

CLASS AND GENDER IN THE TORONTO PRINTING TRADES
1870-1914

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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CHRISTINA ANN BURR



CLASS AND GENDER IN THE TORONTO PRINTING TRADES
1870-1914

BY

(C) CHRISTINA ANN BURR

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine class and gender relations in the Toronto printing trades during a period of intensive industrial capitalist growth between 1870 and 1914. Consistent with socialist feminism, it is argued that the experience of class cannot be comprehended without a consideration of gender relations.

During the late nineteenth century segmentation and specialization occurred within the Toronto printing industry with technological innovations in the production process, the emergence of the daily press, and a proliferation of firms specializing in a product line or in a particular aspect of the production process. Throughout the period from 1870 to 1914 male workers dominated the Toronto printing trades. Women were segregated in those jobs socially designated as unskilled, specifically, pressfeeding, and folding, stitching, and collating in the binderies.

The bulk of the study focuses on printing-trades workers employed at the Methodist Book and Publishing House, a large Church-owned multi-faceted printing and bookbinding establishment. An analysis of a select group of printing-trades workers derived from the firm's extant payrolls for the fiscal years 1882-83 and 1890-91, and for the calendar year 1902, and identified by occupation through linkages with the city directories, revealed a hierarchical and gender division

of labour typical of the broader late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Toronto printing industry. Developing the argument that to understand fully the complex interaction of patriarchy and capitalism we must go beyond the workplace and consider the family, the household economies of the sample group of Methodist Book Room workers were analysed using linkages between the decennial census manuscripts and the municipal tax assessments. The majority of Book Room workers studied lived in subsistence-level conditions and tended to rely on the income of one or more secondary wage earners. A breadwinner wage was a reality only for comparatively few skilled male printing-trades workers.

In the latter part of the study, the trade unionism of Toronto printing-trades workers was explored. Male unionists in Toronto Typographical Union, Local 91 successfully defended their skilled-worker status with industrial capitalist incursions and effectively excluded women compositors from membership in the local typographical union. Considerable attention was also given to the organization of bookbinders, including the formation of the short-lived Women's Bindery Union.

The study is thus an attempt at a convergence between socialist feminist theory, and working-class and labour history, feminist history, and family history.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

We lead the van in wax for Liberty
And guard the precious boon Equality,
So let us not forget Fraternity;
For Universal Brotherhood we strive,
And keep the grace of Charity alive,
Another era dawns upon the world,
The rings and money kings will soon be hurled
From self-elected thrones--their mills shall cease
To grind up flesh and blood for chariot grease.
May capital and labor join and say:
"A fair day's labor for a fair day's pay,"
So said the MAN whose Word our laws inspire
"The laborer is worthy of his hire."

William H. Taylor, Toronto Typographical
Union, No. 91.¹

The excerpt from the above poem by ITU Local 91 member William Taylor, welcoming the delegates to the 1905 annual convention of the ITU to Toronto, conjures up images not only of the unequal class relations in an industrial capitalist society where the necessity of working for a wage was central to working-class life, but also vivid images of "manliness" and masculine pride in the craft.

The major premise underlying this study of the Toronto printing-trades workers during the period of rapid industrial capitalist growth between 1870 and 1914, is that the experience of class cannot be understood without an analysis of gender relations. Thus, the thesis advanced here is that during a period of competitive capitalism in the Toronto printing trades between 1870 and 1914, patriarchal social relations were integral to the resolution of class conflict

¹ Souvenir 1905 Convention ITU, Toronto 14-19 August 1905. Emphasis in the original.

between the predominantly male trades unionists and employers, and furthermore were detrimental to the interests of women workers in the printing trades, thus resulting in class fragmentation.

Although feminist in orientation, this study draws on the literature from a number of fields within the discipline of social history, including Canadian and international labour and working-class history, feminist history, and family history. The study is also heavily influenced by my reading of socialist feminist and marxist feminist theoretical literature produced within the social sciences discipline of sociology during the last fifteen years and in the broader social and political context of the women's movement. Other additional formative influences in my own life no doubt shaped my thinking about gender relations in a working-class family. Growing up in a working-class family in Sarnia, Ontario during the 1960s and early 1970s, heightened my sensitivity to patriarchal family relations and stimulated an awareness of the contradictions within the household family economy, where the need for family members to work for a wage not only contributed to family solidarity, but more often than not, was also a source of considerable tension and conflict.

The Toronto printers, as one of the early organizers of the labour movement in nineteenth-century Canada, have already received a prominent place in labour movement

histories by labour economists and trade union advocates. There was also a tendency among printers themselves to document their work experiences and organizational activities which might be attributed to the literacy requirement of the trade, and a craft culture which promoted an elevated sense of self-worth among printers with the widespread belief that the products of their labour were vital in the education of the people. For example, John Armstrong, a journeyman printer, who was also prominent in the local labour movement and president of the ITU in 1878-79, wrote a history of the early organization of the journeymen printers of Toronto beginning with the formation of the York Typographical Union in 1832.²

Using an approach similar to that cultivated by John R. Commons and his associates at the University of Wisconsin, which focuses on labour's institutional history and movements of political protest, economist Harold Logan, in his 1928 The History of Trade Unions in Canada, cited the organization of the Toronto Typographical Union as the York Typographical Society in 1832 as an example of early union organization in Canada, and also provided an in-depth account of the printers' later involvement in the nine-hours movement culminating in the "celebrated printers' strike" of 25 March 1872 and the

² John Armstrong's serialized history of the origins of the Toronto Typographical Union, originally published in the Toiler, has been compiled in a scrapbook located in the Robert Kenny Collection, University of Toronto Archives.

subsequent passage of the Trades Union Act.³ Similarly, Eugene Forsey's encyclopedic compilation of the early development of the Canadian labour movement which was conceived when Forsey was research director for the Canadian Labor Congress in the late 1950s and early 1960s, but not published until 1982, contains a detailed description of the early struggles of the Toronto Typographical Union.⁴

Although left nationalist in political orientation, the published version of political scientist Sally Zerker's 1972 University of Toronto Ph.D. dissertation, entitled The Rise and Fall of the Toronto Typographical Union, 1832-1972 also falls into the genre of institutional labour history.⁵ In

³ Harold A. Logan, The History of Trade-Union Organization in Canada (Chicago 1928), 8-14, 29-35. For historiographical overviews on the writing of labour and working-class history in Canada see Bryan D. Palmer, "Working-Class Canada: Recent Historical Writing," Queen's Quarterly, 86 (1979), 594-616; Bryan D. Palmer, "Listening to History Rather than Historians: Reflections on Working Class History," Studies in Political Economy, 20 (Summer 1986), 47-84.

⁴ Eugene Forsey, Trade Unions in Canada, 1812-1902 (Toronto 1982), 16-28, 95-106. Trade Unions in Canada, 1812-1902 was originally intended for publication in conjunction with Canada's 1967 Centennial celebration. For an overview of Forsey's career written after his recent death on 20 February 1991, see W.J.C. Cherwinski, "Caring Canadian," Labour/Le Travail, 27 (Spring 1991), 11-3.

⁵ Sally Zerker, The Rise and Fall of the Toronto Typographical Union 1832-1972: A Case Study of Foreign Domination (Toronto 1982). The intellectual and political milieu of the late 1960s and early 1970s in which Zerker produced her study of the Toronto Typographical Union also witnessed the emergence of a group of professional historians more recently identified as "Canada's first generation of labor historians." Also left nationalist in political orientation, this group of historians, including David Bercuson, A. Ross McCormack, Irving Abella, and Robert

addressing the issue of foreign domination by American international unions Zerker argued that "the Toronto printers' union was essentially a successful autonomous operation growing well in its native Canadian environment" until the United States based International Typographical Union took control of the local.⁶ A major weakness in the analysis is that Zerker, in presenting her polemic against foreign domination, tends to be ahistorical. She minimizes local Toronto support of the international union and ignores class struggles between printers and employers. The rank-and-file unionists, furthermore, remain hidden in the background.

The Toronto printers have also received scholarly attention from what has more recently been identified as the "second generation of Canadian working-class and labour historians," in the writings by Gregory S. Kealey and Wayne Roberts.⁷ In an essay published in the important ground-

Babcock adopted the institutional approach to the study of labour. See Palmer, "Working-Class Canada," 595-600.

⁶ Zerker, The Rise and Fall, 317.

⁷ Heavily influenced by the British Marxist historians, most notably E.P. Thompson, this group of historians issued a call in 1973 for the broadening of the scope of the field beyond the institutional/political focus to incorporate a consideration of working-class culture and class as a dynamic social process. From American working-class historians Herbert G. Gutman and David Montgomery an emphasis on worker initiative and self activity in the local community setting was adopted by the "second generation." In addition to Kealey and Roberts, prominent among the second generation of Canadian working-class historians are Bryan Palmer, David Frank, and Russell Hann. See Russell Hann, Gregory S. Kealey, Linda Kealey, Peter Warrian, comps., Primary Sources in Canadian Working Class History, 1860-1930 (Kitchener 1973),

breaking collection Essays in Canadian Working Class History, Roberts argued that the "mechanization which ravaged the integrity of so many artisanal trades was not as brutal in the case of printing," and the "artisanal character of their occupation was in large measure retained and safeguarded." While Roberts extended the historical study of the Toronto printers to incorporate a consideration of culture, the trade-union remained the focus of analysis.⁸

In a chapter of his study of the Toronto working class during the period between 1867 and 1896, devoted to the printers, Kealey argued that unlike many nineteenth century "skilled" workers, the printers were remarkably successful in their workplace control struggles with capital.⁹ Like Roberts, Kealey also suggested that during the nineteenth century the Toronto printers incorporated craft custom into union regulation to defend their status in the workplace with changes in the labour process and the increasing mechaniza-

9-20; Gregory S. Kealey and Peter Warrian, eds., Essays in Canadian Working-Class History (Toronto 1976), 7-12; Gregory S. Kealey, "Labour and Working-Class History in Canada: Prospects in the 1980s," Labour/Le Travailleur, 7 (Spring 1981), 67-94; Ian McKay, "The Three Faces of Canadian Labour History," History Workshop, 24 (Autumn 1987), 172-9; Palmer, "Working-Class Canada," 601-8.

⁸ Wayne Roberts, "The Last Artisans: Toronto Printers, 1896-1914," in Gregory S. Kealey and Peter Warrian, eds., Essays in Canadian Working Class History (Toronto 1976), 125-42.

⁹ Gregory S. Kealey, Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism, 1867-1892 (Toronto 1980), ch. 6.

tion of the trade.¹⁰

Kealey developed this argument in more depth in a later essay published in the 1986 collection On the Job, edited by Craig Heron and Robert Storey.¹¹ Although intended as a national study of the printers, much of the research focuses on the newspaper sector of the Toronto printing industry during the period previous to 1900. Three distinct periods of workplace struggles defined by the interaction of capital and labour are suggested by Kealey in the essay: the first period up to 1850, was characterized by handicraft production and small combined newspaper and job printing shops; the second period from the 1850s to the 1890s, "was ushered in by the arrival of the daily paper, rotary presses, and a growing division of labour," combined with union regulation; from the 1890s, a third period emerged in which "a binational system of collective bargaining commenced and the local union became increasingly subservient to the international union."¹² Although Kealey discussed changes in the labour process and in the division of labour, the essay lacks any analysis of the social relations of production at the shop-floor level.

The contribution of Kealey and Roberts in their histori-

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Gregory S. Kealey, "Work Control, the Labour Process, and Nineteenth-Century Canadian Printers," in Craig Heron and Robert Storey, eds., On the Job: Confronting the Labour Process in Canada (Kingston and Montreal 1986), 75-101.

¹² Ibid. 74-5.

cal writings on the Toronto printers, and of the second generation of Canadian working-class historians in general, has been to expand the field of study to incorporate an analysis of class and working-class culture with an emphasis on working-class self-activity or agency.¹³ A criticism of the work of the second generation, however, is that in applying Thompsonian notions of class and class consciousness and by focussing on the formation of a "culture of control," these historians present a "gender blind," or at best a "male-centred" view of class and class consciousness.¹⁴ Despite the fact that the analysis of gender relations is not actually exclusive of the broad agenda of the second generation to study the "totality" of the working-class experience, the studies lack any analysis of the historical relationship

¹³ Although heated debates occurred during the late 1970s and early 1980s with David Bercuson, Terry Morley, and Kenneth McNaught denying the validity of the concepts of class and class consciousness. See David Bercuson, "Through the looking glass of culture: An essay on the new labour history and working class culture in recent Canadian historical writing," Labour/ Le Travailleur, 7 (1981), 95-112; Kealey, "Labour and Working-Class History," 80-91; Terry Morley, "Canada and the Romantic Left," Queen's Quarterly, 86 (1979); 114-15; Kenneth McNaught, "E.P. Thompson vs Harold Logan: Writing about Labour and the Left in the 1970s," Canadian Historical Review, 42 (1981), 141-68; Palmer, "Working-Class Canada," 595-617; Palmer, "Listening to History," 47-83.

¹⁴ For a feminist critique of cultural materialism and new left historical writing see, Sally Alexander, "Women, Class and Sexual Differences in the 1830s and 1840s: Some Reflections on the Writing of a Feminist History," History Workshop, 17 (Spring 1984), 131-2; Judith Lowder Newton, "History as Usual? Feminism and the 'New Historicism,'" in H. Aram Veeser, The New Historicism (London 1989), 152-67.

between class and gender in the context of industrial capitalist development.¹⁵

Although Roberts did not consider gender relations in "The Last Artisans," his other historical writings illustrate an interest in issues of gender. During the 1970s women's history emerged as a sub-discipline in the broader context of the women's movement and the political agenda of addressing women's oppression, and the development of social history within the academy.¹⁶ In 1974, a collective associated with the Canadian Women's Educational Press (CWEP) published Women at Work.¹⁷ Roberts co-authored an essay in the collection with Alice Klein.¹⁸ He was not, however, a member of the

¹⁵ In a review essay Steven Maynard emphasized the importance of an analysis of gender relations for the historical study of the Canadian working class and argued that "as industrial capitalism unfolded it not only altered class relations, but also shifted gender relations." Maynard further issued a challenge to Canadian working-class historians "to further probe the interconnections among gender, masculinity, femininity, sexuality, and class both on the job and beyond." See Steven Maynard, "Rough Work and Rugged Men: The Social Construction of Masculinity in Working-Class History," Labour/Le Travail, 23 (Spring 1989), 159-69;

¹⁶ For overviews of the development of women's history in the 1970s, see Eliane Leslau Silverman, "Writing Canadian Women's History, 1970-82: an Historiographical Analysis," Canadian Historical Review, (December 1982), 513-33; Margaret Conrad, "The Re-Birth of Canada's Past: A Decade of Women's History," Acadiensis, XII, 2 (Spring 1983), 140-62; Gregory S. Kealey, "The writing of social history in English Canada, 1970-1984," Social History, 10,3 (1985), 347-66.

¹⁷ Janice Acton, Penny Goldsmith, and Bonnie Shepard, eds., Women at Work Ontario, 1850-1930 (Toronto 1974).

¹⁸ Alice Klein and Wayne Roberts, "Besieged Innocence: The "Problem" and Problems of Working Women-- Toronto, 1896-1914," in Acton, et.al., eds., Women at Work, 211-53.

CWEP collective. The argument developed by Roberts and Klein in "Besieged Innocence" is that the view that middle-class social reformers held of the working class differed dramatically from working-class self-perception. The authors further suggested that during the period studied between 1896 and 1914, a "feminine consciousness" co-existed with, but did not preclude, the development of class consciousness.¹⁹

In a subsequent publication, Honest Womanhood, Roberts posited a relationship between feminism, femininity, and class consciousness.²⁰ Attempting to explain the failure of working women in Toronto during the period between 1896 and 1914 to respond collectively to exploitation at work, Roberts was critical of interpretations relying on "pliable clichés" and "momified" abstractions concerning feminine psychology formulated by nineteenth-century labour activists and social commentators, and by many radical feminists of the 1960s and the early 1970s. For Roberts, a complex interrelationship between demographic and occupational constraints and feminine consciousness accounts for the passivity of women workers in

¹⁹ Ibid., 251-2. The argument concerning the emergence of women's consciousness anticipates later research by feminist historians. See for example, Sarah Eisenstein, Give us bread but give us roses: Working women's consciousness in the United States, 1890 to the First World War (London 1983); Christine Stansell, City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1860 (Urbana and Chicago 1987).

²⁰ Wayne Roberts, Honest Womanhood: Feminism, Femininity and Class Consciousness Among Toronto Working Women 1893 to 1914 (Toronto 1976)

turn-of-the-century Toronto.²¹

Two pages of Honest Womanhood are devoted to women's employment in the Toronto printing industry.²² According to Roberts: "The printing industry was a rare case where women shared a skilled trade with men, although even here industrial segregation was the rule."²³ What Roberts labelled "industrial segregation" might more appropriately be identified as "gender segregation." In his overview of the involvement of Toronto women in the wage labour force between 1896 and 1914, Roberts presents a "deskilling" thesis, and argues that with technical innovations a "feminization" of the labour force occurred and "skilled" male trades were "downgraded," and craftsmen were displaced by women machine operators.²⁴

During the past fifteen years, the largely theoretical writings of socialist feminists carried out in the political context of the latest wave of feminism have pursued questions concerning the gender division of labour with the overarching political objective of eliminating women's oppression.²⁵ In two important path-breaking essays American socialist

²¹ Ibid., 4-5.

²² Ibid., 23-4.

²³ Ibid., 23.

²⁴ Ibid., 8.

²⁵ Rosemarie Tong, Feminist Thought: A Comprehensive Introduction (Boulder, Colorado 1989), 173-5.

feminist Heidi Hartmann, criticized both Marxism for its "gender-blind" categories and failure to explain why women are subordinate to men, and radical feminism for its universalist claims of the existence of male dominance at all times and in all places.²⁶ Departing from radical feminist interpretations of patriarchy rooted in psychoanalytic theory, Hartmann defined patriarchy "as a set of social relations between men, which have a material base, and which, though hierarchical, establish or create interdependence and solidarity among men that enable them to dominate women."²⁷ Among feminist theorists Hartmann has been labelled as a proponent of "dual-systems" theory. For dual systems theorists, patriarchy and capitalism are distinct forms of social relations, and thus for women's oppression fully to be understood both patriarchy and capitalism must be considered first as separate phenomena and then in dialectical relationship to one another.²⁸

In putting forth a "materialist" analysis of patriarchy and capitalism, Hartmann argued that job segregation by sex is the primary mechanism in capitalist society by which men maintain superiority over women.

²⁶ Heidi I. Hartmann, "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a More Progressive Union," Capital and Class, 8 (Summer 1979), 1-33; Heidi I. Hartmann, "Capitalism, Patriarchy, and Job Segregation By Sex," Signs, 1, 3, Part 2 (Spring 1976), 137-69.

²⁷ Hartmann, "The Unhappy Marriage," 11.

²⁸ Tong, Feminist Thought, 175.

Job segregation by sex, by insuring that women have the lower paid jobs, both assures women's economic dependence on men and reinforces notions of appropriate spheres for women and men. For most men, then, the development of family wages secured the material base of male domination in two ways. First, men have the better jobs in the labor market and earn higher wages than women. The lower pay women receive in the labor market both perpetuates men's material advantage over women and encourages women to choose wifery as a career. Second, then, women do housework, childcare, and perform other services at home which benefit men directly. Women's home responsibilities in turn reinforce their inferior labor market position.²⁹

Hartmann further stated that the "family wage" form, or the wage necessary for the male household head and primary "breadwinner" to support a family, "cemented the partnership between patriarchy and capital," and is the "cornerstone of the present sexual division of labor-- in which women are primarily responsible for housework and men primarily for wage work."³⁰ The dual systems theory put forth by Hartmann can be criticized for its economism and assumption that patriarchy and capitalism exist separately. The theory, moreover, is not substantiated with any primary historical research. She makes the sweeping, and incorrect, assumption that the meaning of the "family wage" form remained unchanged throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and that a male-breadwinner wage sufficient to support a family was realized by the majority of the late-nineteenth

²⁹ Hartmann, "The Unhappy Marriage," 16-7.

³⁰ Ibid., 18-9.

and twentieth-century working class.³¹

During the latter part of the 1970s feminists, notably socialist feminists, shifted from an emphasis on the domestic realm and turned to women's wage work and began to explore what women actually did in the workplace. Critical of Harry Braverman for equating "skill" with the male artisan, socialist feminists called for a conceptualization of skill that illuminates the sexual hierarchies permeating the social organization of industrial capitalism.³² Skill classifica-

³¹ For example, sociologist Wally Secombe studied changes in wage relations in nineteenth-century Britain, and argued that two related changes occurred around the middle of the nineteenth-century: "first, a shift in the prevailing wage form, from a joint to an individual payment; and second, a shift in the predominant substance norm of a living wage, from a family group's income to the ideal of an adult male-breadwinner wage." Similarly, Martha May studied the transformation in the "family wage" ideal in the United States during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Wally Secombe, "Patriarchy stabilized: the construction of the male breadwinner wage norm in nineteenth-century Britain," Social History, 11, 1 (January 1986), 53-76; Martha May, "Bread before roses: American workingmen, labor unions and the family wage," in Ruth Milkman, ed., Women, Work and Protest (London 1985), 1-21.

³² Anne Phillips and Barbara Taylor, "Sex and Skill: Notes towards a Feminist Economics," Feminist Review, 6 (1980), 82-4; Jane Gaskell, "The Social Construction of Skill Through Schooling: Implications for Women," Atlantis, 8, 2 (Spring 1983), 13-4; Veronica Beechey, Unequal Work (London 1987), 73-88. Non-feminist critiques of Labor and Monopoly Capital have centred around Braverman's linear view of "de-skilling" and his failure to recognize that as capital introduced new machinery and new modes of production new "skills" were created. Also, in emphasizing capital's strategies for maximizing surplus value, Braverman ignored class tensions and worker resistance from the shop floor. See Michael Burawoy, Manufacturing Consent: Changes in the Labor Process under Monopoly Capitalism (Chicago 1979), xiii; David M. Gordon, Richard Edwards, and Michael Reich, Segmented Work, Divided Workers: The Historical Transformation of Labor

tions are socially organized to define men's work as skilled and women's work as unskilled or semi-skilled, and as Anne Phillips and Barbara Taylor indicated, bear little relationship to the amount of training or ability required to perform them.

The work of women is often deemed inferior simply because it is women who do it. Women workers carry into the workplace their status as subordinate individuals, and this status comes to define the value of the work they do. Far from being an objective economic fact, skill is often an ideological category imposed on certain types of work by virtue of the sex and power of the workers who perform it.³³

Thus, according to Phillips and Taylor "skilled work is work that women don't do."³⁴

In Brothers, British feminist Cynthia Cockburn studied the response of fifty London newspaper compositors to the replacement of hot-metal techniques of typesetting by computerized photo-composition during the late 1970s.³⁵ Consistent with the feminist critique of previous workplace studies which focussed entirely on the analysis of class relations and neglected to consider that gender is not only socially organized in the home, but in the workplace also, Cockburn argued that "the experience of class cannot be

In the United States (Cambridge 1982), 5.

³³ Phillips and Taylor, "Sex and Skill," 79.

³⁴ Ibid., 30.

³⁵ Cynthia Cockburn, Brothers: Male Dominance and Technological Change (London 1983).

understood without reference to sex and gender."³⁶ A "dual systems" approach presupposing the continual interaction of capitalism and patriarchy was used in the analysis. Applying E.P. Thompson's conceptualization of class to the analysis of gender relations, Cockburn suggested that gender, like class must also be seen as the product of history. The struggle over "skill" and technology is part of the process by which the patriarchal social relations are perpetuated in an industrial capitalist society.³⁷

Although rooted in the discipline of sociology, Cockburn situated her study of London newspaper compositors in the historical context of capitalist industrialization. Within the nineteenth-century printing industry, women were segregated into the binderies, folding the printed sheets, collating pages or doing the stitching preparatory to the actual binding -- all tasks socially constructed as women's work and "unskilled" by men.³⁸ Cockburn further noted that composition or typesetting was relatively light work and could have been a source of employment for women, particularly with the widespread implementation of machine typesetting in newspaper production beginning in the late 1880s. A strong male craft organization buttressed by male breadwinner ideology, however, effectively excluded women from the

³⁶ Ibid., 5.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid., 23.

typesetting jobs.³⁹

More recently historians, notably feminist historians, have pursued questions concerning the interconnections between class, gender, and the division of labour. Joy Parr's comparative study of the hosiery industry in the English midlands and southern Ontario considered gender segregation in the social organization of production in the knitting industry during decades surrounding the turn-of-the-century.⁴⁰ The early twentieth century urban telegraph industry was the focus of Shirley Tillotson's recent study of gender and socially defined notions of "skill."⁴¹ Margaret McCallum studied the gender division of labour in a firm-specific study of the labour process in Ganong Bros. confectionery factory, in St. Stephen, New Brunswick.⁴² Research completed

³⁹ Ibid., 23-31. In her subsequent monograph, entitled Machinery of Dominance, Cockburn suggested that the appropriation of technology by men is an extension of the domination of women by men. Cynthia Cockburn, Machinery of Dominance: Women, Men and Technical Know-how (London 1985), 6-14.

⁴⁰ Joy Parr, "Disaggregating the Sexual Division of Labour: A Transatlantic Case Study," Comparative Studies in Society and History, 30, 3 (July 1988), 511-33. The article comprised part of research-in-progress for Parr's recently published monograph, The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men, and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950 (Toronto 1990).

⁴¹ Shirley Tillotson, "We may all soon be 'first-class men': Gender and skill in Canada's early twentieth century urban telegraph industry," Labour/Le Travail, 27 (Spring 1991), 97-125.

⁴² Margaret E. McCallum, "Separate Spheres: The Organization of Work in a Confectionery Factory: Ganong Bros., St. Stephen, New Brunswick," Labour/Le Travail, 24 (Fall 1989), 69-90.

by working-class historian Jacques Ferland explored gender-related issues in Quebec's textile and boot and shoe industries.⁴³ Interestingly, the essays by Tillotson, McCallum, and Ferland were all published in Labour/Le Travail, the latter two pieces in a special "Women and Work" issue. This suggests some convergence of the fields of working-class and labour history and women's and feminist history during the fifteen year period since the agenda for a history of the Canadian working-class was put forth in the mid-1970s.⁴⁴ The research in this study builds on the writings of this group of historians by probing the interconnections between class, gender and skill in the workplace and in Toronto printing-trades unions.

Focussing on the printing industry specifically, American historian Ava Baron studied the relationship between class and gender among newspaper compositors in the US during the latter half of the nineteenth century. In her earlier writings, Baron combined the variant of labour market segmentation theory suggested by Richard Edwards with an analysis of patriarchal relations and argued: "Changes in the

⁴³ Jacques Ferland, "'In Search of the Unbound Promethia': A Comparative View of Women's Activism in Two Quebec Industries, 1869-1908," Labour/Le Travail, 24 (Spring 1989), 11-44.

⁴⁴ See also Bettina Bradbury's 1987 review essay probing the potential convergence between women's history and working-class history. Bettina Bradbury, "Women's History and Working-Class History," Labour/Le Travail, 19 (Spring 1987), 23-43.

sex-structuring of occupations are shaped by the uneven development of capitalism and the strategies developed by capital and labor to define the terms of class relations."⁴⁵ Influenced by nearly a decade of feminist historical writing and developments in feminist theory, Baron, in her more recent writings, has extended the period of study into the early twentieth century and pursued questions concerning the social construction of masculinity among newspaper compositors and class and gender conflicts over the definition of newspaper composition as skilled men's work as employers sought to redefine the job as women's work, notably during the immediate period following the widespread implementation of machine typesetting in the 1890s.⁴⁶

International debates within marxist feminism during the early 1980s, notably the domestic labour debate, and the emergence of feminist-oriented family history in the late 1970s, encouraged an analysis of the dialectical relationship between patriarchal relations and capitalist development, and

⁴⁵ Ava Baron, "Woman's "Place" in Capitalist Production: A Study of Class Relations in the Nineteenth Century Newspaper Printing Industry," Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University 1981; Ava Baron, "Women and the Making of the American Working Class: A Study of the Proletarianization of Printers," Review of Radical Political Economics, 14, 3 (Fall 1982), 23-42; Richard Edwards, Contested Terrain (New York 1979).

⁴⁶ Ava Baron, "Contested Terrain Revisited: Technology and Gender Definitions of Work in the Printing Industry, 1850-1920," in Barbara Drygulski Wright, et.al., eds. Women, Work, and Technology: Transformations (Ann Arbor 1987), 58-83; Ava Baron, "Questions of Gender Deskillling and Demasculinization in the U.S. Printing Industry, 1830-1915," Gender and History, 1, 2 (Summer 1989), 178-99.

further suggested that in order fully to understand the complex interconnections between class and gender we must go beyond the emphasis on how gender is articulated in the workplace and consider gender relations within the working-class family.⁴⁷ Within Canadian historical writing there has been a shift from the focus on family and household structures found in the writings by Michael Katz published in collaboration with the Canadian Social History Project, towards an emphasis on the family as a social and economic unit within which decisions are made about which family members shall work within the home and who shall enter the wage labour market.⁴⁸ Although the demographic family history

⁴⁷ Much of the international debate among marxist feminists and socialist feminists concerning the relationship between gender ideology and the material basis of capitalism took place in two journals, Studies in Political Economy and New Left Review. See Patricia Connolly, "On Marxism and Feminism," Studies in Political Economy, 12 (Fall 1983), 153-61; Pat Armstrong and Hugh Armstrong, "Beyond Sexless Class and Classless Sex: Towards Feminist Marxism," Studies in Political Economy, 10 (Winter 1983), 7-43; Johanna Brenner and Maria Ramas, "Rethinking Women's Oppression," New Left Review, 144 (March-April 1984), 33-71; Michèle Barrett, "Rethinking Women's Oppression: A Reply to Brenner and Ramas," New Left Review, 146 (July-August 1984), 123-28; Angela Weir and Elizabeth Wilson, "The British Women's Movement," New Left Review, 148 (November/December 1984), 74-103; Jane Lewis, "The Debate on Sex and Class," New Left Review, 149 (January/February 1985), 108-18; Michèle Barrett, "Weir and Wilson on Feminist Politics," New Left Review, 150 (March/April 1985), 143-47. For a recent reassessment of the debate see Pat Armstrong and Hugh Armstrong, Theorizing Women's Work (Toronto 1990), ch. 5.

⁴⁸ Michael B. Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City (Cambridge, MA 1975); Michael B. Katz, Michael J. Doucet, and Mark J. Stern, The Social Organization of Early Industrial Capitalism (London 1982).

of Katz and his colleagues was appropriately criticized for its failure to pursue class in terms other than the structural, a contribution of the research was to bring women into history by delineating the kinds of household arrangements women lived in during the nineteenth century and also patterns of variation in these arrangements over the course of the life cycle.⁴⁹

Adopting the method for the analysis of the family economy suggested by Louise Tilly and Joan Scott, Bettina Bradbury in her 1984 Ph.D dissertation studied the family economy in two predominantly working-class wards of Montreal, Sainte Anne and Saint Jacques, at decennial census intervals between 1861 and 1881.⁵⁰ From the analysis of a random sample

⁴⁹ For critiques of the failure of Katz and his colleagues to pursue the analysis of class in terms other than the structural in the later 1982 monograph, see Bryan D. Palmer, "Emperor Katz's New Clothes; or with the Wizard in Oz," Labour/Le Travail, 13 (Spring 1984), 190-97; Gregory S. Kealey, review of Katz, et.al., The Social Organization of Early Industrial Capitalism, Canadian Historical Review, LXIII, 4 (December 1982), 561-3. For a discussion of the connections between demographic family history and women's history see Louise A. Tilly, "Women's History and Family History: Fruitful Collaboration or Missed Connection," Journal of Family History, 12, 1-3 (1987), 304-15.

⁵⁰ Joan Scott and Louise Tilly, Women, Work and Family (New York 1978); Louise A. Tilly, "The Family Wage Economy of a French Textile City: Roubaix, 1872-1906," Journal of Family History, 4, 4 (Winter 1979), 381-94; Bettina Bradbury, "The Working Class Family Economy: Montreal, 1861-1881," Ph.D. dissertation, Concordia University 1984. Aspects of Bradbury's dissertation research have been published. See Bettina Bradbury, "The Family Economy and Work in an Industrializing City: Montreal in the 1870s," CHA Historical Papers (1979), 71-96; Bettina Bradbury, "The Fragmented Family: Family Strategies in the Face of Death, Illness, and Poverty, Montreal, 1860-1885," in Joy Parr, ed., Childhood and Family

of households in the two wards, Bradbury suggested that within the working class, the level and regularity of the wages of the male heads of households was crucial in determining the need for and the nature of other survival strategies including the formal wage labour of co-resident children. Bradbury's more recent writings have been influenced by developments in feminist history. She continues, however, to emphasize the centrality of the family for an understanding of the Canadian working-class experience and suggests that historians strive to unravel the dialectical relationship between the basic needs of the family, economic structure, and the existing ideology and practice regarding gender roles.⁵¹

Within English Canadian historical writing, Joy Parr and Mark Rosenfeld have also posited a relationship between the family and the workplace in the simultaneous organization of class and gender relations in an industrial capitalist

in Canadian History (Toronto 1982), 109-28; Bettina Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows, and Boarders: Non Wage Forms of Survival among Montreal Families, 1861-91," Labour/ Le Travail, 14 (Fall 1984), 9-46.

⁵¹ Bradbury, "Women's History and Working-Class History," 39-43; Bettina Bradbury, "Gender at Work at Home: Family Decisions, the Labour Market and Girls' Contributions to the Family Economy," in Gregory S. Kealey and Greg Patmore, eds., Canadian and Australian Labour History: Towards a Comparative Perspective (Sydney and St. John's 1990), 119-40; Bettina Bradbury, Working Families: Daily Survival in Industrial Montreal (forthcoming). In her forthcoming monograph, Bradbury extends the analysis of Sainte Anne and Saint Jacques wards to incorporate an analysis of families derived from the 1891 decennial census manuscript.

society.⁵² Unlike Bradbury, however, neither historian adopts the family economy method of analysis. Rosenfeld examined the survival strategies of the families of male railway workers to the constraints created by the gender division of wage work, the rhythm of railway labour and the prevailing ideology of patriarchy in the railway ward of Barrie, Ontario between 1920 and 1950. Parr's The Gender of Breadwinners is a comparative study of two central Ontario manufacturing communities during the period between 1880 and 1950: Paris, where Penman's the largest knit-goods manufacturer in the country was located and in which the majority of the labour force were women, and Hanover, a furniture manufacturing centre where the bulk of the wage workers were men. Through "parallel narratives" Parr compared and contrasted patterns of labour recruitment, the gender division of labour, labour organization, and relationships among wage work, domestic labour, and family and community values in the two communities.⁵³

Consistent with recent trends in socialist feminist theory and feminist history, and the tendency towards a convergence of feminist history and working-class history, my study examines the relationship between class and gender both

⁵² Parr, The Gender of Breadwinners; Mark Rosenfeld, "It Was A Hard Life": Class and Gender in the Work and Family Rhythms of a Railway Town, 1920-1950," CHA Historical Papers (1988), 237-79.

⁵³ Parr, The Gender of Breadwinners.

in the workplace and in the family. The Toronto printing-trades workers are studied during a period of intensive industrial capitalist development between 1870 and 1914. The 1870s have already been identified by Kealey as a period of rapid growth in the local Toronto printing industry, thus justifying the selection of the earlier boundary date. Because of the significant impact of the first World War on women's labour force participation, a decision was thus made to terminate the study previous to the war in 1914.

The bulk of this study is a firm-specific study of a sample of workers at the Methodist Book and Publishing House, which subsequently became the Ryerson Press later in 1919. Departing from the previous historical writings by Zerker, Kealey, and Roberts, which focussed primarily on the newspaper compositors and their involvement in the local typographical union, this study considers workers in the gamut of the printing trades using the workplace as the focus of analysis. Because the Methodist Book Room was a church-owned institution, the firm had to report to the General Conference of the Methodist church on a regular basis, namely every four years. These reports provide in-depth information about the profitability of the business which, in turn, has ramifications for conditions of employment and the overall work environment. Miscellaneous business documents, worker reminiscences, and a series of wage books compiled in the Ryerson Press Collection located in the United Church /

Victorian University Archives at the University of Toronto provided a rare opportunity to study nineteenth and early twentieth-century printing-trades workers at the workplace level.

Chapter Two presents a structural overview of the Toronto printing industry during the period between 1870 and 1914. Already by 1870, the city was the leading producer in the country's printing industry. Segmentation occurred in the Toronto printing industry in the latter part of the nineteenth century with the emergence of the daily press, technological innovations, the division of the labour process, and the additional separation of newspaper publishing from the book, magazine, and job sectors. The chapter also situates the subsequent in-depth study of the Methodist Book Room in the broader context of the local printing industry. A discussion of the business organization of the Methodist Book Room follows in Chapter Three. On the basis of the firm's monopoly in Methodist Church publications a solid core business in religious publications was established. The profitability of this business in Church publications allowed the firm to expand into the competitive market in agency publishing and commercial job printing.

A series of payroll wage books, although incomplete in scope, proved an invaluable source for studying the gender division of labour within the printing trades at the shop floor level. Chapter Four is an analysis of a sample from the

extant wage books from the Methodist Book Room. The payrolls studied were from the printing office for the fiscal year 1 April 1882 to 31 March 1883, the bindery for the fiscal year 3 April 1890 to 26 March 1891, and for both the printing office and the bindery for the calendar year 1902. These years were selected to correspond as nearly as possible with the enumeration of the decennial censuses of 1881, 1891, and 1901 for purposes of facilitating the reconstruction of households in the subsequent chapter. The names from the wage books were linked with the Toronto city directories to determine the precise task in the production process carried out by a worker. The wage books together with information about developments in the labour process found in contemporary literature, trade journals, instructional manuals, and the journals from the printing trades unions, allowed me to study in some considerable detail the social organization of production, gender segregation in the division of labour, pay differentials both between the sexes and between the various skill levels, and the redefinition of skill with innovations in the labour process. The interrelationships between class, gender, and the labour process can only be adequately studied, I argue, at the shop floor level of analysis.

Chapter Five considers the relationship between the cost of living and the family economy and household survival strategies of the sample of Methodist Book Room printing-trades workers identified from the payrolls. Further addi-

tional linkages of a select group of Methodist Book Room printing-trades workers are made using the decennial census manuscripts for 1881, 1891, and 1901 and the corresponding municipal tax assessment rolls. The extent to which family survival strategies are life-cycle related is explored using a longitudinal analysis of the group of workers identified from the payrolls across decennial census periods.

