons donc face à face une jeune fille carapaçonnée de vertu (Méphisto lui-même se demande s'il pourra en triompher: "Uber die hab' ich keine Gewalt!") et, d'autre part, un séducteur aux techniques éprouvées.

Cette opposition permet à l'écrivain de déployer son imagination dans le cadre d'un vaste système d'attaques et de défenses sur toile de fond érotique, important piment nécessaire au succès de ce genre littéraire. Le jeu a ses règles.

Sauf chez Sade dont Justine ou les malheurs de la vertu représente une exception, il faut que la vertu triomphe. Comme, physiquement, Clarissa doit succomber à la force et à la ruse de son séducteur et comme,

d'autre part, elle doit absolument rester moralement pure, la seule issue est la mort.

Parfois cette mort fictive d'une jeune fille qui, bien que souillée physiquement demeure pure moralement, est bien le reflet d'une réalité sociale. C'est aussi qu'un cas réel a inspiré Goethe qui tira de la condamnation à mort d'une jeune fille son Faust I que certains critiques qualifient de "drame bourgeois."

Ce côté sociologique de la séduction est important car, dans les oeuvres inspirées de ce thème, la jeune fille, ou la femme séduite, est généralement d'appartenance bourgeoise tandis que le séducteur est issu de la noblesse. Vengeance historique après la Révolution française?

Cette tendance ne saurait être mieux illustrée qu'avec les Liaisons dangereuses dans lesquelles la Présidente de Tourvel, la Clarissa française, appartient à la noblesse de robe, caste encore très attachée aux principes religieux et bourgeois alors que les séducteurs, le Marquis de Valmont et Madame de Merteuil, font partie d'une noblesse plus évoluée. Mme. de Tourvel, elle aussi, aime d'un "amour céleste," et transfère son adoration divine en vénération humaine:

> "Vous avez raison, me dit la tendre personne; je ne puis plus supporter mon existence, qu'autant qu'elle servira à vous rendre heureux. Je m'y consacre toute entière: dès ce moment je me donne à vous, et vous n'éprouverez de ma part ni refus, ni regrets."

Selon la tradition littéraire établie par Richardson, la victime expie par la mort, mais cette mort même est cause de salut pour le séducteur qui découvrant les délices de l'Amour, abandonne celles du plaisir. Voici donc le diptype Danaë—Agathon renversé.

Mme. de Merteuil, l'héroïne à mon sens la plus intéressante (psychologiquement s'entend) des Liaisons dangereuses cette "Eve satanique" selon Baudelaire, nous ramène (linguistiquement s'entend) aux temps bibliques.

Ne concluons pas si hâtivement cependant. Cette création littéraire n'aurait-elle rien en commun avec la tradition littéraire établie tout au long du XVIII^{e} siècle et que nous venons de passer en revue?

Quel destin a conduit Mme. de Merteuil à l'art de la séduction dans lequel elle règne en maîtresse? Projection littéraire d'une figure de la bonne société grenobloise de l'époque qui sut inspirer Laclos, l'héroïne établit un lien entre la fiction romanesque et la réalité sociale.

Bon mari, bon père, il est possible que l'auteur des Liaisons dangereuses ait voulu, par le moyen de la satire sociale, lancer un avertissement à ses contemporains corrompus. Quoiqu'il en soit, cette magnifique création de séductrice montre le rôle qu'une femme intelligente, belle, et éprise de liberté pouvait jouer dans la "bonne société" de son temps. Leçon de duplicité qu'elle nous donne: la liberté suppose le masque à l'abri duquel sera donné libre cours à des penchants que la morale réprouve. Grisée de son pouvoir quasi magique, la Merteuil fait des hommes tyraniques ses esclaves soumis: elle venge son sexe mais c'est au prix de sa sensibilité qu'en un siècle qui en déborde, elle saura endiguer; prix à payer pour son efficacité dans un cadre qui, toujours, restera ludique.

Malgré cet exemple d'une liberté qui s'éprouve en reniant cette sensibilité si chère à Rousseau, le poids du social reste prépondérant comme l'exprime Benkovitz dans son essai Woman's Concept of Self:

> The woman of the eighteenth century who liberated herself came to the realization that for self-development and self-fulfillment, she must first escape the narrow role assigned her by society.(8)

Echapper aux dangers du conformisme social c'est là tout le sens d'une lutte dont l'arme privilégiée reste la *séduction*.

Cependant, malgré tous les talents divers dont font preuve nos héroïnes, elles ne peuvent, en définitive, échapper à leur conditionnement social. L'image littéraire de la femme au XVIII^{e} siècle n'est, en fait, et une fois tombés les masques de l'art que le démarquage de la réalité.

Et de cette réalité surgit une image féminine non pas libérée, plus tout à fait esclave cependant et qui, séductrice ou séduite, devra, au long des siècles, assurer son individualité propre et différente de celle de l'homme en un combat qui continue.

NOTES

1. Goethe, Faust I.
2. Le Tasse, Jérusalem délivrée, 16^{e} chant.
3. Juan de Flores, Historia de Grisel y Mirabella dans Menéndez Pelayo, Origenes de la novela II (Obras Completas XIV), Santander 1943, p. 59.
4. Wycherly, The Country Wife, I/1.
5. De Bièvre, Le Séducteur, II/1.
6. Mme de Graffigny, Lettres d'une Péruvienne, Paris, 1752.
7. Mme de Graffigny, Cénie, II/1.
8. Benkovitz, Woman's Concept of Self in the 18th Century in Fritz & Morton: Woman in the 18th Century and Other Essays, Toronto, 1976.

Inaloosiak's Dilemma - - - Every Woman's Heritage

by Maryann Ayim

Once upon a time there was a woman named Inaloosiak, and she had a husband whose name was Inanggao. One day Inanggao and Inaloosiak had run out of food but instead of going hunting, Inanggao lay in bed and shouted at his wife. "Inaloosiak," he cried, "go out and get some scrub willow twigs and build a fire." Inaloosiak knew that there was no reason to build a fire since they didn't have any food to cook but she was afraid of her husband, so without saying a word she went out to look for scrub willow. Her husband stayed in bed.

Inaloosiak was walking across the tundra, looking for willow twigs, when all of a sudden she looked in the direction where the wind was blowing and there she saw a big grizzly bear charging at her. Inaloosiak was really scared. She grabbed the bear around the neck and held on and squeezed as hard as she could. The bear struggled and fought and clawed at her but Inaloosiak held on. Just as she thought she couldn't hold on any longer the bear stopped struggling and began to relax. When it was limp, Inaloosiak let go. The grizzly bear was dead. Inaloosiak stared at the bear; she couldn't believe she really had killed it.

She was afraid that the bear would get up again at any moment so she hurried away and started home but she kept looking back. The bear never moved.

Finally she couldn't see it any longer but as she walked she kept thinking about the bear. Had she really killed it? She decided to go back and have another look. When she got back to the place where she fought the bear, sure enough, it was still there. The bear was dead. Then Inaloosiak knew for sure that she had killed it and she rushed home to tell her husband.


Susanne

Inaloosiak was all out of breath when she got back to camp, but she was so scared of her husband that instead of going into the tent she stood outside and called to him. "Inanggao, I got a grizzly bear. Get up and go and skin it." But Inanggao just rolled over in bed and never said a thing. After a while Inaloosiak called again. "Inanggao, get up, I killed a grizzly bear. Go and skin it." Still her husband said nothing. Finally Inaloosiak called really loudly. "Inanggao get up and go and skin the grizzly bear!"

As soon as she said this she could hear her husband getting up. He was grumbling to himself, "If Inaloosiak is telling me a lie I'm going to break her head open and kill her and eat her." All the time he was getting dressed he kept saying this, "If Inaloosiak is lying to me I'm going to bust her skull in and kill her and eat her." When he finished dressing, he came outside and as he walked with her he said over and over, "If Inaloosiak is telling me a lie I'm going to break her head and eat her."

Inaloosiak was really scared. What if the grizzly bear wasn't there! But when they got near the place she saw that the bear was where she had left it, and she was so happy she stopped walking. "Where is it?" Inanggao demanded. Inaloosiak pointed to the dead bear. Inanggao looked, and sure enough there was a bear! He couldn't believe his eyes. "Inaloosiak must be a magician!" he cried, and he hurried over to look at the bear.

"Inaloosiak must be a witch," he murmured to himself as he examined the dead bear. And all the time he was skinning the bear he kept saying over and over, "Inaloosiak must be a magician, she must be a witch."(1)

Inaloosiak's plight is a full-fledged logical dilemma(2) insofar as the two conditions necessary to her well-being are mutually exclusive. Inaloosiak must lose either the battle with the bear or the label "good woman," and either of these entails the loss of her well-being. The impossibility of her attaining a state of well-being is thus guaranteed by logic.

I want to suggest in this paper that Inaloosiak's dilemma is characteristic of all women, at least, those in mainstream North American society.(3) As an illustration of this claim and as a starting point for discussion, I will describe a sex stereotype study conducted in 1968 by the Worcester State Hospital in Massachusetts.(4) The purpose of this study was to determine (a) whether the criteria of health, maturity and social competence held by practicing clinical psychologists were sexually stereotypic and (b) whether the ideal in terms of health, maturity and social competence was

considered to be masculine rather than feminine by these psychologists.

It is important to emphasize that the concept of mental health is but one drop(5) in the sex roles bucket. Social perceptions of appropriate male and female characteristics are not peculiar to clinical psychologists or to any other particular group of persons defined by class, educational level, age, sex, religion or marital status. The traditional male/female classification is highly pervasive and cuts across all these categories.(6) These perceptions of appropriate female and male characteristics also appear to have remained constant over time; the popular view that present-day society has relaxed the rigid differentiation between male-valued and female-valued features is controverted by research.(7) Not even among college students, where we would perhaps expect it most, have the conventional characterizations of male and female been rejected.(8) Thus the mental health study must not be interpreted as an isolated datum; it exhibits and typifies the over-all pattern of sex role stereotyping in our society.

The authors of the mental health study describe its structure as follows:

> A sex-role stereotype questionnaire consisting of 122 bipolar items [e.g., "very aggressive," "not at all aggressive," "very gentle," "very rough"] was given to actively functioning clinicians with one of three sets of instructions: To describe a healthy, mature, socially competent (a) adult, sex unspecified, (b) a man, or (c) a woman.(9)

Of these 122 items, 38 were clearly used by the lay public in a sexually stereotypic way, i.e., the public attributed one pole of these characteristics to females and the other to males. The authors established this point via a separate study(10) in which a similar questionnaire was given to college students who were asked to identify male and female traits on the list. The authors report that there was 70 per cent or better agreement among the students as to whether the sexually stereotypic descriptions were appropriate for males or females.(11)

The following two results issued from this study: (a) The description of the healthy, mature, socially competent man and woman paralleled the male and female stereotypes, respectively, as seen by laypeople; (b) The description of the healthy, mature, socially competent adult was both very similar to the description of the healthy, mature, socially competent man and at the same time very dissimilar to that of the healthy, mature, socially competent woman. The authors conclude that the characteristics associated with the male stereotype have greater

social value in that they approach much closer to the psychologists' version of the socially competent adult than do the characteristics associated with the female stereotype. This conclusion will be referred to as "the strong thesis" hereafter. An important assumption in the strong thesis is that the description of the healthy, mature, socially competent adult (no sex specified) which emerged indicated an assessment of ideals in health, maturity and social competence, for all people, regardless of sex. The implications of this strong thesis for the plight of women are devastating. If this strong thesis were correct, a socially competent woman would be a socially incompetent adult and, furthermore, her incompetence as an adult would vary directly with her competence as a woman. The force of the dilemma is that her well-being is precluded in either case; it is impossible for her to avoid both the dumb broad and the evil witch syndrome.

If this strong thesis were true it would not be possible for a mature adult to be a mature woman. Notice that on the strong thesis there is no analogous dilemma for men. This obviously follows from the extreme similarity in the description of the man and that of the adult.

It is possible, however, to attack the assumption made by the strong thesis--namely that the description of the healthy, mature, socially competent adult emerging from this study is an ideal for both the male and female sex. Such an objector might argue that the similarity of the socially competent male and the socially competent adult in the eyes of the psychologist is a function of the term "adult" carrying with it the masculine set(12)in the same way that the terms "doctor," "mechanic," "principal," "coordinator," and "God" all suggest the notion of a male. If this were true, then the two profiles (man and adult) would naturally be similar, since the psychologists asked to draw the adult profile would, in fact, be drawing that of the man. It could then follow that psychologists as well as the general public operate with no general standard of social competence without regard to sex; rather they operate with two distinct standards of social competence, one for the adult man and one for the adult woman. This claim will be referred to as "the weak thesis" hereafter.

On the weak thesis the notion of a socially competent woman no longer seems to be fraught with logical difficulties. Women and men seem to become equally likely candidates for the socially competent adult, attainable in both cases by acquiring the respective set of suitable characteristics. I wish to urge that the dilemma has not in fact disappeared,

that it has merely "submerged" to entrap women at another level.

One implication of strictly dichotomizing between socially competent men and women is that sex role stereotyping can now be defended as a means to producing a maximum of socially competent adults. Universities, professional schools and trades would be justified in refusing admission to females on the grounds that such skills are not in keeping with the description of the socially competent woman sanctioned by both professional psychologists and laypeople, namely, "not at all aggressive,"(13)"not at all independent," "very emotional," "very subjective," dislikes math and science very much," "very excitable in a minor crisis,""not at all competitive," "very illogical," "almost never acts as a leader," "not at all ambitious," to mention only a few "feminine" character traits. The socially competent woman is one who obeys her husband but decidedly refrains from strangling grizzly bears. Nor would the socially competent woman be capable of self-determination in Christine Garside's sense of one who "actively affirm(s) a life goal for oneself and . . . actively engage(s) in achieving that goal."(14) Since people incapable of affirming and pursuing their own goals could not operate as moral agents in the ordinary sense of the word, women would be automatically precluded from the category of moral persons.

Such a restrictive notion of social competence entails correspondingly restrictive avenues to excellence for women. I suggest that only three types of role are consistent with this confining view of the socially competent woman, that these roles permeate the lifestyles of mainstream North American women and that each of the roles is self-defeating in a peculiar way. The three roles are wife, mother and what I call, for lack of a better term, bait. Ideally, a healthy, mature, socially competent woman plays all three roles simultaneously. The mother role is particularly problematic in this respect as we shall see later.

Of the three available roles the bait role is the most clearly and insidiously self-defeating. A woman who plays the bait role competently is sexually alluring, one to whom men are prone to make advances chiefly by virtue of her appearance or physical decorativeness. What stultifies this role is that the woman who plays it competently must not welcome, actively solicit or reciprocate these advances in any way. She must not want the very behaviour which her role performance elicits from males. The price of welcoming, actively soliciting and reciprocating is to earn the label "slut" or

"whore," and we all know that sluts and whores are not generally admitted to the category of healthy, mature, socially competent women.(15) Expressed by Simone de Beauvoir, "If a woman offers herself too boldly, the man departs, for he is intent on conquering. Woman, therefore, can take only when she makes herself prey: she must become a passive thing, a promise of submission."(16) It is interesting that the bait role, while stultifying to females, is not necessarily gratifying to males either. For this role is consistent, to quote a vulgar expression, with the refusal to dole out any cream till the cow has been bought and paid for. In other words, playing the bait role competently may be a viable means of easing one's way into the two other female roles. This is not to claim, however, that the bait role ends at the altar. A host of women's magazines whose authors advise readers on how to dress and act seductively "even after twenty years of marriage" quickly end any inclination to believe that the bait role is only a means to the more substantial roles of wife and mother.

The competent wife works towards producing an environment most conducive to autonomy and freedom for her husband. If his food is prepared, his clothes laundered, his house cleaned and his friends entertained for him, a man can devote his time to determining and actualizing his own goals. The attainment of these goals, however, puts him in a position of power where he may well oppress less powerful people, particularly women who are without power themselves precisely because they have directed all of their own energies towards supporting their men. In other words, in mothering, nurturing, educating(17) and supporting their men, women make it possible for these same men to attain enviable career positions from which they can actively and effectively discriminate against women.

It is important to notice that the competent wife role does not of necessity lead to oppression on an individual level. That is, there may be women who play the role well and are fairly recompensed for this by their husbands. Notice, though, that such compensation is largely not self-determined; it depends more on the goodwill of the person receiving the benefits of the wife's labours than it does on the efforts of the wife herself. Thus, the sacrifice of one's own means to independence in support of someone else at least leaves one open to (and with few defences against) the possibility of inadequate returns for investment.

Supporting others in their quest for autonomy and freedom of choice is not a bad thing provided that such support does not preclude one's own autonomy and freedom of choice. If the marriage relationship promoted a

mutual support system, such support would in fact be a very good thing. The problem is that the traditional husband-wife relationship actually discourages such reciprocity, leaving the wife ultimately vulnerable to injustice. Margaret Atwood metaphorically captured the nature of this vulnerability when she compared a woman to a cake(18)--the better each is the more quickly and thoroughly it will be devoured.

If the bait role may lead to the wife role, the wife role may equally lead to the mother role. Unlike the bait and wife roles, the mother role is not, taken alone, self-defeating. No one would dispute that the care and energy which the nurturant parent devotes to infants and young children is necessary to the very survival of that child, not to mention its physical, mental and emotional development. Given this, it is unreasonable to deny the importance of the work done by this parent. One does wonder, however, why its importance is not recognized by our social institutions. There are no standard educational programs ministering to it, no monetary compensation (short of family allowance, which is not even minimum wage) associated with it and no special recognition or status available for those who achieve excellence in it.(19) A serious difficulty of the role springs from its traditional conjunction with the wife role. For the qualities required of a socially competent mother tend to be undermined by the wife role. How can a woman be for her children a model of a responsible, independent, moral human being when she has traded in her autonomy on a marriage license? One might argue, at least on these grounds, that the mother role would be much more viable for and in the interests of women and children if it were segregated from the wife role.

A second but less serious difficulty springs from its conjunction with the bait role.(20) A woman's bait qualifications tend to vary inversely with the number of children she has borne. My claim that this difficulty is less serious is based on the view that the bait role is insidiously self-defeating and hence ought not to be pursued anyway. This will probably not diminish the agony of a woman who has been socialized to the belief that a large part of her identity, worth and attractiveness is tied to her ability to appear provocative to men and who sees that bearing children has robbed her of that ability. In other words, although it is not a serious theoretical difficulty it may well be a very serious consideration for very large numbers of women.

A yet further difficulty with the mother role, to quote Greta Nemiroff, is that it "is a role which atrophies when done best,"(21) in the sense that the best mother is the one who encourages and assists

her children to become independent of her. The mother who does the best job does herself out of a job soonest. A related problem is that a woman may, not untypically, find her role as a mother completed when she herself is 30 to 45 years old. She now has anywhere from 15 to 30 years to invest in the marketplace and a complete dearth of skill, training or professional background with which to compete in that marketplace. So even though this particular role may be defensible, its termination is very likely to mark a period of trauma in the life of a woman in that it leaves her poorly equipped to "get on with" other things.

To summarize, if a woman can be healthy, mature and socially competent in only the female sense and a man in only the male sense, then the price of social competence is much higher and the rewards much more meagre for a woman than for a man. Consistent with this restrictive female sense of social competence are only three routes, all of which are problematic, the first beyond repair, the second almost so, but the third offering some hope <u>if</u> it were not required to complement the first and second.

In brief, then, selecting either the strong or weak hypothesis discussed above as a basis for how things ought to be only introduces a new level of the dilemma--on the one hand it is not logically possible for a socially competent woman to be a socially competent adult; on the other hand, social competence is logically possible, but is of an order which precludes moral autonomy(22)for example. Both alternatives are destructive and oppressive as far as woman are concerned.

Perhaps not unexpectedly, the options for extrication from this dilemma may themselves be dilemmatic. Radical feminists on the one hand are saying that women ought not to be confined and smothered by the oppressive structure of capitalist society and its institutions of marriage and the nuclear family.(23) Disciples of the"fascinating womanhood"(24)movement on the other hand, advise us to relish our oppression, to make a virtue of it. One wonders if this dilemma is soluble. Is there an escape between the horns, a middle way between no nuclear family at all and nuclear families which are built from the slavish servitude of women? If there is a middle way, we had better set to work to make it viable, self-respecting, and available to our Inaloosiaks. We can ill afford to enslave or to exile those who have already done battle with the grizzly bear.

NOTES

1. Melanie Anatiak, "Inaloosiak and the Grizzly Bear," trans. Theresa Qauqjuak (The Woman's Kit; Toronto: O.I.S.E., 1972).

2. Following Lionel Ruby's account, the Inaloosiak case would be an example of a simple (as opposed to complex) dilemma. The form of a simple dilemma is this:

p implies r
q implies r
either p or q

Therefore r

Lionel Ruby, Logic: An Introduction (New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1960), p. 294.

Inaloosiak's situation might appear on the surface to be logically paradoxical in so far as her winning implies losing and losing implies winning. There is a certain similarity with the paradox of the liar, for example, in which the truth of a given statement implies its falsehood, and its falsehood implies its truth. A closer analysis, however, reveals a discrepancy in this description of Inaloosiak's situation. While her winning implies losing, that which is lost is different from that which is won; i.e., her winning the fight with the grizzly bear implies losing the status of "good woman" rather than losing the fight with the grizzly bear. It is this second consequent which would be required by a strict logical paradox.

For a discussion of the paradox of the liar, see Irving M. Copi, Symbolic Logic, Second ed. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965), p. 190.

3. I suspect that the dilemma is really much broader, however, and true of women in just about every culture in the world today.

4. The results of this study are published in Inge K. Broverman et al., "Sex-Role Stereotypes and Clinical Judgments of Mental Health," Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 34 (No. 1, 1970), pp. 1-7.

5. This is by no means to deny the importance of the claim that mental health standards tend to be sexually stereotypic. Given the power of clinical psychologists to commit people to mental institutions, the prospect of stereotyped standards is more than a little frightening.

6. Inge K. Broverman et al., "Sex-Role Stereotypes: A Current Appraisal," Journal of Social Issues, 28 (No. 2, 1972), pp. 64-65.

7. Ibid., p. 64.

8. Ibid., p. 69.

9. Broverman et al., "Sex-Role Stereotypes and Clinical Judgments of Mental Health," p. 1.

10. P. Rosenkrantz et al., "Sex-Role Stereotypes and Self-Concepts in College Students," Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 32 (No. 3, 1968), pp. 287-295.

11. Broverman et al., "Sex-Role Stereotypes and Clinical Judgments of Mental Health," p. 2.

12. This idea was suggested to me by a colleague, Dr. Jim Sanders.

13. These character traits were all included among those specifically attributable to women with a 70% or higher agreement in the Worcester Hospital study. See Broverman et al., "Sex-Role Stereotypes and Clinical Judgments of Mental Health," p. 3.

14. Christine Garside, "Woman and Persons," Mother Was Not a Person, ed. M. Andersen (Montreal: Black Rose Books Ltd., 1972), p. 192.

15. The woman who best measures up to the standards associated with the female sex role is competent bait in exactly the sense described above. According to Jerome Kagan, important among the female sex role behaviour patterns are both "elicit(ing) sexual arousal in a male" and at the same time inhibiting in herself any "overt signs of sexual desire." Jerome Kagan, "Acquisition and Significance of Sex Typing and Sex Role Identity," Review of Child Development Research, ed. Martin Hoffman and Lois Hoffman Vol. 1 (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1964), pp. 142, 141.

16. Simone de Beauvoir, The Second Sex, trans. and ed. H.M. Parshley (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), p. 689.

17. Women, remember, constitute the vast majority of educators in the elementary schools.

18. Margaret Atwood, The Edible Woman (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969).

19. This is not to deny that there is Mother's Day, but is to deny that such social niceties should be an alternative to social justice.

20. Greta Nemiroff, "Women and Education," McGill Journal of Education, X (Spring, 1975), p. 9.

21. Kagan, pp. 151-152.

22. Autonomy and free choice are pre-conditions of morality; insofar as the female stereotype rules these out, the female role cannot be said to be morally good. The socialization process undergone by females in this society makes the possibility of not "choosing" stereotypic roles very slim. It is thus inappropriate to attach moral goodness to the self-sacrifice and self-effacement that characterize the typical female roles, given that these have not been engaged in as a matter of choice.

23. See, for example, Ti-Grace Atkinson, Amazon Odyssey (New York: Links Books, 1974).

24. E.g., the "total woman" philosophy of Marable Morgan, in Anne Lewis, "Are You a 'Total Woman.'" Lady's Circle (July, 1976), p. 22.

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Butterflies Aren't Free:

Sexism in Natural Science Books for the Layperson

by Marylee Stephenson

Foreword to Robert Michael Pyle's Watching Washington Butterflies(1), a Pyle's stand for women's right to enjoy the beauty of butterflies, that inspired the research presented below. The exceptional nature of Pyle's stance focused my thought on the sexist nature of "popular" natural scienc books for the layperson. Sexism has been examined in the social sciences (2)and there is critical work on sexis in science relative to the physical a mental health of humans.(3) Yet there remains a gap in the systematic study

> . . . butterflies have tended to be a child's hobby . . . . It has been suggested that butterflies may symbolize a boy's adolescent dreams of the fair sex, gossamer and floss creatures to be pursued and--just possibly--possessed. Therefore, it can be argued that when teenagers make the transition to the real thing the butterflies are dropped. An interesting idea but probably not valid. A pity if true, because butterflies deserve a longer attention span. (Author's note: And because women deserve butterflies, too.)

It was the above statement by renowned naturalist Roger Tory Peterson in the

Photo by Marylee Stephenson

of sexism in other areas of science. This gap needs to be filled because it is in "Field Guides" to animal and plant life, in life histories of various animals, in descriptions of comparative animal behaviour written in an informal manner, and in highly readable accounts of the workings of the human body that the public is most often in conscious contact with some aspect of that imposing endeavor--Science.

Such sexism can take many forms. One of the most frequent, and yet often most insidious, is through written and spoken language. Language is a central feature of our socio-cultural context. It is characteristic of language that

> . . . a number of fashions of speaking, frames of consistency, are possible in any given language and that these fashions of speaking, linguistic forms, or codes, are themselves a function of the form social relations take. . . . The form of the social relations or, more generally, the social structure generates distinct linguistic forms or codes and <u>these codes essentially transmit the culture and so constrain behaviour</u>. (Emphasis Bernstein's) (4)

It follows that in a society where social relations between groups and between individuals--and between combinations thereof--are egalitarian in nature the language would reflect this. It would be true of such a society's linguistic features <u>per se</u>, and it would be the case that the production and maintenance of linguistic forms would be equitably distributed among the members of that society. Since equality of social relationships on any significant scale is not a feature of our society--notably in the cases of sex, race, class, ethnicity and age--we would expect the language character and the production of it(5) to reflect these disparities.

Following on this reasoning, then, the question addressed in the analysis of the present material is not, "is it sexist?" I take for granted that science and scientists share the cultural context in which they work, partaking of its interests, its prejudices, and its strengths and weaknesses. With one exception--the book (Pyle) that sparked this research--the material is <u>all</u> sexist. Indeed, the phrase "it's a man's world" takes on even more richness (if that is the word for it) for the person engaged in the study of science-for-the-public. The question asked here is, rather, <u>how</u> is that sexism expressed. What I take as sexism in these natural history and human biology books is a consistent male-centered orientation, at the expense of the female experience (non-human or human). This occurs in a number of ways, as will be shown.

Methodology and Data Base: The data were selected by a case study approach, where a range of speciality-areas in natural history and human biology books were compiled and then several books from each area were randomly selected to be analyzed. The thirty-eight books surveyed came from a lay-person's 300 volume natural history library. The case study method was chosen over a statistical approach because numerical distributions of the occurence of sexism are not meaningful when virtually the entire research universe is sexist. The methodological necessity is, rather, to portray a fair array of the sources of study--the various types of natural history and human biology books--and to show how in the case of each type of work, sexism is perpetuated. The speciality areas include: ornithology, entomology, botany, animal ethology, biological theory (i.e., mimicry, camouflage), ecology and human biology. In type they range from field guides for practical outdoor guidance (birds, insects, wild flowers, butterflies), to comprehensive monographs on single species (herring gulls, hedgehog, condors, peregrine falcon, shearwaters) to systematic descriptions of the human body and/or its organis (bloodstream, genes); descriptions of a class (birds, insects) or order (butterflies and moths). No books were pre-viewed for possible sexist content as a criterion for selection. Virtually all the books are "popular" both in type and extent of use and could be bought in any large bookstor

Analysis of the data: Sexism in popular science books is expressed in several ways: 1. the male dominance of the practice of science; 2. an assumption by the authors of a male universe in science and elsewhere; 3. an emphasis on description of the male of the species and on "maleness" characteristics; with a concomitant denigration of females and "femaleness." I will point out both how these modes of sexism are constituted and also how the absence of the female experience in scientific practice and content often detracts from the adequacy of the scientific work presented. With rare exceptions, which will be noted, the examples given below represent regular and typical occurrences of each type of sexism, so that giving percentages would be superfluous.

1. Male dominance in the practice of science.

Two of the books are co-authored by women. The rest are written by males. Additionally, with few exceptions, virtually all the scientists, technicians or other experts they cited were male. There is nothing surprising about this, descriptively speaking.(6)

Women's presence in these books is consistently as typists, proofreaders,

illustrators and (sometimes, one and the same) long-suffering unnamed wives. A striking example of the latter is the following acknowledgement to his wife from Konrad Lorenz' in King Solomon's Ring:

> And what has my wife put up with, in the course of the years? For who else would dare ask his wife to allow a tame rat to run free around the house, gnawing neat little circular pieces out of the sheets to furnish his nests . . . . Or what other wife would tolerate a cockatoo who bit off all the buttons from the washing . . . or to allow a greylag goose to spend the night in the bedroom . . . (greylag geese cannot be house-trained). And what would she say when she found out that the nice little blue spots with which song birds after a repast of elderberries decorate all the furniture and curtains, just will not come out in the wash? (p. 2)

From Lorenz' later descriptions of his wife's role in his work, the above hardly constitute the highlights.

This situation raises again issues of the detrimental nature of female occupational segregation of the lack of role modeling for females who may have an incipient interest in science on various levels. It also raises the important question of distortion in the literature resulting from the lack of the insights and concerns of the female gender being brought to bear upon the scientific endeavor.(7)

2. Assumptions of a male universe.

Along with the descriptive facts of a male universe of science practitioners, there are two closely related aspects of sexism in science. The first aspect is the almost automatic assumption that the audience for the book(s) is male: "Any sensitive reader. . . his . . . ," ". . . any true nature lover . . . . his . . . , "Every student . . . . his, "The beginner . . . his . . . ." The second is the universal "generic" use of the male in referring to all humans, except where femaleness is specifically at issue (in reproduction, etc): "And yet man does not exist in isolation. . . ." is typical of the human referents.

It may be argued that the reader actually understands that both men and women are included in this form of address. Thus, neither group need feel selected out for attention or neglect. However, recent studies have shown that readers when seeing "man" used generically, do in fact interpret this as literally "a man" and not as "people."(8) Thus, this traditional usage perpetuates the exclusion, on a perceptual and affective level, of the female reader from the practice of

science as undertaken in these books.*

Moving from the authors' "philosophical" and linguistic stance on "man" we find the consistent use of the generic male in the descriptive material as well. We find statements such as males having 5.4 litres of blood on an average and females 3.3. Yet from then on figures of quantities of blood components (white or red cells, for example) are based on "Our average adult." (Asimov, 1) Would that be male, female or someone in between? Or we learn how long it takes a man to go without food and water, but not a woman. Or, in a discussion on hormones and growth rate patterns, the graphs presented are only of the rates for boys. (Mason) This persistent ambiguity is confusing and finally misleading because we cannot be sure whether the described characteristics, anomalies, defects or diseases are sex-linked, and it would be most interesting and important to know.

Interestingly, most of the authors refer to most non-human species as male as well: condors, lions, golden hamsters, leopards, hedgehogs. This unisex language leaves us ignorant as to whether male birds are more predatory on butterflies than females (Emmel): whether male dogs are more dependent on their master's [sic] company than are females (Lorenz, p. 23); or whether the male porcupine fish is more belligerent than the female. (Lorenz, p. 24) The incomplete nature of these kinds of statements, which pervade the literature, begs for fuller description and analysis.

3. <u>Emphasis on description of the male of the species and on "maleness" characteristics and denigration of femaleness</u>.

This mode of sexism is the culmination and extension of the other two aspects of it. Space limitations allow only one or two illustrations of a phenomenon that appears extensively and consistently through most of the books, particularly the ones discussing behaviour. In a comprehensive monograph on waterfowl the 16 figures depicting waterfowl plumages, ranges, anatomical characteristics, sexual pair forming displays, only males are shown (Johnsgard). It is not simple curiosity or female chauvinism that requires a representation of the female of the species; one of the basic tenets of animal ethology, is the essential role of <u>both</u> sexes in allowing courtship, pair formation, nest or home-building and maintenance of young. That is, there are genetically linked action patterns peculiar to the male and female respectively of the species. The

*This same process of exclusion is fairly well accepted as occurring in texts that leave out native or other ethnic or racial groups, or that derogate and otherwise distort their character and actions.

cyclical hormonal buildings will "release" the initial stages in each sexes' pattern, but for their reproductive behaviour to succeed each sex must be presented with the complementary (and different) behaviour unit inherent to the opposite sex. If the sequence of events is broken anywhere along the line, it cannot continue at that time and if it is broken too often, or the appropriate behaviour is absent entirely, reproduction and offspring care will not occur. Thus, a discussion of "sexual displays of various waterfowl species" that depicts only the males and that deals less completely with females in the text is grossly inadequate to the stated task of describing and analyzing "sexual display."

The following quotation from a book on animal camouflage is typical: "After the breeding season, the dashing, good-looking drake discards his glittering tuxedo for an unassuming tweed coat, not unlike his lady's everyday dress." (Portmann) This kind of portrayal of an array of behaviours and appearances occurs from book to book. It is often true that males are more "flashy" in appearance and behaviour and they are often more evident to the bone-weary observer. But the person attuned to the subtleties of appearance and behaviour and the person genuinely cognizant of the need for an objective, complete science will not stop at the relatively obvious.

