References on the History of Canadian Marketing Found in Textbooks, Journals and Other Sources
From the Seventeenth Century to the Present

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The literature cited in this bibliography is far more extensive than the select list of recommended references we published in the Journal of Historical Research in Marketing (Shapiro and Tamilia, 2011). This is the “Master List” from which a recommended set of references was selected for the annotated bibliography that appeared in JHRM. Also, the JHRM article provided references up to the beginning of WW2. This Master list goes beyond that period and attempts to be current.

References from newspapers and trade magazines are largely ignored in this listing. However, some are included because they had been subsequently referenced in texts that were consulted. Searching every issue in trade magazines over the past one hundred years or more in order to locate all relevant marketing articles would have been an enormous task. Also, even locating early issues of such trade magazines as Canadian Grocer, Canadian Magazine, Industrial Canada, Marketing Magazine, Financial Post Magazine, Executive, and many others no longer published would have taken far more time and effort than we had available. Fortunately, some of this literature was cited in the Mallen and Litvak (1966) annotated bibliography on Canadian marketing. However, the majority of the references cited in their 119 page monograph were authored between 1960 and 1966.

The list of marketing references presented here is distinctively macro in orientation. The contributions of marketing to Canada’s economic and social development since the seventeenth century were our main concern. We view marketing not only as a managerial technology serving the needs of firms and other organizations but also as a component of the history and evolution of the Canadian economy in which buying and selling activities are part and parcel of the fabric of social and economic life.

This Master list does present information on some Canadian marketing management issues, a category which was absent in the select list published in JHRM. But marketing management articles were included only if they added historical value by exploring uniquely Canadian marketing problems and issues encountered. “How to” marketing mix articles similar to those found in American sources were not included. Authorship by Canadians was insufficient. In other words, references were not included if they did not have relevance to the Canadian marketing scene in some form or another.
Marketing in pre–twentieth century economies was not what it is today. There was no focus on paid media advertising and social and electronic media sources did not exist. Demand stimulation efforts such as coupons, cents-off, free samples, contests, banners, loyalty programs, sponsorships, and the like were a 20th century business phenomenon. Studies on consumer behavior, branding, media behavior, attitude and segmentation studies were simply not done. In brief, market and marketing research studies made their entry in the world of business only in the 20th century.

Moreover, marketing as a separate business topic worthy of study had yet to be recognized. It was only in the 20th century that marketing became a discipline to be studied as part of economics and the social sciences. Serious scholarly academic work in marketing began later in Canadian universities than in the USA (Cunningham and Jones, 1997; Jones 1992; Jones and McLean, 1995). Nevertheless, we found many sources in this list that show marketing management practice was alive and well, and often quite sophisticated in pre–twentieth century Canada. One need only consider, for example, the fur trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries or the extent to which the marketing concept was recognized by Canadian businesses in the late nineteenth century (Jones and Richardson, 2007).

Many of the listed references may not seem to be marketing–based or entirely focused on buying and selling activities. Thus, at first glance they may seem to be of questionable relevance. But each such article was included because the text had some marketing content of redeeming value even though the text was not on marketing narrowly defined. We are of the marketing faith that if there’s a business then there’s marketing, and if there’s buying and selling, then there’s marketing. Let us not forget that marketing cannot be discussed in a social vacuum. There is a need to view the marketing work from a systems perspective in which buying and selling take place and such activities are intertwined and interconnected with the social, economic, and political subsystems, among others, which make up society.

The selected references include many on consumers and their behavior and on the Canadian distributive structure (retailing and wholesaling). Other topics such as packaging and the marketing of specific manufactured products (e.g. cars, shoes, cigarettes, or clothing) are also included. In addition, articles on marketing’s other half, the supply side of marketing, receive considerable attention. For whatever reason, current Canadian marketing texts completely ignore Canada’s transportation infrastructure treating it as a given in the marketing of goods and services. Historically, however, it was improvements in transportation that made the existence of a Canada–wide market possible.

Railroad construction and the development of ports and canals had important marketing repercussions. Such improvements were a major factor in Canada’s economic development over the last two centuries. New modes of transportation greatly increased the range of products available to consumers, led to better management of inventories, lowered the price of goods, and made possible the growth in trade not only with the USA but also the rest of the world. Transportation not only linked markets and regions and
eased the flow of goods and services across Canada; it was also an important component in nation building, contributing to a more united Canada, politically and socially. As a result, this bibliography contains many references dealing with the history of transportation in Canada, and more specifically, with the many problems and issues related to the financing and building of the canals and rail routes which made the far wider distribution of goods possible.

References dealing with social development as related to B2C marketing, factors such as home ownership, the role of women in the household and at work, residential living conditions, and so forth were also included as were texts which discussed the historical development of the Canadian economy especially as regards trade and commerce. Other texts dealing with specific commodities (e.g. staples such as fur, wheat, fish, lumber, or beef) were also referenced. The impact of government policies, such as the National Policy in the late nineteenth century, must also be understood by any reader interested in knowing more about the history of economic development in Canada. References on Canada’s regulatory environment needed to be included in the list because trade laws impact on many aspects of buying and selling and reflect, for better or worse, the degree to which competition occurs in the country.

Readers will note that the references are neither grouped under a classificatory system nor is a periodization (i.e. a chronology) of the texts provided. The references are simply listed in alphabetic order. Moreover, no special categories exist for the various regions of Canada or even specific cities, such as Montreal and Toronto. Even the short list published in our JHRM, though it did have a regional focus, did not isolate articles on particular cities of importance to marketing.

Montreal, from the very beginning of the fur trade to the early part of the twentieth century, was an important economic engine of all of Canada, not just Quebec. Montreal was the centre of buying and selling, of imports and exports. Montreal was the city which attracted entrepreneurs and merchants not only locally but also from other regions of Canada, from the USA (Loyalists), and, of course, from England, Scotland, Ireland, and elsewhere. These merchants did a lot of business in Montreal and the city was the centre of railroad decision making and canal building. Montreal was, in short, the city that helped build Canada. The city was ideally located due to its accessibly to the Atlantic Ocean, the Saint Lawrence River and the Great Lakes. Montreal flourished until the railroads, among other factors, became a more important factor than waterways in transportation and industrial development.

From the later part of the nineteenth century, Toronto was also progressing at a fast pace, thanks in part to the city’s links with Western Canada and its close proximity to major U.S. markets as Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland, and others. Nowadays, Toronto has overtaken Montreal, becoming the financial and industrial capital of Canada. This list that follows contains some articles on the marketing impact of these and other Canadian cities but most of this material comes from the geography literature, a literature once deemed pertinent to marketing but, unfortunately, now all but neglected.
The golden age of published Canadian marketing material dealing with uniquely Canadian dimensions of marketing was, without a doubt, the 1960s and 1970s. Why this was so is not entirely clear. What is surprising is that after this golden age, fewer and fewer academic discussions of the Canadian marketing scene are to be found. That does not mean that Canadian marketing academics were not publishing. On the contrary, they were, and with increasing frequency, but the vast majority of such published material made little if any contribution to a unique literature on Canadian marketing.

Most textbooks by Canadian marketing academics are adaptations of an American original and the degree of Canadianization is somewhat limited. On the other hand, we discovered that a vast amount of material related to Canadian marketing was available in the literature of such disciplines as women’s studies, historical geography, law, social history, urban history, business and economic history. Such fields of human knowledge can add much to our understanding of the history of Canadian marketing. But these areas are not usually considered mainstream marketing sources and rarely has their literature been considered by most contemporary marketing scholars.

Indeed, many scholars within the academic marketing community consider historical research itself as being marginal at best. This narrow mindedness raises issues far beyond the scope of the current study and cannot be further discussed at this time. Readers interested in knowing more about historical research in marketing will find the CHARM website (http://faculty.quinnipiac.edu/charm/) to be an excellent source as are the various issues of the Journal of Historical Research in Marketing. Also, some journal articles may prove to be informative (e.g. Jones, 1992; Shapiro, 2006; Tamilia, 2011; Witkowski and Jones, 2006).

The articles found in this bibliography were more likely to be authored by scholars not associated with schools of business or departments of marketing. Authors were mostly members of history departments, business or economic historians, historical geographers, urban development specialists or even members of women’s studies. Since the 1970s, there has been an explosion in historical research of this type. These scholars have published an impressive amount of articles, books and monographs with relevant marketing content. In contrast, and as indicated earlier, volumes published by Canadian marketing academics, at least after the early 1980s, have rarely been written to advance our understanding of the history of Canadian marketing; they are far more likely to have been textbooks authored for teaching purposes. Moreover, such textbooks are, whether in English or French, most often modest Canadian adaptations of American texts.

Many of the references listed are available online. However, the student of marketing history should not limit information sources on only those references that are easily available and accessible. Many references were found in textbooks either as chapters or as original articles published in readings texts. As a result, a wealth of such information sources was found using ILL from each of our respected universities.

Of course, no list of references on any topic can ever be considered final. While the compilers searched far and wide, we did this project on our own over the course of over
eighteen months. There was no external funding, no research assistants were employed, and, most importantly, neither one of us could, by any stretch of the imagination, be considered a trained historian. This bibliography was a labor of love, one on which we will continue to work. That being so, we would very much appreciate being informed of any missed marketing-related references, whether previously or subsequently published, that others consider worthy of inclusion.

Finally, should the publication of this list encourage similar efforts by academics from other countries, our intellectual cup would truly runneth over.

References


Adair, E.R. (1942), “The Evolution of Montreal Under the French Regime,” Report of the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, Vol. 21 (1), pp. 20-41. It’s hard to believe than the text refers to the same Montreal that exists today. The text describes how Montreal emerged after her foundation in 1642 (note the historical debate of whether Montreal was founded was on Dec 17th or Dec. 18) to a major center of trade and finances where merchants (wealthy and the not so rich) were actively involved in the fur trade. Much discussion on merchants, prices, prices being lower in Quebec City by 25% vs. Montreal. His discussion of coureurs de bois in footnote #39 on page 27 is informative.

Aitken, Hugh ed. (1959), The State and Economic Growth, NY: Social Science Council. See pp 79-114 “Defensive Expansion: The State and Economic Growth in Canada.” Reprinted in W.T. Easterbrook and Mel H. Watkins eds. (1967) Approaches to Canadian History, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, pp. 183-221. The author gives a good overview of the state of the Canadian economy and the importance of Montreal as a gateway to foreign markets. The Lower Canada merchant class depended on her waterways, especially Lower Canada but less so for Upper Canada (i.e. Ontario). Montreal had a strategic location, as one of only 3 water gateways to the interior of the continent (Mississippi, the St Lawrence and Hudson Bay), that is until the U.S. built the Erie Canal in 1825. The St Lawrence provided the shortest route from England to the interior and Montreal commanded the St Lawrence (p. 195). By 1821, the fur trade had ceased to dominate the commercial region of Montreal, and much agricultural exports developed. A French/English conflict was present even then. In 1821, the North West Company was absorbed by The Hudson’s Bay Company and soon after the fur trade had deserted Montreal entirely to be carried on from bases on Hudson Bay and the Pacific coast.


The article discusses various sources of information to assess the level of importation/exportation of furs from Quebec to France.


Altman, M (1988), “Railways as Engines of Economic Growth: Who Benefited From the Canadian Railway Boom, 1870-1910?,” **Social History**, Vol. 21 (November), pp. 269-281. Altman (1988) article is a rebuttal of studies done by French-Canadian economic historians writing in French that said Quebec was discriminated against by the Federal Government which gave more money to Ontario than Quebec for rail development after Confederation. I think Altman did this study because some French Canadian economists believed that Quebec has been unfairly treated since Confederation. The article is about the age old squabble among some French Canadians that have an ax to grind. Rather than being more objective in their research they attempted to demonstrate how unfair Ottawa has been toward Quebec and how much it favored Ontario over Quebec which did not benefit as much as Ontario did from investments in railways. Altman says it is untrue and supporters of the discrimination thesis have provided little concrete evidence to support the view that Quebec was discriminated against by the Dominion government. In conclusion, Altman says “not only was Quebec not discriminated against by the dominion government with respect to its share of direct and indirect benefits emanating from railway construction, but it gained significantly from railway construction both in absolute terms and in comparison to Ontario.” This study is but a reflection of a major educational problem in Canada. French Canadian academics using their work to tell French Canadian students how horrible Ottawa has been toward Quebec. Note that the term “French Canadian” is no longer used in Quebec. It has been replaced by Québécois!

Ames, Herbert Brown Sir (1897), *The City Below the Hill: a Sociological Study of a Portion of the City of Montreal, Canada*, Bishop Engraving and Printing. The author discusses the poor living conditions of some Montrealers and he found, among other issues, the sanitary conditions to be the atrocious, a disgrace to any late nineteenth century city in Canada or anywhere else in the world. The book was reprinted in 1972 by University of Toronto Press.


Amyot, Chantal and John Willis (2003), *Country Post: Rural Postal Service in Canada, 1880-1945*, Gatineau, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization. Published in French as: *Le courrier est arrivé : la poste rurale au Canada de 1880 à 1945*. The role of rural postal service is provided in a much broader context than the title would suggest. Chapter 1: The Transformation of Rural Canada and the Post Office, pp. 23-41; chap 5: Sending, Saving and Spending Money, pp. 135-175. A must read chapter for putting mail order selling and local merchant opposition to catalogue sales in an appropriate context. However, the history of the U.S. Post Office, especially when John Wanamaker, the department store guru, was appointed Post Master General seems to lacking in this book. Did we have a Canadian equivalent? The invention of US parcel post, the use of mail boxes, rural mail delivery (RFD), the shipping of farm product: eggs, veggies, butter-by-mail to urban customers were issues that have been addressed in the U.S. but not so much in Canada.


Armitage, Kevin (2003), “Commercial Indians: Nature, Authenticity and Industrial Capitalism in Advertising at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,” *Michigan Historical Review*, Vol. 29 (Fall No. 2), pp. 70-95. The research in this article is more from a U.S. perspective than a Canadian one. Nevertheless, given the proximity of the two countries and the spillover effects of U.S. media and advertising into Canada, this article is included in the list if only for its very pertinent marketing theme.

Armour, David Arthur (1986), *The Merchants of Albany, New York, 1686-1760*, NY: Garland Publishing. The book is Armour’s 1965 PhD dissertation. He says that “the study has not been modified to incorporate the more recent research. However, it should be noted that these publications have not altered the conclusions drawn here” (p. xi). Why it took over 20 years to publish his dissertation into a book remains a mystery. In any case, it is a U.S. perspective study of fur trading and Indian relations for the stated time period. Armour describes in detail the ins and outs of Albany and the merchants who lived there. There is much discussion on the trade going on between Montreal and Albany. He mentions a number of times that Albany merchants with the help of Indians wanted to take over Canada but were unsuccessful. Let’s us not forget that Albany was also part of Britain while Montreal and New France (Canada) was, until 1759, part of France and Britain were at war many times prior to 1759. Armour discusses numerous violent encounters with the Indians with scalping, Albanians even offered the Iroquois money for each one (see page 210). Such violent acts are rarely mentioned in the Canadian fur trade literature. The American did fight the Indians (Indian War) while such violent confrontations were not the norm in Canada (New France). In the 1720s and in the 1740s, many Indians were at war with the New England settlers and for good reasons. The Commissioners of Indian Affairs (did they exist in New France?) often took land around Albany and turned them into farms. This made it difficult for Indians to peddle their furs in the city and the Indians resented the take over of their ancestral land. There’s much discussion on buying and selling throughout this 275 page textbook Albany was under control of New York and many laws were passed which curtailed or even forbade trade with New France, notably from Montreal. Albanian merchants did not agree with such laws. Moreover, Armour mentions that Albany had lots of Dutch merchants living there at the time and so trade with Amsterdam was active, as it was with England. He also describes some channels of distribution not mentioned in the Canadian fur trade
literature. For example, some merchants had a representative in the West Indies in charge of selling a ship load of goods (see pp. 176-178). Other times, the goods were sold on consignment under the responsibility of the ship’s captain and payment would often take time to get back to the seller because some goods were sold only a year after arriving at port. He also mentions the use of squaws (p. 67) acting as middlemen and agents for Albany merchants, because their men were often away hunting or at war. The squaws “made the journey to Albany to purchase their necessities and vanities” (p. 67). His focus is on Albany often has a fur monopoly center, but the fur trade was also in Schenectady, Oswego, Boston, New Jersey, Ohio, Detroit, Pennsylvania, Niagara, and extended far more out west as well. He mentions that it was illegal for the French in Canada to export furs to Albany but smuggling was rampant. He discusses the difficulty of getting goods from Britain which were needed not only to trade with the Indians but for Albanians as well. That is why trade was so important between Montreal and Albany, given that both cities needed such goods. He discussed the alcohol problem of Indians. Rum was often used as a means to get back from Indians what they had made in selling their furs, leaving them much in debt, which could only be repaid next time around. In fact, soldiers at the Albany fort had to eat and drink but often had no money. Enterprising tavern keepers took soldiers’ clothes or equipment as pawns for future payment, until a law was passed making such deals illegal. He says that Albanian merchants were able to provide Indians with “cheaper and better merchandise than were the French” because of their “advanced commercial network of England” (p. 52). This contradicts what some Canadian fur trade researchers have said. He says Indians often paid in wampum rather than furs for goods they wanted, which has not been mentioned much in the Canadian fur trade literature. The reason was the paucity of furs available for trade. Merchants themselves were forbidden to reside or trade among the Indians (p. 66) and had to use native agents in their place, a form of channel of distribution to market their goods. On page 87, he describes how Indians were frustrated and felt cheated when the price of goods rose while beaver pelt prices declined. According to the author, Indians simply could not “comprehend the impersonal factors operating in Europe” (p. 87) or the fact that insurance rates varied, which were based on the value of the merchandise. Unknown to me, on page 90, he mentions la Ferme du Canada (but on p. 52 he calls it Company of Canada, which maybe a bad translation only…), which was the official monopoly organization of all furs in Canada. He adds that during the years 1704 to 1706, over 90% of the fur trade of New France moved through Albany (p. 90). Arbour described the Albany-New York trade route via the Hudson River using sloops. These boats not only carried many goods (barrels of flour, wheat, wood, etc.) but had paying passengers (pp. 169-174), who mixed business with pleasure on such trips which could take up to 3 days to get to destination. The sloop master often acted as an agent for the Albany merchants to peddle the goods for him in New York. They were not only common carriers but merchants themselves. He mentions often how the French spread rumors that the Albanians would kill the Indians in order for them to stop doing business with them, which is one way to eliminate competition. From page 160, he discusses that Albany merchants not only sold wheat, flour or wood but dabbled in chocolate, iron ore, potash, ginseng, cornflower, even slaves. The population of Albany rose and fell according to the business climate from 2,000 in 1689 to under 1500 in 1698, to over 10,000 in 1749 and to more than 42,000 in 1771.
Armstrong, Christopher and H.V. Nelles (1977), *The Revenge of the Methodist Bicycle Company, 1888-1897, Sunday Streetcars and Municipal Reform In Toronto, 1888-1897*, Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Limited. “The story is simple: big-money interest who owned Toronto's street railways wanted to run streetcars on Sundays. They claimed this would be a boon to the working man on his day of rest, but it was clear that profit was their real motive. Respectable leaders of Toronto society were adamantly opposed; Sunday streetcars were a desecration of the Sabbath, the work of the Devil. But ultimately, the robber barons won and the cars ran on Sunday - just as the first great bicycle craze began. Everybody bought bikes-some of them from the Methodist Bicycle Company - and the Sunday streetcars were virtually empty.” The book was published in paperback in 2010 by Oxford University Press.


Artibise, Alan (1988), “Canada as an Urban Nation,” Daedalus, Vol. 117 (Fall No. 4), pp. 237-264. “In Search of Canada” is the theme of the Fall issue of this journal. I was not particularly impressed by the set of articles published in this issue. The articles had too much politics, too much on Quebec, too many opinions expressed by some who had a vested interest in proselytizing their thoughts. In general, I found too many articles were less than scholarly, even the one by Artibise which read more like a tourist brochure for Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver than an in depth text on the urban and development problems facing these cities. Then again, that may not have been the purpose of this whole issue. In any case, the set of articles on Canada in the 1923 issue of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, called the “Social and Economic Conditions in The Dominion of Canada,” was much more interesting, in my humble opinion.


Ashley, W.J. (1890), “Industrial Organization the Canadian Sugar Combine”, University Quarterly Review (Toronto), February. Here’s what Ashley says about this text and his role. “The paper was written in the spring of 1889, to be read before a small private society in Toronto, and was printed in the University Quarterly Review (Toronto), February 1890. Although I am unable to bring the account 'up to date,' this paper may still prove of some interest as a description of a typical form of industrial combination. It is based upon the Report of a Select Committee of the Canadian House of Commons, dated May 16, 1888. I may add that the publication of this paper gave rise in some
quarters to the assertion that I had been 'bought by the Combine,' in others to the conviction that I wrote under direct inspiration of the Devil.”


history of various business schools in Canada and two very thought provoking chapters by Barry Boothman. Barry has been able to look at the Ford and Carnegie Foundations reports and analyzed what business schools have done since, especially in Canada. What he says does not augur well for business education in the 21st century.

Backman, Jules (1943), *Price Control and Subsidy Program in Canada*, Washington: Brookings Institute. Canada’s had a lower inflation rate compared to Britain and the U.S during the war.


Baillargeon, Lisa and Patrice Gélinas (2009), “An Analysis of the Differentiation Strategies of Rural Foundries at the Beginning of the 20th Century in the Province of Quebec,” *Essays in Economic and Business History*, Vol. 27, pp. 31-46. Foundry owners are presented as far more sophisticated strategists, marketers and operators than previous studies have suggested.


Balcome, David L (1986), *Choosing their own Paths: Profiles of the Export Strategies of*


Banner, David (1979), Business and Society: Canadian Issues, Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson. Contrary to expectations, this text has very little on marketing but more on the origin and meaning CSR, relations with employees, the government/business interface, the multinational corporation, among other topics. The only two exceptions are two reprinted articles on retailing and on the conserver society. The book is mostly text with some reprinted articles.


Barbeau, Victor (1939), Mesure de notre taille, Montréal Devoir. A book bitterly complaining about the lack of French-speaking high level managers and owners across many industries in Quebec, which are owned and managed by non francophone, a situation he judges to be unacceptable. He even uses percentages presumably based on the last name.


Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, pp. 102-121. Also reprinted in Michael Piva (1988), A History of Ontario, Selected Readings, Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, pp. 144-160. An article discussing the 250k of women who came to Canada for work as domestics. The supply was insufficient especially when the women found better jobs in office or factories giving them more freedom and leisure time.


Beauregard, Ludger ed. (1972), *Montréal Guide d'excursions/Field Guide*, 22nd International Geographical Congress, Montréal : Les Presse de l’Université de Montréal. All articles and text of the 197-page Proceedings of this Conference are published in both languages, side by side. This type of presentation has not been done often before or since. Some of the papers presented are very pertinent to marketing. The last chapter written by the editor predicted that Montreal would become a megalopolis with a population of 6.7 million by the year 2000 (p. 193). He also predicted that Montreal would become even more bilingual by then. In his article entitled “The City Centre,” pp. 65-77, he says on page 73, that the Eaton store in downtown Montreal on the average had 30,000 to 50,000 shoppers per day and the one day record was 100,000 shoppers. He also says that Eaton had plans to build two 34-story towers on Ste. Catherine Street, which were never built. Another one of his articles in this book is his “Metropolitan Activities,” pp. 116-1-24, which describes the wholesaling sector of Montreal and highlights not only the importance of the Central Market for fruit and vegetables, opened since 1960, and Place Bonaventure (1967) but also of Montreal being a fashion center where a sizable number of clothing manufacturers are located which makes Montreal a major distribution centre of such goods and many others such as tobacco, alcohol, petroleum, and pharmaceuticals. Of course since 1972, many changes have occurred in such markets and in Quebec as well.


Beauregard, Yves (1996), « Joyeux Noël et Bonne Année : le courrier du temps des fêtes, » *Cap aux Diamants*, No. 47 pp. 20-22. A very brief overview of the birth of the greeting card during the holiday season with some statistics provided. This journal labels itself as ‘la revue d’histoire du Québec!’


Bélanger, Marc (1968), « Les chambres de commerce groupes de pression ou coopérative de développement, » *Recherches sociographiques*, Vol. 9 (janvier-aout No. 1-2), pp. 85-103. This article is a sociologically-based research (rather than a business-based) examining 270 chambres de commerce in 32 regions of Quebec. The author classifies the chambres into six categories (leadership, urban/rural, philanthropy, etc. (see p. 99) but nothing in terms of their business purposes to attract investment, creation of jobs, amount of investment obtained, solicitations made to companies, preparing of promotional material, etc. The only hint given was that most chambres in general are selfish, inward looking and look upon government as a conduit for creating a favorable climate and not for govt. to get involved in their affairs. In other words, they cherish their independence.


Belcher, A. Emerson (1893), *What I Know About Commercial Travelling Who We Are; What We Do and How We Do It*, Toronto: Hunter, Rose and Comp. A travelling salesman shares his thoughts about his profession. He describes the personality types of various men, along with customer types and employer type as well.


Belisle, Donica (2011), *Retail Nation Department Stores and the Making of Modern Canada*, Vancouver: UBC Press. Over 50 pages of the book can be downloaded free online www.ubcpress. Much information is provided on Eaton’s and other Canadian department stores and retailers. The author emphasizes department stores and shopping from a women’s studies perspective.


Bellamy, Matthew (2010), "Rich By Nature, Poor By Policy": State Intervention and the Stillborn Birth of the Canadian Brewing Industry, 1668-1675," *History Business Conference* (BHC), Vol. 8. Author’s abstract. The paper examines the factors that led to the birth and quick death of the first child of commercial brewing in Canada. During the period 1668-1675, Jean Talon, the energetic Intendant of New France and the man in control of the colony's entire civil administration, induced the birth of commercial brewing. His reasons for doing so will be examined, as will the scale and scope of his state-owned and -controlled brewery. The paper takes as its theoretical starting point the position of Alfred Chandler that firms and markets evolve together to shape industrial outcomes. As a result, supply-side and demand-side influences will be analyzed. Ultimately the paper argues that when it came to the birth of commercial brewing in Canada, the state forced the development of the industry ahead of market dictates. Despite the fact that the colony possessed all the natural ingredients to manufacture beer, Jean Talon's rigid adherence to the monopolistic dictates of mercantilism produced a stillborn child, one insensitive to local tastes and lacking any intuition of the working of a diversified, sui generis economy.

http://www.h-net.org/~business/bhcweb/publications/BEHonline/beh.html


Benson, John (1992), “Small Scale Retailing in Canada,” in John Benson and Gareth Shaw eds. The Evolution of Retail Systems, 1800-1914, Leicester: Leicester University Press, pp. 87-101. Very good article on dynamic retail structure in this period from periodic fairs, farmers’ market to country store, to fixed retail shops in Canada. Chapter 3 “The North American Scene,” pp. 35-47. This article is broad in scope and discusses the changing demos of Canada during this time period, plus birth of manufacturing/industrialization which began just after Confederation in 1870. He also discusses improvements in transport (rail) and communications (telephone) and their impacts on consumer demand. Chapter 10 “Large Scale Retailing in Canada,” pp. 186-198. This chapter is a bit uneven and for good reasons. Tracing the history of large scale retailing by type of store or selling methods is very demanding. He discusses retail coops in Canada which were quite unsuccessful. He discusses the chain store, the department store and finally mail order selling. It is obvious, at least to me, that his level of research
on large scale retailing is limited. Nevertheless, the chapter presents an interesting perspective. He feels the importance of department stores in Canadian retailing has been exaggerated.


Berger, Jean Du and Jacques Mathieu eds. (1993), *Les ouvrières de la Dominion Corset à Québec, 1886-1988*, Sainte Foy, Québec : Les Presses de l’Université Laval. The book was reviewed by Bettina Bradbury (1994), *Canadian Woman Studies*, Vol. 15 (1), pp. 104-106. It’s more of a company history than one focusing on women’s issues. The Company at one time was one of the world’s largest manufacturers of women’s underwear. The study is based on personal interviews of 20 former employees (aural history) and the sex of the both the interviewees and interviewers remains unknown. Some promotional material is presented and female employees were asked to model for designers and clients. Also, some female employees were involved in testing the products and their feedback provided product improvements. Corsets could be made to measure but most were mass produced by this Company and the Crompton Corset Company of Toronto. The firm had an in house journal called *Oui Madame*. The firm had product displays in Zellers and advertised in consumer magazines, on trams, buses, and it promoted its products all year round and particularly during the holiday season. In 1968, it had 38 sales reps and the firm was doing business with some 5300 distributors. At one time, it had 1200 employees. Its sales were $1m in 1914 and $2.5 m in 1920. Its main product were corsets under brand names such as D&A (Dyonnet and Amyot, the founding partners of the company), La Diva (1911), Nuback, Gothic, Daisyfresh (1956). Note that all brand names were in English. Eventually, corset sales declined for many reasons. What hurt the company was the new material such as lycra which was elastic and more comfortable relative to tight fitting corsets; but the material was harder to work with. Pantyhose really killed the need for “jarretelles” or garter belts, an important product for them. That is why they made underwear and bras of all types. The firm went public in the early 1950s but was bought out by Canadelle-Wonderbra in 1988. See Beatrice Fontana (1992) *Corsets et soutien-gorge l'épopée du sein de l'antiquité à nos jours*, Paris; Éditions de la Matinière, pp. 47-71. A well illustrated chapter on the history of corsets, mainly from a French perspective.


Bergeron, Yves (1994), "Le XIXe siècle et l'âge d'or des marchés publics au Québec", *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 29 (Spring No. 1), pp. 11-36. “While public markets in Quebec provided a source of provisions, they also played an important role in the social life of the inhabitants who frequented them. Bergeron traces the historical development of these markets, and explores the social function they served in the urban context.”
Bernier, Robert (1988), *Le Marketing Gouvernemental au Québec 1929-1985*, Montréal: Gaëtan Morin. Reviewed in the 1990 issue of *Quebec Studies*, Vol. 10 (Spring/Summer), pp. 175-177. It discusses the Quebec Govt. propaganda machine first began initially to get control of information dissemination in Quebec, away from the Federal. The author discusses how tourism was first used to get control of some information dissemination in Quebec, away from the Federal, and how the PQ mounted its marketing strategy. He then discusses how the PQ mounted its marketing strategy. The author was a former Quebec bureaucrat and his access to information sources is rather unique given his position.


Berton, Pierre (1972), *The Impossible Railway; the Building of the Canadian Pacific*, NY: Knof.


Bervin, George (1982), « Espace physique et culture matérielle du marchand-négociant à Québec (1820-1830), » *Material History Review/Bulletin d'histoire de la culture matérielle*, Vol. 14 (Spring), pp. 1-19. A detailed discussion of what was a "merchant-négociant," his role in business, his place in Quebec City society during this time period relative to other merchants and other members, his level of literacy, and type of books owned, his wheeling and dealing, his place of residence, and his possession of some household goods. In brief, the author is describing a typical 19th c. Quebec City merchant’s numerous business activities and his lifestyle. The author did not mention the discussion given by Alfred Chandler (1978) of the all-purpose merchant in Colonial America: “The United States: Evolution of Enterprise,” in Mathias and Postan eds. *The Industrial Economies Capital, Labour, and Enterprise*, Cambridge University Press, London, pp. 70-133. Nevertheless, the description given here has much value added to what Chandler said.

Bervin, George (1983), « Aperçu sur le commerce et le crédit à Québec 1820-1830, » *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, Vol. 36 (4), pp. 527-551. An analysis of the surprising wide assortment of goods arriving from overseas in Quebec City and how these goods were then distributed to Montreal and elsewhere, including Upper Canada. He discusses the buying and selling at wholesale and retail, and the role of credit of goods coming from international sources.


Bladen, V.W. (1932), “A Note on the Reports of Public Investigations into Combines in Canada, 1888-1932,” *Contributions to Canadian Economics*, Vol. 5, pp. 61-76. A summary of court cases with many references cited, some of which are of interest here. The Dominion Grocers’ Guild was accused of preventing price-cutting and to dictate resale prices. Members of the guild got lower prices from refineries dominated by Canada Sugar Refinery of Montreal. According to Bladen, W.J. Ashley came into the defense of the guild in an 1890 article (see Ashley 1890). Wholesalers supplied most of the groceries to retailers and sugar refineries had virtual monopoly over those wholesalers not members of the guild who had to pay higher prices for sugar as well as higher prices for other goods in which the guild had preferential agreement with manufacturers of tobacco, baking power, starch. etc.

providing statistical data to its members, thus affecting prices (discounts, price discrimination between buyers, unfair trade practices, etc.)

Blanchard, Raoul (1953), *L’ouest du Canada français, Montréal et sa région*, Tome 1, Publications de l’Institut scientifique franco-canadienne, Montréal: Beauchemin. This 401-page book is all about Montreal, more from a geographical perspective than a social one. The second volume published in 1954 is on the Province of Quebec. The book has many tables, maps and statistics which an historian may find useful.