Chapter Six focuses on the union organization of the Toronto printing-trades workers and the formation of separate unions in the various printing trades with technological innovations in the labour process during the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century. The chapter is further intended as a critique of the previous studies of the Toronto printing-trades workers with their emphasis on the "culture of control" formed by the printers in defence of their status as skilled craftsmen.⁵⁴ The centrality of patriarchal relations in the resolution of conflicts between workers and employers is pursued in the chapter. I suggest that male unionists, in protecting their position of gender privilege, neglected the interests of women printing-trades workers.

⁵⁴ Kealey, Toronto Workers, ch. 6; Roberts, "The Last Artisans," 125-42.

CHAPTER II

THE STRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE TORONTO PRINTING TRADES, 1870-1914

During the period from the 1850s to the 1890s segmentation occurred within the Toronto printing industry with the emergence of the daily press, technological innovation, most notably the cylinder and rotary presses, the division of the labour process into composition and presswork, and the additional separation of newspaper publishing from the book, magazine, and job sectors. This process of segmentation has already been noted, although with varying degrees of emphasis and political orientation, in the historical writings of Kealey, Rutherford, Roberts, and Zerker.¹ Working-class and labour historians Kealey and Roberts, and to some extent Zerker, further characterized the nineteenth and early twentieth century printer as "the ultimate respectable Victorian craftsman," who successfully retained "skilled worker" status in the context of industrial capitalist

¹Gregory S. Kealey, Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism 1867-1892 (Toronto 1980), ch. 6; Gregory S. Kealey, "Work Control, the Labour Process, and Nineteenth-Century Canadian Printers," in Craig Heron and Robert Storey, eds., On the Job: Confronting the Labour Process in Canada (Montreal and Kingston 1986), 75-101; Wayne Roberts, "The Last Artisans: Toronto Printers, 1896-1914," in Gregory S. Kealey and Peter Warrian, eds., Essays in Canadian Working Class History (Toronto 1976), 125-42; Paul Rutherford, A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada (Toronto 1981), 34-44; Sally F. Zerker, The Rise and Fall of the Toronto Typographical Union 1832-1972: A Case Study of Foreign Domination (Toronto 1982), 10-6.

development.² By focussing on the structurally advanced and highly capitalized newspaper sector, moreover, this literature has disguised as much as enlightened the nature of the industrial capitalist transformation within the printing trades. Entire sectors of the printing industry were left unstudied including the job, book, and magazine branches. Also, small-scale producers are not mentioned in these studies in their emphasis on the maintenance of skilled artisan status among newspaper compositors with the development of the large-scale factory production of newspapers. The tendency to concentrate on male newspaper compositors, the most prominent group of printing- trades workers many of whom were also leaders of the Canadian labour movement, has further resulted in a glaring gender bias in these writings. While British and American studies have demonstrated the role of male printers in relegating women to specific sectors of the printing industry, Canadian historians have neglected any analysis of gender.³

²Roberts, "The Last Artisans," 141-2; Kealey, Toronto Workers, 84-9; Zerker, The Rise and Fall, 17-23. Although there are references to the maintenance of craft tradition in early union organization, Zerker's monograph falls into the genre of institutional labour history. The issue of growing foreign domination by the American-based International Typographical Union over the Toronto local was the focus of the study.

³Cynthia Cockburn, Brothers: Male Dominance and Technological Change (London 1983); Felicity Hunt, "Opportunities Lost and Gained: Mechanization and Women's Work in the London Bookbinding and Printing Trades," in Angela V. John, ed., Unequal Opportunities: Women's Employment in England 1800-1918 (Oxford and New York 1986), 71-93; Ava Baron,

The purpose of this chapter is to illuminate the complexities of the structural development of the Toronto printing industry during industrial capitalist transformation by incorporating the job, magazine, and book printing and publishing, and bindery segments of the industry, and by extending the period of analysis forward to cover the period from 1870 to 1914. An additional purpose of this chapter is to situate the subsequent in-depth study of Methodist Book Room workers in the broader context of the local Toronto printing industry. Part one of the chapter outlines the number, type, and length of existence of Toronto printing trades firms, the gender division of the labour market, and the position of the Toronto printing industry vis-à-vis the printing industry in other Canadian cities. In this section, a critique is also made of the uses and limitations of the decennial census, a source widely used by Canadian social historians. Parts two and three are detailed discussions of

"Woman's Place in Capitalist Production: A Study of Class Relations in the Nineteenth Century Newspaper Printing Industry," Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1981; Ava Baron, "Women and the Making of the American Working Class: A Study of the Proletarianization of Printers," Review of Radical Political Economics, 14, 3 (Fall 1982), 23-42; Ava Baron, "Contested Terrain Revisited: Technology and Gender Definitions of Work in the Printing Industry, 1850-1920," in Barbara Drygulski Wright, et. al., eds., Women, Work, and Technology Transformations (Ann Arbor 1987), 58-83. See also, Steven Maynard, "Rough Work and Rugged Men: The Social Construction of Masculinity in Working Class History," Labour/Le Travail, 23 (Spring 1989), 159-69. Maynard criticized Canadian working-class historians for their failure to study the interconnections between gender, masculinity, femininity, and class as industrial capitalism unfolded.

trends in the development of the commercial book and job sector, and the newspaper sector, respectively, during the period between 1870 and 1914.

Overviews of the periodization for Canadian working-class history framed by Heron and Storey, Kealey, and Palmer suggest that from the late 1840s to the 1890s Canada's industrial revolution and period of initial proletarianization occurred, and competitive capitalism attained its pinnacle.⁴ Another phase in capitalist development, "the age of monopoly," followed from the 1890s to the 1940s, and was characterized by the emergence of large corporations, centralized managerial systems, and widespread mechanization and subdivision of labour with the universalizing of the factory operative.⁵ This linear macro-level overview of Canada's industrial development and working-class formation masks variations within specific industries in the actual process of industrial capitalist transformation. The argument developed in this chapter is that historical change in the structural organization of the Toronto printing trades

⁴Craig Heron and Robert Storey, "On the Job in Canada," in Heron and Storey, eds., On the Job, 3-46; Gregory S. Kealey, "The Structure of Canadian Working-Class History," in W.J.C. Cherwinski and Gregory S. Kealey, eds., Lectures in Canadian Labour and Working-Class History (Kitchener 1985), 23-36; Bryan D. Palmer, Working-Class Experience: The Rise and Reconstitution of Canadian Labour, 1800-1980 (Toronto and Vancouver 1983).

⁵Craig Heron, "The Second Industrial Revolution in Canada, 1890-1930," in Deian R. Hopkin and Gregory S. Kealey, eds., Class, Community and the Labour Movement: Wales and Canada 1850-1930 (Oxford 1989), 48-66.

can be best understood as combined and uneven development.⁶ While the period after 1870 did indeed witness intensive capitalization, high levels of mechanization, and vigorous competition in the newspaper sector accompanied by a movement towards monopoly, segments of the book, magazine, and job sectors of the industry had comparatively lower levels of capitalization and retained old production methods into the twentieth century. In the British context, historians Geoffrey Crossick and Clive Behagg have argued that rather than comprising "a declining pre-industrial sector," small producers played a vital role in the industrialization

⁶Leon Trotsky formulated a theory of uneven and combined development to explain the growth of backward countries in the context of world capitalism and imperialism. In Trotsky's theory a backward country evolves not by passing through the stages already traversed by advanced countries but by "a combining of separate steps, an amalgam of archaic with more contemporary forms." Leon Trotsky, The Russian Revolution. Selected and Edited by F.W. Dupee (New York 1959), 4.

Combined and uneven development is used in a different sense here to argue against interpretations suggesting a linear progressive growth to advanced capitalist industry. In historical writing the notion of "concurrent phases of capitalist growth," was used by Raphael Samuel to argue that the transition to "modern" industry in Britain incorporated older systems of production rather than superseding them. More recently Sonya Rose argued that gender both shaped and was shaped by the variability and unevenness of capitalist development. Within Canadian historical writing Ian McKay incorporated Samuel's notion of concurrent phases of development in his excellent study of the late nineteenth-century Halifax baking and confectionery industry. Raphael Samuel, "Workshop of the World: Steam Power and Hand Technology in mid-Victorian Britain," History Workshop, 3 (Spring 1977), 6-72; Sonya O. Rose, "'Gender at Work': Sex, Class and Industrial Capitalism," History Workshop, 21 (Spring 1986), 113-31; Ian McKay, "Capital and Labour in the Halifax Baking and Confectionery Industry During the Last Half of the Nineteenth Century," Labour/Le Travailleur, 3 (1978), 63-108.

process.⁷ The analysis of the structural dynamics of the Toronto printing industry will also provide an empirical example of the importance of small producers, Michael Katz's "entrepreneurial class," in the process of industrial capitalist transformation in this country.⁸

I

An Overview of the Toronto Printing Industry, 1870-1914

There is no single extant source for Toronto during the period selected for study that delineates in any comprehensive, or totally reliable way the number, the type and the length of existence of businesses, the number and segregation by gender of workers, constant capital investment in land, buildings, and machinery, variable capital in wages and salaries, and cost of materials. Studying the structural transformation of the Toronto printing trades from the 1870s to 1914 involves a back-door approach; a piecing together from a variety of sources with attention to the sources as products of history and active organizers of social relations. Trade journals, city directories, the decennial census

⁷Geoffrey Crossick, "The petite bourgeoisie in nineteenth-century Britain: the urban and liberal case," in Geoffrey Crossick and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, eds., Shopkeepers and Master Artisans in Nineteenth-Century Europe (London and New York 1984), 62-94; Clive Behagg, "Masters and manufacturers: social values and the smaller unit of production in Birmingham, 1800-50," in Ibid., 137-54.

⁸Michael B. Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City (Cambridge, Mass. 1975), 176-208.

returns from 1871 to 1921, the credit ratings published in The Mercantile Agency Reference Book by the R.G. Dun Company, which became the firm Dun and Bradstreet in 1933, and Elizabeth Hulse's dictionary of Toronto printers, publishers, and booksellers and the allied trades compiled from city directories for the period up to 1900, were all used to compile the structural overview of the Toronto printing industry.⁹

Aside from the city directories, the decennial manufacturing census is arguably the broadest historical series available for framing an overview of the structure of the Toronto printing industry. The issue of the reliability of the census returns for determining the magnitude of the Toronto printing industry arises, however, when the census tabulations are measured against the businesses identified by Hulse in her dictionary of the Toronto printing trades and the classified city directories studied for the census years 1901 and 1911. Table 2.1 reveals a substantial undercounting of Toronto printing trades firms in each of the five censuses from 1871 to 1911 when compared to the businesses identified from Hulse or the city directories. In the few isolated instances where a firm ceased to exist during a census year it was not possible to determine for certain

⁹Elizabeth Hulse, A Dictionary of Toronto Printers, Publishers, Booksellers and the Allied Trades, 1798-1900 (Toronto 1982).

Table 2.1
The Number of Printing Trades Establishments in Toronto, 1871-1911

Year	Census Category	Number of Firms Reported in the Decennial Census (n=)	Hulse/City Directories By Sector	Number of Firms From Hulse/City Directories (n=)	Percentage Census Undercounting of Firms (%)
1871	Printing Offices	11	Printing	4	
	Bookbinding	7	Printing & Publishing	12	
	Engraving & Lithographing	2	Bookbinding	1	
	Stereotyping	1	Engraving & Lithographing	9	
			Stereotyping	0	
			Other Multiple Printing Trades Firms**	23	
	Total	21		49	57.1
1881	Printing Offices	32	Printing	12	
	Bookbinding	6	Printing & Publishing	17	
	Engraving & Lithographing	10	Bookbinding	1	
			Engraving & Lithographing	9	
			Stereotyping & Electrotyping	2	
			Other Multiple Printing Trades Firms	35	
	Total	48		76	36.8
1891	Printing & Publishing Offices	74	Printing	32	
	Bookbinding	9	Printing & Publishing	33	
	Engraving & Lithographing	14	Bookbinding	1	
	Electrostereotyping	1	Engraving & Lithographing	17	
			Stereotyping & Electrotyping	1	
			Other Multiple Printing Trades Firms	71	
	Total	98		155	36.8

Table 2.1 (continued)

Year	Census Category	Number of Firms Reported in the Decennial Census (n=)	Hulse/City Directories By Sector	Number of Firms From Hulse/City Directories (n=)	Percentage Census Undercounting of Firms (%)
1901***	Printing & Bookbinding*	32	Printing	40	
	Printing & Publishing	46	Printing & Publishing	33	
	Stereotyping & Electrotyping	2	Bookbinding	3	
			Engraving & Lithographing	20	
			Stereotyping & Electrotyping	2	
			Other Multiple Printing Trades Firms	66	
Total		80		154	51.2
1911	Printing & Bookbinding*	39	Printing	95	
	Printing & Publishing	16	Printing & Publishing	31	
	Stereotyping & Electrotyping	6	Bookbinding	8	
			Engraving & Lithographing	33	
			Stereotyping & Electrotyping	4	
			Other Multiple Printing Trades Firms	72	
Total		61		243	74.9

* Includes engraving, lithographing and embossing.

** Includes businesses involved in various combinations of the printing trades other than those identified in the other groupings. Bookbinding, for example, was generally found combined with other printing trades within a firm. This accounts for the apparent under-counting of binderies.

*** 1901 change in the definition of a manufacturing establishment which eliminated firms employing fewer than five persons.

Sources: Elizabeth Hulse, A Dictionary of Toronto Printers, Publishers, Booksellers and the Allied Trades, 1798-1900 (Toronto 1982); The Toronto City Directory 1901, Vol. XXVI (Toronto 1901); The Toronto City Directory 1911, Vol. XXXVI (Toronto 1911); Ontario Census Returns 1871, City of Toronto District 46, Schedule 6, Census of 1871, NAC, RG 31, Vol. 801; Second Census of Canada 1880-81, Vol. 3, 420-1, 434-5, 460-1; Third Census of Canada, 1890-91, Vol. 3, 40-1, 142-5, 268-9; Fourth Census of Canada, 1900-01, Vol. 3, 208-11; Fifth Census of Canada 1911, Vol. 3, 274-81.

whether a specific business persisted on the day the census was counted.¹⁰ According to the calculations presented in Table 2.1, the census enumerators missed more than half of the total number of firms in 1871 and 1901, and nearly three-quarters of the printing trades establishments in 1911. The manufacturing censuses for 1881 and 1891, the most complete compilations of the five decennial censuses conducted from 1871 to 1911, both under-counted by 36.8 per cent the total number of firms identified from Hulse's dictionary. Ironically, the 1901 census conducted by "special agents" in the more important centres of industry, including Toronto, with the instruction that "it was a matter of the greatest importance that accurate information on the manufacturing industries of Canada should be obtained," missed 51.2 per cent of the Toronto printing trades firms.¹¹ The implication of the massive under-counting of the Toronto printing industry in the decennial census from 1871 to 1911 is that the census of manufactures is useful only for broad comparative purposes for a discussion of the structural development of the Toronto printing industry during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹²

¹⁰ The five decennial censuses from 1871 to 1911 were conducted on the following dates: 2 April 1871, 4 April 1881, 6 April 1891, 31 March 1901, and 1 June 1911.

¹¹ Fourth Census of Canada, 1901, Vol. III, vii.

¹² While it is conceivable that the substantial under-representation of firms is true of the Toronto printing industry only, it is highly unlikely. These findings, thus

In attempting to account for the discrepancies in the findings presented in Table 2.1, the substantial decrease in the absolute number of establishments reported in the census of manufactures from 1891 to 1901, and the further decrease from 1901 to 1911, is to some significant degree a statistical artifact of the 1901 change in the census definition of an industrial establishment. In the 1871, 1881, and 1891 census of manufactures, the definition of a manufacturing establishment used for enumeration purposes was: "Any place where one or several persons are engaged in manufacturing, altering, making up or changing from one shape into another, materials for sale, use or consumption."¹³ The 1901 instructions to enumerators qualified the definition of "manufacturing establishment or factory" with the proviso "no manufacturing establishment or factory will be so recognised for census purposes which does not employ at least five persons, either in the establishment itself or as piece-workers employed out of it."¹⁴ The reasoning for the reclassification was given in Volume I of the published 1901 census: "The anomaly of treating as a manufacturing establishment every room or workshop in which one or two persons are employed

raise the question of the validity of historical writings relying solely on the decennial census of manufactures to determine the number of manufacturing establishments.

¹³First Census of Canada, 1870-71, Vol. III, vi-x; Fourth Census of Canada, 1901, Vol. I, ix.

¹⁴Fourth Census of Canada, 1901, Vol. III, v.

should not be entertained when the whole tendency of industries is towards the concentration of capital, management, skill and labour."¹⁵ To some extent therefore, the discrepancy between the number of firms reported in the census returns and in the classified city directories can be attributed to the 1901 census redefinition of a manufacturing establishment.¹⁶ For the purposes of defining the structure of the Toronto printing industry, this change in the documentation of the census of manufactures effectively eliminated the small printing trades shops comprised of a proprietor with one or two assistants. The fact that the directories were compiled at a different point in time than the enumeration of the censuses also explains some of the other discrepancies in the number of firms found.

A comparison between the firms listed in the extant

¹⁵ Ibid., Vol. I, ix. The census re-definition of a manufacturing establishment was endorsed by the Canadian Manufacturer's Association, an indication perhaps of growing state interest in business and business organization. See Ibid., Vol. III, v.

¹⁶ For the historian who "listens" to the logic behind the complete series, the changes in the classification system for the manufacturing census provides interesting insights into changing social relations. Margo Anderson performed this task in her history of the labor force statistical series and occupational classification system in the US census from 1870 to 1940, and in her recent social history of the American population census. During the nineteenth century, Conk argued, changes in the documentation of the American census occurred as the census takers took up the emerging social issues presented by the organization of industrial capitalism. See Margo Anderson Conk, The United States Census and Labor Force Change: A History of Occupation Statistics, 1870-1940 (Ann Arbor 1978, 1980); Margo J. Anderson, The American Census: A Social History (New Haven and London 1988).

industrial manuscript census for 1871 and Hulse's dictionary of the Toronto printing trades enabled the identification of specific firms missed in the 1871 returns. A pattern in the types of firms left unreported in the 1871 census is evident from Figure 2.1. The 1871 census enumerators missed an overwhelming majority of the engraving and lithographing establishments. Retail stationers and booksellers who were also involved in small-scale production in printing and the allied trades were also noticeably absent from the 1871 industrial census manuscript. The complexity of the trades division within the printing industry by the late nineteenth century was not incorporated into the census classification and not clearly understood by the census enumerators who, it would seem, experienced difficulties in making the distinction between retail stationers and booksellers, and retailers who were also involved in the actual manufacturing process. The diversity of the Toronto printing trades by the early 1870s is obvious from Figure 2.1.

Given the massive under-enumeration of establishments and classification problems, what then can the aggregate statistics derived from the Canadian decennial censuses reveal about the structural development of the Toronto printing industry during the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries? Applying the information contained in the aggregate census statistics comparatively, an overall pattern of growth is established within the Toronto printing

Figure 2.1
A Comparison of the Firms Listed in the 1871 Industrial Census
Manuscript and Hulse's Dictionary of the Toronto Printing Trades For 1871

1871 Industrial Census Manuscript	Hulse's Dictionary of the Toronto Printing Trades
<u>Printing Offices</u>	<u>Printing</u>
Daily Telegraph	Cuttell & Sons
Dudley and Burns	George Furnival
G.C. Patterson	Alexander Gordon
Bell, Barker & Co.	John Christopher Notman
Church Printing and Publishing Co.	
Belford and Co.**	<u>Printing and Publishing</u>
Patrick Boyle; <u>Irish Canadian</u>	Patrick Boyle; <u>Irish Canadian</u> *
James Beaty; <u>Leader</u>	Canadian Freeman Office*
<u>Canadian Scotsman</u>	Christian Guardian Newspaper Office
James G. Moylan; <u>Canadian Freeman</u>	Church Printing and Publishing Co.*
The Globe	Dudley & Burns*
	Leader Newspaper Office*
<u>Bookbinding</u>	Alfred Hyacinthe St. Germain
James Campbell & Sons	Paul Henry Stewart
Hunter Rose & Co.	Bell, Barker & Co.*
Wm. Warwick	Canadian Scotsman Printing & Publishing Co.*
A. Dredge & Co.	Muma & MacKay
Brown Bros.	George Carson Patterson*
Henry Rowsell	
Wesleyan Connection Society	<u>Bookbinding</u>
	J. & W. Blackhall
<u>Engraving & Lithographing</u>	<u>Engraving & Lithographing</u>
Copp, Clark & Co.	Charles F. Damoreau (or Damoreaux)*
C.F. Dammareux	Michael Judge
	Beale Bros.
<u>Stereotyping</u>	Chapman & Appleton
Globe Printing Co. Stereotype Foundry	Christian Meadows
	James Douglas Scott
	David Wilson
	Charles A. Scadding
	A.S. Webster

Figure 2.1 (continued)

1871 Industrial Census Manuscript	Hulse's Dictionary of the Toronto Printing Trades
	Other Multiple Printing Trades Firms
	Brown Bros. (Bookbinders, manufacturing stationers, paper, stationery, printing, lithography, engraving; James Campbell & Son (Wholesale bookseller; stationers; Publishers: Bookbinders) *
	Copp, Clark & Co. (Booksellers, Stationers, Printers, Engravers, Lithographers, Bookbinders, Publishers, Map and Stationery Dealers) *
	Daily Telegraph Printing House (Printers, Engravers, Bookbinders) *
	A. Dredge & Co. (Wholesale Stationers, bookbinders; Blank book manufacturers; fancy good dealers) *
	John Frank (Bookbinder; Stationer; Bookbinder; Fancy Goods Dealer)
	Globe Printing Co. (Printer; Publisher: Job Office) *
	T. Mill & Son (Printers; Labels & Tag Mfrs.)
	Hunter, Rose & Co. (Printers, Electrotypers, Stationers, Lithographers, bookbinders, publishers, wholesale booksellers) *
	A. Jowell & Co. (Printers, publishers; Bookbinders, Mr. S. K. Jones) *
	MacIntyre & Co. (Booksellers; Stationers; Printers; Lithographers; Engravers, Bookbinders, Publishers) *
	Methodist Book & Publishing House (Printers; Publishers, Booksellers, Stationers; Bookbinders, Electrotypers; Stereotypers) *
	Alfred MacIntyre & Co. (Bookbinder; Bookseller; Stationer; Fancy goods and toy)
	Joshua Long Nordan (Dealer, Law bookseller; Stationer; Lithographer; Bookbinder; Publisher; Law Clerks' registry) *
	Henry MacIntyre (Printer and Bookseller to the University of Toronto and Upper Canada College) *
	Robert S. Thompson (Bookseller; Stationer; Newsdealer; Bookbinder; Subscription Book Agent; Fancy Goods Dealer)
	Wm. MacIntyre (Bookseller; Stationer; Bookbinder; Blank Book Mfr.; Printer; Publisher, *
	Thomas Wheeler (Wood, copper, steel engraver, lithographer, clock and watchmaker; Jeweller)
	Daniel K. Minder (Printer; Baptist Minister)
	John MacIntyre (Printer and Lithographer)
	Owen Bros. (Law Stationers; Lithographers)
	Alexander Shaw (Bookseller; Stationer; News dealer; Bookbinder; Proprietor Landing Library)

* Found both in the 1871 industrial census manuscript and in Hulse.
 ** Listed in Hulse as a Publisher only.

Sources: Ontario Census Returns 1871, City of Toronto, District 46, Schedule 6, Census of 1871, NAC, RG 31, Vol. 801; Elizabeth Hulse, A DICTIONARY OF TORONTO PRINTERS, PUBLISHERS, BOOKSELLERS AND THE ALLIED TRADES, 1793-1988 (Toronto 1992).

industry between 1871 and 1911. Toronto by 1871 was already the leading producer in the Canadian printing industry. Table 2.2 is a comparison of the growth of the Toronto printing industry vis-à-vis the printing industry in Montreal and Ottawa, the second and third largest Canadian centres in value of articles produced. In 1871, 56.7 per cent of the total value of product reported by Canada's printing industry was produced in the three cities, with Toronto clearly dominating. More than one-half (54 per cent) of the three city total reported in the aggregate census statistics was produced in Toronto. In 1911, Toronto was still ahead with 31.9 per cent of the total national product value. A pattern of geographical centralization was therefore evident in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Canadian printing industry.¹⁷

The use of census aggregate statistics by working-class and by feminist historians to identify changes in labour force composition and to further delineate gender segregation in the industrial workplace warrants consideration in the context of the present study of the printing trades. For historians the industrial census is a readily accessible

¹⁷Federal government job printing contracts contributed to the growth of the industry in Ottawa between 1871 and 1911. Walkom found that during the latter part of the nineteenth century Ottawa daily newspapers relied on revenues from government job printing contracts and patronage to solve the problem of high overhead costs. See Thomas L. Walkom, "The Daily Newspaper in Ontario's Developing Capitalistic Economy: Toronto and Ottawa, 1871-1911," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1983, 465.

Table 2.2
Growth of the Toronto Printing Industry Between 1871 and 1911 vis-à-vis
the Total Canadian Printing Industry

Year	City	Number of Establishments	Percentage of Canadian Total	Number of Workers	Percentage of Canadian Total	Value of Product (\$)	Percentage of Canadian Total
1871	Toronto	21	5.7	877	20.8	1,366,855	30.6
	Ottawa	8	2.2	269	6.4	326,617	7.3
	Montreal	45	12.2	1,016	24.1	836,440	18.8
3 City Total		74	20.1	2,162	51.3	2,529,912	56.7
All Canada		371	100.0	4,216	100.0	4,460,268	100.0
1911	Toronto	51	9.5	4,364	25.5	8,086,430	31.8
	Ottawa	16	2.5	2,103	12.3	2,635,731	10.4
	Montreal	75	11.7	2,827	16.5	4,241,229	16.7
3 City Total		152	23.7	9,294	54.3	14,963,390	58.9
All Canada		639	100.0	17,130	100.0	25,425,970	100.0

Sources: Ontario Census Returns 1871, City of Toronto, District 46, Schedule 6, Census of 1871, NAC, RG 31, Vol. 801; Census of Canada 1870-71, Vol. 3, Tables XXXVIII, XLVI, LV; Census of Canada 1911, Vol. 3, Table IX.

continuous series providing comprehensive information about occupations. While potentially an invaluable source for studying change in labour force participation, because the classification schemes used in the decennial census are socially constructed, the series contains several deficiencies for the historical analysis of trends in the organization of the labour force, and patterns of women's employment in particular. First, there is the problem of comparison between censuses, and the fact that certain types of work were under-enumerated or unrecorded in the census. For, example, the 1901 reclassification of a manufacturing establishment for the purposes of the Canadian census which left uncounted establishments which did not employ at least five persons, no doubt under-represented, or left unreported, domestic production in the printing trades. Second, the census is classified according to what British feminist Veronica Beechey identified as a "masculine norm," based on the "typical" pattern of men's "full-time, full-year-round employment outside the home."¹⁸ This masculine conception of work, Beechey suggests, is reflected in the fact that part-time, casual, seasonal, and irregular employment - all

¹⁸The Open University, The changing experience of women. Units 10 and 11. Women and employment. Prepared by Veronica Beechey (1983 reprint 1984), 37-8; Veronica Beechey, "Recent Approaches to Women's Employment in Great Britain," in Veronica Beechey, ed., Unequal Work (London 1987), 190-3. See also Sally Alexander, "Women's Work in Nineteenth-Century London; A Study of the Years 1820-50," in Juliet Mitchell and Ann Oakley, eds., The Rights and Wrongs of Women (Harmondsworth 1976), 64-5.

typical forms of women's work, and probably to a lesser extent the employment of children, are frequently left unrecorded in the census which asks about an individual's occupation on a given day.¹⁹

Seasonal variation was an endemic feature of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Toronto printing industry. The weeks prior to Christmas were typically a highpoint for the local printing trades.²⁰ Increased trade activity during the Christmas season was also likely the period of peak temporary and casual employment of women in the Toronto printing industry. The late spring and summer were generally described in the trade journal as a period of poor trade conditions. The five decennial censuses from 1871 to 1911 were conducted in the spring. The seasonal or irregular participation by women in the printing trades would thus have a high probability of being omitted from the industrial census.

Despite the fact that the decennial census was constructed using a masculine conception of work, it is difficult for the historian to examine gender segregation in any systematic way without recourse to the census aggregate

¹⁹Beechey, The changing experience of women, 37-8.

²⁰ For evidence of seasonality in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Toronto printing industry see, Canadian Printer and Publisher, III, 12 (December 1894), 1 [Hereafter CP&P.]; CP&P, II, 11 (November 1893), 3; CP&P, IX, 8 (August 1900), 14; CP&P, X, 1 (January 1901), 3; CP&P, XI, 7 (July 1902), 3; CP&P, XI, 8 (August 1902), 11; CP&P, XXII, 8 (August 1914), 82.

statistics. Table 2.3 is a division by gender and by sector of the Toronto printing industry derived from both the population and the manufacturing censuses from 1871 to 1911. Because of the substantial under-enumeration, the census aggregates can only be used to reveal broad trends in labour force composition within the industry. The domination of male workers within the Toronto printing industry is obvious from Table 2.3. In every census year where statistics were available from 1871 to 1911, a significantly higher proportion of men to women was found. Published figures capture an overall decline in the percentage of women in the printing industry from 34 per cent in 1871 to 17.6 per cent in 1911. The subtleties of the gender division of labour within the Toronto printing trades are revealed only through an analysis of the industry by sector. Although women comprised a smaller proportion of the total percentage of the workers employed in the industry, women were predominant in the bookbinding sector in each of the four census years where statistics are available.

Gender segregation within the city's printing industry relegating women to the binderies is consistent with trends in the historical writing concerned with patterns of women's

Table 2.3
Divisions by Sector, Occupation and Gender in the Toronto Printing Industry, 1871-1911

Year	Sector	Number of Employees				Total Number	Percentage of		Percentage of		Sector	Percentage of
		Adult	Child of Employees		Total		Toronto	Printing Industry	Male	Female		
		M	F	M	F							
1871	Printing											
	Offices	274	7	70	2	353	40.3	97.4	38.7	61.3	2.6	
	Bookbinding	162	252	13	25	452	51.5	38.7				
	Engraving and											
	Lithographing	54	10	4	2	70	8.0	82.9			17.1	
	Stereotyping	2	-	-	-	2	0.2	100.0			0.0	
	Total	492	269	87	29	877	100.0	66.0			34.0	
1881	Printing											
	Offices	862	116	233	24	1,235	72.0	88.7	41.6	58.4	11.3	
	Bookbinding	135	190	16	22	363	21.1	41.6				
	Engraving and											
	Lithographing	91	7	20	-	118	6.9	94.1	79.1	20.9	5.9	
	Total	1,088	313	269	46	1,716	100.0					
1891	Printing and Publishing											
	Offices	1,790	441	147	6	2,384	74.8	81.3	47.7	52.3	18.7	
	Bookbinding	225	254	8	1	488	15.3	47.7				
	Engraving and											
	Lithographing	248	15	12	1	276	8.7	94.2			5.8	
	Electro- stereotyping	25	15	-	-	40	1.2	62.5	77.0	23.0	37.5	
	Total	2,288	725	167	8	3,188	100.0					
1901*	Printing and											
	Bookbinding					1,470						
	Printing and Publishing					1,967						
	Total					3,437						
1911*	Total	3,287	694	51	20	4,052	100.0	82.4			17.6	

*Compilations by occupation and gender were not provided in the 1901 and 1911 aggregate census statistics.

Sources:

Ontario Census Returns 1871, City of Toronto, District 46, Schedule 6, Census of 1871, National Archives of Canada, RG 31, Vol. 801, Census of Canada, 1880-81, Vol. 3, 420-21, 434-35, 460-61; Census of Canada, 1890-91, Vol. 3, 40-1, 142-5, 268-9; Census of Canada 1900-01, Vol. 3, 208-11; Census of Canada 1911, Vol. 3, 274-81; Vol. 6, 268-9.

employment.²¹ In the binderies women carried out the "forwarding" or preparatory jobs in the binding process: folding, collating, and sewing, tasks all socially defined as suitable "women's work."²² By the latter decades of the nineteenth century there were machines for folding, sewing, gathering, cutting, rounding and backing. Contemporary literature suggests that there was no simple displacement of women or men in the binderies by machines, but rather a "re-organisation" of the workshop and the labour process accompanied by a gendering of machines; sewing machines, for example, are domestic implements in men's eyes.²³

Between 1871 and 1891, the proportion of women employed in bookbinding, engraving and lithographing decreased. By 1891, furthermore, women were found in the stereotyping sector where no women were reported previously in the 1871 aggregate statistics (see Table 2.3). Available trade journals do not provide any insight into this apparent shift

²¹ Edith Abbott, Women In Industry: A Study in American Economic History (New York 1919), 248-9; Elizabeth Faulkner Baker, Technology and Woman's Work (New York 1964), 47-8; Hunt, "Opportunities Lost and Gained," 71-92; Felicity Hunt, "The London Trade in the Printing and Binding of Books: An Experience in Exclusion, Dilution and De-skilling for Women Workers," Women's Studies International Forum, 6,5 (1983), 517-24.

²²Hunt, "Opportunities Lost and Gained," 73-6.

²³J. Ramsay MacDonald, ed., Women in the Printing Trades (New York and London 1980, Originally 1904), 3-14; Mary Van Kleeck, Women In The Bookbinding Trade (New York 1913). For evidence of women machine operators in the bindery of the Toronto firm, Warwick Bros & Rutter, see CP&P, IX, 12 (December 1900), 5, 14; CP&P, XXIV, 2 (February 1915), 23.

in the gender composition of the labour force or indicate tasks carried out by women in stereotyping firms. Some proportion of the shift is no doubt attributable to changes in the census classification. Also, the overall trend to growth and expansion in the Toronto printing industry between 1871 and 1891 suggests that some percentage of the women employed in printing offices were probably performing retail and clerical jobs.

The figures derived from the industrial census in Table 2.3 indicate a domination by men of the printing sector, and also the engraving and lithographing branches of the Toronto printing industry. American and British studies suggest that this might be accounted for by a comparatively stronger male trade union organization which meant that certain work processes, notably typesetting, were controlled by men.²⁴

II

The Book, Magazine, and Job Sectors: Uneven and Combined Development, Competition and Specialization

In the latter decades of the nineteenth century the differentiation of the Toronto printing industry into separate sectors was consolidated; the era of the combined

²⁴Cockburn and Baron have documented the successful campaigns of male compositors in the typographical unions in Britain and the US respectively to retain control of the labour process following the widespread implementation of machine typesetting in the 1890s with the introduction of the linotype. Cockburn, Brothers, 26-35; Baron, "Contested Terrain Revisited," 58-83.

newspaper and mixed printing shop was coming to an end. Competition and a trend to specialization characterized the development of the book, job, and magazine branches during the period after 1870. Capitalist industrialization in the Toronto printing trades between the years 1870 and 1914 further involved the co-existence of small handicraft producers, manufactories, and factories.

Examples from returns found in the 1871 industrial census manuscript illustrate "concurrent phases" of capitalist growth. C.F. Dammareux is listed as the proprietor of an engraving establishment employing four journeymen and two male apprentices. A comparatively low fixed capital investment of \$100 and a mode of production reported as "hand" under the census category "kind of moving power," indicates that Dammareux's was a handicraft firm.²⁵ Another firm, the precursor to the successful twentieth-century combined printing trades firm Warwick Bros. & Rutter, might be classified as a manufactory. In the manuscript census William Warwick is listed as the proprietor of a stationery warehouse and bookbinding business with a constant capital investment of \$2000, and employing twelve men, twelve women and four boys. Some level of mechanization in the manufactory is indicated with the entry "steam" under the category "kind of moving power," although the entry of "4" as a designation for

²⁵Ontario Census Returns 1871, City of Toronto, District 46, Schedule 6, Census of 1871, NAC, RG 31, Vol. 801.

horse power under "nominal force," is dubious.²⁶ Warwick Bros. & Rutter was one of the few Toronto printing trades firms that successfully made the transition to factory production during the late nineteenth century. In November 1905, Warwick Bros. & Rutter was featured in the Canadian Printer and Publisher as "A Modern Printing Establishment," with a total of 250 employed reported.²⁷ Lastly, the firm of Hunter, Rose & Co., a printing and bookbinding establishment is an example of a factory from the 1871 industrial census manuscript. At the time of the census enumeration the firm had a constant capital investment of \$40,000, employed 173 workers -- seventy men, one hundred women, and three boys, and was steam-powered.²⁸ Handicraft and mechanized labour processes co-existed along with a gender division of labour at Hunter, Rose & Co. and at Warwick Bros. & Rutter. Male journeymen operated the power presses and completed the elaborate hand-finishing process in the binding of books, while women were clustered into the socially designated "unskilled" jobs in the binderies of hand folding and stitching.

Tables 2.4 and 2.5 examine the persistence of firms within the Toronto printing industry over the period between 1870 and 1911. Using the information compiled by Hulse from

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷CP&P, XIV, 11 (November 1905), 14-5.

²⁸Ontario Census Returns 1871, City of Toronto.

her thorough reading of the Toronto city directories for the period up to the end of 1900, the persistence of firms for 0-5 years, 6-10 years, and for more than 10 years was determined (see Table 2.4). For the period after 1900, calculations of persistence for less than 10 years were made using the classified city directories for 1901 and 1911. Table 2.4 reveals a high incidence of business turnover in the Toronto printing trades between 1870 and 1900, with the majority of firms established during the last three decades of the nineteenth century existing less than five years. Comparatively fewer firms were found to persist six to ten years. It seems that if a business survived five years there was an increase in the likelihood of persistence beyond ten years. In-depth research into the period after 1900 is needed before any substantive comparisons can be made, but Table 2.5 suggests that a large majority of printing trades firms lasted less than ten years. Firms either disappeared completely or were reorganized sometimes with different or additional owners.