This emphasis on males and maleness implies, by omission, a denigration of females and characteristics seen as female. In a number of books this derogatory attitude is more explicit. There is a great amount of anthropomorphism of non-humans and particularly so of females. They are portrayed as "ladies" exhibiting "coyness." (Baker) Where a single male has a number of mates the females are referred to as the "harem." (Lockley, Burt and Grossenheider) A male kestrel (a bird of prey) had the food stolen that he was taking to the brooding female: "She followed him, begging loudly for several minutes--rather tactlessly, I thought." (Timbergen, 36) Deviance does not go unnoticed in the animal kingdom [sic]. In gulls, ". . . the initiative in love-making is usually taken by the female, not the male, a very shocking fact to most of my friends when I mention it to them. . . ." (Tinbergen 37)

Human females are no less negatively stereotyped. Males are the norm for human qualities and characteristics and females provide the light relief or mild sexual titillation. So in a book on animal camouflage where the toad's ability to "appear in a host of disguises," we find that a "Miss Stephenson*(probably apochryphal) tells of a lady gardener who was con-

*No relation.

vinced that her small ornamental garden contained three toads. . . . It took the lady a long time to realize her garden had but a single toad." (Portmann) Or from a discussion of allergies: "You may be allergic to your wife's face-powder, so that either powder or wife must go." (Asimov, p. 1) And to demonstrate the manly awareness of womanliness, comments such as the following are found:

> As it happens, there is more subcutaneous fat in the female than in the male, and it is more evenly distributed. Women may perhaps feel a trifle annoyed. . . . but it is this . . . fat that softens and curves their outline--a consequence that I have every reason to believe, is quite satisfactory to one and all. (Asimov, p. 3)

Or, more pernicious, in a discussion of hormonal effects on appetites:

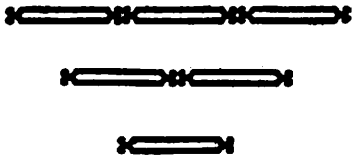
> The appetite centre is very much affected by emotion . . . the girl taunted for her puppy fat . . . . The menopausal housewife, contemplating her slim attractive daughter, may retire to her bedroom and eat a whole box of chocolates in mourning for her lost youth. (Mason)

As a final patronizing note, we find in a description of body surface area, the following:

> Female readers will be able to compare this with the number of square yards of material used to make a dress. A square metre is slightly greater than a square yard. (Green)

Conclusion

Sexism pervades both the production of and content of the literature that bridges the gap between professional scientists and the lay public. As such, the stamp of scientific objectivity is given to what is, in fact, discriminatory and often conceptually distorted work. The exceptions are so rare as to prove the rule.



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NOTES

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2. Betty Frankle Kirschner, "Introducing Students to Women's Place in Society," American Journal of Sociology. LXXVIII (January, 1973): 1051-1054; Julia Schwendinger and Herman Schwendinger, "Sociology's Founding Fathers: Sexist to a Man," Journal of Marriage and The Family, XXXIII (November, 1971): 783-799; Marjorie B.U'Ren, "The Image of Women in Textbooks," in Women in Sexist Society, ed., Vivian Gornick and Barbara Moran (New York, New American Library, 1971): 318-328.

3. Diane Scully and Pauline Bart, "A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Orifice: Women in Gynecology Textbooks," in Changing Women in a Changing Society, ed. Joan Huber (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1973): 283-288. Also Dorothy Smith and Sara J. David, eds., Women Look at Psychiatry (Vancouver, B.C., Press Gang Publishers, 1975).

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Canadian Women's Archives

CANADIAN WOMEN'S ARCHIVES is a regular feature of Atlantis and is designed to give a voice to Canadian women who, in the past, have had something to say about the role and condition of women. Diaries, letters, oral history and government documents are just a few of the sources that might usefully be tapped to enhance our understanding of women's history. The Editors of Atlantis urge readers to search attics, archives and ashcans for such material and submit it for publication.

Elizabeth Lichtenstein Johnston (1764-1848) has left one of the earliest surviving memoirs written by a Canadian woman. Born near Savannah, Georgia, in 1764, she married, at the age of fifteen years, William Martin Johnston in 1779. Her husband served in the Third Loyal American Regiment and because of his Loyalist stance emigrated from the United States at the end of the American War of Independence.

Johnston subsequently studied medicine in Edinburgh and later practiced in Jamaica where he died in 1807. Meanwhile Elizabeth shouldered the major burden of raising her surviving seven children, six of whom eventually joined her in Nova Scotia where she made her final home.

By her own admission, Elizabeth Johnston was an untypical daughter of colonial North America. An only child, well-schooled and to the manor born, she did not experience the soul-destroying frontier environment that sapped the energies of many of her sisters in the same period. Like many other women, however, she was forced to live her life against a backdrop of war and early widowhood. Under these disciplining influences, the bookish, wilful child became a strong and powerful matriarch. Her values--the political, class, racist, religious and sexist biases which are found between the lines in her story--were passed on to her children and grandchildren, many of whom became prominent in the political and professional life of 19th-century Nova Scotia and Canada.

In 1836, at the age of seventy-two, Elizabeth Johnston wrote her memoirs for the edification of her family and friends. These were edited for publication by historian A.W. Eaton, who recognized the political value of her life story in a period when British imperial sentiment in Canada ran high and the Loyalist cult flourished. The memoirs are now of interest to students of women's history who find the roots of present feminist concerns in the life experiences of Canadian women in the past.

The excerpt reproduced below includes Elizabeth Johnston's memoirs of her life in the United States, Great Britain and Jamaica up to 1805. Her Nova Scotia experiences will be published in the next issue of ATLANTIS.

Recollections of a Georgia Loyalist

by Elizabeth Lichtenstein Johnston

I was born May 28, 1764, in the reign of George III, at a place called Little Ogeechee, about ten miles from Savannah, the capital of the then Province of Georgia. My father, John Lightenstone, was born at Cronstadt in Russia. His father, Gustavus Philip Lightenstone, was born in England but descended from a family in Germany, who write their name "Lichtenstein." I am uncertain whether his mother was English or Irish; her maiden name was Beatrice Elizabeth (if I mistake not) Lloyd, and my grandfather was a Protestant minister at Cronstadt and had an academy for young gentlemen.

I have often thought that in all my backslidings that dear saint's prayers have been heard and have been the means of my Almighty Father's mercy and forbearance with me, the vilest of sinners, who have been led by His grace and chastening to a knowledge of the truth of His Holy Word. My mother was Catherine Delegal. Her father, Philip Delegal, was of French descent, his ancestors having left France on account of being Protestants. His father was a major and died Commandant of the Island of Jersey. His son, my grandfather, went out with General Ogilthorpe, a lieutenant in his army, to Georgia upon its first settlement, took up large quantities of land there, left the army, and became one of the first settlers in that Province, where he was ultimately a man of large property. He married a Miss Daley from South Carolina. He was a man of great information and extremely fond of reading.

We had a house in Savannah, where I was early put to school, and from being an only child my intellect was probably developed more quickly, I being thrown very much upon my own resources. When in the country I found in the trees, the river, the animals, much to amuse and occupy my leisure hours, and my parents conversed with me and

ELIZABETH JOHNSTON AS A YOUNG WOMAN

stimulated my taste for reading, by making me read good authors to them. Having a good memory and uncommon love for reading, I found pleasure in books that would perhaps in this present age be too dry for a child of seven or eight years of age. For instance, I once read a book the title of which in after life I had no recollection of, except from its mentioning that part of the twentieth chapter of St. John where that most touching and interesting passage was of Mary Magdalene's going to the tomb to discover her Lord. Not seeing the body she turned with a heavy and disappointed heart to make inquiry of her blessed Lord Himself, whom she took to be the gardener. His "Mary!" her answer, and no doubt Mary's look, soon made Him known to His faithful, sorrowing disciple. Such was the effect of this book on my infant mind that forty years after, when I had the book with some others sent me to read, as soon as I looked into it I remembered the passage that had struck me and exclaimed to my children, "This is the book!" The title was "Gilbert West on the Resurrection," and I have now the copy, which the lady politely requested my acceptance of, she having another copy besides.

My mother, not being in good health, was once recommended to pass a summer in Philadelphia, and to relieve her of all care I was to remain with my father. The vessel in which the passengers were to embark lay fifteen miles below Savannah, and the evening before she sailed I went down with some ladies who were going, expecting to return with my father next day when he took my mother down. When they arrived I showed so much grief at parting from her, that my poor mother was much distressed, and my father would have returned for my clothes. The wind, however, being fair, put this out of the question, and he consented to my going with only one suit, the ladies offering to assist in cutting over some of my mother's clothes for me. In this way little Betsey, then about seven years of age, made her <u>début</u> on the wide ocean, which it has since so often been her lot to traverse.

On our return from Philadelphia we resided between town and country, and when at the former I attended school. My mother died when I was turned ten years of age, and I felt her loss keenly. Shortly after, my father at the request of an aunt of my mother's, Mrs. Richard, sent me to reside with her in Savannah, where I attended the best schools in the place. My aunt did me every justice in bringing me up, and endeavored to make me a notable needlewoman, in which art she herself excelled, but my love for reading was so much greater than for sewing that I often had a book under my work to look into as opportunity offered. The good old lady not being able to make me perfect in sewing, declared at last that I should never be anything but a botcher at it, yet I did not think I

really deserved the charge.

In 1774 the Revolutionary War commenced at Boston and began to spread to the southward. In '76 the people in Georgia were inflamed against the Government of Great Britain, and were raising a ragged corps of all sorts. Some had guns with firelocks and some without, and all, gentle and simple, were made to declare whether they were on the side of the King or for the people whom we Loyalists, then termed Tories, called rebels. If a Tory refused to join the people, he was imprisoned, and tarred and feathered. This was a terrible indignity, the poor creature being stripped naked, tarred all over, and then rolled in feathers. I might once, if I would have gone to the window, have seen a poor man carried all over the town with the mob around him, in such a plight, but the idea was too dreadful. He was an inoffensive man, a British pilot.

Our teachers became officers in the rebel army, and everywhere the scum rose to the top. All the public officers under Government remained loyal and quit the country, their estates being confiscated and afterward sold. My father, at the barking of a dog while he was shaving and preparing to dress that he might escape in his boat, looked up and saw an armed party near the house. He had just time to go through a door that opened into the garden, leap the fence, and lay himself down at a little distance in some tall grass which concealed him. He could hear the soldiers talking loudly to his servants and saying that he could not be far off, for his clothes and watch were in the room. If he was above ground, they said, they would surely have him. My father had a sensible, plausible black man, who had been brought up as a pet in my grandfather's house and who was greatly attached to the family. He contrived to amuse the soldiers in different ways, while he got down his sails and oars to take them to a back landing-place, where the boat lay. The leader of the party was a fine young man, a Mr. John Milledge, whom my father had known from his infancy, and who some years afterward was at Augusta with the rank of colonel. He was an amiable man, and his turning against my father served to show the spirit of the times and the violence with which civil wars are entered upon.

After their unsuccessful pursuit, the party returned, and my father got to his boat without delay and arrived at Tybee, where the British man-of-war, the Scarborough, lay. Then he embarked, as did my future husband, who had also been fortunate enough to effect his escape to Tybee, and they sailed for Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1776. At that time I was twelve years of age, and being with my aunt on the mainland, at her plantation, did not take leave of my father or know what was going on at Skidaway until some

time after I heard he was gone. Commissioners were appointed to confiscate the Loyalists' property and dispose of it as being forfeited because of their not joining the rebels, and my grandfather had a petition drawn up which he made me take, accompanied by a lady (sorely against my will, for I felt so indignant at their treatment of my father), to the Board of Commissioners, which set forth the orphan condition I was left in, and petitioned that my father's property might be given to me. This request I have every reason to think was acceded to, as our property was not sold as was that of many other Loyalists. One or two cases besides mine show that they did give the property to wives and children whose husbands and fathers had been forced away as mine had been.

My father and Mr. Johnston left Halifax for New York, the former there entering the Quartermaster-General's department, the latter joining a Provincial Corps (the New York Volunteers) composed of Loyalists, which was actively engaged during the war, never being kept in garrison duty. At the close of 1778, Colonel Campbell, who was afterward knighted and made governor of Madras, in India, was sent with three thousand men to take Georgia. The New York Volunteers was one of the regiments, and Col. C., knowing that my father had resided a great part of his life in that Province, took him into his service as an adviser and guide where best to effect a landing. The town was taken without loss, though the Americans as they retreated wantonly fired on the 71st Regiment of Highlanders, without attempting a regular stand. This exposed the inhabitants to the fury of the British soldiers, who then felt as though they were taking the place by storm. In consequenc before the officers could have time to stop them they committed much outrage, ripped open feather beds, destroyed the public papers and records, and scattered everything about the streets. Numbers of the enemy were taken in a swamp a few miles from Savannah. While Mr. Johnston was with his company in the pursuit he saw his father at his own door, and had only time to go up to Colonel Maitland and request that he would put a guard at his father's house to secure his safety from the enraged troops, who knew not friend from foe. Colonel Maitland had been the early friend and college companion of my father-in-law, Dr. Johnston, in Edinburgh, and meeting with his son at New York was like a father to him and did all he could to serve him. He, of course, placed a guard there.

My father in a few days sent a passport for myself and my aunt to come to town. I was then in my fifteenth year, and new to scenes of the kind, and having to stop within a mile of Savannah that the Hessian officer on duty there should examine our pass, I was dreadfully frightened. He soon allowed us to go on; and what a sight did the streets present of feathers and papers!

The meeting with my father I scarce need add was joyful. I was there made acquainted with my father's bosom friend, Mr. McCulloch. He was a widower, a very handsome man for his time of life, and had two daughters in England, one of whom is now Mrs. Roupell. He was very fond of me and, I suppose looked on me as a child, but I felt an affection for him for a short time that I can hardly define. He was very amiable; if I wanted any money he would, if my father gave me a guinea, always say, "Give her another," or if my foolish young head fancied, as it did at times, some article of dress, he was always ready to second my wish. Yet my father idolized me too much to need that any should ask for me. I loved him, yet I always from a child had an awe of him. My dear, indulgent mother was perhaps too yielding to her only child, and but for his strictness to me, for which I am now grateful, she might have spoilt me. She was too good a woman to have overlooked faults of the heart and mind, yet this I am sensible of, that I could take advantage of her, when a word from my father was enough. On one occasion when the cat ate my bird I was so angry that I went to beat her. My mother tried to prevent me, and finding me obstinate and persistent, was going to correct me as I deserved, but I ran away and got up into a big tree out of reach, and perhaps she had no great wish to use violence in getting me down. In a short time I saw my father coming along the road, when I was soon out of the tree and seated in the parlor.

We may see in almost every event that befalls us the hand of our merciful Heavenly Father directing the various events of our lives for our good. Perhaps had my beloved and tender mother lived she might not have kept as strict a hand over me as my volatile nature required. My aunt was kind, but was at the same time decided in her conduct toward me, and I was made industrious at my needle. Other parts of education I required no stimulus in, as I liked them better; indeed I was always ambitious to be at the head of my class at school.

After Savannah was taken I remained with my aunt the greater part of the time, but at last my father was requested by Mrs. Johnston to bring me to town to pass a few weeks with her daughter. This he did, and I appeared, a young unsophisticated girl, quite new to the world, its customs and usages. On my arrival Mrs. Johnston's son came hastily into the room, which he had left a little before to seek for his watch. When he entered he merely glanced round the room and retreated. I, a little rustic, in my simple dress, which my fond aunt and I had made at her place called "Mount Piety" (a name she took from the "Pilgrim's Progress" when she purchased her plantation), must have looked strange

to the gay Captain Johnston, who had lately been among the dashing fashionables of New York, then remarkable (during Sir H. Clinton's rule) for its elegance and dissipation. No wonder, I sometimes think, that I should at once have caught his eye. At the steps he met my father coming in, and asked him what girl that was in the parlor. My father said, "Your sister, and Miss Stewart, our former teacher." "No," was the reply, "there was another." My father said, "No one but my Betsey," and my husband has often spoken since of the meeting, and said that the thought at once came to him that I would he his Betsey, although an hour before had any one talked to him of marrying he would have assured him it was a thing out of the question. He had resisted all the beauty and fashion he had left, and found something in a simple child of nature to make him not many weeks after change his sentiments. Such was the romance of the olden times!

I remained with Mrs. Johnston some weeks, and it was some time before I could get over my bashful timidity. Every day there were several officers dining at Dr. Johnston's; having two sons in the army and being loyal he thought they could not show too much attention to those who had rescued us from rebel power. I was glad to get into the drawing-room before they arrived; and to take wine at dinner with one of these gay soldiers called a deep blush into my cheeks, it was all so unlike the ways at Mount Piety. My father perceived rather more attention to me than he wished from Captain Johnston, for being intimately acquainted with him and knowing his sentiments on that head, he did not suspect him of any thoughts of marriage. Accordingly, unwilling that I should be trifled with, he told me one evening, on my returning from a drive to see a lady, that I must be prepared to go back in the morning to my aunt's. This was rather a damper to my youthful heart, and no less so the the companion of my drive, and he contrived to find opportunity that evening to say what has been said so often to other silly girls, I suppose. By silence only I told him what I felt, then I got upstairs into my own room in the dark, and wept most abundantly, not at the thought of parting from him, but to think I should have listened to such a thing without my father's knowledge. I was obliged to dry my tears and go down to supper, but I went with a heavy heart. Next morning I left Savannah and did not enjoy my home as formerly.

A few days after, a circumstance occurred that might have had serious consequences to the honour of my husband, had not my aunt's stiff notions of female decorum prevented. He had ridden out a few miles to visit a lady with whom we were acquainted, and had prevailed on her to drive to my aunt's plantation and request her to allow me to accompany her back to remain a day

or two. My aunt was inexorable and declined my going, and after their departure she very properly pointed out her reasons for refusing, saying that it would look as if I wished to go because of Captain Johnston's being there. In her opinion such a thing would not be delicate. Whether she convinced me then I will not say, but this I now know, she was right and had proper ideas of female reserve. Captain Johnston being disappointed of my company rose early the next morning and left his kind friends sooner than he would have done had I been there, and returned to Savannah. But what was his mortification and dismay when he got there, to find that by a sudden order his regiment with some other troops had embarked at daylight for Carolina on an expedition. He never stopped at his father's, but rode down to a wharf to try to get a boat to follow and if possible join them before their landing. A ship's boat was there with two seamen who were to return without delay to their captain, but the earnestness with which he and our friend Mr. McCulloch urged them, and the Captain's offer of the only two guineas he had about him, and his watch, softened Jack's heart. One said to the other, "We won't take the gentleman's watch, only the money," and went at all risks with him. He felt his honour at stake from being absent at the time, and especially as he knew his major was not on good terms with him and would gladly avail himself of such an opportunity to put him under arrest, a disgrace which his proud spirit could not have borne. Fortunately, he caught up with his regiment before they landed and went to Colonel Maitland and told his case, fearing greatly that the major would put him under arrest. Colonel Maitland did away with his apprehensions by giving him the forlorn hope, a post of danger and honour, and he was the first man to land. Had I gone to Mrs. Houston's he would have remained longer, and what misery it would have given him! He was away three months in the interior of South Carolina, and the troops returned to us, as was too much the case in that ill-fated war, without doing anything. Colonel Prevost, I think, commanded; a different man from his brother, the General.

In September, 1779, the French fleet, under the command of Count D'Estaing arrived at Tybee, and shortly after landed some miles from Savannah at a place called Buhlah. There they spent some time in gradual approaches and in throwing up battlements before the town, forming a regular siege, which gave Colonel Moncrief, our brave engineer, time also to throw up works. Though the lines were very extensive, and the British force very small, not above 1,800 men (Colonel Maitland was in Carolina with 500 men), such was Moncrief's ardor, skill, and industry that he made the town able to stand a siege of six weeks. The French and Americans were

10,000 strong, and they were opening their batteries, and constantly cannonading and throwing bomb shells. Fortunately, however, our men were encamped near the trenches, and these deadly shells went a distance over their heads. The streets being sandy and not paved, the shells fell and made great holes in the sand, which often put out the fuse and prevented explosion. Indeed, the colored children got so used to the shells that they would run and cover them with sand, and as we were rather scarce of ammunition they would often pick up the spent balls and get for them seven-pence apiece.

Soon almost every family was removed from the town to an island opposite, where they made use of barns, and taking their bedding and some furniture divided it by portions. In the barn where I was there were fifty-eight women and children, all intimate friends, and who had each one or more near relatives in the lines. My mother-in-law had two sons, I had my father and one very dear to me, my future husband. Only one male friend was with us, Dr. Johnston, too old to fight, though his whole heart was in the cause. Every other house and barn besides the one we occupied was full of females. The General sent a flag to Count D'Estaing to request that he would allow Mrs. Prevost and her children to go on board one of our ships to be in a safe place. The request was refused, and she remained in a cellar in Savannah, which was made bomb proof with feather beds. Fortunately, though their hope was by the incessant fire to burn the town and force a surrender, a merciful God protected us and defeated their intention. Only one house took fire, and that was opposite the one Mrs. Prevost and her children were in; I cannot now remember whether the flames were subdued or the house consumed. Wet blankets and other means were taken to guard the opposite house from taking fire; the streets were broad.

Our men, having few to relieve them, suffered from fatigue and want of rest, but in the height of our despondence Colonel Maitland effected a junction in a wonderful manner, crossed from the Carolina side, and with his 500 soldiers entered Savannah, thus giving new life and joy to the worn-out troops. Previous to the commencement of the siege, Dr. Johnston with all the females of his family went to the island. Mrs. Johnston, however, remained longer. She had two sons then in the lines, one a captain in the New York Volunteers the other a captain in Brown's Rangers, who were stationed at different parts of the lines. She had also two younger sons, one in his fifteenth the other in his tenth year, whom their brothers had wished to be allowed to take with them. This Mrs. Johnston would not hear of. She had two sons in posts of danger, and she

could not bear to risk more. I chose to remain with her, for an obvious reason, I had thus an opportunity of often seeing her son William when he visited her.

One day he came in haste to say we must move from the town as quickly as possible, for the enemy were about to open their batteries on it. This we did immediately, but before we had got far they commenced a heavy cannonade, which was kept up for two hours. The shot was whistling about our ears and I was sadly frightened, ducking my head as if that could save me. My heroic mother-in-law stopped suddenly and addressed her boys: "My sons, I was about to disgrace you; go join your brothers." Alex went to William, and John to Andrew, the older brothers being scarcely able to believe that their mother had sent them. Soon we got safely to the wharf, and then over to the island, the name of which was Hutchinson Island. It was all cultivated and settled; rice was the grain raised, and as the crop had to be for a certain time, during the process of culture, kept under water, the town was most unhealthy, every one in autumn suffering from that dreadful disease fever and ague. Of late years, I am told, they have drained the island, given up the culture of rice, and planted cotton, corn, etc., instead, a change which has greatly improved the health of the people.

After a siege of some weeks the concentrated forces of French and Americans, 10,000 men against our handful, fearful of a British fleet coming and blocking up or taking their ships, and dreading the risk of storms at that season, made, on the 9th of October, 1779, a grand attack with small arms on our works at the dawn of day. Alas, every heart in our barn was aching, every eye in tears! When they sent their flag to offer terms, though our General was told that no quarter would be given if he refused, that they would take the garrison by storm, and that he would have the lives of his men to answer for, he refused to capitulate. Captain William Johnston met the officer, the Count de Noailles, and conducted him to headquarters, and was present when he gave the above message in an elegant style, contrasting strongly with our plain, blunt Swiss or German. The answer the Count received was laconic, "The King, my Master, pays these men to fight, and they must fight, and we decline your terms." Therefore, we had reason to be afflicted, not daring to anticipate a victory with such fearful odds. The Almighty and Gracious God did, however, assist us, and we conquered, though no men could have behaved more gallantly than the French. One poor fellow planted his colors three times on one of our redoubts, but the third time he fell.

Our anxiety to hear about our friends may well be imagined, but we soon had great reason for gratitude and praise. None of our relatives and friends

were killed or wounded, though all were much fatigued from many weeks' want of rest, and from that day's action. We had stock of all descriptions, and many a harmless animal and turkey was killed and prepared, to send over to our friends. The Polish rebel, Count Pulaski, who joined the Americans, was killed that morning. One battery was manned with seamen, who behaved most gallantly. Had the enemy not apprehended danger to their fleet by remaining, in all probability they would have renewed their attack, and it was not thought possible we could have had strength to defeat them again.

When we got into the town it offered a desolate view. The streets were cut into deep holes by the shells, and the houses were riddled with the rain of cannon balls. Winter was now approaching and many houses were not habitable, so Dr. Johnston with his family took a house out of town until his was repaired.

I was married in Savannah, November 21, 1779, then fifteen and a half years old; my husband, William Martin Johnston, being twenty-five and a half. Some months after, he was attacked with a nervous complaint, brought on by great fatigue in the special service of taking information orally to some of our troops in garrison at Augusta, a hundred and thirty miles from Savannah. He rode night and day through an enemy's country, accomplished his mission, and returned immediately, never but once alighting from his horse. Though then young, strong, and active, his constitution long suffered from the effects of the journey. He went for a few weeks to St. Augustine, East Florida, to try the change, but not getting well, he was recommended to New York, and it was thought advisable that I should remain in Savannah.

When the day came for him to go, the ship lay at Tybee, where he and his sister, Mrs. Farley, with her husband and child, were to embark. Mr. Farley was then in a deep decline. The next morning I was sitting very disconsolate in my own room, in tears, no doubt thinking that our separation was for me the climax of misery, for we were both strongly tinctured with the romance of the old school, when who should enter but my husband. The wind not being favorable, he had risked its changing and his losing his passage, to come up for me. One half-hour was all I had in which to pack up, and notwithstanding I had to get my husband's linen ready (part of my own was lying wet) and arrange other matters, we were off before Mr. Johnston's good father returned from sitting in the Council, of which he was then President. My father-in-law was as angry, I fancy, as his mild nature would admit, at his son's romantic folly.

It was the month of June, 1780, and we had a fine ship. At Charleston we put ourselves under the convoy of Sir

Henry Clinton's fleet and army, Sir Henry being about to return, after the reduction of Charleston, to New York. The voyage from thence to New York took us only eight days. We had pleasant weather, bands of music were playing on board the different ships, and the whole trip was very delightful.

At New York we landed, and we spent the hot months on Long Island. In October we left with a fleet and force under command of General Leslie, who was going up the Chesapeake. We took our passage in a private vessel, as the captain assured us there were a number of private armed vessels going on to Charleston that would protect us, and that he would not go in with the fleet. All this, we found afterward, was untrue; the captain took us up the Chesapeake, and we lay five weeks near Portsmouth, opposite Norfolk, which then had only the walls of the houses standing, having been burnt by the Governor, Lord Dunmore, on his being obliged to quit. Mr. and Mrs. Farley remained on board the same vessel to go on, but we were to remain through the winter, I having the prospect of becoming a mother in March. In the same extraordinary manner as our public affairs were ever conducted, however, just as the poor people came forward to show their loyalty, in the hope that the British troops would remain permanently there, suddenly in the month of November the General's aid-de-camp, Major Skelly, came to tell Mr. Johnston that the troops would embark next morning. This took us unprepared in every way. The major said he would get us a good passage in a transport, and as there was little time to get provisions, he kindly said he would send us a good supply of dead and some live poultry and stock. Our poor landlady, a Mrs. Elliot, sat with her head back and her mouth extended, scarce in her senses from the shock, till at last she found speech to articulate: "Well, this is the third time we have been so served by the British. We have shown our loyalty, and they have left us to the rage and persecution of the Americans for doing them service."

Our passage was rough and tedious. . . We arrived [in Charleston] a week later . . . Here my husband and I had to part, as he was obliged to join his regiment, and I returned to Savannah. . .We got in safety to Savannah, where my sister had an affecting meeting with her father and family. There she was told of the death of her brother, Captain Andrew Johnston. He had fallen at Augusta after gallantly succeeding in a sortie the troops were forced to make to procure provisions they much needed, and which he had bravely offered to undertake. In returning he had received a shot in his back, which was fatal. His good father was sitting with the Governor in Council, when a countryman came down, told of a skirmish our people had had with the rebels, and was asked if any were

killed. The reply, "None but Captain Johnston," was a shock too great for the father's tender feelings, and he of course immediately returned home.

I remained for some time in much anxiety for my husband's safety, as his regiment was in active service. Before my confinement he obtained leave, his regiment being then in quarters, to come for a short time to Savannah. My son, who was named Andrew after his brave uncle, was born March 22, 1781. His father returned to Charleston soon after, and a few months later, from the enemy's troops coming near the town and rendering it unsafe to go many miles from it, the Governor, Sir James Wright, with the advice of his Council, thought it expedient to raise some three troops of horse at the expense of the Province. Upon his father's application my husband was appointed to one of these and to command the whole. Of the three, my father had one and Captain Campbell Wylly another. Mr. Johnston would not accept the command unless he got leave to keep his rank and situation and pay in his regiment, which he obtained. As captain of a troop of horse he had fifteen shillings per day with passage money, and how happy did I think I should be when I had him so near me. But like all human enjoyments, mine was not full and satisfactory. My husband was now more exposed to danger than before; upon any alarm the dragoons were sent out and the gates locked, and every third night he in turn was out on horseback with his party, the gates being locked and chevaux de frise put up to them, and remained on the lookout until three or four in the morning. I have often of a very cold winter's night known his hair quite stiff with icicles. The troops were afterward sent to Great Ogeechee, about thirty or forty miles from Savannah.

Reports daily came in that the enemy meant to surprise them, and the Commander-in-Chief, General Clarke (afterward Sir Alured Clarke), sent messages every day to that effect so that the men were worn out for want of rest. At last they began to think they had no intention of attacking them, and one day when they were off their guard and most of the men were in the yard, there suddenly appeared at the edge of the wood about 300 of the enemy drawn up. Our men then got in as fast as possible and made what preparation time would allow. . . Colonel Campbell did not come as quickly as he ought, or he might have saved the lives of many of our gallant little troop. He did come many hours after, however, and got the troop under arms and went out to meet the foe. He left our men in the most dangerous position, and being bad horsemen they suffered greatly. My husband, however, escaped unhurt, and the enemy retired.

When the news came to Savannah, though I knew he was safe, the thought of the

danger he had been in overpowered my mind, and I sought relief on my knees by offering prayers and thanksgivings with lively gratitude to my Heavenly Father for His great mercy in sparing the husband and the father. Not many months after, Georgia was given up, and in July, 1782, Savannah was evacuated and the troops went to Charleston. Some of Mr. Johnston's early friends whom he knew at Philadelphia, one a Major Fishbaune in the American army, who had an interview with him during a cessation of arms, requested him to leave me, and said I should have every kindness and protection and be secure in our house until I was fitter for moving. I knew my husband would not like the separation, and I positively refused to remain, but I have no doubt that had I stayed my father's property would have been given up to me through the interest of those friends.

We went to Charleston early in July, and the 23rd of August, 1782, my second child, a daughter called Catherine after my mother, was born. I first became acquainted there with the Roupell family. The present Mr. G. Roupell's father was then Postmaster-General, and lived very handsomely. I resided with my father's old friend Mr. McCulloch and his good wife (who was a Miss Roupell) about three weeks. We were very handsomely billeted in a fine house belonging to one of the rebel gentlemen who had left town. In December the war was drawing to a close, Charleston was evacuated, and my husband was obliged to go with his regiment to New York. His father and family had gone from Georgia to St. Augustine, and Mr. Johnston thought it better for me to go there to his father until his regiment was disbanded and he could come to me. With my two little ones I embarked with a nurse on board a small schooner for St. Augustine. We arrived there safely with many more Loyalists, though we saw many vessels lying stranded along the shore that had been wrecked on the sand bar. Fortunately, however, no lives were lost, though much of the poor Loyalists' property was destroyed. We got over with only once thumping on the bar.

The town of St. Augustine lies low; it is pleasantly situated upon the sea, the air is very salubrious, and it has long been the resort of invalids in search of health. The citadel is a fine, strong one, and affords a delightful promenade upon the ramparts, which are wide and elevated. The chief inhabitants at the time I was there were Greeks from Smyrna and Minorca, brought there by a Dr. Turnbull to cultivate his lands at the Metanges, some miles from St. Augustine. He married a lady of Smyrna, who always retained the costume of her country, a majestic, noble-looking woman. These people, not agreeing with Dr. Turnbull, settled about the town and were the

only persons who cultivated gardens or reared poultry. Fish, which was in great abundance, was our chief dependence and our ration, but I never was in better health and indeed never was so fleshy as during my sixteen months' residence there. My husband paid us a visit in 1783, but as the war was then closing and the peace of 1783 was about taking place, he could not be long from his regiment. His father, judging that with a growing family his half-pay would not go far, advised him to go to Edinburgh and prosecute his medical studies, which he had early commenced at Philadelphia under his father's friend Dr. Rush, and which had been interrupted by the breaking out of the rebellion.

In the spring of 1784 we had notice that Florida was ceded to the Spaniards and that St. Augustine would soon be evacuated. My third child Lewis was born, March 10, 1784, and the end of May, my father-in-law, having a transport appointed for his sole use, to go wherever he wished in the British Dominions, chose his native land, and we embarked on the 25th of May for Greenock. My husband had gone before in the Diomede frigate, with some invalids under his command, for Portsmouth, England, intending soon after to proceed to Edinburgh. We had not a long but we had a dangerous passage; the vessel was worm-eaten from lying long in the river, the tar and turpentine, that Dr. Johnston's slaves had made on a plantation he had, leaked out in the storms we encountered and choked the pumps, and at one time we had four feet of water in the hold. From having little other ballast than the tar and turpentine we were in danger of upsetting, and accordingly we put into the Cove of Cork for ballast and to repair the cable, and remained a week in that beautiful harbor.

When we arrived at Greenock we found the principal inn very full and I with Rachel, a younger sister of Mr. Johnston, and my nurse and three children, were put into the attic story. As we had never before been in a place of such bustle and stir, we were rather alarmed and could not sleep. To add to our fears suddenly about midnight a female servant with a candle abruptly opened the door and asked if Captain Johnston's lady was there. "Why, what do you want? I am Mrs. Johnston," I answered, hardly knowing what I said. With perfect composure she replied, "Then you can make room for the Captain." And, sure enough, it was my husband, who had unexpectedly arrived. He knew we were to sail for Scotland, and he was going to Edinburgh to await our arrival. Dr. Johnston had written to a gentleman in Edinburgh, mentioning our arrival, and Mr. Johnston, who had letters of introduction to the same person, happened to be with him when the doctor's letter was received. My husband then immediately took a post-chaise and drive rapidly to Greenock, a distance of seventy miles,

but not setting out early from Edinburgh, did not reach Greenock until twelve at night. Stopping at the inn where we were, he was told he could not be accommodated for it was very full and they had not a single bed. He was turning away to find another inn, when the woman happened to say there was a very large family from America there. It struck him, as he often humorously said in relating the adventure, that he might get half a bed. The woman found out where I was, and he was close behind her when she spoke to me. We were all crowded into a miserable little room, and the children were not very quiet after their voyage, so that only the pleasure of meeting his family could counterbalance Mr. Johnston's want of comfort. Next day he took me and our little family on, his father with his family remaining a few days at Greenock to recruit.