Bliss, Michael (1974), *A Living Profit Studies in the Social History of Canadian Business, 1883-1911*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. A compact book that discusses the dilemma of Canadian business: Limit competition in the country by the adoption of the National Policy in 1879 (i.e. tariff), and the formation of associations, trade groups, etc. to fix price in order to tame competition and earn a living profit. The department store is mentioned numerous times in the book, especially on pp. 38-39 when the “Retail Merchants’ Association of Canada (RMAC) sponsored a successful suit against T. Eaton Company for fraudulent advertising. The RMAC lobbied for discriminatory taxes on department stores (assessing a separate tax on each department in a store), tighter controls on transient traders, and the general institution of RPM. As its final solution to the problem of stabilizing trade and nullifying the effect of the department stores, the Association proposed that it would be “greatly in the interest of all laboring, manufacturing, commercial and purchasing classes of the Dominion to have all lines of goods belonging to each trade defined in groups by mutual consent of the Merchants, and a record of them placed upon the Statute books of the Province, and that power be asked to regulate and control by license or otherwise all such groups or lines of trade in cities having a population of 30,000 or more.” The Association managed to prohibit the use of trading stamps in the early 1900s. His chapter 2 “The Flight from Competition” is a must read, pp. 33-54.
Bliss, Michael (1978), *A Canadian Millionaire the Life and Business Times of Sir Joseph Flavelle, Bart. 1858-1939*, Toronto: Macmillan of Canada. Joseph Flavelle was one of the most influential businessmen in Canadian history. The development of big business in Canada was one of his contributions. It is the story of Canada Packers, Simpsons, the Bank of Commerce, National Trust, and many other major corporations that continue to still exist today. He is the one that started selling bacon to Britain and made a fortune. Also, many pages are devoted to Eaton’s and retailing in Canada. However, he often does not document his sources or the dates. For e.g. on page 63, he says Simpson’s had a six-story steel-frame building with a pneumatic tube but no date given or its source.


Blocker, Jack, David Fahey and Ian Tyrrell eds. (2003), *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History: An International Encyclopedia*, 2 volumes, Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO. This monumental work traces the history of alcohol production and consumption, across time and places, and presents the impact alcohol had on society’s institutions such as the family, religion, government and the economy. Many Canadian authors, too numerous to list here, contributed to this scholarly effort.


Blue, Ian (2011), *Free Trade within Canada: Say Goodbye to Gold Seal*, Toronto: Macdonald-Laurier Institute for Public Policy, May. This report traces the legal history of behind the lack of free trade within Canada. The author, a lawyer, argues that the restrictions go against the Constitution Act of 1867. The 1921 case of Gold Seal Limited v. the Province of Alberta set a precedent which led many provinces to erect provincial trade barriers in the marketing of liquor, wheat and other agricultural products. Available at: www.macdonaldlaurier.ca/

Blyth, C.D. (1946), “The Economics of Canada’s Tourist Trade,” *Public Affairs*, Summer, pp. 137-141. The author, who was Chief of the International Payments’ Branch of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics (former name for Statistics Canada), presents an interesting snapshot of the American-Canadian tourist trade just after the WW2. In 1945, non resident entries into Canada were more than 17 million. And that Americans come to Canada to buy, among other things, chinaware, handicrafts, and woolens. Canadians spend much more in the U.S. than Americans spend in Canada. It seems after 65 years, the same scenario still exists.


Boone, Christopher (1996), “Language Politics and Flood Control in Nineteenth Century Montreal,” *Environmental History*, Vol. 1 (July No. 3), pp. 70-85. This article is not marketing-oriented but it has a macro perspective and it deals with the politics at the city, provincial and federal level of state funded projects that have implications for the economy and business interests as well. Besides, the article is interesting to read.


Bosher, J.F. (1987), *The Canada Merchants 1713-1763*, Toronto: Oxford University Press. Very good book to read, especially chapter 2 “The Merchant and his Family,” and chapter 10 “Merchants at the Conquest.” Chapter 2 can be applied across Europe as the way of doing business in the 17th and up to the 19th c. Canada was known as New France and "trade was largely in the hands of merchants at Bordeaux, La Rochelle, and Quebec. Drawing from notarial and parish records, this study shows that merchants were divided into two different social groups-one Roman Catholic, aligned with the clergy, the official
financiers, and other ruling elements in the French empire; the other Huguenot, aligned
with émigré and foreign businessmen in Protestant countries such as England and Holland and leads readers to a new view of the French Atlantic empire." It seems that Catholics did business with other Catholics and as a result restricted their market opportunities. The Protestants (Huguenots) on the other hand were more globally oriented and it served them well even after the Conquest and beyond. In fact, it explains why Montreal became an important trading center in the 18th and 19th c. and why Upper Canada expanded at a greater rate than Lower Canada (Quebec) because the French did business with other French business internally, and their networking with Upper Canada and the West was limited.

Bosher, J.F. (1993), “The Lyon and Bordeaux Connections of Emmanuel Le Borgne (c. 1605-1681),” *Acadiensis*, Vol. 23 (Autumn No. 1), pp. 128-145. This article is tedious to read because of the details. The names of ships that sailed from both countries with names of the people involved in such businesses. This article is more into business history, company histories than marketing per se. All business history texts will have some marketing.


Bossen, Marianne (1972), *L’utilisation de la main d’œuvre dans les grands magasins du Canada*, Ottawa: Information Canada. This 124-page monograph published by the Canadian government is also available in English, and it takes some legal aspects of the workers’ condition.


Bradbury, Bettina (1979), “The Family Economy and Work in an Industrializing City: Montreal in the 1870s,” *Historical Papers*, Vol. 14 (No. 1), pp. 71-96. A study of Montreal’s rapid industrialization in the middle of the 19th c. and how family structure was affected by such changes. The author uses a random sample of households base done the 1871 census mainly form the working class neighborhoods. She discusses how family members earned their living, even kids, what was the family economy and how families survived.


Bradbury, Bettina (1984), “Pigs, Cows and Borders: Non-Wage Forms of Survival, Montreal, 1861-1891,” *Labour/Le Travail*, Vol. 14 (Fall), pp. 9-46. An analysis of how households coped with their need to earn extra money to survive by having pigs, chickens, and cows until they were outlawed in Montreal. They either consumed them or sold them. The family economy also needed to take in live in borders but only if they had the space and the resources. The sharing of living space with others was not that prevalent and if borders were accepted, French-Canadians took in their own kind, unlike others. When kids were old enough, they also brought in much needed income. Gardens were mostly for households who had the land thus much wealthier ones.

Bradbury, Bettina (1989), “Surviving as a Widow in 19th Century Montreal,” *Urban History Review*, Vol. 17 (February No. 3), pp. 148-160. How widows earned wages and how they family economy was organized in the absence of a husband as the main wage earner. According to the author Montreal was the major centre of commerce and exchange between British North America and Britain. It was the workshop of Canada. It was the largest city of British North America, the tenth largest city in North America. It had factories employing more than hundred workers, using steam and water power, which coexisted with small manufacturers and artisan workshops. By 1891, more than 1600 manufacturing establishments, large and small, existed in the city with 36k workers, employing 20% of the city’s population of 183k.


Working-Class Life, pp. 22-48; Chapter 3: “Men’s Wages and the Cost of Living,” pp. 80-117, a must read for anyone wanting to know how families survived then; Chapter 5: “Managing and Stretching Wages: The Work of Wives,” pp. 152-181. Montreal in the late 19th c. was a manufacturing city and a commercial one as well. Montrealers labeled the city in the 1880s as the Workshop of Canada. It produced shoes, clothing, dressmaking, it had wool mills, flour mills, iron foundries, nail shops, woodworking, etc. It benefited from immigrants such as Americans, Scots, Irish, English, etc. and they brought with them capital and skills and started artisan shops. Eventually, workshops went to factory production, which separated workers from home which changed the relationship between family and the economy. Montreal’s population went from 56.7k in 1851 to 182.7 in 1891. Translated in 1995 as Familles ouvrières à Montréal. Age genre et survie quotidienne pendant la phase d’industrialisation, Montréal: Boréal.

Bracq, Jean Charlemagne (1924), The Evolution of French Canada, NY: Macmillan. A remarkable 466-page book on French Canada, written by a Protestant, aimed at the Anglophone community from the time of the Conquest to the early part of the 20th century. The author puts his biases on the table in the Preface by saying that the book “attempts to do justice to men of French blood in the new world.” They were unjustly treated by early English settlers. He goes on by stating that 65k vanquished French colonists were abandoned by France at the time of the Conquest but now number 3 million. The author discusses just about every aspect of French Canada life from the Quebec Act, to religion, education, agriculture, industry and commerce, the Rebellion of 1837, art and leisure, and how French Canada was often mistreated by the British and Upper Canada as well. He presents a pro-French Canada version which is seldom seen in the literature especially because the book is written in English. To make sure he would not get biased sources of information, he selected travel guides rather than other English language information sources (and French sources) because such tourists would be more objective in their assessment of French Canada. The book also has a good index. He traveled to many parts of Quebec and elsewhere and talked to lots of people. As a result, many comments made in the book may reflect more his impressionistic views of the fate of French Canada than being historically correct. The book was also published as l’Evolution du Canada français in 1927 by Librarie Beauchemin, Montréal. It is not a translation but more an adaptation of his 1924 English text. He was reluctant to publish a French equivalent text but was convinced when he was given help. Some of the material was rewritten in French, errors corrected in the English version. It can be downloaded at www.uqac/Classiques_des_sciences_sociales/. The French version has no index but it has a bibliography.

Brail, Shauna and Deborah Leslie (2009), “Fashioning an Antidote to Fast Fashion: Can Toronto's Fashion Designers Compete?,” Business History Conference, Vol. 7. Authors’ abstract. The fashion industry has undergone a shift in both business practices and production styles over the past several decades. These shifts include the globalization of production systems and the emergence of a new mode of fashion production called "fast fashion." City-specific strategies for addressing these new challenges have emerged in fashion's world cities such as London, and we investigate whether this is also the case in second-tier fashion cities such as Toronto, Canada. Our research findings are based on
interviews with fifty-seven representatives of Toronto's fashion industry. Strategies pursued by Toronto's fashion sector include a focus on own-brand designer boutiques emphasizing local small-batch, high-quality production, specialized wholesaling activities, and the expansion of design activities beyond their core focus. Our results suggest that despite the shifts toward globalization and fast fashion, the Toronto fashion industry has implemented a series of locally focused strategies that enable competition in the global fashion environment.

http://www.h-net.org/~business/bhcweb/publications/BEHonline/beh.html


Breen, David (1982), Vancouver’s Fair, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.


Brenner, Reuven (1984), “Stare-Owned Enterprises- Practices and Viewpoints,” in Economic Council of Canada’s *Government Enterprise: Roles and Rational*, Ottawa, pp. 12-68. A first rate overview of SOEs, not only from a Canadian perspective but from an international one as well. However, the impact on consumers, consumer choice, assortment and delivery of services, management of consumer complaints, innovations, and prices paid by consumers do not figure prominently in any discussion of SOEs by economists, and Brenner is no exception.


Britnell, G.E. (1939), *The Wheat Economy*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Andrew Stewart (1940), in his book review essay in CJEPS (pp. 86-90), stated that the book’s title should have been called the standard of living of rural Saskatchewan, during the Depression. Innis wrote a preface.

Britnell, G.E. and Vernon Fowke (1949), “Development of Wheat Marketing Policy in Canada,” *Journal of Farm Economics*, Vol. 31 (November No. 4), pp. 627-642. An historical review of the export selling of Canadian wheat, how it alternated from state control to open market from WW1 to after WW2. It was in 1943 that the Canadian Wheat Board was established by law which created a national monopoly of wheat marketing.


100. The article traces the evolution of urban tourism and the establishment of a Canadian tourism industry.


Brouillette, Benoît (1943), "Le Port et les Transports", in Esdras Minville ed. Montréal Économique, étude préparée à l’occasion du troisième centenaire de la ville, Ecole des Hautes Etudes commerciales, Montréal : Editions Fides, pp. 115-182. A detailed account of the development and commercial activities of the Port of Montreal, pre 1940. Other modes of transportation (water, rail, cars, and bus) are also discussed around Montreal and within the province, with tonnage statistics as well as the value of imports and exports by product categories, including wheat. For unknown reason, truck transportation was not discussed.


Bruce, Harry (1985), *Frank Sobey: The Man and the Empire*, Toronto: Macmillan. Sobey is based in Nova Scotia and is part of the IGA chain of food stores located all across Canada.


Bruchési, Jean (1943), "Histoire économique", in Esdras Minville ed. *Montréal Économique*, étude préparée à l’occasion du troisième centenaire de la ville, Hautes Études commerciales, Montréal: Editions Fides, pp. 11-35. Bruchési asserts on page 29 that French-Canadians dominated the food wholesaling trade from around 1840-1850. However, such an assertion is seriously challenged by Tulchinsky (1972, p. 134). This chapter is exactly the same as the one published in his 1942 *Actualité Economique* article.

Brunet, Michel (1958), *La présence anglaise et les Canadiens, études sur l’histoire et la pensée des deux Canadas*, Montréal: Beauchemin. He presents a gloomy picture of French businesspeople after the Conquest. He even goes as far as to say that French-speaking Canadians were excluded from trade and commerce which is untrue.

Bryce, George (1904), *The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, Toronto. Reprinted in 1968, NY: Burt Franklin. The book is more of a history of Canada than one specific to the Hudson’s Bay Company. Very few details are provided in terms of how the company was managed, how it dealt with its customers and suppliers, how it organized its distribution chain, even how it followed the directions given by its London owners, the
government. I found very few facts of interest to marketing history. Nevertheless, it was not a waste of time to read it, given that some worthwhile facts and insights were obtained. For example, why did the Bay not train Indians to become better businessmen by teaching the trade, or hiring them as part of their operations? While the Company was not cruel to their main source of suppliers, they did not attempt to make them more savvy traders or partners. Perhaps if they had, some Indians would have integrated more into mainstream society.


Buckner, Phillip ed. (2004), *Canada the End of Empire*, Vancouver: UBC Press. Three chapters on the diminishing trade of Canada with Britain. Britain’s reduced empire made her move toward other European countries part of the EU than with Canada.

Buckner, Phillip ed. (2008), *Canada and the British Empire*, Oxford University Press. This book of 14 chapters is a must read for anyone wanting to know the history of Canada from its foundations to its links with France, Britain, and eventually with the USA. We see the role played by many laws which favored trade, and the huge migration from Britain to British North America, the financial dependence of the colony with Britain in building railroads, sea going vessels, canals, etc. Without Britain’s help, Canada would have been a far different country than what it is today. British North America was British not French, and very few French Canadians had links with the financial markets in London or had business networks with British merchants or for that matter with American merchants as well. Yet French Canadians greatly benefitted of this trade and investment made by both Britain first and later by the US for it increased their standard of living while others took the risks. I am afraid to even think what would have happened if France had won in 1763. One only has to look at how France managed her colonies. Events like the repeal of Corn Laws, the decline of mercantilism, the War of Independence, US Civil War, WW1 and WW2, all had a major impact on trade which eventually led to a decline of British influence in Canada in the late 1950s/1960s according to the author. Although the book has little discussion on marketing per se, the trading laws, the huge migration of people from Britain to British North America, the creation of Upper (Ontario and the West) and Lower Canada, the Irish, Confederation, and of course the presence of French Canadians from before the Conquest to modern times, all show where Canada has come from, where it was in each century, where it is
now, and based on the readings, where it is going. A chapter British immigration and on how Canada advertised to get British people here is well documented in this book (chap 8). We see what was done, what laws were passed in London to accommodate Canada's needs, free ocean transport for some or loans for others, the immigration of 100,000 kids, 16,000+ single women and how hard some new settlers found their new home. Once here, what they got was often not what they were promised (i.e. fraudulent advertising/promotion). Many returned home or went to the USA! The chapter on French Canada is well worth the price of the book. The set of readings traces Canada's evolution before the Conquest, the making of Canada just before and just after 1867, first half of the 20th c. then the second half. We can see the "approach avoidance" of Canada with Britain all through these time periods leading to the final breakup with Britain only in the1960s, according to the book. This book should be required reading for all young Canadians and especially French Canadians! They will not like to see how much a role they played in making Canada what it is today because they still think they were isolated and treated like a conquered people so much that they still need to separate. The book actually has a chapter on French Canada. The book emphasizes the politics of the country. But as we know, politics is in intimately linked with business as well. It’s messy but also fascinating stuff. Marketing is, of course, not much discussed in this book but we see how much politics led to Canada’s links with the US. In fact, in the list of categories, we will need I think to add one dealing with USA and Britain as well.


Buller, A.H. Reginald (1919), Essays on Wheat, Toronto: The Macmillan Co. A 329 page book discussing a new crop of wheat, called marquis wheat, which is today (with its parent, the hard red fife) the basis of all the high-grade wheat grown in Western Canada and suitable for colder climate.


Burley, Edith (1997), *Servants of the Honourable Company: Work, Discipline, and Conflict in the Hudson’s Bay Company, 1770-1879*, Toronto: Oxford University Press. The book discusses the worker/boss relations over a one hundred year period and analyses the complaints filed by management over the behavior of workers. One notable complaint was that some workers sold fur privately which was against HBC policy. Workers were also reprimanded for missing work, not doing their assigned jobs in storage or transportation. We don’t know if there were complaints about HBC workers fraternizing with customers or given them special favors. The book was extensively reviewed by Frank Tough (1999), *Manitoba History*, No. 37 (Spring/Summer), 10 pages. Available at: www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/mb_history/37/hbcservants.shtml

Burn, D.L. (1928), “Canada and the Repeal of the Corn Laws,” *Cambridge Historical Journal*, Vol. 2 (3), pp. 252-272. The article is a bit confusing because it discusses pre-1846, of potential import duties and actual duties imposed on American wheat coming to Canada. Wheat prices had been low before the repeal and there was a recession. Freight rates differed between Montreal and NY ports, which made the trade analysis of the repeal more difficult to assess.


Campbell, Lara (2009), *Respectable Citizens: Gender, Family and Unemployment in Ontario’s Great Depression*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Chapter 1: “Giving All the Good in Me to Save My Children: Domestic Labour, Motherhood, and Making Do in Ontario Families,” pp. 23-56. A discussion on the various strategies Ontario mothers and their families coped with during the Great Depression with at home work, out of home work, food preparation and canning, sewing, informal paid labour, lodgers and borders, budgeting, gardening and even prostitution.


(The) Canada Advertising Company (1913), French Newspaper and Periodicals of Canada and the United States, Montreal.

Canadian Chain Store Association (1938), Submission to the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, March. Description of discriminatory practices against chain stores by local and provincial governments.


Canadian Museum of Civilization (2009), “Before E-Commerce: A History of Canadian Mail Order Catalogues”. A well illustrated online exhibition with a series of short articles on the content of catalogues, the efforts made to capture customers and what was involved in taking orders through to delivery. Available at: www.cmc.ca

Canadian Sports History, Bibliography. A 48 page listing of Canadian sport history from hockey, baseball, curling, basketball, and so on. A listing of journal articles, books and chapters in books, as well theses. Available at: http://instruct.uwo.ca/kinesiology/263f/sources.pdf


Carlos, Ann and Frank Lewis (2001), “Trade, Consumption, and the Native Economy: Lessons from York Factory, Hudson Bay,” *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 61 (December No. 4), pp. 1037-1064. Many more texts are less controversial and less subject to wild interpretations as these authors did. The basic premise was that made beaver (MB) kept going up and up and up and Indians had more MB to buy more luxury goods which is untrue. Like any industry, market prices fluctuated. Even if prices of MB went up, the traded items went up too and these were set by HBC. In some other articles, traded items were very profitable for HBC and had high markups. It neglects price competition that Indians had with French traders who intercepted the Indians on their way to York Factory. It neglects the bargaining power of Indians over both French and
HBC traders. It neglects that those Indians who traded at York Factory were not always the ones who used those traded goods. They acted like middlemen to trade with those Indians that were actually the fur producers. As middlemen, they could get higher prices or lower ones depending on which Indian tribe they traded with. Booze is mentioned ad nauseum in the article. But the authors in a convoluted way forgot one major point. Indians were nomads and booze cannot be transported over long distances in canoes, on foot or with horses. So it was consumed quite quickly, as a form of enjoyment after heavy bargaining sessions with the HBC traders as one argument goes, or for other reasons. Is that not what we do even today? Their argument of x drinks per year, vs. 1920, vs. today etc. makes little sense, at least to me. What are producer goods vs. consumer goods? A knife could be both and so could a gun (protection, war, hunting, social symbol, etc.). Many more texts are less controversial and less subject to wild interpretations as these authors did. The area around York Factory was not beaver country or fur bearing animals, as explained by Ray and Freeman (1978). Yet these authors said the opposite. It was marsh land with few trees (no birch trees to make canoes) and few Indians lived in that part of Rupert's Land. I did not like this text because of too many loose ends.

Carlos, Ann and Frank Lewis (2002), "Marketing in the Land of Hudson Bay: Indian Consumers and the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1770," Enterprise and Society, Vol. 3 (June), pp. 285-317. The refs cited in the article showed that lots of studies have been done in that time period on how the "native economy" worked. On p. 291, the authors discuss the MB or Made Beaver as the currency used by Hudson Bay to pay for pelts and what Indians could buy in return. Booze and tobacco were not what Indians bought most contrary to myths depicted in movies. Finally, at the end of the text, the authors say "it is apparent that treating the Indians with respect was viewed as of paramount importance. Not only did the directors try to provide commodities that met the required specifications through use of samples and descriptions provided by the post factors, but the Company continually sent out new goods to 'see if the Indians liked them.' The rejection of some of these goods speaks only to the independence of Native consumers it was their preferences that were paramount in determining which goods the Hudson's Bay Company shipped to Bayside posts" (pp. 313-314). The good old marketing concept at work in the 17th and 18th c. in a native or preindustrial economy. If I see one more time that the marketing concept is new and it first appeared in the 1950s, I will shoot the person who says it.


Carlu, Jacques (1931), “The T. Eaton & Co. Department Store in Toronto and Montreal,” The Architectural Record, Vol. 69 (June No. 6), pp. 446-455. A good article showing the new Toronto store as well as the addition to the Montreal store, with excellent illustrations.


Cassels, J.M. (1929), “Fruit Distribution in the Canadian West,” Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 37 (December No. 6), pp. 687-712. He shows that for every dollar a consumer spends on fruits (apples) the grower gets more in Canada vs. U.S. but still attributed to marketing costs.

Cassidy, Harry M. (1940), “The Social Services in a Federal System,” The Social Service Review, Vol. 14 (December No. 4), pp. 678-709. This important article on Canadian federalism discusses the 1940–three volume report of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, which began in 1937 (The Rowell-Sirois Commission). The nine provinces submitted 17 monographs on various topics as well. Cassidy, a University of California Berkeley professor, outlines the history of federal/provincial relations and shows, in a short period of time over time, how “state rights” prevailed over federal ones in many jurisdictions, a fact of life in modern Canada today. Each province asserted their constitutional power even when it was not in the best interest of the country. But London granted them such rights. See Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations Report, Book 1 (1940) Canada 1867-1939, Ottawa: King’s Printer, pp. 143-150. Reprinted in M. Horn ed. (1972), The Dirty Thirties: Canadians in the Great Depression, Toronto: Copp Clark, pp. 159-175.

discusses various social services offered by both the private and public sectors in Canada. He has a section on the particularities of Quebec because many such services were assumed by religious groups. The historical role of Govt. in providing social services is presented. The U.S. Social Security Act of 1935 had an impact on demand for G & S and helped elevate the standard of living of poor Americans. Too bad the Canadian Fed Govt. failed to recognize the crisis due to the Depression, while the American Govt. did. The failure to react more quickly may have been due the London's inaction (due to the WW2?) because Canada was still not 100% independent when making such important public policy decisions. As is often the case, the Fed Govt. became involved only after too many Canadians were hurt by the Great Depression. The Royal Commission to study the topic (among others) was created in 1937, too late to do much, especially since the Report was published in 1940, just when WW2 was on. Social services were not a clear division of responsibility between the Federal Govt. and each province, perhaps not as clear-cut as it was in the USA. As result, a Royal Commission was needed to clarify the division of power. By the time Govt. got around, the crisis had passed.


Caves, Richard and Richard Holton (1959), The Canadian Economy: Prospect and Retrospect, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. The book was reviewed by Mel Watkins who said that its contribution is not so much on the forecast of the Canadian economy to 1970, but on its historical review of the staple theory and use of manufacturing data to explain why certain regions in Canada have not developed at the same rate as others.


Census of Merchandising and Service Establishments (1931), Ottawa.


Cheasley, Clifford Henry (1930), *The Chain Store Movement in Canada*, McGill University Economic Studies No. 17, Orilla, Ontario: Packet-Times Press Limited. Published for the Department of Economics and Political Science, McGill University, Montreal Canada. A rather important 87-page book which describes the Canadian distribution/retail market rather well for the time (the 1920s). It also shows how marketing was being studied then.


Chong, Joseph (1974), “La nature du déclin économique de la région de Montréal,” *L'Actualité Economique*, Vol. 50 (3), pp. 326-341. A neat summary of what is wrong with the industrial and service based industries in Montreal and Quebec. He also says that the decline began in the 1930s but he offers little convincing support. What he should have stated and shown was that the decline while modest from the 1930s really accelerated in the 1960s and early 1970s due to the so call Quiet Revolution (not so quiet), the FLQ, the rise of the Parti Québécois, Bill 22, language issues, the creation of CEGEPS, the creation of University of Quebec with its many satellite campuses, more
Quebec-based government interventions in the marketplace, the rise of unions and their strong leaders (FLQ, FTQ) and their power to cause havoc on Montreal’s economy with their disruptive work stoppages with metro strikes, strikes during the construction boom of Expo 67, strikes during the construction boom of the 1976 Olympics (to come just about the time he published his article). In other words, there was great discontentment on the part of workers fueled by union leaders and politicians who made too many promises and made too many concessions. Can we blame Canadian business leaders for being hesitant about investing in Quebec and Montreal from the 1960s and having a negative attitude about what was going in the province? It was naïve on the part of government officials, union leaders and others to put the blame on Anglophones for Montreal’s decline. To blame them by saying they were arrogant in wanting to keep their privileged and acquired position in the Montreal economy (see quote on page 337) was unfair. Of course, a scapegoat had to found for Montreal’s economic ills. It was very naïve on the part of union leaders and politicians to think there would be no consequences on Montreal’s economy with such slogans as “le Québec aux Québécois” or the “Vive le Québec Libre” speech made by former French President Charles de Gaulle at Montreal's city hall on July 24, 1967. Who can forget the infamous “McGill français” march on March 28, 1969 when 10,000 trade unionists, the unemployed, leftist activists, and others were shouting "McGill aux travailleurs," "McGill aux Québécois" and "McGill français," demanding that McGill University be transformed into a francophone, “pro-nationalist and pro-worker university”. The decline of Montreal is still with us after 40 years later, and it is doubtful if the city will ever regain its premier position within the Canadian economy. Many other cities have experienced such a decline. One can think of cities such as Detroit, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and many others. But some have survived such as Boston when it redefined itself into a high tech savvy city. Can Montreal do the same?


Clement, Wallace (1977), “Setting the Stage for a Continental Economy,” chapter 3 in his Continental Corporate Power Economic Elite Linkages Between Canada and the United States, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, pp. 33-79. The chapter provided more insights as to why Canada's economy developed the way it did with a focus on staples at first, then a US-dominating manufacturing sector later on. This author says it was mainly Britain's fault. There is much truth in what he says because Canada was a colony just about the time the IR started, and the US Civil War made the US more united and helped economic growth. After the Civil War, much aid came to the South and more industrialization occurred because of America’s foreign policy of territorial expansion. Clement is one of the first authors to link Canada’s economic growth and industrialization from the 19th c. to the 1960s to US’s involvement in Canada and Canada’s “colonial” links to Britain. He says that Canada was a colony and had to seek approval from Britain for major industrial projects which were conservative, less risky, given that Britain financed much of Canada’s major industrial projects, such as railways. It did not foster the establishment of an entrepreneurial class like in the US according to the author. They were much fewer banks in Canada lending money to Canadians, even though they were national in scope. Banks in US were much more numerous but more local and more subject to bankruptcy. But they had first hand knowledge of local opportunities and growth potential. Clement says that up to 60% of people coming to Canada eventually left for the US because of more jobs and better opportunities. Toronto and Montreal, while being growth centers in Canada, much business was initiated by US or by immigrants who settled there, at least at first. Britain favored development of staples for her own selfish needs. As a result, it put a break on the development of the manufacturing sector in Canada because Britain did not want Canadian goods to compete with British-made goods because that would have hurt Britain’s exports of such goods to Canada. Mercantilism was very strong until Corn Laws were repealed in 1846. But even then, and surprisingly, Canadians were not happy because some lost their privileges. A staple economy hurt Canada’s development because it required unskilled workers with less capital, and was less risky vs. manufacturing. Clement argues persuasively that Canada’s economy in the 19th c. was similar to the US’s South, which relied on staples as
well, such as cotton, had less skilled workers with slaves, and less need of capital because of low technological requirements, with fewer but more powerful plantation owners. Let’s us not forget that the majority of cotton grown in the South was exported to Britain. We can now better understand why Britain supported the South during the Civil War because they were protecting their interest in cotton. As history tells us, Britain’s support of the South had a direct link with the formation of Canada as a country in 1867 because a united Canada would be less subject to attack or annexation by the US who had a score to settle with Britain after the Civil War ended. We can also see why Canada became a US branch plant economy later on, at least in manufacturing, because by the early 1900s, this US sector was much more developed, more innovative, more international in scope, and Canada simply had little choice but to copy what was made available in the US. The National Policy, up to the 1930s, fostered the development of the West with an emphasis on staples again, and more immigrants with less skills and requiring less capital, etc. than the development of the more complex, demanding and risky manufacturing sector.


Coats, Robert Hamilton (1910), *Wholesale Prices in Canada, 1890-1909*, Special Report, Canada Department of Labour, Ottawa: King’s Printer.

Coats, Robert H. (1915), *The Rise in Prices and the Cost of Living in Canada, 1900-1914*, Board of Inquiry Into Cost of Living, Vol. II Canada Department of Labour, Statistical Branch, Ottawa: King’s Printer.

Coats, Robert H. (1923), “The Growth of Population in Canada,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Social and Economic Conditions in the Dominion of Canada, Vol. 107 (May), pp. 1-6. The author says the first census ever taken in modern times was in Canada. If one is looking for population statistics from 1665 to 1921 by Lower Canada, Upper Canada, rural, by province, by largest cities, etc. this is
the document to have. Population statistics from 1665 to 1921 revealing, concisely and over time, where the people were–by province, by urban versus retail, by city, etc.


Collard, Elizabeth (1982), “Nineteenth-Century Canadian Importers’ Marks,” *Material History Review*, Vol. 16 (Winter), pp. 21-29. It describes the type of pottery and porcelain being imported into Canada in the 1830s a period which coincides with the rise of the china merchant. It adds knowledge to the taste and economic status of importer and customer.


Comité d’étude sur le fonctionnement et l’environnement du commerce au Québec (1978), *Le commerce et la distribution au Québec*, (CEFECQ) Ministère de l’Industrie et du Commerce, Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec. A total of no less than14 studies were published ranging from food distribution, hardware, shoes and clothing, furniture and electronics stores, drug stores, department stores and variety stores, cars parts, jewelry, libraries and shopping centers.


Comité d’étude sur le fonctionnement et l’environnement du commerce au Québec (1978), Le commerce et la distribution au Québec, (CEFECQ) Ministère de l’Industrie et du Commerce, Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec. A total of no less than14 studies were published ranging from food distribution, hardware, shoes and clothing, furniture and electronics stores, drug stores, department stores and variety stores, cars parts, jewelry, libraries and shopping centers.


Consumer and Corporate Affairs Canada (1979), Consumer Decision-Making: an annotated bibliography, April, Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services. A 398-page document listing hundreds of annotated references classified according to the Engel, Kollat and Blackwell model of consumer behavior (i.e. information processing, problem recognition, etc.). It was meant to provide government officials and others with an overview of current research done in consumer research and avenues for future research. If the same document were published today, it would be at least 10 or 20 times more voluminous and for what end? There is no zero Canadian content in this document. In my humble opinion, I don't think this report added much value to CCAC's role as protector of consumers' interests, to consumers per se, or to other govt. agencies. Even today, CB has a marginal but growing focus on macro issues. The literature review was quite bias in favor of psychology, and a lot of that literature focused on experimental designs, an even more absurd restriction, neglecting just about all the literature that dealt with the consumer such as in economics, political science, sociology, anthropology, social history, business history, trade publications in all fields of business (retailing, logistics, credit and banking, etc.). Of course, back then, nobody had access to e-data banks but that's no excuse. It just shows how restricted CB was defined back then, as is too often the case even today!