The Mercantile Agency Reference Book published annually by the R.G. Dun Company beginning in 1850, and later on a quarterly basis starting in July 1873, is a useful source for the historian attempting to study variation in the structural growth of an industry. The reference books provide two ratings: one a letter rating for "estimated pecuniary strength" or capital worth, and a second numerical rating

Table 2.4

Persistence of Toronto Printing Trades Firms, 1870-1900

Decade Firm Established	Sector	Total Number of Firms (n)	(%)	0-5 years (n)	(%)	Persistence 6-10 years (n)	(%)	+10 years (n)	(%)
1870-1880									
	Printing	27		19	70.4	2	7.4	6	22.2
	Printing and Publishing	28		19	67.9	4	14.3	5	17.7
	Bookbinding	2		1	50.0	1	50.0	0	0.0
	Engraving & Lithographing	25		18	72.0	3	12.0	4	16.0
	Electrotyping and Stereo-typing	4		2	50.0	2	50.0	0	0.0
	Other Multiple Printing Trades Firms	43		21	48.9	5	11.6	17	39.5
	Total	129	100.0	80	62.0	17	13.2	32	24.8
1881-1890									
	Printing and Publishing	51		41	80.4	4	7.8	6	11.8
	Bookbinding	26		12	46.2	9	34.6	5	19.2
	Engraving & Lithographing	34		4	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
	Electrotyping and Stereo-typing	1		0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0
	Other Multiple Printing Trades Firms	60		29	48.3	5	8.3	26	43.4
	Total	176	100.0	114	64.8	20	11.4	42	23.8
1891-1900									
	Printing and Publishing	86		61	70.9	6	7.0	19	22.1
	Bookbinding	39		18	46.2	4	10.3	17	43.5
	Engraving & Lithographing	31		5	71.4	1	14.3	1	14.3
	Electrotyping and Stereo-typing	1		0	0.0	0	0.0	1	100.0
	Other Multiple Printing Trades Firms	62		30	48.4	6	9.6	36	58.1
	Total	226	100.0	136	60.2	20	8.8	70	31.0

Source: Elizabeth Hulser, A Dictionary of Toronto Printers, Publishers, Booksellers and the Allied Trades, 1798-1900 (Toronto 1982).

Table 2.5
Persistence of Toronto Printing Trades Firms, 1901-1911

Sector	Number of Firms 1901	Number of Firms 1911	Businesses Persisting <10 Years	
	(n)	(n)	(n)	(%)
Printing	40	95	18	45.0
Printing and Publishing	33	31	8	24.2
Bookbinding	3	8	2	66.6
Engraving & Lithographing	20	33	9	45.0
Electrotyping & Stereotyping	2	4	0	0.0
Other Multiple Printing Trades Firms	66	72	20	30.0
TOTAL	164	243	57	34.8

Sources: The Toronto City Directory 1901 (Toronto 1901);
The Toronto City Directory 1911 (Toronto 1911).

representing "general credit standing." According to the classification key used by the Dun Company a high correlation existed between the two categories of ratings. There was a tendency to award a higher general credit-rating to the larger firms. At the other end of the spectrum, firms with moderate capital would automatically be regarded as a credit risk and were unlikely to receive favourable terms of credit.²⁹ The broader implication of this built-in bias in the Dun credit-rating key was identified by James D. Norris: "... the use of the rating key meant that larger firms would be more attractive to creditors, often to the point that they could obtain disproportionately higher credit at more favourable terms. The indirect effect was to accelerate the growth of large corporate firms in the American economy."³⁰

Beginning in March 1885 the reference books contained a "trade classification." Each proprietor or business identified was assigned one of twenty-four arbitrary trade symbols on the basis of type of product rather than the actual function of the firm.³¹ For the purposes of this study, a problem arises in identifying stationers who were also producers, and making the distinction between printers

²⁹Dun, Wiman & Co. The Mercantile Agency Reference Book and Key For The Dominion of Canada (January 1882), iii-iv.

³⁰James D. Norris. R.G. Dun & Co. 1841-1900: The Development of Credit Reporting in the Nineteenth Century (Westport 1978), 94.

³¹Ibid., 111-2.

and publishers. An additional further limitation to the use of the reference books produced by the Dun Company is that the information they contained was often outdated: "Even when the books were published quarterly, the interval between preparation of a rating and its use could be as long as six months."³² Also, not all of the printing trades establishments existing in Toronto at a given time between 1870 and 1914 are listed in the reference books. Nineteenth-century credit reporting, James Madison indicated, was generally limited "to persons engaged in business activities and usually to those persons likely to apply for credit and make purchases outside their local community. Therefore, larger businesses and wealthier businessmen were more likely to be rated than small and marginal businesses, although these kinds of enterprises were by no means excluded."³³

Considering the limitations of the series and the overall bias in the ratings system used by the Dun Company, The Mercantile Agency Reference Book is useful for purposes of comparison. The ratings in the series provide an estimate of capital worth and thus serve as broad indicators of business size and overall growth of printing trades firms listed over time. Furthermore since one of the conditions of

³²James H. Madison, "The Evolution of Commercial Credit Reporting Agencies in Nineteenth-Century America," Business History Review, XLVIII, 2 (Summer 1974), 173.

³³James H. Madison, "The Credit Reports of R.G. Dun & Co. as Historical Sources," Historical Methods Newsletter (September 1975), 128.

credit was an evaluation of the risk involved, the vitality of a business can be inferred from its "credit worthiness."

Credit-ratings from Toronto printing trades establishments and proprietors at ten-year intervals from 1871 to 1911 are listed in Table 2.6. For presentation in tabular form, the specific ratings were collapsed into the "Limited," "Fair," "Good," "High," and "Very High," descriptions of credit worthiness found in the classification key used by the R.G. Dun Company. The ratings in Table 2.6 indicate that the proprietors involved in the local printing trades were marginal credit risks. At every decadal interval from 1871 to 1911, the findings were skewed towards the "Limited" and "Fair" categories with an "estimated pecuniary worth" ranging from less than \$2,000 to \$20,000. Printers, in particular, were considered one of the least worthy of credit. This finding was substantiated in the Canadian Printer and Publisher: "They are almost never prosperous, always overworked, and their assets consist almost entirely of "plant," upon which it is impossible to realize in case of necessity."³⁴

Indicative of a trend to heightened "credit worthiness" among proprietors, however, is the tendency to higher ratings found in the 1911 reference book, with a larger proportion of proprietors and businesses listed with "Good" and "High" credit ratings (see Table 2.6). Significantly, the firms

³⁴CP&P, XVII, 2 (February 1909), 9.

Table 2.6
Credit Ratings Found in The Mercantile Agency Reference Book
at Selected Ten-Year Intervals From 1871 to 1911

Year Sector	Number Reported in Reference Book	K-M/3½-4 Limited <\$3,000	G-J/3-3½ Fair \$3,000-\$20,000	D-F/2-2½ Good \$25,000-\$300,000	A-C/1-1½ High \$300,000-\$500,000	AA-A/A1 Very High \$500,000+	Firm Listed; No Ratings Given*
1871							
Printing & Publishing	5	2	3				
Bookbinding	0						
Engraving & Lithographing	3	2	1				
Stereotyping	0						
Other Multiple Printing Trades Firms	5	3	1	1			
Total	13	7	5	1			
1880-91							
Printing & Publishing	22	12	3	2			5
Bookbinding	15	5	3	3			4
Engraving & Lithographing	3	1	1				1
Stereotyping & Electrotyping	5	2	1	1			1
Other Multiple Printing Trades Firms	1	1					
	11	2	2	4	1		2
Total	57	23	10	10	1		13

Table 2.6 (continued)

Year	Sector	Number Reported in Reference Book	K-M/34-4 Limited ≤\$3,000	G-J/3-34 Fair \$3,000-\$20,000	D-F/2-34 Good \$20,000-\$35,000	A-C/1-34 High \$35,000-\$300,000	AA-A/1 Very High \$300,000-\$500,000+	Firm Listed No Rating Given*
1891	Printing	38	19	6	5	1		7
	Printing & Publishing	50	6	10	10	1		22
	Bookbinding	3	1					1
	Engraving & Lithography	9	3	2	3			1
	Stereotyping & Electrotyping	1		1				
	Other Multiple Printing	20	3	4	5	3	1	4
	Trades Firms							
	Total	121	32	23	23	5	1	37
1901	Printing	42	26	8	3			5
	Printing & Publishing	30	5	10	8	2		10
	Bookbinding	4	1	3				
	Engraving & Lithography	8	2	1	1	2		2
	Stereotyping & Electrotyping	0						
	Other Multiple Printing	12		3	2	4	1	2
	Trades Firms							
	Total	96	34	25	14	8	1	19
1911	Printing	95	37	22	14	2		20
	Printing & Publishing	49	2	16	20	4	1	6
	Bookbinding	2	6	1				1
	Engraving & Lithography	12	2	3	3	2		2
	Stereotyping & Electrotyping							
	Other Multiple Printing	39	3	12	12	4	4	4
	Trades Firms							
	Total	197	44	54	49	12	5	33

* The following appeared in the index to the ratings key: "The absence of a rating, whether of capital or credit, indicates those whose businesses and investments render it difficult to rate satisfactorily to ourselves."

Sources: The Toronto City Directory 1901, Vol. XXVI (Toronto 1901); The Toronto City Directory 1911, Vol. XXVII (Toronto 1911); Dominion of Canada January 1871, January 1880, March 1891, August 1891, and the Agency Reference Book for the Dominion of Canada, January 1901; July 1911.

awarded the "Very High" AA A1 rating were typically Canadian branches of American magazine and book publishing firms. This finding is attributed to the growth of agency publishing, an important feature in the structural development of the Toronto printing industry in the early twentieth century.

Consistently low estimates of capital worth and general credit worthiness given to Toronto printing trades firms by the Dun agency and the high incidence of business turnovers is related to the predominance of small marginal producers in the process of capitalist industrialization within this particular industry. A flow of male printing-trades workers between wage employment and independent enterprise, and frequently back to wage employment was found throughout the period studied from 1870 to 1914. Citing a few selected examples, Joseph Blackhall a bookbinder at Rowsell & Ellis (later Rowsell only) in the 1850s, went into business for himself though apparently at the same address as Henry Rowsell at 74 King St. E. from 1861 to 1868. In 1870 Joseph Blackhall set up a bookbinding establishment with his brother William. The partners split in 1872 and Joseph set up business under his own name until he went back to work for the firm of Rowsell & Hutchison in 1882.³⁵ Later in the

³⁵Hulse, A Dictionary of Toronto Printers, 25-6. J. & W. Blackhall is listed in The Mercantile Agency Reference Book, January 1871, with a "Limited," K 34, credit rating. In January 1882, Joseph Blackhall was still viewed as "Limited" in overall credit worthiness. Dun, Wiman Co. The Mercantile Agency Reference Book, January 1871, January 1882.

period studied, Thomas Langstone, a printer by trade, established an engraving and retail business in "hard rubber goods" with Joseph Lloyd. The business of Lloyd and Langstone lasted less than one year. In the interim previous to setting up his own print shop in 1895, Langstone worked for Georges T. Gorrier as publisher and show card manufacturer. Langstone's print shop was listed in the city directory for the year 1895 only; later in the 1890s he was foreman at the Bingham Printing Company.³⁶

Small producers generally changed partners several times. Reasons for partnership changes were suggested by Michael Katz in his discussion of the "entrepreneurial class" in mid-nineteenth century Hamilton.³⁷ In many instances, Katz stated, "... it is clear that partnership changes represented attempts to reorganize businesses in a way that would ease the burdens of credit, present a new face to those from whom credit was sought, or take advantage of new opportunities."³⁸ Wives were often listed as proprietors in partnership changes and in the organization of limited liability companies.³⁹

³⁶Hulse, A Dictionary of Toronto Printers, 144, 149.

³⁷Katz, The People of Hamilton, 176-208.

³⁸Ibid., 190.

³⁹ For example, in the formation of the Webber Printing Co., on 10 May 1882, Mrs. Annie Webber was listed as a proprietor along with Albert Edward Hill, and her husband Robert Codrington Webber as manager. Hulse, A Dictionary of Toronto Printers, 276.

Family ties were important to the structural organization of the Toronto printing trades. Casual labour from family members was crucial to the survival of the small business, and was further illustrative of the indistinct class boundaries between the working class and small petit bourgeois proprietors. A characteristic of small petit bourgeois proprietors as a group was the fact that "its livelihood is derived both from its capital and its own labour."⁴⁰ This was also found to be true of the Toronto printing industry during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. F.H. Brigden described conditions in his father's engraving shop as follows:

When my father came to Canada in 1870, wood engraving was the only method of illustrating and he did work for magazines, newspapers and catalogues. Some of his best blocks were done for George Brown, who at this time was editor of the Toronto Globe. It took him all week to engrave a block for the weekly edition, and sometimes when a more elaborate subject such as a city view was called for he and his partner, the late Henry Beale, worked in two shifts of twelve hours, throughout the week.⁴¹

The hazy division between worker and proprietor, and the exploitation of employees in addition to self-exploitation, among small producers was important to the development of

⁴⁰Geoffrey Crossick and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, "Shopkeepers, master artisans and the historian: the petite bourgeoisie in comparative focus," in Crossick and Haupt, eds., Shopkeepers and Master Artisans, 9.

⁴¹F.H. Brigden, "Methods and Processes of Illustration," in Toronto Typothetae, Art as Applied to Typography (Toronto 1931), 17.

class and gender relationships during the process of capitalist industrialization within the Toronto printing industry.

Contrary to other earlier interpretations, notably those by modernization theorists, the growth of industrial capitalism involved no "withering away" of small producers.⁴² The viability of the small producer in the structural development of the Toronto printing industry is revealed by the practice of subcontracting out jobs to small firms by large manufacturers, an example of which was cited above where George Brown contracted Frederick Brigden, proprietor of the Toronto Engraving Company, to do the wood engravings for the Weekly Globe. Technological developments within the industry including machine typesetting, colour printing, stereotyping, and photo-engraving created what Clive Behagg identified as a "service function" for petit bourgeois producers in relation to the larger firms.⁴³ The Canadian Printer and Publisher reported in December 1907: "A firm bearing the name Ingle and Walsh are operating a machine in an apartment of the

⁴²Modernization theory suggests a transition from a "pre-industrial" or "traditional" society to an "industrial" or "modern" society. While modernization theory has been used implicitly by some historians on the Left, by Herbert Gutman for instance, Marxist historians generally have been critical of the theory. Herbert Gutman, "Work, Culture, and Society in Industrial America, 1815-1919," reprinted in his Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America: Essays in American Working-Class History (New York 1976), 3-78. See also, Bryan D. Palmer, "Classifying Culture," Labour/Le Travailleur, 8/9 (Autumn/Spring 1981/82), 181; E.P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," Past and Present, 38 (December 1967), 80.

⁴³Behagg, "Masters and manufacturers," 145.

Saturday Night Building setting type for the trade."⁴⁴ The co-existence of small producer and large manufacturer suggest uneven, but interrelated, development in the Toronto printing industry. During the period from 1870 to 1914, the role of the small producer shifted from artisan master to that of petit bourgeois producer, subsidiary to, but also ancillary to, large manufacturers.⁴⁵

Small printing trades producers were under economic strain by the end of the nineteenth century. Trade conditions were poor during the early part of the 1890s, and business failures were reported in the Canadian Printer and Publisher under the heading, "In Darkest Toronto Again."⁴⁶ The failures were attributed repeatedly to the practice of supply firms setting up weak firms with machinery using chattel mortgages.⁴⁷ Although trade conditions improved by the end of the decade, the awarding of credit to weak firms continued to be a problem in the local trades into the early part of the next decade.

By the end of the nineteenth century competition in the

⁴⁴CP&P, XVI, 12 (December 1907), 38.

⁴⁵See also, Behagg, "Masters and manufacturers," 138-9.

⁴⁶CP&P, III, 1 (January 1894), 4; CP&P, III, 2 (February 1894), 4-5; CP&P, III, 7 (July 1894), 2; CP&P, III, 11 (November 1894), 8; CP&P, VI, 2 (February 1897), 26; CP&P, III, 11 (November 1894), 8.

⁴⁷CP&P, II, 10 (October 1893), 2; CP&P, II, 11 (November 1893), 14; CP&P, III, 1 (January 1894), 4; CP&P, III, 2 (February 1894), 4; CP&P, III, 11 (November 1894), 8.

form of cost undercutting was cause for concern among employers in the book and job sectors. Small marginal job printers were notorious for quoting low estimates in their desperation to secure contracts. During the early part of the twentieth century the two local employers' organizations, the Master Printers and Bookbinders Association of Toronto formed by the amalgamation of two separate organizations in late 1899, and the Printers Board of Trade organized in 1907 and later reorganized as the Graphic Arts Board of Trade in April 1911, took up the issue of cost cutting and unprofitable business practices among job printers.⁴⁸ Part of a broader North American "Cost Finding Movement," the members of the two Toronto employers' associations promoted cost and efficiency schemes and used the Canadian Printer and Publisher to explain the cost systems. Membership in the Board of Trade, moreover, included protection of prices on work tendered on by members. Beginning in 1913, the Graphic Arts Board of Trade offered weekly cost estimating classes which were open to all employing printers.⁴⁹

⁴⁸CP&P, XX, 5 (May 1911), 51. A centralized structure, The Master Printers' Association was formed in 1888 to represent the interests of commercial employers in negotiations with the strong printers' union. See Zerker, The Rise and Fall, 109. Late in 1899, the Employing Printers and Bookbinders amalgamated. See CP&P, VII, 9 (September 1899), 6.

⁴⁹CP&P, XXII, 12 (December 1913), 57. For examples of efficiency schemes see CP&P, XIX, 4 (April 1910), 4; CP&P, XIX, 9 (August 1910), 34-5; CP&P, XVIII, 10 (October 1909), 18-20; CP&P, XXII, 7 (July 1913), 34-5; CP&P, XXIII, 3 (March 1914), 70.

The employers' campaign to implement cost efficiency schemes throughout the book and job sectors of the industry was not a success, at least not during the first decade of the twentieth century. At a cost convention held in Montreal in October 1912, John Imrie, editor of the Canadian Printer and Publisher, reported that out of a total of 145 job offices in Toronto, 30 belonged to the Master Printers and Bookbinders Association and 21 belonged to the Board of Trade, with only 10 firms in all using the cost system.⁵⁰ Significantly, however, the leaders of the local employers' associations during the period studied and the firms using cost finding schemes were the city's larger book and job printing firms. Rate cutting and inefficient business practices apparently continued among the small marginal producers, as the only means of survival in the highly competitive Toronto printing industry.

A trend to specialization, another aspect of the structural development of the Toronto printing industry, occurred during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Two forms of specialization, although not necessarily mutually exclusive, were evident: (1) specialization in the type of product and (2) specialization in function brought about by mechanization, changes in the labour process, and technological innovations within the industry.

Beginning in the 1870s and 1880s companies specializing

⁵⁰CP&P, XXI, 11 (November 1912), 45.

in the production of illustrations using engraving and lithographing techniques appeared. The Toronto Engraving Company formed in 1876, the Toronto Lithographing Company formed in 1878, and the Grip Printing and Publishing Company incorporated in 1882 with a capital of \$50,500 were the prominent late nineteenth-century Toronto printing trades firms engaging in this area of specialization.⁵¹ The latter firm derived its name from, and for several years was associated with, the weekly comic paper Grip which was started earlier, in 1873, by J.W. Bengough with financial backing from A.S. Irving, manager of the Toronto News Company.⁵² Pengough drew the line drawings, cartoons, and caricatures found in Grip.⁵³ From 1893 the Grip Company was an engraving business only, and took pride in having possession of "the most modern and up-to-date establishment in the Dominion."⁵⁴

⁵¹Fraser Sutherland, The Monthly Epic: A History of Canadian Magazines (Markham 1989), 74; Hulse, A Dictionary of Toronto Printers, xiv, 113, 260-1.

⁵²Sutherland, The Monthly Epic, 69-95.

⁵³ J.W. Bengough, "Reminiscences of a Chalk-Talker," The Canadian Magazine, LX, 3 (January 1923), 299. In The Regenerators, Ramsay Cook identified Bengough as an important nineteenth-century Protestant moral reformer. Ramsay Cook, The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada (Toronto 1985), ch. 8.

⁵⁴CP&P, III, 10 (October 1894), 10. The name of the Company was changed to Grip Ltd. in 1901. In 1926 the company amalgamated with Rapid Electrotpe Co. as Rapid Grip Ltd., and later in 1931 amalgamated with Batten Ltd. as Rapid, Grip & Batten, now Bomac Batten Ltd. Hulse, A Dictionary of Toronto Printers, 113.

A few additional selected examples substantiate the assertion that specialty firms proliferated in the Toronto printing industry after 1870. Frank Wilson moved the Auxiliary Publishing Company, which was established in Hamilton in 1874 to produce "ready-print" and "boiler-plate," to Toronto in 1876 to secure better rail connections.⁵⁵ Auxiliary printing or "ready-print" involved the supplying of country newspapers with printed news on one side, while the other side is left blank to be filled with local news, editorials, advertisements, etc., at the country office. With improvements in the stereotyping process during the 1870s printed sheets were replaced by ready-made press plates called "boiler plate."⁵⁶ Small producers who made specialties of "setting type for the trade" were already mentioned above. The introduction of faster job presses during the late nineteenth century, notably the invention of the two-revolution Miehle press in 1889, which was later in the early 1900s improved to print in two colours at one time encouraged new specialties within the job sector.⁵⁷ To provide another

⁵⁵Hulse, A Dictionary of Toronto Printers, xiv, 8-9; Elizabeth Hulse, "Newspapers Printed on the Co-operative Plan," Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada, 22 (1983), 81-102. My thanks to Elizabeth Hulse for providing me with this source. The 1876 relocation of the Auxiliary Publishing Co. to Toronto also illustrates the trend towards the geographical centralization of the Canadian printing industry in Toronto during the nineteenth century.

⁵⁶Rutherford, A Victorian Authority, 65.

⁵⁷CP&P, 51 (June 1942), 34.

example of special lines, the firm of Ross & Ross issued a circular in 1908 advertising their "rush work department."⁵⁸

A trend towards specialization in the type of product produced intensified within the job and the book and periodical branches of the Toronto printing industry after 1870. Competition for the market in city directories among local printers and publishers making specialties of this product occurred. This further suggests another, albeit different, perspective for the use of city directories to study the historical development of the Toronto printing trades. Between 1870 and 1890 John Lovell, Robertson & Cook, Cherrier, Kirwin & McGown, Fisher and T aylor, Union Publishing, R.L. Polk & Co., and Might & Co., all competed for the local market in directory printing and publishing before Might Directories emerged dominant after 1890.⁵⁹

For a brief period during the 1870s the production of country atlases by subscription was fashionable. The country atlas was described by Hulse as an American phenomenon, and the principal publisher in Toronto was the Chicago firm Belden Bros. Local firms, namely Rolph, Smith and Company, established in 1873, and the Toronto Lithographing Company both printed country atlases during the 1870s and the early

⁵⁸CP&P, XV, 1 (January 1908), 44.

⁵⁹Mary E. Bond, Canadian Directories 1790-1987: A Bibliography and Place-Name Index, Vol. I (Ottawa 1989), xix-xxvi.

1880s.⁶⁰

An increase in the number of businesses venturing into music printing and publishing occurred during the latter decades of the nineteenth century, and by the 1880s Toronto led the nation in music publishing. A market for cheap reprints of American and British sheet music: "parlour" ballads and "salon" music intended for home entertainment, hymns, church services and patriotic tunes emerged during this period. Some publishers including the prominent Toronto music publisher A.S. Nordheimer Co., imported quantities of printed copies to which a Canadian imprint was added or else imported plates for printing locally.⁶¹ Among the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Toronto music publishers who were also printers were: Imrie and Graham (established 1885), Whaley, Royce and Company (1888), and William Rainsford Draper, first as proprietor of the short-lived Draper Music Publishing Company from 1898 to 1899, and subsequently from 1900 as managing director of the Canadian-American Music Company.⁶² The Toronto music publisher was primarily a distributor of imported music from the United States and Europe, and original music printing and publishing never developed beyond local consumption during the period

⁶⁰Hulse, A Dictionary of Toronto Printers, xiv. See also Parker, The Book Trade in Canada, 198.

⁶¹Helmut Kallmann, "Canadian Music Publishing," Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada, 13 (1974), 40-8.

⁶²Hulse, A Dictionary of Toronto Printers, xv, 46, 87.

studied.⁶³

With the city's wider commercial and industrial capitalist growth during the mid to late nineteenth century a lucrative local market for stationery products evolved. The manufacturing stationers Brown Brothers, established in 1856, and still existing today, introduced the first Canadian-made pocket diary in 1867, and by the 1880s manufactured the "Canadian Diary" in nearly one hundred styles.⁶⁴ Significantly, during the early 1890s, when trade conditions were generally poor in the local printing industry, the Canadian Printer and Publisher reported that Brown Bros. was doing a "rushing business" in account books and "their factory is still pushed to keep up with the orders coming in."⁶⁵ By the turn of the century W.J. Gage & Co., Hart & Riddell, The Copp, Clark Co., and Warwick Bros. & Rutter were among the larger combined printing trades firms competing for the manufacturing and wholesale stationery trade.⁶⁶

⁶³Kallmann, "Canadian Music Publishing," 47. Indeed to this date the Canadian music publisher is primarily a distributor of imported music, and native music publishing has never evolved beyond meeting the needs of specific local markets.

⁶⁴Hulse, A Dictionary of Toronto Printers, xii.

⁶⁵CP&P, III, 2 (February 1894), 3; CP&P, IV, 1 (January 1895), 14.

⁶⁶Warwick Bros. & Rutter, Warwick Bros. & Rutter Limited: The Story of the Business, 1848-1923 (Toronto 1923); CP&P, XI, 7 (July 1902), 10; CP&P, XI, 8 (August 1902), 7; CP&P, XXIV, 2 (February 1915), 21-4; CP&P, 51 (June 1942), 100.

Turning to the magazine and periodical printing and publishing branches of the industry, after the mid-nineteenth century there was a geographical shift in the concentration of Canadian magazine publishing from Montreal to Toronto. A tendency towards specialization was a feature of capitalist industrialization in this sector also. Literary and cultural magazines were popular from the 1870s to the turn of the century. In the fervour of nationalist sentiment following Confederation and the Fenian threat, Graeme Mercer Adam launched the Canadian Monthly and National Review in January 1872. The magazine was published by the firm in which Adam was a co-proprietor -- Adam, Stevenson and Company.⁶⁷ Caught up in the 1873 economic depression the publishing company went bankrupt the following year but the Canadian Monthly persisted until 1878. Charles Belford started a "magazine of literature and the arts" in 1877. The lithographic illustrations used in Belford's Monthly were produced by the local firm Rolph, Smith & Co., suggesting that the subcontracting of this type of work was a method of avoiding high labour costs and capital investment in machinery. A year later, in 1878, Belford's and the Canadian Monthly and National Review were combined as Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly. The Rose-Belford Publishing Company was formed on 8 April 1878 with George Maclean Rose as president, and Robert James Belford,

⁶⁷Sutherland, The Monthly Epic, 59-60; Hulse, A Dictionary of Toronto Printers, xiv.

brother of Charles, as manager.⁶⁸ E.E. Sheppard put out the first issue of Saturday Night on 3 December 1887; the magazine persists to date.⁶⁹ By the last decade of the century the era of cultural and literary magazines was passing, and a shift in the intended market from an elite to a mass audience was occurring. Indicative of this trend in magazine publishing was the emergence of the Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature in 1893, containing popular literature, illustrated articles, and by the early 1900s photographs.⁷⁰

The proliferation of trade journals beginning in the 1880s is another example of specialization in the magazine printing and publishing sector, and further indicative of the wider diversification and growth in the Canadian economy during this period. James Acton and Charles Mortimer both made specialties of trade journal publishing at the turn of the century, but John Bayne Maclean emerged as predominant in the field.⁷¹ Maclean started his first trade journal the Canadian Grocer, published weekly beginning in September 1887, with Christopher Blacket Robinson. A year later Maclean, in partnership with his brother Hugh, purchased

⁶⁸Sutherland, The Monthly Epic, 63-9.

⁶⁹Ibid., 80-95; CP&P, V, 1 (January 1896), 4.

⁷⁰Sutherland, The Monthly Epic, 96-111.

⁷¹Hulse, A Dictionary of Toronto Printers, xv, 1, 163. Originally spelled his name McLean; later changed it to MacLean, then Maclean.

Books and Notions (monthly) from John Dyas. The partnership once again points to the importance of kinship ties in establishing businesses within the Toronto printing trades. Hardware (weekly) and Dry Goods Review (monthly) were founded by the Maclean brothers in 1888 and in 1889 respectively. The following year, in 1890, The MacLean Publishing Company forerunner of Maclean-Hunter Ltd., was formed.⁷² Particularly relevant to this study, was the 1892 launching of the Canadian Printer and Publisher. The conditions surrounding the organization of the Canadian Printer and Publisher, and the aims of the journal were stated in the first issue.

At the recent annual meeting of the Canadian Press Association the members decided that the publication of a paper devoted to printing and publishing was necessary for their welfare. Subsequently the Executive Committee at a special meeting urged by resolution The J.B. McLean Co. to establish such an organ and pledged their hearty support and co-operation.

The chief aim of this paper will be to more thoroughly unite the Printers and Publishers of Canada, and through such united effort to increase the diminishing revenues of the printing office. It is estimated that these can be made 25 to 50 per cent greater than they are now.⁷³

While the conditions behind the formation of this trade journal speak to the perceived need for collective action on the part of capital, the development of a journal devoted exclusively to the printing industry also attests to the rapid growth of the industry in the twenty-five year period

⁷²Sutherland, The Monthly Epic, 129-37; CP&P, 51 (June 1942), 47; CP&P, XXV, 5 (May 1916), 22.

⁷³CP&P, I, 1 (May 1892), 5.

after 1870.⁷⁴ J.B. Maclean bought out Hugh's interests in the company in 1899, and Hugh subsequently became an active publisher of trade journals himself.

The success attained by the MacLean brothers was to a considerable degree anomalous in the overall development of magazine printing and publishing. The small Canadian market, competition from British and American magazines, and state intervention in the form of the tariff and postal rates hindered the growth of the magazine branch of the industry beyond the stage of competitive capitalism. In his study of the conditions that shaped the book trade in Canada, George Parker argued that the protectionist intentions behind the National Policy tariff failed in the case of the Canadian printing and publishing industry.

In its attempt to keep out printed materials the government erred in placing duties on the imported equipment needed to increase the volume of printing. Printers were unhappy with high duties on printing presses, electrotypes, stereotype plates, binding materials, and ink, all those items that had previously entered free or at a very low duty.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Other trade journals published by the J.B. Maclean Company following the introduction of the Canadian Printer and Publisher in 1892 include: Canadian Machinery (1905); The Sanitary Engineer (1907); Canadian Foundryman (1909); and Marine Engineering of Canada (1910). Maclean also diverted from the specialty in trade magazines. In October 1905, he launched Business Magazine, renamed Maclean's in March 1911, with the aim of developing the magazine into a "Canadian national weekly." See Sutherland, The Monthly Epic, 138-52.

⁷⁵ George L. Parker, The Beginnings of the Book Trade in Canada (Toronto 1985), 194. The monograph is an expanded version of the author's doctoral thesis which focussed on the publishing activities of the firm McClelland and Stewart.

Machinery and supplies were not produced to any significant extent in Canada and were imported primarily from the US. High tariffs on machinery continued to hinder Canadian magazine publishers even though revisions in the tariff structure were made over the next two decades. A deputation from the Toronto Employing Printers' Association lobbied the Tariff Commission for reforms in December 1896, and the following year a new ad valorem tax was implemented.⁷⁶ The tariff on machinery, however, remained a problem, and the Toronto employing printers viewed the tariff on machinery and supplies as "revenue taxes," since in effect the printing industry was not assisted.⁷⁷ In 1904, Fielding removed the 10 per cent tariff on presses, but two years later the Liberal government restricted the exemption to apply to "newspaper presses" only. The duty on typesetting machines was raised from 10 per cent to 20 per cent.⁷⁸ Low US postage rates further facilitated the flooding of Canadian markets with American periodicals.⁷⁹

See George L. Parker, "A History of a Canadian Publishing House: A Study of the Relation Between Publishing and the Profession of Writing, 1890-1914," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1969.

⁷⁶CP&P, V, 12 (December 1896), 4-5; CP&P, VI, 1 (January 1897), 6.

⁷⁷CP&P, XI, 2 (February 1902), 3.

⁷⁸CP&P, XII, 6 (June 1904), 9; CP&P, XV, 12 (December 1906), 13.

⁷⁹"printing and Publishing," Industrial Canada, 5 (June 1905), 766.

Some of the conditions that restricted the growth of the magazine branch of the printing industry also shaped to a considerable extent the development of book printing and publishing. From the outset the book sector of the Toronto printing industry was organized as a reprint industry, and for the most part the city's book publishers were selling agents for large American and British houses. Canadian authors, moreover, tended to migrate, primarily to the United States, where higher prices for copy could be found.

During the 1870s and 1880s a number of Toronto publishers were caught up in the industry-wide trend towards the production of cheap paper-covered editions of novels and other popular works. Existing copyright legislation and the lack of any international copyright encouraged local publishers to pirate British and American authors. Canada was governed by two sets of copyright laws. The Imperial Copyright Act of 1842, a piece of British legislation which remained in effect until 3 December 1923, was intended to protect the home and colonial markets by prohibiting publishers from importing pirated British copyrights into any British territories. The second law, the 1875 Act Respecting Copyright, was a Canadian copyright act which extended copyright protection to works registered, printed, and published in Canada even though the plates could be made

elsewhere.⁸⁰ The latter act was intended to exclude the American-made foreign reprints of British authors, but Toronto publishers engaged in the reprint trade of illegal editions. Among the most active in the Toronto cheap-book trade in pirated editions were Alexander and Robert J. Belford under the names Canadian News and Publishing Company and Belford Brothers, and later from 1878 to 1883 with George Maclean Rose as the Rose-Belford Publishing Company. John Ross Robertson, more generally known for starting the daily newspaper the Telegram in 1876, also engaged in the reprint trade in pirated copyrights. According to historian George Parker, Robertson, the Belfords, and Andrew Irving printed cheap books from 1871 using the presses of Robertson's earlier newspaper the Daily Telegraph.⁸¹

The copyright legislation together with the National Policy tariff influenced the development of the Canadian book trade in the direction of reprint industry. Additional to the high tariffs on equipment and machinery, books and foreign reprints were charged 15 per cent and Bibles 5 per cent ad valorem duties. The reprint publisher in Toronto operated in any of the three following ways: (1) the publisher purchased and imported at a 20 per cent duty the

⁸⁰George Parker, "The Canadian copyright question in the 1890s," Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes, XI, 2 (May 1976), 43-55; Parker, "A History of a Canadian Publishing House," 6-25.

⁸¹Parker, The Book Trade in Canada, 189.

printed sheets from abroad and had them bound locally, (2) the bound books were imported at a 15 per cent duty, with the foreign publisher inserting a Canadian imprint, or (3) the publisher rented or purchased the plates and printed and bound the book in Toronto.⁸²

A gradual shift in Canadian book printing and publishing from reprint to agency publishing took place during the period between 1890 and 1905. Parker defined an agency publisher as "one who arranges with another publisher, known as the principal and usually in another country, to distribute all those books for which the principal has the copyright in the agency publishers' territory."⁸³ The growth of agency publishing was attributed by Parker to the 18 July 1900 amendment to the Copyright Act of 1875.⁸⁴ The amended act "permitted a publisher to arrange with an author for a local edition, and to prohibit importation into Canada of any other editions of work that were published in the Empire."⁸⁵ In Toronto this encouraged two situations: the establishment of branch plants to print, bind, and distribute foreign copyrights locally, and second, the importing of books from

⁸²Parker, "A History of a Canadian Publishing House," 4; Alexander H. Brodie, "Subscription Publishing and the Booktrade in the Eighties: The Invasion of Ontario," Studies in Canadian Literature, II (Winter 1977), 95-101.

⁸³Parker, "A History of a Canadian Publishing House," 3.

⁸⁴Parker, The Book Trade in Canada, 255-6.

⁸⁵Ibid., 256.

foreign principal publishers for distribution through a local Toronto agent. The older established firms such as Warwick, Bros. & Rutter, The Methodist Book and Publishing House, Hunter, Rose, and Copp, Clark, & Co. were involved in large-scale agency publishing. Firms such as Macmillan (1905), Cassell (1907), Hodder & Stoughton (1911), and Thomas Nelson (1913) were established as local branches of London or New York firms.⁸⁶ Accompanying the late nineteenth-century trend to cheap reprints was the development of the trade in expensive subscription books printed on heavy paper with fancy bindings and containing engraved illustrations.⁸⁷ Books sold by subscription or colportage were distributed either through the mail or by canvassers and agents. Overhead costs were thus reduced by eliminating the book-seller. Many of the larger nineteenth-century Toronto firms which performed a combination of the printing trades were also active in subscription book publishing. Hunter, Rose, The Grip Printing and Publishing Company, Belford Brothers and The Methodist Book and Publishing House were pre-eminent among nineteenth-century Toronto subscription book publish-

⁸⁶Parker, "A History of a Canadian Publishing House," 40-1. The University of Toronto Press also did the printing for the institution and the official publication The University Monthly. Rowsell and Hutchinson were the University printers previous to the assignment of that firm in 1900. See CP&P, IX, 1 (January 1900), 20; and CP&P, XI, 2 (May 1902), 3.

⁸⁷Parker, The Book Trade in Canada, 196-98; Brodie, "Subscription Publishing," 95-101.

ers.⁸⁸ Perhaps of greater significance to the overall discussion of the structural development of the local printing trades industry, however, was the fact that the larger and apparently more successful firms engaged in a combination of book publishing practices -- reprint, subscription, and agency publishing together with job printing and bookselling.

A trend towards original book publishing associated with heightened nationalist sentiment, similar to that found in magazine publishing, occurred in the book sector of the Toronto printing industry during the first part of the twentieth century. The Methodist Book and Publishing House, on the basis of the success of a core business in religious publications, was a leader in the publication of Canadian titles beginning in the early 1890s.⁸⁹ In the early twentieth century, two Toronto Publishers specialized in the field of Canadian history. George Morang issued the twenty-volume The Makers of Canada series between 1903 and 1908. Robert Glasgow published the ambitious Chronicles of Canada series in thirty-two volumes between 1914 and 1916, and the

⁸⁸Parker, The Book Trade in Canada, 196-201.