We stopped at Glasgow part of a day, and next morning set out for Edinburgh, where we settled at Rosebank, a sweet place my husband had taken for his father, about a mile from the city to the south. It was well entitled to the name it bore, as roses clambered all over the front of the house and completely covered it. They were then in bloom, and there were also two pretty flower gardens, one on each side of the house. The place answered very delightfully during the summer and autumn, but when the roads got heavy and miry, and winter was commencing, we found it would not do to walk so great a distance. The Episcopal Chapel was in the old town, and Dr. Johnston, a poor Loyalist who had lost so much by the war, could not afford a carriage. He therefore let Rosebank, and took until May a house in George's Square. When that time expired we removed to the new town, in James Street, the road that looks down upon Leith Walk, then quite a fashionable place.

As I expected to be confined in May, when the family would be removing, I took a lodging in Bristol Street for a month, and May 20, 1785, gave birth to a fine boy, whom we called John William. Mrs. Farley stayed with me until I could remove. My husband attended college all the winter, and in the spring went to London to attend the hospitals there and to form some plan as to where he should finally practice. He had handsome offers made him by Sir Archibald Campbell, who was the Colonel Campbell who commanded in Georgia, and for whom, when he was an officer under him, he volunteered that journey on horseback which I have already mentioned, which for a time so greatly injured his health. Colonel Campbell was going to India as Governor of Madras, and would have taken my husband and probably put him in the way of making his fortune. About that time, however, Sir Alured Clarke was made Governor of Jamaica, and thither that and other circumstances led him to fix on going.

When my babe was three months old it pleased our Heavenly Father to take him from a world of sin and sorrow. He had the thrush, or spine, as the Scots term it, most virulently. Dr. Wardrope was our surgeon, Dr. Johnston attended, and they called in Dr. Gregory, but all without avail. Mr. Johnston went that autumn to Kingston, and I left Edinburgh in October, 1786. I had met with much kindness and affection in that city, and one friend especially I felt grieved to part from. In our youthful days, I only twenty and Mrs. Davidson a little more, we met as strangers at a dinner party, and took a great fancy to each other's faces. She called on us next day, and from that time to her death we were as attached as the fondest of sisters ever were. During my two years in Edinburgh we were much together.

I left my own father, who accompanied me to Greenock, as did Mrs. Farley, dear, good woman, and took my Kitty and Lewis, both then very young, Dr. Johnston keeping Andrew to be with him and to be educated in Edinburgh. I arrived in Kingston, December 15, 1786, and found my husband well, though he had been ill with the common fevers of the place. December 15, 1787, my beloved Eliza was born, and February 15, 1789, my dear Laleah Peyton was added to my family. The 31st of January, 1790, my son John was born. Jane Farley, a sweet blossom, was born in 1791, and died June 4, 1793, of malignant sore throat and scarlet fever. My son James William was born August 29, 1792.

Soon after, the yellow fever was brought to Jamaica from Philadelphia and made great havoc among all newcomers and sailors. Strange to tell, however, it never attacked those who had resided there for any length of time, nor of course the natives, but all strangers and the poor seamen were carried off in great numbers. Sometimes there were seventeen or more funerals a day. My husband, having an extensive practice, had a great deal to do with the sickness, for in Kingston whatever merchants the doctors attend they have the attendance of all on the ships consigned to them. The disease quite baffled human skill; still some medical men were more successful than others. Soon a war of words and angry disputations broke out in the newspapers between two of our proud physicians, Drs. Grant and Hanis. The former held bleeding as the best treatment, the latter calomel, and Hanis got a list of all the cases of the different practitioners with an account of the treatment they had received. Few doctors were for the lancet; my husband's treatment was to a great extent calomel, and his recoveries were more than could have been looked for. Happily, neither Dr. Johnston nor myself nor any of my family took the disease.

When I arrived I was shown great kindness by Mr. and Mrs. Wildman, and at their request they became sponsors to my beloved Eliza Wildman, as they wished the child to bear their name. In 1794, April 3rd, my last child was born. Her father's partiality to his sister Mrs. Farley led him to call her Jane Farley. When three months old she was inoculated for the smallpox, as her father being so much where it was, though she was young thought this the only chance to prevent her taking it. What she had proved the confluent, and after lying on my lap for some time on a pillow, a very sad spectacle, one sore being quite black, she died in my arms. She, as well as the other Jane, was a beautiful child, with angelic blue eyes and a countenance which showed that she was not meant to sojourn upon this earth. After her death I was much exhausted in mind and body, having no female relation to be with me, only black servants, and having to think about and direct everything for so many little ones. As soon as her father took the dear angel out of my lap I got into another room, and there on my knees poured out my supplications for aid and support, that I might bear the stroke with a resigned will. Yet I had not the same light of truth that I have received since my bodily blindness, though still I am fain to hope divine grace led me then to the footstool of mercy, where I have been accustomed to seek aid through all my life. Yet, oh, what a backslider I have been! How often and how much have I failed in my duty!

When I went to Jamaica I felt greatly the want of religious example, and I found that even the preaching was cold morality. Morals there were at the lowest ebb, cards were played on Sunday, and dinner parties were given on that sacred day. It is very different now, and much of the improved state of religion and morality is owing to the Scotch churches and the preaching of the Dissenters, which has been the means of awaking many a poor soul, and has led the blacks to more moral habits of life. Perhaps, with the blessing of God these dreadful examples led me to greater strictness than I might have used in a country less decided. I used to be diligent in teaching my children and reading to them every morning from the old "Whole Duty of Man" and conducting family prayers while they knelt around me. I taught all to read and the girls to sew. They were not at a school until I went for my health, after ten years' residence there, again to Edinburgh. My time was greatly devoted to my family, and though but twenty-two when I went to Jamaica I was at only one Assembly and two private dances during my life there. Very soon I got my husband to promise not to have company on Sunday, which he did readily, as he highly respected my religious principles and had the utmost confidence in my mode of bringing up my children, nor did he ever inter-

fere with my discipline. I taught the children to love the truth, and to obey, and I can with pleasure say that their hearts were mine, and that they did not find my commands grievous. When the father's business leads him much away, if a mother does not act with firmness and judgment, but waits until her husband comes home to complain, what will be the consequences to the poor children! It was his comfort to come home and have his little flock of well-ordered children running about his knees. When we were in town, the nice trays of cakes and buns, covered with clean cloths, used to be carried about the streets every afternoon, for sale. Although this would be shortly after our children's hearty dinner, they would get round their father and beg him to buy them some cakes. This he often did, and seldom less than half a dollar's worth would go round. I thought it a needless expense after they had dined, and remonstrated without much effect, but I sat down and calculated what the amount would be in a year for that not only unnecessary but hurtful luxury, leading the children to be gluttons and epicures, and one day, when they were about to call a cake woman, I said to Mr. Johnston, "Do you know what that amounts to in a year?" "No, Bess," was his reply. "Only £26," I replied, which sum he never contemplated. He laughed and told the children that mother said cake cost too much money. I mention this to show the deference my husband paid to my opinions. These are bygone days. Many bitter sorrows have I experienced in later years but all for my good, I trust, as well as in punishment for my sins.

Marxism and Feminism

by Patricia Armstrong

Since the new women's movement began in the 1960s, some writers in Canada have used Marxist analytical tools in order to understand the position of women; to develop a theoretical framework which explains the inequality between women and men, the differences amongst women, and the variations in both, over time and across cultures. The project is still far from complete. Important contributions have however been made in this country both to the international theoretical debate on the application of Marxist analysis to women and to the analysis of the situation of women in Canada. Dorothy Smith's recent publication, Feminism and Marxism: A Place to Begin, A Way to Go (1977), is part of this tradition and thus is best reviewed within the tradition's context.*

The story probably begins in 1967 with "Sisters, Brothers, Lovers . . . Listen . . . ." Women in the Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA) were frustrated by the contradiction between the rhetoric of the movement and the reality of its practice, by their treatment as wives and workers, by their feeling that they were "like a civil rights organization with a leadership of southern racists" (Bernstein et al., 1967:38). A rhetorical commitment to Marxist praxis had not led to equality between the sexes. Because "work in a capitalist society is unfulfilling and alienating" (1967:34), they rejected the equal right to work as a strategy for women. Instead, they called for and began a Marxist analysis of the position of women, an analysis to be used as a guideline for action in

*The essays discussed in this review are representative, not exhaustive, of the Marxist literature coming from English Canada on women. Emphasis is placed on works whose contributions are primarily theoretical rather than empirical.

daily life. Although their brief manifesto fails to take into account many of the complex questions surrounding the position of women in advanced capitalism, it does indicate some of the basic tenets in Marxist feminism--that production and reproduction "must be seen as social rather than strictly biological" (1967:35), that the division of roles between women and men contributes directly to the maintenance of the social structure and that the liberation of women requires "the most complete restructuring of the social order" (1967:36).

Two years after the SUPA manifesto, Margaret Benston (1969) published "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation." For Benston, Marx's class analysis and his emphasis on the primacy of economic factors provide the key to understanding the situation of women.

> In arguing that the roots of the secondary status of women are in fact economic, it can be shown that women as a group do indeed have a definite relation to production and that this is different from that of men. The personal and psychological factors then follow from this special relation to production, and a change in the latter will be a necessary (but not sufficient) condition for changing the former (Benston, 1969:119).

Using the Marxist distinction between exchange-value and use-value, she maintains that women can be defined as the group responsible for the production of simple use-values associated with home and family. While some women do participate in wage labour, "they have no structural responsibility in this area and such participation is ordinarily regarded as transient" (1969:121). Men do exchange their ability to work for a wage, and this wage determines their greater relative worth, given the money economy. Since women's relatio to production determines their inferior situation, the preconditions for the liberation of women are the industrialization of housework and th permanent entrance of women into the labour market. It is extremely unlikely, Benston argues, that these preconditions could be achieved withi the existing economic and social structure because women's work in the home contributes directly to the maintenance of this structure.

Although Benston presents some significant insights into the nature of women's work in the home, there are two major difficulties with her approach. While the relationship of women to domestic labour does provide at least a partial explanation for the inferior position of women, it does not explain the class differences among women. Furthermore, as the Rowntrees (1970) point out, some women have always worked in the labour force and their rapidly rising labour force participation means that

they cannot be treated simply as unpaid producers of use-values in the home.

In Marxism and Feminism, Charnie Guettel (1974) does emphasize the other aspect of women's work, labour force participation. She argues that "housework, no matter how much work is involved, is still unproductive consumption, economically speaking" (1974:48). For Guettel, capitalism and class struggle are the central factors in explaining women's inferior position. The family is a dependent variable, dependent on existing material conditions. "Women are oppressed by men because of the form their lives have had to take in a class society, in which both men and women have been oppressed by the ruling class" (1974:2). Since these factors are central, the emphasis of both analysis and strategy must be productive labour. Women must be workers first. Through their participation in the labour force, women will expose the contradictions of the position of women within capitalism. At this point sisterhood will become meaningful, as women experience the actual contradictions of the double burden involved in labour force and domestic duties. Strategy must therefore focus on organizing within the labour force and on providing day care centers supported by corporate taxes.

Here, too, the analysis is incomplete. Clearly women's paid labour must be included in any analysis of the position of women but domestic labour cannot be so easily dismissed. Although Guettel does argue that the relationship between sexism and class is dialectical, her analysis is not. In her approach, the family, and women's role there, are determined by the existing material conditions; they do not in turn influence these conditions. Both kinds of labour and their relationship must be taken into account.

In "Women's Work Is Never Done," Peggy Morton (1970), an author of the SUPA manifesto, brings together these two aspects of women's work. Where Benston argued that women produce simple use-values in the home, and Guettel that housework is unproductive consumption, Morton argues that the primary function of the family, and therefore of women, is the maintenance and reproduction of labour power. This perspective allows her to look at women's work in the home and in the labour force in an integrated way. Women's labour force participation is conditioned by the family's needs and by labour force requirements. Tracing the development of the family within the context of the growing capitalist economy, Morton argues that the increasing complexity of the capitalist production process has resulted in major changes in the family, producing contradictions within the family, within the labour force and between women's two jobs. For Morton, women are not

simply another oppressed group nor are they a class. Rather, their relation to production and reproduction within the context of a developing capitalist system is the central factor in explaining and changing their situation. The inferior position of women is maintained by the dual nature of their work in production and reproduction. The relationship between these two aspects is dialectical, with each being influenced by the other. Strategy must be based on "the fact that most working women are both oppressed as women and exploited as workers" (1970: 66), and on the knowledge that each affects the other.

Wally Seccombe (1974), like Benston, uses Marx's distinction between use-value and exchange-value to examine, as did Morton, the relationship of domestic labour to paid work. For Seccombe, domestic labour under capitalism simultaneously contributes directly to the maintenance and reproduction of labour power while having no direct relation to capital, since it is not exchanged directly in the market and does not create surplus value. It thus creates value as does any labour but is not subject to the law of value or to the discipline of the market. Domestic labour is supported by the wage but its contribution is hidden--the wage appearing as payment for only the value produced in the market. In a later article, Seccombe (1975) goes on to investigate the relationship between women's paid labour and their domestic work, arguing that labour force participation is directly related to the nature and demands of work in the home.

Seccombe's analysis does much to reveal the nature of women's work, both productive and unproductive, and their relationship under capitalism. The explanatory power of his and Morton's approach is revealed in various studies in this country--for example, in Women at Work: Ontario, 1850-1930 (Acton et al., 1974), and in several articles in The Neglected Majority (Trofimenkoff and Prentice, 1977). However, Seccombe's "structural" analysis, which focuses exclusively on "working-class" as against "bourgeois families" (1974:5) does not explore class differences among families or variations in domestic labour that reflect different relationships to labour force work.

In "Women, the Family and Corporate Capitalism," Dorothy Smith (1973) does take these class differences into account. Situating women within the family and the family in turn within the existing mode of production, she argues that the rise of corporate capitalism has transformed women's work in the home into a personal service and has changed the nature of their relationships with their husbands and children. While this is the case in general for all women, there is in her view a crucial difference between working-class and

middle-class families. "[T]he household for the working-class woman is a means to meeting the needs of its members, and that is her work. Middle-class women are oriented by contrast to the values and standards of an externalized order" (1973:45). The work of the former is privatized; that of the latter is sub-contractual. This variation arises from the different mode of middle-class alienation which in turn results from the separation of ownership and control in corporate capitalism. While the product of the worker's labour is appropriated, it is the action of the manager which is appropriated by corporate capitalism. This difference is reflected in the functioning of the family. As a result, women in working-class families are working for its members but women in middle-class families are working for "the realization of the ruling-class moral order" (1973:33). Many would dispute her way of classifying women into middle-class and working-class families, and would deny that there has been a sharp separation of ownership and control under corporate capitalism, but few would challenge her contention that women of different classes, women married to men of different classes, experience both their families and their domestic labour in different ways.

Since the SUPA women called for the application of Marxist analysis to the situation of women, significant progress has been made in the development of that analysis and in the development of a Marxist feminism. Gradually, as various approaches have been presented, criticized, further developed or discarded, the actual position of women has been exposed. Starting from the assumption that material conditions are primary, the analysis has been concentrated on production. The notion of women as a class has been abandoned. Rather, the family and domestic labour are seen as the factors common to almost all women. This domestic work in turn affects and is affected by labour force requirements. Class differences amongst women arise from the relationships of women and men to productive labour. And both kinds of labour affect the ideas and psychological characteristics of women. Thus strategy, while still a matter of heated debate, tends to focus on changing the nature and relations of both kinds of work. Of course, the analysis is still very much a work in progress. There continue to be many gaps in the theoretical framework, as both Marxists who are feminists and feminists who are not Marxist have pointed out. While Marxists argue about the significance of the woman question and how Marxist analysis should be applied to the situation of women, many feminists who are not Marxists argue that a very different kind of analysis is required. For them, patriarchy, not capitalism, is central to an explanation of women's position.

They argue that the mode of reproduction, and biological factors in general, are at least as important as the mode of production, and that sex, not class, provides the basis of conflict and struggle. Women must therefore organize as women to end their oppression. While many Marxists would agree that biological differences must be taken into account, many others focus more exclusively on class. Thus, in Canada today, there is a developing Marxist feminism, which is frequently under attack from both feminists and Marxists. It is within this context that Dorothy Smith's Feminism and Marxism appeared in 1977.

While Smith rejects "many of the theoretical positions identified as feminist" (1977:13), she points out the contributions of and the need for some aspects of feminism, and thus describes herself as a feminist. And, while she argues that Marxism is the only method of analysis which shows how individual experience and oppression arise "as aspects of a social and economic process" (1977:12), she says that the response of many Marxists to feminists has not differed from that of the ruling class. On the basis of these two (feminist and Marxist) approaches, she begins to explore "Why is it happening to us as it does happen?" (1977:19). For Smith, a commitment to feminism means taking the standpoint of women, opposing women's oppression and recognizing sisterhood. Sisterhood is important, not because it unites all women regardless of class or historical period, but because it involves a relocation, a choosing of sides, "a discovery that women's experience matters to us, that women are people we are concerned to work with as women and that that is also how we work for ourselves as women" (1977:14). Sisterhood has forced women to be open to the experiences of other women at the same time as it has exposed the very real differences among women, the impossibility of all women working together. Personal experiences do raise women's consciousness of their oppression. However, by translating these personal experiences into a political form as patriarchy, feminists fail to locate patriarchy within a political and economic process. This ahistorical concept prevents women from seeing the power oppressing them as the result of "an actual organization of the work and energies of real people" (1977:18).

Marxism, on the other hand, does situate women firmly within the political and economic process. It is the case that, although many women have worked for change, sometimes successfully, and have learned much through this experience, women in general are losing ground. Female unemployment is increasing at the same time as more women are seeking paid jobs because the incomes of their husbands are less and less

adequate to meet the needs of their families. At the same time, cutbacks in social services increase women's workload in the home. The media have abandoned or perverted the women's movement and funding for women's projects and courses is drying up. As Marx predicted, the contradictions inherent to capitalism produce crises in the system. The current crisis, which is hitting women first, can best be understood by using the Marxist framework to situate women within the context of a specific and capitalist economic system. Marxism, Smith argues, also exposes the state as an institution of domination. Unfortunately, the women's movement has often assumed the neutrality of the state, using it both as a source of funds and as the place to which it appealed for change. That the state has supported only those changes which would have little real impact itself indicates the interests of the state.

It is thus only through the application of Marxist analysis that women can begin to understand their position "in terms of the way in which this particular mode of production works" (1977:26). It explains both that change which comes from the growing structural contradictions within capitalism and that change which comes from the actions of people, from class struggle. The two major classes arise from the division between those who control and appropriate production and those who do not. These classes form the basis on which the struggle to change society takes place. Regardless of their current class position, women must choose which side they are on, which of the two major classes they support.

Although Marxism does provide a method for understanding the position of women, Marxists, according to Smith, have rejected feminism and, on the whole, this rejection has been lacking in analysis. They have rejected feminism because they consider it divisive both for Marxist groups and for the working class. Marxists represent women either as backward because of their isolation or incompetence, or as heroic figures supporting the struggles of men. Women's struggles in the workplace are ignored. Like their ruling-class counterparts, they start from the position of men. This response of Marxists reflects the power of the existing economic and social structure, just as women's seeming backwardness reflects their dependency on men, a dependency which is itself a product of the way the state, the bourgeoisie and the trade unions have responded to changes in capitalism. Before calling for unity, Marxists must recognize and examine these divisions between men and women, must expose how they are supported and maintained by the existing economic and social structure. Marxists who are feminists must recognize that there exists "an alliance across class and among men against women" (1977:51),

and they must struggle against this complicity, for women.

Again in her most recent publication, Smith further develops our understanding of the position of women. Using Marxist analytical tools, she exposes some new aspects of the current situation of women, describes factors contributing to their 'loss of ground.' Equally important is her defense and criticism of feminism. Others have argued for and contributed to the development of a Marxist analysis of women but few have argued so persuasively that, as Marxists, women must work with and for women. In arguing that women must identify with both a class and with other women, and that Marxists must recognize the division between the sexes before unity is possible, she exposes two of the central conflicts in the application of Marxist analysis to the position of women. However, by lumping all Marxists together as failing to examine the situation of women, she ignores the rather extensive literature, from English Canada alone, described above. Perhaps this oversight arises because Feminism and Marxism is based on the transcription of a talk, allowing less time for caveats. While more of this kind of publishing should certainly be done, since it allows for the rapid and wide dissemination of ideas, in transforming the speech into a book Smith should have taken the Marxist-feminist literature into account.

Marxists are developing a theoretical framework to explain the position of women. There is still a long way to go. Reproduction, biological differences and psychological factors must be better explained and understood. The framework must be applied more extensively to the historically specific situation of women in Canada. And strategy, based on and contributing to theory, must be developed. People like Dorothy Smith are doing it.

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Women's Work In The United States: Recent Trends In Historical Research

Linda Kealey

It is now an appropriate time to appraise the direction taken by historians researching the history of women's work in the United States. The seeds which were sown in the early 1970s have had a chance to come to fruition, appearing in the form of dissertations, articles and monographs. As in other disciplines, women's history has tended to become a separate field with its group of specialists. While this is, in many ways, an encouraging development, there are dangers inherent in the process of specialization: women's history has not succeeded in forcing a re-evaluation of other areas of historical endeavor, nor has it challenged enough the theoretical concepts used by most historians. Part of the problem is that historians of women's experiences are not themselves clear enough about the theoretical models which underpin their own work. The other aspect of the problem is, of course, the failure to receive recognition for, and serious consideration of, women's history. There is one exception to this state of affairs and that is in the area of family history where the literature on women has made some impact.

The historiography of women's work in the last five years provides us with a subset of women's history in which to pursue the question of theoretical models. Studies of women's work in

the past have tended to address the question of waged labour and especially industrial work to the neglect of clerical, professional and unpaid domestic labour. While the study of working class occupations still plays a predominant role in U.S. women's work history, the recent literature has begun to address a wider area. Increasingly, the definition of women's work includes not only waged labour but also unwaged labour or what Renate Bridenthal has dubbed the "mode of reproduction." Much of the new literature, like the old, focuses on the nineteenth century. Part of the reason for this lies in the assumption that the Industrial Revolution radically altered the nature of women's work. The contours of women's work in the U.S. however, indicate far too much reliance on this single focus to the neglect of the earlier period and to the detriment of our understanding of the totality of women's work experience in the period of industrial and monopoly capitalism.

The history of women's work has especially attracted the scholarly attention of Marxists in the United States. For the past few years feminist Marxists have pointed out the need for research into the history of domestic relations and the interrelationship of home and work life. In 1976 Renate Bridenthal published "The Dialectics of Production and Reproduction in History" in which she outlined the major theoretical models which had come to dominate the history of women's work.(1) The traditional Marxist approach viewed women as the losers of autonomy in the process of capital development. Autonomy was defined as control of the means of production; hence the question of autonomy for women was tied to their participation in the class struggle as the means to regain autonomy. The structural functionalist view portrayed women as gaining increased autonomy, deeper affective relationships and sexual freedom through industrialization. Both approaches, however, ignored the entire area of reproduction. Bridenthal's real contribution was to postulate a "mode of reproduction" which ultimately is profoundly affected by changes in the mode of production.

Building on Juliet Mitchell's four-part table (production, reproduction, sexuality and socialization) in Woman's Estate (Baltimore, 1971), Bridenthal sketches out the relationship between production and reproduction under different economic conditions. She insists on a much broader concept of work and forces the historian to treat the family in a dynamic fashion and in relation to the whole area of work. She argues that in the nineteenth century, as work became more public, i.e., increasingly engaged in outside the home, the family itself became more private and she suggests that feminism came about as a new synthesis of tension between

public production and private reproduction. In the twentieth century an acute crisis appears as the mode of reproduction is increasingly made more public and conflicts with private ownership of the means of production as represented in the independent, self-reproducing family. Consequently, Bridenthal argues, women are alienated from both production and reproduction and their response has been a new wave of feminism.

Bridenthal's article provides us with some critical points at which we must re-evaluate the historical writing on women's work. What is the relationship between production and reproduction at any given time in history? How does a change in one affect the other? Bridenthal herself is open to criticism for her undialectical assumption that changes in production result in changes in reproduction. In addition she addresses the question of women's work from the point of view of industrialization; that is, there is an assumption that the significant changes in women's work patterns come only with industrial capitalism and the mechanization of the labour process.

Bridenthal's assumption has been shared by other writers on the subject; a discussion of women's work in the United States generally begins with the Lowell mills and the creation of a native-born female factory proletariat. As Lise Vogel points out in "The Contested Domain: A Note on the Family in the Transition to Capitalism," despite recent advances in our understanding of the family and its forms, even those writers critical of the functionalist approach of the social sciences have to some extent accepted modified functionalist concepts and failed to make needed distinctions in terminology and historical periods.(2) This critique can be applied to recent writing on women's work as well. Vogel's stimulating argument suggests that distinctions must be made when speaking of the transition to capitalism between pre-capitalist and pre-industrial; they are not equivalent terms. Vogel maintains that "long before there was capitalist production as we might recognize it, much less a capitalist state and society, some of the elements necessary for the capitalist mode of production to exist were beginning to be formed."(3) If we take Vogel's distinctions seriously we have to examine the "pre-industrial" period much more carefully from the point of view of women's work in the United States. The relative neglect of the period before 1820 in American women's history and the tendency to treat this period as a "golden age" in which home and work life were in harmony have been challenged by both Bridenthal's and Vogel's theoretical contributions.

Colonial United States history has not

produced a great deal of literature on women's work, partly because of the sources and methodological problems presented. Part of the problem, however, lies in assumptions about the pre-industrial (translated as pre-capitalist) nature of this society. The last ten years in colonial American historiography have witnessed a revival of interest in the socio-economic structure and a re-evaluation of colonial economic development evident in the recent work of Egnal and Ernst, Henretta, Kulikoff, Eric Foner and others.(4) While the colonies were by no means uniformly and recognizably "capitalist" in the eighteenth century, by the time of the Revolution and especially directly after we can see elements of a developing capitalist society. In urban areas like Philadelphia, for example, the top 10% owned over half the wealth; the poorest 40% owned but 4%; the wage earning class in the cities was growing as servitude declined. All of this suggests that this period just before and after the revolution may be more important for social history than we had thought. In a developing capitalist economy the role of women has to be examined more closely than it has heretofore. Catherine Scholten's article on the decline of midwives in the late eighteenth century suggests that in urban areas women may have been squeezed out of the few limited occupations they had managed to preserve.(5) The relative decline in women's status that occurs with 'embourgeoisement' (a term used by Mary George relative to women in seventeenth-century England and applied to the colonies by Joan Hoff Wilson) involves more than just an economic narrowing of roles. In her examination of post-revolutionary America, Hoff-Wilson discusses the manufacturing schemes of economic nationalists eager to use the reserve labour of impoverished women and children, but she also measures the status of women from an examination of demographic, religious educational and legal-political viewpoints. Her conclusion--that the American Revolution itself had very little impact on the position of women and in some instances worsened it--helps to correct our assumptions that significant change for women automatically coincides with political revolution and upheavals.(6) However, the question of the effect of developing capitalism on women remains unanswered. If we take Bridenthal's suggestion, we need to expand our knowledge of colonial family history begun by Greven, Lockridge and others to understand fully the relationship between work and family, production and reproduction.(7)

A recent book that addresses the question of women's work in the period right after the Revolution is Nancy Cott's The Bonds of Womanhood.(8) To her credit Cott has recognized the importance of returning to eighteenth century roots to explain the events of the early nineteenth century. This

book is primarily an attempt to grapple with the simultaneous appearance of feminism and the cult of domesticity in the 1830s and later. While her theoretical model is far from precise with her use of "economic modernization" as an umbrella term for economic development, she does provide us with some needed discussion of home industries, especially textile production. Unfortunately, Cott discusses change only at the point where factory production replaced home manufacturing and unmarried daughters taught or worked in mills. Clearly this is important but we also must ask if the "putting out" system that flourished in the 30 years after the revolution altered social relations in any significant way before mechanization took place. In addition it is necessary to consider the separation of home and work that occurred prior to industrialization. As Elizabeth Pleck has pointed out, families were not always integrated as a work force and often sent their children to work for others as servants, labourers and apprentices.(9) Patterns of land inheritance also affected the family and helped to determine the composition of the work force. Furthermore, if married women assumed more interest in the domestic sphere, are we to assume that women who were outside the contagion of the business world retained what other historians have loosely termed "pre-industrial values?" This is a theme that will be brought up again in the new women's labour history.

Ann Douglas' Feminization of American Culture, like Cott's book deals with nineteenth-century women from middle class backgrounds.(10) Douglas' main concern is not work per se but the development of a sentimentalized culture. The underlying premises of the book are of interest because they are not dissimilar to Cott's and lead to an entirely different assessment. Douglas relates the development of a feminized and sentimental culture to what she terms the "disestablishment" of middle class women and ministers. In the case of women, she also notes a loss of productive function which is replaced by a consumer role. This transformation takes place around 1820. Religious voluntarism and capitalism, according to Douglas, isolate ministers and women outside the centers of power and push them into the private sphere where they cultivate literary pursuits and the joys of consumption. Sentimental culture and consumerism fit in perfectly with the new economic order and, what is more, this culture engulfs feminist protest.

While there are many areas of potential disagreement with Douglas' argument, for those interested in the field of women's work and the place of women in the economy, the most serious flaw appears in her misunderstanding of economic transformation. She paints

a picture of a rural pre-capitalist society which is rather precipitously replaced after 1820 by an industrial capitalist milieu. She allows no room for an intervening non-industrial capitalist development and in fact greatly underplays economic considerations in the nineteenth century to dwell on the psychological and social factors of feminization. It is readily apparent that Douglas, unlike Cott, has a very critical opinion of this sentimental culture; however, her underweighting of other forces, such as economic change feminism and the secular tradition of reform coupled with her unsupported contention that sentimental culture paved the way for mass culture, serve to undercut her criticisms.

While historians of middle class women have paid more attention to the changing nature of domestic life, historians of working class and ethnic women have had to address the relationship between work, culture and family in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. A glance through the collection of articles edited by Milton Cantor and Bruce Laurie entitled Class, Sex and the Woman Worker will give some idea of the vibrancy of the area.(11) Many of the authors were graduate students of working class and social historians and have brought to their work a broad frame of reference not found in the old labour history. Consideration is given to Irish, Italian, Jewish and native-born women's work patterns from 1830 to the mid-twentieth century. Susan Kleinberg's excellent article on studying urban women leads off the collection which finishes with articles by Nancy Schrom Dye and Robin Jacoby on the Women's Trade Union League.

Despite these advances, problems remain. Two areas are of particular concern. Historians have assumed that women who do not engage in paid work retain pre-industrial values which serve to preserve the family. In some studies this assumption extends to women whose work is part of the family economy. Virginia McLaughlin, for example, in her article "Italian Women and Work: Experience and Perception," explains the female pattern of seasonal work in the canneries or as boarding house keepers through the mediation of pre-industrial cultural values which helped to "maintain this precarious balance of family power between males and females."(12) This tendency to view women within the family as the primary preservers of past cultural values rests on the notion that, with the coming of industrial capitalism, home became separated from work and women lost their productive functions. Women thus assumed a primarily cultural and consumption-oriented role and men a productive role. This formulation is not very different from that of Ann Douglas on middle class women; as such it does not help to explain the dynamics between class and

culture, family and work. Nor does it take into account unpaid labour in the home. Reproduction becomes associated with pre-industrial work patterns and culture and is falsely isolated from production.

The second area of concern is the use of functionalist language and concepts in some of this work. Whereas sociologists have looked at the family in terms of the strains resulting from industrialization, social historians have essentially reversed the emphasis and looked at work through the perspective of cultural and family norms. Women's work, then, becomes a question of cultural values from this perspective. Part of the problem is the desire to prove that the family did not disintegrate as a result of the immigration and industrialization experience. McLaughlin, for example, assumes the existence of an equilibrium of family power between Italian men and women as shown in the non-threatening type of women's work sanctioned by Italian cultural values. Tamara Hareven, in writing about the family's relationship to capitalist development in New Hampshire mill towns, treats the family as an equal element in a mutually flexible system, whereas in reality it is the French-Canadian family and the reserve army of female labour which "adjusts" to the corporation's needs.(13) Despite an awareness of the shortcomings of functionalism, historians have not managed to purge their language and conceptual framework. In the case of women's work where the relationship between family and work, production and reproduction is so crucial, this seriously impedes our understanding of the relationship in a historical context.

Women's waged work in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries included more than the industrial job sector. Office work and sales as well as other service jobs became the fastest growing area of female employment. Domestic service, although on the decline, still employed more women than the factories well into the twentieth century. Unfortunately very little recent work has appeared in published form on these areas. While the difficulty of obtaining information on privatized jobs like domestic service accounts for some of the reluctance, this explanation cannot be helpful in the area of office, sales and service work. If anything, Harry Braverman's 1974 publication of Labor and Monopoly Capital ought to have stimulated an interest in the process by which these areas became subject to 'industrialization' and 'scientific management.'

One exception to this dearth is the recent publication of Susan Porter Benson's article on saleswomen and their work culture in American department stores. Benson suggests that the

model of declining skills and the struggle for workplace control for skilled craftsmen described by Braverman and David Montgomery may not apply to women who only entered office and sales work as they were becoming proletarianized. She also argues that craft skill was not the basis for an effective work culture among women but that the social relations of the selling floor provided just such a basis. Benson's article is an important first step in coming to grips with the uniqueness of women's work experience in the twentieth century and the ties between that experience and the needs of monopoly capitalism.(14)

The final areas of waged work are the development of female professions and the entrance of women into traditionally male professions. Despite some promising articles in the early 1970s very little has been published on those areas where women established themselves; i.e., teaching, nursing, social work and librarianship. The question of the relationship between the development of the professions and what Christopher Lasch has seen as the decline of the family makes it all the more important to start addressing this area.(15) To what extent did these female professions participate in the extension of social control over the population? As Lasch points out the growth of professionalization parallels the growth of industrial management; where industrial relations failed, social workers, psychiatrists and other professionals might succeed.