Cook, Clement W. (1946), “Nobody Takes French Canada by Storm,” Canadian Business, Vol. 19 (September), pp. 54-55, 72, 74. The title of the article is odd. This article has historical value for it describes the lack of Canadian business of selling to the French market. The article’s suggestion is quite simple: communicate in French using French speaking sales rep, French language promotional material, or French language
advertising, and be careful with the translation. The article predates by about 20 to 25 years the need for Canadian companies to study the French market for market opportunities.


Copp, Terry (1972), “The Conditions of the Working Class in Montreal, 1867-1920,” *Historical Papers*, Vol. 7 (1), pp. 157-180. This is a well written article on the living conditions of working-class life of Montrealers in the late 19th c. early 20th c. It stated that Montreal was a dangerous city for many reasons (drunkenness, crime, high infant deaths, poor sanitation, poor housing) and water availability was uneven. Montreal had poor housing facilities for the working class people and the living conditions were inadequate with many health issues; the availability of educational services were lacking. The author raises the question if Quebec was unique with such problems and whether its economic and social conditions were due to the nature of the French culture (i.e. being French-speaking). She rejects the cultural explanation which simply could not explain so many social problems. Instead it was a lack of disposable income and a resistance to change in which the Catholic Church controlled education and health care in Montreal as well as all over the province. The Church simply refused to let the state take over this privileged position and influence the Church had in Quebec. As the author says, if the French were poor and uneducated it was not culture per se. The need to have kids in order
for them to work later on was deemed important for survival. The family needed multiple wage earners as this was typical back then. Every able family member worked to bring in some income, just like it exists today in many parts of the world. The Church had lots of political power just like it did during medieval times. While the provincial government was all French-speaking, it did not have sufficient tax revenues to invest in the public sector and offer social services in health and education, just like it was the case for most other governments in other Canadian or U.S. cities at the time. How can you tax people who have little or no income? How can you impose property taxes on people who were mostly tenants? But I wished the author had discussed more economic issues like buying stuff, clothes, cost of food, where they shopped, etc. rather than spend too much time discussing labor strikes.

Copp, Terry (1974), The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal 1897-1929, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. A review of the living conditions in Montreal, pre 1920s, for the urban poor, industrial working class, similar to the 1972 article. Family incomes, women and children in the labour force, education, health and welfare, and housing conditions are discussed. She provides many reasons why Montreal was poorer than Toronto back then. It’s more complicated than attributing the differences to a catholic vs. protestant dichotomy or a French vs. English difference. Translated in 1975 as Classes ouvrière et pauvreté: les conditions de vie des travailleurs montréalais à la fin du xixe siècle, Montréal : L’Aurore.

Cormier, Jeffrey and Philippe Couton (1998), “The Limits of Quebec Nationalism, 1918-39,” Nationalism and Ethics Politics, Vol. 4 (Winter No. 4), pp. 47-74. A long text which argues that the interwar period did not show a rise in nationalism in Quebec nor a need to separate from the rest of Canada, even though French Canada was not benefiting in standard of living as much relative to the rest of Canada. In other words, the fruits of modernization due to industrialization and urbanization were unevenly distributed, notably in French Canada. Yet all politicians from municipal, provincial and Federal levels in Quebec were majority French speaking. The authors discuss Everett Hughes and his French Canadian research, notably in rural French environments (Cantonville=Drummondville), concluded that Hughes was a sociologist (he founded the first dept. of sociology in Montreal) and his model of study was based on studying ethnic divisions of labor by outsiders. By definition, the English-speaking workers were to him outsiders especially if they came from the USA, and they affected ethnic relations among both groups.


Côté, Luc and Jean-Guy Daigle (1992), « La sollicitation marchande dans la vie privée : les annonces du jeudi dans les quotidiens québécois, 1929-1957, » *Recherches sociographiques*, Vol. 33 (3), pp. 369-405. A content analysis of 3 dailies from Montreal (La Presse and Montreal Star) and Quebec City (le Soleil) in which the authors tried to find what was being advertised in such advertising flyers distributed every Thursday all across Quebec.


Côté, Luc and Jean Guy Daigle (1999), *Publicité de masse et masse publicitaire : le marché québécois des années 1920 aux années 1960*, Ottawa: Les Presses de l’Université d’Ottawa. The book used data from three newspapers from 1920-1960 (La Presse, Le Soleil, The Montreal Daily Star). The authors examine the economic and cultural integration of Québécois during this period and their absorption of the American Way of Life, leading to the Quiet Revolution of the 60s. The book was reviewed by Serge Jaumin (2002), *Social History*, Vol. 35 (May), pp. 257-259. The reviewer explains how the data were collected. A total of 15,974 ads covering a 46-week period from 1929 to 1957. Ads were small with 76% of them less than ¼ page and 70% of them having just a few lines. No French/English analysis seems to have been done and only a small sample of ads made by large retailers, such as department stores and large food stores (i.e. food chains), were part of the sample. Yet these were the ones most likely to reflect the social values and economics of the time periods under study. Such ads would have been prepared more scientifically, with more professional talent based on more scientific research than the small ads having just a few lines.

Côté, Michel (1963), « Le mouvement coopératif au Québec, » *Travaux et mémoires du groupe d’étude de développement économique*, 3, Québec : Université Laval.


Couvrette, Gilles (1940-41), « Les épiciers en gros de Montréal, » *L'Actualité économique*, Vol. 16 (nov.-mars, no. 2), pp. 118-137. The author briefly discusses the history of grocery wholesalers in Montreal from 1835 and he lists current wholesalers. Grocery wholesalers no longer import food themselves as before, but rely on specialized food brokers, who do the importation from all over the world. He then discusses how such wholesalers deal with their retail clients. He cautions that many manufacturers are now bypassing grocery wholesalers and deal direct with some retailers. Competition also comes from chain stores and dept stores, such that grocery wholesalers need to lower their costs in order to remain competitive.


Craig, Béatrice (2009), *Backwoods Consumers and Homespun Capitalists: The Rise of a Market Culture in Eastern Canada*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press. The author looks at the emerging market economy of the Madawaska region, a neglected region of northwestern New Brunswick and northeastern Maine, in late 18th c. up to the last quarter of the 19th century. She looks at the way people earned their living first by fur and wheat, then later by fodder crops, timber and textiles. She also describes patterns of consumption and concluded that the world of goods had really taken hold by then in the 1860s.


Creighton, Donald G. (1937), The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence, 1760-1850, Toronto: The Ryerson Press.


http://www.competitionbureau.gc.ca/eic/site/cb-bc.nsf/eng/01298.html


Cross, Michael S. and Gregory S. Kealey, eds. (1983), *Economy and Society During the French Regime to 1759*, Vol. 1, Readings in Canadian Social History, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. The editors provide a periodization of Canadian social history: 1. New France to the Conquest, 1760; 2. Pre-Industrial Canada, from the Conquest to the end of the imperial economic system, 1760 to 1849; 3. Canada's Age of Industry, from the coming of the railway to the full flowering of industrialism, 1849 to 1896; 4. The Consolidation of Capitalism, from the beginnings of economic monopoly to the Great Crash, 1896 to 1929; 5. The Emergence of the Welfare State, from the origins of large-scale state intervention to the present, 1930 to 1981.


Crowe, William and Mark Siemonsen (1996), *Canadian Retailing Strategy*, Toronto: Nelson Canada. A textbook with Canadian references but the subject matter is applicable to any country context.


Cruikshank, Ken (1987), “The Transportation Revolution and its Consequences the Railway Freight Controversy of the late Nineteenth Century,” *Historical Papers*, Vol. 22 (1), pp. 112-137. I found the author was too focused on freight rates per se vs. what Jackman’s (1966, *The Development of Transportation in Modern Britain*, third edition London: Frank Cass) chapter said about rail development and its impact on the market distribution. For me, freight rates are just one input to a larger issue of rail transportation on changing market structure and market development. Besides, freight charges represent only a portion of the price to be paid by buyers for the product. I think he failed to discuss adequately the monopoly issue of rate fixing by the two major rail companies: Grand
Turk and Canadian Pacific. There seemed to be a lot of preferential rate fixing done on an individual basis (one on one) for wheat, beer, etc. I don’t think this issue ever came up in Jackman’s book. Perhaps the Parliament in Britain settled the issue after it was occurring and Jackman did not discuss it. In any case, there is not much discussion on how fruits and veggies became available on a year round basis as a result of rail transportation and how it improved people’s health. Product shortages were reduced due to rail when using other transportation modes which caused increased prices at certain time of the year (rain, winter, bad weather). He did not discuss the time schedule of rail transportation, very much unlike water and transportation by wagon horses. The schedule of rail transportation meant more reliability, better planning, less excess inventory, less investment. In fact, Cruikshank avoided any discussion on how goods were transported before rail came in, so we are left in the dark on how rail displaced other transportation alternatives, especially on land. Nevertheless, I liked his discussion on pp 126-128, for e.g., on how the Hamilton wholesaler lost his monopoly because goods could now be shipped from Toronto. He does not discuss how rail transportation transformed the meat trade and how people had access to more meat at a lower price than ever before. He did not discuss how rail made distant land more valuable than before, or how rail had an impact on passenger travel and made business people travel more in search of new market opportunities, make more business deals, or how rail transportation made ordinary people want to travel, which had a national impact, forging a national unity. Maybe the Altman’s (1980) article will have such a discussion. Jackman’s first edition was in 1916, which is one reason why his book was so meticulous and sorry to say, boring to read. It did not have a pedagogical perspective with thousands of facts presented based on Acts of Parliament and other legislative initiatives.

Cruikshank, Ken (1991), Close Ties: Railways, Government and the Board of Railway Commissioners, 1851-1933, Montreal/Kingston: McGill–Queen’s University Press. Abstract: “The centre piece of the Canadian government's regulatory strategy from 1904 onwards, the Board of Railway Commissioners is also central to Cruikshank's study. He describes the origins of this independent regulatory agency—the forerunner of the National Transportation Agency—and examines its efforts to resolve complex freight disputes. Cruikshank shows how freight rate controversies generated a variety of regulatory initiatives: governments attempted to stimulate competition in the railway industry, entered into contracts such as the Crow’s Nest Pass Agreement, and fixed tariffs in legislation such as the Maritime Freight Rate Act. He demonstrates, however, that the new initiatives did not necessarily displace older ones but instead created a plurality of regulatory instruments which governed the Canadian freight rate structure. The regulatory pluralism established during this period has endured through much of the twentieth century.” See also a brief overview of Crow’s Nest Pass Agreement by T.D. Regehr and Ken Norrie, available at: www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0002051


33-48. A succinct description of typical life in Quebec in the 19th century. She describes very well the rise of the clergy in Quebec due in part to Britain’s recognition of French Canada’s religious rights. Church property became tax exempt such that from 1851 to 1901, the number of men and women in religious orders rose from 893 to 25,332. The church wanted no private or state involvement in education or in the delivery of social services, such as health care, taking care of the poor, etc. In fact, a Ministry of education was established in 1868 but closed down in 1875 due to church pressures to stop any attempts to secularize education. The author argues that the acceptance of the Catholic Church in French Canada was Britain’s way to lessen any further rebellions, as the 1837-1838. Of course, Britain had no idea of the unintended consequences such recognition would have on Quebec for the next 100 years. Montreal became more urbanized with the influx of rural French Canadians seeking work in Montreal, a city that was industrializing at a fast pace. The author also emphasizes the type of women’s work available then.


Dales, John (1957), Hydroelectricity and Industrial Development, Quebec 1898-1940, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.


Dampier, Laurence (1936), “Early History of Smallman & Ingram, Limited.” Quarterly Review of Commerce, Vol. 3 (Spring No. 3), pp. 131-139. The founding of London’s (Ontario) first department store in 1877 by the partnership of John Smallman and Lemuel Ingram. Of course, the store in 1877 was not a department store having only one department and a store width of 16.5 feet. By 1908, it had expanded into many departments in a new building, with over 400 workers.


Dechêne, Louise (1974), *Habitants et Marchands de Montréal au XVIIe siècle*, Paris/Montréal : Plon. See pp. 171-183 for a discussion on the division of labor in the fur trade. The book was translated by Liana Vardi and published as *Habitants and Merchants in Seventeenth Century Montreal*, Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993. Chapter 3 and 4 are on trade from the 17th c. to parts of the 18th c. She discusses what was bought from France in detail, the goods made in New France, how payments were made, the role of credit, the importance of the fur trade, the selling of brandy and wine, the relations of merchants with Indians and with French merchants. Chapter 5 is on the development of agriculture in New France during that same period. The translation into English is from Dechene's third edition, which first appeared in French in 1974 and again in 1988. It remains a remarkable study of the history of New France. In order to understand the book's structure, one should remember that it was written in the early 1970s, was presented in Paris as a thesis and its methodology is that of the French historical school. The thematic structure, bibliographical frame of reference, use of serial documents, emphasis on the longue durée, and monographic form all make this book a very French book that, like much of the work of Quebecois historians over the past quarter-century, embodies the influence of the Annales school of thought.


Delage, Jean (1941), « Analyse du commerce de détail à Montréal en 1939, » *L'Actualité Economique*, Vol. 17 (avril-octobre No. 1), pp. 54-77. Very detailed figures are provided with some comparisons with the 1931 retail census. The 1939 Greater Montreal retailing structure is compared to 1931 census data. A detailed examination down to the neighborhood level with per capita sales even being calculated.


Denison, Murrell (1958), *This Is Simpson’s*, Toronto: Simpson’s.


Derome, Jules (1928), « L’ère des mastodontes, » *L’Actualité Economique*, Vol. 4 (1), pp. 9-18. In a speech given at HEC, the author talks about the dangers of reduced competition when firms buy out others to dominate the market. Such mergers and acquisitions are a danger and a threat to French-Canadian firms because they do not act that way and are jealous of the success of their counterparts. By joining forces together, they could set up joint buying, better accounting, more promotion, etc. They should welcome more cooperation and merge more. Finally, using the example of Chicago, he recommends the creation of neighborhood business associations.


Desrosiers, Claude (1987), « La clientèle d’un marchand général en milieu rural à la fin du XVIIIe siècle : analyse des comportements de consommation», in François Lebrun and Normand Seguin eds. *Sociétés villageoises viles-campagnes au Québec et dans la France*


Dickinson, John and Brian Young (1991), “Periodization in Quebec History: A Reevaluation,” *Quebec Studies*, No. 12, pp. 1-10. The article discusses the various periods used in discussing Canadian history, notably Quebec history, and finds faults in the standard benchmark periods used such as pre-Confederation, post-Confederation or before the Conquest and after the Conquest, or New France, British Canada and post Confederation time periods. Whatever the issues in finding the proper time periods, the authors, both from Montreal, show a subtle bias for Quebec, and especially for French Quebec, in their supposedly critical analysis of the scientific approach to periodization.


Dodd, Dianne (1990), "Women in Advertising: The Role of Canadian Women in the Promotion of Domestic Electrical Technology in the Interwar Period," in Marianne G. Ainley ed. Despite the Odds: Essays on Canadian Women and Science, Montréal, Véhicule Press, pp. 134-151 and pp. 407-411. How women employed in advertising helped sell household appliances but were required, reflecting then existing stereotypes, to focus solely on a “Mrs. Consumer” target market.


Domey, Jean Noël (1943), « L’organisation générale des magasins à succursales multiples de produits alimentaires, » unpublished master’s thesis, École des Hautes Études Commerciales (HEC), Université de Montréal. The status and organization of grocery store chains in Quebec. Chain stores existed in Quebec as all over Canada then. But it does not necessarily mean that each retail unit was owned and operated by the same corporation. Chain stores and corporate chain stores are not the same. The former means the retailer is under contract with a supplier (the sponsor of the chain) enabling the small retailer to get better terms with purchasing goods (group buying), with access to management services offered by the sponsor/supplier than would be the case if the retailer remained independent.


Dominion Bureau of Statistics (1934), Distribution of Sales by Manufacturing Plants in Canada, Census of Merchandising and Service Establishments, Ottawa.

Dominion Bureau of Statistics (1935), A Decade of Retail Trade, 1923-1933, Census of Merchandising and Services Establishments, July, Ottawa: King’s Printer.

Dominion Bureau of Statistics (1936), Wholesale Trade in Canada, Census of Merchandising and Service Establishments, Ottawa.


Donner, Arthur and Fred Lazar (1979), *An Examination of the Financial Impacts of Canada’s 1976 Amendment to Section 19.1 of the Income Tax Act (Bill C-58) on U.S. and Canadian TV Broadcasters*, January Ottawa: Government of Canada, Department of Communications, Information Services. This important report discusses the loss of advertising revenues to US border stations, the substitution of U.S. ads on Canadian channels, a practice that is still in effect, among other issues.


Doucet, Michael J. (2001), *The Department Store Shuffle: Rationalization and Change in the Greater Toronto Area*, Center for the Study of Commercial Activity (CCRA), Toronto: Ryerson University. Since 1994, CSCA has published numerous research reports on retailing, including shopping malls, international retailing, e-retail, with some studies is on retail development of the GTA. Some reports are available only to members such as RBC, Hallmark Cards, Chapters, Bank of Nova Scotia, Canadian Tire, Gap, HBC, Manulife, among others.


Douville, Raymond (1938), *Aaron Hart, récit historique*, Trois-Rivières, Québec.


Drache, Daniel ed. (1995), Staples, Markets and Cultural Change, Montreal/Kingston: McGill/Queen’s University Press. A collection of the writings of Innis, some of which are not well known, such as: The role of the social scientist (chap. 28); The passing of political economy (chap. 29); The common man and internationalism: the myth of the social sciences (chapter 30); the intellectual in history (chap. 31).


Dupré Ruth (1997), ”To Smoke or not to Smoke that WAS the Question: The Fight over the Prohibition of Cigarettes at the Turn of the 20th Century,” Montreal: Cahier de recherche, HEC. This paper does not seem to be available in e-format.


Dupré, Ruth (2008), “Why Did Canada Nationalize Liquor Sales in the 1920s? A Political Economy Story,” Cahier de recherche IEA-08-11, novembre. Montréal: Institut d’économie appliquée, HEC. A good introduction to the liquor prohibition era in Canada in the 1920s with the establishment of provincial liquor boards. A Quebec perspective is also presented. The author’s attempt to explain the establishment of provincial liquor boards rather than an outright liquor ban as was done in the U.S. needs more work.

“Dupuis Celebrates 70th Anniversary” (1938), The Bulletin of the National Retail Dry Goods Association, Vol. 20 (April), page 67. A letter sent to the President Albert Dupuis by the Prime Minister of Canada W. L. Mackenzie King expressing his regrets of not being able to attend the event.

Dupuis Frères, Limited (1956), Brief submitted by Raymond Dupuis, President, to The Royal Commission on Canada’s Economic Prospects. The brief outlines the economic prospects of the eastern part of Montreal. This 23-page brief has some interesting comments such as the retailing sector should be allowed to have longer opening hours, taxes are high, the government should not impose any restrictions on consumer credit availability. The eastern part of the island has more factory jobs (i.e. blue-collar workers), less financial services jobs, is less subject to traffic problems, etc. We are told also a bit about Dupuis Frères’ operations such as its catalogue division, which distributes one million per year.

Dupuis-Leman, Josette (2001), Dupuis Frères: le magasin du peuple, Montréal: Les Editions internationales Stanké. On page 45, Nazaire went to Europe 5 times in a three-year period to see retail stores, notably the newly opened 1865 “le Printemps” in Paris. He opened his first store in 1868 in downtown Montreal and it had to be enlarged in 1870.

Durocher, René and Paul André Linteau (1971), Le retard du Québec et l’infériorité économique des canadiens français, Trois Rivières: Boréal Express. HC117Q4D8


Easterbrook, William T. (1959), “Trends in Canadian Economic Thought,” South Atlantic Quarterly, (Duke University), Winter pp. 91-107. This insightful text reviews what type of economic research has been in Canada, by who with numerous references provided. The staples approach to Canadian economics from founding fathers of W.J. Ashley and Harold
Innes have provided the research and intellectual stimuli to move forward beyond staples and to tackle new emerging problems. The 50 Royal Commissions between 1897-1936 with more to come, have provided many research opportunities for Canadian economists. He expressed concern with the growing economic ties with the US, expressing a sentiment that will spread in the 60s/70s. It was interesting to note that as early as 1883, there was more trade with the U.S. than with Britain.


Easterbrook, William T. and Hugh Aitkens (1988), Canadian Economic History, Toronto: University of Toronto Press. First published in 1956 by Macmillan; it has been revised many times since then. Benson (1990, BJCS, p. 409) made the comment that in the 1978 edition, the 24 page index did not contain a single reference to retailing.


Eaton’s of Canada (1952), The Story of a Store, Toronto: Archives of Ontario, The Eaton’s Collection, F229 series 8-0-220, container #9. A well prepared and illustrated booklet published by Eaton's public relations department outlining the history of Eaton's with the first edition in 1928 and subsequent ones ending in 1952. This 1952 64-page booklet is available from the University of Western Ontario Business Library (HF5465.C24E164). This 62-page booklet is also available at the Cleveland Public Library, 658.27 EA86S.

Eaton, Flora McCrea (1956), Memory’s Wall The Autobiography of Flora McCrea Eaton, Toronto: Clarke, Irwin. A delightful book to read which describes the life of John Craig Eaton’s wife. Jack was the son of Timothy Eaton who became the first President of Eaton’s after his father died in 1907. She was a board member for 21 years. Much of this book describes her many trips, her friends, her numerous homes here and abroad (Ardwold, Eaton Hall Farm) and not enough on the Eaton’s per se. She discusses the Eatonia, the train car made especially for the Eaton family. It was on her husband’s insistence, Jack, that the Eaton store was built in Winnipeg and his father give him full responsibility in 1904. It was Flora who insisted that a high class restaurant be added to the Toronto store in 1923 after her experience eating in a department store in England. It took some time to convince the board but eventually she was put in charge of this project. Classy restaurants were also added elsewhere such as in Winnipeg and Montreal (in 1930). This restaurant addition had spillover innovative effects into the military as well. It seems Flora actually helped the
military improve the food served to personnel by training military cooks to cook better meals to feed soldiers using her well trained staff.


Eccles, William J. (1987), Essays on New France, Toronto: Oxford University Press Canada. The Preface of this book is well worth reading. The book is a collection of his published texts. His 1979 text is reproduced, and pp. 68-74 are particular pertinent to marketing for he discusses Indians consumer behavior and France’s ability to offer Indians better quality goods than the English. His 1983 article is reproduced and pages 85 to 87 are pertinent to marketing which discuss Indian fondness for booze. He says on page 69 that France’s population was three times that of England and was the leading industrial power in Europe first half of the 18th c. and the manufacturing sector was equal to England’s.

Economic Council of Canada (1967), Consumer Affairs and the Department of the Registrar General, Ottawa: Queen’s Printer.


Economic Council of Canada (1984), Government Enterprise: Roles and Rational, Papers presented at a Symposium held in Ottawa, on September 24, 25. Eleven papers were presented on the topic in this 446-page book.


Elkin, Frederick (1973), *Rebels and Colleagues: Advertising and Social Change in French Canada*, Montreal/London: McGill-Queen’s University Press. A good book to read. It discusses the rise of French Canadians into the world of advertising. It touches upon the long standing debate in international advertising of ads that need to be produced locally vs. those produced for a global market (i.e. act locally, think globally). Only French-Canadians know French Canadians, as the myth says, and as such, they are the only ones capable of properly creating ads that will appeal to their own market. Of course, this assured French Canadians job opportunities in an industry they had long neglected. Elkin links the rise of French Canadian power in the province as a result of French Canadians’ involvement in advertising. It spilled over into the translation vs. adaptation ad controversy, and the use of proper French expressions and language in ads. It led to the involvement of the provincial govt. into this industry which, as we all know, eventually morphed into Bill 101! It is informative to note that Elkin, like all social researchers of his time, referred to French Canadians, a term no longer used. The term now used is “Quebecois” because it allegedly refers to all Quebec residents and gives the illusion of being all inclusive!


Ernst & Young (1992), *Cross-border Shopping: A Study of The Competitiveness of Distribution Channels in Canada*, Toronto. This consulting report was sponsored by the Public Policy Forum, Ottawa. The report, which is over 50 pages, is available at Industry Science and Technology Canada or le Bureau de développement régional/BFDR (QC), Montreal.


Ewers, John (1972), “Influence of the Fur Trade on Indians of the Northern Plains,” in Malvina Bolus ed. People and Pels Selected Papers of the Second North American Fur Trade Conference, Winnipeg, MN: Peguis Publishers, pp. 1-26. A neat text which describes how some Indian tribes became middlemen for French and British traders by spreading false rumors that only they could trade with some tribes thus assuring themselves of a captive wholesale market. It shows that some Indians were quite smart. The author also adds comments on how Indians bargained for goods.


Falardeau, Jean C. ed. (1953), Essais sur le Québec contemporain/Essays on Contemporary Quebec. Symposium du centenaire de l'Université Laval (sur les répercussions sociales de l'industrialisation dans la province de Québec), Ste Foy: Presses de l’Université Laval. A series of original texts in both languages analyzing the economic development of Quebec along with articles on Quebec’s political landscape of the times, population trends, the educational and legal systems, and what the future holds for Quebec. There’s no discussion on the distributive trades or consumption habits of the people. In fact, the book focuses its attention of French Canada only, while other members living in the province are ignored. Surprisingly none of the text discusses the touchy issue of language, the level of bilingualism or ethnics.


Faucher, Albert and Maurice Lamontagne (1953) “History of Industrial Development,” in Jean Falardeau ed. (1953), Essais sur le Québec contemporain/Essays on Contemporary Quebec, Ste Foy : Presses de l’Université Laval, pp. 23-37; comments by O. J. Firestone pp. 38-44. This text provides a Northeastern explanation of how Quebec industrialized from around 1860s to 1940s. Initially, Quebec City and Montreal were responsible for much of the Canadian economic development for the period 1866-1911, due in part to the importance of the St Lawrence waterway. But it ended for many reasons such as free trade in England, end of the Reciprocity treaty with the US, construction of canals, the railways, the substitution of wood for steel which killed wood shipbuilding in QC, the steam engine using coal and its source of supply. These technological developments displaced the economic importance of Quebec to other location such as southern Ontario, Pittsburgh, etc. Quebec resorted to textiles and shoe production because these were labor intensive using cheap labor, and capital needs were modest. Ontario on the other hand went to tool-producing and steel. Quebec’s population exploded during this period and jobs were scarce. Agriculture expanded because it was labor intensive and demanded less skills or capital. The next wave of economic development came later which was more advantageous to Quebec, from the 1920s due to mining, pulp and paper, aircraft industries, and aluminum. The authors reject the notion that Quebec’s economy was backward or that cultural factors were responsible for Quebec’s lack of interest in business matters. Quebec’s industrial development has been North-American in scope; it ebbed and flowed in response to economic changes affecting the whole continent, much like today. But lacking is a discussion on non economic factors which can impact industrial expansion. I can think of a few such as education, family size, religious beliefs, health, job specialization, savings, risk taking, etc. Finally, the authors did discuss the tax base upon which a modern state needs to generate the necessary funds to offer its citizens public services such as roads, health, education, welfare, etc. Low house ownership and low level skills which meant low salary could not generate sufficient tax revenues to pay for social services Quebec needed.


Fauteux, Joseph-Noel (1927), Essai sur l'industrie au Canada sous le régime français, 2 vols, Québec.

Fay, C.R (1923), “Agricultural Cooperation in the Canadian West,” Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Social and Economic Conditions in The Dominion of Canada, Vol. 107 (May), pp. 238-247. The author discusses the coop movement in western Canada with the formation of such organizations for diary products, important agricultural products. What’s interesting is that author surveys each province to see what was done and the provincial help the organizations obtained (BC,
Manitoba, Saskatchewan). This text may be the one that gave momentum toward the establishment of marketing boards.


Fisk, Harvey (1923), "The Flow of Capital-Canada," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Social and Economic Conditions in The Dominion of Canada, Vol. 107 (May), pp. 170-182. Some of the facts presented in this text are important. It says that Britain and the US were important lenders to Canada. After the war, Americans invested over $2.5B in Canada since 1915. In 1919 alone, Americans established over 200 branch plants in Canada to avoid tariffs and Canada had preferential treatment with other countries which the US did not. More branch plants were established in the following years and by 1922 over 700 such branch factories were established. We now see when Canada began to be known as the branch plant of the US. The text shows the extent to which may sectors of the economy was under the control of the US such cars, petroleum, paint, rubber, electrical equipment, and may others. Just in 1920, Americans invested $250m. in pulp and paper.


Fortier, Fortunat (1931), « Le crédit à la consommation dans le commerce de détail, » L’Actualité Economique, Vol. 6 (mars no. 12), pp. 441-451. A discussion of the pros and cons of consumer credit, a controversial topic at the time and concludes that it can help both consumers and independent retailers when used wisely.


Fortin, Raoul (1972), « Le Colporteur, » La revue d’histoire régionale SaguenayensiA, Vol. 22 (Janvier-février No. 1), pp. 22. A very short article of pre 1950 peddlers working in that part of Quebec; most of them were immigrants.

Fowler, Pauline (1983), “The Toronto Eaton Centre and Its Precedent, the Galleria in Milan,” Fifth Column, Vol. 3 (Summer No. 3.4), pp. 84-86.


Fowke, Vernon C. (1946), *Canadian Agricultural Policy The Historical Pattern*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 188-219. An excellent overview is provided of the Federal Agricultural Policy on the livestock and dairy industries. Other chapters on different aspects of agriculture also merit examination.


Fowke, Vernon (1962), “The Myth of the Self-Sufficient Canadian Pioneer,” *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Vol. 56 (3), pp. 23-37. He discusses what numerous other historians have said about Canadian pioneers and concludes that it was a myth. They were active participants in a bartered economy, a moneyed economy, an exchange economy as well. Fowke makes strong statements such as “specialization of labour transforms independence into interdependence” (p. 23). One page 26 he lists the large number of products pioneers had to get ranging from spices, tobacco, cotton, hardware, horses. etc. Self sufficiency for our farmers was a pure myth. Yes, they produced much of what they consumed and consumed much of what they produced but additional needs could only be satisfied through the processes of exchange. For e.g., how did they pay their transportation fares to get here (water, land, etc)? There was much international trade going on between these pioneers and the US and Britain for goods. Much business going on as well with country merchants who extended them credit, stored their produce in their own warehouses, and these same merchants sold the produce to others. Fowke says “credit would be wholly incompatible with self-sufficiency” (p. 36).


Fox, Edward and David Leighton eds. (1958), *Marketing in Canada*, Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin. The book was sponsored by the American Marketing Association and it
represents the first attempt to provide a marketing textbook with 34 chapters specifically prepared for this volume on numerous aspects of marketing, “from trade-mark requirements to the difficulties of routing salesmen.” Each chapter is one of kind from knowing more about the Canadian consumer, to wholesaling, retailing, warehousing, advertising, banking, the regulation of marketing in Canada and so forth with six actual case histories.


Freeman, Barbara (2004), "Laced In and Let Down: Women's Fashion Features in the Toronto Daily Press, 1890-1900," in Alexandra Palmer ed. Fashion A Canadian Perspective, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 291-314. This article has little to do with advertising per se but more to do with columns or articles on fashion which appeared in the Toronto press. But such columns influenced consumers to buy.


Frost, James D. (2003), Merchant Princes: Halifax’s First Family of Finance, Ships, and Steel, Toronto, Ontario: James Lorimer. William Stairs opened a small general store on the Halifax waterfront and for the next 150 years, successive generations of businessmen were engaged in surprising range of mercantile and industrial activity.


in Toronto, 1834-1984. The authors describe how Toronto overtook Montreal in finance, banking, insurance, etc., over the course of some 80 years, from 1914 to 1984. In the 19th c., Toronto transformed itself from a city whose main preoccupation was wholesaling, then to manufacturing, and finally to high-end financial services. The wholesaling stage helped the city into manufacturing because wholesaling required financial and transportation services. Also, Toronto was the key city which participated more than Montreal in Western development.

Gad, Gunter (1999), “Downtown Montreal and Toronto: Distinct Places with Much in Common,” Canadian Journal of Regional Science, Vol. 22 (Spring/Summer), pp. 143-170. An article which discusses the current changing CBD of both cities with an emphasis on the change of retail business and office complexes while the wholesale district is no longer as important as it once was.


Gagnon, Aimé (1942), "Le commerce des produits agricoles," l'Actualité Economique," Vol. 18 (aout-septembre), pp. 301-337. It's the way an economist looks at the industry and competition, price fluctuations, costs, and so forth. He looks at many products in the agribusiness market ranging from wheat to pork, cheese, milk, etc. The author complains about how the English and not the French-Canadians control the agricultural market but he offers no historical explanation for such a market situation except to complain that it’s not fair to French Quebec.


Galbraith, John S. (1957), The Hudson's Bay Company as an Imperial Factor 1821-1869, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.