⁸⁹ Lorne Pierce, ed. The Chronicle of a Century, 1829-1929: The Record of One Hundred Years of Progress in the Publishing Concerns of the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational Churches in Canada (Toronto 1929), 246; Lorne Pierce, The House of Ryerson 1829-1954 (Toronto 1954), 26; W. Stewart Wallace, The Ryerson Imprint: A Check-list of the Books and Pamphlets published by The Ryerson Press since the foundation of the House in 1829 (Toronto 1954).

twenty-three volumes of Canada and Its Provinces between 1913 and 1917.⁹⁰

Textbook publishing flourished in Toronto beginning in the 1870s. Three Toronto firms -- Copp, Clark, The Methodist Book and Publishing House, and William Gage and Company-- dominated the textbook market with their provincial readers in Ontario, Manitoba, and the North-West, and a large share of the Maritime market. In Ontario the three firms used their political connections and obtained an exclusive ten-year contract in 1884 from the newly appointed Minister of Education George W. Ross to produce a uniform series of textbooks to be known as The Ontario Readers. A ten-year renewal of the contract in 1896 and a tacit uniform agreement on discounts among the three publishers resulted in a virtual monopoly of the textbook trade by the three Toronto firms.⁹¹

⁹⁰Parker, The Book Trade in Canada, 201; Carl Berger, The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing Since 1900. 2nd edition (Toronto 1986), 14, 28.

⁹¹ibid., 205-10. The growth of the textbook trade and also a difficulty in securing bindery workers to meet the demand at W.J. Gage & Co. was revealed in the trade journal:

The W.J. Gage Co. are working night and day, and Foreman Brown is finding some difficulty in securing hands to meet the demand in the bindery The Gage Company have practically given up publishing novels and confine their business to school books and stationery, for which they have an immense demand.
CP&P, XI, 7 (July 1902), 10.

III

The Daily Press and Competitive Capitalism

At the time of the enumeration of the 1871 industrial census, three daily newspapers existed in Toronto and were included in the returns -- the Globe, the Leader, and the Telegraph. George Brown's Globe, was listed in the census returns with a constant capital investment of \$60,000, and as the employer of seventy men and ten boys. No entry was made in the column designating the source of power by the enumerator, although by 1870 the pressroom at the Globe was already mechanized with two Hoe Lightening four feeder presses and a folding machine.⁹² The Telegraph founded in 1866 by John Ross Robertson and J.B. Cook was recorded in the 1871 industrial census with a capital investment of \$50,000. The presence of steam powered machinery was noted, and the Telegraph employed seventy-five men and twenty boys. Lastly, the Leader with James Beaty proprietor was listed with the extraordinarily high constant capital investment in comparison to the other two papers of \$165,000. The Leader too was produced using steam-powered presses, and according to the census, the factory was operated by eighty workers--seventy men and ten boys.⁹³ When the newspaper sector with its comparatively higher levels of capital investment, levels

⁹² Ontario Census Returns 1871, City of Toronto; J.M.S. Careless, Brown of The Globe: Statesman of Confederation 1860-1880 (Toronto 1959, 1963, 1989), 5, 269, 280.

⁹³ Ontario Census Returns 1871, City of Toronto.

of mechanization and number of workers employed is incorporated into the broader context of the overall structure of the Toronto printing industry, the assertion already made that all three forms of production -- handicraft, manufactory, and factory co-existed in combined modes of production by 1871 is further substantiated.

The structural development of the daily press in Toronto during the fifty-year period after 1870 was characterized by intensive capitalization, increasingly higher levels of mechanization, and vigorous competition accompanied by the implementation of monopoly capitalist strategies. Any discussion of the development of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century daily press must further take into consideration the issue of partisanship and patronage, a subject which has already received some considerable attention within Canadian historical writing. Paul Rutherford presented a view of the press in Canada as party organs manipulated by politicians.⁹⁴ The partisan identity of the daily press was also acknowledged by Tom Walkom: "Any town that could support one daily during the 1870s could support two -- one Tory and one Reform."⁹⁵ Political partisanship as

⁹⁴Paul Rutherford, The Making of the Canadian Media (Toronto 1978), ch. 1; Rutherford, A Victorian Authority, 222.

⁹⁵Walkom, "The Daily Newspaper," 26. Walkom's comments concerning the overall importance of partisanship and patronage to the economics of the newspaper industry are tempered somewhat by his own finding that during the period from 1871 to 1911, federal patronage was never more than 3 per cent of the gross revenue for any Toronto daily. Ibid., 346.

a form of product differentiation used to build circulation and thereby increase revenue was emphasized in the analysis. For Brian Beaven the notion of "party organ" was viewed as overly simplistic and did not adequately explain the nature of the partisan press or the social and political roles that it played.⁹⁶ In his essay focussing on the circumstances in which the partisan press operated in Ontario between 1880 and 1914, Beaven developed an argument similar to that presented by Walkom. According to Beaven: "The party press was essentially a commercial press that maintained bourgeois party identities as a market strategy."⁹⁷

Complex party-press relationships secondary to the overarching commercial objectives of the newspaper publishers were evident in the development of the daily press in Toronto. Of the three daily papers in the city in 1871, Walkom found that only the Globe was expanding.⁹⁸ From the 1850s through the early 1870s the Globe went unchallenged as the province's Reform organ and thus maintained a large circulation outside the city. Beaty's Leader was a Tory paper from its inception in 1852. Three years later in 1855, the Leader was the first local newspaper to launch an evening edition. The cheaper evening editions were an attempt by

⁹⁶ Brian P.N. Beaven, "Partisanship, Patronage, and the Press in Ontario, 1880-1914: Myths and Realities," Canadian Historical Review, LXIV, 3 (1983), 317-51.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 350.

⁹⁸ Walkom, "The Daily Newspaper," 26.

newspaper publishers to exploit the lower-income market, and in some instances to maximize constant capital investment in machinery. While chiefly a morning paper, the Globe had an afternoon edition as well as a weekly edition for most of the period into the early twentieth century. The third daily, the Telegraph concentrated on the evening market and was identified by Rutherford as the first practitioner of "people's journalism" in Toronto with its use of slang, sensationalism and incorporation of entertainment features. Although nominally independent, the Telegraph was supported by Conservative party funds.⁹⁹

The Telegraph ceased publication in 1872, and the Leader followed in 1878. The degree to which the withdrawal of Conservative party funds in 1872 was responsible for the collapse of the newspapers is debatable. Walkom and Rutherford both indicated that in the case of the Telegraph revenue never exceeded expenditures.¹⁰⁰ The comparatively high constant capital investment of \$165,000 listed for the Leader in the 1871 industrial census manuscript suggests that competition drove up capital spending which had to be met by

⁹⁹Rutherford, A Victorian Authority, 53-4; P.F.W. Rutherford, "The People's Press: The Emergence of the New Journalism in Canada, 1869-99," Canadian Historical Review, LVI, 2 (June 1975), 169-91.

¹⁰⁰Rutherford, A Victorian Authority, 43, 105; Walkom, "The Daily Newspaper," 30-2.

borrowing.¹⁰¹ Patronage, therefore, probably enabled the survival of the papers, but high capital expenditures were no doubt the primary cause of the demise of both newspapers.

Concocted by John A. Macdonald and John Sandfield Macdonald, and intended as a Conservative party organ to battle the Globe and to replace the unpredictable Leader, the Mail appeared on 31 March 1872. The Mail was incorporated with an enormous capital authorization of \$250,000 suggesting that large fixed capital investment was already restricting entry into the highly competitive Toronto daily newspaper market by the 1870s.¹⁰² Intense competition with the Globe for the morning market together with a mid-decade slump and internal disputes among shareholders resulted in heavy losses for the Mail. The Mail lost nearly \$65,000 between 1872 and 1876 before John Riordan, the millionaire newsprint maker, foreclosed on his mortgage on the Mail.¹⁰³

The competition among the Toronto dailies to boost readership for the purposes of generating advertising revenue resulted in high capital expenditures. Reorganized under the Riordans, the Mail installed a new stereotyping plant and

¹⁰¹Ontario Census Returns 1871, City of Toronto. Rutherford stated that competition first from the Telegraph, and then from the Mail founded in 1872 ate away at Beaty's profits from the Leader. Rutherford, A Victorian Authority, 105.

¹⁰²Walkom, "The Daily Newspaper," 33.

¹⁰³Ibid., 34.

purchased new web presses.¹⁰⁴ Similarly, at the Globe, just months prior to his death in 1880, Brown installed new presses, the latest Bullock web presses, which could print, cut and fold 28,000 eight-page units in an hour, at a cost of \$60,000.¹⁰⁵ Also, earlier in 1876, Brown rented a special train to carry the Globe to London and Hamilton ahead of the morning post. The expenditure involved in the venture forced Brown into a cost-sharing agreement with the Mail.¹⁰⁶ Competition from the Mail and high capital expenditures resulted in the passing of the Globe from the control of the Brown family to Robert Jaffray in 1882.

By 1884 there were five daily papers in Toronto competing in a segmented market. The expensive 2-3 cent per issue dailies, or "quality journals," namely the Mail and the Globe, were intended to attract the bourgeois and petit bourgeois readership.¹⁰⁷ Three cheap "penny papers" competed for the local mass readership. John Ross Robertson's second attempt at an evening daily, the Telegram was launched in 1876, and aimed at capturing the emerging suburban market. A second penny evening paper the World was founded by W.F. "Billy" Maclean in 1880. When in 1881 the Mail launched a penny evening paper the News to utilize the former daily's

¹⁰⁴Ibid., 38-9.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., 36; Careless, Brown of the Globe, 368.

¹⁰⁶Walkom, "The Daily Newspaper," 36.

¹⁰⁷Rutherford, A Victorian Authority, 57-61.

excess typesetting and press capacity, the World switched to the morning field and became the city's first morning penny daily.¹⁰⁸ The News under the control of E.E. Sheppard from 1883 to 1887 used the ideological perspective of independent democracy to attract a working-class readership, and further contributed to the growth of a working-class movement by endorsing the Knights of Labor.¹⁰⁹

Nineteenth-century newspapers traditionally operated "job-shops" to maximize capital investment in machinery and labour. The Riordans gave William Southam and William Carey, two Hamilton newspaper publishers, the right to use the newspaper's name for a job printing establishment, and the Mail Job Printing Department was founded in 1881.¹¹⁰ This firm was later included in the 1904 merger of Southam interests which also included the Hamilton Spectator, the Ottawa Citizen, and the Southam Ticket Printing Office at Montreal.¹¹¹ The 1904 Southam merger suggests a development towards monopoly within the newspaper branch of the printing

¹⁰⁸Walkom, "The Daily Newspaper," 37-9; CP&P, XXIV, 4 (April 1915), 39.

¹⁰⁹Russell Hann, "Brainworkers and the Knights of Labor: E.E. Sheppard, Phillips Thompson, and the Toronto News, 1883-1887," in Kealey and Warrian, eds., Essays in Canadian Working Class History, 35-57.

¹¹⁰Walkom, "The Daily Newspaper," 40; Hulse, A Dictionary of Toronto Printers, 169.

¹¹¹CP&P, XII, 2 (February 1904), 10. In 1909, The Mail Job Printing Company by an act of incorporation changed its name to the Southam Press, Limited and was capitalized at \$350,000. CP&P, XVIII, 2 (February 1909), 37.

industry. Other newspaper publishers recovered part of their costs by setting up "boiler plate" operations. The World Company set up the Central Press Agency in 1886, and later in 1890 took over the stereotyping, electrotyping and engraving business of (F.) Diver and Company, with Frederick Diver as managing director of the operation.¹¹² Thus in addition to the geographical centralization of the Canadian printing industry in the late nineteenth century already noted above, a centralization of information also occurred during this period with the dispersal of the news from Toronto to country newspapers using press-ready plates. By the end of the century there was a movement away from the general job printing sideline by most daily newspaper publishers. This was brought about in large part by the competition within the sector, but also by specialization and developments in the technology within job printing which meant that special job presses were necessary to engage in this line of work to any significant extent.

Party-press relations remained interwoven with capitalist transformation in the daily newspaper sector during the 1880s and 1890s. The Mail drifted away from the Conservative party line in the mid-1880s, and took on an independent stance. In 1887, loyal Tory supporters provided the initial capital outlay for the founding of the Empire. While

¹¹²Walkom, "The Daily Newspaper," 40; Hulse, A Dictionary of Toronto Printers, 55.

competition from this third "up-market" morning daily cut into the circulation of both the Mail and the Globe, heavy capital expenditures resulted in losses for the Empire at a rate of \$15,000 to \$20,000 a year.¹¹³ The following year ownership of the financially distressed Empire passed from approximately 600 shareholders into the hands of a syndicate of "prominent Conservatives."¹¹⁴ Tory connections were not enough to help the capital starved daily and the "Fall of the Empire" occurred in June 1895, and the paper was sold to the Mail.¹¹⁵ The Canadian Printer and Publisher noted that all three morning papers were now making money.¹¹⁶

During the course of the union-management control struggles over machine composition yet another daily paper appeared in Toronto. In 1892 striking compositors at the News founded the Star.¹¹⁷ Placing the typographical union label over its editorial heading, the Star, an evening paper,

¹¹³CP&P, II, 9 (September 1893), 3.

¹¹⁴CP&P, III, 11 (November 1894), 17.

¹¹⁵According to the terms of sale The Mail Co agreed to give The Empire Co. \$125,000 in paid-up stock in The Mail Co., with the Board of Control of The Empire directing the new Mail-Empire. The Empire Co., was to pay off its debt and then go out of business. The Mail Co. had the option to buy out The Empire shareholders at the end of 18 months for \$30,000, or less than one-seventh of the original value of the paid up stock. This option was carried out in November 1896. CP&P, IV, 6 (June 1895), 2; CP&P, V, 11 (November 1896), 1.

¹¹⁶CP&P, V, 11 (November 1896), 1.

¹¹⁷ See Chapter VI.

was initially printed in the World office, making use of that paper's excess press capacity.¹¹⁸ With the backing of typographical union Local 91, and the support of the Toronto working-class readership, the Star claimed an impressive circulation of between 10,000 and 12,000 daily.¹¹⁹ The Star was not a financial success, however. According to Walkom, "... the combination of an already crowded evening market, lack of access of the printer-owners to capital, and a trade depression early in the paper's existence served to kill this experiment in worker control before its readers had a chance to judge."¹²⁰ In 1895 the paper was purchased by E.Z. Sheppard, and later in 1899 came under the control of a consortium of Liberal party interests to promote Wilfrid Laurier, thus providing another example of the interweaving of party-press relations with over-riding commercial objectives.¹²¹

From a peak of seven city daily newspapers, the number was diminished by one to six dailies with the takeover of the Empire by the Mail in 1895, and remained at that number through the turn of the century. The "circulation wars" among the dailies persisted. In the latter two decades of

¹¹⁸Ibid.

¹¹⁹Walkom, "The Daily Newspaper," 42-3.

¹²⁰Ibid., 261.

¹²¹Rutherford, A Victorian Authority, 205, 239; Walkom, "The Daily Newspaper," 27.

the nineteenth-century, newspaper publishers reduced subscription rates or turned to "clubbing;" selling the daily paper along with a country weekly at a reduced subscription rate for the purposes of capturing the all-important country market.¹²² Special supplements and novelty items were used by publishers to increase subscriptions.¹²³ In 1891, the World started Toronto's first Sunday newspaper, produced on Saturday night in order to avoid the city's blue laws.¹²⁴ By the early twentieth century the weekly editions had declined in importance and newspaper publishers concentrated on large Saturday editions for Sunday reading.

IV

Summary and Conclusions

By 1870, Toronto was the leading producer in the Canadian printing industry, and continued to dominate over the forty-four year period prior to World War I. Following the emergence of the daily press and the separation of newspaper publishing from the job sector and the book and magazine branches, the structural development of the city's printing industry was characterized by combined and uneven development. Contrary to the macro-level interpretations

¹²²CP&P, IV, 3 (May 1895), 40-1; CP&P, IV, 10 (October 1895), 9.

¹²³See for example, CP&P, I, 10 (1893), 20; CP&P, XIV, 5 (May 1905), 19; CP&P, XXIV, 12 (December 1915), 31-2.

¹²⁴CP&P, XXIV, 4 (April 1915), 39.

identifying a three-stage linear process of capitalist industrialization and working-class formation, the Toronto printing industry is illustrative of concurrent phases of industrial capitalist development. Throughout the period studied from 1870 to 1914, small petit bourgeois producers co-existed alongside large multiple printing trades establishments such as The Methodist Book and Publishing House and Warwick Bros. & Rutter, and the capital intensive and highly mechanized daily newspaper.

Although there was a predominance of small producers in the city's printing trades, the majority of firms were found to be marginal, and a high percentage of business turnovers occurred. The boundary between working class and petit bourgeois producer, moreover, was indistinct. For many small proprietors livelihood was derived from personal labour in addition to their capital investment. The practice of subcontracting out jobs to small firms by larger companies indicated the importance of small producers to the process of capitalist industrialization in the Toronto printing industry. Competition was intense in the job sector of the industry and the two employers' organizations in Toronto, the Master Printers and Bookbinders Association and the Printers Board of Trade, promoted cost efficiency schemes throughout the first two decades of the present century.

Specialization was a dimension of the structural development of the Toronto printing industry beginning in the

latter decades of the nineteenth century. The emergence of firms engaging in one specific trade together with the growth of special product lines were both noted. Specialization in "function" was attributed to changes in the labour process and technological innovations in printing and the allied trades. During the period after 1870 specialty firms proliferated in Toronto including establishments focussing on "boiler plate," colour printing, illustrations, and typesetting.

The infiltration of foreign publications, the tariff structure, and the lack of any international copyright until 1923 hindered the growth of book, magazine and music publishing, with a few notable exceptions. J.B. Maclean succeeded in building a corporation based on trade journals. Within the book publishing sector, a shift from reprint to agency publishing occurred during the fifteen years from 1890 to 1905. The large and more persistent firms were involved in a combination of the printing trades. The Methodist Book and Publishing House, for instance, was involved in printing, binding, bookselling, original printing and publishing, and reprint, subscription and agency publishing.

During the period between 1870 and 1914, increasingly higher levels of capital investment, intensive mechanization, and intense competition for circulation and advertising revenue were found in the newspaper sector of the Toronto printing industry. The daily press, furthermore, was

primarily a commercial press that maintained a partisan identity as a form of product differentiation. Another strategy was to go "up-market" to attract the bourgeois and petit bourgeois readership. The Globe and the Mail (the Mail and Empire after 1895) were classified as "quality" journals. Beginning in the 1870s, cheap "penny papers" published in the evening and intended for the local mass readership appeared as an alternative marketing strategy. The Telegram, the News, and the Star all competed for this market from the early 1890s. Also, during the lengthy labour-management dispute for control over machine typesetting in the 1890s, a collective bargaining procedure, further indicative of the introduction of monopoly capitalist strategies, was implemented to replace the system of unilateral negotiations. Centralized structures of labour and management were thus established during this period.

Another objective of the chapter was to comment on the use of sources, notably the decennial census, a source widely used by historians. When the census aggregates were measured against the businesses identified by Elizabeth Hulse for the period up to 1900 inclusive and the classified city directories for the years 1901 and 1911, an overwhelming under-enumeration of firms was found. Through a detailed "listening" to the logic behind changes in the classification scheme for the complete series, it was found that the under-counting of firms in the census returns was to a significant degree

the result of the 1901 change in the census classification of an industrial establishment which effectively eliminated small producers, a vital component of the process of capitalist industrialization within the Toronto printing industry.

For historians the decennial census is an accessible and continuous series providing comprehensive information about occupations. The census classification, however, was organized around a masculine conception of work and, in fact, part-time, casual, seasonal and irregular employment -- all typical patterns of women's work-- tended to be under-reported or left unrecorded. Applied in a broad comparative manner, the census aggregate tables do provide insights into gender segregation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Toronto printing industry. A significantly higher proportion of men to women was found in the industry in every census year where statistics were available from 1871 to 1911. Although women comprised a smaller proportion of the total number of workers employed, women were predominant in the bookbinding sector, thus revealing a pattern of gender segregation within the Toronto printing trades.

Despite the predominance of small producers within the Toronto printing industry, the majority of printing-trades workers were employed in the newspaper sector and in the large multi-faceted commercial printing and bookbinding establishments. In a departure from the previous research by Kealey and Roberts on the newspaper sector of the nineteenth-

century Toronto printing industry, with a particular emphasis on the compositors in the typographical union, the subsequent three chapters of this study focus on the workers in one particular multi-faceted commercial printing trades firm, the Methodist Book and Publishing House.¹²⁵ Established in 1829 for purposes of producing Methodist Church publications, the firm, during the late 1890s, expanded into non-Church related commercial job printing and book publishing both in original Canadian titles and in-agency publisher. The spectrum of the printing trades namely, typesetting, press work, bookbinding, and to a lesser extent engraving and stereotyping, were carried out at the Methodist Book Room. Concentrating on this particular Toronto printing-trades firm provides an opportunity for comparative in-depth study of the gender division of labour and pay differentials between men and women and between the various skill levels.

¹²⁵ Kealey, Toronto Workers, ch. 6.; Roberts, "The Last Artisans," 125-42.

CHAPTER III
THE BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OF THE METHODIST
BOOK AND PUBLISHING HOUSE, 1870-1914

At the 1829 Conference of the Methodist Church a weekly religious newspaper, the Christian Guardian, was founded. The Methodist Conference further authorized the issuing of stock up to the amount of \$2,000 divided into 100 shares of \$20 each: one-half intended for distribution among the members of the conference and the remainder subject to distribution at the discretion of the superintendent of the establishment. The sum of \$700 was allocated for the purchase of printing equipment.¹ Under editor Rev. Egerton Ryerson, credited as the driving force behind the establishment of the organ for the Methodist Church in Canada, the first issue of the Christian Guardian appeared on 21 November.² Concurrent with the appearance of the first issues of the Christian Guardian was the publication of Church related items, including sermons, hymn-books, and Bibles. In addition to the retail business and the weekly religious paper, the Guardian office soon became involved in the production of Sunday School publications, such as catechisms, tracts and commentaries.³ These, then were the origins of

¹ Quadrennial Report of the Western Section of the Book Committee of the Methodist Church to the General Conference, - Journal of the Methodist General Conference (1890), 23; Canadian Printer and Publisher, XXV, 2 (February 1916), 22.

² Ibid., 27; Books and Notions, I, 12 (July 1885), 183.

³ Report of the Book Committee 1890, 25.

the Church operated printing and publishing firm called the Methodist Book Room.

Under Church management the Methodist Book Room became a successful in-house printing and publishing business over the fifty-year period following the establishment of the Christian Guardian in 1829. It was the financial success of this core business in Church printing that allowed the firm to expand into non-religious publications and commercial job printing in the latter part of the nineteenth century. This chapter focuses on the business organization of the Methodist Book and Publishing House during the period from 1870 until 1914. Although the Methodist Book Room was a Church-owned institution managed by the clergy themselves, the publishing house operated on sound business principles. This concern with business profitability was not inconsistent with Methodism, where success in business was integrally related with the religious tenets of individual perfection and perfect service and accountability before God.⁴ The first part of the chapter establishes the profitability of the core business in Church printing and publishing. Part two analyses the firm's expansion into non-religious publications and commercial job printing, and the concurrent enlargement in manufacturing facilities.

Since the Methodist Book Room in Toronto was affiliated

⁴ See Michael Bliss, A Canadian Millionaire: The Life and Business Times of Sir Joseph Flavelle, Bart. 1858-1939 (Toronto 1978), ch.5.

with the Methodist Church in Canada, the management of the firm had to report back to the General Conference of the Methodist Church. By the early 1870s the Book Committee of the Methodist Church was divided into two conferences: a "Western" section and an "Eastern" section. The Western section, consisting of Church members residing within the bounds of the Toronto, London, and Montreal Conferences, was also responsible for the supervision of the printing and publishing operation.⁵ Every four years, the Book Committee reported to the Methodist conference. These reports contain detailed financial statements concerning the operation of the Methodist Book and Publishing House, and thus serve as a primary source for the historical analysis of the development of the business.⁶

I

During the last three decades of the nineteenth century, the Methodist Book Room established a prosperous core business in religious publications. With the exception of the importation of a few religious publications from the United States, the Book Room, as the sole publishing house for the Methodist Church in Canada, had a virtual monopoly in Methodist Church publications. In the 1870s, the Methodist

⁵ Report of the Book Committee 1874, 160-1.

⁶ See Reports of the Book Committee of the Methodist Church to the Book Committee, 1874-1914.

Book Room began to diversify its product line and to pursue an aggressive policy of printing and bookselling in the Sunday school market. The Canadian Methodist Magazine, edited by Dr. William Withrow, was issued monthly beginning in 1874 and the Sunday School Banner, was published monthly from 1868.⁷

In-house production was further developed during the 1880s with the issuing of additional Sunday school publications. Under the supervision of Rev. William Briggs, appointed Book Steward by the General Conference of the Methodist Church in February 1879, Sunbeam, an illustrated semi-monthly paper for primary classes, and a quarterly newspaper, The Berean Leaf, were launched in 1880.⁸ An earlier bi-monthly publication, the Sunday School Advocate was refurbished during that same year and renamed Pleasant Hours.⁹ A new paper Home and School was published in the alternate weeks between issues of Pleasant Hours beginning in 1882.¹⁰

The original religious objectives behind the Methodist

⁷ Lorne Pierce, ed., The Chronicle of a Century, 1829-1929: The Record of One Hundred Years of Progress in the Concerns of the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational Churches in Canada (Toronto 1929), 117-20; Books and Notions, I, 12 (July 1885), 183-4.

⁸ Lorne Pierce, The House of Ryerson 1829-1954 (Toronto 1954), 22; Report of the Book Committee 1882, 5.

⁹ Report of the Book Committee 1882, 5.

¹⁰ Report of the Book Committee 1888, 69.

Book Room's printing and publishing activities were reiterated in the introduction to Book Committee's 1886 report to the General Conference of the Methodist Church:

The press is more largely than ever affecting the intellectual and religious life of the community. A thoroughly secular and often irreligious literature is being evidently diffused, and it is the duty of the Church to provide a literature surcharged with the vitalizing influences of an earnest Christianity. This our Church is doing more largely than ever before by its increasing sales of books of a wholesome, instructive, and religious character, and especially by the growing circulation of its personal literature.¹¹

Some indication of the volume of the religious literature produced by the publishing house during the early part of the 1880s was provided in a feature article published in the July 1885 edition of Books and Notions, a trade magazine for local booksellers and stationers. The article stated that the number of hymn books, Sunday school class books, Ministers' requisites, tracts, catechisms, and pamphlets printed over the year was 245,023 representing 31,071,070 pages. The number of books and pamphlets printed represented a total increase of 35,000 over the previous year, while the number of books bound was 211,714, an increase of 15,000 over 1883.¹²

The Book Committee took an expressed interest in the success of Church publications. Circulation figures are indicative of the widespread dissemination of religious

¹¹ Ibid., 3.

¹² Books and Notions, I, 12 (July 1885), 184.

publications to Methodist Church members and are further suggestive of the overall success of the business. Table 3.1 presents the circulation figures for the Christian Guardian and the Sunday school publications taken at four-year intervals between 1890 and 1914. The figures represent the situation at the fiscal year end, March 31, for the final year of the quadrennial term. These circulation figures probably underestimate the total periodical business in Church publications. According to the 1898 quadrennial report, the fiscal year end of March 31 was representative of a period of minimum circulation.¹³ The 1898 report further states: "During the summer season about 1,200 schools are open which are closed during the winter. This very greatly increases the circulation of our periodicals during the six summer months."¹⁴

The circulation of the Sunday school periodicals increased dramatically over the period between 1890 and 1914, more than doubling from 212,035 in 1890 to 458,482 in 1914. Also of importance to the development of the core business in religious publications was the continuation of the earlier tendency to diversification in Sunday school periodicals. Onward, a periodical for senior Sunday school students and Young People's Societies, was established in the early

¹³ Report of the Book Committee 1898, 225.

¹⁴ Ibid.

1890s.¹⁵ From a circulation of 29,851 in 1894, the circulation of Onward more than tripled to 101,406 in 1914. Later in the decade, three additional periodicals were introduced: an "infant class" publication called Dew Drops on 1 January 1897; a senior level periodical entitled the Berean Senior Quarterly in January 1898; and the Epworth Era, a journal for the Epworth League, a church young people's society, in January 1899.¹⁶ The Book Committee described the diversified product line in Sunday school publications in production terms. "Of our Sunday School periodicals 212 different issues go to press during the 310 working days of the year, or four every week. Of these, 190,000 pages are printed every day, or 19,000 every working hour."¹⁷

The 1906 report to the Church Conference defined the policy of the Book Committee: "Increased efforts have been made to popularize and adapt to the varied needs of the varied grades in our Schools the different periodicals which are issued in their behalf."¹⁸ During the first decade of the twentieth century, two additional adult education periodicals were introduced. Home Department Quarterly and

¹⁵ Report of the Book Committee 1894, 219.

¹⁶ Report of the Book Committee 1898, 226; Report of the Book Committee 1902, 207-8.

¹⁷ Report of the Book Committee 1898, 225.

¹⁸ Report of the Book Committee 1906, 184.

Adult Class commenced publication in January 1908.¹⁹ Earlier, in January 1907, the illustrated Sunday school papers Sunbeam and Happy Days were replaced by a new publication entitled Playmate.²⁰

The quadrennial reports of the Book Committee for the 1870s do not contain annual circulation figures for the Sunday school publications and the Christian Guardian. Cumulative figures over the entire four-year term reveal that the circulation of the weekly newspaper increased from 40,506 in 1878 to 44,464 for the term ending in 1882.²¹ In his history of the publishing house, Lorne Pierce indicated that the overall tendency to growth in the annual circulation of the Christian Guardian continued during the 1880s, increasing from 10,613 in 1882 to 14,858 for the year ending 31 March 1886.²² Table 3.1 contains the yearly circulation figures for the Christian Guardian during the last year of each quadrennial period ending on 31 March. Following a drop in the circulation of the newspaper over the period between 1894 and 1898, the circulation of the Christian Guardian increased from 12,701 on 31 March 1894 to 21,616 on 31 March 1898. The Book Committee attributed the increase in circulation of the Christian Guardian to a reduction in subscription price from

¹⁹ Report of the Book Committee 1910, 153.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Report of the Book Committee 1882, 7.

²² Pierce, The House of Rverson, ch.8.

\$2 to \$1 in 1894.²³ During the remainder of the 1890s and the early twentieth century, unexplained fluctuations in the circulation of the Christian Guardian occurred (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.2 delineates the annual total revenue for the fiscal year ending on March 31 for each successive quadrennial term spanning the period from 1874 to 1906. Revenue from the Church periodicals, exclusive of the weekly Christian Guardian, increased over each quadrennial period between 1874 and 1906, with the exception of a slight decline in the four-year period ending in 1902. The Book Committee explained this decline in revenue by the imposition of postage on Sunday school publications which had previously been carried free.²⁴

The annual revenue derived from the Christian Guardian during the final year of quadrennial terms between 1874 and 1906 is also presented in Table 3.2. Surprisingly, the revenue derived from the newspaper appears to have dropped dramatically from \$55,325.27 in 1894 to \$36,869.06 in 1898, while the circulation of the newspaper increased from 12,701 in 1894 to 21,616 in 1898. A likely explanation for the contradiction is the 1894 reduction in the subscription price by one-half from \$2 to \$1. A change in the accounting procedure used at the Book Room occurred over the quadrennial period ending in 1910. Rather than providing revenue figures

²³ Report of the Book Committee 1898, 223.

²⁴ Report of the Book Committee 1902, 198.

TABLE 3.1
Circulation of Methodist Church Publications
During the Final Year of the Quadrennial Term,
1890-1914

	1890	1894	1898	1902	1906	1910	1914
Christian Guardian	13,094	12,701	21,616	20,627	24,357	18,959	22,029
Methodist Magazine (ceased 31 March 1906)	2,961	2,697	2,648	2,727	2,374	--	--
Onward	--	29,851	33,370	39,093	48,842	66,474	101,408
Pleasant Hours	48,272	46,151	49,218	51,917	54,598	67,177	78,889
Sunbeam (ceased 1 January 1907)	31,724	33,939	31,429	32,027	35,241	--	--
Happy Days (ceased 1 January 1907)	24,789	29,204	28,023	29,919	34,006	--	--
Sunday School Banner	12,370	13,777	14,085	15,353	15,332	15,888	17,117
Berean Leaf (Monthly)	69,042	83,679	72,979	62,980	53,709	45,609	43,275
Berean Leaf Intermediate (Quarterly)	22,877	11,986	19,472	32,264	52,080	53,927	62,394

TABLE 3.1 (continued)

	1890	1894	1898	1902	1906	1910	1914
Dew Drops (commenced 1 January 1897)	--	--	15,766	21,212	23,840	29,159	36,038
Berean Senior Quarterly (commenced 1 January 1898)	--	--	4,312	11,257	19,906	21,486	28,160
Epworth Era (commenced 1 January 1898)	--	--	--	5,165	5,789	5,629	5,690
Playmate (commenced 1 January 1907)	--	--	--	--	--	41,782	50,040
Home Department Quarterly (commenced 1 January 1908)	--	--	--	--	--	11,754	15,251
Adult Class (commenced 1 January 1908)	--	--	--	--	--	10,310	20,222
TOTAL Sunday School Periodicals (excluding the Guardian)	212,035	251,284	271,302	303,319	345,717	368,995	458,482

Sources: Reports of the Western Section of the Book Committee, 1890-1914.

TABLE 3.2
METHODIST CHURCH PUBLICATIONS, 1874-1906
Annual Total Revenue By Publication For the Fiscal Year Ending 31 March
(\$)

	1874	1878	1882	1886	1890	1894	1898	1902	1906
Christian Guardian	19,586.20	18,396.75	25,856.40	43,173.93	52,849.03	55,725.27	36,889.08	46,704.55	41,734.92
Methodist Magazine	--	93.83	2,797.38	2,174.51	5,206.26	2,981.37	981.90	1,100.93	1,100.93
Daily Recorder	118.26	117.39	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Sunday School Advocate/ Pleasant Hours	2,851.92	4,198.95	4,392.92	4,225.53	6,986.15	11,986.69	13,648.66	13,377.67	13,508.47
Sunday School Banner	1,276.83	3,597.95	5,391.06	8,388.26	13,211.14	17,101.92	14,065.42	13,351.49	12,731.36
Sunbeam	--	--	708.91 (2 yrs.)	2,360.50	5,134.53	6,114.24	7,112.67	6,886.87	6,734.46
Berean Leaf/Intermediate Quarterly	--	--	289.41 (2 yrs.)	2,432.07	3,614.11	1,376.11	2,188.88	1,511.33	1,186.71
Berean Leaf (Monthly)	--	--	--	3,769.48	7,252.95	11,839.21	11,382.18	11,142.57	8,264.95
Home and School (discontinued 30 Dec. 1890)	--	--	--	868.36 (31/4 yrs.)	6,063.68 (9 mos. only)	844.18	--	--	--
Happy Days	--	--	--	--	3,383.94	4,721.76	8,328.95	6,180.90	6,474.94

TABLE 3.2 (continued)

	1874	1878	1882	1886	1890	1894	1898	1902	1906
Onward (commenced 30 Dec. 1890)	--	--	--	--	--	7,571.37	20,826.73	19,039.43	24,279.07
Berean Senior Quarterly (commenced 1 Jan. 1895)	--	--	--	--	--	--	108.20	2,718.28	2,192.06
Dew Drops (commenced 1 Jan. 1897)	--	--	--	--	--	--	-129.70	785.48	1,054.53
Epworth Era (commenced 1 Jan. 1899)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	-711.65	-737.14
TOTAL REVENUE SUNDAY SCHOOL PERIODICALS ONLY	4,245.01	8,008.12	13,579.39	24,348.72	50,852.76	64,506.75	76,481.99	75,395.27	77,273.00
TOTAL REVENUE ALL PUBLICATIONS	23,831.21	26,404.87	39,435.78	67,522.65	103,701.79	119,832.02	113,351.05	122,101.82	119,007.92

Sources: Reports of the Western Section of the Book Committee, 1874-1906.

for the fiscal year end for the last year of the four-year term, beginning in 1910 total revenue, or "turnover," over the entire four-year period was reported. This precluded any comparisons with the revenue figures from the period previous to 1910.

Other Church related materials, including Bibles and hymn books were also manufactured at the Methodist Book Room. Although previous to the 1910 quadrennial report no distinction was made between revenue derived from in-house printing and bookbinding and revenue derived from work contracted from outside the Church, some indication of the increase in Church related printing and bookbinding, other than the Sunday school periodicals, can be inferred from the quadrennial reports of the Book Committee. Revenue derived from the printing and bindery segments of the operation increased significantly over the period between 1878 and 1882 (see Table 3.3). The reason for the increase in revenue derived from the manufactory during this particular period is suggested by the 1882 report of the Book Committee to the Methodist Conference:

The most noteworthy feature in connection with our Book and Publishing interests during the Quadrennium has been the successive issue of six editions of the New Hymnbook, varying in size and price from the small pearl type edition to the large Pulpit Hymn-book. Of these, there have been printed and bound up to date, 150,000 copies, also an elegant Bible, and Hymn-book combined in two sizes of type.²⁵

²⁵ Report of the Book Committee 1882, 12.

TABLE 3.3
 METHODIST BOOK ROOM, 1874-1906
 Annual Revenue From Manufacturing For The Fiscal Year Ending March 31
 (\$)

	1874	1878	1882	1886	1890	1894	1898	1902	1906
Printing Office	6,887.37	11,509.93	19,349.94	21,271.74	35,812.90	59,606.93	75,108.84	75,226.86	94,553.65
Bindery	3,349.89	4,941.94	9,744.97	11,390.14	14,745.56	16,644.79	22,876.06	14,540.30	25,843.75
TOTAL	10,237.36	16,451.87	29,094.91	32,661.88	50,558.46	76,251.72	97,984.90	89,767.16	120,397.40

Sources: Reports of the Western Section of the Book Committee, 1874-1906.

The Book Committee further states that this large issue, together with the other printing and bindery work "taxed to the utmost the resources of the Establishment," and previous to the acquisition of several new bookbinding presses and stitching machines over the course of the following four years, some of the bookbinding had to be contracted out to other firms.²⁶

No comparable annual figures for revenue derived from in-house manufacturing are available for the two quadrennial periods ending in 1910 and 1914. With the 1910 change in accounting procedure, a distinction was made between "merchandise turnover" or sales derived from in-house printing and bookbinding, and turnover from outside work over the entire four-year term. Since the reports provide the comparable figures for the previous quadrennial period, similar "inside" and "outside" sales figures are available for the term ending in 1906. Table 3.4 suggests an increase in sales derived from in-house printing and bookbinding over the period from 1906 to 1914. Four-year total sales from in-house manufacturing increased from \$427,699.43 for the term ending in 1906 to \$582,536.86 in 1914.