Where women's roles in the traditional male professions have been treated, as in Mary Roth Walsh's Doctors Wanted: No Women Need Apply, the emphasis remains on the uphill battle to obtain recognition. Describing the skirmishes fought in Boston between 1850 and 1900, Walsh succeeds in presenting a solid piece of institutional history, but no more. Her explanation for the difficulties experienced by women and their relative decline in the profession from a high point around 1900 rests on her assertions that the medical profession deliberately conspired against women. A discussion of how the women's struggle to obtain recognition fits into the development of the profession itself would aid our understanding of the political, economic and social conditions these women faced.(16)

Notwithstanding the theoretical shortcomings and the reluctance to deal with pre-industrial and monopoly capitalist stages of women's paid work in the United States, historians have made some progress. In the area of unpaid household work, sexuality, childbirth, socialization and birth control, progress has been much slower. The study of unpaid household work has been undertaken by the sociologists but a thoroughgoing study of domestic technology in a historical framework in the United States has not been forthcoming. Even in the area of birth control we

are just beginning to see the results in published form.

One of the more controversial books to appear lately is Linda Gordon's Woman's Body, Woman's Right.(18) Gordon's volume traces the history of the birth control movement in the United States from a Marxist perspective and she argues that politics, not technology, determined the course of events. Gordon suggests a three-stage model of the movement with clear shifts around the turn of the century and again after the First World War. Whatever the criticisms of her overly schematic stages and their neat class correlations, Gordon has written the first overview of the American birth control movement. Perhaps her greatest contribution is the discussion of Margaret Sanger and the distortions fostered by Sanger's autobiography. Gordon's analysis despite its political framework, does not address the problem of reproduction in the sense that Bridenthal uses the term. While there is work being done on the history of the family, the birth control movement, sexuality and childbirth, no one so far has followed up on the concept of the "mode of reproduction," that is, looked at biological reproduction, sexuality and socialization processes and related it to the mode of production.

Gordon's book also raises the problem of serious consideration of women's history by the rest of the profession. The three major reviews of the book in historical journals demonstrate the long road ahead for historians of women's experience. While these reviews contain some insights into the problems of the book, the manner and tone in which they are presented suggest that feminist history is still politically perceived and received. In this instance, feminism seems to incur professional wrath much more than marxism.(19)

The cool reception given to women's history and the theoretical questions raised by Bridenthal, Vogel, and others indicate that historians of women's work have much more to accomplish. Despite our protestations of the need to investigate the whole area of reproduction, pre-industrial work and twentieth-century non-industrial occupations for women, we have not done so. Until historians establish a broader concept of women's work, with clearer theoretical models and a language purged of functionalism, progress toward the re-evaluation of other areas of historical experience will remain unsatisfactory.

NOTES

1. Renate Bridenthal, "The Dialectics of Production and Reproduction in History," Radical America, Vol. 10, no. 2 (March-April, 1976), pp. 3-11.

2. Lise Vogel, "The Contested Domain: A Note on the Family in the Transition to Capitalism," Marxist Perspectives, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Spring 1978), pp. 50-73.

3. Vogel, p. 61.

4. See for example, Marc Egnal and Joseph A. Ernst, "An Economic Interpretation of the American Revolution," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., Vol. 29 (1972), pp. 1-32; James Henretta, "Economic Development and Social Structure in Colonial Boston," WMQ, 3rd ser., Vol. 22 (1965), pp. 75-92; Henretta, "Families and Farms: Mentalité in Pre-Industrial America," WMQ, 3rd ser., Vol. 35 (1978), pp. 3-32; Alan Kulikoff, "The Progress of Inequality in Revolutionary Boston," WMQ, 3rd ser., Vol. 28 (1971), pp. 375-412; Eric Foner, Tom Paine and Revolutionary America (New York, 1976), ch. 2.

5. Catherine Scholten, "'On the Importance of the Obstetrick Art' Changing Customs of Childbirth in America, 1760-1825," WMQ 3rd Ser., Vol. 34 (July 1977), pp. 426-445.

6. Margaret George, "From 'Goodwife' to 'Mistress': The Transformation of the Female in Bourgeois Culture," Science and Society, Vol. 37 (Summer 1973), pp. 152-177; Joan Hoff Wilson, "The Illusion of Change: Women and the American Revolution," in Alfred F. Young, The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism (DeKalb, 1976), pp. 383-445.

7. Philip J. Greven Jr., Four Generations: Population, Land and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts (Ithaca, 1970); Kenneth A. Lockridge, A New England Town: The First One Hundred Years (New York, 1970).

8. Nancy F. Cott, The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835 (New Haven, 1977).

9. Elizabeth Pleck, "Two Worlds in One: Work and Family," Journal of Social History, Vol. 10, no. 2 (Winter 1976), pp. 178-195.

10. Ann Douglas, The Feminization of American Culture (New York, 1977). For a critical review of Douglas, see William R. Leach, "Dictatorship of the Powerless," Marxist Perspectives, Vol. 1, no. 2 (Summer 1978), pp. 158-171; for a discussion of the relationship between production and consumption in the home, see Stuart Ewen's Captains of Consciousness (New York, 1976), Part III.

11. Milton Cantor and Bruce Laurie, Class, Sex and the Woman Worker (New York, 1977).

12. Virginia McLaughlin, "Italian Women and Work: Experience and Perception," in Cantor and Laurie, pp. 101-119; p. 107.

13. This criticism of Hareven appears in an excellent article by Wini Breines, Margaret Cerullo, and Judith Stacey, "Social Biology, Family Studies, and Antifeminist Backlash," Feminist Studies, Vol. 4, no. 1 (Feb. 1978), pp. 43-67.

14. Harry Braverman, Labor and Monopoly Capital (New York, 1974); Susan Porter Benson, "'The Clerking Sisterhood': Rationalization and the Work Culture of Saleswomen, Radical America, Vol. 12, No. 2 (March-April, 1978), pp. 41-55; David Montgomery, "Workers' Control of Machine Production in the 19th Century," Labor History, Vol. 17, no. 4 (Fall 1976), pp. 485-509.

15. Christopher Lasch, Haven in a Heartless World (New York, 1977).

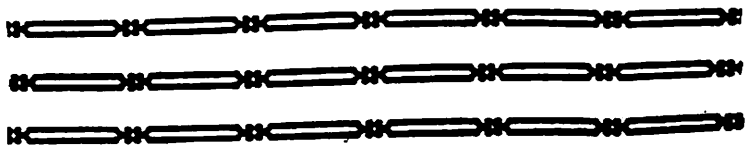
16. Mary Roth Walsh, Doctors Wanted: No Women Need Apply (New Haven, 1977).

17. For a survey of the sociological literature on housework, see Nona Glazer-Malbin, "Housework," Signs, Vol. 1, no. 4 (Summer 1976), pp. 905-922.

18. Linda Gordon, Woman's Body, Woman's Right; A Social History of Birth Control in America (New York, 1976).

19. See the reviews in American Historical Review, 82, no. 4 (Oct. 1977) p. 1095; Journal of American History, LXIV, no. 3 (Dec. 1977), p. 823; Journal of Social History, 11, no. 2 (Winter 1977), pp. 269-74.

Women's Work In Industrializing Britain and France



By Mary Lynn McDougall

Recent writing on women's work in nineteenth-century Britain and France falls into three categories. In the past year English researchers have published two conventional labour histories focusing on the labour movement. (Of course, these histories are hardly conventional in emphasizing women in unions, cooperatives and the Labour Party.) Meanwhile, North American scholars have examined the unorganized women, endeavouring to discover how industrialization affected their work. They take a "new social history" app ach. North Americans have also proposed analytical tools appropriate to the study of women's work. French literature has been omitted in this discussion because the French have produced very little on women's work since the pioneering efforts of Sullerot and Guilbert in the 1960s.(1)

The important labour history is Sheila Lewenhak's Women and Trade Unions, An Outline History of Women in the British Trade Union Movement.(2) The subtitle reveals its strength and weakness. As the first survey of women in British unions since the 1920s(3)Lewenhak's book provides information on all stages of organizing British working women. But she arranges the material chronologically, hence failing to deal systematically with central questions, such as: why were working women difficult to organize and what types of working women were active?

Lewenhak's positive approach--stressing what women did do--may reformulate the questions. By emphasizing a significant level of female participation in proto-unions until the mid-1830s, she shifts attention to the mid-nineteenth century. Noting that the subsequent decline in female participation occurred during a general drop in membership, she raises the possibility that union women, like union men, fell away in the mid-century depression. Here, as elsewhere, she applies an explanation derived from men's labour history to women's labour history. Happily, she is willing to discard traditional interpretations when they are inadequate. For instance, she shows how, in the 1840s and 1850s, unions excluded women and supported sex-specific, protective labour legislation to reduce competition from women and thus unemployment for men. It is refreshing to be spared a reiteration of the union rationales for these actions.

Another attractive feature of Women and Trade Unions is its insistence on working women's contribution to unionization. Without denigrating the help given by middle-class feminists, Lewenhak restores the history of women's unions to the working women who did the day-to-day organizing.(4) If Lewenhak fails to draw a profile of women organizers, it is because the task of retrieving these women's biographies is only beginning. More work also must be done on exclusionary union policies and restrictive labour legislation. Already, the economist Bettina Berch and historians like Marilyn Boxer, Carol Morgan and myself(5)are taking a more critical look at union and legislative restrictions on women's work.

The second labour history is Women in the Labour Movement, The British Experience.(6) This collection of essays comes out of the Labour Party; most of the authors are prominent Party women. In the foreword, the Prime Minister, James Callaghan, expresses the hope that the volume "will encourage a new generation of Labour women to build on the achievements of the last three quarters of a century." Not surprisingly, the book abounds in inspirational vignettes of important women in the Party, unions and cooperatives.

Two of the essays include insights about female sociability which might inform future research. In "Women and Cooperation," Jean Gaffin explains the attraction of consumer cooperatives to working-class housewives not only in terms of the economic advantages, but also in terms of the social life they afforded women who had few chances to socialize. In "Women in Labour Politics," Lucy Middleton cites comradeships between women of different social backgrounds and claims that the abilities of middle-class women complemented those of working-class women. Historians might extend this kind of analysis to see if friendships played

a supportive role in the lives of other Labour and socialist women. Already Rosemary Auchmuty has suggested a reason for inter-class relationships between women. In a 1975 article, "Spinsters and Trade Unions in Victorian Britain,"(7) she documents the significant minority of spinsters in the work force and among the middle-class feminists in the "Women's Trade Union League." Then she argues that the middle-class spinsters understood the rights to work and full wages, thus transcended the "rescue work" tradition and united with their working-class sisters. Present-day feminists realize that child-rearing issues can cut through class differences that divide women; perhaps historians ought to pay attention to solidarity based on marital status.

In 1975-1976, two "new social historians" published monographs on women's work in modern Europe. They differ from labour historians in their concentration on work at home, their extensive use of statistics, and their application of models borrowed from the social sciences. Both depeict women as agents of modernization. Predictably, historians take up concepts from the social sciences just as social scientists begin to discard them.

In Silent Sisterhood, Middle Class Women in the Victorian Home, Patricia Branca(8) criticizes the familiar image of the passive, frigid lady of leisure. Instead she portrays Victorian women as modernizers, responsible "for much of the early transformation of the family from a unit of production to a unit of consumption." As modern women, they came to believe in change and expect a better life. Consequently, they demanded--and got--improvements in household technology and health care. At her most heterodox, she claims that these women showed an interest in sexuality and initiated family limitation.

Unfortunately, Branca's iconoclastic approach shuns caution. Most fundamentally, her evidence cannot substantiate her argument about a changed mentality. Like many historians of women, she relies on prescriptive literature, albeit a much wider variety, including household manuals, health and child-care guides, women's and family magazines. Although she is aware that advice given is not advice taken, she does infer that women bought the books because they wanted more rational house-and-child-care. Autobiographical material, which might reveal what women did want, is ignored on the assumption that it only reveals extraordinary women's attitudes. This assumption is, at best, premature. On other occasions she reasons backwards from increased consumption to prior demand. One wonders, uneasily, about the creation of needs by advertising.

The preceeding critique refers principally to Part Two of Silent Sisterhood, on "The Inner Women." Part One,

"The Outer Women," is more solidly based. Using income estimates, Branca shows that the average middle-class family earned under 300 pounds per year. Price data and typical budgets indicate that average income was barely sufficient to sustain a middle-class life-style, especially given the rising standard of living. Hence, most middle-class families only had one general servant and most housewives had to engage in physical labour to maintain a respectable home.

Branca's decision to go beyond the women idealized in novels and etiquette books heralded a welcome trend. In 1977, Martha Vicenus edited a second volume of essays, entitled A Widening Sphere, which presents a more dynamic vision of Victorian women than her earlier volume, called, appropriately, Suffer and Be Still.(9) Although most of the new essays describe exceptional women--feminists, university students, actresses and prostitutes--they do discuss lack of job opportunities and how women tried to overcome this limitation. Two of the essays take a cautiously skeptical look at the prudish image of womanhood.

This approach is extended to France by Theresa McBride, in The Domestic Revolution, The Modernization of Household Service in England and France, 1820-1920.(10) McBride stresses changes in this traditional occupation, notably its feminization, urbanization and commercialization. By tracing migration patterns, she demonstrates that many servants travelled considerable distances to the city. She proves with an analysis of marriage contracts that as many female domestics married above their station, mainly into the petty bourgeoisie, as fell into destitution and prostitution. This upward mobility was achieved by the decision of domestics to marry later than other urban workers, thereby permitting them to accumulate a bigger dowry.

From such data, supplemented by a few servants' memoirs and contemporary studies of domestics, McBride concludes (1) that peasant women were not just pushed out of the country by poverty,but pulled to the city by hopes of social advancement; (2) that they chose domestic service not only because it was traditional,but because it provided the possibility of social mobility; and (3) that many acquired skills appropriate to the city and a petty-bourgeois life. In general, she treats domestic service as a bridging occupation, easing the transition from rural to urban life and the movement from one occupation to another.

McBride's reminder that more women entered domestic service than any other trade serves as a useful corrective to most literature on women's work, which focuses on the factory. Her perception that tradition and innovation intermingle in a period of transition is another important contri-

bution. But, like Branca, McBride has a flaw: she cannot prove that servants were motivated by modern ideas of social mobility. In this case, though, obvious sources are not overlooked. More seriously, she generalizes from the French situation, which she has thoroughly researched, to the English situation, which she had inadequately researched.(11) An in-depth examination of domestic service in Britain is still needed.

By comparison to Branca and McBride, the students of French bourgeois women adhere more closely to the "ideology of domesticity" approach and retain the "response to modernization" interpretation. Yet two 1975 papers go beyond the familiar explanation of domesticity in terms of the separation of home from the work place. Barbara Corrado Pope's "Maternal Education in France, 1815-1848" links the emphasis on mothers instructing their young to the reaction to the Revolution and the scapegoating of "meddling" salon women. Erna Hellerstein's "French Women and the Orderly Household, 1830-1870" ties the withdrawal into a safe, structured home to a retreat from the dangerous and chaotic city, Paris.(12)

This raises the controversy over the impact of industrialization on the role of women. In articles and a book, The Making of the Modern Family, Edward Shorter(13)has updated the old conservative complaint that access to paid employment made women insubordinate and promiscuous,and thus undermined the family. Shorter provides convincing evidence that illegitimacy increased markedly just as the factory system emerged. He interprets this data sympathetically, for he believes that young women expressed a wish to be free of the restrictions of family and community by taking jobs and lovers. Economic independence made possible sexual emancipation. This "sexual revolution" was part of a larger change from instrumental values, which subordinated people to property, the family and community by means of authoritarianism, patriarchy and sexual repression, to a more individualistic system characterized by more personal freedom, romantic love and affectionate family ties.

Many reviewers have found fault with Shorter's tendency to generalize without adequate documentation. Most object to postulating new sentiments on the basis of new circumstances. Critics claim that, like Branca and McBride, he cannot prove internal changes. Moreover, he does not demonstrate exposure to the external changes: he offers no evidence that more young women entered the labour market. Joan Scott shows the argument about women's emancipation to be circular: the wish to be free is both cause and effect of paid employment.(14) Chicken-or-egg debates bedevil this field.

Joan Scott, Louis Tilly and Miriam

Cohen have proposed a different correlation between industrialization and illegitimacy.(15) They begin by positing more continuity in women's work patterns. Families had sent daughters into service and expected them to send money home before industrialization; this custom lingered during industrialization. While more young women took outside employment, most took traditionally feminine jobs, in domestic service and small clothing workshops. Scott et al. substantiate this point with figures from the statistical compilation, La Population active et sa structure.(16)

Next, Scott-Tilly-Cohen see more complex interactions between values and economic structures. They think old values help people adjust to structural change, before the values wither away. Thus young women did not seek outside employment for individualistic, market-oriented motives. Rather, they sought jobs at their families' insistence, when their families needed extra income and they sent their wages home out of a sense of obligation to their families. In other words, they were still attached to the family economy. When they remained in the city, they tried to create their own family economies, because the insecurity and low wages of their unskilled occupations made family life more viable than single life.

Lastly, Scott et al. explain soaring illegitimacy in terms of old expectations in a new context. Young women from the countryside sought mates to escape loneliness in the city and boredom in their jobs. They slept with young men, expecting marriage to follow, as it had in the country. But th young men were more mobile and city folk could not exert community pressure the way rural folk did. The authors support their contention with studies of unwed mothers' declarations

The debate is not over. In the "Preface to the Paperback Edition" of his book, Shorter accuses Scott-Tilly-Cohe of a "woman-as-victim" approach. He thinks this "mainline feminist" position fails to account for the illegitimacy explosion in villages. From my reading of Scott et al., and from comments they have made, I believe they would reply that men and women, peasants and urban workers, were temporarily swamped by the tidal wave of early industrialization. (I also believe that we have had enough critiques of victimization approaches. It is possible that people were victimized; it is also possible to be a victim in one aspect of life yet be a resourceful person in other aspects of life. Women have often shown strength in adversity, witness the unwed mothers who worked long and hard to keep their illegitimate children.)

My essay on the impact of industrializ ation, in Bridenthal and Koonz's Becoming Visible, Women in European History(17) came down on the Scott-

Tilly-Cohen side. I was most influenced by wage and employment figures, fragmentary autobiographical evidence from working women, and demographic studies by Michael Anderson and Etienne van de Walle.(18) Most of the data pointed to the persistence of premodern values, especially devotion to the family, for practical reasons.

The controversy over causation will only subside when more specific research has been done. Since the principals made their statements, case studies of working people in the nineteenth century have shored up the Scott thesis. One fascinating analysis found that most lower-class girls graduating from Parisian primary schools chose their careers for family reasons, including the dictates of their parents and their own desire to supplement family income. One article depicts Lyonnais silk weavers struggling to maintain the family workshop; another article proves nearly half the linen weavers of Armentières were related to someone in the same mill and argues they fought mechanization to preserve family members' jobs. (19) The instrumental family seems to have survived in parts of France down to the belle epoque.

There has been surprisingly little historiographical writing on working women, aside from general reviews of the literature.(20) Three years ago, Patricia Branca(21)did offer some methodological suggestions. She urged historians of women's work to abandon the male model of labour history as well as the "feminist" preoccupation with exploitation and victimization. More constructively, she advocated three new perspectives: (1) more attention to traditional occupations and how women experienced and initiated change there; (2) greater emphasis on late industrialization and the new employment opportunities opened up then, and (3) a two-model approach, one model based on rapid and complete industrialization, as in England, the other based on slower, less thorough industrialization, as in France.

While few have completely forsaken the insights of male labour history or the concept of exploitation--and I, for one, do not see how we can--the new literature has moved away from the purely passive, victim approach. The authors discussed here portray working women as actors in history, albeit actors constrained by circumstances. McBride, for example, has enhanced our knowledge of the female labour force by examining domestic service with an eye open for innovation. And I found the two-model approach useful in explaining differences in the female labour forces in France and England.

Only one major theoretical essay on the history of women's work has appeared. In it, Renata Bridenthal(22) reasserts the Marxist-feminist

position, emphasizing the dialectic between women's productive and reproductive roles, especially after industrialization split these functions, making production public, reproduction private. Although Bridenthal's dialectic helps us understand the contradictions facing working women, she only touches on two central problems for Marxist interpretations in this field. Nor, for that matter, has any historian of women grappled with the issues of class and the ideological role of the family.(23)

In "Feminism and Methodology," an article published in Berenice Carroll's Liberating Women's History, Hilda Smith concludes with a suggestion that historians determine a woman's class not only by her husband's occupation, but also by the number of children she has.(24) But Smith herself does not apply this technique. Conversely, Laura Strumingher has argued that, if we accept E.P. Thompson's definition of class as a social relationship people are born into and conscious of, then we must look at socialization in the family of origin and the woman's role therein. Strumingher merely uses this insight to explain continuing attachment to the family economy. Others should investigate if and how working-class women instilled class consciousness and, perhaps more importantly, the discipline needed in an industrialized economy. Hopefully, such questions will be taken up in the near future.

NOTES

1. M. Guilbert, Les femmes et l'organisation syndicale avant 1914 (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1966) and E. Sullerot, Histoire et sociologie du travail féminin (Paris: Gonthier, 1

2. S. Lewenhak, Women and Trade Unions, An Outline History of Women in the British Trade Union Movement (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977).

3. B. Drake, Women in Trade Unions (London: Labour Research Dept., 1920).

4. Previous histories of British women in the labour movement focused on th

4. Previous histories of British women in the labour movement focused on th "Women's Trade Union League" and its middle to upper-class leadership. F two good, recent examples see Harold Goldman, Emma Paterson (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1974) and Theresa Olcott, "Dead Centre: The Women' Trade Union Movement in London, 1874-1914," London Journal, 2, 1 (1976), pp. 33-50.

5. B. Berch, "Industrialization and Women's Work: What Difference Did it M and Carol Morgan, "Women and the Politics of Industrialization in Lancas 1800-1855," papers presented at the Berkshire Conference, 1976; Marilyn Boxer, "Foyer or Factory: Working Class Women in Nineteenth-Century Fra Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the Western Society for French Hist 1974; and M.L. McDougall, "Protective Labour Legislation in Britain and France," paper presented to the B.C. Women's Studies Conference, Spring

6. L.Middleton, Women in the Labour Movement, The British Experience (Lond Croom Helm, 1977).

7. R. Auchmuty, "Spinsters and Trade Unions in Victorian Britain," Labour History, vol. 29, Women at Work, ed. A. Curthoys, S. Eade and P. Spearr 1975.

8. P. Branca, Silent Sisterhood, Middle Class Women in the Victorian Home (London: Croom Helm, 1975).

9. M. Vicenus, ed., A Widening Sphere, Changing Roles of Victorian Women (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977).

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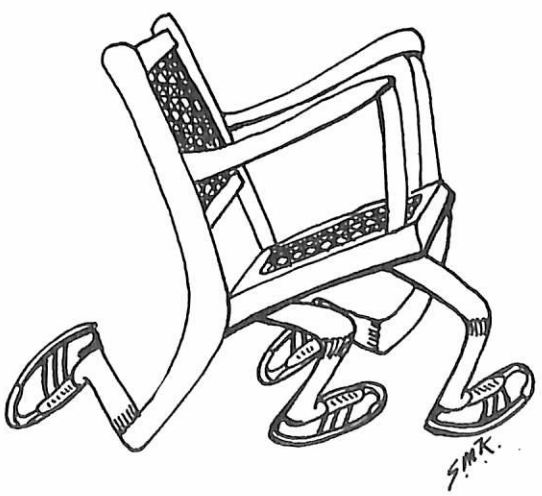

Les Femmes et la Religion dans les Ecrits de Langue Française au Québec

par Monique Dumais

Femmes, religion, écriture au Québec, c'est évoquer, au début de la Nouvelle-France, une relation mystique, notamment avec Marie de l'Incarnation, fondatrice des Ursulines.(1) Aujourd'hui, considérer ce triptyque, c'est découvrir le travail de conscientisation orienté vers une participation entière des femmes dans l'Eglise catholique et le changement de discours théologique sur les femmes, c'est aussi chercher à connaître l'impact du mouvement féministe dans ces deux domaines. Je me propose donc de regarder avec une lunette féministe, c'est-à-dire avec une perspective de transformation profonde de la situation des femmes dans l'Eglise et la société, ce qui s'est écrit sur les femmes et le

religion (incluant praxis ecclésiale et réflexion théologique), au cours des années '60 et plus particulièrement lors de la présente décade au Québec. Je ferai aussi connaître quelques livres français qui circulent au Québec.

Quatre orientations m'apparaissent caractériser cette littérature de langue française sur les femmes et la religion au Québec. J'y ai découvert d'abord le besoin d'une prise de conscience, puis j'ai constaté la présence d'une histoire en train de s'écrire, j'ai aussi perçu les voix critiques qui s'élèvent, finalement, j'ai décelé des projets de fabrication d'une nouvelle théologie.

1. Prise de conscience

Une première étape à franchir dans un processus de changement évolutif ou révolutionnaire, c'est de prendre conscience de la situation immédiate que l'on vit, prise de conscience d'une insatisfaction, d'un malaise, d'un climat répressif et même d'un ordre social justificateur d'une situation globale d'injustice.(2) Les femmes au Québec ont commencé à se sentir accablées par le monopole que les hommes exercent sur tout leur environnement intime et social, particulièrement dans l'Eglise. Des groupes de femmes chrétiennes ont amorcé un premier réveil par des enquêtes, la fabrication de dossiers. Trois documents s'inscrivent dans cette étape de conscientisation: l'enquête menée par l'Association féminine d'Education et d'Action sociale (A.F.E.A.S.) sur La participation de la femme dans la société et dans l'Eglise (1974), le dossier préparé par la Conférence religieuse canadienne (C.R.C.), Le rôle de la femme dans la société civile et dans l'Eglise (1975), et le dossier de travail organisé par une équipe de l'Archevêché de Montréal, La femme, un agent de changement dans l'Eglise, qui est paru en janvier 1976.(3)

Ces trois publications, influencées plus ou moins immédiatement par l'Année internationale de la femme, ont tenté de capter et de livrer le degré de satisfaction ou d'insatisfaction des femmes québécoises dans la société et dans l'Eglise. Toutefois, les compilateurs de l'enquête menée pour le Dossier de l'Archevêché de Montréal ont eu une réaction d'étonnement devant la modération des réponses.

> Le jugement que les femmes portent sur l'Eglise est un jugement très critique, mais beaucoup moins agressif que nous l'avions prévu ou supposé. Nous avions en effet émis l'hypothèse que, la fièvre de l'année de la femme aidant, la plupart des femmes auraient été plutôt agressives face à une institution dans laquelle certaines portes (v.g. le ministère sacerdotal) leur sont fermées au départ.(4)

On note, en effet, que si les femmes

sont très sévères dans leur jugement porté sur l'ensemble du contexte, elles adoptent, dans des situations locales ou particulières, un ton modéré et généralement moins revendicateur. Globalement, la plupart des femmes reconnaissent une discordance trés nette dans l'Eglise entre la théorie et la pratique dans ses prétentions à l'égalité.

> Même si l'Eglise a toujours défendu au plan théorique l'égalité des hommes et des femmes, dans la pratique ça toujours été des situations d'inégalité. La discrimination s'exerce en ce qui concerne toutes les fonctions importantes au plan de la pensée, au plan de la parole, au plan de l'administration, au plan du culte.(5)

Pourtant, devant la participation uniquement masculine dans les fonctions ecclésiastiques, 43% des femmes affirment qu'elles voient une discrimination envers les femmes, tandis que 41% répondent par la négative.(6) De plus, des contradictions se glissent dans les réponses. D'une part, 75.21% des femmes sont d'accord que "la situation de la femme dans notre milieu n'est pas si dramatique qu'on le dit," alors que 59.07% des femmes affirment plus loin qu' "en général les femmes sont exploitées."(7) De plus, 49.5% des femmes interrogées pensent que le pape et les évêques sont "suffisamment renseignés" sur la situation de la femme; 72.8% d'entre elles déclarent que les prêtres sont "assez compréhensifs" vis-à-vis d'elles.(8) D'autre part, 51.28% avouent que "les prêtres confient rarement des responsabilités aux femmes."(9)

Les deux enquêtes conduites par l'A.F.E.A.S. et une équipe de l'Archevêché de Montréal constituent un matériel de sensibilisation fort valable auprès des répondantes elles-mêmes ainsi qu'auprès des lectrices et des lecteurs. De plus, la C.R.C. et l'équipe de l'Archevêché de Montréal en ont profité pour offrir une sélection importante de textes; ceux-ci permettent de déceler les prises de position, l'évolution de la pensée et des réalisations concrètes qui marquent des pas en avant pour une participation plus effective des femmes dans l'Eglise.

Dans cette même ligne d'information de la situation des femmes dans l'Eglise, le livre de Marc Rondeau, La promotion de la femme dans la pensée de l'Eglise contemporaine(10) fournit les phases importantes de l'enseignement pontifical concernant les perspectives offertes aux femmes dans la société et dans l'Eglise. Y fait écho un autre livre écrit par trois auteurs français Jean-Marie Aubert, Yvonne Pellé-Douël, Jacques Delaporte, L'Eglise et la promotion de la femme.(11) Je peux aussi classer dans la catégorie de prise de conscience, le livre de Marie-Josèphe Aubert, Les religieuses sont-

elles des femmes?(12) L'auteur a cherché à savoir comment les religieuses se situent face à la femme dans la société actuelle; la virginité consacrée permet-elle la libération d'une société dominée par le masculin? Sa rencontre pendant cinq ans en France avec des religieuses de tous âges et dans des activités variées lui a fait détecter des attitudes très diverses chez les religieuses et une recherche réelle d'insertion dans la culture actuelle où elles risquent pourtant d'être anéanties.

Le processus de conscientisation est bien amorçé au Québec; rares sont les femmes chrétiennes qui ne s'interrogent pas sur le sort qui leur est réservé dans l'Eglise et qui ne souhaitent pas des orientations plus dynamiques.

2. Une histoire qui s'écrit

Devant le silence qui les entoure et l'oubli où elles sont vite confinées, les femmes ont décidé de signaler leur participation active dans l'Eglise. Deux publications récentes sont caractéristiques à cet égard et nous permettent de saisir les implications des femmes, notamment des religieuses dans l'Eglise: Evolution des communautés religieuses de femmes au Canada de 1639 à nos jours, par Marguerite Jean, s.c.i.m.(13)et Les religieuses enseignantes dans le système d'éducation du Québec par Marie-Jeanne Alexandre, c.n.d.(14)

Le livre de Marguerite Jean est une étude d'ensemble, entreprise auprès de soixante-six communautés de femmes au Canada tant francophones qu'anglophones, sur une période couvrant trois siècles et demi d'histoire. La recherche tient à la fois compte des coordonnées charismatiques et juridiques qui ont déterminé la fondation et la vie des communautés religieuses féminines, sous le régime français, le régime anglais et depuis le régime confédératif. Si le pape Urbain VIII s'étonnait en 1631, dans des termes très dévalorisants pour les femmes, de l'audace de certaines qui voulaient être à la fois religieuses et séculières,

> elles avaient coutume d'entreprendre et exercer plusieurs autres oeuvres très peu en rapport avec la faiblesse de leur sexe et de leur esprit, avec la modestie féminine et surtout avec la pudeur virginale, oeuvres que des hommes très-distingués par la science des lettres sacrées, par leur expérience et par l'innocence de leur vie n'entreprennent que difficilement et qu'avec très grande circonspection.(15)

le lecteur d'aujourd'hui ne peut qu'admirer la tâche immense accomplie par les communautés religieuses féminines, dans les secteurs importants de la société, l'école, l'hôpital, les oeuvres de bienfaisance. Subissant "une tutelle souvent double, sinon triple, imposée de l'extérieur,"(16) soit par le roi et l'évêque sous le

régime français, ou par les Ordinaires de maisons-mères et des supérieurs ecclésiastiques au 19e siècle, ou de consulteurs de la Curie, elles finissent par obtenir avec le dernier Concile la possibilité de se définir elles-mêmes. Le livre de Marguerite Jean nous fait découvrir que plusieurs femmes au Québec ont été engagées de façon intensive dans l'évolution de la société québécoise et cela au nom de l'Evangile, et qu'elles ont su s'adapter selon les époques, souvent en dépit de structures ecclésiastiques contraignantes.

La recherche poursuivie par Marie-Jeanne Alexandre offre une illustration précise de la présence active et audacieuse des religieuses enseignantes au Québec de 1937 à 1975. "L'histoire de l'éducation au Québec a les proportions de l'épopée et le caractère du bénévolat, de la gratuité la plus désintéressée."(17) L'auteur nous donne la possibilité de cerner toutes les formes d'enseignement où les religieuses ont investi leurs dynamismes et leur dévouement: l'enseignement préscolaire et élémentaire, l'enseignement secondaire, les collèges classiques, les écoles normales, l'enseignement ménager, l'enseignement de la musique, l'enfance exceptionnelle. Une remarque de l'auteur nous fait réfléchir sur la conception de l'éducation de la femme au Québec: les écoles ménagères ont été subventionnées à partir de 1882, tandis que les collèges classiques féminins ne l'ont été qu'à partir de 1961.(18) On est aussi informé sur certains changements survenus pour les religieuses enseignantes avec la réforme du système d'éducation, tels que la syndicalisation, les traitements, le régime de rente et de retraite, l'impôt provincial, le régime d'institution associée, les implications de l'enseignement privé. Dans une dernière partie, l'auteur nous présente l'Association des religieuses enseignantes du Québec (A.R.E.Q.) pour laquelle elle a été pendant de nombreuses années secrétaire générale. Tout ce travail de recherche porte la marque fervente d'une femme qui a été elle-même dans le secteur de l'enseignement.

Deux autres publications à saveur historique doivent être aussi signalées; le numéro de septembre-octobre 1977 de Communauté chrétienne intitulé "Place aux femmes dans l'Eglise"(19) et un dossier que j'ai préparé sur le féminisme et la religion au Québec depuis 1960.(20) "Place aux femmes dans l'Eglise" offre d'abord un tableau bien clair de la condition féminine et du féminisme au Québec par Michèle Jean, une historienne bien lancée du côte des femmes.(21) Hélène Pelletier-Baillargeon a par la suite bien campé l'évolution de la Québécoise sous l'influence de l'Eglise à travers les différentes phases de notre histoire nationale; elle apparaît en Nouvelle-France comme "une femme très vive et très intelligente," mais qui a dû comme tout le peuple québécois se

soumettre après la Conquête, aujourd'hui elle veut participer avec les hommes à libérer le Québec.(22) Judith Dufour a, d'autre part, bien circonscrit comment elle est à la fois et indissociablement chrétienne, féministe et socialiste.(23) Quant à moi, j'ai essayé d'esquisser les traits des religieuses dans la société et l'Eglise québécoise d'aujourd'hui: des femmes au grand jour, discrètement religieuses, autonomes, tendres, cependant encore peu attirées par le mouvement féministe.(24) Deux autres articles de Communauté chrétienne font état des difficultés rencontrées par les femmes èn général dans l'Eglise. (25)

Le dossier que j'ai établi sur les interactions entre le mouvement féministe et la religion au Québec depuis 1960 a été dressé à partir d'une compilation des événements, des études, des nouvelles organisations, des articles de revues, des thèses, des livres se rapportant aux femmes et à la religion. L'analyse du dossier m'a amenée à présenter six observations qui pourraient se résumer ainsi: les Québécoises connaissent, elles aussi, leur Révolution tranquille. Elles finissent par vaincre leurs réticences et s'engagent progressivement, avec une agressivité tempérée, de façon constructive, dans la société et dans l'Eglise.