Garreau, Joel (1981), The Nine Nations of North America, NY: Avon. Garreau isolates Quebec as a separate and unique region of North America lying entirely outside the United States, unlike the other 8 “nations”. Garreau’s typology, similar to Kahle (1986) and is based on anthropological research and lifestyle analysis.


Germain, Claude (1962), « Mouvements migratoires et croissance démographique de Montréal, » L’Actualité Economique, Vol. 38 (3), pp. 411-421. Comments by Hubert Charbonneau, pp. 422-424. An attempt to know more the emigration and immigration of French-Canadians not only in/out of Montreal but out of Quebec and to the USA as well, from the late 19th c. to the 1940s. A quote on page 416 is surprising for it describes a sentiment not seen elsewhere of a USA official of what he thought of French-Canadians establishing themselves in the USA.

Gervais, Gaétan (1980), « Le commerce de détail au Canada (1870-1880) », *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, Vol. 33 (mars No. 4), pp. 521-556. His source of information on the Canadian retail scene for the period is based mostly on a seldom used for historical research, Toronto-based weekly trade magazine called the Monetary Times (MT), a trade publication aimed at small retailers but also has texts on the Canadian economy in general. The author compares MT to the U.S. trade magazines such as *American Grocer, Dry Goods Journal, Country Merchant*, and *Journal of Commerce*. The name of this trade publication on distribution is misleading and that may be a reason why business historians have largely ignored it. He traces the growth of such small scale retailers as suppliers of food and of manufactured products to consumers and as creditors for them. He attributes the growing importance of retailing to improvements in transportation. He discusses various retail business practices from acquiring goods from manufacturers or wholesalers to credit issues. He discusses at length the rise of travelling peddlers who in 1871 numbered about 1500 to over 2000 by 1890, with 350 were French-speaking. These commission sales reps were not competing with retailers but with wholesalers. Finally, he says that far too many reps were ill trained, focusing too much on just selling rather than helping retailers better manage their inventory, wiser use of accounting, and giving advice to them in times of financial difficulty.


Gibbon, Ann and Peter Hadekel (1990), *Steinberg: The Breakup of a Family Empire*, Toronto: Macmillan of Canada. The story of a major Canadian merchant prince, Sam Steinberg, and the family dispute leading up to the breakup of a Canadian retailing empire.


Gill, Vijay and Joseph Schulman (2011), From Earth to Berth: Improving the Efficiency of Canada’s Grain Supply Chain, Ottawa: The Conference Board of Canada. Grain is an important export commodity to the Canadian economy and the authors argue that there’s room for improvement in grain transportation if Canada wants to remain competitive.


Girardet, Philippe (1932), La psychologie appliquée aux affaires Vol. 1. Sélection et formation des vendeurs (Salesmen selection & training) Vol. 2. Prospection de la clientèle (Salesmen selection & training) Vol. 3. Organisation du service des ventes (Merchandising and sales management) Vol. 4. La vente et la publicité (Salesmen selection & training) par Philippe Girardet et Paul Legendre Vol. 5 : Neuilly-sur-Seine : [s.n.]. Some of the books were published by the author. The five volumes have been reprinted and adapted for Canadian content by Louis-Alexandre Bélisle with some volumes as early as 1951 until 1967, published by Bélisle, Editeur, Quebec, under the series La Pratique des Affaires. I read Volume 4 and I was quite disappointed in its content and organization. It is not a well structured book and its use in a classroom is questionable. But let’s us not forget it was written in the early 1930s in France and the paucity of French-language business texts at Laval University in the 1950s probably was the key reason why these volumes were reprinted from the 50s to the 60s before schools of business became more important in universities. At least we know that Laval had a
school of commerce in the early 50s. It is interesting to note that each book title had an English title equivalent.


Glover, David and Ken Kusterer (1990), “McCain Foods, Canada: the Political Economy of Monopoly,” chapter 4 in D. Glover and K. Kusterer *Small Farmers Big Business: Contract Farming and Rural Development*, NY: St. Martin’s Press, pp. 73-93. A solid review of McCain Foods of NB, the multinational giant. Many issues are discussed which illustrate the lack of bargaining power of farmers. They were forced to form an organization to make sure their dealings with McCain were more balanced. Many facts are presented on McCain such as that the firm grows only 5% of its potatoes needs and sells more fertilizer, farm equipment and trucking service than it uses itself. The firm is highly vertically integrated and mechanized. Apart from buying and selling, other marketing functions are discussed such as grading, credit, storage and delivery. The authors’ chapter one is a must to read for those keen on VMS. The authors present a succinct overview of the complex food processors/small farmers’ relations and their obligations, services provides, the setting of prices which can be quite complicated (forward dating, need to share risk due price fluctuations, credit terms, etc.). Chapters 1 (Introduction), 7 (Conclusions) and 8 (Policy Implications) are also important to read because contract farming as discussed in this book are related to the survival and growth of small farms.


Gouglas, Sean (1996), “Produce and Protection: Covent Garden Market, the Socioeconomic Elite, and the Downtown Core in London, Ontario, 1843-1915,” Urban History Review, Vol. 25 (October No. 1), pp. 3-18. Far more informative than most studies of farmers’ markets, this paper also reveals how merchants located close to that market also benefited.

Goulet, Denis (1987), Le commerce des maladies. La publicité des remèdes au début du siècle, Québec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture. A content analysis of 970 ads in French language publications from 1900 to 1910 is analyzed.


Gournay, Isabelle (1998), « Manifestations du gigantisme au centre-ville,” in Isabelle Gournay and France Vanlaethem eds. Montreal Metropolis, 1880-1930, Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal: Éditions du Boréal. This chapter presents an historical overview of the construction of tall buildings in downtown Montreal, in light of height limit legislation and a core of architects unfavorable to the construction of such skyscrapers because such buildings were not compatible with the city’s culture. Some discussion on the construction of the Eaton store as well as Morgan’s is discussed.


Gow, James (1975), « L’histoire de l’administration publique québécoise, », Recherches sociographiques, Vol. 16 (3), pp. 385-411. For those interested in the history of the public sector in Quebec ranging from social services, health, police, and education, among others and its sources of revenues for the Quebec government, will find this article interesting. It took a lot of time before Quebec established a professional civil service to meet the needs of an industrialized province. For e.g., it was only in 1964 that the province established a Ministry of Education.


Graeme Wynn (1980), Timber Colony: A Historical Geography of Early Nineteenth Century New Brunswick, Toronto.

Graham, Charles (1959), “Morgan’s: the Pace Setting Centenarian,” Executive, Vol. 1 (July), pp. 18-24. A brief case history of Morgan’s, Canada’s supposedly oldest department store. Henry Morgan in partnership with David Smith, another young Scot, opened a small dry goods store in downtown Montreal in 1845, on Notre Dame Street, a full 24 years before Eaton opened his Toronto store. But that’s misleading because Eaton had operated a dry goods store before he opened his Toronto store in Dec. 1869. Morgan’s being the oldest department store in Canada is unsupported in this short text.


Granatstein, J.L and Kenneth McNaught eds. English Canada Speaks Out, Toronto: Doubleday Canada. A 30 article readings text written by well know historians, political scientists sociologists among others on Quebec independence. Some articles discuss the
role of Quebec in Canada and the world while many others discuss the political ramifications of Quebec’s UDI.

Gras, N.S.B. (1929), “Regionalism and Nationalism,” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 7 (April), pp. 454-467. It is interesting what this Harvard business historian says about Canada pre-1930. Gras is a Canadian and for him to say that the Maritime provinces, perhaps, should join with Boston or that Vancouver to link with Seattle to form a mega city is both revealing and amusing over 80 years later.


Greer, Alan (1985), *Peasant, Lord, and Merchant: Rural Society in Three Quebec Parishes, 1740-1840*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Chapter 6: The Country Merchant, pp. 140-176 with 8 pages of footnotes. The chapter describes buying and selling, retail and wholesale in three French Canadian parishes in 18th c. New France. The details provided in this chapter are very interesting. We learn about the role played by such merchants, and how French-Canadians reacted to their presence, what they bought and sold, and the hiring done by such merchants. It is a superb chapter using case studies of Samuel Jacobs and Charles Curtius, merchants and entrepreneurs, investors, etc., both not French-Canadians but with French-Canadians competitors such as Provencal and others. Basically Greer tells the story of how these foreign merchants introduced buying and selling in a feudal society not yet organized around such market ideas. his discussion of how French-Canadians were reluctant from buying imported goods (British+France) sold in his retail stores but how Jacobs got around by selling them much rum which was cheaper and more abundant than whiskey and more profitable. If French-Canadians had loved whiskey, it could have changed history. His chapter 7 on habitants-voyageurs is also on business/marketing.


Grindley, T.W and others (1947), *The Canadian Wheat Board*, Ottawa: King’s Printer.


Guard, Julie (2010), “A Mighty Power against the Cost of Living: Canadian Housewives Organize in the 1930s,” *International Labor and Working–Class History*, No. 77 (Spring), pp. 27-47. This paper discusses both the immediate and longer term effects of the efforts of Toronto housewives to organize against rising milk prices.


Hamelin, Jean and Yves Roby (1971), *Histoire économique de Québec, 1851-1896*, Montréal : Fides, pp. 1-20; 327-353, although many more pages could be added. The book covers many aspects of Quebec’s economic development during this fifty year period. It’s a textbook more along the economic staples theory which is based on trade and commerce dealing with agriculture as the most important sector followed by timber, fish, and manufacturing (e.g. tobacco, textiles, clothes, leather, saw mills, etc.). The authors present detail information on improvements in modes of transportation, urbanization and industrialization, internal and external commerce. This approach avoided the French vs. English issues which exist in Fernand Ouellet’s history book on Quebec’s social and economic development for the period 1760-1850. Three chapters are devoted to transportation: water, rail and road respectfully. The authors argue that the Quebec province as such did not exist prior to 1867. The authors provide numerous tables and figures and caution readers that separating Quebec economic data from the rest of Canada during the period was hard if not impossible, given that Montreal and Quebec City were the major exchange centers for all of Canada, even for Western Canada. There were numerous factors which led Montreal and Quebec in general to lose their preeminent economic position in the early part of the 20th c. It was at the expense of Ontario, NYC, Boston, etc. One reason, among others, was the geography of Montreal. The transportation costs from Western Canada to Montreal to Liverpool were much greater than from Chicago to NYC to Liverpool. Some aspects of distribution (retailing) and the goods such merchants sold are briefly discussed in the internal trade chapter (pp. 343-353). This chapter discusses merchants, wholesalers, and mentions Morgan and Dupuis frères. The external trade chapter discusses Quebec's imports/exports, pp. 355-365. Many appendices present a wealth of statistics such as imports/exports in dollar value, the Port of Montreal activities for the period 1850-1901. The book was reviewed by Paul André Linteau (1973), *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, Vol. 26 (3), pp. 590-594. For some unexplained reasons, the reviewer was critical of the book because the authors allegedly failed to discuss his own understanding of certain historical events. For e.g., he says “les investissements énormes québécois dans la construction ferrovière was
unfair because Ontario invested very little. Yet, Hamelin and Roby stated on pages 131-132, that the funds of building the 3,481 miles of track was financed 20% by the Quebec Govt, 35% by the Federal Govt, with 47% of the funds coming from private sources and 57% from public sources.


Hanowski, Elliot (2011), “‘Something Dead Under the House’: Management Conflict in the Hudson’s Bay Company in the 1930s,” Manitoba History, No. 65 (Winter) pp. 2-12. The author tells the story of the attempt on the part of Charles L. Burton, President of Simpson's, to seek the approval of the members of the Canadian Committee of the Hudson Bay Company to join forces to combat Eaton’s in the West.


Hande, D’Arcy, (1991), “Saskatchewan Merchants in the Great Depression: Regionalism and the Crusade against Big Business,” Saskatchewan History, Vol. 43 (Winter No. 1), pp. 21-33. It's mostly on retail, wholesale and mail order business and the politics of distribution. Small retailers got the support of the Retail Merchants Association, a lobby group based in Toronto (with a branch in Saskatchewan) with anti big business sentiments. It tells how small merchants got involved into politics to save their shops. Saskatchewan serves as a good model as to what was happening elsewhere in Canada during the Depression. The text is very well written, well researched, and delightful to read. It's based on his M.A. thesis of 1988. The Royal Commission on Price Spreads and Mass Buying was initiated by H.H. Stevens, Federal Minister of Trade and Commerce, and champion of small business, and under the Bennett Government. Stevens attacked big business, notably chain stores and mail order companies, such as Eaton’s, and was actually forced to resign for the allegations he made against Simpson’s department store. See Wilbur (1962).


Harris, Richard C. (1968), The Seigneurial System in Early Canada: a Geographical Study, Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, and Les Presse de L’Université Laval. A 1984 edition with a new Preface published by Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. The book was reviewed by many authors, notably by W.J. Eccles (1986), Labour/Le travail Vol. 18 (Fall), pp. 223-224, who questioned some of the facts presented in the book arguing that Harris was a geographer, not an historian. Nevertheless, Harris presented many aspects of the seigneurial system in the 17th and 18th centuries as being a social and an economic unit. Seigneurs were the King’s land agent involved in buying and selling and distributing land and his sources of revenues are well explained in his chapter 5. The Seigneurial system explains how New France was organized at a time when the market economy was not as independent of social, economic and political life, as is the case today. For e.g., a censitaire could rival a seigneur in generating revenues from those settling or using the land. Being named a seigneur could be based on one’s birth right and helped one climb up the social ladder, just as it did in France. Of course, France was far away and the exact replication and enforcement of the seigneurial system in New France was not possible. Seigneurs in New France were able to deviate from the norm and avail themselves of economic benefits not possible in France. Why the addition of the seigneurial system in the bibliography is because it served as a stumbling for French Canada to develop in a changing, capitalistic market economy no longer based exclusively on land or agriculture but on industry, capital, trade and commerce and occupational skills other than being a farmer, a land owner or a member of a religious order where money and types of job in the private sector mattered more than noble titles, and one’s birth rights.
Harris, Richard C. (1968), “The Habitants’ Use of Land,” in Michael S. Cross, and Gregory S. Kealey, eds. (1983), Economy and Society During the French Regime to 1759, Vol. 1, Readings in Canadian Social History, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, pp. 17-41. The text is reprinted from his 1968 The Seigneurial System in Early Canada: A Geographical Study, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, pp. 117, 119-121, 153-155, 157-168. It is a text which describes the standard of living of early settlers in New France before the Conquest. It describes their occupations and how they earned a living, how they lived, clothes worn, what they ate, the animals they purchased and kept, the houses in which they lived and their need for independence, some becoming coureurs de bois, an occupation the ruling class did not approve. Fur trading for these coureurs was not a well paid occupation, but there were other benefits.

Harris, R. Cole and John Warkentin (1974), Canada Before Confederation: a study in historical geography, NY: Oxford University Press. The book was reviewed by Irene Spry (1978), The Geographical Journal, Vol. 144 (July No. 2), pp. 344-345. It was also reviewed by Peter Coheen (1975), Geographical Review, Vol. 65 (October No. 4), pp, 540-452. A unique look at the economic, political and social development of Canada from a historical geographic perspective. Of course, the fur trade is discussed but what is interesting is the geography of the trade with maps, etc. and the trade patterns with the need to cover enormous distances to bring products to buyers and sellers. One unique contribution of the book is the use of recent research from students’ thesis, something rarely found in marketing texts these days. The authors present evidence that French Canada, for whatever reason, struggled to become farmers along a narrow land mass, mostly rural but some urban settlement (Montreal-lower St. Lawrence), along the continental interior of the St. Lawrence River. Yet, French Canadians (coureurs de bois) were the ones who knew the geography of Canada better than the Brits or the Americans and more could have settled out West as well.


Hart, Edward John (1983), The Selling of Canada: The CPR and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism, Banff, AB: Attitude Publishing. A very neat book and much discussion on the history of Canadian tourism and the role played by the CPR. Lots of pictures and the text was often very detailed. It discussed William Van Horne and his strategic role in building not only CPR, but hotels and Canadian tourism as well, and his insistence on details to serve the traveling public well. CPR trains were of much higher quality than Pullman in the USA, according to the author. Yet Van Horne's Montreal mansion was torn down in the late 70s (or was it the 1980s) as if his contributions to
Canada's history did not matter much. After all, in Quebec his name was English/Anglo and this was at the height of the Quebec separatism movement. This was the time of Bill 101 when too many French Canadian intellectual language fanatics expressed their outrage at anything that was English in Quebec. The book has lots on Western Canada with key figures who promoted Canadian tourism. There some great advertising copy and the CPR media reach was quite impressive. I distinctly felt we had our own Canadian *Wanamaker* but never realized it because no Canadian has heard of these creative pioneers of early marketing practices.

Hart, Michael (2002), *A Trading Nation: Canadian Trade Policy from Colonialism to Globalization*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. Reviewed here by Bill Marr (2004). “Michael Hart of Carleton University has written an important, interesting, and readable account of Canada's trade policy from the sixteenth century to the end of the twentieth century, with emphasis on the years since the Second World War. About 28 percent of his book is devoted to the history before the 1940s, about 40 percent covers the 1940s to the early 1970s, with 32 percent for the remainder of the twentieth century. Hart's book is important for at least two reasons. First, it sets out in one place the history of Canada’s trade policy over a long period of time. Second, because Hart relates that trade policy to the general economic history of Canada, the reader appreciates, in general terms, how that policy may have affected Canada's economic growth and economic development. Hart appears to have two goals for writing his book. First, he wants us to understand and appreciate the history of Canada's trade policy. He believes that we need to understand the past in order to appreciate present trade policy; it did not appear full blown, but evolved over the decades and centuries. Second, Hart endeavors to set out the contribution that trade policy made to Canada's economic growth and development, and to Canada's place in the world economy. Hart's exposition of those policies is therefore almost an economic history of those regions; his book could almost stand alone as a textbook for a course in Canadian economic history. The first part of Hart's book, covering the period before the 1940s, describes and assesses the impact, among others, of mercantilism, the Corn Laws, the Navigation Acts, Reciprocity with the United States, free trade by Britain, bilateralism, and protectionism from the viewpoints of Canada's or British North America's trade policy, but also the trade policies of Britain and the United States. This becomes one important method of presentation that Hart develops in this first period and uses throughout his book. The subsequent chapters follow the evolution of multilateralism from GATT in the 1940s and the European Union of the 1950s to the Auto Pact of the 1960s. The various trade negotiations under GATT are described in their chronological order. It is time to mention three quibbles (a.k.a, three trivial points of criticism). The least important is the lack of a traditional bibliography. But he spends almost no space relating trade and its policies to the flow of population and labor into and out of Canada. This comment also relates to the discussion in the trade literature between moving goods and services versus moving people: trade can be a substitute for labor and population movement, and vice versa. This discussion might have been used to good account when dealing with, for example, the economic boom of the 1850s in the Canadas, the net exit of people from Canada during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the so-called Wheat Boom from 1896 to the 1920s, and the early years of freer trade in the 1950s and 1960s. The trade policies that Canada and other countries chose


Hasting, Paula (2004), “I have tried your tomato chutnee and found it very good’: Negotiating local, national and imperial identities in Canadian consumer culture, 1890-1914,” MA thesis, Department of History, Ottawa: Carleton University, 152 pages. Author’s abstract: “A snapshot of Canadian consumer culture using ads from 1890 to 1914. This thesis employs pictorial advertisements as cultural texts to examine how local, national and imperial identities were negotiated in English-Canadian consumer culture from 1890 to 1914. It argues that these spatial constructs were widely employed in consumer culture because they provided advertisers with three powerful referent systems from which to foster appeal. The meanings associated with local, national and imperial identities served an important commercial purpose in their capacity to stimulate consumer interest, but their cultural value transcended their function in the marketplace. In representing local, national and imperial spaces, advertisements reflected broader currents of understanding about society. Most significantly, these images highlight the importance of spatial representation in the construction of identity in turn-of-the-century Canada.”


Heaman, E.A., Alison Li and Shelley McKellar eds. (2008), Essays in Honour of Michael Bliss: Figuring the Social, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Heap, Ruby (1981), “Un chapitre dans l’histoire de l’éducation des adultes au Québec: les écoles du soir, 1889-1892,” Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, Vol. 34 (4), pp. 597-625. A very informative article describing the adult educational system in pre 20th century Quebec. Government officials realized that Quebec workers were not sufficiently educated to get jobs in the market. We learn that the Montreal Mechanics Institute, established in Montreal in 1840 was offering courses to workers similar to the ones in industrial sectors in Britain and Scotland. These courses were technical in nature to respond to market demand for workers having technical training in industrial design, architecture and the like. The author traces the history of establishing such night schools not only in Montreal but all over the province, with government funding. In the Fall of 1889, the first night school had up to 5k students registered in Montreal with equivalent representation from both language groups, but only men were allowed and they were aged between 16 and 50. In November of that same year, a similar school opened in Quebec City. What was taught to blue collar workers was reading, writing, arithmetic, English and French. In other words, the basics and not technical training as was done in the Mechanics Institute of Montreal or in other trade schools under le Conseil des Arts et Manufactures. These illiterate workers needed to learn to sign their names or to issue a receipt or an invoice. But corruption among government officials, the very high rate of workers not showing up for classes, the problem with teacher pay and the Church involvement led to the cancellation of the night school project in 1892, much to the relief of the Church.


Heaton, Hebert (1939), A History of Trade and Commerce with Special Reference to Canada, new and revised edition, Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons. First edition was 1928.

Heaver, Trevor D. and James C. Nelson (1977), Railway pricing under commercial freedom: the Canadian experience, Vancouver: Centre for Transportation Studies, University of British Columbia, 344 pages.


Hedley, James ed. (1894), Canada and her Commerce, from the time of the first settler to that of the representative men of to-day, who have shaped the destiny of our country. The Official History of the Dominion Commercial Travellers' Association, compiled by H.W.
Wadsworth, Montreal: Sabiston Litho. and Pub. Co. The book has 57 pages of ads of various manufacturers, wholesale merchants, hotels, among others located in Montreal, Halifax, Toronto, etc. In fact, this section accounts for a large part of this book.


Helley, Denise (1984), “Les buandiers chinois de Montréal au tournant du siècle,” Recherches sociographiques, Vol. 25 (3), pp. 343-365. A study discussing the immigration of Chinese workers into Canada at the end of the 19th c. The article discusses the racist problem Chinese immigrants faced once here, the need for them to survive in order to pay their immigration entry dues, their need for credit, and their creation of small retail shops such as commercial laundries. Doing the laundry was an arduous and time consuming chore and yet they were successful at it.


Hénault, George (1979), Comportement du Consommateur, Montréal : Presse de l’Université du Québec.


Heron, Craig (1988), Working in Steel: The Early Years in Canada, 1883-1935, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, chapter 3.


Heron, Craig (2003), Booze: A Distilled History, Toronto: Between the Lines. A Canadian history of booze, from the European conquest to the present, with a set of references that is truly amazing for the 512-page book.


Hertzog, Steven and Robert Lewis (1986), “A City of Tenants: Home Ownership and Social Class in Montreal, 1847-1881,” *Canadian Geographer*, Vol. 30 (4), pp. 316-323. By 1881 Montreal was a city of Tenants. Home ownership fell from 31.6% in 1847 to 14.7% in 1881. French Canadians were more likely to live in low rent streets, and owned a duplex as opposed to a single family dwelling. They owned property of lower value. Lower valued home ownership by French-Canadians maybe due to weakness in providing mortgages to potential home owners. French-Canadians worked in low-wage industry, had high numbers of family members, and housing stock in Montreal was low, which all contributed to low home ownership, even a decreased over the past 30 years.


Higgins, Benjamin (1986), *The Rise and Fall? Of Montreal: A Case Study of Urban Growth, Regional Economic Expansion and National Development*, Moncton, NB: Canadian Institute for Research on Regional Development. A wonderful book of some 250 pages discussing the social and economic history of Montreal and its current downfall; and what it means for Quebec and Canada. Many issues were discussed by this reputable economist who once taught at McGill University. Many of his arguments about the place of French Canadians in Canada and in particular in the Montreal economic scale have never been made so clear. The Anglophone vs. the Francophone economic disparity is discussed ad nauseam. He presents a well balanced view of the many reasons why French Canadians were reluctant to go into business even from the very beginning after the Conquest. The economic plight of French speaking Canadians was not for the most part a deliberate action on the part of Anglophones. When one looks at number of immigrants coming from England, Ireland, Scotland, the US and other parts of the world, we can see what happens to a local population hesitating and often even refusing to learn English. When one adds the low level of education the Church having a stronghold on the local population and even when educated French Canadians preferring to work for the state rather than in the private sector, eventually it was bound to create social tensions, as it did in the 1960s up until now. As the author says, if one fails to look at the history of Montreal, the history of Quebec and the history of Canada, one can easily be led to believe that the plight of French-speaking Canadians in Montreal was the result of a conspiracy within the Anglophones community to exclude them in their in own province.
The author fails to question if a local population which historically has been less powerful and subservient to a more dominant group, actually needs to take over, no matter the social or economic consequences, especially when the local population never really had such power to begin with.


Hinnegan, K.A. (1969), “‘The Services Exemption’ under the Combines Investigation Act,” The University of Toronto Law Journal, Vol. 19 (Spring No. 2), pp. 234-247. Services, among other areas of commercial activity were not covered by the CIA. Presently, services are not only covered but the GST also applies to services. Services such as storage, transportation, the rental of goods and the insurance on persons and property were all subject to the CIA. But why for so long did restrictive trade practices not apply to the marketing of services but only to commodities or goods is an interesting question. Perhaps it has something to do with professional services such as legal and accounting, professions under provincial jurisdiction. Such services were deemed above mercantile practices in which members needed to be accredited by their peers in order to practice and earn money.


Horn, Michiel ed. (1972), The Dirty Thirties: Canadians in the Great Depression, Toronto: Copp Clark.


Horn, Michiel (1988), The Depression in Canada: Responses to Economic Crisis, Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman.


Hudson's Bay Company (1920), Two Hundred and Fifty Years, 1670-1920, London: Hudson's Bay Company.

Hudson’s Bay Company (1977), The Autumn and Winter Catalogue 1910-1911 of the Hudson’s Bay Company, Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer, J. Gordon Shillingford. Few Canadians have seen a Hudson’s Bay Company catalogue and understandably so. The Hudson’s Company Department Store mail-order business was operated only from 1881 to 1913; today copies of the original catalogue are extremely rare. The Company opened Western Canada Hudson’s Bay first department store in Winnipeg in 1881, a Hudson’s Bay stone throw from walled Fort Garry. The treasures of the first store are all here in the Autumn and Winter 1910-11 catalogue. The choicest of prime furs, the best diagonal tweed, and the finest quality beaver are used in the manufacture of ladie’s coats. Mens’ Renow suits of pure worsteds in fashionable shades can be purchased for only $15.00; the finest 9 x 12 Wilton, Axminster, and Brussels rugs from European looms are priced from $24.50 to $36.50. The famous Point blankets, guns, camping equipment, and wines and spirits are prominently displayed. The catalogue is a visual delight—a welcome addition to libraries, a superb teaching aid for schools, and an exciting gift for all those interested in another era.


French vs. English is much too categorical for it neglects not only the existence of bilinguals for both French and English but more importantly it neglects the skill requirements, education, experience, and training of both groups which would qualify them for upper level positions. Such an analysis may better explain the gap in the French participation rate at the executive level vs. English rather than the fact that the workers happen to be French-speaking. Besides how was Hughes able to classify the workers into two distinct groups? Using last names only may not be that reliable, not only for male workers but for female workers as well.


Hughes, Everett (1963), “The Natural History of a Research Project: French Canada,” *Anthropologica*, New Series Vol. 5 (2), pp. 225-240. He states that during his research on French Canada he did not notice a rise in nationalism and separatism, a conclusion others have also reached. What was observed was that French Canada wanted to participate more equally in the rise in standard of living.


Hunter, A.A. (1977), “A Comparative Analysis of Anglophone-Francophone Occupational Prestige Structures in Canada,” *Canadian Journal of Sociology/Cahiers canadiens de sociologie*, Vol. 2 (Spring No. 2), pp. 179-193. The study sought to find out if there were differences in occupational status as evaluated by both groups such as
managers, proprietors, and sales people. The result showed that both groups rated occupations just about the same. The authors said the translation of the names may have played a role. However I did not see any occupational job linking one’s job to either the public sector or the private sector of the economy. Higgins (1986) made it quite clear that francophones preferred to work for the public than the private sector, in contrasts of Anglophones.


Hutchison, R. Gordon ed. (1978), *Western Canadian ports: their origins, present problems, the future*. Proceedings of the Western Ports Symposium, Vancouver, October 23-25 1977, sponsored by the North Vancouver Chamber of Commerce et al. in cooperation with the Centre for Transportation Studies, University of British Columbia Vancouver: Centre for Transportation Studies, University of British Columbia, 368 pages.


When Montreal fell to the British in 1760 and as New France became part of the British Empire, new ways of doing business were established. New competition came from the newly arrived English settlers who transformed commercial practices. But the author says that changes were inevitable and he is uncertain if the Conquest itself was responsible for the decline of Montreal merchants. The fur trade was pretty much the same after the Conquest as it was before. The Montreal merchants lost favor supplying the military. Perhaps it was more of general changes due to competition, changing structure of the economy which brought about much change in too little time for the Montreal merchants to cope.

*Industrial Canada* (1971), *The First Hundred Years*, July. The story of the Canadian Manufacturing Association, from its beginning in 1871. The insert started on page 99 and it was 20 pages long. This trade magazine also had a history of the CMA in the 1901 November issue, pp. 81-82, and the 1915 July issue, p. 386.


Innis, Harold A. (1940), “The Necessity of Research in Marketing,” *The Commerce Journal* (March), pp. 12-14. A brief review of Stephenson and McNaught book on *The Story of Advertising in Canada*. Innis was critical of the book; it was advertising more than documenting the history of it in Canada, especially since it was based on one ad agency. Innis questioned the authors “continuous assumption that advertising has been responsible for the enormous expansion of Canada since the nineties.”


Innis, Mary Q. ed. (1956), *Essays in Canadian Economic History Harold A. Innis*, University of Toronto Press.

Inwood, Kris (2008), « L’industrialisation d’une société rurale : l’industrie canadienne à la fin du XIXe siècle, » *Histoire, Economie et Société*, 27, No. 4, pp. 109-132. An article that discusses the rise of manufacturing from the end the 1870s to the 1880s. The text concludes by saying the manufacturing sector expanded greatly during that period and resulted in a distinctively Canadian pattern of industrialization.


Jackel, Susan ed. (1982), *A Flannel Shirt and Liberty: British Emigrant Gentlewomen in the Canadian West, 1880-1914*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. The articles cover three time periods: the 1880s, the 1890s and before 1914. This last one is on the Wheat-Boom years 1905-1914. It discusses the work and social life of such women: what they expected, what their life experience was like after they lived here.


Jaumain, Serge (1987), “Contribution à l’histoire comparée: les colporteurs belges et québécois au XIX siècle,” *Histoire sociale/Social History*, Vol. 20 (May No. 39), pp. 49-77. This study is based on the author’s 1985 master’s thesis from the University of Ottawa as well as his 1983 thesis from Université Libre de Bruxelles. The time period covers 1830 to 1914 for Belgium and 1796 to 1921 for Quebec. Colporteur means itinerant and door to door selling, or a small merchant carrying his goods for sales. He lists a surprising large number of texts which discusses such type of peddling/selling not only in France but in Belgium, Germany, Britain, the US, and Sweden. He is quite an accomplished historian. He reveals in this text based on his 1985 Quebec thesis that such peddlers in Quebec were more likely to be Jewish, Irish and from other immigrant groups.
and not well accepted by the community. Many laws were passed in Quebec to protect local merchants from these small scale competitors. The author adds many interesting comments such as these peddlers sometimes had to resort to panhandling because they were poor, most were under 25, and used this way of earning a living as a stepping stone to better themselves.


Johnson, Derek (1999), “Merchants, the State and the Household: Continuity and Change in a 20th Century Acadian Village,” Acadiensis, Vol. 29 (Fall No. 1), pp. 57-75. An economic history of a small French-speaking fishing village called Val Comeau located on the Acadia peninsula in New Brunswick which was a major part of the Acadian resettlement after the Deportation. The study is based on 53 personal interviews from residents who lived in the village from the late 1920s to now. The author describes how families eked out a subsistence living by working as mostly as fishermen, but farming, and hunting too, how they got money and credit from local merchants until the 1950s when more income support came from the State. The author discusses how some had strong entrepreneurial spirits which enabled them to survive up to this day.


Kahle, Lynn (1986), “The Nine Nations of North America and the Value Basis of Geographic Segmentation,” Journal of Marketing, Vol. 50 (April), pp. 37-47. This article in contrast to Gareau’s (1981), The Nine Nations of North America does not isolate Quebec as a unique region. Kahle relied on Bureau of Census regions and did not use any Statistics Canada data. Moreover, North America, to me, means Canada and Mexico. Yet the article hardly mentions these 2 other countries as if they did not exist. In fact, the author says “adding Canada would probably not alter the inference about the utility of Garreau’s theory” (p. 44). Thus, the title is misleading and should have been called the nine nations of the USA.