The general tendency towards an increase in the revenue derived from the Church publications, together with the growth in circulation and the diversification in the production of the Sunday school periodicals, suggests that a

²⁶ Ibid.

pattern of profitability was established in the business over the period between 1870 and 1914. Beginning with the 1894 report to the Methodist Conference, a separate table delineating increases to capital was included in the quadrennial reports. This further substantiates the earlier argument that in addition to providing a service to the Methodist Church, the Book Committee was also considering the management of the firm in capitalist terms. The tables delineating the increases to capital contain a statement of total capital invested in the firm at the end of each quadrennial period and the total net profit for each year of the four-year term. Using the statement of capital invested in the firm at the end of the previous quadrennial term, and the statement of net profit for the first year of the next term, calculations of the rate of profit for the firm were made, one every four years.

Figure 3.1 illustrates the trend in the rate of profit over the period between 1890 and 1914. Net profit as a percentage of capital invested in the firm fluctuated considerably, with a downward tendency during the 1890s through to the early twentieth century, followed by a period of increase in the rate of profit during the period between 1902 and 1914. It was not, however, until after 1906 that the earlier peak rate of profit of the 1890s was regained. The decline in the rate of profit during the 1890s suggests an

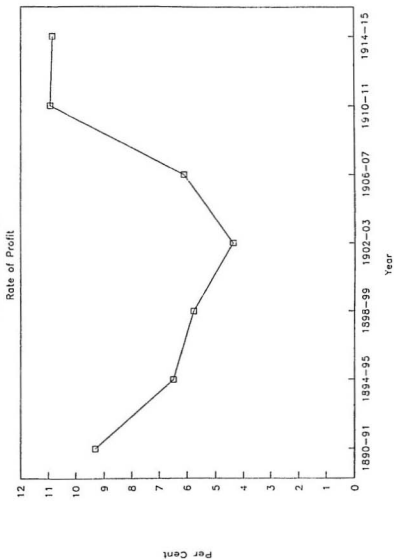
TABLE 3.4

Total Sales Over Each Quadrennial Term,
1906-1914
(\$)

	1906	1910	1914
Printing Office, Outside Work	384,630.88	505,750.72	962,433.94
Printing Office, Inside Work	329,210.40	382,009.31	451,967.27
Bindery, Outside Work	111,582.12	147,271.69	342,257.12
Bindery, Inside Work	98,489.03	117,875.32	130,569.59
TOTAL	923,912.43	1,152,907.04	1,887,227.92

Sources: Reports of the Western Section of the Book Committee,
1910-1914.

FIGURE 3.1



increase in the cost of doing business during the 1890s. References to an increase in the cost of doing business were made by the Book Committee in the 1902 report to the Methodist Conference:

The growth of business has necessitated the providing of increased accommodation and of further equipment. The advance in wages, common to the allied printing trades, has resulted inevitably in a temporary reduction in profits...That we have held our own in the face of these circumstances and conditions is a matter of genuine satisfaction.²⁷

The 1890s, as will be seen, further corresponded with intensive expansion into non-Church related publishing and commercial job printing. It was, however, the profitability of the Methodist Book Room's virtual monopoly in religious publications and Church related printing and publishing that allowed the firm to underwrite the expansion into non-religious commercial job printing and book publishing through a short-term decline in the rate of profit.

In addition to producing religious publications and carrying out any other printing required by the Church, the Methodist Book and Publishing House served Church purposes by financing the "Superannuated Ministers' Fund," or the old-age pensions of retired Methodist clergymen.²⁸ The appropria-

²⁷ Report of the Book Committee 1902, 198.

²⁸ The 1883 report of the Book Committee states:

Each Book Steward shall conduct the business of his department in the most efficient and economical manner, and pay over to the Treasurer of the Superannuation or Supernumerary Fund such propor-

tions to the ministers' pension fund are somewhat analogous to the paying of dividends in the equity market, although with a few notable differences. While publicly traded Canadian firms had to maintain a competitive dividend policy in order to attract and maintain shareholders, the Methodist Book Room did not. The advantage of this measure of independence from the market conditions for capital is that during boom periods the Methodist Book Room did not have to pay higher dividends to shareholders. Thus, if the profitability of the firm was more than enough to meet the foreseeable expenses of the pension fund, the firm could safely expand into other areas, such as non-religious publications. This predictability of the costs of the pension fund was a comparative advantage for the firm, and facilitated the firm's long-term strategic planning. The disadvantage of this semi-autonomy from the conditions of the capital market is that when firms dependent on the equity market were able to cut dividends to shareholders, such as during periods of economic downturn, the Book Room had to meet the annual expense of the Superannuated Ministers' Fund. Thus, the Methodist Book Room's comparative advantage in long term planning was achieved at the cost of flexibility. Compared to

tion of the profits as the respective
Sections of the Book Committee shall
determine.

Report of the Committee on Publishing Interests, Journal of the Methodist General Conference (1883) 138.

other competing firms, which were publicly traded, the Methodist Book Room was probably somewhat more conservative in developing its long-term business strategies, but more likely to be able to survive short term fluctuations in business conditions.

As Table 3.5 illustrates, the appropriations to the ministers' pension fund increased consistently over each successive quadrennial term from 1874 to 1914, with an almost ninefold increase in allocations between the late 1880s and the World War I period. In comparison, the annual total revenue from the Church publications increased only threefold during the 1880s, and fluctuated during the 1890s through to 1906 (see Table 3.2). Thus, the Superannuated Minister's Fund was expanding at a faster rate than the revenue derived from the Church publications. This provided a stimulus for the firm to diversify into non-Church related printing and bookbinding, and further reinforces a conservative business strategy. The Book Committee was not able to take risks in making business decisions with the added responsibility of financing the fund for the retired members of the clergy.

II

During the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Methodist Book Room used its domination of the large market for religious publications to build the firm's outside publishing interests. Unlike the core business in Church

TABLE 3.5
 Appropriations to the Superannuated Ministers' Fund
 Over Each Quadrennial Period

Year	Amount Appropriated (\$)	Increase (\$)	Percentage Increase (%)
1874	0		
1878	3,000	3,000	100.00%
1882	5,000	2,000	40.00%
1886	10,000	5,000	50.00%
1890	22,000	12,000	54.50%
1894	26,000	4,000	15.38%
1898	31,000	5,000	16.13%
1902	43,000	12,000	27.90%
1906	49,000	6,000	12.24%
1910	59,000	10,000	16.95%
1914	87,000	28,000	32.18%

Sources: Reports of the Western Section of the Book Committee,
 1874-1914.

publications where the Book Room had a virtual monopoly, in developing the business in non-religious publishing and commercial job printing the Methodist Book Room had to enter a competitive market.

In his 1954 check-list of imprints W. Stewart Wallace stated, however, that the firm, almost from the time of its inception in 1829, produced Canadian imprints of books and pamphlets that originally appeared in Great Britain and the United States.

It seemed ... significant that the first big printing job undertaken by the Methodist Book Room was the publication in 1835 of a work of edification that appeared in England in 1831. "The first book published," says S.S. Junkin who appears to have been an employee of the Methodist Book Room at that time, "was Everett's Life of Sammy Hicks, the Village Blacksmith, of which 1000 copies were issued- then thought to be a great undertaking." Later, the Methodist Book Room reprinted some of the books published by Mrs. Palmer, an American evangelist who had visited Canada and had created a local demand for her works.²⁹

Many of the early titles published were works of Christian edification intended for the broader market outside the Methodist Church. In developing the business outside the Church, the Methodist Book Room began with its specialty in religious-type publications, thus reinforcing the previous assertion that the firm was likely to be conservative in

²⁹ W. Stewart Wallace, The Ryerson Imprint: A Check-list of the Books and Pamphlets published by The Ryerson Press since the foundation of the House in 1829 (Toronto 1954), 2. For the early Methodist Book Room imprints see also, Patricia Lockhart Fleming, Upper Canadian Imprints, 1801-1841: A Bibliography (Toronto 1988).

formulating any long-term business strategy.

During the 1880s, Book Steward William Briggs gradually began to implement a policy of promoting Canadian literature, which he continued to expand throughout the remainder of his tenure as Book Steward to 1919. The early development of this policy was revealed in the quadrennial report of 1886 under the sub-heading "The Book Department."

This Department of the business is one of very great value and importance. The profit on books published by ourselves is larger, and we have the control of them in the market. Thus, also an opportunity is afforded for developing the literary ability existing in the Church, whereby many works may be expected distinctively Canadian in their conception, and therefore successful in a high degree in their appeal to the Canadian mind.³⁰

Over the next twenty years, the Methodist Book Room published a variety of works in Canadian fiction, among them: Charles G.D. Roberts, The Forge in the Forest (1896); Ernest Thompson Seton, Two Little Savages (1903); and Nellie McClung's, Sowing Seeds in Danny (1908).³¹ It was the practice of the Book Room to publish secular titles using the name of the Book Steward in the imprint, thereby refraining from using the name of the Methodist Church for commercial trade purposes. The Methodist Book Room also published books in Canadian history and social and cultural development, including: Matilda Edgar, Ten Years of Upper Canada in Peace and War 1805-1815 (1890); Catharine Parr Traill, Pearls and

³⁰ Report of the Book Committee 1886, 19.

³¹ See Wallace, The Ryerson Imprint.

Pebbles: or, the Notes of an Old Naturalist (1893); and C.C. James, A Bibliography of Canadian Poetry (1899).³²

The publishing house made further gains during the 1880s and the early 1890s through its involvement in a cartel in the school textbook market, along with two other local firms, William Gage and Company and Copp Clark. In 1884 the three firms managed to obtain an exclusive ten-year contract from the Minister of Education, George W. Ross, to produce The Ontario Readers series. All three firms had their contract with the province renewed in 1896 for another ten years. Continuing to operate as a monopolistic combine, the three publishers in 1900 secretly agreed on a set of uniform and quite minimal discounts for the sale of textbooks in Ontario.³³

By the early 1900s, the Methodist Book and Publishing House was also a national leader in agency publishing, having obtained the agency for the Canadian publication of works issued by several American and British publishing houses including: the Religious Tract Society, Thomas Nelson, Blackie, Oliphant, and G.P. Putnam, all based in New York,

³² Ibid.

³³ Parker, The Beginnings of the Book Trade in Canada, 202-10. A copy of the agreement dated May 1900 is contained in The Ryerson Press Collection, United Church Archives, University of Toronto. According to the scale agreed upon by the publishers, the discount on schoolbooks ranged from 5 to 10 per cent off the retail price per gross lot. Morang's International Educational Series sold at a discount of 20 per cent off the net price of the order.

and the British publishers Marcus Ward of London and Cambridge University Press.³⁴ In his discussion of the forces that shaped the development of the book trade in Canada, George Parker argues that the growth of agency publishing in the early years of the twentieth century was directly associated with the 18 July 1900 amendment of the Copyright Act which "permitted a publisher to arrange with an author for a local edition, and to prohibit importation into Canada of any other editions of work that were published in the Empire."³⁵ The Methodist Book Room functioned as an agency publisher in two ways: books were imported from foreign publishers for sale through the Book Room's retail outlets, and as a branch plant printing, binding, and distributing foreign copyright locally. The latter type of agency publishing generated business for the manufacturing department of the concern.

The manufacturing department of the Methodist Book and Publishing House developed a business in commercial job printing and bookbinding beginning in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Catalogue work for Simpson's department store, printing and binding for Butterick's fashion periodicals, and other miscellaneous job printing for local businesses attest to the diversity of the outside contract work

³⁴ George L. Parker, The Beginnings of the Book Trade in Canada (Toronto 1985), 236.

³⁵ Ibid., 256.

performed by the establishment.³⁶ Previous to the strike for union recognition at the T. Eaton Company's print shop in the spring of 1902, the Methodist Book room also did contract catalogue work for the Eaton firm.³⁷ In June 1909, the Methodist Book Room secured a five-year contract with the Ontario government to do the printing and binding for the Legislative Assembly.³⁸

In his biography of Joseph Flavelle, historian Michael Bliss describes the close knit business community that developed in late nineteenth-century Toronto.³⁹ Bliss further illustrates how friendships, cultural interests and business connections all developed through Methodist Church connections.⁴⁰ Thus, the fact that the Methodist Book Room did catalogue work for both Simpson's and Eaton's department stores was probably not a coincidence since both Timothy Eaton and the group of Toronto businessmen who purchased The Robert Simpson Company in 1898, namely, Harris Henry Fudger, A.E. Ames, and Joseph Flavelle were all staunch Methodists

³⁶ Canadian Printer and Publisher, XXV,2 (February 1916), 17-23.

³⁷ Canadian Printer and Publisher, XI,4 (April 1902),3; Toiler, 18 April 1902.

³⁸ Copy of the Agreement and Contract with William Briggs, Book Steward of the Methodist Church, in Connection with the Printing and Binding for the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, 10 June 1909, in The Ryerson Press Collection.

³⁹ Bliss, A Canadian Millionaire, ch. 3.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 9.

who belonged to the Sherbourne Street Methodist Church.⁴¹

As was indicated above, no distinction was made between revenue derived from church related printing and bookbinding and revenue derived from non-religious printing and bookbinding in any of the quadrennial reports to the Methodist General Conference prepared by the Book Committee during the period from 1874 to 1906. It is almost certain, however, given the intensive involvement of the firm in agency publishing and commercial job printing beginning in the 1890s, that over each successive quadrennial term spanning the 1890s and the early part of the twentieth century an increasing percentage of the total revenue derived from manufacturing might be attributed to non-Church related contracts.

With the 1910 change in the accounting procedure used by the Methodist Book Room, entries were made for "manufactory turnover," or revenue, over the entire four year period from outside or non-Church related printing and bookbinding. Turnover from outside manufacturing increased over the two quadrennial terms between 1906 and 1914. Table 3.4 reveals that already by 1906, turnover from outside contracts exceeded total sales for Church related manufacturing. By 1914, turnover from outside work was more than double that of in-house printing and bookbinding.

Consistent expansion and diversification in both the

⁴¹ Ibid., 62-4.

religious and the non-religious printing and bookbinding carried out at the Methodist Book Room during the period between 1870 and 1914 meant that changes had to be made in the manufacturing facilities. A component of these changes in the physical plant was increased capital investment in equipment and machinery with technological innovations in the production process. Table 3.6 presents fixed capital investment in buildings and machinery at the end of each quadrennial term between 1874 and 1914. Significant for the analysis that follows in Chapter IV, was the overwhelming increase in capital investment in machinery, particularly during the early part of the twentieth century, thus suggesting that the labour process was increasingly mechanized over the period studied.

During the period from 1878 to 1882, when the Book Room was involved in the production of six editions of the Church hymnbook, the additional machinery purchased included: a book and job press, three bookbinder's presses, six gilding presses, a bevelling machine, and a scoring machine.⁴² Not all of the machinery added to the manufactory was purchased new. For instance, over the term between 1882 and 1886, the Methodist Book Room acquired a Campbell job press from the M.E. Church printing office for the sum of \$3,300.00.⁴³ Purchasing used machinery was a means whereby nineteenth-

⁴² Report of the Book Committee 1882, 11.

⁴³ Ibid., 13.

TABLE 3.6

Fixed Capital Investment in Real Estate and the Physical Plant
at the End of the Quadrennial Term, 1874-1914

Year	Fixed Capital in in Real Estate and Buildings (\$)	Fixed Capital in Machinery, Type, Plates, Etc., (\$)	Total Fixed Capital (\$)	New Investment in Printing Machinery (\$)
1874	22,089.18	17,923.63	40,012.63	--
1878	25,070.71	28,525.26	53,595.97	10,000.
1882	28,367.98	37,117.92	65,485.90	11,915.15
1886	37,500.00	47,478.76	84,978.76	2,961.80
1890	116,370.29	62,841.44	179,211.73	14,502.14
1894	129,250.10	69,768.58	199,018.68	15,743.86
1898	139,348.60	89,136.18	228,484.78	29,546.87
1902	198,305.90	111,732.64	310,038.54	32,546.87
1906	170,918.27*	138,476.50	309,394.77	57,183.50
1910	211,714.68	185,401.06	397,115.74	96,735.69
1914	216,114.68	214,904.61	431,019.29	91,226.41

*What appears to be a decrease in the fixed capital assets comprised of real estate and buildings was accounted for by the inclusion in the assets for 1902, the value of the old Book Room property on King Street. The property was sold in 1899, but owing to the failure of the buyer to meet the mortgage, the property was taken back by the Methodist Book Room, which held the mortgage on the property.

Sources: Reports of the Western Section of the Book Committee,
1874-1906.

century printers could expand manufacturing capacity with minimum capital investment.

By the 1880s, expansion in the firm's manufacturing business taxed the capacity of the already cramped King Street quarters. An extension of the manufacturing department through to Court Street behind failed to meet the needs of the expanding business. John Barber described conditions in the King Street building when he went to work at the Book Room as a pressman in the Spring of 1885:

Our Plant was gradually increasing a press at a time before we left the King St. place. We had two perfecting presses, and six cylinders and three jobbers. The Building was too small for us, and no more alterations could be made, and no more machines added, as the walls and foundations could not stand any more, and business kept on increasing, so we had to look for another home....⁴⁴

The Richmond Street Church was purchased from its trustees for \$30,000 and after the construction of additional buildings, for which the total cost was \$116,370.29, the publishing house relocated on 1 September 1889.⁴⁵

The Richmond Street premises had a frontage of 100 feet and ran 176 feet through to Temperance Street. Located in the heart of Toronto's commercial district, the Book Room's new premises were situated among an amalgam of businesses and residences with the Empire burlesque theatre located across the street. A description of the new manufacturing facili-

⁴⁴ John Barber to Dr. S.W. Fallis, 5 May 1924, in The Ryerson Press Collection, Box 13.

⁴⁵ Report of the Book Committee 1890, 30.

ties was contained in the 1890 quadrennial report:

The whole of the old church structure was retained, and is now a building of four storeys, including the basement, which is one of the airiest and best lighted press-rooms in the Dominion. The ground floor contains the offices of the institution and a magnificent, stock-room. Over this, on what was the level of the church gallery, beams and columns, with heavy floor of joist, form the compositors' room-- a truly noble room. Over this and above the old church ceiling has formed the sheet room, an indispensable adjunct of a publishing house.⁴⁶

The Book Committee also commented on the improvement in conditions for bindery workers with the change of location, and concluded: " The employees work with much greater comfort to themselves and advantage to the Concern."⁴⁷

Throughout the 1890s, and into the twentieth century, the continued growth in the Book Room's manufacturing business, a competitive market, technological innovations in production processes, and the need to replace old and worn equipment made sustained capital investment in machinery necessary. Over the four-year period ending in 1898, seven new job presses were acquired bringing the total to twenty-one.⁴⁸ John Barber described the expansion in the press room during the 1890s as follows:

At this time we started to put in automatic machinery, and more new presses, and business kept still on increasing, and space was getting to be at a premium, in fact it got so scarce that we purchased a house on the east side of us, and

⁴⁶ Ibid., 31.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 19.

⁴⁸ Report of the Book Committee 1898, 17-8.

erected a fine concrete addition, and it was only for a few years until we were in a very crowded condition again, and trying to relieve the situation, we covered the alley with a glass roof, that was between the main building and the new concrete building, for the storing of paper-stock, and with more added equipment the floor space was even in a worse condition than we were in on King St.⁴⁹

Capital investment in new machinery at the Book Room was also influenced by the industry-wide trend towards the widespread implementation of machine composition beginning in the 1890s. A typesetting machine was purchased from The Linotype Company of Montreal in October 1894 for the sum of \$3,000 on the basis that the management of the Methodist Book and Publishing House could return the machine at the end of a two month trial period free from all cost if the machine was unsatisfactory to them.⁵⁰ This stipulation stemmed from the failure of another model of typesetting machine, the Rogers typograph, which apparently did not perform to the satisfaction of the editor of the Christian Guardian.⁵¹ The new linotype machine obviously met with the approval of the management of the Book Room; a second machine was purchased from the Montreal company the following year in October

⁴⁹ Barber to Fallis, 5 May 1924.

⁵⁰ Copy of the Agreement Between The Linotype Company of Montreal and The Methodist Book and Publishing House, 17 October 1894, in The Ryerson Press Collection.

⁵¹ Canadian Printer and Publisher, II, 8 (August 1893), 15.

1895.⁵²

Table 3.6 indicates new investment in bookbinding and printing machinery and equipment over each quadrennial term between 1874 and 1906. While comparisons in the extent of mechanization between the sectors of the printing trades are somewhat problematic, two preliminary comments can be made at this point in the discussion. First, printing presses required a comparatively higher capital investment than bookbinding machinery. For example, a single Cottrell four roller two revolution printing press was purchased for the Book Room in 1896 for \$3,800.00, whereas over the four-year term between 1890 and 1894, the following pieces of machinery and equipment were purchased for the bindery for the total sum of \$2,491.03: a rolling machine, a power-stitcher, a Gough embossing machine, a knife grinder, a paging machine, a backing machine, a standing press, a hand wire-stitcher, and sundry bookbinders' tools.⁵³ Second, the labour processes involved in bookbinding were comparatively more reliant on hand labour, a situation that would not change until well into the twentieth century.

Continued growth in the volume of printing and bookbind-

⁵² Copy of the Agreement Between The Linotype Company of the City of Montreal and The Methodist Book and Publishing House, 7 October 1895, in The Ryerson Press Collection.

⁵³ Copy of the purchase order from Dr. William Briggs to C.B. Cottrell & Sons Co., New York, 1 June 1896, in The Ryerson Press Collection; Report of the Book Committee 1894, 19.

ing produced by the Methodist Book Room throughout the early years of the century made necessary further additional capital investment in equipment and machinery, facilities, and labour. With the 1910 changes in the presentation of the quadrennial reports, detailed breakdowns of specific machines purchased over the term were eliminated. Cumulative figures and general summary discussions in the reports to the Methodist Church Conference, however, do provide a general indication of changes in the manufacturing facilities. As was the case in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, printing presses comprised a substantial proportion of new capital invested in machinery over the quadrennial terms ending in 1906 and 1910. The 1906 report of the Book Committee reveals that additional presses were acquired for the purposes of replacing those machines which had " outgrown " their usefulness with " modern machines, capable of turning out more and better work within the same time, thus increasing... output without materially increasing the working expenses."⁵⁴ The concern with maximizing output from capital investment in machinery is obvious.

Over the four-year period from 1906 to 1910, a total sum of \$88,674.34 was invested in plant and machinery, of which \$34,000 was used in the construction of a fireproof annex in the premises. Despite this purchase of additional machinery the Book Committee commented in 1910: "... it is only by

⁵⁴ Report of the Book Committee 1906, 15.

utilizing our facilities to their utmost capacity that we are able to cope with our present turnover."⁵⁵

Analogous to the situation in the Book Room at the end of the 1880s, the steady growth in business again taxed the capacity of the facilities. In 1912, Briggs received Church authorization for the purchase of property intended for the construction of a new plant and offices located at the corner of Queen, John, and Richmond Streets, 4½ blocks west of the existing premises.⁵⁶ Completed in August 1915, the factory was spread over five stories and occupied 100,000 square feet of the new premises, called "The Wesley Buildings." The Canadian Printer and Publisher estimated the value of the new factory at two million dollars, with approximately half of this amount consisting of capital investment in printing and bindery equipment and machinery.⁵⁷

Conclusions

During the late nineteenth century the Methodist Book and Publishing House built on its monopoly in Methodist Church publications to establish a solid core business in religious publications. A general pattern of profitability was established in the business between 1870 and 1914, with

⁵⁵ Report of the Book Committee 1910, 159.

⁵⁶ Pierce, The House of Ryerson, 28.

⁵⁷ Canadian Printer and Publisher, XXV,2 (February 1916), 22.

the growth in circulation of the religious periodicals and the trend to diversification in the production of Sunday school periodicals. The overall profitability of this core business allowed the firm to enter the competitive market in agency publishing and commercial job printing and bookbinding to a significantly greater extent in the 1890s. Commercial job printing contracts with firms owned by staunch Methodists, including Eaton's and Simpson's department stores, suggests that the firm used Church connections to its advantage in business. The Methodist Book Room further implemented a policy of publishing works in Canadian literature, history, and social and cultural development. Thus, although the Methodist Book Room was a Church-owned institution, the business development of the firm was typical of patterns of business under industrial capitalism.

For workers employment in the manufacturing department at the Methodist Book Room was probably one of the better scenarios for late nineteenth and early twentieth century Toronto printing-trades workers.⁵⁸ The core business in religious publications, and the need to put out the Church periodicals on a regular basis, translated into steady employment for the manufacturing workers at the Methodist Book Room; a rarity given the tendency towards seasonality in

⁵⁸It is possible that hiring practices may have been influenced by Church membership and patriarchal religious ideology. This assertion is based on impressionistic evidence and requires further research.

employment in the nineteenth and early twentieth century
Toronto printing industry.

CHAPTER IV
THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF PRODUCTION AT THE
METHODIST BOOK AND PUBLISHING HOUSE IN THE
LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

Looking back, in November 1923, over the 39 years he spent employed as fireman in the press room at the Methodist Book and Publishing House, Henry Edworthy alluded to the tremendous expansion in the production facilities over the period: "When the three engines was running Dr. Briggs came into the engine room and laughed, 'Dear me I could put it in my pocket when I first became connected with the Book Room.'"¹ In Chapter Three, it was established that over the period studied from 1870 to 1914, the Methodist Book Room developed into a large and prosperous multi-faceted printing trades firm on the basis of the profitability of the core business in church publications which allowed the firm to enter the competitive market in commercial job printing and agency publishing. Integrally linked with this pattern of growth and diversification in the Book Room's manufacturing interests were changes in the production process and in workplace social relations.

Over the past fifteen years historians of the working-class experience in North America have used business records as a primary source to pursue questions pertaining to changes

¹ H. Edworthy to S.W. Fallis, 15 November 1923, The Ryerson Press Collection, Box 13, United Church/Victoria University Archives.

in the social organization of production with the development of industrial capitalism.² For Canadian working-class historians, the fact that archives have seldom been systematic or consistent in their collection of business records is problematic.³ Fortunately for the purposes of the present study of printing-trades workers, assorted extant miscellaneous documents and business records from the Methodist Book Room dating from the organization of the Christian Guardian in 1829, have been compiled into a single collection, thus facilitating an analysis of the workplace experiences of the printing-trades workers at this particular Toronto firm.⁴ A series of payroll wage books, although incomplete in scope, proved an especially useful source for a historical study of the social organization of production at

² See for example, Tamara K. Hareven, Family time and industrial time: The relationship between the family and work in a New England industrial community (Cambridge 1982); Bruno Ramirez, "Brief Encounters: Italian Immigrant Workers and the CPR, 1900-1930," Labour/Le Travail, 17 (Spring 1986), 9-27; Margaret E. McCallum, "Separate Spheres: the Organization of Work in a Confectionery Factory: Ganong Bros., St. Stephen, New Brunswick," Labour/Le Travail, 24 (Fall 1989), 69-90; José E. Igartua, "Worker Persistence, hiring policies, and the Depression in the aluminum sector: the Saguenay region, Québec, 1925-1940," Histoire sociale-- Social History, XXII, 43 (May 1989), 9-33; Joy Parr, The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men, and Change in Two Industrial Towns 1880-1950 (Toronto 1990).

³ John C. Rumm, "Working Through the Records: Using Business Records to Study Workers and the Management of Labour," Archivaria, 27 (Winter 1988-89), 67-96.

⁴ The Methodist Book Room/Ryerson Press Collection is located in the United Church/Victoria University Archives at the University of Toronto.

the Methodist Book Room during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The bulk of this chapter is an analysis of a sample of the available payroll wage books from the Methodist Book Room. Important insights into the composition of the labour force, the gender division of labour, pay differentials both between the sexes and between the various occupations and skill levels, patterns of seasonal variation in worker earnings, and any deviations from the union scale can be gleaned from an in-depth analysis of individual worker earnings within a specific firm. The payroll wage books sampled are for the printing office for the fiscal year 1 April 1882 - 31 March 1883, and for the bindery for the fiscal year 3 April 1890 - 26 March 1891. The advantage of the use of the fiscal year for purposes of analysis is that any relationships between trends in individual employment patterns and developments in the business are readily apparent. Unfortunately, the payrolls from the bindery for 1882-1883, and the printing office for the 1890-1891 were unavailable. Wage books for both the printing office and the bindery for the calendar year 1902 are extant, and are also analysed since they provide a basis for identifying change in the social organization of production over time, and further enable the delineation of variations in workers' incomes between the various branches of the printing trades at a

specific point in time.⁵ An additional reason for the periodization selected for sampling is to correspond as closely as possible to the enumeration of the decennial census. In Chapter Five, the detailed wage information will be used along with cost of living indices, conditions of tenure, values of real and personal property reported in the city tax assessment rolls, and the information about household composition found in the decennial censuses to study the household economies and standard of living of this particular group of printing-trades workers.

Throughout the period studied the manufacturing workers at the Methodist Book Room were paid on a weekly basis, with wage entries listed in the payrolls according to worker surname. In the printing office payroll ledgers for 1882-1883 and 1902, marital status was designated after the surname of women workers, thereby facilitating the analysis of the gender division of labour.⁶ An attempt was made to link worker surnames from the wage books, which were organized by department, with the city directories. Linkages with the city directories were necessary in order to determine a worker's first name, and also to identify precisely the task a

⁵ The calendar year 1902 was selected because the series was incomplete for the fiscal year 1901-02.

⁶ No designation of marital status was made for women bindery workers in either of the two bindery payrolls studied for the fiscal year 1890-91 and the calendar year 1902.

specific worker performed in the overall production process.⁷ The city directories also listed place of employment, thus enabling confirmation that the worker linked across sources was indeed employed at the Methodist Book Room. Rather than speculating about the occupations of all the workers listed in the wage books sampled, irrespective of the confirmation of occupation through linkages with the city directories, the analysis in this chapter focuses primarily on the group of printing-trades workers who could be firmly identified by occupation from the city directories.

The methodology adopted, however, introduces a bias into the study. The select group of workers who could be identified by occupation from the city directories, were probably more likely to be relatively stable members of the community and employed at the Methodist Book Room for some considerable period of time. Furthermore, in adopting a method that favours a measure of surety in stating the role

⁷ The designations of occupation for Methodist Book Room production workers used throughout the chapter are those listed in the Toronto city directories. In several instances where a worker was probably employed as a compositor, the occupation "printer" appears in the city directory. There are several additional limitations in using city directories as a historical source, which have ramifications for this particular study. For instance, only single, working women and widows were included in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century directories. Married women working outside the home were excluded. Also, the information was compiled by door-to-door canvass, and errors in the spelling of names were prevalent. See Gareth Shaw, "Nineteenth century Directories as Sources in Canadian Social History," Archivaria, 14 (Summer 1982), 107-21; "Canadian Directories, 1790-1987: A Bibliography and Place-Name Index," National Library News, 21, 5 (May 1989), 1-6.

of specific workers in the production process, any analysis of worker mobility and a consideration of the totality of seasonal variation in employment patterns within the firm is precluded.⁸

The wages and patterns of employment of the Methodist Book Room's production workers must additionally be placed in the context of a consideration of the local Toronto printing industry from the outset. Because the Methodist Book Room during the period studied was representative of a prosperous Toronto printing trades firm, worker earnings and the persistence of employment are probably indicative of some of the best available conditions for Toronto printing-trades workers during the late nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century.

Worker Earnings and the Social Organization of
Production in the Printing Office, 1882-1883

The printing office wage book was studied over 53 pay periods from 1 April 1882 to 31 March 1883. A total of 33 workers appeared on the payroll on 1 April 1882. By the

⁸ A computer database would facilitate an analysis of mobility among printing trades workers employed at the Methodist Book Room and further enable the determination of seasonality in patterns of employment within the firm. This remains an area for future work. I decided for the purposes of the present study to focus on the hierarchal and gendered division of labour among the group of Methodist Book Room printing trades workers who could be identified either by gender from the payrolls themselves, or by both gender and occupation through linkages made using the Toronto city directories.

fiscal year end 31 March 1883, the total number of individual worker wage entries had increased to 48. A clear division was made in the organization of the payroll, which was representative of the organization of production within the establishment. By the end of the period, 31 March 1883, the printing office was organized into five departments: job room, news room, press room, engraving department, and stereotype room. A system of internal management was in place to ensure the efficient flow of production from the composing rooms to the bindery. Significant to the organization of production within the establishment was the clear division of printing into composition and presswork, which Gregory Kealey has indicated was already firmly established in the newspaper sector of the Toronto printing industry during the period between 1850 and 1870.⁹ Within the Book Room's printing office a further division was made separating composition for job printing from composition for the weekly paper, the Christian Guardian.

Composition or setting type had not changed since the invention of the process by Gutenberg in the fifteenth century and would remain fundamentally unchanged until the widespread implementation of machine typesetting in the 1890s. Holding the composing "stick" in the left hand the

⁹ Gregory S. Kealey, "Work Control, the Labour Process, and Nineteenth-Century Canadian Printers," in Craig Heron and Robert Storey, eds., On the Job: Confronting the Labour Process in Canada (Montreal and Kingston 1986), 80-1.

compositor selected type from the case using the right hand and inserted each piece of type upside down and from left to right on the stick. Each line had to be justified using blank slugs and leads to ensure that a line of text fit properly on the stick with adequate spacing between words and lines of text. The case was arranged in two tiers supported on a stand to facilitate rapid and easy selection: the "upper case" containing, as the name suggests, the fonts of type for the upper case letters and symbols, and the "lower case" holding the fonts of type for lower case letters and the spacing slugs. When the stick was filled the composed line was transferred to a shallow three-sided tray called a "galley." When the galley tray was filled a proof was "pulled," and the impression was read for errors. The marked proofsheets and the galley were returned to the compositor who corrected the errors using a pick-like implement called a "bodkin." In book work, the corrected galleys were subsequently "made-up" into pages of uniform length. Multiples of four type-set pages were "imposed," or arranged in such a manner that when the printed pages were folded, the pages follow in succession. A metal frame called a "chase" was placed around the type and locked onto it by filling the space between the type and the chase with wooden sticks. The completed "form" was then transferred to the press room.

Composition was labour intensive, and became a bottleneck in the production process with the mechanization

of presswork after the mid-nineteenth century. Moreover, in the studies of British compositors completed by Cynthia Cockburn and Felicity Hunt, and of American compositors, by Ava Baron, the authors argued that while press work was undeniably a physically demanding occupation, composing type was a comparatively light task requiring nimble fingers, which according to nineteenth-century conceptualizations of femininity ought to have made typesetting a suitable form of "women's work." The authors further indicated that the exclusionary strategies inherent in workplace relations and the policies of the male-dominated craft unions effectively limited the involvement of women in the trade.¹⁰ Thus, until the widespread implementation of machine typesetting in the 1890s threatened their artisan status, the masculine craft-based culture of the male compositor in the "Art Preservative" remained relatively intact.

The printing trades carried out within the Methodist Book Room in 1882-1883 were organized into a series of small self-contained workshops with workers interacting in close physical proximity. Workplace organization and social

¹⁰ Cynthia Cockburn, Brothers: Male Dominance and Technological Change (London 1983), 24; Felicity Hunt, "Opportunities Lost and Gained: Mechanization and Women's Work in the London Bookbinding and Printing Trades," in Angela V. John, ed., Unequal Opportunities: Women's Employment in England 1800-1918 (Oxford and New York 1986), 76-84; Ava Baron, "Contested Terrain Revisited: Technology and Gender Definitions of Work in the Printing Industry, 1850-1920," in Barbara Drygalski Wright, et. al., eds., Women, Work, and Technology Transformations (Ann Arbor 1987), 58-83.

relations among the compositors at the Methodist Book Room were influenced by an amalgam of masculine craft culture, trade unionism, and workplace conditions determined both by the nature and the volume of work. The Book Room was an "open shop," meaning that both non-union and compositors belonging to Toronto Typographical Union, Local 91, were employed in the establishment's composing rooms. Representative of the unique workshop organization within the printing trades, each workshop unit within the Methodist Book Room, both union and non-union, was called a "Chapel."

By the 1880s, the compositors' Chapels within the Toronto printing industry were in the process of becoming workshop units of the trade union. There were, however, elements of ancient craft culture that were residual in the late nineteenth-century Chapel.¹¹ The self-governing

¹¹ The term residual used here is taken from the conceptual framework for the analysis of culture formulated by the late British Marxist literary scholar Raymond Williams. A distinction was made by Williams between the residual, the dominant, and the emergent forms in cultural production:

...in cultural production both the residual work made in earlier and often different societies and times, yet still available and significant-- and the emergent-- work of various new kinds-- are often equally available as practices. Certainly the dominant can absorb or attempt to absorb both. But there is almost always older work kept available by certain groups as an extension of or alternative to contemporary cultural production. And there is almost always new work which tries to move (and at times succeeds in moving) beyond the

function of the Chapel regulating the conduct of members and reinforcing a fraternity of men remained, and according to Joseph Moxon's Mechanick Exercises on the Whole Art of Printing, published in 1683, was firmly rooted in the origins of the craft.¹² The selection of one member as shop steward, known as the Father of the Chapel, was another vestige of craft tradition, but one that was modified with industrial capitalist development and the spread of trade unionism. The Father of the Chapel not only ensured that the internal regulations of the Chapel were followed, he also

dominant forms and their socio-formal relations.

Raymond Williams, Culture (Glasgow 1981), 204.

¹² With regard to the origins of the printers' chapel, Moxon stated:

Every Printing-house is by the Custom of Time out of mind, called a Chappel; and all the Workmen that belong to it are Members of the Chappel: and the Oldest Freeman is Father of the Chappel. I suppose the stile [sic] was originally conferred upon it by the courtesie of some great Churchmen... who for the Books of Divinity that proceeded from a Printing-house, gave it the Reverend Title of Chappel.

There have been formerly Customs and By-Laws made and intended for the well and good Government of the Chappel, and for the more Civil and orderly deportment of all its Members while in the Chappel; and the Penalty for the breach of any of these Laws and Customs is in Printers Language called a Solace.

Joseph Moxon, Mechanick Exercises of the Whole Art of Printing, eds. Herbert Davis and Harry Carter (New York 1962, Originally 1683), 323.

mediated between the employer and the Chapel in matters concerning the conditions of work. With the subordination of the Chapel to the trade union, the Father of the Chapel was responsible for communication between the two bodies and ensuring that union regulations were followed. Beginning in 1879, the Fathers of the Chapels belonging to the Toronto Typographical Union were required to submit monthly reports specifying the number of union and non-union compositors and apprentices and conditions within the shop.¹³

At the time of the first pay period examined, 1 April 1882, there were 16 workers listed in the wage book for the Methodist Book Room's job composition department. By the fiscal year end, 31 March 1883, the total number of entries had increased by ten to 26. Over the course of the entire one-year period 46 different names appeared on the payroll. Linking the names in the wage book with the names and occupations listed in the city directories, the occupations of 24 of the workers employed in the job room over the course of the one-year period were identified.