Somme toute, nous pouvons constater un souci marqué par les femmes au Québec d'écrire elles-mêmes leur histoire, de faire saisir l'apport constant et généreux qu'elles ont donné à la cause québécoise, notamment l'investissement immense qu'elles ont apporté dans les domaines sociaux soutenus par l'Eglise. Elles n'oublient pas toutefois d'indiquer les préjugés et les obstacles fréquents qu'elles ont dû affronter de la part d'une Eglise masculine dans ses structures décisionnelles. Leur audace et leur persévérance ont été continuellement sollicitées et leur permettront d'accéder à des ministères nouveaux.

3. Les voix critiques s'élèvent

Jusqu'ici, j'ai noté le ton plutôt doux et modéré perçu dans certains écrits québécois, pourtant le ton se révèle plutôt acerbe et impétueux dans quelques autres. En 1967, Fernande Saint-Martin livrait dans un texte très succinct de seize pages, La femme et la société cléricale(26) ses critiques face à une Eglise qui brime les femmes dans leur désir d'affirmation personnelle et collective. Il lui apparaît nettement que l'Eglise catholique ne permet pas la réalisation du "nouveau destin de la femme," en raison d'une égalité qui demeure théorique, d'une influence nettement paternaliste, exercée par les clercs, d'analogies piégées. "Toutes les structures traditionnelles véhiculées par la religion peuvent constituer un obstacle à l'évolution de la femme québécoise."(27)

Le groupe de femmes du Réseau des Politisés chrétiens a fait également connaître son désaccord formel avec une Eglise-institution, liée à la classe dominante qui s'est servie du sexisme pour maintenir un état d'oppression et avec la théologie traditionnelle qui se situe dans cette même perspective.(28) De plus, Hélène Pelletier-Baillargeon a signé dans la revue Maintenant des articles nettement revendicateurs face à la position restrictive des clercs vis-à-vis les femmes.(29)

Dans un numéro entièrement consacré à "l'admission des femmes au sacerdoce ministériel," de janvier 1978, la revue bilingue de l'Université d'Ottawa, Eglise et théologie, ne craint pas de montrer le manque d'autorité des arguments exégétiques, patristiques, ecclésiologiques ainsi que l'inadéquation de l'anthropologie véhiculée par l'Eglise dans la Déclaration romaine sur le sujet indiqué. L'article d'André Guindon montre de façon audacieuse et bien étayée qu'il y a deux lectures de l'être-femme: la lecture "romaine" apparaît alors bien éloignée de la lecture susceptible d'être entendue par les hommes et les femmes actuels en recherche d'épanouissement humain.(30)

Je veux aussi signaler dans cette partie deux ouvrages français qui dégagent l'orientation antiféministe du christianisme. Le livre de Jean-Marie Aubert, La femme. Antiféminisme et christianisme(31)montre comment à travers les différentes époques de son histoire, l'Eglise s'est trouvée coincée dans des ambiguïtés "entre des exigences évangéliques poussant à reconnaître à la femme les mêmes droits qu'à l'homme, et le poids ancestral de structures patriarcales mettant la femme sous la domination de l'homme."(32) Le résultat, c'est que l'Eglise demeure fortement masculine dans ses orientations et ses structures. Un autre livre, celui de Marie-Odile Métral, Le mariage. Les hésitations de l'Occident(33)s'inscrit dans des coordonnées nettement féministes, car il fait voir de quelle façon l'Eglise, par l'institution du mariage, a réussi à soumettre la femme. Ecrit par une femme, cet ouvrage audacieux et souvent ironique nous signale qu'une vie sexuelle épanouie a été déniée aux femmes par les Pères de l'Eglise qui glorifiaient la virginité au détriment du mariage, que l'amour courtois qui avait permis aux femmes d'inventer l'amour a été bien vite récupéré par l'institution ecclésiale. Pour assurer son pouvoir masculin, le christianisme a sanctionné le couple, l'amour intersexuel et finalement la femme. C'est pourquoi Marie-Odile Métral proclame "la fin d'une soumission ou le mariage à la question," car il s'agit d'une lutte engagée par les mouvements de libération des femmes pour inscrire "dans les institutions autant que dans les modeles et dans les jouissances

effectives, sa quête d'égalité, de liberté, de plaisir, quête de différence et non d'imitation."(34)

Ces quelques voix critiques que je viens de faire connaître attirent l'attention sur quelques grands malaises qui existent dans l'Eglise par rapport aux femmes. L'évolution des sciences, autant de la biologie que de la psychologie et de la sociologie, a fait découvrir des aspects nouveaux sur les êtres humains notamment sur les femmes. Les ouvrages se font de plus en plus nombreux sur le sujet(35)et pourtant, l'Eglise adopte une attitude impertubable si ce n'est imperméable devant l'apport des sciences.(36) La recommandation de Marie-Odile Métral m'apparaît très juste et digne d'appui:

> Le christianisme renonçant alors à sa systématisation antérieure peut encore servir de moteur à l'Occident à la condition de renoncer à la primauté universelle qu'il s'octroie. Il ne détient pas la compétence éthique pas plus dans le domaine politique que dans le domaine sexuel. Il n'est pas le garant d'une anthropologie. Le christianisme dans ce renoncement ne se montrerait-il pas vraiment compétent, de sa propre compétence qui est de rendre intelligible ce qu'il a, dans son mystère, si peu creusé: l'Altérité.(37)

4. Engagement dans un processus de construction

Si les voix critiques sapent des fondations, elles appellent aussi des constructions nouvelles. Avec une conscientisation poussée, démolir est relativement facile, mais construire est beaucoup plus ardu. Ce sont souvent des groupes qui ont pris l'initiative de la création. Les femmes sentent le besoin de la solidarité pour refaire un logos qui surgisse de leur vécu. Il ne suffit pas de trouver un saint Thomas d'Aquin au féminin pour réparer les mesquineries du discours, mais d'apporter les vibrations pluridimensionnelles de l'expérience féminine et de rejoindre finalement l'humain, là ou hommes et femmes vivent une vie de cheminement et de croissance personnelle dans la société.

Le collectif L'autre Parole existe au Québec depuis août 1976. Par un feuillet de liaison, il essaie de rejoindre les femmes théologiennes, catéchètes, agents de pastorale, des chrétiennes de toutes compétences et expériences, dans le but d'assurer une meilleure participation des femmes dans l'Eglise et de contribuer à faire une théologie plus "acceptante" des femmes.(38) Comme je m'occupe activement de ce collectif, je livre les étapes que nous avons franchies ainsi que les perspectives entrevues. La période de deux ans qui se termine a permis de créer une solidarité entre

les femmes vivement intéressées par les objectifs ci-haut mentionnés. Nous espérons entamer une deuxième étape de réelle créativité, par un colloque qui se tiendra les 17-18-19 août prochains, sur un thème bien pertinent, "le corps de la femme et l'Eglise." Tributaires du mouvement de réappropriation de notre corps, nous espérons saisir tout l'impact qu'il aura sur notre interprétation de l'Evangile et notre engagement de chrétiennes. Un autre groupe, européen d'origine celui-là, international sur le plan de l'appartenance, Femmes et Hommes dans l'Eglise, tente depuis 1970 de regrouper les forces, autant celles des femmes que celles des hommes, pour montrer la nécessité d'une "égale et commune responsabilité des femmes et des hommes" dans l'Eglise de Jésus-Christ.(39).

Quelques livres peuvent aussi s'inscrire dans cette poussée dynamique de construction. Une Française, France Quéré, tout en se lançant de façon étonnante dans la critique des féminismes, propose, dans La Femme avenir (40) un "féminisme total" à la fois respectueux des similitudes et des différences. Sa conclusion se présente de façon positive: les femmes ont le défi de changer la société, "de rendre à la vie et à l'amour le pas sur la conquête et la destruction"(41) d'où féminisme et christianisme peuvent trouver un terrain de rencontre, car tous deux proposent de rendre la dignité aux êtres humains et de s'engager dans le service. Un autre livre, La religieuse animatrice de paroisse de Roger Ebacher(42), situe dans le contexte ecclésial québécois, tout particulièrement celui du diocèse d'Amos, l'expérience d'animation paroissiale assurée par des religieuses. J'aurais souhaité qu'une religieuse elle-même fasse le point sur ce travail de collaboration qu'elle assume. L'insertion des femmes--espérons que les possibilités seront bientôt offertes aux laïcs--dans des responsabilités paroissiales, répond à des urgences immédiates, besoin de décentralisation et vieillissement des curés. Ce livre traduit encore une nette dépendance des femmes vis-à-vis la hiérarchie masculine. Les femmes espèrent créer au Québec des formes de ministères qui répondent davantage à leurs aspirations et aux exigences d'une Eglise renouvelée.

Conclusion

> Le projet féministe me paraît d'une ampleur que beaucoup de féministes, et des plus zélés, ne soupçonnent pas.(43)

Une rétrospective de ce qui s'écrit et se lit en français au Québec sur les femmes et la religion nous a permis de discerner que le projet féministe est bien amorcé dans le contexte ecclésial québécois. Les étapes de prise de conscience, d'élaboration de l'histoire, de signalement critique sont bien circonscrites, tandis qu'une quatrième étape, celle de la création

d'une nouvelle réflexion théologique et d'une praxis ecclésiale plus ouverte aux femmes, est en pleine progression. Comme la dimension nettement créatrice est encore à venir au Québec(44), il m'est apparu impossible d'entreprendre une évaluation serrée des thèses et des tendances. Les lectrices et lecteurs pourront tout au moins constater la présence d'un terrain propice à des germinations théologiques.

Cette étude n'est sûrement pas exhaustive. D'autres écrits se rapportant aux femmes et à la religion pourraient être mentionnés, qu'il me suffise d'ajouter à la liste deux ouvrages à saveur spiritualiste, l'un écrit par une théologienne québécoise, Ghislaine Boucher, Du centre à la croix. Marie de l'Incarnation, 1599-1672(45), l'autre par un théologien français, André Manaranche, L'Esprit et la femme.(46) Cependant, ceux-ci ne servent pas immédiatement à la poursuite d'un projet feministe. Il faut beaucoup risquer et apporter bien de la ferveur pour que la situation d'inégalité entre hommes et femmes dans l'Eglise puisse éclater et qu'un souffle nouveau anime les mentalités et parvienne à faire modifier profondément les structures.

NOTES

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29. Par exemple, Hélène Pelletier-Baillargeon, "Un Concile pour le deuxième sexe?" Maintenant, no 53 (mai 1966), pp. 145-149.

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31. Jean-Marie Aubert, La femme. Antiféminisme et christianisme. Paris, Cert/Desclée, 1975.

32. Ibid., p. 179.

33. Marie-Odile Métral, Le mariage. Les hésitations de l'Occident. Paris, Aubier-Montaigne, 1977.

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36. "Peut-être est-il opportun de rappeler que les problèmes d'ecclésiologie et de théologie sacramentaire, surtout quand ils concernent le sacerdoce, comme c'est ici le cas, ne peuvent trouver leur solution qu'à la lumière de la Révélation. Les sciences humaines, si précieux que soit leur apport dans leur domaine, n'y peuvent suffire, car elles ne peuvent saisir les réalités de la foi: le contenu proprement surnaturel de celles-ci échappe à leur compétence." Déclaration sur l'admission des femmes au sacerdoce ministériel, VI, 1er par., Sacrée Congrégation pour la doctrine de la foi, 15 octobre 1976.

37. Marie-Odile Métral, op. cit., p. 308.

38. On peut recevoir L'autre Parole en s'adressant à Monique Dumais, Département des Sciences religieuses, Université du Québec, 300, Ave des Ursulines, Rimouski, G5L 3A1.

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Women and Religion

by Sheila McDonough

In the context of academic studies, the expression 'women and religion' raises immediately the question as to whether one is viewing the phenomena from the perspective of religious studies (history of religion, sciences religieuses, religionswissenschaft) or of theology. Most of the present writing on the subject falls under the latter category, as is evident from titles like A Different Heaven and Earth, Beyond God the Father, New Woman, New Earth and Human Liberation in a Feminist Perspective. (1)

The aim of all thse writers is to articulate a vision of what should be believed and acted upon. They assume that heaven and earth can and should be transformed and/or redeemed. In so thinking, they are all directly in the tradition of Augustine's City of God. Lao Tzu would rather say that since there is no city or god worth bothering about, why not go fishing? This point is made in order to emphasize that sophisticated self-understanding should carry with it explicit recognition of one's assumptions and the sources of those assumptions.

Theology as a discipline that attempts to articulate what a religious tradition should mean has so far been almost exclusively Christian. That is to say, Jews, Muslims, Hindus and Buddhists have not produced writings comparable to Christian theology. Jews and Muslims have occasionally ventured in this direction but it has never been a central interest. Nothing in the Indian, Chinese or Japanese traditions is directly comparable. Thus one might ask--are Christians peculiar because they do theology; or why are the others peculiar because they do not? Owing to the fact that, at this point in history, the civilization that has emerged from Christianity owns most of the typewriters, most of the writing gets done by products of that civilization. These latter can easily imagine that their situation is the representative human one since few books come flying back into their faces to challenge them.

Anyone who now works with women 'outside the western world' knows that reactions to what is heard there about western feminists is very ambivalent and complex. For example, if we pro-

claim to Muslims, Hindus or Buddhists, that God should be called Mother not Father, the response in every case would be bewilderment. Among Muslims, no one would dream of calling God either Father or Mother. Hindus have always stressed Mother. Buddhists can say, 'both and,' 'neither, but' and so forth. The problem posed in those terms is a peculiarly Christian one. That issue can serve to represent the larger one. There is no way to assert finally that any of the solutions and directions put forth with respect to belief and practice by women emerging out of the western Christian tradition apply to, or are meaningful for, women whose sense of self and the cosmos has been shaped by different cultural presuppositions. Most of the contemporary 'feminist theology' does not seriously acknowledge this cultural diversity. Both Rosemary Ruether and Mary Daly assume that their exhortatory visions are universally valid. Theology according to Ruether is

> going through a striking transformation. . . . It is beginning to find its place as the mode of reflection that mediates between the existence and the transcendent horizon of human life. Theology is losing its confinement as an exclusively ecclesiastical science, but only because it is finding its place in a reintegrated view of the human community.(3)

There are Christian theologians other than the feminists who presently are making claims like this for the rights and duties of theology. But such claims are not accepted either by representatives of the non-western, including Jewish, traditions, or by scholars in the academic discipline of religious studies. The matter is debated within the latter discipline but the consensus is against the claims of those who wish to 'theologize' on behalf of humanity.

Ninian Smart's The Science of Religion and the Sociology of Knowledge is a representative instance of the arguments given within the discipline of religious studies for the refusal to equate these studies with theology. He argues:

> The theologian qua theologian is engaged in articulating a faith and defending it. This being so, his knowledge of other faiths becomes an instrument to activities such as the theology of mission and dialogue.(4)

Smart says that for religious studies the works of the theologians just form part of the data upon which the 'religious scientist' reflects.

> what then, is the scientific study of religion? To put the answer briefly and in a somewhat prickly manner, it is an enterprise which is aspectual, polymethodic, pluralistic, and without clear boundaries. . . . Thus one needs to treat religion by the methods of history, sociological inquiry, phenomenology and so on. It is pluralistic because

there are many religions and religious traditions and it would appear that no full study of religion can properly be undertaken without becoming immersed in more than one tradition.(5)

The religious scientist, the practitioner of the discipline of religious studies, thus does not deny validity to theology as a discipline but she insists that there are many possible forms of theology and that these forms are just part of the data from the perspective of her discipline. A religious scientist might have her own theological position, as might a political scientist, or an anthropologist or any other scholar but she would be clear as to the distinction between the work done in the discipline and her own commitments.

The feminist movement has had its impact on religious studies as it has on all other disciplines in the humanities and social sciences. In all these cases, the impact of feminism has been to cause new questions to be asked and new data to be collected. There has been a complex inter-relationship between religious studies and feminist theology because much of the data gathered in the former discipline has been used by the latter. Specifically, the recovery of some degree of knowledge of ancient mother-goddesses and of witches emerges from religious studies but is used by the theologians.

But the differences between the two disciplines means that insights which can be lightly held as hypotheses in religious studies come to be affirmed as fact by those theologians who base their claims to certain knowledge on a particular interpretation of human religious history. For example, brilliant though Mary Daly is in many ways, she is a very uncritical historian. Thus she takes Elizabeth Gould Davis The First Sex as an authoritative analysis of the ancient Mediterranean and Margaret Murray's work on witchcraft as an accurate study of that phenomenon.(6) Rosemary Ruether is a much better historian and she well knows that both those studies have failed to stand the test of critical analysis.(7)

On the question of the ancient Mediterranean, we are better served if we realize that all we have, or ever can have, are fragments. Nothing more than a flash of insight is possible when dealing with a long dead civilization. These flashes can be immensely helpful in stimulating us to imagine hitherto undreamed of ways of being human. But intellectual integrity requires us to hold the insight lightly realizing that we can never know how closely our guesses might accord to what was. Even so, a new idea is an effective reality of its own in relation to present and future. Thus, even if we are all wrong in supposing that a mother goddess was ever worshipped, it is still a fact that now we have the

idea and that nothing can stop us developing the theme for the future if we wish to do so.

One of the most illuminating glimpses of a difficult religious world that I know comes from Sappho.(8) From her poetry one can guess at a lost world in which the Goddess was revered for her hilarious heart and in which her devotees indulged themselves in joyous offering of song and dance in the cool glades where her presence whispered to them from the lightly dancing leaves. If there have been no magnificent women poets since Sappho, the reason may be the crushing weight of the gnostic misogyny that has exterminated that spontaneity from feminine hearts. This is a guess, hopefully an enlightened one.(9)

Merlin Stone's book The Paradise Papers is useful for the perception of lost values she receives when her trained sculptor's eye roams over the images of the ancient goddesses.(10) But it should be read for those insights into the lost past and not as final truth about what happened in history.

Feminist concerns have stimulated scholars in religious studies to attempt many different types of study. Eventually, we may hope for something like The Religious Experience of Womankind to complement The Religious Experience of Mankind.(11) But so far most of the data is not in. Much writing is being done in non-western languages, most of it not translated. The long work of discovering how and in what ways women have been religious lies before us. And there is also the question as to how women are religious now. Almost nothing has been written on this. Nancy Falk's review article points to three examples relevant to religious studies.(12) Hindu women are arguing for a new interpretation of Sita--as a model of resourceful courage, rather than a passive instrument. We can expect new interpretations within the various traditions of the symbols of those traditions. Thus there will be many new forms of feminine religiousness. Western feminist theologies of liberation will be one among the many ways in which women will come to terms with their own traditions. Religious Studies will try to keep track of all these developments and to offer some theoretical constructs for the organization of the data.

One such construct which is understood differently within theology and religious studies is tradition.(13) Religious Studies views each of the major religious systems as a cumulative tradition, that is as an on-going process by which the members of each generation select from the whole of what has gone before what seems significant to them. In this process, some elements are always being lost, some new ones added, some new emphases laid. Because each generation has the opportunity to select, on the basis of whatever pres-

sures are acting upon it, the next stage of the process is never finally predictable.

Many of the feminist theologians, on the other hand, seem to view tradition as a more fixed entity. Carol Christ in a review article on the feminist theologians divides them into revolutionaries or reformers depending on their attitudes to the Christian tradition.(14) The former see no hope for women in that tradition and insist on creating a new religion. The latter view the tradition as open to reform. The reformer Letty Russell quotes a World Council of Churches statement on tradition that seems to express her view.

> The report "summarizes an ecumenical consensus that distinguishes between tradition, traditions and the Tradition. . . . In this report 'tradition' refers to the total traditioning process that operates in human history and society; 'traditions' refer to the patterns of Church life, such as confessions, liturgies, polities, etc., that have developed in each confessional church group; the 'tradition' refers to Christ as the content of the traditioning process by which God hands Christ over to men and women."(15)

This statement is a good example of rather convoluted minds at work trying to make sense of the reality of change as observed by religious studies and the other social sciences, and the theological urge to insist that there must be something that does not change. In religious studies, we would stop at pointing out the plain fact of change.(16) Paul Van Buren writes:

> The past of Christianity may be seen as a historical phenomenon, a long history of changing ideas and practices, offering answers to questions posed variously in various circumstances. . . . Christianity has been changing since its beginning; the religion of the past constantly being adapted to the conditions of each new present. Once we see this character of Christianity, we are released from the misconceived task of trying to identify its unchanging essence. . . .
>
> It could be objected, however, that there must be some limit to the changes which could occur, beyond which we could no longer call the transformed creature by the same name. This seems to be more a logical than a historical point.

Many of the feminist theologians, however, whether they want to abolish Christianity, or reform it, still tend to think there is somewhere an 'essence.'

Mary Daly argues that feminists ought self-consciously to castrate Chris-

tianity by removing the notions of sin and salvation.(17) Rosemary Ruether urges us to "transform Christianity from a Constantinian to a prophetic religion."(18) She considers the "obsessive" preoccupation with personal sin as a perverted emphasis of the Christian tradition. She calls for a prophetic critique of alienating political, economic and social structures. Daly rejects what she sees as an intolerable essence. Ruether thinks the essence is valid; it is the practice she cannot accept. Neither is prepared to say that there is no essence.

Penelope Washbourne's beautifully written and subtle analysis of the feminine condition, Becoming Woman, says little explicitly about the Christian tradition, although Christian assumptions are implicit.(19) As a theologian, she differs notably from Daly, Ruether and Collins on the question of evil. As is the case with many enthusiastic shamanistic and prophetic reformers, the latter tend to equate evil with the old system which they feel called to overthrow.(20) Hence their visions suggest a new paradise free from ambiguity and the influx of chaotic destructiveness.

Penelope Washbourne, however, conceives of the ideal woman as a responsible adult (the image of autonomy stimulated by a notion of the tremendous freedom of the old free virgin goddesses). Such an adult, in her view, is always capable of destruction, more especially if the crisis periods of her life are not guided by meaningful rites of passage which can enable her to make the required leaps into new being gracefully rather than demonically. Any sensitive parent who knows, as Washbourne does, that we are all capable of battering and abusing our young, will recognize the truth of her claim that we are never free of the demonic.

The Jewish feminists who produced the volume The Jewish Woman are like Penelope Washbourne in their concern for devising new and effective forms of ritual to help women cope more adequately with existence.(21) In both cases, meaningful practice is a more central concern than theology.

Carol Christ says that the feminist theologians are divided as to whether or not the core symbol of Christianity is acceptable. Mary Daly sees Jesus, a man, as that symbol and she shouts no. Letty Russell sees the symbol as an imperative to responsible concern. Rosemary Ruether emphasizes the prophetic challenge. From the perspective of religious studies, however, one would argue that because the cumulative tradition is a process, no one can predict what future generations may affirm to be the aspect of the tradition which may prove to be most significant. For example, for centuries the Caliph was a central symbol for Muslims but now the Caliph is gone Muslims, however, continue. If we do

a structural analysis of any one slice of Christian, Hindu, Buddhist, Jewish or Muslim history we can discern a core symbol at a given point but the movement of time re-arranges the parts of the structure, and the pieces do not fit together in the same way in different periods of time, or in different places.

Carol Christ, writing in the context of Jewish symbols for women, has written an engaging tale.

> One day woman spoke to God in this way:
> Let us change places. You be woman, and I will be God. For only one second. . . . As woman takes the place of God, she hears what she can only describe as a still, small voice saying, 'God is a woman like yourself. She shares your suffering. She, too, has had her power of naming stolen from her. . . . As woman becomes God, the God who had existed for her only as an alien ceases to be a stranger to her. In this moment, woman realizes the meaning of the concluding words of the story, which say: The liberation of the one is bound to the liberation of the other, so they renew the ancient dialogue, whose echo comes to us in the night, charged with hatred, with remorse, and most of all with infinite yearning. (22)

Maybe this notion will provide some core symbols for a new phase.

NOTES

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3. Rosemary Ruether, Liberation Theology (New York: Paulist Press, 1972), p. 2.
4. Ninian Smart, The Science of Religion and the Sociology of Knowledge (Princeton University Press, 1973), p. 11.
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6. Mary Daly, pp. 92, 94, 147.
7. Rosemary Ruether, New Woman, New Earth, pp. 5, 89-110.
8. G. Davenport, trans., Sappho: Poems of Fragments (University of Michigan Press, 1965).
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13. W. Cantwell Smith, The Meaning and End of Religion (New York: Macmillan, 1962).
14. Carol Christ, "The New Feminist Theology: A Review of the Literature," Religious Studies Review, Vol. 3, No. 4, October 1977, p. 203 ff.
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16. James Van Buren, The Edges of Language (New York: Macmillan, 1972), pp. 13-20.
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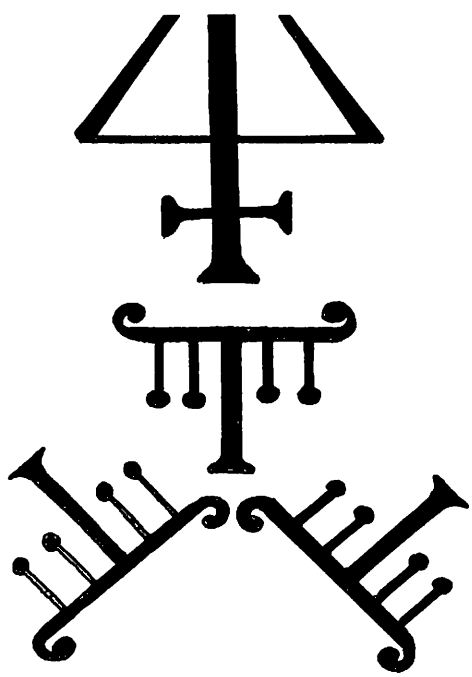
Feminist Studies of the British Novel

Wendy R. Katz

Victims of Convention
JEAN E. KENNARD.
Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1978, Pp. 195.



A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Bronte to Lessing ELAINE SHOWALTER
Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977. Pp. 378.

Only eight years have passed since Kate Millett fired the shot heard round the world of academe with the publication of Sexual Politics. The stormy battles over the legitimacy of such literary criticism have now all but subsided. Jean E. Kennard's Victims of Convention and Elaine Showalter's A Literature of Their Own, com-

plementary feminist studies of the British novel from the nineteenth century until today, will not guarantee the peace but they tell us who is winning the war. Kennard's book, an attempt to avoid the perils of interdisciplinary study by separating literary formulae from sociological truths, examines the convention of the two suitors, a structural device which she traces from Jane Austen to Erica Jong. Showalter's book, the more impressive and intellectually spacious of the two, is a literary history in what we might now call the "roots" tradition, an attempt, that is, to rediscover women's literary past. It is necessarily interdisciplinary since Showalter sees the reconstruction of women's literary history as "part of a larger interdisciplinary effort by psychologists, sociologists, social historians, and art historians."(p. 8) Showalter manages to avoid the dangers of the interdisciplinary mix. She can wear a number of hats, it seems, without any noticeable signs of confusion. For students of literature, Kennard's methodology is all-too-familiar; while her textual analyses of the novels are straightforward and precise, her thesis style occasionally makes for slow and tedious reading. Showalter's methodology is more radical and her widely cast net ensures a more interesting catch. However different, even qualitatively so, both books are important works of feminist thought.

Kennard sees the pattern of the two suitors as a "dominant structural convention in Victorian novels with central female characters." (p. 10) She demonstrates its use and variety in novels by Jane Austen, the Brontës, Wilkie Collins, George Eliot, Mrs. Gaskell, Trollope, Hardy, Gissing, Meredith, Wells and E.M. Forster. The convention occurs in novels which trace a young woman's road to maturity. The process of maturation, Kennard explains, involves the casting off of one faulty and usually fantastic view of the world and the adoption of a properly realistic one. The heroine's perception of reality is measured by her relation to two suitors who embody the alternative world views. Her maturation or recognition of reality is marked by her rejection of the usually unscrupulous "wrong" suitor and her marriage to the exemplary "right" one at the end of the novel. The marriage and her maturity are thus seen as synonymous, maturity being equated with her submission to a man and, since marriage symbolizes her adjustment to society, her submission to established morality. The nature of this structural device, then, is inherently sexist and the title of Kennard's book underlines this conjuncture of stylistic and social conventions.

Victorian heroines, however, are not the only victims of convention; their creators, according to Kennard, are also victims of the device, often sacrificing thematic development to structural neatness. The success of

the convention, Kennard argues, depends chiefly upon the particular view of female maturity expressed. The convention works well or at least satisfactorily given certain conditions. The first occurs when ideological views presented in the novel are sufficiently conservative to prevent a conflict between the concepts of maturity and submission, as, for example, in Jane Austen's Emma. The second is when the heroine's development is not central to the novel and a psychologically credible character is not required, as, for example, in nineteenth-century novels of social protest, Mrs. Gaskell's Mary Barton being one. The third occurs when the heroine fails to mature, is commonly involved in some sexual offense with the wrong suitor and dies at the end of the novel, as in Hardy's Tess of the d'Urbervilles. "The problem caused by the convention increases, of course," Kennard reasons, "in proportion to the modernity of the view of female maturity either implied or directly stated in the novel." (p. 15) When the concept of maturity is related to self-fulfillment and independence, it is not sufficient to marry off the heroine at the end of the novel in a neat tying up of the work's structural threads.

Kennard's chapter on Charlotte Brontë clearly illustrates the structural bind of the two suitors convention. Jane Eyre, Shirley and Villette are cited as novels that are structurally weakened by its use. Brontë's concept of maturity includes a struggle for individual freedom which, once achieved, is at odds with the claims of marriage. Jane Eyre is fully mature at the end of the St. John Rivers episode but Brontë continues with the novel in deference to the convention, Kennard suggests, even though she "appears to recognize that marriage of Jane to the old Rochester means submission to a master and is in conflict with her new found maturity." (p. 91) This conflict between theme and structure, which Brontë attempts to solve in Jane Eyre by maiming Rochester, recurs in Villette. It abrupt and ambiguous conclusion--the reader never knows whether or not Lucy Snowe's right suitor is drowned sea--indicates an unwillingness on Brontë's part to marry Lucy Snowe to M. Paul but it also points to her inability to create an aesthetically satisfying alternative. Over a century later, Kennard notes, Erica Jong finds herself in much the same structural bind in Fear of Flying, the last chapter of which is entitled "A 19th-Century Ending." Having left her husband and completed a disastrous love affair, Jong's Isadora Wing is left in limbo. She says, "It was not clear ho it would end. In nineteenth-century novels they get married. In twentieth century novels they get divorced. Can you have an ending in which they do neither?" Another victim of the two suitors convention, Isadora finally returns to her husband.

Victims of Convention ought to be a book that takes off and soars. Its thesis is intriguing and, in an effort to avoid what Kennard describes as "the tendency to treat literature. . . as mimetic in the simplest way," (p. 10) it is a welcome addition to feminist criticism. But the book's undistinguished and sometimes stilted prose and the often constraining cast of its argument make it move by fits and starts. One problem arises out of its unnecessarily defensive stance, odd for a book that is essentially about female daring. It is a tangle of pre-conditions, provisos and exceptions. The argument is couched in terms that are too rigid and limiting; the convention works well in three such cases and not well in three others. There are two problems, we are told, with George Eliot's suitors. Only two? The conditions begin to seem arbitrary, the thesis a formula that does not always work. Here is a passage from the chapter on Austen:

> Although Sense and Sensibility is in some ways a richer novel than Northanger Abbey, Jane Austen's handling of the two suitors convention is not so successful. This is not, however, because of the greater complexity of the heroine but because of a failure to establish the validity of the right suitor. Sense and Sensibility does not illustrate a basic difficulty with the convention itself, but a flaw in Jane Austen's execution of it which might easily have been corrected without changing the thematic content of the novel. (p. 30)

Kennard has allowed herself to become so boxed in by her thesis that she explains a variation of the convention as Austen's flawed writing. Unfortunately, the explanation is reasonable according to Kennard's logic; but the logic is topsy-turvy and it does not make sense. What does "successful" mean in this context? Isn't it more interesting that Austen has made Willoughby irresistibly fascinating than that she failed to establish him unequivocally as the wrong suitor? When Kennard works backward from the book to the convention in order to make an evaluative literary judgment, she guarantees a very skeptical readership.

This skeptical reader took up the challenge, got into the spirit of things and went searching for an exception to some of the rules. Dickens's Hard Times may be one. According to Kennard, the convention works well when the heroine is not the primary focus of the novel and the "moral interest lies in the opposing ways of life they [the two suitors] represent rather than in the person who makes the choice." (p. 13) Louisa Gradgrind, the heroine of Hard Times, is not the central character in the novel and the moral interest clearly lies in the opposing worlds of Mr. Gradgrind's school and Sleary's circus. Louisa's two male suitors, Bounderby and Hart-

house, are both wrong and both rejected. Sissy Jupe appears to be the right suitor figure, a variation Kennard allows for in her discussion of Shirley. Unlike Shirley, Hard Times ends with the two women living together, an interesting nineteenth-century conclusion. It seems to be still another variation of the pattern. Now, according to Kennard's discussion of the novel of ideas, the choice of lifestyle supersedes in importance the maturity of the heroine, allowing the convention to work reasonably well. But Kennard does not seem to have provided for this conclusion to work badly if the opposing way of life is unsatisfactory, and surely success, in such a case, depends largely upon the merits of the way of life chosen or, if one can make the distinction, the merits of the presentation of the way of life chosen. For some readers, what Sissy Jupe symbolizes is not clear enough to be satisfying; to others her way of life seems too narrow to fulfill the needs of the mature Louisa. Of course, this minor modification of Kennard's argument is only that, but it does suggest the need for more flexible and subtle writing. Even Kennard's proposition that the more free and independent the view of maturity, the more difficult to marry off the heroine without ruining the structure may not always work. An illustrative novel does not readily come to mind,but Edith Wharton's short story "Souls Belated" exemplifies the novelistic potential for aesthetically successful marriages. The conclusion of "Souls Belated" works, it seems to me, principally because Lydia, the central woman character, struggles against the idea of marriage from the start, knows what marriage is going to mean and understands how limited her choice is. We are left with a complex view of the female psyche and a story that is structurally quite sound.