Katz, Michael (1975), "The Entrepreneurial Class in a Canadian City: The Mid-Nineteenth Century", Journal of Social History, Vol. 8 (Winter No. 2), pp. 1-29. A descriptive study of an elite group of entrepreneurial merchants living in Hamilton, Ontario, including Peter Buchanan, and his brother Isaac, who owned Canada’s largest company at the time with partner R. W. Harris, President of the Great Western Railroad, import merchant and partner with Isaac Buchanan had thirty stores in 1846. The Harris and Buchanan business collapsed in the 1870s due to the death of Harris and overextended credit.


Kelley, Thomas P. Jr. (1974), *The Fabulous Kelley: Canada’s King of the Medicine Men*, Don Mills, ON: General Publishing. Revised edition; original edition was in 1968. “It was an era of gas lights, travelling minstrels and super showmanship when Doc Kelley's medicine show toured the Canadian provinces and American countryside selling Shamrock Healing Oil, East India Tiger Fat and his famous Passion Flower Tablets. Doc Kelley made over $2,000,000 with his surefire selling formula and his son, author Thomas Kelley Jr., now fondly recalls the true story of one of the most amazing and colourful pitchmen of his time”.


Keyes, John (1981), “La diversification de l’activité économique de Timothy Hibbard Dunn, commerçant de bois à Québec 1850-1898,” *Revue d’histoire de l’Amérique française*, Vol. 35 (3), pp. 323-336. The business history of Scottish-born Dunn living in Quebec City who was a commission agent providing credit to wood producers located in Ontario and the US and organizing sales of wood from access to cutting rights, the hiring of lumberjacks, arranging wood delivery to Ontario and US as well as sales to overseas markets. Based on the information given, he was in fact a full function wood wholesaler.


King, Henry (1940), “The Need for Market Knowledge in Canada,” *Quarterly Review of Commerce*, Vol. 7 (Spring No. 3), pp. 124-129. After reviewing the reasons for the relative lack of published market studies, especially in Quebec, the author discusses the French-English differences that research had revealed.


Korinek, Valerie (2000), Roughing It in the Suburbs: Reading Chatelaine Magazine in the Fifties and Sixties, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.


Labrecque, Laurent (1986), « Le déclin des coopératives de consommation et les mutations d’une culture économique, » Recherches sociographiques, Vol. 27 (2), pp. 195-217. The author looks at consumer coop but fails to link their historical foundation from the 19th in England and the USA as well as in France. French consumer coops enjoyed relatively modest success from early 1900 to 1930s. Numerous articles were published on French coops in la Revue d’économie politique by B. Lavergne and others.


Lacourcière, Narcisse (1934), « Distribution of Automobiles, » Vol. 4, Etudes économiques, thèse présentée à la licence en sciences commerciales, mai, Montréal : Librairie Beauchemin, pp. 187-269. All aspects of the Canadian car industry are discussed with a profile of the largest car sellers in Canada. Their methods of sales are presented including used cars, dealerships, financing, advertising, etc.


La Morandière, C. (1962), *Histoire de la pêche française de la morue dans l'Amérique septentrionale*, Paris : Maisonneuve et Larose. This book discusses the role played by early French fishermen along the coast of Newfoundland and surrounding areas. They leave France notably from La Rochelle, and they would catch the fish and go back to France, never really keen on establishing permanent settlement there.


La rivière, Claude (1977), *Crise économique et contrôle social: Le cas de Montréal, 1929-1937*, Montréal: Éditions coopératives A. St-Martin de Montréal. The author’s 1976 MA thesis from the Université of Montréal describing the economic conditions of Montreal during the Great Depression.


Lasserre, Jean-Claude (1972), “The St. Lawrence River at Montreal,” in Ludger Beauregard ed. (1972), *Montréal Guide d’excursions/Field Guide*, 22nd International Geographical Congress, Montréal: Les Presse de l’Université de Montréal. An informative view of Montreal’s geographical location, and how the city could not compete with New York City’s more favorable port location for inland shipment of goods. Historically, goods destined for the interior of the continent or originating from there were transshipped or portaged from Montreal. Montreal was the 1000 kilometers link with the Atlantic Ocean and Europe until the Americans built the Erie Canal and the railways which circumvented the St Lawrence. Despite the St. Lawrence Seaway which opened for navigation in 1959 linking Montreal with Lake Ontario, a 309 kilometer distance, the port continues to struggle to retain its historic position and its future success will depend on the economic development of the greater Montreal region.


Lauzon, Gilles et Madelaine Forget eds. *L’histoire du vieux-Montréal à travers son patrimoine*, Ste Foy, Québec : Les Publications du Québec. Le centre victorien : commerce et culture, 1850-1880 by Joanne Burgess, pp. 151-197. « Le cœur de la métropole dans le vieux Montréal 1880-1950, » by Gilles Lauzon and Jean–François Leclerc, pp.199-236. These pages discuss warehouse-stores and some retails stores as well located in downtown Montreal from the mid 1855 to the end of the 19th century and early 20th century, with ample illustrations, along with a short history of the Port of Montreal during that same period. There’s a neat picture of the inside of the Morgan store then located on St Jacques corner of McGill dated 1875 (p.174). The book has no index which is annoying and no references given in the text as well. This book is more of an architectural account of Montreal’s numerous historical buildings and monuments than a book on business history.


Leacock, Stephen (1948), *Montreal, Seaport and the City*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. There is a 1942 edition. The great McGill University writer published this book on Montreal providing his own historical analysis of the city from its foundation, to the city under the French Regime, the city under Britain, the city and the Americans, the city in the
20th century, the port of Montreal, to many French-English issues of his generation. The book can be downloaded free. Available at: www.gutenberg.ca/ebooks/leacock-montreal/leacock-montreal-00-h-dir/leacock-montreal-00-h.html


Lefrançois, Pierre (1965), « Comportement à l’achat,” L’Actualité Economique, Vol. 41 (3), pp. 465-494. This is one of the first articles on consumer behavior published in French, but the text has no Canadian content.


Legault, M. (1965), « La concurrence des épiciers à succursales et des associations d’épiciers indépendants, » thèse HEC, Montréal.


Lemelin, Charles (1953), “The State of Agriculture,” in Jean Falardeau ed. Essais sur le Québec contemporain/Essays on Contemporary Québec, Ste Foy: Presses de l’Université Laval, pp. 55-66. The conclusion of the article is that agriculture in Quebec (in the mid 1940s) had a low level of productivity, with too many subsistence farms (44% of the total full-time farms), low level of consumer demand (due to low level of income) and too many farms. The article discusses the standard of living of farms with the low level of income and concludes that an increasing number had radios, telephones, autos, trucks or tractors and those farms may purchase more such goods to increase the well being of the family rather than to increase the productivity of the farm.


Leroux, Henri (1926), « L’avenir du petit commerce à Montréal, » L’Actualité Economique, Vol. 2 (juin no. 3), pp. 8-14. Part of this text is disturbing because of the way the author presents Jews in the commercial life of Montreal. The author next discusses the role of the small retailer facing intense competition from the department store and chain stores. An informative discussion of retailing in Montreal in the mid 1920s and preceded by an anti-Semitic harangue characteristic of the period.

Lessard, Marc André (1968), « Bibliographie des Villes de Québec, » Recherches sociographiques, Vol. 9 (janvier-aout, No. 1-2), pp. 148-209. The bibliography contains 1240 references classified by city and each city has reference listings under such categories as demographics, economics, labor, geography, immigration, transportation, education, religion, etc. Montreal and Quebec City both have the largest number of references. Master’s and PhD thesis are also included. The years covered are from the 1920s to the 1960s.

Lessard, Michel éditeur invité (1995), “Les grands magasins un nouvel art de vivre,” Cap-aux-Diamants, No. 40 (Winter). The whole issue (over 60 pages) is devoted to the Quebec department store industry, circa late 1900 to modern times. See his Preface page
9. Over ten authors contributed to this special issue but most of the articles are rather short with little or no reference to stores located elsewhere in Canada or abroad. It is understandable given that this publication is on the history of French-speaking Quebec.


Letovsky, Robert (1995), « La Caisse de Dépôt et Placement Et l’Affaire Steinberg, » Quebec Studies, No. 19, pp. 99-111. The author discusses the take over of the Steinberg empire by a company called Socanav under Michel Gaucher, and financed by La Caisse de Depot, which is Canada’s largest pension fund. The provincial government barred any foreign interest from acquiring any of Steinberg’s assets even those from Toronto. Gaucher had zero knowledge of retailing and soon made decisions that led to Steinberg’s demise. This journal is sponsored by the American Council for Quebec Studies.


Levine, Marc (2003), “Tourism-Based Redevelopment and the Fiscal Crisis of the City: the Case of Montreal,” Canadian Journal of Urban Research, Vol. 12 (1), pp. 102-122. Since the 1960s, all levels of governments have invested more than $7B in tourist attractions and infrastructure in Montreal, including a convention centre, casino, museums, sports stadiums, amusement parks, and a tourist district on the riverfront. By 2000, only about 6 million tourists came to Montreal on an annual basis, insufficient to justify the large sums of money invested.


Lewis, Robert (2000), *Manufacturing Montreal: The Making of an Industrial Landscape, 1850-1930*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. An important book which describes the city’s manufacturing stock from an historical and geographical perspective. “From the late 1840s Montreal experienced the thrusts of industrial capitalism and underwent the transition from a small staple-based commercial city to the industrial and financial center of an expanding national economy” (p. 25). The city changed from a mercantile-staple based economy to a more industrial one. The shift from workshop or artisanal manufacturing establishments with few but skilled workers to factory-based manufacturing evolved over time, just like many other cities experienced such a transformation, such as Toronto. The historical geography of Montreal’s manufacturing is fundamental toward an understanding of spatial location of retailing and wholesaling establishments which, during the period under study, were mainly located in Montreal’s CBD, now called Old Montreal, which is Montreal’s premier tourist attraction. Although marketing per se is seldom mentioned, it goes without saying that all the manufacturing that done was based on marketing activities, i.e. buying and selling, in order for firms to stay in business. The book is also revealing in that it describes some industries such as printing, textiles and clothing, carriage making, shoes, tobacco, locomotive, food, and so forth. It was without a doubt the premier manufacturing center in Canada of the period. The book also describes the French/English language split not only in terms of types of jobs but also the place where the workers lived. Montreal was a bustling city attracting tens of thousands of people, most were unskilled or semi skilled, such as French Canadians who were migrating into the city from rural areas in the province in search of better living conditions given that agriculture was hard to eke out a living, similar to the Irish who were also in the same predicament following the famine in their country. The Irish also migrated to Toronto and they too were unskilled and got the lowest paid jobs, just as they did in Montreal. The good jobs went to professionals and skilled workers who were mainly English-speaking and they came from the United States, Britain, Scotland, Ireland, and elsewhere. Montreal’s manufacturing facilities were dynamic, attempting to keep up with mechanization and technological changes, much in need of capital, entrepreneurs and lenders willing to take risks. It should be noted that about 475,000 people left Quebec between 1840 to 1890, the vast majority of them French Canadians seeking industrial employment in the United States” (p. 41). The book shows the horrible living conditions of unskilled workers with poor sanitation, poorly constructed houses, having limited access to water, poorly designed streets where they lived. Such conditions have already been documented elsewhere (i.e. Bettina 1993, Coop 1974, Piva 1979, Bradbury 1993). It seems business interests came first and that should not be surprising. Tax revenues to fund public projects were very low and the state involvement in taking care of its citizens was not de rigueur in this age of laissez faire and the sanctity of private property.


Linteau, Paul-André (1972), “Le développement du port de Montréal au début du 20e siècle,” Historical Papers, Vol. 7 (1), pp. 181-205. The period emphasized in the article is 1896-1914. Much money was invested to bring the port of Montreal in a competitive position relative to America ports. The world wide boom in grain demand forced decision makers to improve port facilities in Montreal to handle the grain. Port facilities were enlarged and improvement in rail and water transportation were made and so were storage facilities with huge grain elevators built. The economic repercussions on the city were evident. The port activities combined with the growth of industrial development, Montreal’s industrial revolution occurred at about the same time. As a result, Montreal went from around to 217k inhabitants in 1891 to more than 460k in 1911, and over 600k in 1921. A lot of the port activities were transshipment but it also imported not only for the growing city but also to supply other internal markets.


Linteau, Paul-André (1981), Comment des promoteurs fabriquent une ville, Montréal : Boréal Express. A study of the city of Maisonneuve, east of Old Montreal, from 1883 to 1918, which the city annexed in 1918. It describes how the city became a manufacturing center, called the Pittsburgh of Canada, serving the interest of business but not for workers who were mostly French Canadians. The author states that not all capitalists were Anglos but many were also French Canadians, which challenges the traditional place of the French Canadian bourgeoisie in the industrial development of Quebec. The book was reviewed by Bruno Ramirez (1983), Labour/Le Travail, Vol. 11 (Spring), pp. 239-241. The book was translated in 1985 by Robert Chandos and published as Promoters’ City: Building the Industrial Town of Maisonneuve, Toronto: James Lorimer. The English title is more a propos than the French one.

Linteau, Paul-André (1992), *Histoire de Montréal Depuis la Confédération*, Montréal : Boréal. Many pages in this book discuss the presence of business commercial activities in Montreal and the contributions made by savvy people to make the city grow and prosper since 1867. It needs to be said that the men who made this city were not for the most part French Canadians. These entrepreneurs and capitalists came from many places in search of adventure, profits, fame, to put their talents and skills to work, much like today’s investors. We all now the benefit from the wisdom and hard work of these people. The economic and social contributions these people made to Montreal need to be recognized, regardless of the language they spoke. The language issue which has divided and polarized this part of Canada for far too long fails to acknowledge that Montreal was built by a heterogeneous group of dedicated people for the benefit of all. To blame anglophones for dominating Quebec industry is, at least to me, grossly unfair. The reward they now get in this province is to be isolated and ostracized in their very own province which their parents, grandparents and others helped build. This is a grave injustice indeed.


Lipset, Seymour (1964), “Canada and the United States–A Comparative View,” *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, Vol. 1 (November), pp. 173-185. Lipset discusses many social indicators (education, crime, police personnel, marriage rate, etc.) to see how different or not Canada is vs. USA. The text is quite good in capturing what Canada is, what Americans think of Canada. This quote by a US senator is quite revealing: “I have never been able to see why there should be a border between us at all, our two countries are so much alike.” How much has changed since 9/11.


Litvak, Isaiah and Peter Banting (1966), "Developing a Distributive System", *Industrial Canada*.


Litvak, Isaiah (1968), *Marketing Management for the Middleman*, Ottawa: Queen's Printer. This unique book prepared for the Department of Manpower and Immigration has cases and readings. It is a true channels management textbook prepared for the Canadian market.


Lockyer, H. T. (1920), “The Rise of H.B.C. Vancouver Retail Establishment,” *The Beaver*, December, pp. 20-22. A brief time line of HBC’s stores in Vancouver from 1886 to 1920. The first was a one story building on Cordova St in 1886. Then a 4-stories high store with a basement was built which opened in 1893. HBC could not satisfy the demand for clothes, provisions, and mining equipment demanded by prospectors and companies during the Klondike rush. Thus, the store was expanded in 1899 doubling its size of 1893. The expanded store sold groceries, staple, fancy dry goods, shoes and boots, clothing and men’s furnishing, millinery, mantles and suits, carpets, and draperies. Dressmaking and upholstery departments were also offered to customers. In 1912, plans were completed to build a brand new store by tearing down the 1893 (expanded) one. Due to legal delays, work did not begin until 1913. In 1920, this new store had 6 stories, 2 basements, organized around 47 departments, a cafeteria serving ½ million meals a year. The author provides neat pictures of these 3 stores.

Loeb, Lori (1999), “George Fulford and Victorian Patent Medicine Men: Quack Mercenaries or Smilesian Entrepreneurs?,” Canadian Bulletin of Medical History/CBMH, Vol. 16, pp. 125-145. The paper focuses on Fulford’s marketing of Dr. Williams Pink Pills for Pale People, a general fatigue remedy, after he bought the rights in 1890. It had been patented in 1886 by Dr. William Frederick Jackson, a McGill trained doctor who practiced in Brockville. He sold the pills in the US, Britain, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Greece, Australia, Capetown, Shanghai, and Singapore. He invested much money on print ads to the point that he was quoted as the “largest buyer of printers’ ink on earth” (p. 135). His expertise in international business enabled him to be appointed to Canadian Senate in 1900 by Prime Minister Laurier. He died of a car accident while in Boston in 1905.


Lorimer, James (1973), The Ex: A Picture History of the Canadian National Exhibition, Toronto: James Lewis and Samuel. An interesting history of the CNE, from its modest beginning in 1846 as a province–wide fair which encouraged agriculture given that it was Upper Canada’s major sector of the economy. It rotated from town to town until it was held in Toronto in 1852, then again in 1858. It was only in 1878 after being held in Ottawa, Hamilton and London, that the CNE found its permanent home in Toronto for 1879. The Crystal Palace built in 1858 was taken down, rebuilt and moved to Exhibition Park with an extra storey added for the CNE in 1879. This second Crystal Palace was more than 47k sq ft of space. It burned down in 1906 and the Horticultural Building was built on the same site in 1907. The attendance was 80k in 1879, grew to 270k in 1895, to reach one million in 1919 and 3m in 1966. Over the years CNE attracted many royal dignitaries to the point that by the 1950s/1960s most of the entertainers were Americans, such as Danny Kay, Tony Martin, Victor Borge, Jimmy Durante, Ed Sullivan. Ontario Place was added to the area and by the 1970s, there was talk of discontinuing the CNE.


MacLennan, Hugh (1961), “The Rivers That Made A Nation,” in his Seven Rivers of Canada, reprinted in Elspeth Cameron ed. (1978), The Other Side of Hugh MacLennan, Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, pp. 184-204. This text is a tribute to the St Lawrence River, among other Canadian rivers, in building the Canadian nation. The author also adds many insights and interesting comments about the immense courage showed by French-Canadians coureurs de bois (aka Canadians) who were adventurers, discovers, fur peddlers, and also mappers. His text showed how little the Brits knew about the Canadian interior, preferring to confide themselves largely near large ocean waterways. It also showed that the Lewis and Clark expedition, although revered in the U.S., was no match compared to what French Canadian coureurs de bois had done decades before. He even suggested that the birch-bark canoe should have been the Canadian symbol rather that the maple leaf because without it, traveling in the Canadian interior out west would have been impossible and Canada's development would not have occurred as it did.

MacDougall, Robert (2003), “The People’s Telephone: The Political Culture of Independent Telephony, 1894-1913,” Business and Economic History On-Line, Vol. 1. This paper is more on AT&T but there is sufficient material on Canada to include it.


MacGibbon, Duncan A. (1932), The Canadian Grain Trade, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.


MacGregor, D.C. (1941), “Studies of the Cost of Living in Canada,” Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 7 (November No. 4), pp. 545-558. With a primary focus post 1930, both overall and sectoral (farmers, welfare recipients, etc.) studies and their methodological shortcomings are reviewed.


Mackay, Donald (1993), The People’s Railway: A History of Canadian National, Douglas and McIntyre. The book is a history of CN from its beginnings in 1918 to today and how this railroad company diversified and is now but a shell of what it once was.


MacKenzie, Herb F. and Anna Fredericks (2004), “From Early Commercial Travellers to Professional Salespeople: The Influence of Organized Associations on the Sales Profession,” *Proceedings of the Administrative Sciences Association of Canada (ASAC)*, Quebec City, 9 pages. The paper discusses the establishment Canadian sales professional associations for what they were called then as B2B ‘commercial travellers (and not pedlers which were more B2C, at least as stated in the article) from the late 1800 to today with the creation of the Canadian Professional Sales Association (CPSA) in 1991, along with creation of the CPSA Sales Institute in 1994, and the Certified Sales Professional (CSP) in 1997, the only accredited designation for salespeople in Canada.


if they were unilingual. Surprisingly, knowledge of both languages in the Montreal business community was high among both linguistic groups.


Macpherson, C.B. (1957), “The Social Sciences,” in Park, Julian ed. *Culture of Contemporary Canada*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, pp. 181-221. This edited book contains a series of articles on the cultural industries (poetry, theater, press, music, etc.) in contemporary Canada (post WW2) in response to the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letter and Sciences. The Commission led to the creation of the Canada Council in 1957. The preface needs to be read. The chapter by Macpherson is a must read for anyone wishing to know more about the origin of the social sciences in Canada, notably economics, and the French/English approaches to historical research, even in economic history, due to vastly different philosophical views and motives.


Macpherson, Mary-Etta (1963), *Shopkeepers to a Nation: The Eatons*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.


Maheu, Emile (1931), “La crise du blé,” Vol. 1 *Etudes économiques*, thèse présentée à la licence en sciences commerciales, mai, Montréal : Librairie Beauchemin, pp. 11-50. A student’s thesis for « licence en sciences commerciales », mai. The quality and level of research done are impressive for the 1930s. It discusses the wheat crises in the 1920s, the role of Russian wheat which was important at first but then fizzled out due to the Revolution and WW1, followed by a discussion on fluctuating wheat prices, etc. Many new refs were listed which I did not know. Unfortunately, the refs in the various volumes are presented in such a way that they cannot be easily found. Few of the 7-volume HEC collection had theses written in English.


Mallen, Bruce (1976), *A Preliminary Paper on the Levels, Causes and Effects of Economic Concentration in the Canadian Retail Food Trade: A Study of Supermarket Power*, Commissioned by the Food Prices Review Board, Faculty of Commerce, Concordia University.


Mancall, Peter (1995), *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. This book, along with Unrau's (1996) book, is written from a U.S. perspective. But alcohol was also a factor with Canadian Indians, even more so given that much trade was done across the border. The reviews by Alison Games


Marchand, Mario (2006), “Le troc des cultures algonkiens et Blancs dans la forêt des Trois-Rivières,” Cap–aux-Diamants, No. 80 (été), pp. 10-13. A rather flimsy text on the type of trade (mostly guns, etc.) between Algonquians and Whitemen in the 18th c., and even before. In general, this glossy and appealing journal is nice on colors but short on content.

Marchand, Suzanne (1997), Rouge à lèvres et pantalons: des pratiques esthétiques féminines au Québec, 1920-1939, Cahiers du Québec, Collection Ethnologie no. 116, Montréal : Les Editions Hurtubise HMH. Pages 25-46 discuss the beginning of consumer culture among French-speaking women in Quebec, the role played by magazines, and one in particular (la Revue Moderne, the predecessor of Chatelaine) as well as retail stores (notably dept stores and mail order catalog sales) in the 1920 to 30s, that fostered such a culture. I found some errors but what she did is quite interesting. She consulted almost exclusively French sources even when those were available in English (she used the translated copy). Basically, her book is about the rise of consumer culture among French-speaking women in Quebec via the content of a women’s magazine, called La Revue
Moderne, the predecessor of Chatelaine. She looked at articles and ads during this short time period (1920-1930 and not as the title suggests) and tried to reconstruct what was happening in Quebec especially with respect to Church doctrine which was against the feminization of women. She also did a series of interviews to record oral history of some women who lived through that period from 1920 to 1930, as the basis of her study of ads in that magazine. It was revealing how pure French Canadians were back then, and how much the Church controlled women's clothes, their social activities, in brief their lives. Mixed bathing, dancing too close, or even dancing and showing off bare shoulders were all considered taboo by prevailing catholic values of the 20s/30s. If only she had admitted that readers of that magazine were not typical, if only she had told us the circulation figure (we can only guess what the circulation was in the decade under study), what the cost of the magazine was in relation to the hard economic time period in Quebec (i.e. the Depression), who bought it, etc. If such issues had been discussed it would have given her study a lot more credibility. The book’s title states a time period of 1920 to 1939. Yet her research focuses only in the twenties. Chapter one discusses the beginning of the consumer culture among French-speaking women in Quebec, the role played by magazines, one in particular La Revue Moderne, the predecessor of Chatelaine, and the marketing influence of retail stores, notably dept stores and mail order sales in the 1920 to 30s that fostered such a culture. The author argues how these marketing influences made French-speaking women more conscious of their bodies, and more conscious of how they looked or how stylish their hair styles were, etc. Department stores, other retail outlets and women-oriented magazines all contributed to raise their level of consciousness of becoming more fashionable, to look pretty, to dress right, to be independent, to spend their money as they wished, to reject catholic values which restricted and even banned French speaking women to dress provocingly, to engage in certain social activities such as dancing, wearing bathing suits, to play certain sports etc. Of course, it was not only French-speaking women in Quebec that were subjected to such social influences but all Canadian women as well as other authors have found (Liverant, Hasting, etc.). Unlike other provinces, the stronghold of the Church on every day life in Quebec, makes for interesting reading of the beginning of consumer culture in an environment not quite the same as the rest of Canada.


Marchildon, Gregory (1996), Profits and Politics: Beaverbrook and the Gilded Age of Canadian Finance, Toronto: University of Toronto Press. The biography of Max Aitken, known later as Lord Beaverbrook, one of Canada’s leading financial entrepreneurs of the late 19th c. and early 20th century. The book was reviewed by Morris Altman (1997), Business History Review, Vol. 71 (Spring No. 1), pp. 130-132. Altman stated that Aitken was an important figure in the merger and acquisitions movement of his period which made Canadian companies more efficient.


Masters, John (2007), “Following in the footsteps of the fur traders,” *The Montreal Gazette*, July 7, page K3. An informative newspaper column describing the tour guide to visit HBC’s York Factory which had up to 65 buildings in the 19th century with a population of 2k. It was the Bay’s most important post located in Manitoba.


Matthews, Mary Catherine (1997), “Working for Family, Nation and God: Paternalism and the Dupuis Frères Department Store, Montreal, 1926-1952.” MA thesis, McGill University’s History department. Author’s abstract: “From 1868 to 1978, the Dupuis Frères department store serviced the French Montreal community from its headquarters on St. Catherine Street, east of Saint Laurent. This thesis looks at the management strategies of Dupuis Frères through its employee newspaper, Le Duprex, from 1926 to 1946, and then at their collapse with the Dupuis Frères strike in 1952. The Dupuis Frères management retained the loyalty of its employees by using a combination of paternalism and welfare capitalism. The company supported a union, organized leisure activities, provided sales incentives and rewarded loyalty financially and socially. In addition, the store integrated its French Canadian and Catholic identity with its employees' understanding of their work to impart cultural meaning to their employment. Dupuis Frères equated support for the company with the success of the French Canadian people, and its connections with the Catholic clergy added a sacred element to its enterprise. Dupuis Frères strike in 1952 divided French Canadians along class lines, and those who supported the workers were seen by neo-nationalists as doing so at the expense of French Canadian survival.” Available at: http://digitool.library.mcgill.ca/R/?func=dbin-jump full&object_id=20445&local_base=GEN01-MCG02

Matthews Thomas W. (1987), “Local Government and the Regulation of the Public Market in Upper Canada, 1800-1869: The Moral Economy of the Poor?,” *Ontario History*, Vol. 79 (December No. 4), pp. 297-326. The title gives you a wrong impression. It's a bad title. It's all about marketing and buyers and sellers in Ontario/Upper Canada public market pre 1860. He has 6 neat pictures of such markets and he discusses how consumers were served in such markets by bakers, farmers, butchers, etc. Where consumers protected or did public officials protect more the vendors with their rules and
regulations? He also makes a comparison of how such Upper Canada markets differed or were similar to medieval markets.


McAree, John Verner (1953), Cabbagetown Store, Toronto: Ryerson Press. Cabbagetown is a neighborhood located on the east side of downtown Toronto. It’s a working class, well-knit neighborhood of Victorian Toronto. Its community life in that era is substantially conveyed in the reminiscences of the city journalist, McAree, who was born within it in 1876 to Ulster immigrant parents and he grew up at the Cabbagetown Store he describes in his book. The account undoubtedly displays nostalgia and later, selective memory; yet allowing for these, and with corroborating evidence, one may broadly deem its picture valid.

McBurney, Margaret and Mary Byers (1987), Tavern in the Town: Early Inns and Taverns of Ontario, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.


McCalla, Douglas (1979), *The Upper Canada Trade 1834-1872: A Study of the Buchanans’ Business*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press. The general store is described as being a “fundamental economic institution in Canada at the foot of the long credit pyramid, selling all forms of imported merchandise, acting as a conduit for export commodities, and serving as the principal source of local credit” (George and Sworden, 1986, p. 263).

McCalla, Douglas (1983), “The ‘Loyalist’ Economy of Upper Canada, 1784-1806,” *Histoire sociale/Social History*, Vol. 16 November), pp. 279-304. The article discusses the population of Upper Canada which was around 6k in 1785 to 60K in 1811. He says that prices in Upper Canada were generally higher than in Montreal because Upper Canada was known as a high wage and high cost economy relative to Lower Canada. He describes the Upper Canada economy almost like an input/output system, with inputs coming from claims Loyalist obtained from England for their losses, the ongoing military expenditures paid by Britain, and wheat was a leading export to Britain by 1800/1801. Even though specie was scarce, it was not a subsistence economy and not one based on barter or “the glaring evils of the truck systems” (p. 301) but on credit. The internal economy of Upper Canada was also growing and this economy not only “began by loyalists but made by such settlers” with the founding of many artisan shops, breweries, asheries, carding mills, and even road developments.

McCalla, Douglas (1985), “The Internal Economy of Upper Canada: New Evidence on Agricultural Marketing Before 1850,” *Agricultural History*, Vol. 59 (3), pp. 397-416. Reprinted in J.K. Johnson and Bruce Wilson eds. (1989), *Historical Essays on Upper Canada New Perspectives*, Ottawa: Carleton University Press, pp. 237-260. He is trying to debate the role of wheat as a % of income earned by Upper Canada farmers before 1850 using data from dozens of farm accounts in the area. He was trying to see if farms were so dependent on wheat sales as had been reported by other researchers. He concluded that wheat was important but not as important has had been reported given that farms sold other crops, pork, etc.


McCalla, Douglas (1997), “Retailing in the Countryside: Upper Canadian General Stores in Mid-Nineteenth Century,” *Business and Economic History*, Vol. 26 (Winter No. 2), pp. 393-403. This article is based on a study of consumer purchases made at different Canadian general stores in 1861 by various customers. Some buyers where more like wholesalers buying for resale than for certain goods like leather, iron, even tea.


McCallum, John (1980), *Unequal Beginnings: Agriculture and Economic Development in Quebec and Ontario Until 1870*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Chapters 1 and 2 have a good discussion of wheat stable’s importance.
McCann, L.D. (1979), “Staples and the New Industrialism in the Growth of Post-Confederation Halifax,” Acadiensis, Vol. 8 (Spring No. 2), pp. 47-79. The article by Stein (1999) describing the industrialization of Cornwall, Ontario in roughly the same period is more business/marketing relevant than this one. This author uses a geographical approach to industrialism while forgetting to link Halifax with some U.S. markets, notably Boston.


McCready, Gerald (1972), Canadian Marketing Trends, Georgetown, ON: Irwin-Dorsey.


McDiarmid, Orville (1946), Commercial Policy in Canadian in the Economy, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. A book discussing tariffs and trade policy as espoused by various Canadian political parties in power over time. It’s a political economic view of what happened with the economy rather than discussing certain sectors. This book like many other in economic history fail to discuss distribution such as the retailing wholesaling sectors and their role to the economy’s development.


McIntosh, Robert (1993), “Sweated Labour: Female NeedleWorkers in Industrializing Canada,” *Labour/Le Travail*, Vol. 32 (Fall), pp. 105-138. An excellent historical account of sweated labour in Canada, especially in the garment industry. While marketing is not often mentioned, it is still important to include this text because this industry was an important source of income for tens of thousands of families, even though such income was insufficient for to the necessities of life. The garment workers were located mainly in
Quebec and Toronto. The article discusses how such work was done with the advent of technology such as the sewing machine, how much workers were paid. The poor working conditions, the very low wages, and the treatment of such workers led William Lyon Mackenzie King to do something for such workers. As a journalist he wrote articles on their plight, even a book. He was charged “with the preparation and enforcement of fair wage schedules in 1900.” But attempts at helping such workers were not very effective for many reasons, and sweat shops still exists today. It should be noted that Eaton’s was a predominant firm from 1900 to 1920 of manufacturing clothing in factories as opposed to outside contract work.


McManus, John (1972), “An Economic Analysis of Indian Behavior in the North American Fur Trade,” *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 32 (March No. 1), pp. 36-53. The author explains Indian trade behavior, property rights, enforcement costs, lack of organization, lack of territorial rights, no leader, unable to manage depletion of raw material (beaver), and Indians needed only simple innovations in securing raw material, etc. Exchange mechanisms cannot be easily dichotomized as market vs. non market. As the author explains, if taking a beaver for food in a territory that is not your own, that's ok but for the purpose of getting the fur for sale, then that's not OK. The author does not say what the intruder did with the fur after he ate the beaver for food. In any case, organization of markets then was complicated due to long established customs, lack of central enforcement agency, low penalties, etc.