Thomas Wilson was job room foreman. Wilson was also a member of Local 91. Union membership by the foreman--management's representative in the composing room -- was not

¹³ Minutes of the Toronto Typographical Union, 4 October 1879. Unfortunately these reports were not submitted on a regular monthly basis by the Fathers of the Chapels as required by union regulations. For a discussion of the development of Chapel-union relations see A.J.M. Sykes, "Trade-Union Workshop Organization in the Printing Industry -- The Chapel," Human Relations, XIII (1960), 49-65.

a rare or isolated occurrence, but instead typical of the nineteenth-century printing trades in both Canada and the United States. Elizabeth Baker and Benson Soffer have already considered the roles of foremen as union members in the printing trades. Foremen's union membership, according to Baker and Soffer, emerged earlier in the nineteenth century during the era of the small combined newspaper and mixed job printing shop when the publisher, himself usually a compositor, began to focus his energies on distribution and sales, and left the actual supervision of less skilled compositors to a foreman.¹⁴ The union foreman attained a considerable measure of independence from the employer, and typically controlled the hiring and firing of workers in the shop. A limitation on the power of the union foreman was, however, the fact that he was subject to the discipline of his brothers in the chapel. Ultimately, the inclusion of the shop foreman in the union was an effective means of maintaining worker control over production and union control of the workplace.

The report made to the typographical union by the Father of the Chapel in the Methodist Book Room's job office on 4 March 1882 listed 8 union and 2 non-union compositors in the

¹⁴ Elizabeth Faulkner Baker, "The Printing Pressroom Foreman-- Union Man: A Case Study," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 4,3 (April 1951), 367-85; Benson Soffer, "The Role of Union Foremen in the Evolution of the International Typographical Union," Labor History, 2,1 (Winter 1961), 62-81.

shop plus 4 apprentices.¹⁵ The union scale for journeymen compositors was divided into piece and time rates. Piece workers on weekly papers, such as the Christian Guardian, were entitled to \$0.28 per 1000 ems of type set. The piece rate for composition on books was 33 1/3 cents per 1000 ems. The time scale, which had not been altered since 1872, was set at \$11.00 per week of 54 hours, and included a provision that all week work must be carried out between 7 am and 6 pm. The overtime rate was \$0.25 per hour. An extra charge was placed on the composition of matter classified as difficult, including tables, foreign language material, and music. Foreign language copy in Latin, Spanish, Italian, German, or French was charged \$0.10 per 1000 ems extra, and Irish, Gaelic, or Indian language copy an additional \$0.15 per 1000 ems. The union scale for the composition of Church music was \$0.60 per 1000 ems.¹⁶

Although time payment was not the traditional method of payment in the Toronto printing industry, this method of payment had replaced piece rates in the book and job printing sector of the industry by the latter part of the nineteenth century. Job composition involved a considerable amount of

¹⁵ Minutes of the T.T.U., 4 March 1882.

¹⁶ Minutes of the T.T.U., 17 March 1883. An "em" is a unit of measurement used in the printing trades. The letter "m" in any size fount of type has a body as wide as it is high, and the letter "n" occupies half of this area. Piece-work compositors were paid a certain number of cents per thousand ems of type set.

"display" matter, or blank space which could be set relatively quickly. The shift to a time scale suggests several contradictory implications for class relations. Compositors on piece rates preferred to set display matter, or the "phat" as it was known in the trade, since they could cover a comparatively larger area more rapidly using blank space leads than they could setting straight pages of text. In commercial job work where the amount of straight matter relative to "phat" was small, piece rates were unacceptable to employers, and they insisted on payment by time.¹⁷ On the other hand, the shift to a time scale eliminated the need for compositors to hurry in order to earn a "living wage."

Consistent with his status as composing room foreman, Thomas Wilson received the highest wage; he was paid a rate of \$16.00 per week. With the exception of two compositors, Ed McMullin and Henry Balson, the job compositors identified all worked on time rates. In some shops pre-edited straight matter composition was assigned to less skilled compositors, or occasionally to women compositors and apprentices. By the week ending 30 September 1882, Balson was also working on a time rate of \$10.00 per week, which was well below the union scale. During the last week of March 1883, Balson, a member of the typographical union, received a raise in pay to \$11.00 per week.

¹⁷ Kealey, "Work Control," 85; Sally F. Zerker, The Rise and Fall of the Toronto Typographical Union 1832-1972: A Case Study of Foreign Domination (Toronto 1982), 14-6.

The rate paid to job compositors and their total earnings over the 53 pay periods from 1 April 1882 to 31 March 1883 are provided in Table 4.1.¹⁸ All of the compositors identified in the Book Room's job room were members of Local 91.¹⁹ Two of the compositors, John Imrie and Robert Milne, received more than the union scale suggesting that perhaps they were perceived by both their fellow journeymen and the employer as having attained a higher level of "competency" in the trade. By 31 March 1883 all of the job compositors identified received the union rate, with the exception of Orlando Gammond who was paid slightly less at \$10 per week.

Although substantial variation in the total annual earnings of the book and job compositors was found over the period studied -- due primarily to compositors leaving the establishment and new compositors being hired -- Table 4.1 indicates that with the exception of foreman Wilson a significant proportion of total compositor earnings was derived from over-time and composition involving bonus matter. The distinction between overtime payment and bonus

¹⁸Since the chapter contains numerous tables and figures a decision was made to group all tables and figures together at the end of the chapter to enable continuity in the flow of the text.

¹⁹ For membership lists for Toronto Typographical Union, No. 91 see, Report of the Proceedings of the Annual Session of the ITU, St. Louis, June 1882, 199; Report of the Annual Session of the ITU, Cincinnati, June 1883, 199.

payment for the composition of "difficult" matter was not always apparent from the wage books. Nevertheless, it is likely that the designation "ext" alongside several of the wage entries was indicative of payment for overtime. In a few instances, notably for the fall of 1882, "music" was inscribed beside several of the wage entries. It will be recalled from Chapter Three, that during the early 1880s the Methodist Book Room was involved in the production of several editions of the Church hymn book requiring additional outlay on the part of capital for the labour costs involved for type-setting music. The firm's cost notebook listed a composition cost of \$1,377.00 for 306 pages of music, or 229,500 ems at a cost of \$0.60 per 1000 ems.²⁰ A substantial portion of the bonus overtime earnings for music composition was found in the payroll entries for Robert Milne, which together with the higher flat wage rate paid to this particular compositor suggests that Milne was viewed as one of the more highly skilled compositors in the shop. Another noted bonus entry was for Henry Maw for the week 31 March 1883 where he was paid \$0.25 extra for working two hours at "dis." Distributing type was a tedious task but, as Cockburn has already suggested in the case of British compositors, one

²⁰ Cost Notebook, 6 December 1882, The Ryerson Press Collection, Box 3. The total cost for the production of 1000 copies of the hymn book was quoted at \$1,964.90 including \$45.00 for press work, \$99.15 for electrotyping and \$112.80 for bookbinding. Composition costs were by far the greatest expenditures in production.

which was carefully guarded by the craftsmen intent on keeping unskilled labourers out of the composing room.²¹

When the patterns of employment among the book and job compositors at the Methodist Book Room were considered over the entire period between 11 March 1882 and 10 November 1883, a trend to regularity in employment was found. Seasonal unemployment, endemic in the structure of the Toronto printing trades, was not a problem for the compositors identified in this particular establishment, at least not during the period studied. Figures 4.1 through 4.4 illustrate graphically the percentage earnings of four selected compositors -- James Coulter, Thomas Wilson Jr., Robert Milne, and Amos Pudsey -- constituted by the regular flat rate and the percentage of total earnings derived from overtime and bonus matter over the various seasons of the year. Among all three compositors, the period of the highest proportion of worker earnings derived from type-setting at bonus rates and overtime work was in the fall of 1882. This particular period, in addition to being a period of intensive involvement by the firm in hymn book publishing, also includes the weeks previous to Christmas, which were typically a highpoint for the local printing industry. The tendency

²¹ Cockburn, Brothers, 25. Distributing type involves the replacement of type in the respective boxes in the cases after printing in order that the type might be used again. Although nineteenth-century journeymen retained "dissing" as a component of the compositors' craft, apprentices often learned the arrangement of type in the cases by carrying out the task.

to overtime and bonus earnings in the spring and summer months in both 1882 and again the following year in 1883, is anomalous. Within the printing industry a slump in production typically occurs over the summer months.

The remaining job room workers identified from the linkages made from the payroll wage books and the city directories were five apprentice compositors and the proof-reader. The apprentices were remunerated according to the year completed in the five-year apprenticeship, ranging from \$2.00 per week for a first year apprentice to \$8.00 per week for "two-thirds" apprentices, or those in the latter stages of their training. As Table 4.1 indicates, two of the apprentices, Walter Ridley and William Church, switched places between the job room and the news room during the week of 17 March 1883. It is likely that the move was an integral part of the conditions of apprenticeship intended to ensure that boys were trained in all facets of the compositor's craft.

The proofreader at the Book Room during the bulk of the one-year period studied, was an unmarried woman, Mabel Stafford. Alternating weekly between the book and job room and the news room, Stafford received a flat rate of \$7.00 per week, with bonus payment for overtime worked during the peak fall season. Stafford's employment as proofreader is consistent with the gender division of labour within the nineteenth-century printing trades, and a "respectable" occupa-

tion for women according to nineteenth-century middle-class standards of acceptable conduct for women who were forced to seek work outside the home.²² There were no further pay entries for Mabel Stafford after the week ending 10 February 1883. Presumably after this date she was no longer employed at the Methodist Book Room, at least not in the printing office.

In contrast to the book and job compositors at the Methodist Book Room, who almost all worked on a time scale, the five compositors identified in the news room through linkages with the city directories all worked on piece rates.²³ Furthermore, unlike the job compositors, this group of news room compositors, who set type for the Christian Guardian, did not belong to the Toronto Typographical Union. While no workplace specific reasons were found for the lack of union involvement on the part of the Book Room's news room compositors, one hypothesis concerning this lack of trade union participation can be offered. In keeping with the tradition of workers' control among nineteenth-century compositors based on the possession of an individual skill,

²² Anne Phillips, Divided Loyalties: Dilemmas of Sex and Class (London 1987), 28-70; Veronica Beechy, Unequal Work (London 1987); Sally Alexander, "Women's Work in Nineteenth-Century London: A Study of the Years 1820-50," in Juliet Mitchell and Ann Oakley, eds., The Rights and Wrongs of Women (Harmondsworth 1976).

²³ On 1 April 1882, seven names were listed in the printing office wage book under the news department. At the fiscal year end 31 March 1883, the total number of entries had increased only to eight.

perhaps the news room compositors sought to maintain control over their conditions of work and maximize their earnings by relying on their own ability to maintain control over the rate at which they set type without the regulations established by the union.²⁴

The average earnings per 1000 ems of type set by the piece-work compositors in the news room are provided in Table 4.2. Four of the compositors earned a piece-rate equal to the union-scale of \$0.28 per 1000 ems for composing type on weekly newspapers. Two of the compositors, Maw and McMullin, earned more than the union piece rate, averaging \$0.33 and \$0.29 per 1000 ems respectively. While these findings lend some limited credence to the speculation that the piece-rate compositors were interested primarily in maximizing their own individual earnings, at least to a level deemed a "living wage" by the compositors themselves, the overall average weekly earnings of the piece rate compositors were noticeably less than their counterparts working at time rates in the job room, with the exception of Robert Self. If indeed compositors could maximize their earnings by working piece rates the reverse scenario to that observed in the case of the Methodist Book Room compositors might logically be

²⁴ This hypothesis was framed on the basis of my reading of the essay by Hagan and Fisher entitled, "Piece Work and Some of its Consequences in the Printing and Coal Mining Industries in Australia, 1850-1930," Labour History, 25 (1973), 19-39. Caution is however warranted against making sweeping comparisons between the printing industry in Australia and the printing industry in Toronto.

expected.²⁵

Reproductions of original type pages were made in the Methodist Book Room's manufactory using the techniques of electrotyping and stereotyping. Both processes were viewed as skilled men's work in the context of the late nineteenth century printing trades. In making stereotype moulds a paper and paste mixture called "flong" was placed on the form and beaten into the type with a large flat brush. When sufficiently beaten the hollows were packed with strips of cardboard. The form with the mould on top was then placed in a "drying box" with a gas burner underneath for heat. After approximately fifteen minutes in the drying box the mould was removed and allowed to cool previous to separating the mould from the form.²⁶ Electrotyping produced a finer impression than that obtained from stereotype plates. In the process of electrotyping a mould of wax made from the type form was suspended in a solution of copper sulphate. An electric current was passed through the bath of copper sulphate thereby depositing a thin coat of copper over the wax

²⁵ While the average weekly earnings of the piece rate compositors were equal to, or slightly more, than the union scale, the question of the relative significance of typographical union membership by the Methodist Book Room's job compositors, and the absence of union members among the compositors in the news department, arises. Unfortunately, the minutes of the meetings of the Toronto Typographical Union do not provide any insights into this issue.

²⁶ American Pressman, II, 5 (March 1892), 78; American Pressman, XXVI, 11 (October 1916), 427.

mould.²⁷

Within the broader nineteenth-century printing industry, the innovations in stereotyping and electrotyping while reducing considerably the costs of resetting type, did not decrease the need for the labour of compositors, but rather merely accommodated the demand for increased production.²⁸ This was also true of the Methodist Book and Publishing House, with the heightened demands of production within this particular establishment during the early 1880s already discussed above. During the course of the fiscal year 1882-1883, four men were employed in the Book Room's stereotyping department. The status of two of the workers in the social relations of production was determined from the 1882 city directory. Journeyman stereotyper Charles Blackhall Jr. and apprentice William Organ Jr. were employed at the Book Room over all 53 pay periods from 1 April 1882 to 31 March 1883 inclusive. Entering the Book Room in 1878 at age 13, Organ Jr. was nearing the completion of his five-year apprenticeship in 1882. Organ recalled some years later that during his time as an apprentice all of the machinery in the stereotyping and electrotyping room in the King Street buildings were operated by foot and hand power.²⁹

²⁷ International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union Journal, V, 8 (May 1910), 5.

²⁸ See Hunt, "Opportunities Lost and Gained," 77.

²⁹ William S. Organ to S.W. Fallis, 11 March 1924, The Ryerson Press Collection, Box 13.

Table 4.3 contains the earnings for Blackhall Jr. and Organ Jr. over the 1882-83 period studied. Blackhall Jr.'s average weekly earnings over the one-year period were \$13.12; approximately one to two dollars more per week than the average earnings per week of the time-rate compositors in the book and job room. Also, similar to the job compositors continuity in the pattern of employment was evident among the stereotypers. Some seasonal variation over the period studied was found, with the bulk of the stereotypers' total earnings comprised of overtime and bonus rates occurring in the peak fall season of 1882, and extending into the period from January to March 1883.

The services of a wood engraver named Sandham were secured by the firm beginning in the first week of June 1882. Viewed as skilled and labour intensive work, the engravings produced by Sandham were used in illustrations for Sunday school periodicals. Sandham's average weekly earnings over a period of 44 weeks were \$6.66. Although slightly later, the Annual Report of the Bureau of Industries for the Province of Ontario compiled in 1885 indicate average weekly earnings for engravers of \$10.16 for a work week averaging 57.25 hours.³⁰

This suggests that perhaps Sandham was not paid at a rate corresponding to his skilled worker status. At any rate, Sandham left the employ of the Book Room in mid-June 1883,

³⁰ Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of Industries for the Province of Ontario, 1885 (Toronto 1886), 42.

and a replacement was not found until the beginning of November 1883, when John McDermott was hired. The services of a single engraver obviously did not meet the demands of the business, however. The Book Room continued to contract out engraving to the Grip Printing and Publishing Co. into the early 1890s.³¹

The stereotype plates and completed forms of composed type were then sent to the press room, located on the first floor of the King Street building, for printing. During the latter decades of the nineteenth century, this sector of the printing trades was in the midst of a crisis which can be attributed to the uneven process of industrial capitalist development within the industry. Previous historians of the printing industry in nineteenth-century Toronto, namely Kealey and Zerker, have indicated that the period between 1850 and the 1880s was a period of crisis amongst printing-trades workers as the uneven process of industrialization with the mechanization of presswork created craft tensions between compositors, whose handicraft skills remained intact, and pressmen who became machine tenders.³² In Toronto, the pressmen separated from Local 91, and in 1882 chartered a

³¹ On 1 May 1894 an agreement was signed by Briggs on behalf of the Methodist Book Room with the Grip Printing Company. The latter firm was contracted to supply 500 photo-engraved plates for the Methodist Hymn and Tune Book.

³² Gregory S. Kealey, Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism, 1867-1892 (Toronto 1980), 89; Kealey, "Work Control," 81; Zerker, The Rise and Fall, 13-4.

separate pressmen's union. Furthermore, differentiation also occurred in the actual printing process as newspaper printing was transformed by large steam-powered rotary and cylinder presses, and book and job printing was similarly transformed by technological developments in commercial job presses. For press workers a destruction and recomposition of skills resulted, which not only represented a crisis of class and skill, but also a crisis of skill and masculinity as "gender both shaped and was shaped by the development of industrial capitalism," within the printing industry.³³

This ongoing transformation in class and gender relations was also evident in the press room at the Methodist Book Room in 1882 and 1883. During the period studied the increasingly crowded press room contained a variety of steam-powered and hand-operated presses, including: perfecting presses, cylinder presses, and platen job presses.³⁴ Platen presses, the simplest and least expensive of the various types of presses were often operated by a foot treadle and were used primarily for commercial work including small cards, programmes, menus, tags, and letterheads. Perfecting presses printed on both sides of the paper at a single pass

³³ The phrase is taken from the British feminist historian Sonya Rose's analysis of gender relations in the context of industrial capitalist transformation. Sonya O. Rose, "Gender at Work: Sex, Class and Industrial Capitalism," History Workshop, 21 (Spring 1986), 113-31.

³⁴ John Barber to S.W. Fallis, 5 May 1924, in The Ryerson Press Collection, Box 13.

through the press. The steam-powered cylinder press, with the type-form situated on a flat bed over which revolved a cylinder carrying the sheet of paper, was the type of press favoured for printing books and also for printing newspapers and periodicals where speed was essential.³⁵

On 1 April 1882, seven names appeared on the payroll for the pressroom, and increased to a total of ten by the end of the fiscal year on 31 March 1883. A total of 17 different names appeared on the payroll over the sweep of the one-year period studied. Five women press workers were identified from the payroll by the title "Miss" after their surname, and the occupations of two journeymen pressmen and the foreman were confirmed through linkages with the Toronto city directory. A hierarchical workplace organization and a gender division of labour was established in the press room over the one-year period studied.

John Letters, a charter member of the pressmen's local, was shop foreman. In addition to the significance of union membership by the foreman already discussed above, emphasis must be placed on the fact that foreman Letters was a journeyman pressman. Often, Elizabeth Baker noted, a compositor foreman managed the entire operation including the press room.³⁶ This suggests that the pressmen at the

³⁵ Elizabeth Faulkner Baker, Displacement of Men By Machines (New York 1933), 10-15.

³⁶ Baker, "The Printing Pressroom Foreman," 361-3.

Methodist Book Room had attained some measure of autonomy from the compositors by the early 1880s.

In line with his status in the social organization of production within the workplace, Letters received the highest pressroom wage at \$14.00 per week. The nine male workers employed in the pressroom over the year from 1 April 1882 to 31 March 1883 were paid on the time scale with the amount paid per week ranging from \$7.00 to \$9.00. As can be seen from Table 4.4, William Organ Sr. and Edward S. Taylor, two pressmen identified through linkages with the city directories, made \$9.00 and \$8.00 per week respectively. The wage rates of the pressmen are significant to social relations among workers within the printing trades. At a time when pressmen were struggling to maintain recognition as skilled workers equal to the compositors, the journeymen pressmen earned considerably less than the compositors working on the union time scale of \$11.00 per week.

In the process of the recomposition of skill accompanying the intensive mechanization of press work, the pressmen attained a status in the workplace hierarchy as skilled mechanics. Familiarity with the inner workings of the presses was required of the pressman. Pressmen also mixed inks, compensating for changes in the atmospheric conditions within the press room, and performed the "make-ready" tasks which pressmen emphasized, in their struggle to retain skilled worker status, required considerable "artistic"

abilities. "Make-ready" involves arranging the type form on the press using packing of paper below the form so that the printed impression is even.³⁷

Beginning in the week of 26 August 1882, the Methodist Book Room hired unmarried women to work in the pressroom. Assuming that the prevailing trends in the gender division of labour in the late nineteenth century printing trades also persisted within this particular firm, the women probably carried out the task of press-feeding in the production process.³⁸ The job of press feeder involved standing on an elevated board at the back of the press and pushing sheet after sheet of paper along metal guides called the "maw" of the press. During the period after 1850, skilled male pressmen in the midst of a crisis not only threatening their status as skilled craftsmen, but also their masculinity, defined press feeding as unskilled work suitable for women and boys apprenticing in the trade.³⁹ The work of the feeder was, nevertheless, dangerous as was indicated in the response given by a local printer to a question concerning the dangers of the job in testimony given to a Royal Commission in the late 1880s:

³⁷ American Pressman, XXXII, 9 (August 1922), 23-5.

³⁸ J. Ramsay Macdonald, ed., Women in the Printing Trades (New York 1980, Originally 1904), 25; Elizabeth Faulkner Baker, Technology and Woman's Work (New York 1964), 45-7.

³⁹ Ibid.

...he is liable to get his hands hurt, perhaps by some one speaking to him or otherwise diverting his attention, or an unforeseen accident may take place on a press -- something may slip out of place. A job may not have been properly made ready to put on the press through not having competent hands working in the office, and through the movement of the press something may be shaken out of place, and thus an accident may take place unknown to the boy who is feeding the press....⁴⁰

The introduction of women press workers at the Methodist Book Room specifically at this particular juncture is probably related to the acquisition of a large four-roller book and job two-revolution press by the firm, which required the labour of additional press feeders.⁴¹

A total of five women were employed by the firm between August 1882 and November 1883. Two of the women, Miss Franklin and Miss Hayes, left after only a few weeks. Illness was cited as the reason for Miss Hayes's departure. The reason why Miss Franklin left the press room was not stated in the final pay entry.

The women press workers at the Methodist Book Room during the period between 1882 and 1883 were paid a wage concomitant with their designated status by employers and male pressmen as unskilled workers, and also in keeping with the dominant conceptualization of women's labour force participation as "temporary" previous to marriage. A

⁴⁰ Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital in Canada, 1882, Ontario Evidence, 38.

⁴¹ Quadrennial Report of the Western Section of the Book Committee of the Methodist Church of Canada to the General Conference, 1882, 11.

comparison of the average earnings per week of the women feeders and the pressmen found in Table 4.4 reveals that the wages of the women feeders were between 50 and 60 per cent of those of the pressmen.

Similar to the employment patterns found among the compositors, the earnings of selected press room workers-- three men and two women -- presented in Figures 4.5 to 4.9, reveal a tendency to persistence in employment throughout the period. A discernible pattern of seasonal variation in the percentage of workers' earnings derived from overtime and bonus work is apparent from the graphs. The period from October 1882 to December 1883, and the first three months of the following year represented highpoints in the percentage of total earnings derived from overtime and bonus matter. This pattern of seasonality is most noticeable in the graphs of the wages received by foreman Letters, Miss Austin, and Miss Townsley (see Figures 4.7, 4.8, and 4.9).

The analysis of the earnings of the select group of production workers in the printing office at the Methodist Book Room whose occupations and gender could be confirmed from either the payroll ledgers, or from linkages with the 1882 Toronto city directory, together with insights into the actual labour process and social relations of production in the late nineteenth century printing industry, suggest a hierarchical and gendered division of labour within this particular firm. Figure 4.10 presents the average quarterly

earnings of the printing office workers identified by gender and occupation over the 1882-83 fiscal year studied. Discrepancies in average earnings over the period on the basis of gender and skill are further apparent. The unskilled women press workers appear on the bottom line of the graph with the lowest average earnings over the one-year period. In contrast, foremen Wilson and Letters, at the upper end of the workplace hierarchy had significantly higher average quarterly earnings.

The Gender Division of Labour in the Bindery, 1890-1891

Another workplace where a hierarchical and gendered division of labour was apparent was the Methodist Book Room's bindery. The bindery wage book was studied over the fiscal year 3 April 1890 to 26 March 1891, and the workers identified by occupation and gender from linkages with the 1891 Toronto city directory were the focus of in-depth analysis.

It will be recalled from the discussion of the organization of the business in Chapter Three, that in September 1889, the Book Room re-located to 29-33 Richmond St. The bindery was located on the top floor of the four-storey Richmond Street building. A small power hoist, four feet square ran from the press room in the basement to the bindery on the fourth floor thereby facilitating the transmission of printed pages from the pressroom for binding, and also the carrying of stock between the different levels of the

factory.⁴² Although management alluded to improved working conditions in the bindery over their "old pent-up quarters" on King Street, Arthur Kirby, an engineer at the Book Room beginning in the latter part of the 1890s, presented a dramatically different view of working conditions and described the plant as "terribly congested, and next to impossible to keep clean."⁴³ Kirby further indicated that there was no system of mechanical ventilation in the plant, and previous to the installation of electric light generators in 1896, illuminating gas was used in the factory.⁴⁴

Variation in the types of publications produced by the Methodist Book Room brought about a need to engage in several different forms of bookbinding within the establishment. Special job binding required that each book be bound by hand by a skilled "artistic" binder who typically ornamented each cover with a design. Edition work, including the manufacturing of school textbooks and church hymn-books, both of which were carried out in the Book Room during the 1890s, required identical covering on thousands of books, and involved a quite extensive division of labour. For instance, a 1898 report completed by the U.S. Commissioner of Labor stated

⁴² Arthur Kirby to S.W. Fallis, n.d. The Ryerson Press Collection, Box 13.

⁴³ Ibid.; Quadrennial Report of the Western Section of the Book Committee of the Methodist Church to the General Conference 1890, 23.

⁴⁴ Kirby to Fallis, n.d.

that in 1890, the hand binding of 1000, full cloth, morocco leather covered books required 38 different workers and took 101 hours, not including the time necessary for decorating the covers.⁴⁵ In the pamphlet, periodical, and catalogue work, also carried out in the Book Room's bindery, the sheets were folded and stitched with wire, but no covering in cloth or leather was necessary.

According to the payroll wage book, 45 workers were employed in the bindery at the beginning of the period studied, the week ending 3 April 1890. Only minor fluctuations were found in the total number of bindery workers at the Methodist Book Room over the ensuing year, with 48 workers listed on the payroll for the final pay period examined on 26 March 1891. Over the course of the one-year period studied a total of 56 different names appeared on the payroll at various points in time. A total of 21 bindery workers were linked with the 1891 Toronto city directory: twelve women and nine men.

Consistent with the gender division of labour within the bookbinding trade in the latter part of the nineteenth century already noted by contemporaries in other countries, notably the investigation by the Women's Industrial Council edited by Ramsay Macdonald in the case of Britain, and the 1913 study of American women's involvement in bookbinding by

⁴⁵ Carroll D. Wright, "Hand and Machine Labor," Thirteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor (Washington 1898), 26-7.

Mary Van Kleeck, the women identified in the Methodist Book Room's bindery were involved in the "forwarding" component of the labour process.⁴⁶ "Forwarding" comprises those tasks preparatory to the main binding process, including folding the sheets printed from imposed plates, collating, and sewing the collated pages onto strings or bands or stitching with wire. All of the tasks between sewing and the actual "finishing," or the process of ornamenting the cover of a book, such as trimming, rounding and backing, lining-up, and gluing and gilding the edges were completed by men. In edition binding machines were used in some of the tasks including rounding, cutting, and backing. With the exception of the laying of gold leaf on book covers by women, the ornamentation of covers or the "finishing" component in the labour process was carried out by men.⁴⁷

Unlike composition where craft tradition, apprenticeship regulations, and trade union practices effectively excluded women from the trade, forwarding in the bookbinding trade was socially constructed as "women's work." The forwarding work of women in the bindery was, nevertheless, viewed as lower status in the workplace hierarchy, and Felicity Hunt's

⁴⁶ MacDonald, Women in the Printing Trades, 3-5; Mary Van Kleeck, Women In The Bookbinding Trade (New York 1913), 38.

⁴⁷ Van Kleeck, Women in the Bookbinding Trade; Herbert P. Horne, The Binding of Books; An Essay in the History of Gold-Tooled Bindings (New York 1970, Originally 1894); Bernard C. Middleton, A History of English Craft Bookbinding Technique (London 1963).

observation that the work of women in the bindery was viewed as "marginal" in the social organization of production is significant.⁴⁸ Depending on the type of binding required, aspects of women's forwarding work were performed by machine by the latter part of the nineteenth century. Cheap editions, pamphlets, and catalogues were sewn by machine with wire instead of thread. A trade manual dated 1880, describes the operation of the wire stitcher: "The machine is fed with wire from spools by small steel rollers, which at each revolution supply exactly the length of wire required to form little staples with two legs."⁴⁹ Several sewing machines and wire stitching machines were purchased for the Methodist Book Room's bindery during the 1880s and the 1890s.⁵⁰ Contemporary literature suggests that not only was the process of sewing gendered female, but in the social re-organization of the labour process with the mechanization of sewing, the machines were gendered by men as domestic implements for women workers.⁵¹

The process of hand folding involved laying the sheets

⁴⁸ Hunt, "Opportunities Lost and Gained," 87; Felicity Hunt, "The London Trade in the Printing and Binding of Books: An Experience in Exclusion, Dilution and De-skilling for Women Workers," Women's Studies International Forum, 6,5 (1983), 517-24.

⁴⁹ Joseph W. Zaehnsdorf, The Art of Bookbinding (London 1880), 25-6.

⁵⁰ Report of the Book Committee, 1882, 1886, 1890.

⁵¹ MacDonald, Women in the Printing Trades, 3-14; Van Kleeck, Women in The Bookbinding Trade, 38-48.

upon a table with the signatures -- the letters and numbers used to collate the text -- facing downwards on the left hand side. Holding a piece of polished wood or bone appropriately called a "folder" in her right hand, the woman folder brought the sheet over from right to left, carefully placing the folios together. The folder was then drawn across the two folios of the sheet creasing the centre. The signatures, if the sheet was folded properly, appeared at the foot of the first page.⁵² Machines for folding were also available after the middle of the nineteenth century. Hunt found from her analysis of the nineteenth-century London bookbinding trade that although men operated the folding machines there was virtually no displacement of women's labour by the machines. The fact that it was comparatively cheaper for employers to hire women hand folders limited the use of machines to overtime periods when the employment of women was limited by law.⁵³ It is highly probable that a similar situation prevailed at the Methodist Book Room, where The Ontario Factories Amendment Act, of 1889 restricted overtime work by women and children to 9 o'clock pm on thirty-six nights over twelve months subject to the approval of the

⁵² Zaehnsdorf, The Art of Bookbinding, 1-2; Middleton, English Craft Bookbinding Technique, 6.

⁵³ Hunt, "Opportunities Lost and Gained," 84.

provincial Inspector of Factories.⁵⁴

The total earnings for bindery workers at the Book Room who could be linked both by gender and by occupation using the city directories, and the workers' average earnings per week over the one-year period studied from 3 April 1890 to 26 March 1891, are presented in Tables 4.5 and 4.6. The eleven women folders identified in Table 4.5 all worked piece rates, and in keeping with their lower status in the social relations of production, the women's average weekly wages over the two-year period were approximately one-third to one-half those of the male bookbinders. A comparison of the average weekly earnings of the eleven women folders reveals that the total average weekly figure for all of the workers of \$3.26 is slightly below the average weekly wage of \$3.63 for a woman folder over age 16 cited in the Ontario Bureau of Industries Report for 1889.⁵⁵ Furthermore, the 1889 amendment to The Ontario Factories' Act limited the potential overtime earnings of the Book Room's women bindery workers.⁵⁶

The men bookbinders identified from the linkages between

⁵⁴ Charles Drury, Second Annual Report of the Inspector of Factories, Ontario Legislative Assembly Sessional Papers, No. 35 (1890), 6. This presumes, of course, that the Factory Act was enforced. See Eric Tucker, Administering Danger in the Workplace: The Law and Politics of Occupational Health and Safety Regulation in Ontario, 1850-1914 (Toronto 1990), ch.6.

⁵⁵ The Ontario Department of Agriculture, Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of Industries for the Province of Ontario 1889 (Toronto 1891), 84.

⁵⁶ Second Annual Report of the Inspectors of Factories, 6.

the wage book and the city directories, and listed in Table 4.6, worked on time rates. The male binders, in contrast to the women folders, were remunerated at a substantially higher rate, which was in keeping with their socially defined status as skilled artisans. John Pearson, the foreman, received the highest wage in the bindery, working at a rate of \$18.00 per week. The significance of gender in the social construction of the workplace hierarchy becomes obvious when Pearson's wage is compared to that of Elizabeth Robin, the bindery forewoman. Robin was paid a weekly wage of \$8.00; less than one-half the weekly wage received by Pearson. The other seven male bookbinders identified received an average weekly wage ranging from \$8.00 to \$13.00. This variation in weekly wage rate was no doubt linked to the specific task performed by the worker in the labour process, individual worker status in the workplace hierarchy, and the workers' success in wage negotiations with management. The Toronto bookbinders, however, were not organized into their own trade union until 1893, and the dearth of sources makes it difficult to speculate on the extent to which the involvement of bookbinders in the Knights of Labor as Local Assembly No. 5743 actually influenced the wages received and employer-worker relations at the Methodist Book Room.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Gregory S. Kealey and Bryan D. Palmer, Dreaming of What Might Be: The Knights of Labor in Ontario, 1880-1900, (Toronto 1987), 102. The bookbinders LA was organized in March 1886 and was called "Hand in Hand."

Finishing was viewed as the "artistic" component in the bookbinding process, and in a manner somewhat analogous to the male compositors, a guarded tradition of apprenticeship rooted in a masculine work culture restricted women to a marginal role in the trade performing the forwarding tasks preparatory to the main binding process which was designated "men's work." The finishing or ornamentation of high-quality volumes was done either by tooling, stamping, painting, inlaying or some combination of these techniques. A tooled binding is a cover finished by hand. A popular form of late-nineteenth century tooled binding was called blind tooling or "antique." In blind tooling the impressions of the finisher's tools are apparent on the cover, but no gold-leaf inlay is applied. A stamped binding is a binding finished in a press using stamps bearing a figure or pattern.⁵⁸ These elaborate binding techniques were used at the Book Room in the latter part of the nineteenth century in the production of special editions of Bibles and hymn-books. According to the analysis of the payroll and the city directories between 1890 and 1891, Arthur Rugg specialized in the aspect of the bookbinding process called embossing, which involved raising or depressing designs on the covers of books either by hand or by machine.

⁵⁸ Detailed descriptions of these elaborate binding processes are found in the journal of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders. See for example, The International Bookbinder, III, 7 (July 1902), 123-4; V, 2 (February 1904), 17-8; XII, 12 (December 1911), 437-8.

Figures 4.11 to 4.14 reveal a pattern of seasonal variation in workers earnings, although perhaps not marked as might be expected given the pattern of seasonality in the structural organization of the broader Toronto printing industry. Among the majority of the Methodist Book Room bindery workers studied, a levelling off, or even a decline, in earnings during the late spring and early summer months, was followed by a slight increase in earnings during the peak fall season. A noted exception to the seasonal fluctuations in wages was an increase over the two-year period in the wages received by Ball, a male bindery worker. The regular wage increases together with the comparatively lower overall earnings received by Ball, suggest that he was probably an apprentice bookbinder, and the raises represent the completion of various phases in the five-year apprenticeship. Also, the elevated status of foreman Pearson and forewoman Robin in the shop floor hierarchy is further indicated by the comparative stability in the wages received by these two workers over the two-year period.

In summary, a gendered and hierarchical division of labour was firmly in place in the Methodist Book Room's bindery during the period studied from 3 April 1890 to 26 March 1891. Figure 4.15 further illustrates the overwhelming gender discrepancy in the average earnings of the sample group of men and women bindery workers. Interestingly, although forewoman Elizabeth Robin worked in a supervisory

capacity within the bindery, her average quarterly earnings were lower than those of the journeymen bookbinders.

Worker Earnings and the Social Relations of Production
in the Printing Office and the Bindery, 1902

The availability of payrolls from both the bindery and the printing office for the calendar year 1902 permits an analysis of change over time in the social organization of production and the gender division of labour at the Methodist Book Room, and further enables a comparison between bindery workers and printing office workers during this particular year. As was already indicated in Chapter Three, the percentage of total revenue derived from the printing plant and the bindery increased during the 1890s, and an overall trend to growth was found in the firm's manufacturing business despite a slight decline in profit over the four-year period between 1898 and 1902. Accompanying this growth in the business were changes in the labour process and in the social organization of production.

At the end of the first week of January 1902, a total of 71 workers were listed on the job printing department payroll, with an additional five workers in the news room. By the final week of December 1902, the number of workers in the printing department had increased to 74, although the total number employed in the news room remained unchanged. A total of 86 names appeared on the job department and news room

payroll over the one-year period studied. Some of the workers listed in the job printing department were probably also setting type for the Christian Guardian. These cumulative figures indicate an overwhelming increase in the number of workers employed in the composing rooms over the 23 that were found on the payroll for the combined news room and the job department at the beginning of the previous period studied, 1 April 1882. Linkages with Toronto city directories revealed that 32 of the workers found on the payroll under the news department and general printing office categories were compositors. Only two of the compositors, John Edworthy and Robert Self were listed under the news department in the wage book.

By the turn of the century, the printing office at the Methodist Book Room was fully unionized. In 1902 Orlando Gammond, a job room compositor who started working in the establishment during the previous period studied, in August 1882, was Chairman of the Chapel.⁵⁹ Robert Burrows, another long-time employee, having served his apprenticeship at the Book Room in the 1880s, was President of Local 91.⁶⁰

The "multi-union-multi-employer" collective agreement signed in January 1901 between the Toronto Allied Printing Trades Council representing a federation of the local

⁵⁹ Minutes of the T.T.U., 4 May 1901.