Kennard engages the novels most fruitfully in the chapter entitled "Capital Punishment." Here she discusses the convention in certain of those novels in which the heroine's sexual activity with the wrong suitor is usually punishable by death. She suggests that the death of the erring woman demonstrates more than a concession to Victorian morality and she asks us to see the novels as psychological allegories in which the wrong suitor represents some fundamental part of the heroine's nature which cannot be escaped. Wrong suitor Alec d'Urberville in Hardy's Tess of the d'Urbervilles is shown to represent Tess's sensuality and wrong suitor Phillotson, to whom Sue Bridehead returns at the end of Hardy's Jude the Obscure to suffer a living death, is shown to represent Sue's lack of sensuality. This chapter, it seems to me, illustrates the kind of flexibility and imaginative thinking that would animate and make more persuasive the rest of the book.

Elaine Showalter's book, which takes

its title from John Stuart Mill's The Subjection of Women (1869), argues that women have had a demonstrable literary tradition since the nineteenth century. The book is an attempt to define the tradition by treating women writers as a literary subculture similar to others comprised of, for example, black, Jewish, Canadian or Anglo-Indian writers. Showalter compares the female subculture with these others in their relation to the dominant culture and describes an analogous protest of imitation and internalization, process and advocacy of minority rights and self-discovery. She identifies the three stages of women's literary subculture as feminine, feminist and female. The first stage runs from the appearance of the male pseudonym in the 1840s until the death of George Eliot in 1880, the second from 1880 to 1920, or the winning of the vote and the third from 1920 to the present, allowing for a newly intensified period of self-awareness starting around 1960. Earlier written like Fanny Burney, Maria Edgeworth, Ann Radcliffe and Jane Austen are excluded from the tradition because there was, Showalter maintains, "almost no sense of communality and self-awareness . . . before the 1840s." (p. 18) The problem that Showalter poses finally is one that other literary subcultures have had to confront and one that makes her subcultural analogy especially interesting. Contemporary women novelists, she says,

> . . . will have to face the problems that black, ethnic, and Marxist writers have faced in the past: whether to devote themselves to the forging of female mythologies and epics, or to move beyond the female tradition into a seamless participation in the literary mainstream that might be regarded either as equality or assimilation. (pp. 35-36)

Showalter seems to prefer the former; that is, she believes that women writers are not yet sufficiently comfortable with their tradition to move beyond it and that most efforts to do so are, in effect, efforts at escape or even annihilation.

After an introductory chapter on women's literary history, Showalter proceeds with a descriptive argument of its three stages. This she does in effortless prose, bringing with her a formidable knowledge of a wide range of novels written by women as well as a striking acquaintance with nineteenth-century literary periodicals, letters, biographies and other secondary materials. Most rewarding are the speculative asides she throws out for our, and presumably her own, further consideration. In this category of asides I would place her remarks on, among other things, pseudonymous writing and its relation to the tradition of anonymity in periodical literature, the increase of women novelists and its connection to the Victorian work ethic and evangelicalism

and the recurrent image of the secret room in women's literature. The implications for our own time of the ad feminam criticism discussed in her chapter on the double critical standard in nineteenth-century reviews are also worth pondering.

Half of Showalter's book is devoted to the writers in the first feminine phase, those who were role innovators, especially in their development of the determination to write. The "will to write," Showalter suggests, was in part a result of the nineteenth-century work ethic. But since women's work in particular meant work for others, and since writing demanded not only time and privacy but also a concern with oneself, women who wanted to write had to struggle with their social conditioning. "Work, in the sense of self-development," Showalter writes, "was in direct conflict with the subordination and repression inherent in the feminine ideal." (p. 22) Charlotte Yonge's father would approve of her writing only if she produced didactic novels and gave away the profits. The conflict between one's role as a woman and one's role as a writer was the rule rather than the exception and its resolution undoubtedly had deleterious effects upon a good many novels.

Writing for parents, husbands, brothers or friends, in combination with a restrictive education, resulted also in a kind of metaphorical paralysis: women's language was often strained and feeble. In some cases, Showalter argues, restrictions led to innovations; the need to dramatize a character's inner life or passionate feelings brought about a fiction that was "intense, compact, symbolic, and profound." (p. 28) Charlotte Brontë's Bertha Mason, symbolic of the sexual and passionate side of Jane Eyre's personality, is cited as an example of this innovative writing. The phenomenon of women as writers of protest novels, Showalter conjectures may also have been the subversive product of restrictive conditioning, a vehicle through which to express strong emotions. Showalter suspects, too, that women writers' heroes were sometimes an "outlet for the 'deviant' aspects of the author's personality," (p. 28) a notion which has obvious implications for Kennard's two suitors convention and may well help to explain why certain women writers' imaginative fantasies, whether they be about sex, money, power or mobility, strongly resemble those of men. Notwithstanding these creative innovations, the fact that a woman writer functioned in a profession which forced her to be feminine and then punished her by damning her work as feeble made literary excellence extraordinarily difficult to achieve.

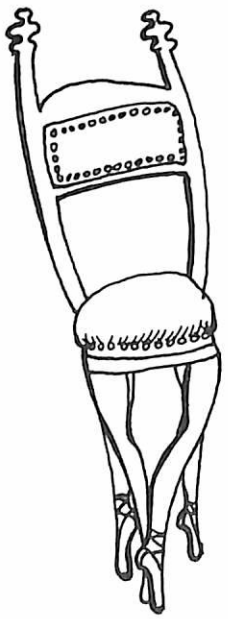
The death of George Eliot in 1880 marked a turning point in the fiction of women. On the one hand it became militantly female and on the other it

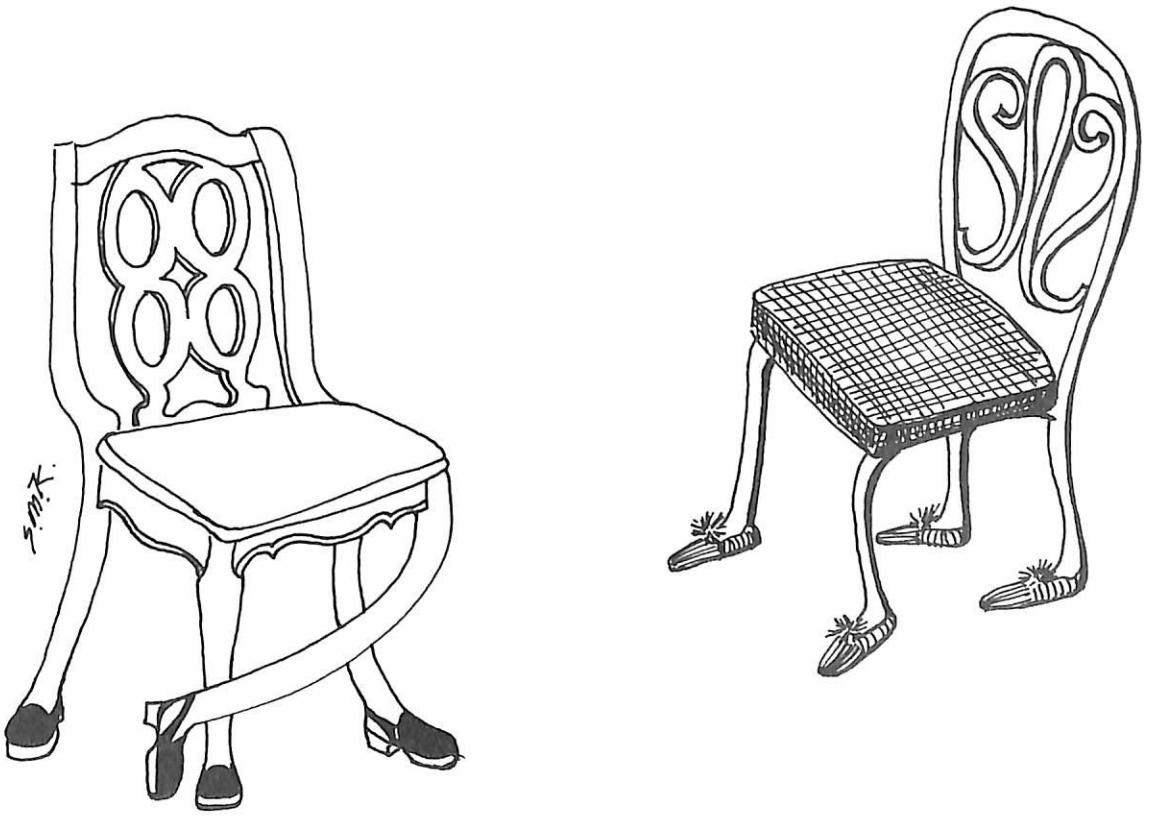
was experientially feminine. Showalter says that the feminists who wrote during the years from 1880 to 1920, Olive Schreiner and Sarah Grand among them, had a greater awareness of their belonging to a literary sisterhood than had their predecessors. Working in a tradition that had long excluded women from those areas of experience outside the world of religion, education, fashion and the community, feminist writers tried to reach a higher female truth in their outcast world of the home. They adopted the Victorian ideal of womanhood, most fully delineated by Ruskin in "Of Queen's Gardens," and on this ideal they based their feminist politics. With a rather crude and sometimes contradictory ideology--it idealized both the maternal instinct and sexual abstinence--they created a diffuse and fragmented literature which, Showalter says, "elevated their restricted view into a sacred vision." (p. 215) The feminist writers removed themselves by choice from the world of experience from which their mid-Victorian sisters had been debarred by force.

The women in the third or female stage of Showalter's subculture attempted to move beyond feminism but they did so, she says, with a legacy of self-hatred and withdrawal. Into this category fall luminaries like Dorothy Richardson and Virginia Woolf, writers who attempted to create a female aesthetic but retreated still further from the outer material world and, perhaps more disturbingly, from the physical experience of women. "Under the banner of the female aesthetic," Showalter writes, "marched the army of secession." (p. 240) The retreat to private rooms and private cities, we are told, is more alienating than it is liberating. In an iconoclastic but wholly sympathetic treatment of Woolf, Showalter asks us to put to rest this "phantom of female perfection who stands in the way of freedom." (p. 265) The concept of androgyny that Woolf encourages in A Room of One's Own, she believes, is a form of exile. The unwillingness to deal with woman's physical being, with the outer material world, with the potentially chaotic experience of anger, sex and fear, is seen as characteristic of the fiction of British women writers even today. Writers like Penelope Mortimer, Doris Lessing, Muriel Spark, Margaret Drabble and A.S. Byatt are moving beyond the feminist aesthetic, Showalter maintains, but to what exactly is not yet clear. For Showalter, the engaging of certain hitherto unexplored areas of experience will surely be a critical development in the literary tradition.

Victims of Convention and A Literature of Their Own demonstrate a growing manoeuvrability and sophistication in women's studies and both identify areas of inquiry still to be examined

by others. Surely we can expect books on some of the minor novelists Showalter has turned up or on other fictional structures similar to the one Kennard analyses. Such books, which are always implicitly political, tend to unsettle our accepted notions of the parameters of critical writing--one looks for signs of reductive language with both anticipation and dread. But unsettling they must be in order to alter our literary perspective. In this respect Kennard and Showalter have disturbed the scene with impunity and with a good measure of success.





And what's wrong with "Chair-person?"

Unemployment Insurance:

Judith A. Alexander

Unemployment in Canada: The Impact of Unemployment Insurance.
C. GREEN AND J-M. COUSINEAU.
Ottawa: Economic Council of Canada, 1976

People and Jobs: A Study of the Canadian Labour Market.
Ottawa: Economic Council of Canada, 1976

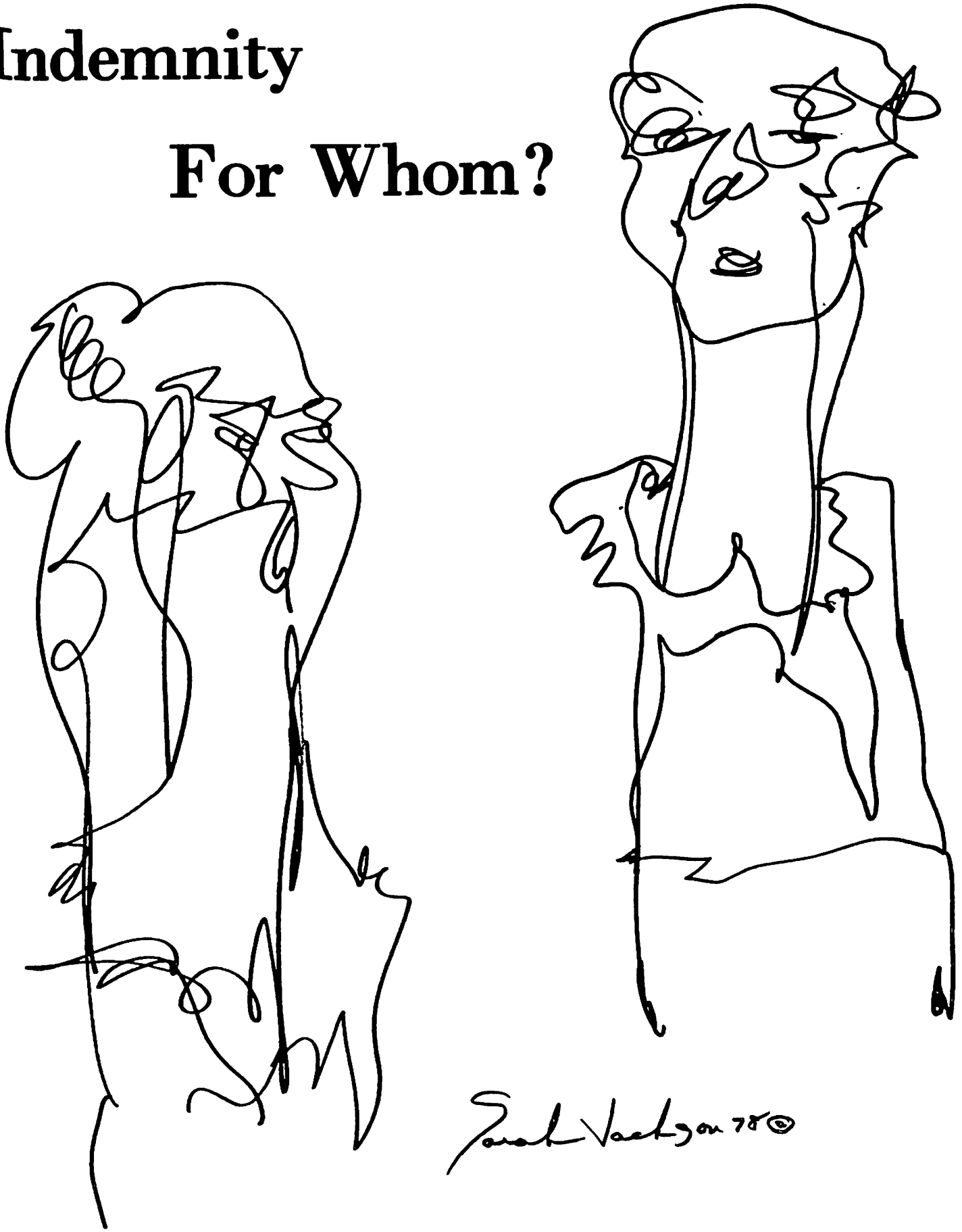
Comprehensive Review of the Unemployment Insurance Program in Canada.
Ottawa: Unemployment Insurance Commission, February, 1977

Unemployment insurance has been available in Canada for over thirty-five years. In the forties it was seen as the simple "application of insurance principles to the actuarial risk of unemployment."(1) The program gradually expanded into one which also covers maternity and sickness, and, because of the large outlay, payments from the fund are no longer financed exclusively from premiums. As a side benefit, the scheme has become something of a stabilisation device since payments increase in regions where the level of unemployment is high.(2) Therefore, in discussions of the insurance scheme it must be kept in mind that the system has evolved considerably from the original simple insurance plan and is now an income maintenance, redistribution and contracyclical device. Many of the problems with the scheme seem to arise from the different (and sometimes unrealistic) expectations of its critics.

Concern with the changing structure of the Canadian labour market led the Economic Council to "undertake a comprehensive study of the workings of the Canadian Labour market, including, but not limiting itself to, an appraisal of unemployment in the full sense of idle human capacity and the economic hardship that accompanies it."(3) The volume which emerged from this was People and Jobs: A Study of the Canadian Labour Market (1976). The concerns of Green and Cousineau in their report on unemployment insurance for the Economic Council (1976) and of the Unemployment Insurance Commission in their review of the impact of unemployment insurance on the Canadian economy (1977) were somewhat more circumscribed.(4) All these reports deal reasonably thoroughly with the activities of women in the Canadian labour force. This review will attempt a systematic analysis of the interaction between this particular segment of the Canadian labour force--women--and the recent unemployment insurance changes. The analysis will consist of a discussion of the changing role of women in the Canadian labour force, a description of the recent changes in the unemployment insurance act, a

Indemnity

For Whom?



presentation and critique of the conclusions of the three works under review and, finally, general conclusions about the impact of the unemployment insurance scheme on women.

Women in the Canadian Labour Force.

There has been a secular increase in the proportion of women in the Canadian labour force. In the fifties and sixties this growth occurred for all ages but particularly in the middle and upper-middle aged groups. Furthermore there has been an increase in the participation of married women. (5) There is now a significantly larger proportion of women in the labour force and a larger proportion of those women are married. It is generally agreed that children, not marriage itself, are the main inhibiting force against female participation and that high levels of education and low levels of income increase female participation.(6) The gap between male and female rates of unemployment has rapidly narrowed and may even be closed.(7) Furthermore, the decision to enter the labour force does not automatically guarantee a job and the decision to enter the labour force may in fact be a decision to become unemployed. The reasons suggested for the increased participation of women are smaller family size and increased social acceptability of work for married women, especially in urban areas.(8)

To go beyond a mere description of the trend in labour force participation would require an analysis of the other options available to women--leisure and nonmarket work. "Most women today still recognise the dual commitments and rewards associated with the care of a family while gainfully employed."(9) As Green and Cousineau point out, an investigation is needed of "the way in which increasing labour force participation of 'secondary' workers (or family members) influences family decisions with respect to hours of work and leisure, nonmarket work, acceptance wages, acceptable types of employment and search activities, as well as the decision as to who will engage in which activities and when." (10) The available statistics permit observations on individuals but each individual's behaviour is probably the outcome of a group or family decision. A woman may work as the sole support of a household (with a husband present or absent) or she may work part-time or full time to supplement the family income. Her need to work will not be evident from her activity and indeed her need appears to be an irrelevant notion, since a man's need to work is seldom questioned. The phrases "secondary worker" and "marginal attachment to the labour force" appear frequently in the three reports; it is difficult to deduce an unambiguous meaning for them, although they are often used in discussions of the female labour force. Similarly the

"part-time worker" is regarded as an anomaly and in some sense a deviation from normal work patterns. Perhaps the clearest conceptual definition of secondary workers is that provided by Siedule, Skoulas and Newton, "secondary workers generally react differently through different phases of the business cycle [from primary workers] . . . , slack economic conditions induce secondary workers to enter the labour force in order to maintain family income."(12) In this case of course, there is clear evidence of need for work by secondary workers. "However, their participation has improved family circumstances and in general has probably altered the labour market behaviour of the entire family, in the sense that each working member of the family takes into account the earnings and work responsibilities of the others."(13)

The casual equation of female workers with secondary workers is unfortunate. The increase in the number of part-time workers and in the number of "secondary" (for want of a better term) workers indicates an underlying change in the behaviour of the labour force. The economy is adjusting to these changes, but meanwhile it is fruitless to excoriate those who are exhibiting career patterns of periods of unemployment and increased job turnover.(14)

The Unemployment Insurance Program

The unemployment insurance program in Canada has recently received a lot of attention, both popular and professional.(15) Until 1955 the scheme provided a vehicle for income maintenance for the unemployed as well as a national employment service to "facilitate rapid return to employment"(16) and to provide information on a claimant's ability to work. In 1966 the placement function was separated from the insurance function. In 1971 the Act was changed to provide almost universal coverage(17) and easier qualification for benefits with short term attachment. Also the government acknowledged prevailing economic conditions by linking benefits to general economic conditions.(18)

The current coverage is virtually universal and all workers with at least eight weeks of insurable work in the last year or since the last claim, whichever is shorter, receive taxable benefits at the rate of two-thirds of their average insurable earnings for a maximum period of 51 weeks. Also sickness, maternity and retirement benefits have been introduced.(19)

The program was amended in 1976 in response to the Comprehensive Review. The share paid by the government was reduced, the disqualification period increased to six weeks (making a total of eight weeks before a claim can be made) and the benefit rate has been made a constant of two-thirds of average weekly insurable earnings.(20)

Unemployment Insurance and the Response of Female Workers

Given this background information, we now wish to assess the view of women in the labour force, both those employed and those unemployed, put forward by the works under review. We shall also comment on the conclusions and recommendations of these reports.

People and Jobs is subtitled "A Study of the Canadian Labour Market." The report consists of a general overview of the Canadian labour market, the conclusions and recommendations of the Council and the supporting analysis. The general overview (chap. 2) notes the secular increase in employment (50% since 1961), unemployment (up to cover 7%) and also in the job vacancy rate. The composition of the employed has changed; between 1961 and 1974, male employment increased by 36% and female by 89%. They conclude that "in 1973 and 1974, more than one-third of the substantial labour force growth could be attributed solely to increases in the participation rates of young people and women."(21) They list the following results on the labour force of the new unemployment insurance regulations in 1971 as being increases in voluntary quits and layoffs and increase in turnover. Also they note less incentive for the unemployed to look vigorously for work and also some expansion in the size of the labour force.(22)

The Comprehensive Review shares a similar view of the Canadian labour force. The authors point out that the labour force has increased in size and in the proportion of women and also in its mobility (i.e., the number of job changes for a given size of labour force).(23) They also note a shift in employment to the service sector and a large increase in part time employment in particular "the continued growth of secondary income earners with unstable employment patterns is likely to generate unexpected increases in unemployment insurance benefit expenditures."(24) Without describing secondary workers as having unstable employment patterns Green and Cousineau note that the composition of the unemployed has indeed changed and that many are secondary earners or members of multi-earner families.(25)

The question now becomes, how much of the observed change in the structure of the labour force and the unemployed can be ascribed to the more generous unemployment benefits introduced in 1971 and how much is simply due to the long run secular changes in population? Furthermore, do women appear to have responded differently from men to this change and, if so, is this because of their heavy representation in such groups as secondary and part-time workers?

People and Jobs presents the estimates of the increase in the unemployed

produced by four studies. These range from a low of 60,000 people to a high of 71,000. In other words somewhere between 60,000 and 71,000 people who were or who became unemployed in 1972 did so because of the more generous unemployment insurance benefits. These people either refused available jobs or quit current jobs because of the generous insurance available. In percentages somewhere between .6% and .8% of the unemployment in 1972 was induced.(26)

There is a consensus in the three works under review that the unemployment insurance program has induced some unemployment. However these unemployed should not be viewed simply as "cheaters." As one of the empirical papers on induced unemployment points out, the "availability of unemployment benefits creates incentives to increase the consumption of leisure by persons employed and unemployed involuntarily and it creates incentives to join the labour force with the intention of working only temporarily," and later "the introduction of an unemployment benefit scheme alters the relative cost of work and leisure net of the costs of job search, waiting period and documentation of search for Canadian workers. The benefits thus create incentives for the average worker to increase his consumption of leisure, not as a matter of cheating but as a rational response to the lowered price of a good available to him."(27) (My emphasis).

In light of this conclusion that there is indeed some insurance induced unemployment, the Economic Council had five recommendations in People and Jobs. The first was that Statistics Canada develop and publish further information on gross flows in and out of the labour force and the wages and incomes of both families and individuals. Secondly, they recommended a continued review of the provisions of the Act in order to limit abuses and to encourage claimants to accept suitable jobs. Furthermore, both government agencies should provide flexible work opportunities for "younger and older workers, women with young children and persons who are physically or otherwise handicapped or disadvantaged. Finally, they recommend that both business and government reduce discriminatory barriers to entry in jobs.(28)

The conclusions of the Comprehensive Review are similar; first, the emphasis in the program has shifted from a simple insurance program to an income transfer program, with some funding from government revenue. They note that unemployment insurance expenditures are high--about 10% of the federal budget or 2.1% of G.N.P.(29) They are aware of the "fundamental dilemma" of "the trade-off between adequate income protection and work disincentives" and feel that it is important that the commission make sure that "claimants make productive use of their time of Unemployment Insurance."

As the Economic Council did, they assert the need for a more careful analysis of the behaviour of claimants and the labour force experience of the covered population.(30)

Finally, Green and Cousineau agree that the liberalization of insurance benefits has resulted in an increase in the rate of unemployment. They note the increase in labour market "frictions," which is consistent with the Economic Council's finding of increased flows in and out of the labour force. They comment explicitly on the change in the structure of the unemployed, the sharp decrease in the proportion of heads of families who are sole earners: "When one looks at the current composition of the unemployed (and how that composition has changed in the last decade) it is evident that the unemployed are typically 'secondary workers' (i.e., they are not heads of families) and that they are members of multi-earner families (i.e., there is typically at least one employed person in the families containing an unemployed person). Thus the typical unemployed person can afford to be choosier than his counterpart of the 1930s or for that matter the 1950s."(31) They note that the two important costs of the program are the cost of supporting workers who remain frictionally unemployed longer than before and the substantial monetary costs of the plan which reduce moneys available for other income distribution plans.

Conclusions

It is clear that, to the extent that women are heavily represented in low paying jobs with little job security and to the extent that they are secondary and part-time workers they will figure more prominently on the unemployment rolls, and presumably as receivers of insurance benefits. Also, since maternity benefits apply only to women, the "rational behaviour" discussed by Grubel and others would imply that many women who have no intention of returning to the labour force will take advantage of insurance benefits. Thus the Comprehensive Review points out that for those who had exhausted their claims "females may have had more trouble finding jobs, might not have actively sought jobs and/or might have dropped out of the labour market," and also that "more females with dependents found jobs than those without dependents."(32) If a woman intends to drop out of the labour force (for whatever reason), it is to her advantage to collect unemployment insurance before she does, if that is possible.

The influx of women into the labour force has resulted in a concomitant increase in the number of part-time workers. A responsibe economy should be able to absorb these workers, although probably at the cost of higher frictional unemployment. It is not clear why the Comprehensive Review calls the "increased acceptability of temporary, part-time or irregular em-

ployment" a disincentive to finding a full-time job. If an individual wishes to work on a less than full-time basis that option should be available to him or her. The unemployment insurance scheme was originally designed to deal with the exigencies of the market place faced by full-time workers. It should not be surprising that it functions somewhat less effectively when many of the labour force are not full-time workers.

Finally, the point made by Elise Rosen is important--many of the statistics from the unemployment insurance commission with respect to claims and disqualifications will be affected by the administration of the Act. If there is discrimination against women applying for and receiving unemployment insurance benefits, then females will figure more heavily in the disqualified statistics. This review has not dealt with any biases in the implementation of the Act. Rosen states:

> Unemployed women have complained that they are required to make substantially more job searches than men by CEIC Canada Employment and Immigration Commission administrators in order to be eligible for benefits. A married woman with children is required to have a babysitter 'on call' so that if she is called for a job interview on the spur of the moment she will have someone to tend her children.(33)

Women's work force behaviour has been different from men's, especially if the woman is married and has children. Single women reveal the same type of labour force attachement as men. Ideally, the market place should be flexible enough to allow women to enter and leave the work force with a minimum of friction. Undoubtedly the unemployment insurance scheme has helped ease this friction for many women. Apparently this is an unintended and not entirely welcome consequence of the liberalised insurance scheme. We must concur with the Economic Council that "We believe that most Canadians affected by unemployment are well served by the unemployment insurance system and use it honestly. Inevitably there will be some inequities and some persons, including employers, who will abuse the system."(34)

Liberal unemployment insurance benefits, almost inevitably, will induce some unemployment, especially in low-paid jobs and for marginally attached individuals. This problem can be dealt with by enforcement of detailed eligibility rules. As Grubel points out, this bureaucratic activity "will lead to many arbitrary decisions, will be resisted by the public and will tend to cost more than it saves in expenditures."(35) Alternatively some substitute type of family income maintenance could be introduced; both Green and Cousineau and Grubel suggest a negative income tax plan.

This approach would totally erode the current dichotomy between insurance payments made to individuals, which do not depend on current income status and assistance payments which depend entirely on family income. Under this scheme invidious comparisons need not be made between primary and secondary workers and the needs of different individuals to work.

NOTES

1. Comprehensive Review of the Unemployment Insurance Program in Canada. (henceforth Insurance Program)(Ottawa, Unemployment Insurance Commission, February, 1977), p. A-11.

2. A discussion of these points can be found in Insurance Program, pp. A-5 - A-16.

3. People and Jobs: A Study of the Canadian Labour Market (Ottawa, Economic Council of Canada, 1976), p. 3.

4. The studies are, respectively: C. Green and J.M. Cousineau, Unemployment in Canada: The Impact of Unemployment Insurance (Ottawa, Economic Council of Canada, 1976) and the previously cited Insurance Program.

5. See Morley Gunderson "Work Patterns" in Opportunity for Choice. Gail Cook (ed.) (Ottawa, Statistics Canada, 1976), p. 96 and People and Jobs, p. 71.

6. The classic work is Jacob Mincer "Labor Force Participation of Married Women: A Study of Labor Supply" in Aspects of Labor Economics. N.B.E.R. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1962), pp. 63-105. Sylvia Ostry observed the same phenomena in Canadian data in The Female Worker in Canada (Ottawa, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1968).

7. Gunderson, "Work Patterns," p. 127.

8. People and Jobs, p. 71, Ostry, The Female Worker in Canada, p. 12.

9. People and Jobs, p. 105.

10. Green & Cousineau, Unemployment in Canada, p. 118.

11. For instance see People and Jobs, p. 30 (equation of supplementary workers and part-time workers), p. 39 (women have less fixed attachment to labour force) and Insurance Program, p. B-7 (secondary workers have unstable work patterns), E-5, E-6. See also the comments of Elise Rosen, A Report on the Comprehensive Review of the Unemployment Insurance Program of Canada, mimeo, Advisory Council on the Status of Women (Box 1541, Station B, Ottawa, K1P 5R5), pp. 11-13.

12. T. Siedule, N. Skoulas, K. Newton, The Impact of Economy-Wide Changes on the Labor Force: An Econometric Analysis (Ottawa, Economic Council of Canada, 1976), p. 14.

13. People and Jobs, p. 118, Footnote 17 on p. 118 of People and Jobs is also consistent with the views of the writer. It is quoted here in part, "Who is or is not a 'supplementary' or 'secondary' worker--or indeed the 'head of the household'--in a family is, of course, merely a matter of definition, depending on family circumstances. If the trend in equality of marriages continues, it may well be appropriate to drop these expressions partly or entirely."

14. For a discussion of increased flows in and out of the labour market see People and Jobs, chapter 5.

15. For a brief list of professional studies see Insurance Program, p. E-5. See People and Jobs, pp. 148-158 for a review of the scheme.

16. Insurance Program, p. A-11.

17. Insurance Program, p. A-12.

18. Insurance Program, pp. A-15, A-16.

19. Insurance Program, p. A-2[illegible].

20. What Happens Now? (Ottawa: Unemployment Insurance of Canada, 1977).

21. People and Jobs, p. 7.

22. People and Jobs, p. 19.

23. Comprehensive Review, p. B-3.

24. Comprehensive Review, p. B-7.

25. Green & Cousineau, Unemployment in Canada, p. 115.

26. For the names of the reports and a tabular presentation of these results see People and Jobs, Table 8-4, p. 157.

27. H.G. Grubel, D. Maki, S. Sax, "Real and Insurance Induced Unemployment in Canada." Canadian Journal of Economics, Vol. VIII, No. 2 (May 1975), pp. 178-180.

28. The five recommendations appear on pp. 37, 42, 46, 50 and 53 respectively in People and Jobs.

29. Comprehensive Review, p. L-3.

30. All quotations are from Comprehensive Review, pp. L-6 to L-9.

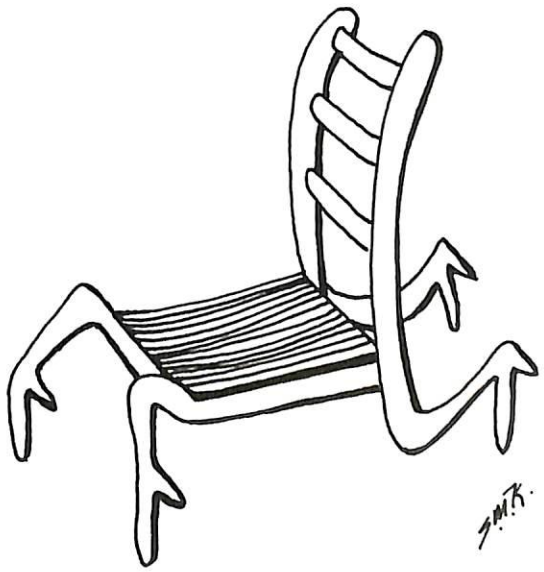
31. Green & Cousineau, Unemployment in Canada, p. 116.

32. Comprehensive Review, p. C-40.

33. Elise Rosen, A Report on the Comprehensive Review of the Unemployment Insurance Program in Canada, mimeo, Advisory Council on the Status of Women (Box 1541, Station B, Ottawa, K1P 5R5).

34. People and Jobs, p. 39.

35. Grubel et al., Real and Induced Unemployment in Canada, p. 190.



"Dear Mr. Minister, Equal Opportunities - Why Not?"

In February 1978 a group of anonymous civil servants had tabled in the House of Commons a document expressing their concern at "signs of increasing discrimination against women workers." We publish here excerpts from this document and from the following exchange of communications between the civil servants and the Public Service Commission in March, 1978.

The first part of the document related to attitudes toward women workers across the country

We are addressing this brief to you today to draw to your attention that the status of women in the federal public service and of women workers in Canada is greatly jeopardized by the attitudes and policies designed to make women workers the scapegoat for Canada's high unemployment rate. . . .

Well, we will not tolerate such accusations. Women workers are not responsible for Canada's high unemployment rate any more than they are for the massive layoffs that are taking place across the country. . . .

IWY Revisited

by Lois Vallely-Fischer

We have documented cases where women employees have been told they should be satisfied with what they have, that a man would be promoted before they were even if he should prove incompetent.