McQueen, Rod (2001), *Can’t Buy Me love: How Martha Billes Made Canadian Tire Hers*. Toronto: Stoddart.


Metcalfe, Alan (1978), “Evolution of Organized Physical Recreation in Montreal 1840-1895,” *Social History/Histoire sociale*, Vol. 11 (May), pp.144-166. Commercial aspects of recreation are discussed on pp. 161-164, such as horse racing, prize fighting, boxing, wrestling, and cockfighting (it was illegal). These were more spectator sports linked more with gambling than actual physical exercises some of which were condemned by the Church, at least for French-speaking Montrealers. The author explores many types of sports practiced mostly by the elites (read Anglos) at least initially such as tennis and cricket. Industrialization and urbanization made most sports more accessible to all.


Mineault, Mario (1995), “Le capital industriel des pêches dans la baie de Gaspé de 1760-1866,” *Acadiensis*, Vol. 25 (Autumn No. 1), pp. 33-55. This article has very little to do with marketing and more to do with the subservient situation of Gaspé fishermen to their European merchant-creditors in the 19th c. Gaspé fishermen were in an industry they could not control due to laws, competition, treaties and other environmental factors which affected their livelihood. Their catch could not suffice to pay back what they owed/borrowed from merchants who supplied them with the necessities of life as well as the needed equipment to fish, and fishermen paid them back with their catch which was never enough to cover their debts. Even the Church got involved calling these merchant-creditors exploiters and holding these fishermen as hostage and in servitude. Yet the article stated that these men had a choice by diversifying into other businesses such as agriculture, forestry, whale hunting, or what have you. But they did not. They could have acquired other skills through education or other trades but they did not. They could have moved elsewhere but they did not. I think this text tried to rectify a long standing myth of the ills of foreign domination, of the Canadian government inaptnitude to come to the aid of these fishermen in the 19th c. without realizing that Canada, for better or for worse, was a British colony and any aid to help them or the required laws had to be approved by the British Parliament in London. On the plus side, there are many articles and textbooks cited dealing with the Canadian fishing industry.


Miner, Horace (1939), *St Denis: A French Canadian Parish*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press. An overview of the social and economic life of a small catholic parish located in rural Quebec in the mid 1930s.

Miner, Horace (1950), “A New Epoch in Rural Quebec,” *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 56 (July No. 1), pp. 1-10. The author goes back to St Denis de Kamouraska for 2weeks to see what social and economic changes have occurred since he published his research in 1938. He discusses many marketing–related improvements such as electricity, telephone, radio, better roads, increased car ownership, use of mail services which increased mail order shopping, buying of clothes from stores rather than making them, use of soap, eating of ice cream, buying bread rather than making it themselves, new technology for milk production, the growing use of household conveniences, the need to dress more like city people, increased savings, the establishment of a coop retail (general) store and since 1932, the provincial government subsidized the promotion of a caisse populaire, a mutual savings and loans association, and was successful in establishing one; the role of the federal government in increasing the standard of living by annual pensions and farm subsidies for less wheat farming toward more pork and milk production.

Miquelon, Dale (1988), “Canada’s Place in the French Imperial Economy: An Eighteen-Century Overview,” French Historical Studies, Vol. 15 (Spring No. 3), pp. 432-443. Canada was, according to the author, a supplier of agricultural products when it was available and it was used more as a military role “securing alliances with Indians to keep Anglo-Americans out of the Great lakes and Mississippi basins.” Also, a look at mercantilism, Colbertism and the influence of Louis the 14th on trade with Canada in the 1700s.


Mitchell, H. (1916), “The Co-Operative Store in Canada,” Queen’s Quarterly, Vol. 23, pp. 317-338. The author discusses the difference between a joint stock company and the co-operative system. He says that coops have been a disaster in both US and Canada, yet very successful in Europe. He says that Quebec with its people’s bank (Desjardin) is the only province in which coops have been successful. He refers to James Mitchell, the father of Canadian Cooperation. Was he the author’s father? He says that 80 coop stores started from 1861, but most failed and in NS many were successful. He then traces coops stores in Ontario from 1904, but does not discuss any of them from western Canada.


Monod, David (1996), Store Wars: Shopkeepers and the Culture of Mass Marketing, 1890-1939, Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Reviewed by Thomas McCraw (1997), Journal of American History, Vol. 84 (September No. 2), pp. 716-717. Also reviewed by David Benson (1997), Business History, Vol. 39 (July No. 3), pp. 143-144. In the late 1910s, 3 Canadian universities offered courses in retailing, and so did other educational establishments. We can see that his approach to retailing is more macro that micro showing how shopkeepers were part of the social fabric of Canadian society in the late 19th c. and early 20th c.; how women and immigrants were viewed and ostracized, not only in retail but in Canadian society as a whole. He's an historian but more like a marketing/social historian. His chapter 1, pp. 17-53, is the most pertinent to marketing.

Monod, David (1996), “Down on the farm: reading Jeffery Taylor's Fashioning farmers: ideology, agricultural knowledge and the Manitoba Farm Movement,” Manitoba History No. 32 (Autumn), pp. 2-9. A book essay on Taylor’s (1994) Fashioning Farmers: Ideology, Agricultural Knowledge and the Manitoba Farm Movement, 1890-1925, Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre. The review is a mix bag of concepts with invented words. The redeeming value of the article is the amount and type of data the Federal Govt obtained from farmers and farms while neglecting to obtain much information from those living in urban areas during the same period. The book was also reviewed in the 1998 issue of American Review of Canadian Studies, Vol. 28 (March No. 1-2), pp. 185-189.


Moogk, Peter (2001), *La Nouvelle France The Making of French Canada-A Cultural History*, East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press. “Moogk found that many early immigrants to New France were reluctant exiles from their homeland and that a high percentage returned to Europe. Those who stayed, the Acadians and Canadians, were politically conservative and retained Old Régime values: feudal social hierarchies remained strong; one's individualism tended to be familial, not personal; Roman Catholicism molded attitudes and was as important as language in defining Acadian and Canadian identities. It was, Moogk concludes, the pre-French Revolution Bourbon monarchy and its institutions that shaped modern French Canada, in particular the Province of Quebec, and set its people apart from the rest of the nation.” The book was reviewed by Greer (2003), *French Colonial History*, Vol. 4, pp. 15-18, with many insights as to its importance toward understanding modern Quebec, unlike the review by Dean Lauder (2001), *Journal of American History*, Vol. 88 (September No. 2), pp. 619-620, which rejects Moogk's historical thesis and prefers a more nationalist view of modern French Canada/Quebec.

Moogk, Peter (2003), “Writing the Cultural History of Pre-1760 European Colonists,” *French Colonial History*, Vol. 4, pp. 1-14. A text showing the importance of archaeological evidence which may contradict written evidence. He says that in 1723, the intendant of New France stated that coins were not used to receive and make payments while the physical evidence in Louisbourg and Quebec City, mass amount of copper and bronze coins were found. He also stated that traders’ estate inventories rarely found cash on hand. How could a merchant in New France function without currency? He then discovered that money was absent when there was a widow in the house. She was allowed to keep it without a need to report it with the other assets when inventory was made, which goes against the notion that “many of New France’s merchants operated in a cashless, barter economy” (p. 9).

Moore, Albert Milton (1970), *How Much Price Competition: The Prerequisites of an Effective Canadian Competition Policy*, Montreal: McGill-Queen’s Press. This is a book in which the author criticizes numerous marketing activities ranging from advertising, price promotions, exclusive dealings, consignment selling, vertical integration, RPM, etc. as if they were wasteful to the Canadian market. He seems to question sacrosanct approaches used in marketing practice. He was an economist at UBC’s Dept. of Economics.


Morris, Keith (1920), *The Story of the Canadian Pacific Railway*, London: William Stevens. A 128 page book describing the history of the CPR, why it was built, the immigrant who helped built it. It is a fascinating story, part of Canada’s heritage.

Morrison, David (2009), *Profit & Ambition: The North West Company and the Fur Trade 1779-1821*, Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization. A 64 page book is a catalogue of an exhibit under the same name that opened at the Museum for a year. The book was reviewed by Michael Payne (2010), *Manitoba History*, No. 64 (Fall), page 39.

Morrow, Don (1996), “Frozen Festivals: Ceremony and the Carnival in the Montreal Winter Carnivals, 1883-1889,” *Sport History Review*, Vol. 27, (November No. 2), pp. 173-190. “The purpose of this paper is to explain the rise and demise of the Montreal, Canada, winter carnivals during the 1880s in terms of concepts and constructs related to carnival and to the theatre of sport.” This article contains questionable conclusion made by the author in terms of the segment who were organizing the festival and the people who attended the festivities. Also, the authors did not discuss much the business implications spill over effects of these carnivals in terms of adv and promotion, pricing, restaurants, hotels, etc. much.


Morse, Eric W. (1961), “Voyageurs’ Highway The Geography and Logistics of the Canadian Fur Trade,” *Canadian Geographical Journal*, Vol. 62 (January No. 1), pp. 148-161. Second part: Geography of the fur trade routes and what they have meant to the development of Canada, Overcoming Navigational Obstacles, Vol. 63 (July No. 1), pp. 2-17. Third part: “Voyageurs’ Highway The Canadian Fur Trade Its Logistics, and Contribution to Canadian Development,” Vol. 63 (August No. 2), pp. 64-75. A 3-part article with lots of pictures. In the first part, Morse says “they would have two sets of canoes, rendez-vous half way, swap loads, return thus licking the problem of covering a 6000 mile return trip in the five ice-free months” (p. 161). He also said that this route was still used in the late 19th c., and it helped Montreal manage the fur trade.


Moyer, Mel ed. (1969), *Science in Marketing Management*, Bureau of Research, Faculty of Administrative Studies, Toronto: York University. This 87 page monograph is the result of a series of distinguished lectures in Marketing at York. The monograph has articles from Michael Halbert, Philip Kotler, Perry Bliss, William Wells, James Heskett and Eugene Kelley, all American scholars.


Moyer, Mel ed. (1978), *Marketers and Their Publics: A Dialogue*, Toronto: York University, Faculty of Administrative Studies. This monograph is the result of the 1977 Stimulus Conference held at York University. The nine papers are from Canadian and American academics (e.g. Hans Thorelli) as well as industry people.


Surprisingly, the classification used resembles Theodore Beckman in his *Marketing* textbook. Some of the statistical data presented come from Quebec sources and not federal ones. He discusses the wholesale sector and the competition the sector is being subjected to by both manufacturers and retailers. He also compares 1930 retail data with the 1939 ones. Unlike other such studies, he also discusses retail services in 1930 along with the number of such establishments and their economic value such as warehousing, leisure and amusement services, funeral services, and so forth.


Neatby, Hilda (1971-1972), “Pierre Guy: A Montreal Merchant,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 5 (Winter No. 2), pp. 224-242. A very interesting article to read. It’s the life of a post Conquest Canadian merchant (read French Canadian). A major street is named after him. He represented what was needed then and is needed now in this city: a businessman recognizing the need to link up with others like him, whether they are French or English. He was avant garde, preferring to be bilingual, resisting the French seigniorial system because it gave too much power to a certain class. It illustrates that being French after the Conquest did not mean that Canadians could not do business any more or that they were blocked or forbidden to carry out their trade. It goes against the
myth propagated by French Canadian revisionists. The business environment simply changed and he adapted successfully. He was not very fond of the clergy.


Newman, Peter C. (1978), Bronfman Dynasty: The Rothschilds of the New World, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. This is an effort to tell the story of the Canadian establishment and the Bronfman family of Montreal and New York.

Newman, Peter (1989), *Empire of the Bay: An Illustrated History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, editor John Geiger, Toronto: Viking Studio/Madison Press. This 224 page book “volume chronicles the colorful 319-year history of the Hudson's Bay Company whose mercantile empire at one time extended from the Arctic Sea to Hawaii. With verve and seeming omniscience, Newman tells outsize tales of the remarkable characters who manned the lonely outposts, Montreal mansions and London boardrooms of the HBC. He writes of the adventurers who explored the wilderness for the company; the internecine wars of fur traders; the establishment of forts and settlements; the parliamentary squabbles and backroom deals manipulated by HBC to retain its monopoly; and the present-day department-store chain, The Bay.”


Newman, Richard A. (1983), "A Brief History of the Fur Trade", *Valuation*, Vol. 29 (December), pp. 84-101. The author spends much time discussing the modern manufacturing of furs. The list of animal-furs is interesting. He discusses sales promotions which can have an impact on perceived value of furs. Finally, he discusses fur repairs and fur depreciation given that the trade publication is on valuation.

Nicole, Laurent (1934), “The exportation of Canadian dairy products,” Vol. 4, *Etudes économiques*, thèse présentée à la licence en sciences commerciales, mai, Montréal : Librairie Beauchemin, pp. 325-373. One of the most complete student theses on the Canadian dairy industry ever done for the period with its impressive list of references. Canada was exporting lots of dairy products in competition with New Zealand, Holland, etc.

Nish, Cameron (1968), *Les Bourgeois-gentilshommes de la nouvelle France, 1729-1748*, Montréal: Editions Fides. The author discusses sources of revenues for seigneurs (chapter 5). The book was reviewed by Norman Taylor (169), *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 9 (September No. 3), pp. 592-593. A rather negative review by Yves Zoltvany (1970), *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 27 (April No. 2), pp. 338-339 rejects the research findings. Nish attempted to document the existence of a bourgeoisie class in New France during the pre-Conquest period because others had asserted that it did not exist and if it did, only in very small numbers. Using archival data he found that there was a bourgeois class among seigneurs and government officials, a conclusion that did not sit well with Zoltvany.


Norcliffe, Glenn (2001), *The Roots to Modernity: The Bicycle in Canada 1869-1900*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press. The bicycle’s relationship to change and progress in a period of dramatic transition. The bicycle was one of the first products for which the sale of related accessories became increasingly important.


O'Donnell, Lorraine (2002), “Visualizing the History of Women at Eaton’s, 1869-to 1976,” unpublished doctoral dissertation, Department of History, McGill University. Abstract: “The thesis examines the place of female customers and employees at the T. Eaton Company of Canada between 1869 and 1976. The central argument is that the word "witness" conveys well the nature of their place in this, one of the most important retail firms in Canadian history. Women were witnesses for the Eaton's and its development. They attested to and consolidated the company by collectively supporting it in huge numbers, whether as customers or personnel. Women were also key eyewitnesses of Eaton's, of its merchandise and marketing, its stores and catalogues. Women bought into the Eaton's buying and selling strategies that privileged appearances, and the company assumed and fostered this visually-centered role, helping to construct it and
encouraging women to adopt it. The main body of the thesis is divided in two. Part I examines the company's foreign activities and the role of women therein. Following a description of the firm's foreign buying system is an examination of three of its main regions: Japan, Europe and the U.S.A. The closer the region was to Canada, the more familiar it was to Eaton's, the more female Eatonians were employed there, and the more these women were able carve out a niche for themselves as expert witnesses like fashion buyers or fashion reporters. Part II discusses the place of women in the company's activities within Canada. First, it outlines the history of and tensions between the company's two main retail sites: stores and catalogues. While run by men, these sites were "spectacles of women" including salesclerks, mannequins and customers.


Olijnyk, Zena (2002), "Bay Watch," Canadian Business, Vol. 75 (June), pp. 90-96. The article discusses the plight of the Bay with Zellers, having 323 stores (vs. 177 for Wal-Mart), and 100 Bay stores. Partnership with Martha Stewart line will cease as of March 1st 2003, to be taken over by Sears.


*Ontario Heritage Foundation* (2004), “Santa Claus Parade,” an informative five page summary of the history of the parade from the very first one held in Dec. 1905, with its cancelation in Winnipeg in 1967, in Montreal in 1968 (due to FLQ bomb threats), and finally in 1982 due to the severe economic time of the period. Available at: www.heritagefdn.on.ca/userfiles/page_attachments/Library/1/1831894_Santa_Claus_Parade_ENG.pdf


fairs—provides an excellent example of the insight to be gained by charting similar rural phenomenon over a wide geographic area."


Ouellet, Fernand et Jean Hamelin (1962), « La Crise agricole dans le Bas-Canada (1802-1837) », Etudes rurales, Vol. 7 (octobre-décembre), pp. 36-57. An important milestone in les habitants’ survival in Lower Canada. Poor harvests lasted for more than a quarter of a century which made it difficult for farmers to eke out a living.

Ouellet, Fernand (1962), « Les Fondements historiques de l'option séparatiste dans le Québec," Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 43 (septembre), pp. 185-203. This paper traces the historical reasons which gave rise to Quebec separatism from the time of the Conquest, the passage of the Quebec Act in 1774, the Rebellion of 1837 and the interwar period. The strongest part of the paper is when he discusses separatism before 1840. Economic weaknesses in Lower Canada were not caused by the Brits or as a result of the Conquest because 25 years after the Conquest, the fur trade was more or less the same as before. In other words, business as usual and the Brits had, by and large, no issue with the French language especially with the passage of the Quebec Act of 1774 which gave religious autonomy to a colony, a right which did not exist not only in other British colonies but in Britain as well. Indeed, as the author says, Canadians (that’s what FCs were called then) need to accept some of the blame for their economic inferiority because they were too conservative, less risk takers, wishing to stay too much on the land as farmers, and ignoring economic changes that were taking place away from furs and agriculture towards more industrialization and commerce. In fact, the real threat after the Conquest was not the Brits but HBC and fur traders from New England. Let’s not forget that 1789 marked the beginning of the French Revolution which had an impact on French Canada. French Canada resisted the British monarchy and the parliamentary type of government without ever having lived under such a participatory democratic system of government. Most French Canadians living in Lower Canada were illiterate and as a result, their voice was under represented in a parliamentary democracy. This was in contrast to those having money and education which enabled them to influence political decisions favoring them. The clergy and high ranking members of French society were
not in favor of being governed under a democratic system and both resisted change, preferring to encourage FCs to opt for the liberal professions (notary, law, priesthood, doctors) but not business and specialized trades in finance or industry/manufacturing. Being a merchant was also considered a trade but it was more localized the opposite of what was happening to the Canadian economy from the late 18th and 19th c. with trade expanding westward, south to the USA, with Britain and with Europe. Briefly, French Canadian political and economic institutions and the values they espoused did not keep pace with changing market and social conditions taking place not only in Lower Canada, but in Upper Canada and the USA as well (capitalism, more education, risk taking, new ways of earning a living, moving away, urbanization, establishing a network other than just family members, learning to do business in English, associating with non French members of society, being better informed, dealing with banks, investing in equipment, etc.). The lack of adjustment to a new economic reality resulted in French Canada being poorer, less educated, more rural, more conservative, more likely to follow church doctrine, have more kids, etc. than Upper Canada. Their very slow rate of accepting change resulted in FCs becoming poorer than Brits living in Lower Canada. Under harsh economic conditions, it was easy to find a scapegoat: the English were to blame for their misery. The harder the economic times, the more the blame was put on the English, and stronger separatist opinions grew only to be abated in good times. This scenario was repeated again when things got worse. If only FCs could separate from Canada, all would be just fine. The reality is that Britain could not allow such a break, notably during the Rebellion of 1837, not only for the Brits living in Lower Canada but also the fate of Upper Canada was at stake, a reality which escaped the patriots. The same scenario seems to be repeating itself even today. Of course, uncontrollable factors, too briefly mentioned by the author, also had major impact on French Canada’s social and economic development. The 1776 Declaration of Independence by the American saw a large influx of American Loyalists who settled in both Upper and Lower Canada. How many is unclear. These Loyalists came to Canada with a desire to succeed and, perhaps, were unaware of French Canada’s economic problems, having their own issues of adaptability and survival to deal with in this British colony. The scarcity of jobs in rural French Quebec and the harshness of eking out a living on the land (outside of the St Lawrence valley) were so bad that many ventured to Montreal’s in search of a job during the city’s industrial revolution (roughly from the 1880s to 1930s), enough to depress wages due to manpower surplus. Not only did FCs move to Montreal but roughly 475,000 people left Quebec between 1840 to 1890, with the vast majority being French Canadians seeking industrial employment in the United States, notably in New England textile mills, according to Lewis (2000, p. 41).


Ouellet, Fernand (1976), «Le mythe de l’habitant sensible au marché, » *Recherches sociographiques*, Vol. 17, pp. 115-132. A rebuttal of the works of Goff-Wallot and Paquet concerning a number of texts they published on price, the state of agricultural
development in New France, and the rise of French Canadian nationalism after the Conquest, among other issues.

Ouellet, Fernand with Jan Hamelin and Richard Chabot (1982) « Les prix agricoles dans les villes et les campagnes du Québec d’avant 1850, aperçus quantitatifs» Social History/Histoire sociale, Vol. 15 No 29 (May), pp. 83-127. The authors compiled the price of goods from cities and rural areas of Quebec between 1760-1850 such as wheat, cord of wood, butter, hay, flour, lard, eggs, beef per lb, oat, etc.

Ouellet, Fernand (1992), « Développement et sous développement en milieu colonial préindustriel, » Acadiensis, Vol. 22 (Automne No. 1), pp. 146-168. A review essay covering many topics and the author tends to ramble on. The title is wrong, it should be: How the truck system, pre-1900, was unfair to Lower Canada workers. Ouellet seems to make many claims that are not substantiated, at least in this text. This article rambles on from the 17th c. to the 20th c. and he goes from topic to topic looking at staples such as fish (mostly cod), wood, agriculture and the state of workers in these industries. Its main theme is that the truck system is the root cause of colonization, exploitation of workers and retards economic development of the region. Moreover, the truck system is controlled by urban merchants who have power over the locals who are poor working people. He calls these workers sedentary people and they have no choice but to accept what is offered to them. He often refers to these urban merchants as British foreigners and even those living in Jersey, a British isle at the time or foreign controlled Montreal! He makes other outrageous comments such as if the truck system had not been in place in Newfoundland, the Island would have developed more. He has a nasty way of citing refs in the text but not at the bottom of each page as is the norm for this Journal. Many such refs cited in the text are incomplete with no year or page number or type of journal/book. He mentions ad nauseam the truck system but did not elaborate on it from an historical perspective as to why it was developed in the first place and where. Such a review essay, using Lower Canada as an example, would have been more scholarly, informative and a contribution. After all, this truck system was used in places other than in far off colonies. He fails to distinguish truck system with barter and sometimes calls truck system a credit system. He makes no mention of what it took to go into business, hire workers, to take risks or what the rules of trade required back then to succeed. He seems to be concerned with urban merchants and even local ones, how they exploited the workers to the point that they may have impoverished them.


Park, Julian ed. (1957), *Culture of Contemporary Canada*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. A series of articles on the social sciences and cultural views in contemporary Canada. The preface needs to be read.


Parr, Joy (2000), “Reinventing Consumption,” *The Beaver*, Vol. 80 (February/March No. 1), pp. 66-70. An historical look at the way Canadian families went from making to consuming in the past 100 years at a slower rate than U.S. consumers. There are also hints on how the market sometimes failed to respond to Canadian tastes.


Patrick, Allen (1955), La margarine peut-elle remplacer le beurre ? Institut d’économie appliquée, étude no 8, Montreal : Ecole HEC.

Patterson, Norman (1906), "Evolution of a Department Store," Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature, Vol. 27 (September No. 5), pp. 425-438. The article discusses the Canadian department store story, emphasizing the Simpson Company. It has a number of illustrations.

offered an increasingly varied and up to date selection of reasonably priced fashionable dress goods, trims, millinery and accessories both locally and Canada wide through mail order catalogues, distinctions between the well-dressed Montrealer and her less affluent fellow citizens began to blur. By the early 1890s fashion reflected a growing demand for practical, more simplified clothing. As women entered the workforce and engaged in active sports, collective taste adjusted to the introduction of ready-made, yet perfectly acceptable man-tailored suits, blouses, skirts and shirtwaists freeing Canadians from total dependence on foreign imports or their own sewing skills in order to be fashionably dressed."


Pennie, T.E. (1956), “The Influence of Distribution Costs and Direct Investments on British Exports to Canada,” *Oxford Economic Papers*, new series Vol. 8 (September No. 3), pp. 229-244. A marketing paper discussing not only the cost of physical distribution of British exports to Canada but also of promotion, channel members, etc. It compares the lower cost of goods sold in Britain vs. the same goods sold in Canada but at higher prices.


Perron, Robert (1933), « La concurrence des magasins à succursales multiples dans le commerce d’épicerie », Vol. 3, *Etudes économiques*, thèse présentée à la licence en sciences commerciales, mai, Montréal : Librairie Beauchemin, pp. 135-158. The text discusses the chain store controversy in the U.S. in the late 20s and early 30s with but with a Quebec flavor. His list of refs cited is impressive. He gives much information as to what was happening in Quebec pre- 1933. The text shows clearly how the politics of distribution was alive and well with small independents wanting to legislate their growth, even to tax them which some cities in Quebec managed to do. Basically, it's a text on the advantages of the chain store method of selling vs. small independents. The author goes through every aspect of the business model from buying, adv, accounting, profits, size, etc. to show how the chain store is more productive than small independents. What is so surprising is that Quebec still has too many independents, for e.g. in food distribution.
But that has changed drastically in the last 15 year with the arrival of Loblaw’s with Metro and others behaving more like chains. But why did it take more than 50 years for Quebec retailers to realize that chains were more productive than small independents?


Peterson, Jacqueline with John Afinson (1985), “The Indian Fur Trade: A Review of Recent Literature,” *Manitoba History*, No. 10, Autumn, pp. 1-13. A wide ranging examination of then current research and the range of positions taken on controversial issues, especially the role of Indian tradition as a factor affecting the fur trade. It is argued then recent research revealed the fur trade to be essentially an Indian trade and that Indian fur trade history was but one aspect of Indian ethnohistory. Available at: www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/mb_history/10/indianfurtrade.shtml


Piva, Michael (1979), *The Condition of the Working Class in Toronto–1900-1921*, Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press. An excellent description of the health, food and housing conditions of working class Toronto families during the period. What is unique about this book, compared to Bradbury’s (1993) description of working class Montreal families, is the care and dedication by some people to alleviate the poor living conditions of Torontonians. Laws were passed by committed people who were horrified by what they saw (privies, contaminated water and milk, unsanitary food handling, poor sewage treatment, slums, poor factory working conditions, etc.). In other words, things were done to improve living conditions. In fairness, the Bradbury study did not cover the same time period but living conditions in Montreal about a generation before which may explain the absence of political action. The author concludes by saying that living conditions were a bit better than in Montreal during the same period. Bradbury and others, members of the Montreal History Group, do not dwell enough on those people in Montreal (French and English) who made a difference and the problems they faced with their recommended changes. For e.g., what laws (municipal and provincial) were passed, what committees were in charge of making things better and what control mechanisms were in place to make sure the laws were respected. It is relevant to describe the living conditions of families back then but what is also important is that the status quo was unacceptable. The care of the poor, health, and worker issues were largely a local community problem requiring the help of volunteers, religious and charity organizations and not a state responsibility. One also needs to read carefully the Lewis (2000) study, a geographic historian, to know more about the living conditions of Montrealers and especially FCs, working in various manufacturing sectors, from 1850 to 1930.


Plumptre, Beryl (1978), “Improving Interaction Between Marketers and Consumer Groups,” in Mel Moyer ed. *Marketers and Their Publics: A Dialogue*, Toronto: York University, Faculty of Administrative Studies, pp. 123-165. She was President of the Consumers Association of Canada, Chairman of the Food Prices Review Board and Deputy Chairman of the Anti-Inflation Board.


Pomerleau, Jeannie (1990), *Métiers ambulants d’autrefois*, Montréal: Guérin littérature. A 467 page book discussing all those who earned a living as itinerants in the later part of
the 19th c. and part of the 20th c. Many were entertainers, traveling circuses, shoe repairmen, door to door sellers, etc. Many are still in existence today in Quebec as knife sharpeners and the traveling amusement parks. The book was reviewed in the 1994 Spring issue of *Journal of Canadian Studies* (8 pages).
http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3683/is_199404/ai_n8725527


Porritt, Edward (1918), “Canada’s Natural Grain Route,” *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 33 (September No. 3), pp. 344-377. A study of changes since Confederation in the way grain was stored, transported to seaports and shipped to overseas markets.


nouveaux regards, nouvelle perspectives, Québec : Musée du Québec, les publications du Québec, pp. 11-35. The author describes the market for art, notably painting and other art objects. Quebec artists were in the minority and had difficulty making a living due to the limited market. As a result some went elsewhere, such as NYC, to seek better opportunities for their art career. During this period, most art buyers were English-speaking merchants and other non French buyers. Some of the rich merchants who bought art were Johan Christopher Reiffenstein, Josiah Cary, and Giovani D. Balzaretti. Of course, a major buyer was the Catholic Church which imported many art objects for that numerous churches all over Quebec. Porter stated that from 1815 to 1855, from 442 to 18,556 paintings were imported from Europe, and most were of religious nature with few landscapes. In this same book a chapter by Paul Bourassa “Regards sur la ressemblance: le portrait au Bas-Canada, pp. 36-449 offers two key ideas. One he provides a description of well to do homes back then and the art objects they had. He also gives some details of how much painting would sell for. Some artists would go door to door while others were given contracts (i.e. commissioned) by the State. He also gives a brief discussion on the social structure of Quebec (see his ref 13 on p.47).

Porter, John R. ed. (1993), Living in Style Fine Furniture in Victorian Quebec, Montreal: The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts and Musée de la civilisation. This fine book on the type of Quebec furniture owned by the bourgeois living mostly in Montreal but in Quebec City as well, was the result of an exhibition held at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, October to May and from March 4 to May 16, 1993 at the Musée de la civilisation in Quebec City, from October 19, 1993 to April 24, 1994. The book has hundreds of pictures of original furniture, some made in Quebec and some imported. The furniture is a manifestation of how la bourgeoisie lived in the period 1830 to late 19th c. The chapters of interest are chapter 1 by Johanne Daigle “Quebec Society in the Victorian Age,” pp. 31-48. This chapter is a summary of the Quebec way of life for the bourgeois class during the Victorian age. She discusses the commercial development of the province, and how the industrial revolution affected Quebec commerce from the late 1700s. One important contribution of the chapter is her discussion on how the Church controlled just about every aspect of French Canadian life during the period. Other authors discuss the meaning of the living room, dining room, bedroom and so forth. Porter discusses the furniture market and manufacturers during that period (pp. 269-291). Caron (pp. 323-347) presents a biography of a Quebec cabinet maker called William Drum.


Poulin, Bryan, Michael Hackman and Carmen Babarasa-Mihani (2007), “Leadership and Succession: the Challenge to Succeed and the Vortex of Failure,” *Leadership, Vol. 3 (3),* pp. 301-334. These authors claim on p. 312 that by the mid 1950s, Eaton’s accounted for an astounding 58% of all Canadian retail sales (compared to 15% for Wal-Mart today). Such a figure is very false. These authors need to know more about how Stats Canada gathers retail sales. For one thing, retail sales include automobile sales, Eaton’s was a private family-owned company in the 1950s (until the late 1990s), and sales figures were not officially available. The 58% looks like Eaton’s may have had 58% of department store sales; but department store sales account but a fraction of all retail sales in Canada. Later, when the discount stores made their way in Canada, discount stores such Zellers, Woolco and others were called “discount” department stores by the retail industry or junior department stores. In any case, Stats Canada did not label such types of retail stores. It was the retail industry that gave them such labels.


Pragnell, Bradley (1989), *Organizing Department Store Workers the Case of the RWDSU at Eaton’s 1983-1987,* School of Industrial Relations Research Essay Series No. 22, Kingston, Ontario: Industrial Relations Centre, Queen's University.


Pritchard, James (1972), “Commerce in New France” in David MacMillan ed. *Canadian Business History,* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, pp. 27-43. An overview of French merchants, mainly from La Rochelle, doing business with the colonists in the 17th and 18th centuries. The author describes the trade restrictions imposed by France, and the persistent lack of specie to pay for imported goods and the services within the colony. France supplied many goods but the colonists bartered mostly furs.


Pronovost, Claude (1998), La bourgeoisie marchande en milieu rural 1720-1840, Québec: Les Presses de l’Université Laval. This is the author’s 1996 PhD dissertation from the University of Montreal under a different title. This book describes various types of small merchants who lived in rural areas, near Montreal. The methodology used is typical for such historical work: using inventory of deceased merchants to assess the goods they sold. The author covers many issues related to small rural merchants, such as their credit alternatives, types of merchants and the evolution of small retail shops (i.e. some retail history but the theme is underdeveloped), their standard of living, investments of the bourgeoisie marchande and the seigneurial system in and around Montreal, the sale of potash, and real estate investments. Unfortunately, this mix bag of topics is not well covered in this small 200 page book. While the author provides us with a typology of merchants which too many historians use the term in a generic sense, he presents us with a list of different types but without much explanation as to their origin, etc. such as: marchands cultivateurs, marchands artisans, marchands aubergistes, marchands de fourrures, marchands généraux, marchands de campagne, marchands ruraux, and finally, négociants, which he does not explicitly state that these were perhaps mainly wholesalers from Montreal. In any case, he fails to tell how these various merchants differed much from one another, except by the goods they sold. It’s not clear to what extent these rural merchants were only producers of goods themselves (such as cultivateurs) and if being a merchant was a part time job, as most likely was the case. The supply links from Montreal are not well discussed. He discusses many family merchants with numerous tables listing the inventory and wealth of a number of them, which tends to be very descriptive.