⁶⁰ Officers Lists Toronto Typographical Union, Local 91, 1901-02. Toronto Typographical Union No. 91 Records. PAO, Ms. 243, Reel 11.

printing trades unions and the Employing Printers Association representing employers in the commercial printing industry, stipulated remuneration for book and job compositors at \$13 per week of 54 hours for the period from 1 June 1901 to 1 June 1902. From 1 June 1902 until the termination of the agreement on 1 June 1904, the time rate for book and job compositors was \$13.25 per week. Compositors working at night were paid \$13.75 per week of 45 hours. Compositors setting small type from agate to small pica were paid piece rates of 37½ cents per 1000 ems.⁶¹

Table 4.7 details the wages of the 31 job compositors identified from the city directories. The scale paid to the Book Room's job compositors during the one-year period concurred with the weekly wage rates established in the 1901 agreement. A small minority of this group of job compositors, namely Little, Moore, Townsend, Warner, and occasionally Powell, were paid piece rates, and were probably setting straight matter. The compositors retained control over type distribution of work within the shop, and in instances where both time and piece hands were employed on the same job, the work was distributed equally from the same

⁶¹ Minutes of the Special Meeting of the T.T.U., 19 January 1901; Canadian Printer and Publisher, X, 1 (January 1901), 10. It will be recalled from Chapter Three that the Book Committee in their 1902 report to the Methodist Conference attributed the reduction in profits over the preceding quadrennial term, in part, to the increase in wages in the allied printing trades. See Report of the Book Committee 1902, 198.

"hook." 62

While the composers received the union scale, the average weekly earnings received by the composers were, however, slightly below the union scale. Analogous to the 1882-1883 period studied, no significant seasonal unemployment was found, but the wage entries suggest a widespread trend to short-time. Graphs of selected job composers' earnings are found in Figures 4.16 through 4.19. With the exception of Brown, Balson, and Little, the wages of the composers fluctuated only slightly over the 52 weeks studied, with short time spread evenly over the entire period.

In his social history of unemployment during the first century of capitalist industrialization in Massachusetts, Alexander Keyssar argues that during the periods of downturn in the business cycle, running on "short time" was a strategy used by employers for reducing labour costs.⁶³ It is probable that the use of short time was a deliberate strategy on the part of management at the Methodist Book Room to adjust for the decline in the profitability of the business during this period of expansion into non-Church related

⁶² Minutes of the T.T.U., 2 November 1901. The job dockets were placed on a hook for distribution among the composers at the beginning of the workday. This ensured the equal distribution of bonus matter, and the more lucrative "phat" among piece composers.

⁶³ Alexander Keyssar, Out of Work: The First Century of Unemployment in Massachusetts (Cambridge 1986), 49.

printing and publishing, and to further cope with a severe trade depression. Earlier, in February 1899, the management of the Methodist Book Room was found, upon investigation by the executive of the typographical union, to have cut piece rates for composition on the Church publications.⁶⁴ Additional evidence suggesting a deliberate attempt on the part of the employer to reduce investment in wages was found later as the persistent trade slump continued. At the monthly meeting of Local 91 on 2 November 1901 a complaint was launched against the Methodist Book Room for having more apprentices than were permitted under union rules.⁶⁵ According to union regulations one apprentice was permitted for every five journeymen compositors in a chapel. The report from the Book Room chapel to the typographical union stated that 12 apprentices and 52 journeymen were employed in the composing room, and that five copyholders violated union regulations by doing the work usually done by first-year apprentices.⁶⁶ For the employer the exploitation of apprentices and copyholders was a means of completing the costly task of typesetting while at the same time reducing expenditures for journeymen compositors.

Divisions in the labour process and an important technological development with the introduction of machine

⁶⁴ Minutes of the T.T.U., 4 February 1899.

⁶⁵ Minutes of the T.T.U., 2 November 1901.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

typesetting occurred in the printing industry during the 1890s, and were evident in the Methodist Book Room during the period studied. The existence of separate composing rooms, already described previously, between compositors setting type for books and contract job work, and compositors doing the typesetting for the Christian Guardian remained in place. The task of proofreading, which in the early nineteenth century was carried out by the general all-around printer, was further divided between a proofreader who read the proof and marked and corrected the errors and a copyholder who read the copy aloud or followed along while the proof was being read. Proofreaders were eligible for membership in the typographical union, and according to the 1901 collective agreement were to receive the same weekly wage as the compositors- \$13.00 per week increased to \$13.25 after 1 June 1902.⁶⁷ Four proofreaders were identified from the 1902 payroll studied: James Gairdner, John Coyne, Alfred Manning, and Edwin Swift. Gairdner and Manning were paid according to the scale, whereas Coyne and Swift were, surprisingly given the depressed trade conditions, paid more than the scale receiving \$14.00 per week at the end of the period studied in December 1902 (see Tables 4.8 and 4.9). The wages paid to copyholder Robert English were approximately one-third of the wages received by the proofreaders. Although

⁶⁷ Minutes of the Special Meeting of the T.T.U., 19 January 1901.

literacy was required of the proofreader, the job was placed at the lower end of the workplace hierarchy and was socially constructed as work suitable for women and elderly male compositors whose fingers were no longer nimble enough for setting type. The inclusion of a wage rate for proofreaders in the 1901 Allied Printing Trades Agreement suggests that the union may have been successful in appropriating the task for its predominantly male membership. This might account for the apparent absence of women in the task over the previous 1882-1883 period studied, where it will be recalled Mabel Stafford was employed as a proofreader.

Otto Mergenthaler's invention of the linotype in the 1880s precipitated a crisis of craft control for hand compositors. The linotype used a keyboard similar to a typewriter. When the machine operator depressed a key a hollow brass matrix was released. When enough matrixes were collected to form a line the margins were justified, and the operator pushed a lever to start the casting mechanism which poured molten lead into the mould, thereby creating a "line o' type."⁶⁸ The machine was designed for straight matter composition, and thus hand compositors, primarily in the newspaper sector, feared displacement by the machines. Also, employers seeking to minimize labour costs attempted to

⁶⁸ "The Birth of the Linotype," Typographical Journal, XLII, 4 (April 1913), 413-15; Mergenthaler Linotype Co., Speed and How to Attain It (New York, n.d.), in Toronto Typographical Union Records, PAO, Ms 423, Reel 11.

define the operation of the linotype as women's work. Other scholars, including Barnett, Baker, and Baron, have already described the successful struggle on the part of the International Typographical Union to attain exclusive control over the use of the machines for male compositors.⁶⁹ In Toronto similar control struggles between employers and Local 91 occurred during the early 1890s. Kealey, Zerker, and Roberts, have noted that the compositors, drawing on a strong artisan tradition of craft control within the union, were successful in obtaining a time rate for compositors working on the machines, and thereby retained control over the speed of operation.⁷⁰

Although typesetting machines were primarily found in the large daily newspaper offices-- the Globe installed the first typesetting machine in Toronto in 1891-- the Methodist Book Room was among the city's leaders in the early implementation of this technology.⁷¹ Mergenthaler's linotypes were

⁶⁹ George E. Barnett, Chapters on Machinery and Labor (Carbondale and Edwardsville 1969, Originally 1926), 3-29; Baker, Displacement of Men, 5; Baron, "Contested Terrain Revisited," 61-75.

⁷⁰ Kealey, Toronto Workers, 95-7; Kealey, "Work Control," 89; Wayne Roberts, "The Last Artisans: Toronto Printers, 1896-1914," in Gregory S. Kealey and Peter Warrian, eds., Essays in Canadian Working Class History (Toronto 1976), 134-5; Zerker, The Rise and Fall, 120-4. What this group of Canadian historians do not consider, however, is the importance of gender relations in the struggles between the Toronto Typographical Union and the employers. This issue is considered in some considerable detail in Chapter Six.

⁷¹ Kealey, "Work Control," 89.

installed in the composing rooms at the Book Room following the unsuccessful experiment in 1893 with the Roger's typograph, another model of typesetting machine, in the production of the Christian Guardian.⁷² The relationship between this new technology and the labour process in this large multi-faceted printing trades establishment must be taken into consideration. The "Mergs" were not suited to commercial job printing or the production of books; both were types of work where quality counted more than quantity produced, or little straight type matter was involved. During the years surrounding the turn of the century handicraft skills remained irreplaceable in book and job printing.⁷³ Thus, industrial capitalist development within this particular establishment substantiates the argument put forth by British historian Raphael Samuel that combined hand and machine technologies coexisted in the process of capitalist in-

⁷² Canadian Printer and Publisher, II, 8 (August 1893), 15.

⁷³ During the first decade of the twentieth century, the monotype, a typesetting machine intended for book work was widely implemented. The monotype consists of two separate machines: a keyboard which perforated a long band of paper with small holes variously grouped to indicate letters, and a typecasting machine which casts separate types using the ribbons of paper. There is no evidence to suggest that the monotype was used at Methodist Book Room during the 1902 period studied. By 1910, however, the firm had acquired two typecasting machines. See Report of the Book Committee to the Methodist Church Conference, 1910, 160.

dustrialization.⁷⁴

By 1900 three linotypes had been installed at the Methodist Book Room.⁷⁵ Under the 1901 collective agreement machine operators working the day shift were entitled to \$15.20 per week of 51 hours, and night workers were to receive \$17.50 per week of 48 hours.⁷⁶ While the payrolls and city directories for the period studied between 1901 and 1902 do not specify whether a compositor was a linotype operator, it can be inferred from the weekly wage rate paid to several of the compositors that they were probably typesetting on the machines. The weekly wage rate received by John Edworthy and Robert Burrows suggests that these two compositors were likely linotype operators (see Tables 4.7 and 4.9).⁷⁷ Also, rather than displace workers, the introduction of machine typesetting created new skilled jobs. R. Handly worked as a machinist repairing the linotypes for a wage of \$16.00 per week.

By 1901 the electrotyping and stereotyping department

⁷⁴ Raphael Samuel, "The Workshop of the World: Steam Power and Hand Technology in mid-Victorian Britain," History Workshop, 3 (Spring 1977), 6-71.

⁷⁵ Typographical Journal, XVI, 7 (April 1900), 292.

⁷⁶ Minutes of the Special Meeting of the T.T.U., 1 January 1901.

⁷⁷ The occupation of John Edworthy is recorded as "printer" in the 1901 city directory and "linotype machinist" in the 1901 decennial census manuscript. The latter occupational designation suggests that Edworthy may have worked at repairing linotypes rather than actually operating the machine.

had doubled in size over the previous period studied nearly twenty years earlier in 1882-1883. Four men were employed in this department in January 1902. The occupation and status of the workers in the shop hierarchy could be confirmed for all four men through linkages with the city directory. William Organ, who was completing his apprenticeship in 1882-1883, had risen through the workplace hierarchy and was shop foreman, receiving a weekly wage of \$18.00. The other two journeymen in the shop, John Miln a stereotyper, and William Chadwick an electrotypist, were paid a time rate of \$14.00 per week (see Table 4.10). William Farr was nearing the end of his apprenticeship as a stereotyper in 1902. Unlike the composing rooms where short-time was spread evenly over the 65 weeks studied, a tendency to seasonality in the pattern of hours reduction was found in the stereotype room. Figure 4.20 reveals that the fall and winter months were peak earning periods for this particular group of workers. The average weekly earnings of \$18.77 received by foreman William Organ were more than the union scale. Organ, in marked contrast to the general overall tendency towards hours reduction noted among the compositors during this period, worked substantial amounts of overtime.

Some mechanization of the processes of producing plates by electrotyping and stereotyping occurred during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. In his reminiscences of his career at the Book Room William Organ stated: "On

moving to the Richmond St. Building, new power machines were installed in the Stereo room to take place of foot and hand operated machines."⁷⁸ Power saws, trimmers, and routers were installed in the stereotyping room to cut down the rough edges on the plates so that nothing but type would be impressed on the printed paper.

Considerable expansion in the press room, accompanied by innovations in the labour process and changing social relations at the point of production, occurred over the roughly two decades between periods studied. At the time of the first pay period analysed on 1 April 1882, a total of eight workers were recorded on the payroll for the press room. The first pay entry examined for January 1902 has wages listed for a total of 46 press room employees. This number was reduced slightly to 45 by the final week of the year. Over the course of the one-year period studied 71 different names appeared on the press room payroll.

In 1902 the press room at the Methodist Book Room contained 25 power presses: 20 cylinder presses and five Gordon job presses.⁷⁹ Similar to the layout in the King Street manufactory, the press room in the Richmond Street building was located in the basement. For press room workers this resulted in poor lighting and ventilation thus endanger-

⁷⁸ William S. Organ to S.W. Fallis, 11 March 1924, The Ryerson Press Collection, Box 13.

⁷⁹ Quadrennial Report of the Western Section of The Book Committee to the Methodist Church Conference, 1902, 13.

ing their health. Within large printing trades establishments, the pressroom was generally located in the basement. This practice was sharply criticized, and suggested as an area of union demand for reform, by "Hinchcliffe," the correspondent from the Toronto pressmen's local to the American Pressman:

Why is it that pressrooms, as a rule, are placed in a dark and unhealthy part of the printing establishment?... Has it ever occurred to the reader to think why it is that one after another employe [sic] in the pressroom is unable to work, some taken away, others seized with an incurable disease? To my mind, the cause is want of proper light and ventilation. What are we organized for? To better our condition. Is there any way of doing it than by demanding that the pressrooms be made more healthy?...

Some of our great manufacturers are contributing thousands in building hospitals and consumptive sanitariums. Would it not be better to get down to the cause and apply the old saying that "prevention is better than cure?"⁸⁰

A steam-operated electric light generator was installed in the Methodist Book Room's printing plant in 1897 to replace the system of illuminating gas previously used to light the establishment. Pressman John Barber later noted that the change in the lighting system "was a great benefit to the ... employees."⁸¹ Nevertheless, the increase in business during the 1890s, and the acquisition of several additional presses made for crowded working conditions.

According to the collective agreement effective 1 June

⁸⁰ American Pressman, XII, 3 (February 1902), 80.

⁸¹ John Barber to S.W. Fallis, 5 May 1924, in The Ryerson Press Collection, Box 13.

1901, union pressmen were paid \$14.00 per week for the first year of the agreement and \$14.25 for the succeeding two years until the expiration of the agreement on 1 June 1904.⁸² It is significant to note that the pressmen, who during the previous period examined between 1882-1883 were in the midst of a crisis of both craft and masculinity with regard to their status as skilled workers in the printing trades, were now receiving a slightly higher wage than the journeyman compositors. This is largely attributable to the success of the pressmen's struggles for autonomy during the late 1880s and the 1890s. Initially chartered under the umbrella of the ITU, the pressmen found that this organization, which was controlled by the compositors, neglected their specific craft interests. On 8 October 1889, a separate pressmen's organization, the International Printing Pressmen's Union, was chartered by representatives from thirteen pressmen's unions, including Local 10 of Toronto.

Table 4.11 indicates that the 17 journeymen pressmen on the Methodist Book Room's payroll, who could be identified in the city directories, over the period between January and December 1902, were paid the scale negotiated in the 1901 collective agreement: \$14.00 per week, increased to \$14.25 on 1 July 1902. Edward Randall, the foreman, received a wage higher than the scale at \$15.00 per week. Like the com-

⁸² Canadian Printer and Publisher, X, 1 (January 1901), 10.

positors, the pressmen retained a significant measure of workplace control by requiring that the foreman join the union. Randall, in fact, was exceptionally active in Local 10, serving as vice-president of the union in 1901-1902, and president of the local in 1903. He was also elected first Vice-President of the IPP&AU in 1903.⁸³ John Barber, a recently appointed foreman in the pressroom, also received a wage rate of \$15.00 per week.⁸⁴

Unlike the composing room where a tendency to short-time was noted over the one-year period, no consistent trend towards reduction in the number of hours worked was found among the Book Room's pressmen. The earnings of the select group of pressmen and assistants in Figures 4.21 to 4.23, illustrates a pattern of seasonal variation in earnings which is characteristic of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Toronto printing industry. While some of the pressmen's hours were cut over the period studied, others worked substantial amounts of overtime, notably during the traditionally busy fall season and the weeks preceding Christmas.

The debate concerning the status of pressmen as artisans or skilled mechanics already mentioned in the discussion of the press room workers in 1882-1883, persisted through the

⁸³ American Pressman XI, 2 (January 1901), 54-5; American Pressman, XI, 9 (August 1901), 283-4; American Pressman, XIII, 6 (May 1903), 201.

⁸⁴ J.W. Davis to S.W. Fallis, 1923, in The Ryerson Press Collection, Box 13.

turn of the century although technological innovations in presswork and in the organization of production continued to occur. In defending their skilled worker status, pressmen not only described their work in mechanical terms, they also emphasized the "artistic" requirements of the craft. The qualities of a "good" pressman were described in the December 1896 issue of the American Pressman:

The good pressman is, first of all possessed of artistic taste; he has a knowledge of what he wants to secure and of the means to secure it. He is not above learning and applying a new idea to his work whenever, in his judgment, it would be effective.... Recognizing that good work is difficult on presses in poor condition, he is ever vigilant that his presses and their appurtenances are always in order and that all his tools are easily accessible. You never find him running all over a pressroom for a misplaced wrench or other tool. In other words, he is that truly invaluable entity-- a good pressman.⁸⁵

The widespread use of colour printing in magazine and job work required additional "artistic" capabilities on the part of the pressman notably in the proper mixing of the various inks and chemicals necessary to produce the desired tones when printed on a cylinder press.⁸⁶ The continued mechanization of presswork, and the invention of increasingly complex presses, resulted in the definition of new skilled occupations, and fostered the need for skilled machinists in the press room. At the Methodist Book Room the position of press

⁸⁵ American Pressman, VII, 1 (December 1896), 16.

⁸⁶ On 22 November 1902, Book Steward Briggs purchased the patent for a colour printing process from Sherman, Taylor & Co. of New York. The Ryerson Press Collection, Box 9.

room engineer, filled in 1902 by George Mooring, was created. Concurrent with his status as a skilled workman, Mooring was paid a weekly wage of \$15.00, which was higher than the rate paid to the journeyman pressmen and equal to the wage paid to the shop foreman.

A transformation in workplace social relations involving press feeders was underway during the 1890s, and continued into the early years of the twentieth century. Until the 1890s the task of press feeding was socially defined as unskilled work for young boys and women. Elizabeth Baker, the historian of the IPP&AU, stated that during the 1890s rapid changes were made in printing techniques and the cylinder presses were made larger, faster, and more accurate.⁸⁷ The result of these innovations in the machines, and in the labour process, was that the press feeder had to be better trained. During the last decade of the nineteenth century press feeders organized under the umbrella of the IPP&AU and struggled to re-define the task as skilled men's work.⁸⁸

According to the 1901 agreement, cylinder press feeders were to be paid a weekly wage of \$8.50. The scale for Gordon job press feeders was determined by the number of machines

⁸⁷ Elizabeth Faulkner Baker, Printers and Technology: A History of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union (New York 1957), chapter 2; Baker, Displacement of Men, 9-26.

⁸⁸ Baker, Printers and Technology, 162-78.

worked. Gordon press feeders working on one press were entitled to \$7.00 per week, while press feeders working on two or more of this type of press were to receive \$9.00 per week.⁸⁹ The wages paid to the press feeders at the Methodist Book Room during the calendar year 1902, are found in Table 4.12. The seven male press feeders identified were all paid a weekly wage rate of \$8.50, and thus it is likely that they were feeders on the establishment's cylinder presses. Although male trade unionists were struggling to re-define the job of press feeder as skilled men's work, women were still employed in the press room at the Methodist Book Room. One of the women, Miss Eliza Blanchard was listed in the city directory as a press feeder. The other two women employed in the press room during 1902, Miss Harding and Miss Townsley, were remunerated at the same rate as Blanchard at \$5.50 per week, and presumably were also working as press feeders. While it is not known whether the women were working on the same presses as the male press feeders, the three women were paid a weekly wage substantially below that of their male counterparts in the trade.

A separate entry for mailers appeared in the Methodist Book Room's payroll beginning in April 1902. The job of the mailer, the final phase of production at the Book Room, involved wrapping, labelling, and mailing the Christian

⁸⁹ Canadian Printer and Publisher, X, 1 (January 1901), 10.

Guardian, and other church-related periodicals. Mailers were regarded as semi-skilled or unskilled workers: low in status in the hierarchy of printing trades work relations. A mailers' union, Local 5, was organized in Toronto in November 1893, but was dominated by mailers in the daily newspaper sector.⁹⁰ According to the Ontario Bureau of Labor report for 1901, the average weekly earnings of union mailers was \$14.00 per week of 48 hours.⁹¹ Table 4.13 contains the average weekly earnings and the weekly wage rate of the mailers at the Methodist Book Room. Booth, who was probably the foreman, was the only worker with an average weekly wage exceeding that listed by the Provincial Bureau of Labor. The three workers receiving the lower weekly rate of \$2.00 were likely boys, or perhaps part-time workers working at wrapping the weekly Christian Guardian.

The payroll for the bindery was also analysed over the 52 pay periods January to December 1902. In 1902, the bindery was still located on the sixth floor of the Richmond Street building; the same location as in the earlier period studied between 1890 and 1891. There was, however, an overwhelming increase in the total number of workers employed in this department over the ten-year period. The payroll

⁹⁰ Second Report of the Bureau of Labor of the Province of Ontario for the Year Ending December 31st, 1901, in Ontario Legislative Assembly Sessional Papers, No. 47, (Toronto 1902), 55.

⁹¹ Ibid.

entry for the first week of January 1901, lists wages for 99 bindery workers, which decreased to 81 by the end of the year.⁹² Over the one-year period studied a total of 138 different names appeared on the bindery payroll. The number of workers employed in the already overcrowded bindery had almost doubled over the ten-year period.

In the early years of the twentieth century, the Methodist Book Room engaged in the production of several different types of bookbinding, including: edition, periodical, pamphlet, and catalogue binding. Methodist Book Room bindery worker Arthur Mohun elaborated on the labour processes involved in special edition binding:

When I started to work in the Bindery in September 1902 much of the work was done by hand or simple machines on genuine morocco, seal, and other fine leathers as well as on a good quality of book cloth. These were stamped on in genuine gold, all laid on by hand, the finest quality of workmanship was the order of the day, not primarily speed....⁹³

Combined hand and machine technologies co-existed within the bindery. Nevertheless, over the 1890s increasing levels of mechanization were apparent. More cheap books, and periodical and pamphlet covers were produced by machine. Various

⁹² This decline in the total number of workers in the bindery runs counter to the pattern of seasonality in employment within the local Toronto printing industry, and is perhaps attributed to the trade depression of the period. Also, this variation in the numbers employed is probably further related to seasonality within the business. This latter hypothesis can be confirmed, or refuted, through an analysis of all of the workers listed on the payroll.

⁹³ Arthur Mohun to Dr. Lorne Pierce, n.d. The Ryerson Press Collection, Box 13.

machines were added to the bindery during the 1890s and early 1900s. Book sewing machines, paper cutters and trimmers, folding machines, wire stitchers, book presses, backing machines, and an embosser were all installed at various points throughout the 1890s.⁹⁴

Although a substantial proportion of the labour in the production of cheap books, periodicals, and pamphlets was done by machine operators during the period studied between 1901 and 1902, the same gendered division of labour already described above in the discussion of bindery work in the early 1890s remained intact. Women performed the forwarding tasks in the binding process, namely folding, collating, and stitching. The finishing tasks including trimming, rounding, preparing the book casings, backing, and covering were performed by male journeyman bookbinders. The laying of gold leaf on book covers, a finishing task, remained women's work.

The collective agreement between the Allied Printing Trades Council and the Employing Printers' Association signed in January 1901, stipulated that journeyman bookbinders be paid \$13.00 per week of 54 hours from 1 June 1901 to 1 July 1902, increasing to \$13.25 per week from 1 June 1902 until the termination of the agreement on 1 June 1904.⁹⁵ The

⁹⁴ Quadrennial Reports of the Western Section of The Book Committee to the General Methodist Conference, 1894, 1898, 1902.

⁹⁵ Canadian Printer and Publisher, X, 1 (January 1901), 10.

earnings of the 11 journeymen bookbinders at the Methodist Book Room identified from the linkages made from the wage book and the city directories are presented in Table 4.14. Significantly, the majority of the bookbinders listed in Table 4.14 were paid a weekly rate below the union scale, although the male bookbinders at the Methodist Book Room were all members of Toronto Local 28 of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders. A tendency towards short-time accounts for average weekly earnings that were below the scale. It will be recalled that a reduction in the number of hours worked was also found among the Book Room's compositors. This further supports the hypothesis that cutting workers' hours was a strategy on the part of the employer to compensate for the downturn in the business. Figures 4.24 and 4.25 indicate seasonal variation in earnings of male bindery workers, with peaks in weekly earnings during the period between October and December followed by a decline in wages during the spring and summer months.

Table 4.15 presents the wages received in 1902 by 14 women bindery workers identified either by gender from the designation of marital status after the surname appearing in the ledger, or from linkages with the city directory. Interestingly, and counter to the dominant trend towards short-term wage labour force participation by women, Elizabeth Robin, the bindery forewoman during the earlier period studied between 1890 and 1891, retained the position in 1901.

Over the course of the decade her weekly wage had increased from \$8.00 to \$10.00, but still remained considerably below that received by the male journeymen bookbinders.

The nine women folders identified through linkages with the city directories all worked piece rates. Both the wages of the bindery women relative to the men and their low social status in the shop hierarchy had not changed over the course of the decade. A decade later, the weekly earnings of the women bookfolders at the Methodist Book Room remained one-third to one-half those of the journeymen bookbinders. Furthermore, there was no evidence to suggest that women bookfolders were displaced by folding machines over the course of the decade. Indeed the widespread use of women folders was probably comparatively cheaper for the employer than the operation of folding machines by male operators, and the additional costs for machinists' labour to do repairs.

A difference over the previous 1890-1891 period studied was the appearance of married women in the bindery payroll for 1902. Entries for three married women bindery workers were recorded (see Table 4.15). The practice in the city directories of not reporting married women's occupations unless they were widowed, precluded the identification of their tasks in the bindery. However, the fact that the women worked at piece rates and received wages roughly comparable to the unmarried women folders suggests that the married women bindery workers also worked as folders, or possibly as

stitchers.

According to the Ontario Bureau of Labor survey, the average weekly earnings of women bindery workers in 1902 was \$3.50.⁹⁶ Half of the women folders at the Methodist Book Room were earning more than the average weekly wage cited by the Bureau of Industries, while the remainder were actually earning considerably less. The workers in the Methodist Book Room's bindery were at the forefront of the organization of the Bindery Women's Union, No. 34 on 26 June 1901.⁹⁷ Charles Goldsmith, an organizer for the I.B.B. and himself a book-binder at the Methodist Book Room at the time, assisted in the organization of the women bindery workers.⁹⁸

The seasonal pattern of employment characteristic of the structural organization of the broader Toronto printing industry was apparent in the earnings of the bindery women at the Methodist Book Room over the one-year period studied. Figures 4.26 and 4.27 indicate that wages tended either to decline or stabilize over the spring and summer months, and peaked during the fall months.

The analysis of the wage books from both the bindery and

⁹⁶ Third Report of the Bureau of Labor of the Province of Ontario for the Year Ending December 31st, 1902, in Ontario Legislative Assembly Sessional Papers, No. 29, (Toronto 1903), 58.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Typographical Journal, XIX, 2 (15 July 1901), 81-3. See, Chapter Six for a further discussion of the organization of the bindery women in Toronto.

the printing office for the calendar year 1902, in conjunction with a consideration of developments in the labour process, revealed a gendered and hierarchical division of labour at the Methodist Book Room. Women workers occupied those positions socially designated as unskilled by men, and were also paid wages substantially lower than male printing-trades workers. A comparison of the average quarterly earnings of the workers employed at the Methodist Book Room during 1902, who could be identified by occupation from the city directories is found in Figures 4.28 and 4.29.⁹⁹ The women workers occupying those positions in the bindery and the press room, which were designated as unskilled in the hierarchy of workplace social relations had the lowest average earnings over the one-year period.

Summary and Conclusions

From the analysis of the printing-trades workers on the Methodist Book Room payrolls who could be identified by gender and occupation either from the payrolls themselves, or from linkages with the Toronto city directories, insights were gained into the gender division of labour, pay differentials between men and women and between tasks socially defined as "skilled" or "unskilled," and seasonal variation in worker earnings. Payrolls were studied from the printing

⁹⁹ The computer programme used to create the graphs only allowed for a maximum of six lines per graph, and thus two graphs were necessary to present the comparative wage information.

office for the fiscal year 1882-1883, the bindery for the fiscal year 1890-91, and for both the printing office and the bindery for the calendar year 1902.

The printing office at the Methodist Book Room in 1882-1883 was organized into five self-contained workshops: job room, news room, press room, engraving department, and stereotype room. The division in the labour process separating composition from press work was firmly in place. In the latter part of the nineteenth century presswork became increasingly mechanized. Composition, remained labour intensive and reliant on the skill of a craftsman until the 1890s, and thus became a bottleneck in the production process. Within the Toronto printing industry piece rates were the traditional mode of remuneration. Compositors setting type for The Christian Guardian during the period between 1882 and 1883 were paid a piece rate. In commercial job printing where composition involved large amounts of "phat," or type quickly set by the compositor, time payment had already replaced piece rates by 1882.

During the period studied between 1882 and 1883, the Methodist Book Room was an "open shop." The printers' Chapel, a vestige of earlier craft tradition was, however, in the process of becoming a workshop unit of the trade union. Union membership by the foreman, residual from the era of combined newspaper and mixed job printing shops in the early part of the nineteenth century, was found at the Methodist

Book Room. Although the foremen retained considerable control over the workplace, including hiring and firing, the foreman's power in the shop was limited by the fact that he was subject to the discipline of his union brothers. There was, furthermore, a tendency at the Methodist Book Room for foremen to rise through the ranks of the shop hierarchy, which no doubt contributed to solidarity among the journeymen.¹⁰⁰

Over the course of the twenty-year period separating the wage books analysed, machine typesetting was introduced into the printing industry. At the local level, the Toronto Typographical union was successful in the struggles for control over the operation of the machines. Also, the operation of the linotype machines was effectively gendered male. The Methodist Book Room was among the city leaders in the early implementation of machine typesetting. Because the linotype machines were only suited for typesetting straight matter, hand composition co-existed with machine typesetting at the Book Room.

A gender division of labour consistent with the gender division of labour in the broader social organization of the nineteenth-century printing trades was found at the Methodist Book Room over the period studied. Women worked at jobs

¹⁰⁰ William S. Organ, Thomas Wilson Sr., William Cope, and John Barber were among the printing trades workers at the Methodist Book Room during the period studied who moved up through the workplace hierarchy to become foremen.

designated as lesser skilled or unskilled by male printing-trades workers and employers, namely proofreading and press feeding in the printing office, and folding, collating, and stitching in the bindery. The analysis of the payrolls from the bindery for the periods 1890-91 and 1902, revealed that the women employed as folders were working at piece rates and received earnings one-third to one-half those of men book-binders.

The number of workers in the Methodist Book Room bindery nearly doubled over the ten years spanning the two periods studied between 1890-91 and 1902. Although machines were available to do the folding and stitching jobs performed by women in the bindery, there was no evidence to suggest that women bindery workers were displaced by machines. It was argued that during the period of downturn in the trade, which incorporated the year 1902, it was cheaper for the management of the Book Room to employ women folders at piece rates than to replace the women with machine folders and pay the wages of men operators.

Consistent with employment in a large and prosperous Toronto printing trades firm, the tendency to seasonal unemployment endemic in the structure of the local printing industry was not found at the Methodist Book Room. A pattern of seasonality in individual worker earnings was observed, however, with peak earnings and bonus and overtime earnings occurring primarily in the fall, and particularly during the

weeks prior to Christmas.

TABLE 4.1

Wages Received by the Methodist Book Room Compositors on The Time Scale,
1 April 1882 - 31 March 1883

Name/Occupation	Total Earnings (\$)	Period of Earnings (weeks)	Wage Rate (\$/wk)	Average Earnings Per Week (\$)	Earnings in Overtime by Flat and/or Bonus Rate (%)	Earnings Matter (%)
WILSON, Thomas Foreman, Job Room*	\$848.00	53	\$16.00	\$16.00	100.00	0.00
IMRIE, John Printer, Job Room*						
Left week 29 April 1882	\$48.40	4	\$13.00	\$12.35	100.00	0.00
COULTER, James Compositor, Job Room*	\$587.95	53	\$11.00	\$11.09	93.36	6.64
MILNE, Robert Printer, Job Room*			\$13.00			
Started 29 April 1882	\$711.00	49	Inc. \$14.00, 6 July 1882	\$14.51	93.67	6.33
MILLS, John Printer, Job Room**	\$618.75	53	\$11.00	\$11.67	91.52	8.48
WILSON, Thomas Jr. Compositor, Job Room*	\$632.00	53	\$11.00	\$11.92	90.71	9.29
RODDY, Chas. Printer, Job Room*						
Left 9 Sept. 1882						
Set up own business	\$265.55	23	\$11.00	\$11.55	93.54	6.46
PUDSEY, Amos Compositor, Job Room*	\$613.55	53	Inc. \$11.00, 21 Oct. 1882	\$11.58	89.51	10.49
RANKIN, William Compositor, Job Room*						
Absent from 23 Sept 1882.						
Back 10 March 1883 for 10 hrs.	\$241.65	25	\$10.00	\$9.67	93.09	6.91
MURRAY, Robert Compositor, Job Room**			\$10.00			
Started wk. 12 Aug. 1882	\$370.65	34	Inc. \$11.00, 31 March 1883	\$10.90	89.55	10.45
TAYLOR, James Compositor, Job Room**			\$10.00			
Started wk. 5 Aug. 1882	\$392.25	34	Inc. \$11.00, 31 March 1883	\$11.54	85.79	14.21

TABLE 4.1 (continued)

Name/Occupation	Total Earnings (\$)	Period of Earnings (weeks)	Wage Rate (\$/wk)	Average Earnings Per Week (\$)	Earnings by Flat Rate (%)	Earnings in Overtime and/or Bonus Matter (%)
GAHMOND, Orlando Printer, Job Room* Started wk. 19 Aug. 1882	\$352.50	33	\$10.00	\$10.68	91.56	8.44
COURTNEY, Jas. Printer, Job Room* Started wk. 19 Aug. 1882	\$346.90	33	Inc. \$11.00, 31 March 1883 \$10.00	\$10.78	94.68	5.32
BLACKHALL, Charles Sr. Compositor, News Room	\$636.00	53	\$12.00 \$7.00	\$12.00	100.00	0.00
FLINT, Thomas Apprentice, Job Rm. Apprenticed out 14 Oct. 1882	\$224.10	26	Inc. \$8.00, June 1882 Inc. \$10.50, 14 Oct. 1882	\$8.62	88.31	11.69
FITZHENRY, Moses Apprentice, Job Room	\$257.30	41	Inc. \$6.50, 6 Jan. 1882	\$6.28	95.86	4.14
RIDLEY, Walter Apprentice, News and Job Rm. Transferred to Job Rm. 17 March 1883. Jan. and Feb. 1883, \$4.65 mailing	\$234.80	53	\$3.50 Inc. \$4.00, 5 Aug. 1882 Inc. \$4.50, 21 Oct. 1882 Inc. \$5.00, 13 Jan. 1883	\$4.24	96.18	3.82
WOODS, James Apprentice, Job Room	\$112.80	27	Inc. \$3.50, 25 March 1882 Inc. \$4.00, 5 Aug. 1882	\$4.18	90.43	9.57
CHURCH, William Apprentice, Job Room. Transferred to News Room 17 March 1883.	\$128.40	26	\$4.00 Inc. \$4.50, 3 Feb. 1883 Inc. \$5.00, 17 March 1883	\$4.93	87.19	12.81

*Members of Toronto Typographical Union, Local 91

+Joined Local 91 between 1882 and 1883

Source: Methodist Book Room Wage Books, 1 April 1882 - 31 March 1883;
Might & Co., Toronto City Directory For 1882 (Toronto 1882).

TABLE 4.2

Wages Received by the Methodist Book Room Compositors on Piece Rates,
1 April 1882 - 31 March 1883

Name/Occupation	Total Earnings (\$)	Period of Earnings (weeks)	Average Earnings Per Week (\$)	Average Amount of Type Set Per Week (ems)	Average Earned Per 1000 ems of Type Set (\$)
SELF, Robert Printer, News Room	\$600.75	53	\$11.29	39,660	\$0.28
DOM, James Jr. Compositor, News Room	\$426.13	53	\$8.04	28,453	\$0.29
HIND, Joseph Compositor, News Room	\$39.80	6	\$6.63	23,667	\$0.28
SPEEDING, R.J., News Rm. Compositor, News Room Wk 2 Sept. 1882 worked 21 hrs on time in Job Rm and earned \$2.40.	\$361.86	40	\$9.05	32,150	\$0.28
WINTERS, John Printer Started work wk 8 April 1882 in Job Rm. Transferred to the News Rm. May 1882. 7 Oct. 1882 set 9000 ems in Job Rm and earned \$2.25	\$415.00	51	\$8.15	31,096	\$0.26
McMILLIN, Ed. Compositor Started in Job Rm wk. 3 Feb. 1883. Week 31 March 1883, worked 2 hours at dis for \$0.25 and set 15,000 ems in Job Rm. for a total of \$5.25.	\$25.60	8	\$3.20	24,500	\$0.33
McMILLIN, Ed. Compositor, Job Rm.	\$373.50	51	\$7.32	25,260	\$0.29

* Number Toronto Typographical Union, Local 91

Source: Methodist Book Room Wage Books, 1 April 1882 - 1 March 1883;
Source: Night & Co., Toronto City Director, Apr. 1882. (Toronto 1882).

TABLE 4.3
Wages Received By Engravers and Stereotypers at the Methodist Book Room,
1 April 1882 - 31 March 1883

Name/Occupation	Total Earnings (\$)	Period of Earnings (weeks)	Wage Rate (\$/wk)	Average Earnings Per Week (\$)	Earnings by Flat Rate (%)	Earnings Overtime and/or Bonus Matter (%)
SANDHAM						
Engraver	\$293.15	44	\$8.00	\$6.66	90.06	9.94
BLACKHALL, Charles Jr. Stereotyper	\$676.85	53	\$11.00	\$12.77	85.37	14.63
ORGAN, William Jr. Apprentice Stereotyper	\$313.65	53	\$4.00 Inc. \$5.00, 6 May 1882	\$5.92	82.90	17.10

Sources: Methodist Book Room Wage Books, 1 April 1882 - 31 March 1883;
Might & Co., Toronto City Directory For 1882 (Toronto 1882).