Close to half the three million women in the workforce support themselves or others. More than one-third are single. Another 10 percent are widowed, divorced or separated.

There is clear and convincing evidence that married women are in the labour force because the level of family income available is inadequate.

One million women work in the clerical group and half of them are stenographers, typists or receptionists. In services, almost two-thirds of the women work as cooks, waitresses or hairdressers. Of the half million professional women, more than 60 percent are school teachers or nurses. In the federal public service, the percentage of administrative support jobs filled by women has increased steadily over the past five years (from 68.2% in 1972 to 78.8% in 1976), thus creating the biggest job ghetto in the public service.

The information in the brief on salaries for women in the civil service was clear evidence of the difficulties facing women in the job market. The authors of the brief argued that the decision makers in the federal public service were unsympathetic to questions relating to the conditions of women.

Not even the fact that women are severely discriminated against in wages has helped them crack the barrier. Male managers make twice the salaries that female managers do; male engineers, lawyers, architects make more than 50 per cent more. Even in so-called feminine occupations. such as librarians, dietitians and even nursing, males make significantly more than females. In the federal public service, in the Clerical and Regulatory

group where 73.3 percent are women, the two highest levels, CR 6 and 7 are dominated by men while at levels 1 to 5, women outnumber the men. In the PM and AS groups, considered middle management, women are held back while men are promoted. (See Table 1)

In 1975, 2,795,368 female workers paid income tax on average incomes of only $8,331. Yet in 1971-72, 39.4% of all bachelor and professional degrees awarded by Canadian universities and colleges were awarded to women. This percentage continues to grow. Thirty-three percent of federal public service employees are women and 63,304 of the 74,332 in 1975 earned less than $10,000, an astounding 86.5%, while only 35.8% of the men earned less than $10,000 and again, most of them closer to $10,000 than $5,000.

Working women are being made the scapegoat for Canada's high unemployment rate. Yet this is no more than a myth. Statistics for 1977 indicate that young men and women are the hardest hit. They made up more than half the number of those unemployed.

In 1976, benefits paid for all of Canada by the Unemployment Insurance Commission for maternity leave totalled $139,624,000 while sickness benefits totalled $129,802,000. Total UIC benefits were $3,342,246,000.

However, 91% of employers in the federal jurisdiction provide paid sick leave or other income protection plans while women must take leave without pay when pregnant, even in the federal public service. The maternity benefits paid in 1976 repre-

Table 1

	CR			PM			AS	
	male	female		male	female		male	female
LEVELS 1-5	12948 (94.8%)	36966 (98.8%)	1-3	15125 (75.5%)	4420 (91.8%)	1-3	2850 (48.5%)	1697 (82.9%)
6-7	700 (5.2%)	454 (1.2%)	4-7	4917 (24.5%)	397 (8.2%)	4-7	3025 (51.5%)	349 (17.1%)

sent only 4.2% of the total paid. The Statistics also show that 69,895 claims allowed for maternity benefits in 1976 represented only 2.7% of the total women in the labour force aged 15 to 44 years.

The brief pointed to the scarcity of women executives in certain departments as having far-reaching consequences.

As long as men alone continue to make and influence all policy decisions in the federal public service, it will be next to impossible to make any headway in the fight for equal opportunity. Promoting women to SX positions as Coordinator of the Status of Women program is not by itself sufficient. Women must be named directors, assistant deputy minister and deputy ministers. Women must head Personnel departments and be responsible for staff relations and training and development. . . .

According to the Public Service Commission's 1976 annual report, there were only 38 females in the Senior Executive Category (SX) compared to 1221 males. (See Chart 1)

The chart, as well as pinpointing how few women are represented in the SX category, indicates that some departments are not getting their fair share of SX positions or vice-versa, that some departments have far too many even accounting for the complexity of the work and the size of their budgets.

The departments are ranked according to the total number of employees with the largest first. Yet notice that in the column headed "# of SX," the numbers do not progressively decline as one might expect. Note also that Treasury Board, with 809 employees, had double the number of SXs (91) than the Post Office, a department 68 times its size.

Treasury Board and the Public Service Commission, the two departments most closely identified as the employer and responsible for the programs and budgets to help women have a total of 5 female SXs out of 118 SX positions. A case of double standards, no doubt?

Canada's four largest departments have no women on its senior staff yet we have Marc Lalonde's Bluma Appel running around the country at taxpayers' expense telling Canadian corporations to promote women. . . .

According to the Advisory Council on the Status of Women, chaired by Yvette Rousseau, any department where more than 33% of the employees are female can be considered ghettos.

Chart 1

DEPARTMENT	TOTAL EMPLOYEES	%FEMALE	#SX	FEMALE SX
Post Office	55,143	20.9	43	none
Defence	36,159	26.6	24	none
Nat. Revenue	23,736	39.4	55	none
Transport	20,288	14.0	88	none
Manpower	13,147	49.8	56	2
Environment	12,223	20.3	78	none
Indian Affairs	12,144	36.8	60	5
Unemployment	10,755	61.0	29	none
Supply/Services	10,217	46.8	62	none
Agriculture	9,847	22.0	22	none
Health/Welfare	9,744	60.7	50	5
Public Works	9,602	20.2	42	none
Penitentiary	8,723	16.6	11	none
Veterans Affairs	7,201	52.9	11	1
Statistics	5,370	52.1	27	1
P.S. Commission	4,042	55.0	27	1
Energy, Mines	3,753	22.3	31	none
External Affairs	3,177	40.1	12	none
RCMP (Civilian)	3,139	81.8	1	none
Sec. of State	2,965	62.4	24	none
Consumer Affairs	2,532	39.8	35	1
Industry, Trade	2,452	36.9	78	none
Communications	2,142	33.4	35	1
D.R.E.E.	1,369	35.1	36	3
C.I.D.A.	1,020	45.4	31	none
National Museums	1,015	35.4	3	1
Justice	999	51.1	2	none
Treasury Board	809	41.2	91	4
Transport Comm.	792	39.8	14	none
Public Archives	711	41.8	2	none
Finance	698	46.1	36	2
Labour	687	47.6	16	none
AIB	568	48.2	18	1
Parole Board	522	55.9	1	none
CRTC	427	45.4	5	none
Aud. Gen.	390	27.7	15	none
Energy Board	338	40.8	9	none
Privy Council	273	52.7	27	2
Sol. Gen.	208	49.5	9	none
Urban Affairs	198	49.0	13	none
Insurance	183	38.3	3	none
PSSRB	161	46.0	5	1
Science/Technology	143	47.6	20	3

Statistics for 22 others unknown. (smaller agencies)

You will be glad to hear that of 67 departments and agencies, 54 meet the criterion. The other 13 can be considered male enclaves because not one woman has made it to the SX category.

Today in the federal public service, we can't even boast of one female Personnel Director even though this is one area where a woman could do a lot to help others. . . .

According to the Office of the Co-ordinator, Status of Women, the main problem is the lack of women at the middle management level. If one studies the PSC Annual Report, we see that the Commission is doing very little to rectify the problem. While its total recruitment might seem to reflect consideration for the above, further study suggests otherwise.

While 45.1% of its appointments in 1975 were women, the percentage fell to 44.9% in 1976. More significant are the figures regarding university graduates, and those of community colleges in 1976. Of the 1,355 appointments, only 367 were female (27%). Yet that same year 37.9% of all university graduates were women.

Limiting openings to persons already earning a certain salary is also discriminatory since the number of women in the higher salary ranges diminishes quickly after $12,000. (See Chart 2)

As you can see, if a person must earn $25,000 before applying for a new job, less than 500 women will be eligible while 12,794 men can apply. Yet 33% of federal public service employees are women and not even 1% are eligible to try for top jobs if a $25,000 salary band is put on a job poster.

Chart 2

	MALES	FEMALES
$12,000 - $14,000	64,514	15,703
15,000 - 19,999	42,376	7,223
20,000 - 24,999	13,589	1,457
25,000 - 29,999	7,922	325
30,000 - 39,999	5,470	160
40,000 and over	402	8

Emphasis was given to discrimination against francophone women.

If women in general are a disadvantaged group, you can imagine what francophone women have to face. The Official Languages Act purports to give French-speaking candidates the option of having their interviews in the language of their choice. Should a candidate choose French she probably will face a selection board whose members are anglophones and whose level of bilingualism is barely sufficient to answer a telephone--or there will a token Francophone whose role will be to translate for the others the candidate's answers. Should the candidate express herself in English and the panel find her accent "funny" or her vocabulary deficient, she will be assessed as not qualified when truly she might have been the ideal candidate. To pretend that we have given Francophones the opportunity to be interviewed in the language of their choice is the laugh of the century. What opportunity? The opportunity to be misunderstood? To be laughed at?

CAP Program

The Career Assignment Program, the one program that could lead to women being trained for senior executive positions, is a dismal failure. This program which has existed for 10 years has done little for the Status of Women. Between 1968 and 1976 only 71 women participated, equivalent to 10.3% of the total participants, yet women represent 33% of the federal public service employees. One manager, when dealing with a request from a female staff member to go on CAP "why do you want to go there? They're all men. I wouldn't want my wife to go!"

The Unemployment Insurance Commission, where, by the way, 61.0% of the employees are women, where they have 29 SXs but not one female senior executive, could do a lot to improve maternity leave benefits. The Department of Labour, again with no female SX, has been responsible for women workers in the federal sector, specifically since 1953, and yet, in the new legislation before Parliament, has not proposed any major amendments to protect women workers. Worse, an employee under the Canada Labour Code must still work 12 months in the same job before being eligible for maternity leave, while under the Unemployment Insurance Act, a woman is entitled to benefits as long as she was working when the child was conceived and as long as she has worked 20 weeks in the last 52.

The conclusions were largely a request for information.

We ask the honourable members of the House of Commons, and Senate, to insist that each department provide a written reply within five days on the Status of Women within its department. Such a report should include, for each year since 1970, the number of employees in the department, the number of women by classification and level, the number of SX, the names and proper titles of SX, an organization chart denoting the incumbent by sex down to the director level. As well, each department should identify each vacancy it has staffed since 1970, the sex of the original incumbent and of each new employee, and the method used to staff the position (i.e., transfer (internal/external) promotion (internal/external) and whether the new incumbent was given the position on an acting basis first.

Each department should be asked to provide details of all money spent on staff development and training with a breakdown by sex.

Each department should be asked to give details of its programs to help employees get out of job ghettos--what career paths have been developed.

They should be able to tell you how long it takes for an employee to be ready for a promotion, the counselling that goes on, the questionnaire they ask employees to fill out indicating their career aspirations etc. Plans outlining their long-range forecast should be submitted for analysis and comparison. Given the large turn-over (31,783 and 31,731 separations in 1975 and 1976) each department should be able to forecast its needs. As well, the number of male employees absent for alcohol or drug related reasons should be given and what arrangements were made (annual, sick or special leave). Figures regarding maternity leave should also be listed (# of employees taking 1 week, 2-5 weeks, 6-10 weeks, etc.)

Every department should be required to state its commitment to equal opportunity and forecast what its goals are over the next three years.

Each department should be required to provide a list of women it has identified as qualified for promotion so that women in each department could make themselves known if "inadvertently" left out. (Parliamentarians would be shocked to find that in many cases, given the same education, qualifications, and experience, there are salary gaps of $10,000).

Every senior official in the public service should be told that women are not to be made the scapegoat for unemployment and that such attitudes will not be tolerated.

Every Equal Opportunity Office should be asked to justify its existence on the basis of its past accomplishments.

Each department should be required to give to each employee a copy of its response so that departmental employees could exert pressure within each department. As well, copies of all replies should be printed in the records of the House and thus made available to all Canadians.

The record will speak for itself.

The first reply to the brief came in the Ottawa Journal (February 22, 1978) where Johanna Hickey, Director, Office of Equal Opportunities for Women, was quoted as saying that while the report made some valid points it was full of distortion, blatant errors and emotionalism particularly in the description of male-dominated decision making.

On March 2, David MacDonald, P.C. Coordinator for the Status of Women, who had released the brief in the House, forwarded a further communication from the same anonymous group of women to John Roberts, Secretary of State and Minister Responsible for the Public Service Commission.

Si nous avons choisi tout particulièrement de répondre aux accusations insensées que ce bureau a osé nous lancer suite à la publication de notre mémoire le 16 février dernier, c'est que Johanna Hickey, le directeur du bureau, est venue confirmée qu'il n'y a personne à la fonction publique fédérale qui s'occupe des fonctionnaires du sexe féminin. Et que tous les postes ainsi intitulés sont une moquerie monumentale.

We can and will attempt to refute all criticisms of our brief with accurate information. However, the true picture will emerge only when departments are forced to provide Parliament with answers to those specific questions among others. A number will be guilty of distortion and camouflage. But the story is there and we will do all we can to assist you in sorting the wheat from the chaff.

The reply from the Public Service Commission which came in a statement prepared by Johanna Hickey and released on March 14, will have a familiar ring for women who have been concerned with job discrimination either in the Civil Service or elsewhere.

While the Public Service Commission would be the first to admit that there is still much more to be done in the field of equal opportunities for women, it is distressed to see the efforts and successes made to date criticized so severely and so purposefully misrepresented.

Discrimination on the basis of sex is expressly prohibited under the Public Service Employment Act. PSC mechanisms of Appeals and Anti-Discrimination are available to employees who believe they have been unfairly treated. The Employer is subject to the federal Human Rights Act, which also prohibits discrimination.

The higher proportion of women earning less than $10,000 reflects the distribution of women across occupations--many in positions which do not draw high salaries, few in those that do. This will change as more women gain access to and occupy more highly paid positions.

Note is made of the few women holding Senior Executive positions. However, the number of SX women rose to 38 in 1977 from 3 in 1972. The number of SX men is so much greater that this increase appears modest. It is however, an indication of progress.

To state that there has been no progress since 1975, which coincides with International Women's Year, is wrong. Changes from the end of 1975 to the end of 1977 prove this. (See Chart 3)

The brief makes a very serious charge that francophone candidates do not have the right to be interviewed on selection boards in French. Prior to a selection board, a candidate is asked in which of the two official languages, he or she wishes to be interviewed. The interview is then conducted in that language. If a candidate feels that his or her language rights have been violated during the selection process, then the same redress mechanisms are available as for any candidate who feels he or she has been treated unfairly, namely the full force of the appeals process, including, if necessary, recourse to the courts.

The brief concludes with a recommendation that departments be required to provide detailed information on staffing and personnel management; and that such information be made public. The value of providing much of this information must be seriously questioned. As one example, details of all staffing actions since 1970 is requested. The brief notes that over 30,000 separations occur each year. By simple extrapolation, one arrives at a figure of 240,000 staffing actions to be analyzed, presumably with the expectation of revealing anomalies in staffing. The resource expenditures to amass such information, in response to an anonymous request is not justifiable.

Similarly, requiring departments to publish lists of women identified as qualified for promotion makes little sense. Employees are qualified for promotion if they can successfully compete for job openings.

Chart 3

CATEGORY	TOTAL PUBLIC SERVICE POPULATION		PUBLIC SERVICE POPULATION OF WOMEN		% FEMALES	
	75.12.31	77.12.31	75.12.31	77.12.31	75.12.31	77.12.
Executive	1,186	1,324	21	38	1.8	2.
Administrative & Foreign Service	47,579	51,257	9,152	11,341	19.2	22.
Scientific & Professional	23,444	24,252	5,759	5,566	24.6	23.
Technical	25,866	26,800	2,516	2,732	9.7	10.
Total	98,075	103,633	17,448	19,677	17.8	19.

On the other hand, much of the information sought is available, either from departments or in summary form in publications of the Public Service Commission and Treasury Board Secretariat. Information on programs to help employees move out of job ghettos and forecasts of goals for equal opportunities are included in departmental EOW plans. Summaries of 1976 plans were published and the Treasury Board is recommending that 1977 summaries be published.

Book Reviews

Birth Control in Nineteenth Century England

ANGUS McLAREN.
London: Croom Helm, 1978 Pp. 263

Western politicians as well as historians have done their best to sidestep the politics of sexuality. When the distribution of birth control information in maternal and child welfare clinics became an issue in the British Parliament during the 1930s, an attempt was immediately made to remove it from the political arena by permitting members a free vote. At the 1974 World Population Conference in Bucharest, western nations were perturbed by the refusal of developing countries to divorce birth control from political issues. Until recently, historians have tended to confine their accounts of birth control to developments in technology or to personalities in the movement. New approaches to women's sexuality and homosexuality as well as to birth control(1)have succeeded in demonstrating that the personal is indeed political and that government policy,and sex and class confrontations all impinge on the history of sexuality. It is a similarly broad vision that provides the framework for McLaren's skilful analysis of birth control in Victorian and Edwardian England.

In what is more a series of chronologically linked essays than chapters, McLaren develops four crucial themes: first, birth control's dual potential as an instrument permitting either greater individual freedom or greater social control; second, the confrontation between middle class birth control propagandists and the working class; third, the cultural confrontation between men and women; and fourth, the opposition of the medical profession to birth control. Some of the most fascinating material in the book is introduced during the discussion of doctors' attitudes towards birth control. These chapters are valuable additions to the growing number of highly original contributions which are forging links between women's history and the social history of medicine.

In so far as traditional, "pre-industrial" forms of birth control have always been used independently of institutional medical care systems, the birth control movement can be characterized as a form of medical self-help. According to McLaren, it was this more than anything else which made the medical profession hostile to contraception. Relatively few doctors made any public statement on the subject; it is rather the weight of silence which proves McLaren's point that birth control was something no respectable physician, conscious of membership in an emergent profession, could possibly deal with.(2) McLaren shows in some detail how eighteenth century birth control was associated with quack doctors, who popularized

coitus interruptus and the sheath (the latter as a protection against venereal disease rather than pregnancy). This extra-medical tradition persisted into the twentieth century, with commercial manufacturing houses distributing not only "female pills" (abortifacients), which McLaren looks at in detail but also diaphragms and condoms. In practical terms, the activities of these firms must have been far more important than either the propaganda of the middle class birth control movement, which did not distribute any practical information until 1913, or the medical profession (although it is hard to know what doctors advised in the privacy of their consulting rooms).

Doctors who did openly voice their disapproval of birth control often revealed deep-rooted patriarchal attitudes towards those women, who, in attempting to limit their fertility, challenged the doctor in his role "as a male, a medical scientist and a moral arbiter." (p. 119) Confrontation between the sexes over birth control was not confined to doctors and women. There is no shortage of evidence to show that male socialists also derided, or at best ignored, women's desire to control their fertility. McLaren devotes special attention to the Social Democratic Federation, a particularly noteworthy example. However, problems arise from the treatment of women's responses, which make the development of this theme less satisfactory.

McLaren is conscious of the tendency on the part of many writers of women's history to see women in the past as 'acted upon,' in other words, as victims. In the case of birth control, the Banks argued that women had no influence over the increased use of contraceptives during the late nineteenth century but they looked only to public feminists for their evidence.(3) On the other hand, Daniel Scott Smith reached the opposite conclusion in his work on the USA, suggesting that it is possible to deduce an increased control by women over their own lives from the declining birth rate. Because this control must have been exercised by large numbers of women confined for the most part to the private sphere, Smith categorized this behavior as 'domestic feminism.'(4) McLaren is anxious to attribute a similarly 'active' role to English women but his case is seriously weakened by his choice of evidence, which in the main comes from such public, male feminists as William Thompson and John Stuart Mill.

Prior to World War I, it is in fact hard to find any evidence of either public or private feminist feelings about birth control per se. McLaren adopts Linda Gordon's term 'voluntary motherhood' to describe the attitudes of public feminists during the period. These women did not necessarily support artificial methods of contraception but they were agreed on a woman's "right of self defence," whether

against venereal disease, male sexual demands or pregnancy. (p. 198) Some called for chastity, some for abstinence and a very, very few for birth control. They feared that birth control would permit men to over-indulge their sexual instincts and that it would therefore increase the dominance of the husband. McLaren notes the close relationship between this position and that of the crusaders for social purity. It represented a logical if extreme response to the double moral standard: very much a case of My Secret Life making Christabel Pankhurst's slogan: "Votes for Women and Purity for Men" more comprehensible. It would be interesting to have this theme explored further. Perhaps English feminists shared the fear of their American counterparts that birth control would separate sexuality from reproduction. This would have threatened the stability of the family on which the whole economic and social position of middle class women depended.

Instead McLaren emphasizes eugenics as the crucial factor explaining the lack of explicit English feminist comment on birth control. He sees the strong eugenicist emphasis on improving the quality of the race and increasing the middle class birth rate compelling even feminists "to prove themselves as mothers." (p. 207) Yet it must also be recognized that many feminists genuinely shared eugenicist beliefs. McLaren acknowledges this in the case of the radical Stella Browne, who campaigned not only for birth control but also for free abortion. But it was also true of organizations such as the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship and the Women's Co-operative Guild. One of the most puzzling aspects of the birth control movement is the way in which the same individual can be found working in a number of organizations with divergent political leanings. Browne is a good example: a radical feminist, she chose to work through the deeply conservative Malthusian League. These apparent inconsistencies in behavior on the part of many feminists during the pre- and inter-war years need closer investigation.

Feminist attitudes apart, eugenicists were powerful advocates of birth control as a means to greater social control rather than greater individual freedom. The problem for birth controllers was that while their aim was to spread birth control information among the poor, the people having the smallest families were the middle classes; the very people who, according to the eugenicists, were the "fittest" members of society. In practice, then, birth control had proved dysgenic and eugenicists tended to favour either alternative methods of population control, such as granting family endowments to the 'fit' or limiting the use of contraceptives to the 'unfit.' The Fabians provide one of the best examples of this particular brand of 'social engineering.'

Despite his chapter on eugenic ideas, McLaren possibly underestimates their strength and the extent to which the aim of birth controllers was not to escape the ideas, as he feels was the case with feminists for example, but rather to reach some accommodation with them. After all, when doctors and religious leaders came out in support of birth control during the inter-war years, they did so for eugenic reasons.

The tension between individual freedom and social control marked the cultural confrontation between the middle and working class, although it appears that neither side had a monopoly on either position. Middle class proponents of birth control spoke through the Malthusian League, the only birth control organization existing before World War I. The League used Malthus's demographic doctrine as the justification for disseminating birth control information among the poor, although McLaren's excellent treatment of the population debate shows clearly how these 'neo-malthusians' differed from Malthus and his early followers. Nevertheless, the aim of the League was frankly manipulative of the poor. There were individual exceptions, though, just as Stella Browne remained in the League as a radical feminist so did John M. Robertson, a socialist, who saw birth control as a means to greater individual freedom for working-class men and women.

The response of working class leaders who were in the main male, was one o suspicion. Most saw individual attempts to limit family size as a betrayal of class interests and antithetical to traditional morality. McLaren effectively demolishes the belief held by some historians that socialists must have favoured birth control because early birth control advocates included Robert Dale Owen and William Thompson. McLaren sees the eventual adoption of birth control by the working class as a result of new ideals of family size, prompte by changing social and economic conditions rather than by any downward diffusion of middle class ideas. Moreover, the decrease in the working class birth rate was accomplished primarily by the use of pre-industrial birth control methods; very few working women would have had access to, or could have afforded, newer contraceptives. One of McLaren's major contributions in this book is to give ample evidence of the prevalence of abortion in late Victorian and Edwardian England. The careful reconstruction of the activities of one small medicine company selling tonics that purported to be abortifacients shows that as many as 8000 women contacted this one company alone in the space of two years. Here, perhaps, is the really convincing evidence of 'domestic feminism.'

This book is essential reading because of the range of questions it asks.

These more than compensate for the necessarily selective nature of some of the evidence. It is also exciting to find an author making successful use of a feminist perspective to inform a much broader study. One is tired of being told that the use of birth control, more than any other single factor, improved the health of women and broadened their social and economic opportunities, only to find it dismissed in a couple of paragraphs in a general history or to have it treated in such a way as to divorce it from the lives of those it affected most. By locating birth control in its social, economic and political context, McLaren has at last accorded the subject the kind of treatment it deserves.

Jane Lewis
Memorial University of Newfoundland

NOTES

1. See for example the representative essays on women and their physicians in nineteenth-century America in Clio's Consciousness Raised edited by Mary Hartman and Lois Banner (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1974); Jeffrey Weeks' contribution on the politics of homosexuality, Coming Out (London: Quartet, 1977) and Linda Gordon's Woman's Body, Woman's Right. A Social History of Birth Control in America (New York: Grossman, 1976).

2. Here McLaren's work ties in nicely with the essays by Ivan Waddington and Ian Inkster in Health Care and Popular Medicine in Nineteenth Century England, edited by John Woodward and David Richards (New York: Holmes and Meirer, 1977), pp. 128-188.

3. J.A. and O. Banks, Feminism and Family Planning (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1964).

4. Daniel Scott Smith, "Family Limitation, Sexual Control and Domestic Feminism in Victorian America," in Clio's Consciousness, pp. 119-136.

Report of the Committee on Operation of the Abortion Law, 1977

"The procedures set out for the operation of the Abortion Law are not working equitably across Canada. . . . It is the Canadian people, their health institutions and the medical profession, who are responsible for this situation." Thus begins the body of the report which is a tough, bold look at modern society and the health care system as it relates to Abortion.*

The report looks at the cold hard facts of the situation from the point of view of the patient, the medical practitioner and the hospital administration; it also analyzes provincial laws, rules and regulations. It is a well balanced report and should be read widely as an informative, factual treatment of an emotional issue.

The Committee was established "to conduct a study to determine whether the procedure provided in the Criminal Code for determining therapeutic abortions is operating equitably across Canada;" and to "make findings on the operation of this law rather than recommendations on the underlying policy." In other words, the report is a study of the therapeutic abortions done in Canada, not on the moral issues of the questions. Members of the Committee were Denyse Fortin Caron,

Marion G. Powell, and Chairman, Robin R. Badgley, representing three disciplines--Law, Medicine and Sociology.

Women need abortions for any one of a number of reasons and who is to judge which is a valid reason? Women seeking abortions, for whatever reason, experience difficulty in finding help, notwithstanding the change in the Criminal Code. Chapter 8, "Personal Experiences," makes very depressing reading. Women expected ". . . compassionate treatment from doctors and nurses." Doctors made the point "that they had been primarily trained to provide therapy and save lives, not to terminate life." Some doctors made an extra charge for doing an abortion and the report hints that the collection methods are not always legal. Some doctors, nurses and social workers admitted to having negative feelings about women who choose to have an abortion.

The problem revolves around what we have been taught (or have not been taught): values, beliefs and information. Responses to questionnaires show that people tend to look to the family doctor for information regarding sexuality but where do doctors get such information? Until recently, the only material available to this profession was the anatomy and physiology of the sex organs; prior to Kinsey no one inquired into sexual practice in humans.

It is stated in the report:

> Because the formal academic instruction of medical students on the sexual behavior of women and men has only been recently started a majority of physicians now in medical practice in Canada have had no formal preparation on these issues.
> . . . For these reasons the basis of the counsel on sexual behavior and contraception use given by many physicians to their patients may be a blend of professional experience and personal views. (p. 368)

If we recognize that the physician has not been formally prepared to do sexual counselling then it is also true of nurses, social workers and school teachers. For example, chapters on family planning are just beginning to appear in the 1978 editions of some nursing textbooks.

One reason for doing a therapeutic abortion is for the health of the mother. The point is made that "there has been no sustained or firm effort in Canada to develop an explicit and operational definition of 'health.'" (p. 20) If we consider physical, mental, emotional and social health, has a child the right not to be born into certain circumstances? The present situation is that men and women have sexual intercourse and a large number

of unwanted pregnancies result. The Right to Life Groups argue for the life of the unborn baby. The great debate rages about when life begins--and also when it ends. The same people and others also worry about child rights. The foetus becomes the girl child, the child becomes the pregnant woman--at what magic moment does the worry about the individual woman end? Is the basic worry related to continuing the species? Has the unborn child the right to not live? (Would it also be less emotional if the unborn were not called child?) Our social values tell the pregnant woman to have the child. The same society has laws which provide for a child to be taken away from an "unfit mother."

It is stated in the report that most women who receive abortions are well educated and in a 'good' financial position. The poor and poorly educated woman carries her child to term. This is due to two main factors, lack of information about the abortion law and also the excessive cost of even a legal abortion.

Sources of information used by the Committee include national and provincial governments, legal research, hospital resources, women, the medical community, family planning and public health. The double standards regarding sexuality are mentioned. The woman who becomes pregnant but who does not want a child is careless, promiscuous, bad, "but what about the partner?" And is the woman always knowing? Many abortions are performed on high school girls. A friend told me of being at the delivery of an eleven (11) year old girl. The child did not know what was happening. During labour she cried and asked if she would ever walk again. After it was all over and she had been made comfortable again she asked for a colouring book. For whom do you weep? The eleven year old little girl who has just become a mother? Or the new infant who has an eleven year old mother? The problem is complex. The fact is that society is very unlikely to return to the extended family unit and all the protection that it provided for social values and its children. The answer lies in part in changing certain ways of thinking, in changing certain values which many in our society have held without analysis. The report prompts such analysis and suggests that the basic need is education. Sex education programs should--must be developed and made available. The media, television and magazines probably have the greatest impact and presently are used to advertise everything from shampoo to shoe polish in an effort to enhance sexual attraction. This same media could be used to teach sexology on the assumption that if more people had more information about sexual practice and about planned parenthood there would be less need for abortions.

Jane Haliburton, Yarmouth, Nova Scotia

* THE ABORTION LAW

Criminal Code, Revised Statutes of Canada 1970, Chapter c-34. Section 251.

251. (1) Every one who, with intent to procure the miscarriage of a female person, whether or not she is pregnant, uses any means for the purpose of carrying out his intention is guilty of an indictable offence and is liable to imprisonment for life.

(2) Every female person who, being pregnant, with intent to procure her own miscarriage, uses any means or permits any means to be used for the purpose of carrying out her intention is guilty of an indictable offence and is liable to imprisonment for two years.

(3) In this section, "means" includes

(a) the administration of a drug or other noxious thing,

(b) the use of an instrument, and

(c) manipulation of any kind.

(4) Subsections (1) and (2) do not apply to

(a) a qualified medical practitioner, other than a member of a therapeutic abortion committee for any hospital, who in good faith uses in an accredited or approved hospital any means for the purpose of carrying out his intention to procure the miscarriage of a female person, or

(b) a female person who, being pregnant, permits a qualified medical practitioner to use in an accredited or approved hospital any means described in paragraph (a) for the purpose of carrying out her intention to procure her own miscarriage,

if, before the use of those means, the therapeutic abortion committee for that accredited or approved hospital, by a majority of the members of the committee and at a meeting of the committee at which the case of such female person has been reviewed,

(c) has by certificate in writing stated that in its opinion the continuation of the pregnancy of such female person would or would be likely to endanger her life or health, and

(d) has caused a copy of such certificate to be given to the qualified medical practitioner.

(5) The Minister of Health of a province may by order

(a) require a therapeutic abortion committee for any hospital in that province, or any member thereof, to furnish to him a copy of any certificate described in paragraph (4) (c) issued by that committee, together with such other information relating to the circumstances surrounding the issue of that certificate as he may require, or

(b) require a medical practitioner who, in that province, has procured the miscarriage of any female person named in a certificate described in paragraph (4) (c), to furnish to him a copy of that certificate, together with such other information relating to the procuring of the miscarriage as he may require.

(6) For the purposes of subsections (4) and (5) and this subsection

"accredited hospital" means a hospital accredited by the Canadian Council on Hospital Accreditation in which diagnostic services and medical, surgical and obstetrical treatment are provided;

"approved hospital" means a hospital in a province approved for the purposes of this section by the Minister of Health of that province;

"board" means the board of governors, management or directors, or the trustees, commission or other person or group of persons having the control and management of an accredited or approved hospital;

"Minister of Health" means

(a) in the Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Manitoba, Alberta, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, the Minister of Health,

(b) in the Province of British Columbia, the Minister of Health Services and Hospital Insurance,

(c) in the Provinces of Nova Scotia and Saskatchewan, the Minister of Public Health, and

(d) in the Yukon Territory and the Northwest Territories, the Minister of National Health and Welfare;

"qualified medical practitioner" means a person entitled to engage in the

practice of medicine under the laws of the province in which the hospital referred to in subsection (4) is situated;

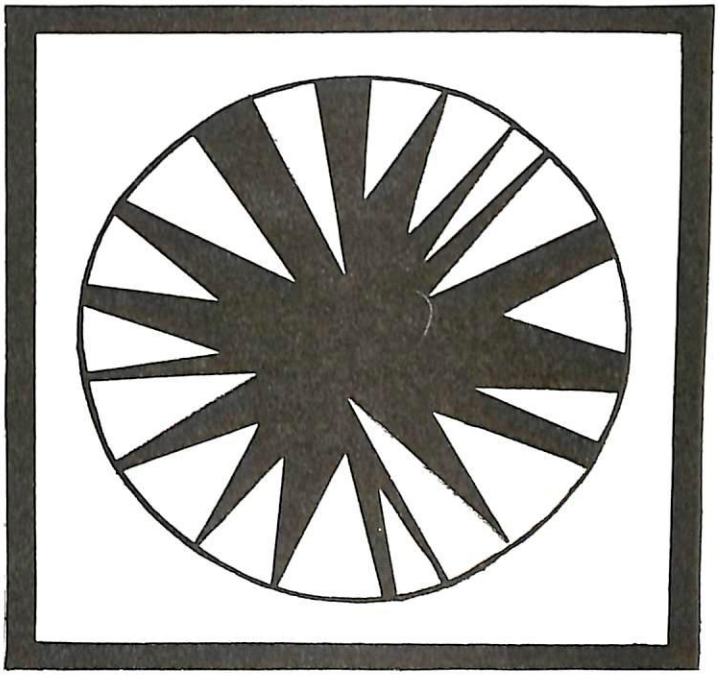
"therapeutic abortion committee" for any hospital means a committee, comprised of not less than three members each of whom is a qualified medical practitioner, appointed by the board of that hospital for the purpose of considering and determining questions relating to termination of pregnancy within that hospital.