Ray, Arthur (1980), “Indians as Consumers in the Eighteenth Century,” in Carol Judd and Arthur Ray eds. Old Trails and New Directions Papers of the Third North American Fur Trade Conference, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 255-277. Reprinted in Ken Coates and Robin Fisher eds. (1996), Out of the Background: Readings on Canadian Native History, Toronto: Coop Clark, pp. 134-149. A first rate text describing how European made goods had to meet Indian requirements due to weather conditions and the uses made of such goods by Indians. Indians had no experience with metal goods (such as knives, guns, axes, kettles, etc.). As a result, when metal goods broke down, Indians lacked access to replacement parts or repairs done by blacksmiths which were not available at best only once or twice per year when they traveled to trading posts. As a result, such goods had to be tailor-made to meet the needs of Indians. The text also shows the extent to which Indians capitalized on French-traded goods saying that British goods were of inferior quality in order to get better terms of trade. In essence Indian tastes forced British suppliers to improve the goods traded with Indians for furs. The marketing concept at work, competition between France vs. British, channels issues, technology issues, politics of distribution, complaints behavior, international sources of supply, returned goods, customer satisfaction, etc.


Reid, Allana (1953), “General Trade Between Quebec and France During the French Regime,” Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 34 (March No. 1), pp. 18-32. A first rate article on imports and exports between Lower Canada/Quebec and France in the 18th c. The article is based in part on the author’s 1950 PhD dissertation (the development and importance of the town of Quebec, 1608-1760, McGill), and A.J.E. Lunn (1942) PhD thesis (Economic development of New France, 1713-1760, McGill), as well as new archival research. It contains a wealth of information on the way the King managed New France in the 18th c. The author says that “the fur trade dominated the economic life of New France but it would be wrong to assume that the fur trade was the only essential element in the external commercial life of the economy.” After all, New France was
industrializing, was innovative, the population was growing, etc. The author alluded that the fall of New France was due in part to the difficulty of getting goods to New France because of the risks involved and the many barriers involved such as attacks and the dangerous travel conditions. “France simply could not provide the necessary protection.” As a result, Britain controlled the Atlantic and “Quebec lost her life-blood of goods and munitions” needed for survival. The number of trips between Quebec and many ports in France were quite high given that only one round trip a year could be made due to winter and time of travel. Storage costs were very high. As a result, private businesses entered the market and made some entrepreneurs on both side very rich for they were able to bypass the tariffs on imported goods entering into New France. These entrepreneurs were competing with the King’s “Magasin du Roy” in which all goods were bought and then resold by the King to Indians, at retail and wholesale and the military. These crafty businessmen set up their own “magasin” called “La Friponne” sold their goods at lower prices and even the Jesuits were involved in this shady but lucrative private business venture. Most goods which entered New France were duty free except brandies, wine, tobacco and some dry goods. Later, more goods were subject to tariffs because France needed the money.


Reilly, Philip J. (1966), *Old Masters of Retailing*, NY: Fairchild Publications. A review of 35 department stores located in the US, Canada and the UK, including Eaton’s. The book is devoid of any references. As a result, caution is advised when accepting the many claims made until more historical evidence supports the claims made. For example, he says that Eaton’s of Canada had for many years “the world’s largest telephone system devoted to retail selling. The Eaton’s downtown Toronto retail complex alone now handles as many as 100,000 calls per day” (p. 50).


*Report of the Board of Inquiry into the Cost of Living* (1915), Vol. 11, Ottawa: King’s Printer.


Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labour (1889), Ottawa, See volume 5, Quebec evidence.

Report of the Commission on Cooperative Associations (1945), Ottawa: King’s Printer.

Report of the Royal Commission of Grain Trade of Canada (1906), Ottawa: King’s Printer.

Report of the Royal Commission on Price Spreads (1935), W.W. Kennedy, Chairman Ottawa: J.O. Patenaude, Printer to the King. One report, published in January 1934, sometimes called the Stevens report, was called Special Committee on Price Spreads and Mass Buying: Proceedings and Evidence, Vol. 1 Ottawa: King’s Printer. However, the 1935 report is close to 500 pages with a large number of pages devoted to distribution and retail stores, including Eaton’s, Simpsons, and others. The fundamental purpose of the Royal Commission was to “to inquire into and investigate the causes of the large spread between the prices received for commodities by the producer thereof, and the price paid by the consumer therefor; and the system of distribution in Canada of farm and natural products, as well as manufactured products (p. 1). Pages pertinent to marketing: pp. 107-108, 119-124; all of chapter 7, pp. 200-233; chapter 8, pp. 234-247; pp. 349-354, and pp. 405-425. These pages present the state of retailing in Canada from department stores to chain stores, etc. Data on retail wages are presented as well as some financial statements for Simpsons, Eaton’s and HBC. Surprisingly, there is very little or nothing at all on wholesaling or on Canadian wholesale organizations as if they did not exist, which means a major sector of the economy was neglected or assumed to be irrelevant for this inquiry. It said ad nauseum that large retailers dealt directly with producers, which is more a myth than reality. For a limited set of goods maybe and for large retailers, but not for all goods sold at retail even those sold in dept stores, and certainly not for small retailers, and not for all goods sold in B2B market. The large 14-volume U.S. Industrial Commission from 1899 to 1901 in which the same basic questions were asked. Yet this Royal Commission did not mention at all this rather large and comprehensive U.S. study. After reading this book, I kept asking myself why was wholesaling not even discussed? In fact, in many articles/books on retailing, wholesaling/wholesalers just do not seem to exist for historians. Yet we know that the foundations of a market economy was on the role played by wholesalers and they held a strong position in the marketplace at least in the U.S. until the early part of the 20th c. when manufacturers using adv, improvements in packaging and transportation, with more available consumer media, brand management, etc. were able to take over until power retailers emerged in the 1970s. I cannot accept at all that in B2C, wholesalers did not play a significant role in distribution in the 1930s. In fact, census data show that there are more wholesalers now in this 21st c. than ever before, irrespective of the existence of e-commerce and the Internet. Yet a book by Careless (1984) said that wholesalers were no longer important in Ontario/Toronto in the early part of the 20th c. Why did this 1935 Royal Commission neglect to mention the very existence of wholesalers when its very mandate was on distribution? Yet it looked at many sectors of the economy such as tobacco, meat packing, agricultural implement, canning of fruits and vegetables, rubber footwear and tires, fertilizer, textiles
manufacturing, milling and baking, and the furniture manufacturing sectors. I can only conclude that distribution was defined as retail distribution!


Report of the Royal Grain Inquiry Commission, Dominion of Canada (1938), Ottawa. This 264 page report, also known as the Turgeon Commission, discusses marketing boards. Its mandate was to inquire on the production, buying, selling, transportation, storing, holding, and exporting of Canadian grain and Canadian grain products. The first two chapters deal with the history of grain growing in Western Canada. The next five chapters deal with marketing, including forms of organizational structure, open competition, pools, price stabilization methods, and govt. involvement. The commission had sittings in seven Canadian cities, one in Chicago, and in 7 leading European grain market centers making this inquiry international in scope.


Revue trimestrielle canadienne (2010), Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Library. A reprint of this journal published by the Association des diplomés de polytechnique, Université de Montréal, from 1915 to 1954.

first Canadian Census of merchandising done for the year 1930, reported by DBS from 1933.


Reynolds, Lloyd (1940), The Control of Competition in Canada, Cambridge: Harvard University Press. See pp. 11-30, 47-53; chapter 5 “The problem of inefficiency: retail trade,” pp. 109-133; chapter 6 “Public Policy Toward Competition: Preservation, pp. 219-241. Reynolds discusses agricultural marketing in this chapter from page 221 to the end of the chapter and concludes that all the agricultural acts passed in effect are meant to regulate prices, raise prices and strengthen farmers “so that they might receive a fair share of the increased sums taken from consumers” (p. 240).


Roberts, Julia (1999), "Taverns and Tavern-Goers in Upper Canada, the 1790s to the 1850s," Unpublished Ph.D. University of Toronto.


Roby, Yves (1976), Les Québécois et les investissements Américains 1918-1929, Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval.


Ross, Becki (2000), "Bumping and Grinding on the Line: Making Nudity Pay," Labour/Le Travail, Vol. 46 (Fall), pp. 221-250. A history (from 19th century to modern times) of how women used their bodies to earn a living in Canada with an emphasis on the city of Vancouver.
Ross, J. Andrew (2004), “Retailing a Household Name: Heintzman & Co. Pianos, 1887-1930,” in Claude Bellavance and Pierre Lanthier eds. Les territoires de l’entreprise/The Territories of Business, Saint Foy, Québec: Les Presses de l’Université Laval, pp. 203-216. A case study of a Canadian piano manufacturer during this period. The author discusses the emergence of this Canadian consumer goods company in 1864, first as a luxury good, then appealing to a broader market segment with the use of advertising in newspapers periodicals, brochures and trade cards, not only in Toronto but elsewhere in Ontario and beyond. Theodore Heintzman, then later his sons, led the company to a high growth rate and made this brand of piano among one of the world’s finest. By the 1920s, Heintzman was one of the largest retail chains in Canada with 26 stores. The company relied not only on retail stores for sales but also sold to the wholesale trade and had its own sale force. The brand became not only a national one but international as well as a result of the company’s networking with artists, musical sponsorships, and even association with royalty.


Rousseau, Guildo (1995), « La santé par correspondance: un mode de mise en marché des médicaments brevetés au début du siècle », Histoire sociale/Social History, Vol. 28 No. 55 May, pp. 1-25. This long article is a content analysis of ads on patent medicine which appeared in Canadian print publications such as: The Toronto Star, Saturday Night, Montreal Star, La Patrie, La Presse, and others. Both French and English print was used
from 1890 to 1930. The author gives a rather complete overview of the patent medicine industry and how it was difficult to grasp its significance due to new chemical substances that were continuously being developed such as disinfectants, adhesives, and aromatic compounds. It was only in 1920, after the Federal Bureau of Statistics, was established in 1918 that such products were properly classified. Her analysis centers more on the period 1900 to 1910 than later. Eaton’s catalogues of 1898/1899 and subsequent ones had pages of such products that one could order. She also discusses briefly medical catalogues of the period which again in which many such products were advertised. She looks at the claims made or promises made to client of such ads. Finally, she says that such ads helped the US patent medicine industry get established in Canada. But she hardly discusses the sale of such products in mail order catalogues. Why did she put it in her title?


Rudin, Ronald (1992), “Alphonse Desjardins et le marketing des caisses populaires, 1900-1920,” in Pierre Lanthier and Guildo Rousseau eds. La culture inventée Les stratégies culturelles aux 19e et 20e siècles. Québec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture (IQRC), Québec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, (IQRC), pp. 173-186. The author discusses Desjardins’ business philosophy. He then describes Desjardins’ method of establishing a credit union branch. Just in the year 1908, he travelled 8,500 km and visited 52 communities. With the help of church leaders in the communities, he was able to get what he wanted. He died in 1920, and subsequent management changes to the were not his initiatives. But he was a charismatic leader and his brand lived on. Mail order sales in rural areas hurt not only local merchants but les Caisses as well because they were there to help such merchants by extending credit, etc. Overall, this text is uneven and its title is misleading.

Rudy, Jarrett (2001), “Manly Smokes: Tobacco Consumption and the Construction of Identities in Industrial Montreal, 1888-1914,” doctoral dissertation, McGill University. Author’s abstract: “This dissertation explores the cultural practice of smoking and its connection to social relations from the beginning of cigarette mass production in Montreal in 1888 to the First World War. It uncovers the norms of smoking etiquette and
taste, their roots in gender, class and race relations and their use in reproducing these power relationships. Liberal ideals of self-control and rationality structured the ritual of smoking: from the purchase of tobacco; to who was to smoke; to how one was supposed to smoke; to where one smoked. These prescriptions served to normalize the exclusion of women from the definition of the liberal individual and to justify the subordination of the poor and cultural minorities.” Available at: http://digitool.library.mcgill.ca/R/?func=dbin-jump full&object_id=37910&local_base=GEN01-MCG02


Rudy, Jarrett, (2006), “Manufacturing French Canadian Tradition: Tabac Canadien and the Construction of French-Canadian Identity, 1880-1950,” Revue sociale/Social History, Vol. 39 (May), pp. 205-234. It looks at many issues. Gender: could women smoke before the 1900 in public or after? French Canadians smoked home grown tobacco when smoking the pipe called “tabac canadien.” Don’t forget that back in the late 1800s, Canadians were referred mostly to French Canadians. Also, “tabac canadien” was used mostly by French Canadians living in rural areas. This product was perceived by urban dwellers, notably by Anglos and others, as a low class product used by native Indians. “Tabac canadien” was a sign of rural French-Canadian backwardness for those who used it. It was also a tax free commodity, unlike imported tobacco until the Feds imposed a tax. By 1933, one tobacco dealer was dealing with 950,000 lbs annually and he was not the only one. By the early 1930s, the Federal Govt. estimated that 10 million lbs of French Canadian tobacco were circulating in Quebec tax free. The largest importer of fine tobacco was William Macdonald of Montreal, who refused to use French Canadian tobacco because of its taste, strong smell, and its low image. The industrialization of "tabac canadien" began after 1897 when the Federal govt. applied high tariffs to foreign tobacco. Foreign tobacco was later positioned to French Canadians as being in fact, still “tabac canadien” in order to appeal to their sense of loyalty and their sense of patriotism. The article presents a series of ads to show how that was done from the 1900s and beyond. In other words, here is a case history of market segmentation in which the product was psychologically presented to appeal to French Canadians. In reality, “tabac canadien” was no longer used but it was presented in such a way as to give the illusion that French Canadians were buying a home grown product. So, what else is new!

indisciplinés sur le tabagisme, Québec: Les Presses de l’Université Laval, pp. 111-142. A look at the cultural significance of consuming cigars, a male behavior, and the making, selling and branding of cigars in Montreal at the end of 19th c., early 20th c. It symbolized power and wealth and the origin of the cigar mattered as well (Cuban imports). Rudy states that the per capita consumption of cigars in Canada was 21 in 1891, 26 in 1901 and 32 in 1911, with close to 300 million cigars consumed in 1913.


Russell, John (1897), “Our Trade Relation with Canada,” North American Review, Vol. 164 (June), pp. 710-718. An article which discusses trade issues after the Civil War and how Canada tried to re-negotiate a reciprocity treaty after it was abrogated by U.S.


Rylands, W. Peter and Steve Machin (1922), The Dominion of Canada as a Market for British Goods, London: Selwyn and Blount. This 260-page book is a general survey of the Canadian market under post WW1 conditions and is written from the point of view of the British exporter and manufacturer contemplating the development of branch plants in Canada. It is a guidebook aimed at British exporters wishing to sell their goods to Canada.
This handbook has many tables listing Canadian imports by countries with types of goods. It has information on each of Canada’s provinces describing what is produced by industrial sectors, with population information. It is more on B2B than B2C. It provides a listing of known Canadian importers of British goods, a description of the transportation infrastructure, where to advertise in Canada, where to find agents, along with the required documentation for importing British goods into Canada. It has many ads, which means the book was subsidized by adv. revenues. Most embassies or chambers of commerce today would provide such information to potential businesses interested in doing business in their respective country. Available at:
www.archive.org/details/dominionofcanada00lond


Sacchetti, Clara and Todd Dufresne (1994), “President’s Choice Through the Looking Glass,” Fuse, Vol. 17 (May/June No. 4), pp. 22-31. A solid text on the brand and its founder, Dave Nichol. Both authors were still students at the time the article was published but not in business. Fuse magazine is one of Canada's foremost critical periodicals on art and culture.


Sage Knell, Irene and John English (1986), Canadian Agriculture in a Global Context: Opportunities and Obligations, Waterloo, ON: University of Waterloo Press.

Sager, Eric W. and Fischer, L.R. (1982), “Atlantic Canada and the Age of Sale Revisited,” Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 63 (No. 2), pp. 125-150. The then prevailing wisdom as regards both the economic importance and the causes of the decline of Maritime shipbuilding and shipping is challenged.


transformation of this industry in the Maritimes over a one hundred year period. The role played by technology is discussed in terms of ship designs, bigger ships, from sail to steam, etc. Specialization of labour was also important. The captain became the CEO of the ship. Sailors at the end were hired on a permanent basis (vs. before only as seasonal) and sailors were free to negotiate labour conditions vs. before.


St-Georges, Lise (1986), « Commerce, crédit et transactions foncières : pratiques de la communauté marchande du bourg de l’Assomption, 1748-1791 », *Revue d’histoire de l’Amérique française*, Vol. 39 (3), pp. 323-343. It’s a research paper based on the author’s master’s thesis at UQAM’s history dept. Using notary archival material, it analyzes the financial role between farmers and mostly local/country retail merchants who sometimes were also in the fur business; but the text never mentions, not even once, the existence of these merchants being in wholesale markets. These local retail merchants were small in numbers of 25 in a rather small community of less than 165 heads of household; of those, 25 were merchants between 1748 and 1791. But Table 1 says only 15 such merchants existed. I wasn't able to see where 15 became 25. In any case, it’s a microcosm of the then rural way of life in the mid to late 18<sup>th</sup> c. in rural Lower Canada which the author calls Quebec! One of the hypotheses was to find the relationship between land owners (farmers) and how they paid back their debts to the local retail merchants using archival notary transactions to see if the merchants acquired much land as result of the inability of these farmers to pay off their debts to their creditors (local retail merchants). It seems the retail merchants sold most of the acquired land soon after they became owners. Greer’s (1985) covers the same subject matter but in more details (see his chapter 6) and is more valid due to his use of 3 parishes.


Saunders, Richard M. (1939), “The Emergence of the Coureurs de Bois as a Social Type,” *Report of the Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association*, Vol. 18 (1), pp. 22-33. A detailed description of the birth of a new type of colonists who became adventurers, fur traders, discoverers, translators, interpreters, and so forth. They loved the freedom of being their own boss and learned much from Indians how to survive in the wild. Sometimes marrying a squaw or having some as concubines during the course of their long traveling excursions. The note by Aider (1939, p. 27) on coureurs de bois is worth repeating here. “In the seventeenth century the term ‘coureurs de bois’ was applied loosely and generally to all Frenchmen who were ready to seek the Indians in order to obtain furs. In later years, it tended to be restricted to illegal traders and private adventurers, and men working for or with merchants were called ‘voyageurs’ and ‘engagés,’ the ‘voyageur’ being the man in charge of a canoe and the ‘engagés’ being the paddlers; but right to the end of the French régime these terms were often confused”


Analytical Review, No. 9 (Summer). Reprinted in S. Watson Dunn ed. (1964), International Handbook of Advertising, NY: McGraw-Hill, pp. 165-168. It showed that some dubbed versions (English to French) were better than their original English versions.


Science Council of Canada (1977), Canada As a Conserver Society, Report No. 27, Ottawa: Department of Supply and Services.


Scott, H. Percy (1915), The New Slavery, London, UK: Adelphi Terrace. A book highly critical of Canada’s high prices vs. elsewhere. He feels the high cost of living in the Dominion has become intolerable. He puts the blame of the high cost of living in Canada squarely to cartels, trusts, mergers, and restraints of trade by firms that monopolize the market. He provides lots of comments from newspapers and other sources to make sure the reader is aware that Canadians are voicing their concern for the lack of competition. His solution: more actions on the part of the Federal Govt. to combat monopolies and consumers need to fight the enemy by uniting, i.e. form coops. He actually has sections of the Combines Investigation Act listed in the Appendix. He's very pro-consumer, a 1915 Canadian version of Nader. Interesting that such a consumer right activist actually existed then. The book was digitized by Microsoft and is available at: http://scans.library.utoronto.ca/pdf/2/34/newslavery00scotuoft/newslavery00scotuoft.pdf.


Séguin, Robert-Lionel (1957), “La cabane une pièce de mobilier canadien, » *Revue d’histoire de l’Amérique française*, Vol. 16 (décembre No. 3), pp. 348-352. It was a piece of bedroom furniture which had disappeared by the end of the 18th c. It was 5ft x 7ft long, lit alcôve.


Shapiro, Linda ed. (1978), Yesterday’s Toronto 1870-1910, Toronto: Coles Publishing. See pp. 66-67 (from Tulchinsky, 1990) on Eaton’s manufacturing facilities of shirts, women’s underwear, boys knickerbockers in the late 1880s. In 1893, Eaton built a 4-floor factory to make women’s coats, dresses, skirts; 3 years later he added another building to make men’s wear.


Sharp, Paul Frederick (1948/1997), *The Agrarian Revolt in Western Canada*, Regina, Great Plains Research Centre, University of Regina. A reissue of his 1948 book, which was his PhD dissertation, University of Minnesota. It describes the series of events prior to and during the Depression which led farmers to reject the status quo in grain marketing and transportation, toward the establishment of coops and the Canadian Wheat Board in 1935. Reviewed by Paul Earl (1999), *Manitoba History*, No. 37 (Spring/Summer), pp. 54-55. Review available at: www.mhs.mb.ca/docs.mb_history/37/agrarianrevolt.shtml.


Simmie, Patricia (1984), Marketing Barriers to Technological Innovation in Small Business, Ottawa: Regional Industrial Expansion, Office of Industrial Innovation.


Simons, Deidre (2007), Keepers of the Records: The History of the Hudson Bay Company Archives, McGill-Queen’s University Press. “The Hudson's Bay Company Archives is one of the world's most complete archival collections and a Canadian national treasure. Protected in the vaults of the Archives of Manitoba, its documents trace the history of the fur trade, North American exploration, the growth of a retail empire, and the evolution of Canada as a country." Keepers of the Record" offers the first comprehensive look at the development of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives over three centuries, Deidre Simmons places the archives within the historical context of the Company, England, and Canada, as well as British and Canadian archival traditions. "Keepers of the Record" is abundantly illustrated with archival photographs that evoke the texture and slightly musty smell of soft leather and crisp vellum and the ghostly presence of the people who created the pristine script, writing by candlelight in unheated (or overheated, depending on the season) dwellings in the wilderness of Hudson Bay or in the centre of London.”

Simmons, James W. (1991), Commercial Structures and Change in Toronto, Toronto: Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto. Shopping centres and stores with a contemporary focus.

Simmons, James W. et al (1997), Retail Chains in the Toronto Region, Toronto: Centre for the Study of Commercial Activity, Ryerson Polytechnic University. Contemporary focus.
Simpson-Sears (1978), *Simpson-Sears: The First Twenty-Five Years*, Toronto: Simpson-Sears. This reference is cited in Belisle (2011). Simpson-Sears no longer exists as a separate entity of Sears stores in Canada. All stores became part of the Sears department store chain.

Sipherd, Lloyd (1940), “What Business Expects of the Business Graduate,” *Quarterly Review of Commerce*, Vol. 7 (Summer No. 4), pp. 223-234. Some information as to when marketing was taught at the Univ. of Western Ont. in the 1940s.


Slack, Brian (1988), “The Evolution of Montreal’s Port Service Industry,” Canadian Geographer, Vol. 32 (2), pp. 124-132. The author used the annual John Lovell City Directory which classified business types and he used the editions from 1842 to 1930 for this article. Montreal’s port began in the 1830s and by the 1930s, it was the world’s largest grain port and Canada’s largest and most important port. The city greatly benefited from its geographic location, close to water, and the port impacted on Montreal’s economic growth. The forwarding business grew out of the old fur trade with merchants such as McGill contributing to its growth. The author provides ample evidence of this important tertiary sector of Montreal with spill over effects into marine insurance, banking and other financial services, and made Montreal the financial center of Canada at that time.


Slater, David (1957), Consumption Expenditures in Canada, Ottawa, ON: The Queen’s Printer.


Smith, Andrew (2010), “Accepting Financial Globalization: The Canadian Debate on British Investment, 1836-1875,” History Business Conference (BHC) Vol. 8. Author’s abstract. Prior to the creation of the Canadian federation in 1867, British North America was a collection of separate British colonies with their own currencies, laws, and banking systems. The integration of the financial systems of the different colonies was a crucial part of the building of the Canadian nation-state. The "Bank Act of 1871" is widely regarded as having laid the legal foundations of the modern Canadian banking sector. By 1900, Canada's banking sector was dominated by a few large corporations, each of which
had a branch network extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific. In contrast, the United States was served by a plethora of small banks. Today, business historians often contrast Canada’s banking sector with that of the United States. This paper will examine the making of the 1871 banking law. It will show that banking legislation in Canada was shaped by the following forces: the powerful examples that had been set by the 1844 Bank Act in England and the 1863 National Bank Act in the United States; the rivalry between Toronto and Montreal for financial supremacy; and the hostility of a large section of the Canadian electorate to financiers. Attitudes to British investment also informed the debate about banking law. This paper aims to refine our understanding of the development of financial systems in North America. It will also explore the role of classical liberalism in Canadian politics after 1867. Available at: www.h-net.org/~business/bhcweb/annmeet/abstracts10.html#asmith


Snyder, Gerald (1967), “Retail Trade,” in Canada Year Book One Hundred 1867-1967, Catalogue no. CS11-203/1967 Ottawa: Queen’s Printer, pp. 229-243. A short history of retailing in Canada in which Eaton’s contribution to the sector’s evolution is evident. He says that Eaton was the first to have a mail order counter in 1916. Snyder says that Eaton’s business model was unlike other retailers but he fails to mention that many of Eaton’s innovations were created elsewhere and not by him. He says Toronto established The Seymour H. Knox in 1897, a chain of bazaars in Toronto. Around 1900, EP Charleston and Company existed in Vancouver and Montreal also a chain of bazaars. Then in 1912, these two firms joined to form a chain store that merged with Woolworth. In 1920, TP Loblaw had self-service grocery stores.


Spry, Irene (1968), “The Transition from a Nomadic to a Settled Economy in Western Canada, 1856-1896,” *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Vol. 6, June, pp. 187-201. An excellent review of how an area populated mostly by nomads (Indians), living free off the land in a short time period had to change their ways of living in the same area now guided more by market principles, the need of capital, rule of law rather than long
established customs and means of survival in an area in which one was self-sufficient before. One now had to feed one’s self by farming or raising cattle, the need to buy stuff that were needed for such purposes, yet having little or no knowledge of farming methods. The author presents in exquisite details the hardship such people endured often speaking languages few understood. The Indian wars ranging in the South which Canada successfully avoided, thanks in part to the establishment of the North-West Mounted Police. White settlers from the South trading whiskey in the North often caused many clashes which the Mounted Police was able to contain. Spry provides examples of the rise of some Indian settlers who succeed in the transition but most did not. The role played by HBC is also documented in that it fostered some who worked for the Bay to get into business. The text serves as a model for other areas in the world facing similar economic transition from a nomadic state to a settled one embracing market principles. She writes so clearly with lots of details in such a short article. It made me appreciate the tremendous difficulties facing a people who go from a life of mainly self sufficiency and a nomadic lifestyle to one based on market principles living in a restricted settled community. The skills needed to survive are 100% different such that centuries of accumulated knowledge and tradition are almost useless. These new skills to survive in this new economic milieu cannot be easily taught. The need of capital to buy the instruments (tools, etc.) required to succeed—a vicious circle, makes success even harder to reach. Only a few did succeed and even today this community is still struggling and fighting to adapt to the economic realities of a modern complex world. I found this text a good intro to the British/French/Indian trade and how disruptive it was for natives and their need to gain new business skills, entrepreneurial skills, to earn a living unlike before, the need to trade, to have capital, to sell, to have money, etc. I prefer this type of intro article rather than focusing on bargaining and exchanging beaver skins for goods. This text is also about distributive justice (macro), the negative side of marketing’s impact on society.


Stanbury, W.T. ed. (1970), Competition, the Law and Public Policy in Canada, Vancouver: Faculty of Commerce and Business Administration.


Statistics Canada, (1976), *Shopping Centers in Canada, 1951-1973*, Merchandising and Services Division, Research Paper No. 1, August, Catalogue 63-527 Occasional, Ottawa: Ministry of Industry Trade and Commerce. A good discussion on the role played by the department store in shopping center development. The first shopping center in Canada opened in Vancouver September 1950, and was operated by Woodward Stores, the West largest department store chain.


Statistics Canada (1979), *Department Stores in Canada, 1923-1976*, March, Catalogue No. 63-530, 137 pages, Ottawa, Ont. Canada. This comprehensive study of the department store industry is the only one done by Statistics Canada, the statistical data collection agency of the federal government. The report traces the history of the Canadian department store business from its modest beginning with Timothy Eaton as its pioneer. It also gives a definition of the department store as used by Statistics Canada (pp. 117-118).


Stead, Robert (1923), “Canada’s Immigration Policy,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Social and Economic Conditions in The Dominion of Canada, Vol. 107 (May), pp. 56-62. An interesting view of Canada’s immigration policy with some statistics provided. There is some discussion where Canada advertised to lure immigrants with the promise of free land, which was first offered in 1872 to reach its peak in 1911. A solid text to read for anyone wanting to know more about Canada’s demographic profile, late 1800/early 1900s.


Steedman, Mercedes (1986), “Skill and Gender in the Canadian Clothing Industry, 1890-1940” in Craig Heron and Robert Storey eds. *On the Job: Confronting the Labour Process in Canada*, Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, pp. 152-176. Some discussion on Eaton’s labor policies and attitudes. She says that the population on French-Canadians in Montreal went from less than 79,000 in 1881 to more than 345,000 by 1911.


Stentz, Marcia (2010), “New Retail and Wholesale Records at HBCA,” *Manitoba History*, No. 63 (Spring), pp. 48-49. A description of new additions to the Hudson’s Bay Company Archives of Manitoba. The new material deals with HBC into the vending machine business, oil and gas, and real estate. It had businesses in frozen foods, wine and spirits and so forth. The John Murphy and Co. established in Montreal in 1867 was acquired by The Robert Simpson in 1905, and it became in 1929 The Robert Simpson Co. Montreal Ltd.


Stevenson, Lawrence, Joseph Shlesinger and Michael Pearce (1999), *Power Retail Winning Strategies from Chapters and Other Leading Retailers in Canada*, Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson. A book on power retailers but the emphasis seems to be more US-oriented retailers than Canadian ones, with discussion on Amazon, Borders, and Wal-Mart, among others despite the fact that Stevenson is the CEO of Canada’s leading book retail chain, and is the main author. The last chapter is on Wal-Mart (pp. 227-245). There’s no bibliography and no references are cited throughout the text. The book discusses e-retailing which was then just beginning. There are a few pages on the dept store (pp. 105, 196-199).


“Store’s Long Arm Reaches Out to Distant Customers Through Shopping Stations” (1917), Printers’ Ink, Vol. 101 (November 8), pp. 91-92. The text discusses how Eaton’s found a service that paid off. It established shopping stations or buying booths were some customers spent some time, notably in the summer months. It provided a personalized service more so than buying via catalogues. Moreover, Eaton also established shopping stations or branch stores located away from its main store, where customers could walk in and order merchandise either from the catalogue or from ads, and the merchandise would be delivered the next day. Such branch stores still exist today and Eaton’s appears to be the innovator of such branch stores. Finally, the article also discusses Eaton’s innovative approach to service some buyers by having store buyers for these customers. “T. Eaton Co. was one of the first stores in the United States and Canada to hire a ‘shopper’ whose duty is to represent the consumer first, last and all the time, and to take sides with the patron, against the store whenever an issue arises. These shoppers do everything imaginable for a customer from buying a spool thread to arranging the details for a wedding” (p. 92).


Sylvestre, Kenneth M. (2001), *The Limits of Rural Capitalism: Family, Culture and Markets in Montcalm, Manitoba, 1870-1940*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press. The book was reviewed by David Burley (2001-02), *Manitoba History*, No. 42 (Autumn-Winter). An historical account of the changing conditions of life on the farm from one generation to another. The author also made French-English comparisons during the period in question. He discusses how farming changed from providing a livelihood to making money and its impact on family members.


Taschereau, Sylvie (2005), “Behind the Store: Montreal shopkeeping Families between the Wars,” in Bettina Bradbury and Tamara Myers eds. Negotiating Identities in 19th and 20th Century Montreal, Vancouver: UBC Press, pp. 235-258. The original text was written in French. She describes family owned small retail shops and the way such mom and pop stores affected family life, including the wife and kids. The growth of supermarkets during this period threatened their survival. But their competitive weapons such as their ease of credit to consumers, personal and fast delivery, and greater neighborhood accessibility delayed the transformation of this retail sector until later.