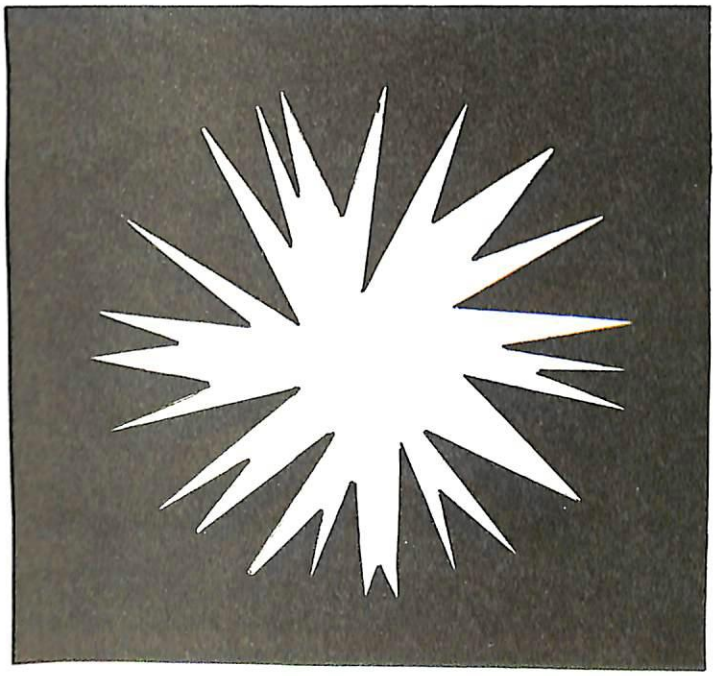
(7) Nothing in subsection (4) shall be construed as making unnecessary the obtaining of any authorization or consent that is or may be required, otherwise than under this Act, before any means are used for the purpose of carrying out an intention to procure the miscarriage of a female person. 1953-54, c.51, s. 237; 1968-69, c. 38, s. 18.

The Curse JANICE DELANEY, MARY JANE LUPTON, AND EMILY TOTH
New York: E. P. Dutton, 1976, Pp. 276

The book, sub-titled a cultural history of menstruation, discusses what the authors see as one of the most neglected of subjects, menstruation. From the menarche to menopause, menstruation has either been overlooked or ill-treated by literature, religion, the social sciences and by medicine.

The table of contents indicates how thoroughly the authors have treated the subject: the Tabooed Woman, Menstrual Cycle in Action, the Menstruating Women in the Popular Imagination, Menstrual Images in Literature, Menopause, Sideshow and Men. In my estimation the strongest section is the Tabooed Woman. In this section they carefully document how the twentieth century woman has come to suffer the taboos of the centuries. Taboos exist to protect others from danger. In many societies the most inviolate of these taboos has been the menstrual taboo. Around this taboo have grown the taboos of sex. Within our cultural memory woman has been "sacra," both sacred and accursed. The notion of woman as unclean has its roots within the Old Testament. The book of Leviticus 15: 19-33 speaks most strongly of the negative attitude toward the menstruating woman.





> And if a woman have an issue, and her issue in her flesh be blood, she shall be put apart seven days: and whosoever touches her shall be unclean. . .

Orthodox Judaism today has never abolished the taboos; Christianity has done little to improve the status of woman even though Jesus was far more enlightened than his followers. Consider his treatment of the Samaritan woman (John 4:1-42) and his encounter with the woman about an issue of blood (Luke 8:43-48).

The taboos of menstruation were reinforced because menstruation remained a medical mystery for so long. Women were viewed as "naturally and irrevocably limited by the menstrual function." (p. 50) Aristotle saw menstruation as a sign of female inferiority and one wonders if much has changed. Women have been taught menstruation is disabling. We are, therefore, confronted with what the authors call "Modern Menstrual Politics," the use of menstruation as a reason to exclude women from certain occupations or professions, and the use of menstruation as a reason to protect woman. One has only to observe the drama that surrounds the ERA in the United States.

Another major portion of the book deals with menstrual imagery in literature. Though I do not feel competent to critique this portion from a literary stance, I found it to be cogently and persuasively presented. Fairytales, myth and poetry, drama and fiction are perused. The authors maintain that the topic of menstruation has either been disguised or displaced while the topic of the menarche is rare. Irrationality is the quality most commonly ascribed to the menstruating woman.

Whereas the aforementioned sections of the book showed cohesion and clarity, I felt the other sections, particularly those on popular culture and on men degenerated into trivia and the desire to shock. As the book progressed I found it at times annoyingly repetitive. Since this is the work of three authors, this I see primarily as a fault in editing. The scope of the book, as already indicated in its table of contents, is very broad. Thus by its very nature it is limited. The authors have tried to offset this limitation by including quite extensive chapter notes. I have found these to be quite useful in preparing a course on sex differences.

All in all, I recommend the book. It is quite comprehensive, interesting and readable.

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Things Which Are Done in Secret

MARLENE DIXON. Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1976. Pp. 290

This is a powerful and disturbing book. Dixon asserts that it is "a documentary history of academic repression as it is practiced at one university." (p. 11) "Documentary" it certainly is, and many will find it uncomfortably so, for it includes 55 documents--letters, references, intra- and interdepartmental memos, some of which were not meant to fall into the hands of the protagonists--that is they were 'confidential.' The use and abuse of confidentiality in modern universities is the concern of this book. The title is taken from St. Paul: "The things which are done in secret are things that people are ashamed even to speak of; but the things exposed to the light will be illuminated." Dixon argues very cogently that the concept of confidentiality, rationalized on the basis of defending a prospective candidate from the consequences of public knowledge and assuring freedom to the evaluator, has, in fact, been corrupted in academia to deny due process:

> . . . confidentiality functions to deny due process to the powerless in the academic hierarchy, to protest the arbitrary exercise of power by senior faculty and machinations on the part of university administrators. Confidentiality alone makes possible the vicious system of persecution and black-listing which has been characteristic of modern academic life from the earliest days. Confidentiality also serves to hide incompetent (by any standards) evaluations of the work of dissidents as well as out and out prejudice in the evaluation of controversial individuals. Confidentiality has been systematically corrupted to the point where it serves little purpose except to protect the arbitrary and prejudicial exercise of power by professional oligarchs. (p. 25)

Dixon links the use of confidentiality and secrecy to her analysis of the modern university and its relationship to the social order of mature capitalism and claims that within that order "academic freedom has never existed and will never exist." (p. 11) While many will grant that academic freedom is a fragile and sometime thing at best, Dixon fails to show, as implied in her analysis, that academic freedom truly existed in the past or exists presently in universities in contemporary socialist states.

Through the vehicle of two particular case studies, the author raises to the light the issues of the 'openness' of our universities in terms of

the tolerance of dissent, particularly the tolerance of Marxists and feminists. The study focuses on the attempt by two social science departments and the administration at McGill University, in the period 1971-1975, to get rid of the author and another woman, both of whom were practicing Marxists and feminists. While the two women were initially successful, after a protracted defence, in preventing the success of attempts to deny the renewal of their contracts, the 'purge' was ultimately successful. Both women eventually resigned because the conflict, hostility and working environment made continuation too costly in intellectual and personal terms.

What was the ostensible basis for the attempts to remove them? In universities, the only 'legitimate' grounds for denying renewal to those on renewable contracts are inadequacies or incompetence in teaching, research and administration; financial stringency; or previously established Department hiring priorities. The documentation provided dramatically challenges the validity of the arguments made by those who opposed the reappointments. This does not mean that there were not students who were very negative toward the two protagonists nor that they could not be caustic and devastating in their criticism of opposing positions and theories. What the documentation does demonstrate, particularly in the case of Pauline Vaillancourt, is that the canons of due process were not applied. Due process means that the candidate is given the precise reasons and evidence of the case against her/him, has an adequate opportunity to present evidence that the criteria used to assess the candidate have been established beforehand and are known and accepted, and that the decision is consistent with others made in the same period. After reviewing the Vaillancourt case, the C.A.U.T. Committee of Inquiry concluded that "an accumulation of irregularities and improprieties in procedure and an inadvertent, inconsistent creation and application of standards produced a decision sufficiently lacking in due process that it should not be allowed to stand," (p. 177) and recommended that she be given a three-year renewal. The litany of the tactics, practices and irregularities utilized against the two professors included: changing hiring priorities after the fact, (p. 72) refusing to permit the candidate counsel, (p. 150) disregarding the quantitative evidence from course evaluations which demonstrated that both were regarded as clearly above the average of the Department, (p. 175 and 205) refusing to consider evidence presented by the candidate (pp. 140, 153) and lacking in consistency and equity. The issue of equity is particularly damaging to the credibility of the departments concerned as well as to the university. At the same time that the Department recom-

mended against the reappointment of Dr. Vaillancourt, three other assistant professors were reappointed, none of whom had completed the Ph.D. (pp. 155 and 174) In Dr. Dixon's case, in the previous year, three assistant professors had been awarded renewals of their contracts; two did not have their Ph.D's and none of them had ever published. Professor Dixon had published six articles. (p. 100)

Quite clearly, the stated reasons against these professors were not the real reasons why their departments, and presumably the university, were so anxious to get rid of them. Both women were practicing Marxists who applied their analysis to the role of McGill in Quebec society at a time when the institution was feeling threatened both from within by the student demands for a voice in departmental decision-making and from without. Francophone C.E.G.E.P. students criticized the fact that the 17% minority (Anglophones) occupied 42% of the available university places and received one-third of the government grants for higher education. In March 1969, 10,000 people had marched on McGill demanding its transformation into a French-language university. Dixon and Vaillancourt supported both the students' attempts to democratize the departments, and the critiques of the leftists of McGill itself. Dixon argues that McGill "from the day it was founded (was) a fortress in defence of colonialism in Quebec (first of the British Empire and then for English Canada and the States); McGill is at the very heart of the moral and intellectual colonization of French Quebec." (p. 198) She agrees with Gramsi who held that "the intellectuals are the dominant group's deputies exercising the subaltern functions of social hegemony and political government" (p. 199) in the modern liberal capitalist state and that, because of McGill's strategic position in Quebec, it could not afford to have a fifth column within it--that is, it could not tolerate serious political dissent within (as it had shown in the Stanley Gray case in 1969). Both Dixon and Vaillancourt therefore posed a serious political threat to the status quo of McGill. Some viewed them as the source of the perpetuation of student dissent which would collapse if they left; others viewed them as unfairly manipulating the students. Moreover, Pauline Vaillancourt was closely associated with the separatist movement against which, at that time, there was powerful but less visible opposition. Both also made the progress of their cases known through the student and city newspapers and they broke other norms of "collegiality" which angered many.

But what of the issue of sexism? Did it play a role in addition to their being political radicals in the usual sense? Dixon clearly feels it did. She states in the manifesto which she

read aloud to the Renewal Committee that:

> If the radicals in question happen to be women, the initial situation is greatly compounded by the prejudice to which women in a thousand subtle ways are subject. Entrenched power dislikes any challenge to its supremacy, and when the entrenched powers are men, and one of the challengers is a woman, their fury surpasses understanding, as I have witnessed on more than one occasion. (p. 117)

She goes on to say that "the social crimes of both Dixon and Vaillancourt were not only rooted in the fact that they were 'uppity women' but that they were strong, outspoken and principled working-class uppity women who refused to play the games of social pretension." The hostility directed towards three of the men who supported Dixon and the ostracism to which they were subjected eventually led them to resign. Dixon speculates that:

> Had these men defended a man, it is highly improbable that they would have become the object of such blind animosity. One speculates that they are not only viewed as 'traitors' to the (our) Department but far worse, are viewed as betrayers of the prerogatives of male supremacy in the academic community. (p. 209)

Thus, Dixon argues that in both cases political hostility, prejudice and sexism were behind the attempts to get rid of them.

The book is a well-documented analysis of the situation at McGill at the time. While one may not always agree with the analysis, the documents themselves indicate a strong discrepancy between the ideology of the modern university and its actual practices. The lesson that could and should be taken from this account is that conflicts in universities, both in terms of principle and practice, are best resolved by the application of due process not by its abrogation. Such abrogation only creates additional complications which may damage the reputation of a department and university for some time. In an era of increased public scrutiny, where the pressures to hide one's dirty linen may become stronger, such acts may well lead to greater vulnerability and greater difficulty in maintaining academic freedom and autonomy than during the disruptive days of the sixties. This book, its faults aside, has some solemn lessons to give, both for the treatment of women and for the conduct of the university in general. It should be read by faculty and administrators alike as well as those interested in the issues it raises.

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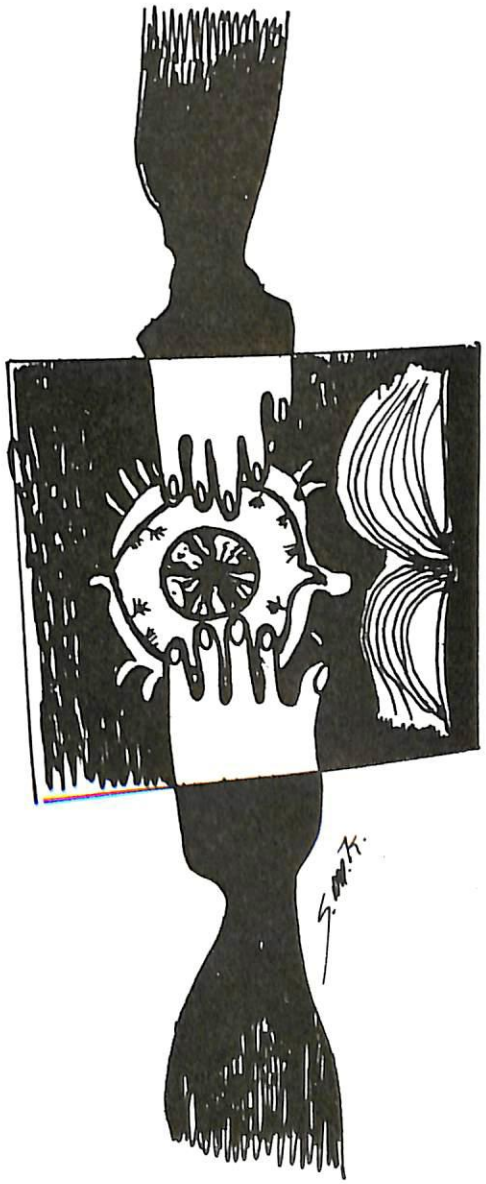
Body Politics NANCY M. HENLEY.
Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1977



I have mixed feelings about Henley's newly published paperback Body Politics. On the one hand I am most grateful for her fairly systematic synthesis of a vast range of assorted published and unpublished papers in the area. As someone interested in both women's studies and non-verbal communication I can testify to the fact that this is no small task. Henley has had to comb through a wide range of academic journals dealing with organizational management, psychiatry, psychology, anthropology, and sociology in compiling her text. But on a more analytic level the book falls short of offering us much new theoretical insight into the issues at hand. It even seems to fall short of what I suspect Henley herself is capable of doing. Perhaps because she is attempting to cover so much in this first systematic review of the area, she tends to move too quickly and gloss over the really interesting aspects of sex role differences in non-verbal communication. Although she states that:

> It's not within this book's compass to present an introduction to the study of non-verbal communication. (p. 23)

this seems to be her major focus--a review of all the non-verbal material that relates to gender and power. Meanwhile, throughout the text one

finds a variety of titillating allusions to all kinds of issues which are worthy of deeper more serious discussion, discussion which would make her work far more notable and significant.

The book is neatly structured into 11 chapters, following the traditional pattern of texts on non-verbal communication, e.g., the eyes, touch, body posture, etc. Henley summarizes research in these areas as it relates to sex role differences and power in general. From time to time, however, the author hints at the fascinating problems that arise in each of these areas. For example, she frequently refers to the inherent contradictions in various stereotypes we have about men and women. On 'women in waiting' she writes:

> What about the stereotype of the woman who is always late (with beauty preparation), keeping a man waiting when going on a date? I don't know of any research that can tell us whether this image is true or not, but our analysis of the political aspects of time suggest it is unlikely. (p. 51)

Certainly it would be possible to employ this example of ritual waiting to support Henley's (and Schwartz's) analysis of waiting. Because women do in fact usually wait for men, the first date has traditionally employed a kind of waiting ritual which signifies that the female is hard to get; i.e., coy, when everyone knows nothing could be further from the truth. Such rituals, then, do not challenge the rule as Henley suggests. The waiting only occurs once, because after the female has caught the male she happily succumbs!

On the subject of 'staring' Henley asks "Can subordinate attentiveness be distinguished from dominant staring?" Unfortunately she does not adequately answer the question. I believe, however, that this question is resolved in the literature on non-verbal communication, more specifically the work of Albert Scheflen to whom she frequently refers. As Henley herself states, though she does not always practice what she preaches, "The whole body is more than the sum of its parts." In short, non-verbal symbols must be perceived in clusters as Scheflen and others note. The entire orchestration of a variety of symbolic gestures and facial expressions allow us to make an interpretation about social meaning. Therefore analysis of eye contact alone is not what leads us to ascribe dominance or submission. Rather it is eye contact in the context of other behavioral stimuli which suggest what is going on. In short, although Henley has scouted out a lot of non-verbal material, this sort of omission makes me wonder about her depth of involvement in the non-verbal area.

Since Henley refuses to give up her systematic review of the area in favour

of deeper, more controversial analysis of the implications of all of this research for the situation of women, her analysis lacks depth. For example, on the issue of touch and its relationship to sexuality she summarizes her insights in the following statement:

> It's not in terms of sexual attraction that much touch is promoted but in terms of sexual obligation and sexual coercion. Although sex is the medium here, the message is dominance. (p. 120)

Such a perspective is consistent with the burgeoning literature on rape; e.g., the Brownmiller study which Henley herself refers to. But she does not draw and expand on these themes as she might have done, thus failing to dramatically demonstrate the significance of non-verbal communication for the analysis of sex role behavior.

In the few passages where she lets herself go, however, she flies. In a section on clothing she writes about the purse:

> The design of women's clothing to stick to body contours has precluded the incorporation of pockets into women's clothing, a convenience that men's looser clothing has. Women are forced to carry pocketbooks, which further restricts their physical possibilities--it is awkward to carry other parcels, to deal with doors and children, or to run, with a purse. The function of the purse as women's albatross makes it a symbol of ridicule; many caricatures of women utilize a purse as a comic focus, and impersonations of male homosexuals likewise use a purse as a sort of badge of shame. (Obviously, its psychoanalytic implications as a "vessel," a treasure chest that may be opened or closed, are not lost in these interpretations). (p. 90)

It is in this sort of analysis that Henley has something fresh and new to offer to the study of non-verbal communication. Here she does more than merely gather together for us bits and pieces from other people's research. It is here, for example, that she reminds me of Lakoff's work Language and Women's Place which I regard as one of the more original studies arising out of contemporary women's studies research.

Finally, it is with some regret that I comment on the book's cover and final chapter. At the risk of sounding old hat the cover is a classic example of the sexual sellout. It features a nude couple from the shoulders up (the female is much smaller than the male) in a seductive encounter. The female exhibits lush, red, parted lips, the classic non-verbal symbol of sexual readiness. The accompanying subtitle of the book is "power, sex and non-verbal communication," even though it is commonly accepted in women's

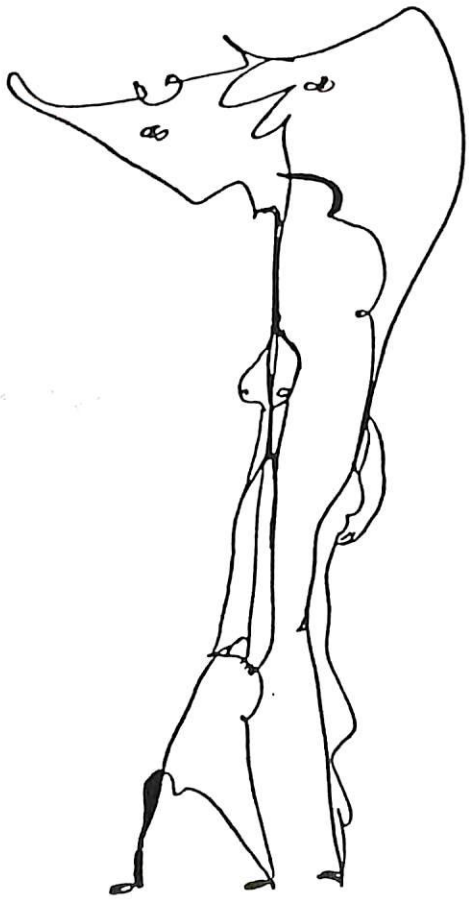
studies research to refer to sex role behavior as gender not sex. But I suppose gender doesn't sell. Ironically, however, much of the last thirty pages alludes to feminist rhetoric.

> If you're serious about personal change, you can sit down and make out a list. (p. 204)

> There has always been pressure to imitate the oppressor in every oppressive situation. (p. 205)

At best the final chapter, Body Politics and Beyond, is unnecessary. At worst, given the cover of the book, it is inappropriate and rather unconvincing. As the literature on non-verbal communication has always told us: Action speaks louder than words. In conclusion, the cover of the book features a quote by Phyllis Chesler calling Henley's work "ground-breaking." Unfortunately I cannot agree with her. But the land is ready for tilling.

Judith Posner
York University



Flux
ELIZABETH JONES
Ottawa: Borealis Press, 1977, Pp. 99

Two Kinds of Honey
ROSEMARY AUBERT
Ottawa: Oberon Press, 1977, Pp. 143

Woman-words. Struggling, these two, to bring flesh into poems, LOGOS into flesh. One is a mother, the other a daughter. Then they change places. They hold lovers in their arms all night, every night, lovers between absences like poems between book covers.

Elizabeth Jones is a sailor, she is both Odysseus and Penelope. Crossing from South Africa to Canada, she is caught between fire and ice. Her childhood She lives in that nostalgic other place:

There our tongues were bitter with
juice of aloes
amber with resinous sap oozing from
wattles
our nostrils breathed red dust
smoke of runaway fires
our bare feet hardened on cattle
grids
stones dry tufts of veld grass--
sweat clamped our thighs
to hides of half-wild mules
as we rode for horizons. . . .
(Apostate)

This landscape remembered alive licks her with the incessant tongue of memory. A shadow father grows real in Requiem:

I loved his brusque oversteppings
of the right-thing-to-do
his blue eyes.frowning impatiently
past gushing hostesses--
his strange·insistence on other con-
ventions
(a duty he felt he owed his father)
jackets.to be worn at dinner
impeccable manners.

And the woman remembering the child is also learning another landscape, a new language of seasons:

This northern sky has many moods
stomping-ground for a shifting variety
of gods--
a new catechumen
I learn their rites their litanies
the subtle dogma of snow
the slow faith of spring
(Apostate)

With elegant clarity she builds poems from common things: driving home on a winter night, shopping, children in a playground:

Children squat
around puddles of melted snow
fish
for broken popsicle sticks.
A seagull flies in the sunlight
tossed from the high Fundy tides
beyond the hills

and on a puddle
ruffled with old twigs and leaves
a metal disk
flashes
dancing reflections
silver and fertile as fish
high pure notes
lilting at the wind.
(Playground in Spring)

The poet watches her daughter becoming a woman and is tossed herself in that always-sea between birth and rebirth:

Seawind moves through my daughter's
hair
waves circle around her feet
green spells
malicious with spray
that unfurl from mid-ocean
drawing knees stomach her small
breasts
into tease of the current
eddies that swirl her feet
from seaweed and rock
to plunge of the waves
cavernous grey-green crash
wrangle white flash of arms
sweep of the sea
I can feel
salt through her thighs.
(Girl Bathing)

From flux and flow, this Heraclitean paraclete creates many women in one woman; sometimes she leaps over human form into the flux itself. Witness: Winter Crow which begins with the crows and the narrator walking through the cold, windy day, flapping like the crows. At the end of the poem, the image turns around, she has become the thing she dwelt upon:

I
small high crow
totem and scavenger
uneasy on the wind.

Rosemary Aubert is an explorer tossed at home on the inner seas of relationships: she has the gift of Donne who is not done when he speaks in that dramatic voice, demanding attention, himself a part of the action. But this poet invokes no gods, not she, only a family. Witness: The Souvenir --A Poem for my Mother:

Twenty years ago
that swinging swish of taffeta
that black and bellowed skirt
was womanhood to me
was all I though of
growing out of girl.
Now it is completely gone
not even rag
not even recorded
by the camera that caught you
not even five years older then
than I am now.
My love for you
pierces me.

The poet sees her grandmother in her own face reflected in a mirror; she is haunted by a sister who is gay, who is

not gay; by an older man with silver hair who is her phantom lover. In the poems about this man, it seems desire can almost fuse words into flesh:

Outside this poem
there is a pain
that wants stopping.
There is a place where you sit
and false lights fall on you
without making you any less real.
Outside this poem you sit
and listen to the music,
you weave with it,
you do not see me watch
your pale hand pensive,
folded on your lip.
Outside this poem you do not know
how beautiful, how perfect
is the light that falls on you
and makes my heart a sadness of your
silver.
(The Poet Begins to be Punished)

The grey-haired man is elusive, aloof. The poet invokes, cajoles, flatters, pleads. Wishful thinking like a finger tracing designs on a frosty window. Finally the poet confesses the terms in Two Kinds of Honey--Wife and Mistress:

You call her honey.
Delicate bees
culled her from clover
turning back
the cultivated pink petals
to mold her
bit by bit.
She
is refined,
sun milk
flecked with light
in a stream of gold
that flows from meadows
to a cut-glass jar
on your shelf,
Her skin against you
is a spread-thin sweet.
You take her
like toast and tea.

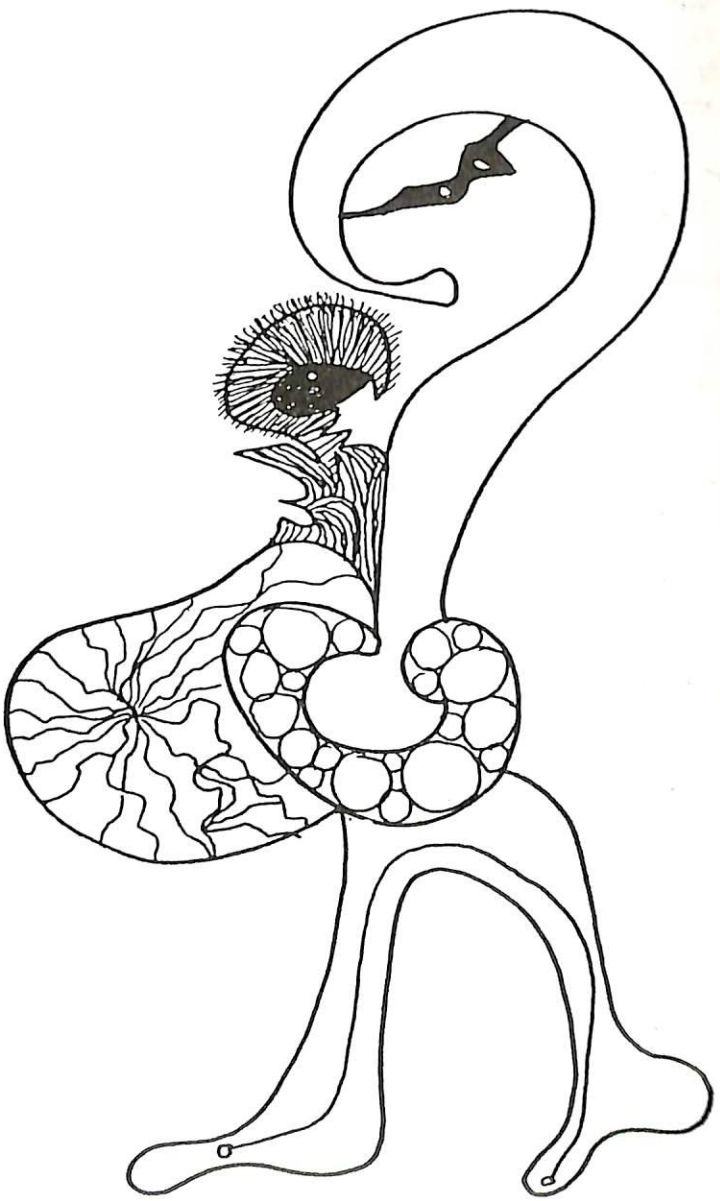
You call me honey.
Robber bees
plundered buckwheat
to build me
I
am dark
as the turned-away sun
and too thick to flow.
You keep me
in a crock
and stick your pudgy finger in
for a snack.

Romantic roles reversed, the poet loses the grey-haired muse of a bird, of a man. Out of loss she creates a song. Maud Gonne once told W.B. Yeats that he was lucky she didn't marry him; otherwise, he would never have created such great poetry about the fact that he couldn't have her. Aubert says it herself at the end of the lovely To An Autistic Child:

Maybe you can learn
what you teach me--
whatever lovely thing we hold to keep
we lose.

Woman-words, these two create and spin and transform. Elizabeth Jones rooted well in two earths and a witty tradition; Rosemary Aubert lucid in the making of her own mythos, offered up to words like bread and wine.

Donna E. Smyth
Acadia University



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Dear Editors

Dear Editors:

We read with considerable appreciation Sherrill Cheda's description of the work of the Canadian Newsletter of Research on Women ("Women's Studies Journals: A Review," Vol. 3, No. 2). However, there were a couple of inaccuracies that should be set right.

The first is that only the two writers of this letter were listed as editors. It is true that the two of us started the Newsletter more than six years ago. However, the work became so taxing within a year or so that we added a third co-editor, Pat Carter. While Pat has now evolved to hiring a liaison person between us and interested community colleges, she was joined by Jennifer Newton as a fourth co-editor. Jennifer continues in this capacity. We are also fortunate in recently being able to add Carol Zavitz as another full-time editor. So, if you're keeping count (and we are), we have four co-editors. We also have four "contributing editors" who cover their specialty fields, and six persons who are liaisons with various community-based women's action groups, a host of volunteer abstractors, book reviewers, etc., not to mention the literally hundreds of people who over the years have gone to the trouble to inform us about their own work on studying, teaching, or otherwise furthering change in women's situation in Canada and abroad. We can't expect a reviewer to list all of these, of course. But we are so aware of our reliance upon the help of "all of the above" that we'd like to use this omission as an opportunity to acknowledge our debt in a forum like Atlantis.

Inaccuracy number two is also a matter of up-dating. Inflation being what it is, our subscription rates as of November 1978 are $10.00 individual and $15.00 for instutions.

Many thanks for the chance to clarify our situation.

All the best.

Marylee Stephenson, Ph.D.
and Margrit Eichler
Editors
Canadian Newsletter of Research on Women

ERRATUM

In Volume IV, Number 1 of Atlantis the review of Miriam Dixson's The Real Matilda was mistakenly credited. The editors of Atlantis wish to apologize to the author, Joan King, Kuring-gai College, Sydney, Australia.

Volume 4, no.1, Fall, 1978

The Editors apologize to Nancy Bailey for inadvertently listing her as a contributor from the University of Connecticut. Dr. Bailey teaches at the University of Guelph, Guelph, Ontario.

The following errors in our Guest Editor's Introduction should be noted:

P.1, para.2--"It" should read: The conference

P.1, para.3--"third conference" should read: second InterAmerican conference

P.3, para.2--"Hedenstrom's paper presents a positive analysis" should read: "Joanne Hedenstrom's paper seems to suggest an ultimately more positive approach to life on the part of women writers. . . ."

P.4,para.3--"expose the serious issues of the time" should read: ". . . reminding the audience of the writing of women during the depression--Anne Marriott, Irene Baird, and herself--exposing the serious issues of the time."

Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women

A CANADIAN FIRST

The Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women, founded in April 1976, set an international precedent for Canada. It is the first such body to emerge from the plethora of activities and slogans of International Women's Year; in Canada it intends to provide continuing and concrete evidence that the concern expressed for women during that year was just the first step. Indeed, many of the issues raised during that year indicate that women's experience in the past and present of Canadian society has been at best taken for granted and at worst largely ignored.

The aim therefore of the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women is to foster a greater knowledge and understanding of women, and promote their full participation in Canadian society. To do so, the Institute will work in the following areas:

- the initiation and encouragement of research on women's experience, the first area to be tackled being "women and work"
- the evaluation of governmental and private sector programmes, policies and studies affecting women
- the dissemination of research findings and information to the public
- the development of educational, training and scholarship programmes for and about women.

The Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women is an association open to individuals and institutions wishing to encourage and participate in its aims and activities. It is governed by an elected board of eighteen directors from all across Canada of whom Pauline Jewett, Naomi Griffiths, Solange Simard-Savoie and Muriel Duckworth constitute the executive. As a non-governmental voluntary association, the Institute aims to have a vast membership and must of course solicit funds. Won't you become a member (individual annual fee of $10.00) and won't you please make a donation (of any amount)! Membership and donation cheques may be sent to the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women, suite 415, 151 Slater Street, Ottawa, K1P 5H3.

Institut canadien de recherche pour l'avancement de la femme

PREMIER AU MONDE:

L'INSTITUT CANADIEN POUR L'AVANCEMENT DE LA FEMME

Après les manifestations fracassantes de l'Année de la Femme, 1976 est l'année des réalisations. En avril dernier, était fondé l'Institut Canadien de Recherches pour l'Avancement de la Femme, premier organisme dans le monde à vouloir faire passer dans la réalité les voeux pieux de l'Année de la Femme.

Dans sa réunion d'octobre dernier, le Conseil d'administration de l'ICRAF, formé de représentantes de chaque province et d'une porte-parole des femmes indiennes (voir leurs noms au bas de cette feuille) a précisé ses objectifs.

L'ICRAF est d'abord un organisme coordinateur, qui n'entend pas doubler mais bien renforcer, en les centralisant et en les publiant, les initiatives visant à promouvoir la femme dans les divers domaines, academique, gouvernemental et autre.

L'ignorance et l'incompréhension manifestées pendant l'année de la femme ont prouvé la nécessité de susciter une meilleure compréhension des femmes et une plus juste appréciation de leur rôle dans tous les secteurs de l'activité humaine. C'est pourquoi l'ICRAF veut

- organiser et encourager les recherches sur l'action des femmes. Le premier cycle de recherches envisagées portera sur la femme et le travail;
- avoir un droit de regard sur les politiques gouvernementales visant les femmes, proposer la mise en marche d'enquêtes specifiques et veiller à leur utilisation dans l'établissement de nouvelles lois;
- assumer un role d'informateur auprès du public comme aux divers niveaux décisionnels;
- veiller, au niveau académique, enfin, à promouvoir les recherches, à faire connaître les résultats obtenus mais aussi à assurer la mise sur pied de programmes adéquats pour et sur les femmes.

e telles ambitions nécessitent d'importantes mises de fonds. L'institut est une ssociation non-gouvernementale ouverte à tous, individus (des deux sexes) ou rganisations. Il a besoin de votre aide. Si vous croyez que l'entreprise en aut la peine, pourquoi ne pas devenir membre (cotisation annuelle: $10) ou même embre donateur! Cotisations et dons sont à envoyer à l'ICRAF, porte 415, 151 ue Slater, OTTAWA K1P 5H3.

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