Taylor, C.C. (1886), Toronto from 1886 to 1850, Toronto. It has six editions.


Taylor, Graham (2009), “Seagram Comes to Scotland: The Role of Local Players in the Overseas Expansion of a Canadian Multinational, 1949-1965,” Business and Economic History ON-Line Vol. 7. Author’s abstract. “In this paper, I assess the Seagram Company’s investment in Britain after World War II through Robert Brown, Ltd., a U.K. subsidiary, its first major expansion outside the North American continent. I argue that this direct investment in Britain was less a matter of corporate strategic policy and more
the result of a convergence of factors. These include the personal and entrepreneurial ambitions of key figures in Seagram, particularly Jimmy Barclay; the efforts by British managers, especially John Chiene, to establish Robert Brown, Ltd., as an integrated operating company within the Seagram system; and the impact of British policies on import barriers, exchange controls, and exports of capital that established the parameters within which Seagram operated throughout the 1950s. Ultimately, the transformation of the British subsidiary from a small sales agency to a full-scale production and distribution organization laid the groundwork for Seagram's overseas expansion in the ensuing decades.” Available at:


Teeple, Gary ed. (1972), *Capitalism and the National Question in Canada*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.


Thivierge, Sylvie (1989), « Commerce et architecture, » *Continuité*, No. 42 hiver, pp. 25-29. Le Conseil des monuments et sites du Québec is a co-founder of this journal. As an historian, she makes far too many errors in this short text which has 6 pictures. At least she acknowledges that Henry Morgan was the first generation of a department store in Canada located in Victoria Square. But we don’t know if the various floors (she says 5 floors, while Murray 2003 says it was 4 floors in 1866 but it was 5 by 1874), were used not only for retailing, but for wholesaling, manufacturing, rented out or used for other purposes.


Thomas Stone (1979), “The Mounties as Vigilantes: Perceptions of Community and the Transformation of Law in the Yukon, 1885-1897,” *Law & Society Review*, Vol. 14 (Autumn, No. 1), pp. 83-114. This text is more about the establishment of law and order in a lawless type and how the Mounties were able to solve claims rights, thefts of supplies etc. more by rule of law than by vigilantism.


Thompson, Walter (1958), “Retailing in Canada” in Edward Fox and David Leighton eds. Marketing in Canada, Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin, pp. 149-162. The American Marketing Association sponsored the book. Chapter 11 was written by Thompson and is heavy on government statistics. The department store is discussed on pages 157-162. The author states that ‘the Canadian department stores, as a group, have been slower than their American counterparts in going to the suburbs with branch stores’ (p. 151). Moreover, one expert was quoted as saying that Canada was at least ten years behind the U.S. in the establishment of suburban shopping centres. He also mentions that Quebec attempted to pass anti-chain store legislation during the 1930s. The government disallowed Simpson-Sears from importing its private label merchandise using Sears buying price as a basis for duty. He says that Eaton started his business about the same time as Wanamaker in Philadelphia. He further states that the “department stores have been responsible for many retailing innovations and were early in the use of telephone selling and sound and heavy advertising,” p. 158. He also says that leased departments are less used here than in the U.S.


Todt, Kim (2009), “An Early Modern Supply Chain: The Roles of Women in the Beaver Trade from Procurers to Consumers,” Business History Conference, Vol. 7. This paper examines women’s participation in the beaver trade in New Netherland and the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century, undertaking a supply chain analysis. Supply chain activities typically transformed natural resources into a finished product delivered to the end consumer. This paper challenges traditional, highly gendered historiographic notions of colonial women and Native American women. The first part of the paper examines Native American women who acted as intermediaries for their nations with New Netherland traders. The second part considers the Dutch women who traded for furs from Native Americans. Dutch women participated extensively in commerce in New Netherland, and why this was extensive and widely accepted. The third section extends the supply chain across the Atlantic and focuses on merchant houses of Amsterdam active in transatlantic trade with New Netherland and the role women played as merchants in patria. These "she-merchants" sold beavers to the furriers and hatters who produced the fur-lined outerwear and felt hats and, further along in the supply chain, acted as retail suppliers of the finished products. The supply chain concludes with the women who wore beaver and their role in an early modern consumer culture influenced by fashion. Available at: www.h-net.org/~business/bhcweb/publications/BEHonline/beh.html


Town, Florida (1999), The North-West Company: Frontier Merchants. Toronto: Umbrella Press. An historical overview of the North West Company before and after merging with the Hudson Bay Company in 1821 and how it became independent again in 1987. The author discusses how the Bay went from furs to land/real estate, to retailing and back to furs a bit after WW1 over the course of its existence. Reviewed by G. Lewis (2000), Manitoba History, No 39 (Spring/Summer). Available at:


Tremblay, M-Adélard and Gerald Fortin (1963), « Enquête sur la condition de vie de la famille canadienne-française : l’univers des besoins, » *Recherches sociographiques*, Vol. 4 (1), pp. 9-46. A sample of 1460 families was surveyed representing about 80% of all such families in Quebec (excluding professionals, farmers, etc.) earning less than $8k to find out more about their purchasing habits.


Trépanier, Paul (1989), « Le grand magasinage, » *Continuité*, No. 42 hiver, pp. 36-39. Celine Merette was also a contributor to this text.


Trudel, Marcel (1956), *Le Régime seigneurial*, Ottawa. A concise 20 page explanation of the seigneurial system in New France. His work was succinctly summarized in a 5-page text by an anonymous Université de Montréal student. Available at: www.mapageweb.umontreal.ca/dessurec/hst1903/seigneurial.pdf

Trudel, Marcel (1974), *Les débuts du régime seigneurial*, Montréal: Fides. A 313-page text explaining the organization and management of the land granting system in New France. It was administered by les seigneurs and up to 250 were named as the King’s land agent. Thus, it was a prestigious title but, according to some historians, it was not necessarily a noble one! The King retained the exclusive trading rights for certain commodities such as minerals and wood (oak, etc.). The régime is based on mercantilism which discouraged New France to export to France while favoring imports from the mother country. It first came to New France in 1627 (under La Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France ou des Cent-Associés) and was abolished in 1854 (*Loi sur l'abolition des droits et devoirs féodaux dans le Bas-Canada*). While it enabled land leaseholders (i.e. *locataires* or *censitaires*) to reclaim their land rights, les seigneurs continued to receive payments from them a long time after it was abolished. Some historians claim it finally disappeared for good in Quebec only in the mid 20th century. No one can deny that the implementation of the régime seigneurial had a profound impact on the social development of Quebec. This régime was modeled from the one in existence in France, a Middle Age feudal way of organizing and controlling society. The régime created a class system of nobles and aristocrats which favored few members of French society, even conveying on them birth rights. See Wallot (1969), Harris (1966), Nish (1968), and Diamond (1961).


Tulchinsky, Gerald (1973), “Une entreprise maritime canadienne-française–la Compagnie du Richelieu, 1845-1854,” Revue d’histoire de l’Amérique française, Vol. 26 (mars no. 4), pp. 559-582. This article is a translation of an article published in English. His 1977 book has the original version in chapter 4: “The Shipping on the middle St Lawrence and Richelieu rivers,” pp. 51-67. However, the French version was not organized the same way as in his book chapter making it less than obvious that it was a translation.


Tulchinsky, Gerald (1977), The River Barons: Montreal Businessmen and the Growth of Industry and Transportation, 1837-53, Toronto: University of Toronto Press. According to the author, Montreal’s economic boom occurred in a period of less than 20 years and made Montreal the leading industrial centre before Confederation. It was due to a combination of factors, some natural such as water transportation, the St Lawrence and Montreal’s geographical proximity to Boston, New York. Shipbuilding, iron works, and many other industrial activities also helped. American investors and industrialists were also attracted to Montreal during this period; some prominent ones from NJ as well as British, Scots skilled workers were attracted as were Upper Canada entrepreneurs. The author does not deny the role French Canadians played during this industrial boom. He gave cogent reasons why they did not fully participate as much as they should have. They lacked access to credit, were more cautious with their investment decisions and the amount required was a constraint. Even though they helped found La Banque du Peuple in 1835, they turned eastward (inside the then territory, up the Richelieu) for trade while the boom was with Upper Canada and the West. The author also says that French Canadians had little business contacts with Britain and few, if any, were commission merchants and agents. Finally, “they kept aloof from extensive involvement in the major railway ventures” (p. 15). The author describes the active role played by Montreal businessmen of the period such as Peter McGill, the Molsons, Alexander Ogilvie, and others. I would add chapter 2: “The Business community: the pattern of involvement” (pp. 9-32), and chapter 12: “The rise of Montreal as a manufacturing centre” (pp. 203-231) as must read chapters.
Tulchinsky, Gerald (1990), “Hidden Among the Smokestacks: Toronto’s Clothing Industry, 1871-1901,” in David Keane and Colin Read eds. Old Ontario: Essays in Honour of J.M.S. Careless, Toronto: Dundurn Press, pp. 258-284. A very good article on the Toronto clothing industry. It has much information on retail, wholesaling, and manufacturers of men’s and women’s clothing during that period. It has information on Eaton’s not found elsewhere. Robert Walker was a men’s clothing manufacturer and he opened his own store on Yonge Street in 1867, a huge 4 story building called the Golden Lion. He sold “dry and fancy goods, home furnishings, carpets, as well as an assortment of women’s clothing such as mantles, millinery and skirts” (p. 268). By the 1880s, it was producing ready-to-wear men’s suits and overcoats, and boyswear in its Toronto store and the branch store in London. In 1871, output valued of 100K with workforce of 116, combined production and retailing. Livingston, Johnson and Comp were only producer and selling at wholesale, with no stores, and also had a value of $100k in 1871. Thomas Lailey’s was also only a manufacturer and sold to Ontario, QC, Manitoba and to maritime merchants. William Sanford, Hamilton’s largest men’s clothing manufacturer, sold only at wholesale called and employed 2kin the late 1880s. Another clothing tycoon was Hollis Shorey of Montreal. David Dunkelman’s new factory and HH Tip Top tailor. The article discusses the competition between Montreal vs. Toronto on clothing manufacturing and shows that Montreal was specializing in men’s clothing. “By 1891 the city was clearly Canada’s production centre for womenswear and women’ fashions.” “By 1891 Toronto’s production nearly equaled that of Montreal for the industry as a whole and exceeded Montreal’s womenswear by nearly 70 percent”. He also provides costs estimates and other stats on this industry.

Tulchinsky, Gerald (1990), ”Said To Be a Very Honest Jew: The R.G. Dun Credit Reports and Jewish Business Activity in Mid-19th Century Montreal,” Urban History Review, Vol. 18 (February No. 3), pp. 200-209. A discussion of Jewish merchants’ ability to secure credit. The article mentions garment workers working among others for Moss Brothers. Moss was initially an importer of clothing from 1836, but by 1856 had become a clothing manufacturer and employed 800 men and women in Montreal.

Tupper, Allan and Bruce Doern eds. (1981), Public Corporations and Public Policy in Canada, Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy. A series of articles on SOE/Crown enterprises such as Air Canada, Potash Corporation of Saskatchewan, CNR, Pacific Western Airlines, Asbestos Corporation of Quebec among other topics.


Vachon, André (1960), “L’eau de vie dans la société indienne,” *Report of the annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association,* Vol. 39 (1), pp. 22-32. This text did not provide clues on how Indians bought booze or the way merchants made it available to them, legally or illegally, or even how booze distorted the fur trade. Instead, it was an article on how Indians viewed booze because to them it had spiritual meaning, even if it led to violence and killing. It seems Indians wanted to get drunk because they were not responsible for their actions while in that state. The article mentioned that the fur trade had a devastating impact on Indians’ way of life. Men had to travel long distances away from their tribe/family and for long periods of time which was not the case before the fur trade. It also changed their behavior and made them acquire more fur, the more they had, the more they would get European goods and booze. European made goods made their own goods obsolete, goods which had served them well for centuries. The skills of making such indigenous goods were eventually lost.


Vaillancourt, Cyrille and Albert Faucher (1950), *Alphonse Desjardins, pionnier de la coopération d’épargne et de crédit en Amérique,* Lévis, QC: Editions Le Quotidien.

Vaillancourt, Emile (1940), *The History of the Brewing Industry in the Province of Quebec,* Montreal: G. Ducharme.


Van Kirk, Sylvia (1980), ‘Many Tender Ties’: Women in Fur Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1870, Norman, OK University of Oklahoma Press. The role of Indian women who fostered the fur trade when they married white men.

Veilleux, Denis (1996), “Buses, Tramways, and Monopolies: The Introduction of Motor Vehicles into Montreal’s Public Transport Network,” Michigan History Review, Vol. 22 (Fall No. 2), pp. 103-126. This article is more on the politics of distribution then on marketing per se. It discusses fights between private company vs. a public agency, the fight between private cars vs. public transportation and the servicing of a public good. I was very surprised to see this article on transportation done at the beginning of the 20th century. It seems Montreal's public transportation woes are not new for they existed almost a century ago.

Vesilind, Pritt (1990), “Common Ground, Different Dreams,” National Geographic, Vol. 177 (February No. 2), pp. 94-127. A pictorial review of US/Canada border issues and realities (pre 9/11) with probing text which discusses how both sides adapt. Shopping is done on both sides and with lots of more border crossings done by both.


Vickers and Benson Ltd (1972), The Lifestyles of English and French Canadian Women, How They Differ, and How these Differences Influence the Effective Marketing of Products, Toronto: Marketing Services Department January. A 53-page report using psychographics data that showed strikingly different outlook on life between the groups. Surprisingly, the Method Section of the report failed to mention if the 300 or so lifestyle questions were translated from English to French for the 517 sample of French-Canadian women (vs. 2590 for the English sample), and what controls were used to make sure each group were given the exact same question to be rated. We know that sample size has a bias effect on finding statistical significance between two groups such that in0

Vineberg, Solomon (1912), Provincial and Local Taxation in Canada, NY: Columbia University.


Walden, Keith (1989) "Speaking Modern: Language, Culture, and Hegemony in Grocery Window Displays, 1887-1920," *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 70 (September No. 3), pp. 285-310. Store displays are well discussed in the article but no link was made with the department store. Much information is derived from the *Canadian Grocer* late 1890s/early 1900s.


Wall, Geoffrey and N. Zalkind (1982), “The Canadian National Exhibition: Mirror of Canadian Society,” in Geoffrey Wall and John Marsh eds. *Recreational Land Use, Perspectives on Its Evolution in Canada*, Ottawa: Carleton University Press, pp. 311-322. An historical overview of the CNE from its modest beginning in 1846 in Toronto to what it is now “a vast consumer market” (p. 311). Only in 1879 did the CNE find a permanent home. Prior was held on a rotating basis in these four major centres: London, Ottawa, Hamilton and Toronto. In 1879, CNE’s main building was called Crystal Palace, which was destroyed by fire in 1906. There were many first for the CNE the first fair to use electricity the electric railway was introduced by Edison at the 1884 CNE. The fair moved away from an agricultural fair and more emphasizing industry and technology. Now CNE occupies the space with Ontario Place, “part of a large waterfront recreational complex which included Harbourfront, museums and improved facilities for professional sports” (p. 319).


Wallace, William S. (1932), ”The Pedlars from Quebec”, *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 13 (December), pp. 387-402. The article discusses French coureurs de bois in the mid to late 18th c. who ventured as far West as Winnipeg and Saskatchewan from “Quebec”. They had an advantage over the Hudson’s Bay Company because these men lived off the land while traveling. The author says they invented “pemmican” which is meat pounded to a power which could be preserved and mixed with other ingredients. He also hinted that they used wild rice and dried meat as food. Their “large birch-bark canoes and the snow-shoe are both inventions of Canadian origin” (p. 402). Hudson Bay did not have access to such canoes because of where their trading posts were located (no birch trees).


Wallot, Jean-Pierre (1969), “Le Régime seigneurial et son abolition au Canada,” Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 50 (December No. 4), pp. 367-393. This is a very informative article which discusses in detail the way New France was organized before the Conquest, a régime modeled from l’Ancien Régime. The author looks at the way the régime was implemented in New France. He also analyses the social, political and economic consequences of the régime on Lower Canada/Quebec. The seigneurial system and the role of the seigneur in New France were unknown to me. The seigneur was in fact appointed by the King and was a noble title, more or less. He acted on behalf of the King in the allocation of land which was parcelled in rotures to deserving colonists who needed to prepare the land before it was given to them. The seigneur had all sorts of power to sell and buy, collect dues, distribute land, establish and manage a mill, and he could also reclaim rotures, etc. That’s the way the market and society were organized then. Society and the market were intertwined, unlike today. His “subjects” were called Canadians or habitants, or even censitaires and much later were called French-Canadians; today, we refer to them as Québécois (de souche). France was far away and New France was a wide open country, so the exact application of the régime in New France was not possible, given the excess availability of land vs. in France, and the lack of belonging to the land as was the case in France, where land was passed on from one generation to the next. The habitants “attachement” to the land would come later in French Canada. Both groups changed occupations often or added occupational skills. For e.g., habitants were sometimes farmers, fishermen, merchants, and fur traders. And seigneurs were also involved in occupations other than assuming their seigneurial duties and responsibilities. In other to make more money, seigneurs were also bourgeois in commerce and engaged in the fur trade, occupations which were not possible in France under l’Ancien régime. Our short list published in JHRM did not have any references on the seigneurial régime in New France, a régime that was at the foundation of the Rebellion of 1837. Yet that system morphed slowly over time due to changing market realities shaping the rest of Canada but not fast enough for French Canada because it was still present, more or less in French Canada, in the 19th century until it finally disappeared a century later. French Canada resisted Anglo laws and refused to be anglicized because they believed it would destroy the seigneurial system and their way of life (i.e. they would be assimilated). Some historians have said that the seigneurial régime may in fact have saved FCs from losing their identity. That is highly debatable and frankly, will never know. What we do know is the remnants of the régime in French Canada did more harm than good in the long run. The conservatism and slowness of French Canada to adapt to changing social and economic conditions are partially responsible for French Canada’s being isolated from the rest of Canada, and the delay in the acquisition of new occupational skills, such as in banking or industry because the seigneurial system was first and foremost a land-based way of organizing and controlling society from which wealth was derived. Of course, one cannot neglect the role played by the Church in isolating FCs for the Church controlled education up until the 1960s. Modern skills needed to earn a living in services other than in medicine, law or the priesthood/religious orders were simply unavailable until later in the 20th century. In other words, specialized training for workers in mechanical drawing, architecture, finance, accounting, engineering, and other such skills were late coming to Quebec, especially among FCs. He also offers his own opinion as to why French Canada/French Canadians suffered economically after the Conquest: the
departure of aristocrates-bourgeois (p. 382) with their access to capital and their established networks also went with them, the mentality of individualism (i.e. ‘I can take care of myself,’ part of a rural way of thinking), and their feudal mentality with their opposition to the philosophy of capitalism, and the grave error on the part of England to establish in 1791 a parliamentary liberal democracy to an illiterate population. Under such a system of government, wealth gives social standing as well as the power to influence political decision at a time when few FCs possessed much wealth and thus less power to influence decisions favorable to their cause. See Trudel (1974), Harris (1966), Diamond (1961), among others.


Walker, Edmund (1923), “Canadian Banking,” Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Social and Economic Conditions in The Dominion of Canada, Vol. 107 (May), pp. 136-148. A history of Canadian banking is presented with explanations how banks work. He discusses various bank acts from 1880 to 1913. He discusses many issues such as the geography of the country which makes it hard to manage banking, the branch system in Canada, etc.


Warren, Jean Philippe (2006), Hourra pour Santa Claus! La commercialisation de la saison des fêtes au Québec, 1885-1915, Montréal: Boréal. Reviewed by Benoît Melançon (2007), Recherches sociographiques, Vol. 48 (3), pp. 203-205. Also reviewed by Jean-Francois Constant (2008), Urban History Review, Vol. 35 (Spring No. 2), pp. 65-66. The book is more of a social historical study of how French Canada changed its views about the Xmas season and became a more consumer-oriented over time. It's unfortunate that the book is in French because it needs a wider audience. Yet the author teaches at Concordia University. It's the history of the Xmas season in general and in particular what it meant for French Canadians during that time period. The author uses dozens of ads appearing in dailies of the period published in Montreal and Quebec City (La Presse, La Patrie, Montreal Daily Star, Le Soleil), to show how retail stores and dept stores (some stores I did not even know existed) enticed French Canadians to buy with their ads which eventually led to the commercialization of the Xmas season and became part of the celebration of that time period not only for French Canadians but for everybody else as well. Note that many of the store ads shown were mostly from French retail stores but some were also in English (e.g. E. Lepage, Légaré, Dupuis frères, au Bon Marché Goodwin's, Paquet, W.H. Scroggie, Blumenthal's, G.A. Holland, etc.). The Eaton catalogue was also promoted given that Eaton's opened a store in Montreal only in the late 1920s. He shows a neat 1911 ad from the magasin Paquet in Quebec City of the Santa Claus parade arriving at the store (p. 251).


Watkins, Melville (1985), “Staple Thesis,” in James Marsh ed. *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3. Edmonton, AL: Hurtig. “The thesis may be the most important single contribution to scholarship by Canadian social scientists and historians; it has also had some influence internationally, notably in the analysis of a comparable country such as Australia” (page 1752). He briefly presents the two contrasting views: one by Harold Innis and the other by Mackintosh in the 1920s. Both agreed that Canada’s economy was born with a staple economy that is one rich in oil, gas, fish, timber, fur, grain, etc. Such staples (or basis commodities) had repercussions not only on the economy but on social and political systems such as on rates of settlement and many federal/provincial conflicts dealing with staples. Mackintosh argued a “continuing evolution toward a mature industrialized economy based on staple production, whereas Innis said that Canada’s economy would “become permanently locked into dependency as a resource hinterland.” According to Watkins, it seems the Innis version seems to describe the current state of the economy. I think Innis is now wrong because Canada is no longer a branch plant economy as it once was, and much more value added is done here than ever before. Look at Blackberry, Bombardier, George Weston, McCain Foods, and the financial and professional sector of the economy. It is also true that the perception of Canada as a resource based economy still persists irrespective of the structural changes that have transformed the Canadian economy.

Watkins, Melville and H.M. Grant eds. (1987), *Canadian Economic History: Classic and Contemporary Approaches*, Ottawa:


White, Bruce (1998), "The Trade Assortment: the Meanings of Merchandise in the Ojibwa Fur Trade," in Sylvie Dépatie, Catherine Desbarats, Danielle Gauvreau, Marco Lalancette and Thomas Wien eds. Vingt ans après Habitants et marchands Twenty Years Later, Montreal/Kingston: McGill/Queen’s University Press, pp.115-137. The author confirmed that over 60% of goods sought by aboriginal people were cloth, clothing and blankets. These had many uses for both males and females Indians, even religious uses as well.


Wien, Thomas (1987), “Le castor, peaux et pelleteries dans le commerce canadien des fourrures 1720-1790,” in Bruce Trigger, Toby Morantz and Louise Dechêne eds. Le Castor Fait Tout: Selected Papers of the Fifth North American Fur Trade Conference, Montréal: Lake St. Louis Historical Society, pp. 72-92. A text discussing fur trade to France and along with the amount of trade which had its ups and downs; the beaver was not the most important traded fur.

Wien, Thomas (1994), “Exchange Patterns in the European Market for North American Furs and Skins, 1720-1760,” in Jennifer S.H. Brown, W.J. Eccles and Donald Heldman eds. The Fur Trade Revisited Selected Papers of the Sixth North America Fur trade Conference, East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, pp. 19-37. This is an international historical market study of fur imports and exports involving multiple countries to determine the amount actually transacted and prices paid for duties in the later part of the 18th c. One conclusion is that furs shipped from Montreal did not get a special deal in Europe, notably in London markets. The article notes that La Rochelle was the main port of entry for Canadian furs in France. And both London and La Rochelle ports re-exported furs to other parts of Europe as well (Germany, Poland, etc.). But trying to determine the amount of furs or the type of furs (beaver vs. non beaver) that were re-exported is not easy according to the author because furs were not well labeled, and price fluctuations and duties paid which either overestimated or underestimated the amount imported and thus impacted on the re-exportation shipments as well. Often fur imports were less than what was shipped to avoid paying duties and prices were hard to set, especially in La Rochelle, because of the Chamber of Commerce was responsible for such price setting. Furs, other than beaver, were also traded but the extent of this market is not easy to study because of definition. After all, furs could also include deer, moose, bear, raccoon, lynx, elk, etc. The author says that deer skin was prized because it could be made into gloves, etc. We need to add the difficulty that HBC’s prices were converted from sterling into livres tournois made price comparisons even more difficult. Briefly, studying fur shipments and price behavior in the 18th c. is complicated because all types of furs were sold not only in London but across many European countries and the extent of this trade involved many factors from pricing, duties, analyzing data from ports, even shipment of furs other than from Montreal but from other parts of NA, and ports other than London and La Rochelle such as Dutch Republic or Flanders. The author makes a distinction between marchands-équipeurs (the ones who outfitted trading expeditions) and marchands voyageurs.


Wilbur, J.R.H. (1962), "H.H. Stevens and R.B. Bennett, 1930-34", Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 43 (March No. 1), pp. 1-16. The history between H.H. Stevens and Prime Minister R.B. Bennett during the Depression years, leading up to the 1935 Royal Commission on Price Spreads and Mass Buying, sometimes called erroneously the Stevens Report. There was much conflict between Stevens and the Bennett Government. Stevens proved to be a champion of small business firmly against the mass buying power of department stores and other large mass buyers. We do not know if Stevens was influenced by a similar anti big business, anti-chain movement also taking place in the USA at about the same time especially dealing with food chains which eventually led to
the passage of the Robinson-Patman Act, often referred to as the Anti-chain/Anti A&P Act. Stevens was first chairman of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Price Spreads appointed by Bennett in 1934. This led to the publishing of a 3 volume report, with over 3936 pages of testimonies, which I was able to peruse, called: *Session 1934 House of Commons Special Committee on Price Spreads and Mass Buying, Proceedings and Evidence, Ottawa: J.O. Patenaude.* Then on July 5, 1934, the Bennett Government decided that the inquiry be continued as a Royal Commission, again with Stevens as its chairman. In October 29, 1934, before the Commission was scheduled to begin its hearings, Stevens made a speech in which he accused Charles L. Burton, president of the Robert Simpson Company and Sir Joseph Flavelle, a major shareholder, of acting in concert to create sweat shop conditions. This speech made headlines all over Canada and eventually forced Stevens to resign with W.W. Kennedy taking over the chairmanship and the investigation was expanded to include textiles. See Cheasley (1930), Phillips (1937) and Thompson (1958) for additional insights on the anti-chain movement in Canada.


Wiliis, Jack D. (1963), *Industrial Marketing in Canada: Guideposts in planning a sound approach to the marketing of Canadian industrial products, the marketing function, planning, pricing and promoting the product,* Toronto: Canadian Manufacturers’ Association.


Willis, John (2001), “Selling God by Post in French Canada,” in Robert Klymasz, and John Willis eds. *Revelations Bi-Millenial Papers from the Canadian Museum of Civilization,* Canadian Center for Folk Studies (CFCS Mercury Series 75), Hull, Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, pp. 258-285. This article describes how religious leaders in French Canada managed the Catholic Church from the early part of the 19th century to before WW2 with the help of the post. It describes how bishops in Montreal and elsewhere communicated with the numerous parishes across Lower Canada and with Rome and how the mail acted as means to ensure Catholic values were being observed and respected. The most interesting part of the paper (pp. 267-75; 281-82) pertinent to marketing is the author’s description of a special Dupuis Frères 40-page mail order
catalogue aimed at the clergy first issued in 1939 (with a 1944 also issued). Dupuis Frères was a Montreal department store, a very nationalistic French Canadian institution which identified itself strongly with the Catholic Church. The church was heavily involved in all aspects of life in French Canada and it made good business sense to cater to this small but very influential group. The catalogue describes most of the goods the clergy would need, from special clothing (e.g. cassocks, surplices, and shoes), school supplies, jewelry, religious objects and books, even construction materials for church renovations and presbyteries. Let’s not forget items to indulge priests such as tobacco. Dupuis had a floor (4th) in its main Montreal store dedicated to this market segment and even sent sales reps on the road to visit the clergy to make sales. Some items in the catalogue had no prices which indicated that Dupuis could charge as much as the market could bear. Very few of the items in the catalogue were for nuns. Did Dupuis neglect this segment deliberately or were nuns assumed to make all of their own clothes? No mention was made of how the clergy paid for the items bought or if credit was extended to them. It would be interesting to know if bad debts occurred. The catalogue aimed at the catholic clergy with is a testimony of a time when the Church was all powerful in French Canada. Today, the Church in French Canada has been replaced by movie stars and other entertainment celebrities used by sellers to market their goods and services.

Willis, John (2002), “Le catalogue d’hier et le marketing d’aujourd’hui,” Cap-aux-Diamants, No. 70 (Summer), page 45.


Wilson, G. Alan (1965), *John Northway, a Blue Serge Canadian*, Toronto. The expression “blue serge” is supposed to refer to a man’s suit, I think? Northway was an immigrant tailor by profession who came to Canada in 1870, and lived in many parts of Ontario. He owned and operated a chain of retail stores selling men’s and women’s clothes. He also opened a manufacturing plant which made many types of men’s and women’s clothes, including dresses, suits, pants, etc. sold all across Canada. The book is more a biography of Northway and his family and his associates than a business history per se. The marketing aspects of his businesses are not well documented in this book. One of his innovations: ventilation in his factory in the early 1900s before AC came along. He was also a generous employer setting a pension plan, and a generous philanthropist giving money to universities, etc.


Wilson, Pearl (1944), “Consumer Buying in Upper Canada, 1791-1840”, Ontario Historical Society, *Papers and Records*, Vol. 36, pp. 33-40. Reprinted in J.K. Johnson, ed. *Historical Essays on Upper Canada*, Toronto: McClelland Stewart, 1975, pp. 216-225. A description of items purchased by families from Niagara frontier merchants and artisans with a list of prices paid in various currencies: NY, Quebec, French, York, Halifax, pistareen (a Spanish coin), Spanish silver dollar, shillings and pence. The time line is interesting because this part of Canada became known as Upper Canada in 1791. The items are varied from food, tools, cloth, kitchen items, alcohol, farm equipment, and services paid for as well. Items purchased were imported from the USA, Britain or made in larger Canadian centers. The article’s title is correct and cannot imply a standard of living by the families based on what was bought on credit or how the items were paid for. Payment paid by a currency was rare.


Winnipeg Grain Exchange (1933), *The Wheat Pool Marketing Experiment*, Winnipeg, MB.


Withrow, Oswald (1936), *The Romance of the Canadian National Exhibition*, Toronto: Reginald Saunders. A review of the CNE from its earlier beginning to the time the book was published. Some useful information on costs and attendance figures as well as various activities from sports, music, art, women’s, amusements, even military.


Wolfe, Joshua (1989), « Ogilvy, » *Continuité*, No. 42 (hiver), pp. 30-31. This Montreal store was once a high class store but it converted into leasing arrangements with upscale retailers making Ogilvy more like a landlord than a retailer.


Woods, Shirley (1983), *The Molson Saga 1763-1983: The Triumphs and Tragedies of the Legendary Brewing Family Through Six Generations*, Toronto: Doubleday. Translated by Marie Catherine Laduré, *La saga des Molson 1763-1983*, Montréal: L’Homme. The book is a “personal look at the triumphs and tragedies of the remarkable family that for six generations has built a fortune and helped shape a nation. Family members have played a role in such projects as the first steamboat in Canada, the first railway, their own bank, McGill University, and the Bank of Montreal. In the world of sports, the Molson name has long been connected with the Montreal Canadiens.”


Wright, Cynthia (2000), “Rewriting the Modern: Reflections on Race, Nation and the Death of a Department Store,” Histoire sociale/Social History, Vol. 33 (May No. 65), pp. 153-167. The article is about the demise of Eaton’s and its meaning. It is in a sense “a death-of Eatons’ commentary” and it needs to be read by those interested in the social and business history of a Canadian icon.


Yeates, Maurice (1975), *Main Street: Windsor to Quebec City*, Toronto: Macmillan of Canada. An economic and demographic profile of Canada’s megalopolis, also called Windsor/Quebec City corridor or axis.


Yerbury, J.C. (1986), *The Subarctic Indians and the Fur Trade, 1680-1860*, Vancouver: UBC Press. Though the focus is on how subarctic Indians adapted to a growing dependency on the fur trade, the changing specifics of that trade are discussed in considerable detail.


Ziegel, Jacob (1973) “The Future of Canadian Consumerism,” *Canadian Bar Review*, Vol. 51, pp. 191-206. A solid article of the various rights of Canadian consumers, such as the right to be heard, the right to a fair agreement, to right to honesty, to safety, to know, to privacy and to choose. These rights repeat President Kennedy’s consumer rights back in the early 1960s but with a Canadian content. The author says that no theory of consumer rights exists which make it hard to have such rights in force and that class action suits are not the norm in Canada.