TABLE 4.4

Wages Received by Press Room Workers, Methodist Book Room,
1 April 1882 - 31 March 1883

Name/Occupation	Total Earnings (\$)	Period of Earnings (weeks)	Wage Rate (\$/wk)	Average Earnings Per Week (\$)	Earnings by Flat Rate (%)	Earnings by Overtime and/or Bonus Matter (%)
LETTERS, John Foreman Pressman	\$814.25	53	\$14.00	\$15.36	91.37	8.63
ORGAN, William Pressman	\$467.25	51	\$9.00	\$9.16	94.47	5.53
TAYLOR, Edward S. Pressman	\$398.00	43	Inc. \$9.00, 3 June 1882 \$8.00	\$9.26	92.86	7.14
TOWNSLEY, Miss	\$168.80	31	Inc. \$4.50, 28 Oct. 1882 Inc. \$5.00, 25 Nov. 1882	\$5.45	86.49	13.51
AUSTIN, Miss	\$146.60	32	Inc. \$4.00, 28 Oct. 1882	\$4.58	81.17	18.83
MAY, Miss	\$35.25	9	\$4.00	\$3.92	96.60	3.40
FRANKLIN, Miss	\$13.50	5	\$3.00	\$2.70	100.00	0.00
HAYES, Miss	\$8.35	4	\$2.50	\$2.09	100.00	0.00

Sources: Methodist Book Room Wage Books, 1 April 1882 - 31 March 1883;
Might & Co., Toronto City Directory For 1882 (Toronto 1882).

TABLE 4.5

Wages Received by Women Bindery Workers, Methodist Book Room,
3 April 1890 - 26 March 1891

Name/Occupation	Total Earnings (\$)	Period of Earnings (weeks)	Wage Rate (\$/wk)	Average Earnings Per Week (\$)
ROBIN, Miss Elizabeth Forewoman	\$116.00	52	\$8.00	\$8.00
WRAY, Miss Alice Bookfolder	\$183.07	50	Piece Rate	\$3.66
WRAY, Miss Jennie Folder	\$159.94	51	Piece Rate	\$3.14
KEMP, Miss Jennie Folder	\$151.10	48	Piece Rate	\$3.15
DURNAN, Miss Lizzie Bookfolder	\$193.80	52	Piece Rate	\$3.73
OUTHWAITE, Miss Mary Folder	\$187.65	49	Piece Rate	\$3.83
ROBERTS, Miss Maria Folder	\$185.40	52	Piece Rate	\$3.57
MCANDREW, Miss Ada Folder	\$186.60	52	Piece Rate	\$3.59
HARRINGTON, Miss Ada Folder	\$151.30	52	Piece Rate	\$2.91
HOARE, Miss Maude Folder	\$69.35	28	Piece Rate	\$2.48
Started wk. 15 Aug. 1890 JOHNSTON, Miss Lizzie Folder	\$40.20	40	Piece Rate	\$2.36
Started wk. 15 Aug. 1890 SMITH, Miss Jennie Folder	\$97.10	33	Piece Rate	\$2.94
Started wk. 15 Aug. 1890				

Sources: Methodist Book Room Bindery Wage Book, 3 April 1890 - 26 March 1891;
Might's Directory Co., The Toronto City Directory For 1891 (Toronto 1891).

TABLE 4.6

Wages Received by Men Bindery Workers, Methodist Book Room,
3 April 1890 - 26 March 1891

Name/Occupation	Total Earnings (\$)	Period of Earnings (weeks)	Wage Rate (\$/wk)	Average Earnings Per Week (\$)
PEARSON, John E. Freeman, Bookbinder	\$936.00	52	\$18.00	\$18.00
BEATTIE, John Bookbinder	\$624.10	52	\$12.00	\$12.00
FLINT, William C. Bookbinder	\$600.90	52	\$11.00	\$11.56
LEWIS, William A. Bookbinder	\$586.70	52	\$10.00	\$10.71
ELLIS, John H. Bookbinder	\$502.43	52	\$10.00	\$9.66
KEMP, Robert Bookbinder	\$601.05	52	\$11.00	\$11.56
RUGG, Arthur Embossed 9 May 1890	\$547.90	47	Inc. \$13.00, 5 Sept. 1890	\$11.66
ELMS, William J.B. Bookbinder	\$405.60	51	Inc. \$8.50, 23 Jan. 1891	\$7.95
BALL, William C. Bookbinder (probably an apprentice)	\$121.51	51	Inc. \$2.00, 14 March 1890 Inc. \$2.50, 22 Aug 1890 Inc. \$3.00, 13 Feb. 1891	\$2.38

Sources: Methodist Book Room Bindery Wage Book, 3 April 1890 - 26 March 1891;
Night's Directory Co., The Toronto City Directory For 1891 (Toronto 1891).

TABLE 4.7

Wages Received by Compositors at the Methodist Book Room,
January 1902 - December 1902

Name/Occupation	Total Earnings (\$)	Period of Earnings (weeks)	Wage Rate (\$/wk)	Average Earnings Per Week (\$)
BURROWS, Robert S. Printer	\$798.26	52	Inc. \$15.70, June 1902	\$15.35
BALSON, Henry Compositor	\$655.99	51	Inc. \$13.75, June 1902	\$12.86
BROWN, Frank J. Compositor	\$861.09	50	Inc. \$13.25, June 1902	\$13.22
COATSWORTH, Joseph Compositor	\$625.17	52	Inc. \$13.25, June 1902	\$12.02
COBBAN, Andrew Compositor	\$474.44	39	Inc. \$13.25, June 1902	\$12.17
FITZHENRY, Moses Compositor	\$661.79	52	Inc. \$13.75, June 1902	\$12.73
GAMMOND, Orlando Compositor	\$656.98	52	Inc. \$13.25, June 1902	\$12.67
GRIEVE, Alexander Printer	\$853.04	52	\$16.20	\$16.40
HARFORD, William Compositor	\$664.42	52	Inc. \$13.25, June 1902	\$12.78
HENRY, Robert Compositor	\$609.54	49	Inc. \$13.25, June 1902	\$12.44
IBBOTSON, John R. Compositor	\$661.00	52	Inc. \$13.25, June 1902	\$12.71
LOCKHART, Albert R. Compositor	\$736.25	52	\$14.50	\$14.16
LAWRENCE, Frank Compositor	\$648.62	52	Inc. \$13.25, June 1902	\$12.47
LOCKHART, Thomas H. Compositor	\$687.85	52	Inc. \$13.75, June 1902	\$13.23
LITTLE, John Compositor	\$352.24	30	Piece Rate \$13.00	\$11.74
HILLS, John Compositor	\$546.84	46	Inc. \$13.25, June 1902	\$11.89
MOORE, Charles H. Compositor	\$45.44	4	Piece Rate \$13.00	\$11.36
MACKAY, Robert G. Compositor	\$382.77	31	Inc. \$13.25, June 1902	\$12.35
O'LEARY, William Compositor	\$638.40	50	Inc. \$13.25, June 1902	\$12.77
POWELL, William Compositor	\$190.99	15	\$13.00 and Piece Rate \$13.50	\$12.73
RIDLEY, Walter M. Printer	\$695.46	52	Inc. \$13.75, June 1902	\$13.37
ROGERS, George Compositor	\$656.11	51	Inc. \$13.25, June 1902	\$12.90
RUTHERFORD, Arthur M. Compositor	\$546.02	47	Inc. \$13.50, June 1902	\$11.66
SHEAHAN, William J. Compositor	\$641.38	52	Inc. \$13.50, June 1902	\$12.33
SMITH, James Compositor	\$690.24	52	Inc. \$13.75, June 1902	\$13.27
SAUNDERS, Arthur J. Compositor	\$536.06	45	Inc. \$13.25, June 1902	\$11.91
THOMPSON, Christopher Compositor	\$655.76	52	Inc. \$13.25, June 1902	\$12.61
TOWNSEND, Joseph Compositor	\$427.31	49	Piece Rate \$13.00	\$8.72
WHITE, Samuel J. Compositor	\$662.37	52	Inc. \$13.25, June 1902	\$12.74
WINTERS, John H. Compositor	\$680.69	52	Inc. \$13.25, June 1902	\$12.71
WARNER, James Compositor	\$336.44	39	Piece Rate	\$8.63

Sources: Methodist Book Room Payroll Wage Book, January 1902 - December 1902;
Might Directories Ltd., The Toronto City Directory 1901 (Toronto 1901)

TABLE 4.8

Wages Received by Printing Office Workers at the Methodist Book Room
January 1902 - December 1902

Name/Occupation	Total Earnings (\$)	Period of Earnings (weeks)	Wage Rate (\$/wk)	Average Earnings Per Week (\$)
BAKER, William C. Apprentice Compositor	\$310.52	49	Inc. \$7.00, July 1902	\$6.50
MURRAY, Richard Apprentice	\$216.06	41	Inc. \$5.50, Feb. 1902 Inc. \$6.00, Aug. 1902	\$5.00
ROBERTS, Joseph Apprentice Printer	\$218.85	37	Inc. \$6.50, Feb. 1902 Inc. \$7.00, Aug. 1902	\$6.00
WILSON, Robert F. Apprentice Compositor	\$373.09	52	Inc. \$7.00, Dec. 1901 Inc. \$7.50, May 1902 Inc. \$8.00, Nov. 1902	\$6.50
WOOD, James Apprentice Compositor Last week Feb. 1902 rise to journeyman status.	\$105.44	12	Inc. \$13.00, Feb. 1902	\$8.50
YEDMONS, Charles F. Apprentice Compositor	\$255.47	29	Inc. \$8.50, Nov. 1902 Inc. \$9.50, Feb. 1902	\$8.00
ENGLISH, Robert B. Copyholder Transferred to News Room June 1902.	\$232.05	52	Inc. \$4.00, Jan. 1902 Inc. \$4.50, March 1902	\$3.50
GAIRDNER, James Proofreader	\$655.44	52	Inc. \$13.25, June 1902	\$13.00
COLE, John T. Proofreader	\$706.27	52		\$14.00
HOBBS, Alfred E. Proofreader	\$651.14	52	Inc. \$13.25, June 1902	\$13.60

Sources: Methodist Book Room Payroll Wage Book, January 1902 - December 1902
Night Directories Ltd., The Toronto City Director, 1901 (Toronto 1901).

TABLE 4.9

Wages Received by News Department Workers at the Methodist Book Room,
January 1902-December 1902

Name/Occupation	Total Earnings (\$)	Period of Earnings (weeks)	Wage Rate (\$/wk)	Average Earnings Per Week (\$)
PALEN, William T. Foreman	\$862.20	51	Inc. \$17.00, June 1902	\$16.91
EDMORTHY, John T. Printer	\$836.56	52	\$16.20	\$16.07
SWIFT, Edwin J. Proofreader	\$708.93	52	\$14.00	\$13.63
SELF, Robert H. Compositor	\$588.37	52	Inc. \$13.25, June 1902	\$13.24
BEANISH, Norman Apprentice Compositor	\$112.40	22	\$5.00	\$5.11
HANDLY, R. Machinist	\$802.46	49	\$16.00	\$16.38

Sources: Methodist Book Room Payroll Wage Book, January 1902 - December 1902;
Night Directories Ltd., The Toronto City Directory 1901 (Toronto 1901).

TABLE 4.10
Wages Received by Stereotypers and Electrotypers at the
Methodist Book Room, January 1902-December 1902

Name/Occupation	Total Earnings (\$)	Period of Earnings (weeks)	Wage Rate (\$/wk)	Average Earnings Per Week (\$)
ORGAN, William S. Foreman Stereotyper	\$969.64	52	\$18.00	\$19.03
MILN, John Stereotyper	\$423.97	32	\$14.00	\$13.25
CHADWICK, William H. Electrotypewriter	\$723.07	52	\$14.00 \$7.00	\$13.91
FARR, William J. Apprentice Stereotyper	\$393.74	51	Inc. \$7.50, June 1902 Inc. \$8.50, Oct. 1902 Inc. \$9.00, Dec. 1902	\$7.72

Sources: Methodist Book Room Payroll Wage Book, January 1902 - December 1902;
Might Directories Ltd., The Toronto City Directory 1901 (Toronto 1901).

TABLE 4.11

Wages Received by Press Room Workers at the Methodist Book Room,
January 1902 - December 1902

Name/Occupation	Total Earnings (\$)	Period of Earnings (weeks)	Wage Rate (\$/wk)	Average Earnings Per Week (\$)
RANDALL, Edward H. Foreman			\$15.00	
			Inc. \$15.25, June 1902	
	\$873.40	52	Inc. \$16.00, Oct. 1902	\$16.80
BROWN, Frank Pressman	\$639.83	52	\$14.00	\$12.30
BALMER, George F. Pressman	\$402.27	44	Inc. \$14.25, June 1902	
COOK, Wellington K. Pressman	\$552.66	52	\$8.50	\$9.14
DAVEY, William Pressman	\$780.74	50	\$8.50	\$10.63
DAVIS, James W. Pressman	\$554.33	52	Inc. \$9.50, May 1902	\$10.63
DIXON, Percy T. Pressman	\$411.76	51	\$14.00	\$15.21
FERRAN, William Pressman	\$615.46	52	Inc. \$14.25, June 1902	\$15.21
EDWORTHY, James W. Pressman	\$619.07	52	\$11.00	\$10.66
MILN, James Pressman	\$709.59	52	Inc. \$12.00, June 1902	\$10.66
FOGARTY, William J. Pressman	\$769.64	52	\$8.50	\$8.07
LATREMOUILLE, Julian Apprentice	\$272.90	52	\$12.00	\$12.28
McILROY, John Pressman	\$699.65	51	\$10.50	\$11.81
McILROY, Thomas Pressman	\$709.59	51	Inc. \$11.50, April 1902	\$11.81
NETCALF, William R. Pressman	\$751.80	52	\$14.00	\$13.65
WHITECOMBE, Thomas Pressman	\$768.64	52	Inc. \$14.25, June 1902	\$13.65
HANNA, Richard S. Apprentice Pressman	\$303.35	51	\$14.00	\$13.91
			\$14.00	\$14.46
			Inc. \$5.00, Jan. 1902	
			Inc. \$5.50, July 1902	\$5.25
LOCK, George J. Pressman	\$377.00	44	\$14.00	\$13.72
ORGAN, John Pressman	\$312.00	44	Inc. \$14.25, June 1902	\$13.91
EDWORTHY, Henry Fireman	\$602.55	52	Inc. \$14.25, June 1902	\$14.46
MOORING, George Engineer	\$195.00	13	\$14.00	\$14.46
BARBER, John Pressman	\$863.40	52	Inc. \$14.25, June 1902	\$14.78
			\$5.00	
			Inc. \$5.50, March 1902	
			Inc. \$6.50, July 1902	
			Inc. \$8.50, Dec. 1902	\$5.95
			\$8.50	\$6.57
			\$6.00	\$6.00
			\$10.00	\$11.59
			\$15.00	\$15.00
			\$15.00	\$15.00
			Inc. \$15.25, June 1902	
			Inc. \$16.00, Sept. 1902	\$16.60

Sources: Methodist Book Room Payroll Wage Book, January 1902 - December 1902;
Might Directories Ltd., The Toronto City Directory 1901 (Toronto 1901)

TABLE 4.12

Wages Received by Press Feeders at the Methodist Book Room,
January 1902 - December 1902

Name/Occupation	Total Earnings (\$)	Period of Earnings (weeks)	Wage Rate (\$/wk)	Average Earnings Per Week (\$)
GARRETT, Horace Press Feeder	\$484.52	52	Inc.\$9.50, Oct.1902	\$9.32
JENNINGS, John T. Press Feeder	\$452.07	52	\$8.50	\$8.69
BLANCHARD, Miss Eliza Press Feeder	\$279.50	51	\$5.50	\$5.48
HARDING, Miss	\$282.75	52	\$5.50	\$5.44
TOWNSLEY, Miss	\$284.35	52	\$5.50	\$5.47
KEMP, Robert Press Feeder	\$438.47	51	\$8.50	\$8.60
LATREMOUILLE, Henry Press Feeder	\$381.98	52	Inc.\$8.50, June1902	\$7.35
SHAW, William J. Press Feeder	\$301.57	35	\$8.50	\$8.62
McCUE, Vincent Press Feeder	\$7.40	2	\$8.50	\$3.70
PATTERSON, Alfred Press Feeder	\$520.00	52	\$10.00	\$10.00

Sources: Methodist Book Room Payroll Wage Book, January 1902 - December 1902;
Might Directories Ltd., The Toronto City Directory 1901 (Toronto 1901)

TABLE 4.13

Wages Received by Mailers at the Methodist Book Room,
April 1902 - December 1902

Name/Occupation	Total Earnings (\$)	Period of Earnings (weeks)	Wage Rate (\$/wk)	Average Earnings Per Week (\$)
BOOTH, P. Mailer	\$546.00	39	Inc.\$14.00, June 1902 \$13.00	\$14.00
GARRETT, A. Mailer	\$390.00	39	Inc.\$10.00, June 1902 \$8.00	\$10.00
PARROTT, L. Mailer	\$30.00	6	\$5.00	\$5.00
TAMBLING, A. Mailer	\$105.50	39	Inc.\$2.50, May 1902 Inc.\$3.00, Sept.1902 \$2.00	\$2.71
STAFFORD Mailer	\$10.00	4	\$2.50	\$2.50
WILLIAMS, F. Mailer	\$68.20	28	\$2.50	\$2.44

Sources: Methodist Book Room Payroll Wage Book, April 1902 - December 1902;
Might Directories Ltd., The Toronto City Directory 1901 (Toronto 1901).

TABLE 4.14

Wages Received by Male Bindery Workers at the Methodist Book Room,
January 1902 - December 1902

Name/Occupation	Total Earnings (\$)	Period of Earnings (weeks)	Wage Rate (\$/wk)	Average Earnings Per Week (\$)
BROMLEY, Booth Bookbinder	\$659.26	52	\$13.00	\$12.68
LEWIS, William A. Bookbinder	\$372.29	32	\$12.52	\$11.63
HENDERSON, William Bookbinder	\$555.17	47	\$12.52	\$11.81
HIDER, William G. Jr. Bookbinder	\$281.92	25	\$12.52	\$11.26
ELMES, William J.B. Bookbinder	\$607.83	51	\$12.52	\$11.92
KEMP, Archibald Bookbinder	\$640.88	52	\$12.52	\$12.32
HARVEY, Robert Bookbinder	\$530.17	44	\$10.00	\$12.05
ANDERSON, Thomas F. Bookbinder	\$692.13	52	\$12.52 Inc.\$13.50, Feb.1902	\$13.31
GILL, William M. Bookbinder	\$586.95	50	\$12.52	\$11.74
PRITCHARD, Joseph Bookbinder	\$70.04	6	\$12.52	\$11.67
LESLIE, Walter Bookbinder	\$408.01	33	\$12.52 \$8.00	\$12.36
WINTERFIELD, William Porter	\$431.53	52	\$8.50, Sept.1902 Inc.	\$8.30

Sources: Methodist Book Room Bindery Wage Book, January 1902 - December 1902;
Might Directories Ltd., The Toronto City Directory 1901 (Toronto 1901).

TABLE 4.15

Wages Received by Women Bindery Workers at the Methodist Book Room,
January 1902 - December 1902

Name/Occupation	Total Period of Earnings (\$)	Earnings (weeks)	Wage Rate (\$/wk)	Average Earnings Per Week (\$)
ROBIN, Miss Elizabeth B. Forewoman	\$520.00	51	\$10.00	\$10.20
NIXON, Miss Hattie Bookbinder	\$238.45	51	Piece Rate	\$4.68
MAIR, Miss Rose Folder	\$197.70	44	Piece Rate	\$4.49
DION, Miss Eugenie Bookfolder	\$228.90	52	Piece Rate	\$4.40
MORROW, Miss Mary J. Bookfolder	\$255.75	52	Piece Rate	\$4.92
PARROTT, Miss Rose J. Bookfolder	\$210.40	43	Piece Rate	\$4.89
SUTTON, Miss May Bookfolder	\$191.00	52	Piece Rate	\$3.67
SIMS, Miss Hattie Bookfolder	\$190.25	51	Piece Rate	\$3.73
BERESFORD, Miss Florence E. Bookfolder	\$89.50	25	Piece Rate	\$3.58
WEDDEL, Miss Bertha Bookfolder	\$219.15	50	Piece Rate	\$4.38
HENDERSON, Miss Christina Bookfolder	\$201.15	52	Piece Rate	\$3.87
MILLS, Mrs.	\$308.70	52	Piece Rate	\$5.90
MANN, Mrs.	\$252.10	52	Piece Rate	\$4.85
ROGERS, Mrs.	\$309.30	52	Piece Rate	\$5.95

Sources: Methodist Book Room Bindery Wage Book, January 1902 - December 1902;
Might Directories Ltd., The Toronto City Directory 1901, (Toronto 1901).

Figure 4.1

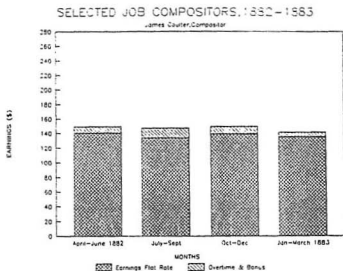


Figure 4.2

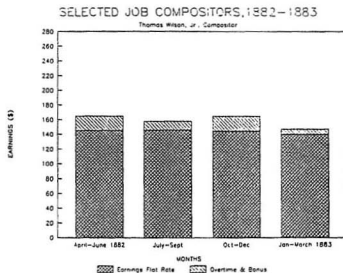


Figure 4.3

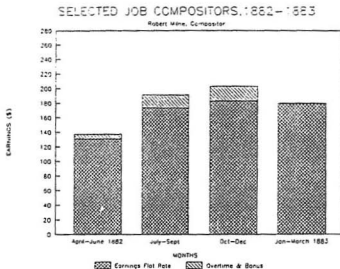


Figure 4.4

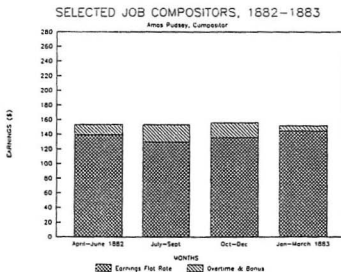


Figure 4.5

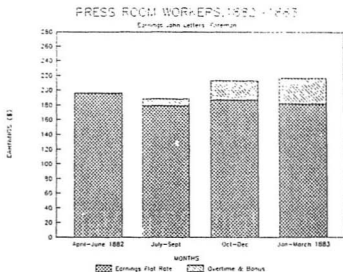


Figure 4.6

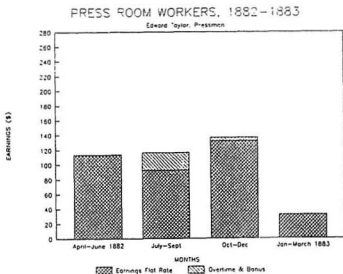


Figure 4.7

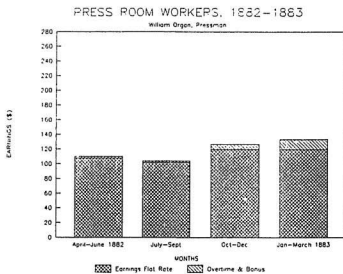


Figure 4.8

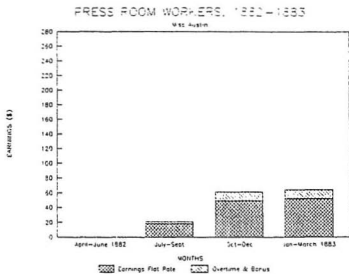


Figure 4.9

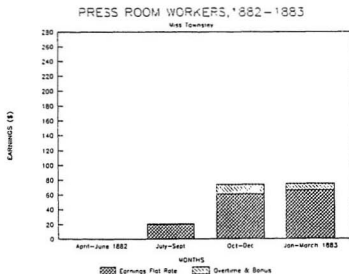
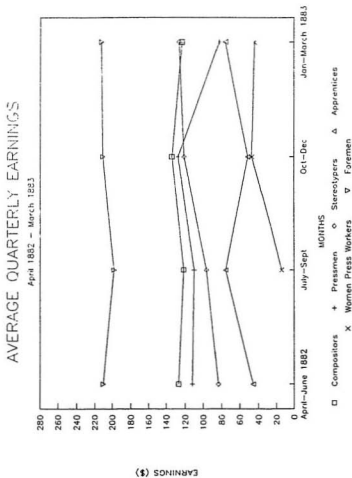


Figure 4.10



EARNINGS (\$)

Figure 4.11
MALE BINDERY WORKERS
1 April 1890 - 15 March 1891

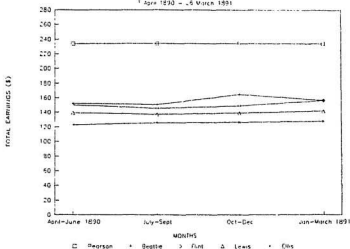


Figure 4.12

MALE BINDERY WORKERS
2 April 1890 - 25 March 1891

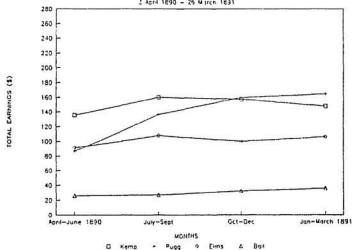


Figure 4.13

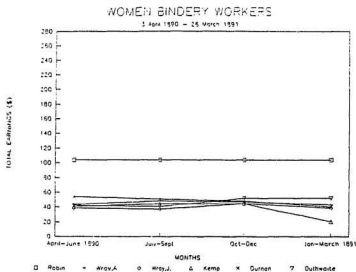


Figure 4.14

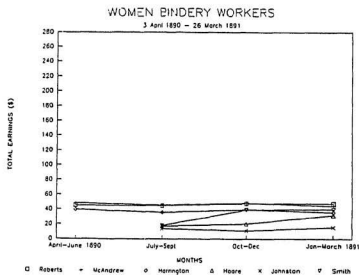


Figure 4.15

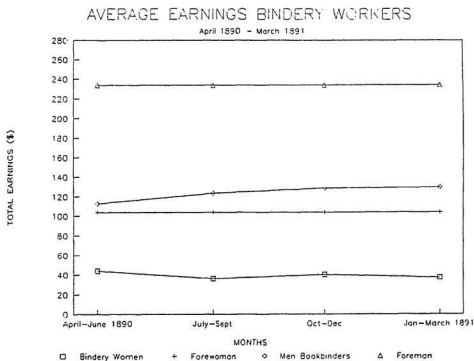


Figure 4.16
SELECTED COMPOSITORS
January 1902 - December 1902

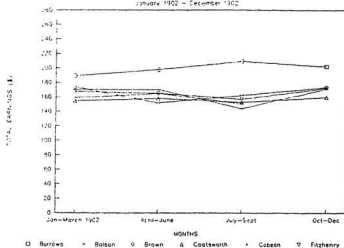


Figure 4.17

SELECTED COMPOSITORS
January 1902 - December 1902

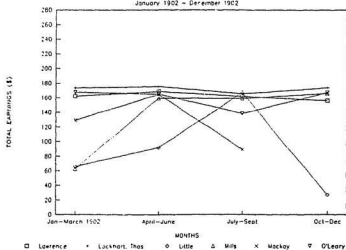


Figure 4.18

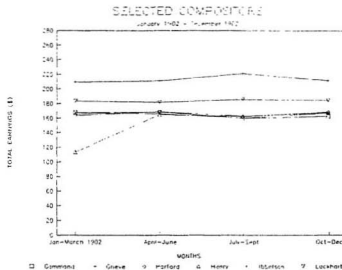


Figure 4.19

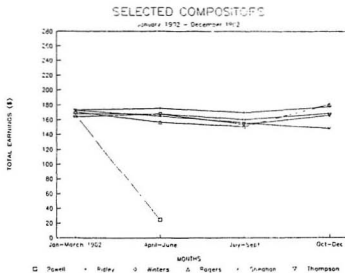


Figure 4.20

STEREOTYPES AND ELECTROTYPERS

January 1902 - December 1902

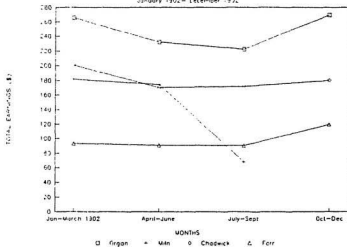


Figure 4.21

PRESSMEN AND ASSISTANTS

January 1902 - December 1902

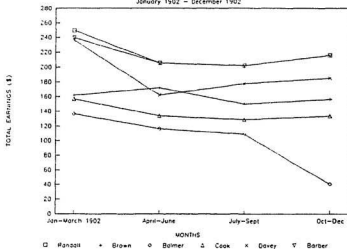


Figure 4.22
PRESSMEN AND ASSISTANTS
January 1902 - December 1902

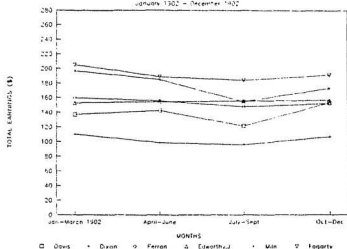


Figure 4.23
PRESSMEN AND ASSISTANTS
January 1902 - December 1902

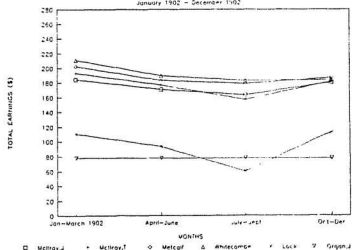


Figure 4.24
MALE BINDERY WORKERS
 January 1902 - December 1902

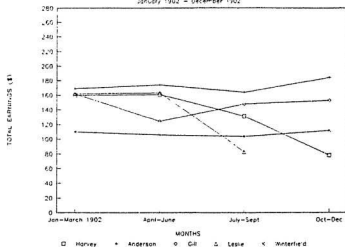


Figure 4.25
MALE BINDERY WORKERS
 January 1902 - December 1902

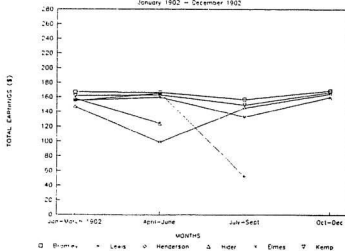


Figure 4.26

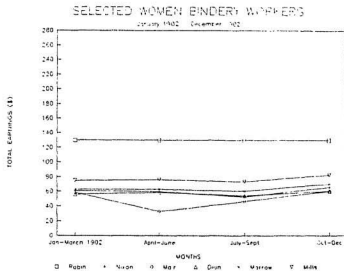


Figure 4.27

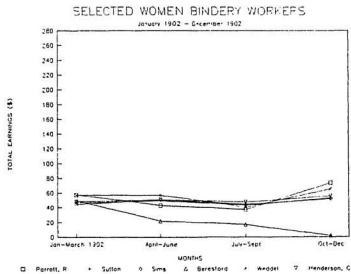


Figure 4.28
AVERAGE QUARTERLY EARNINGS
January 1902 - December 1902

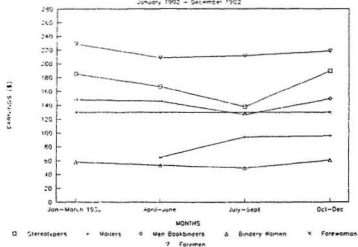
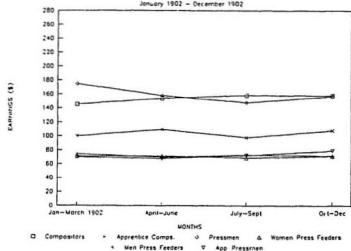


Figure 4.29
AVERAGE QUARTERLY EARNINGS
January 1902 - December 1902



CHAPTER V

THE COST OF LIVING AND THE HOUSEHOLD ECONOMIES OF METHODIST BOOK ROOM PRINTING TRADE WORKERS

In 1882 Thomas Wilson Jr., age 27, was employed as a job compositor in the manufactory of the Methodist Book and Publishing House. Thomas Jr. was the second generation of the Wilson family to work at the printing trades in the Book Room. His father, Thomas Wilson Sr., was job room foreman in the 1880s.¹ The younger Thomas lived with his wife Sarah in a modest single storey house, cheaply constructed out of roughcast, which he rented at 221 Seaton St.² The Wilsons had three children, a son Robert, born on 22 September 1882, and two daughters, Mary and Gladys, born in 1886 and 1892 respectively.³ Over the course of the decade Thomas Wilson moved up through the workplace hierarchy to the position of assistant foreman. Reported in the municipal tax assessment for 1891 as having a comparatively high taxable income by late nineteenth-century working-class standards of \$1200, Thomas Wilson managed to acquire real property located at 290 Markham St., with a market value of \$1369.⁴ Active in the community, Wilson was a member of the Quarterly Board of the

¹ Methodist Book Room Wage Books, 11 March 1882- 10 November 1883; Might & Co., Toronto City Directory For 1882 (Toronto 1882).

² Toronto City Directory For 1882; Canada, Census of 1881, City of Toronto Mss.

³ Canada, Census of 1901, City of Toronto Mss.

⁴ City of Toronto Assessment, 1891.

Elm Street Methodist Church. He was also well known in local printing trades circles for his involvement in the Toronto Typographical Union, serving as president of Local 91 in 1880 and in 1881, and as vice-president of the International Typographical Union in 1881. Tragedy struck the household with the death of Thomas Wilson on 11 September 1893, at age 39 years after a brief illness of seven weeks.⁵ Local 91 paid Wilson's widow, Sarah, a death benefit of \$100, which probably covered funeral expenses.⁶ The early demise of the male breadwinner, however, created a crisis of survival in the Wilson family. Sarah Wilson went to work as a dressmaker in the home, providing a bare subsistence income while she simultaneously carried out the domestic labour in the household, probably with the assistance of her two school-age daughters.⁷ In 1899, at age 17, Robert Wilson began serving his apprenticeship at the Methodist Book Room, contributing a small wage to the household and becoming the third generation of the Wilson family to work as a compositor at the Book

⁵ The Mail, 12 September 1893.

⁶ Minutes of the Toronto Typographical Union, 7 October 1893. Bryan Palmer alluded to the cultural importance of a suitable funeral in cementing the solidarity of the late-nineteenth century working-class community in his study of skilled workers in Hamilton. See Bryan D. Palmer, A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914 (Montreal 1979), 35-6.

⁷ Canada, Census of 1901, City of Toronto Mss.

Room.⁸

Thomas Wilson Jr. is illustrative of the skilled respectable Victorian craftsman who moved up through the workplace hierarchy, and who also attained some considerable status in the emergent Toronto working-class community. Previous historians of the Toronto printers have focussed on the labour movement activities of the nineteenth-century Toronto printers, where the printers were successful in most of their workplace control struggles with employers.⁹ What these writings do not consider, however, is the interaction of capitalism and patriarchy, and the importance of household decision-making strategies in determining which family members even entered the workplace to begin with.

During the past decade, historians of the family have argued that decisions about who should remain in the home and who should seek paid employment were made within the household, primarily by the male household head, and in inter-

⁸ On 6 February 1904, after a 5-year apprenticeship, Robert Wilson was recommended for membership in the Toronto Typographical Union. See Minutes of the Toronto Typographical Union, 6 February 1904.

⁹ Gregory S. Kealey, "Work Control, the Labour Process, and Nineteenth-Century Canadian Printers," in Craig Heron and Robert Storey, eds., On the Job: Confronting the Labour Process in Canada (Montreal and Kingston 1986); Gregory S. Kealey, Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism 1867-1892 (Toronto 1980), ch. 6; Wayne Roberts, "The Last Artisans: Toronto Printers, 1896-1914," in Gregory S. Kealey and Peter Warrian, eds., Essays in Canadian Working Class History (Toronto 1976), 125-42; Sally F. Zerk, The Rise and Fall of the Toronto Typographical Union 1832-1972: A Case Study of Foreign Domination (Toronto 1982), chs. 5 and 6.

action with household economic requirements, the gender composition of the household, labour market requirements, and broader economic and cultural concerns.¹⁰ If anything, the above example of the family of Methodist Book Room compositor Thomas Wilson Jr. illustrates how precarious the existence of the nineteenth-century Toronto working-class family actually was, even for the families of skilled craftsman.

The relationship between the necessity to work for a wage in an industrial capitalist society, the cost of living for printing-trades workers in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Toronto, and household strategies for survival is the focus of this chapter. The analysis is accomplished using the group of printing-trades workers derived from the Methodist Book Room's payroll ledgers, which was used in Chapter Four to study workplace social organization and the gender division of labour. Cost of living indicators, estimates of taxable income and real and personal

¹⁰In the Canadian context see, for example, Bettina Bradbury, "Gender at Work at Home: Family Decisions, the Labour Market and Girls' Contributions to the Family Economy," in Gregory S. Kealey and Greg Patmore, eds., Canadian and Australian Labour History: Towards a Comparative Perspective (Sydney and St. John's 1990), 199-40; Bettina Bradbury, "Women's History and Working-Class History," Labour/ Le Travail, 19 (Spring 1987), 23-43; Bettina Bradbury, "The Working Class Family Economy: Montreal, 1861-1881," Ph.D. dissertation Concordia University, 1984; Bettina Bradbury, Working Families: Daily Survival in Industrial Montreal (forthcoming); Joy Parr, The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950 (Toronto 1990); Gail Cuthbert Brandt, "'Weaving It Together': Life Cycle and the Industrial Experience of Female Cotton Workers in Quebec, 1910-1950," Labour/ Le Travailleur, 7 (Spring 1981), 113-25.

property contained in the municipal tax assessment rolls, and information about household economies derived from the decennial censuses of 1881, 1891, and 1901 are the other primary sources used here. The first three sections of the chapter are analyses of the standard of living, and the household economies and survival strategies of printing-trades workers at the Methodist Book Room at the three different periods in time. Part one considers the relationship between the cost of living, the family economy, and household survival strategies of the select group of printing office workers identified by gender and occupation either from the payrolls or from linkages with the Toronto city directory, over the one-year period from 1 April 1882 to 31 March 1883. A similar analysis is carried out in the two subsequent sections of the chapter. In part two, the sample of bindery workers employed at the Methodist Book Room between 3 April 1890 and 26 March 1891 is studied, and in part three, both the printing office and the bindery workers identified by gender and occupation are examined for the calendar year 1902. In the final section of the chapter the extent to which family strategies for survival are life cycle-related is explored by linking the Methodist Book Room's printing-trades workers over three decades using the decennial censuses of 1881, 1891, and 1901, and the corresponding tax assessment rolls.

The advantage of the analysis of households of a

specific group of workers employed at the Methodist Book Room is that the analysis permits an examination of how workers used their wages, how many family members were being supported, and whether there were other additional wage earners in the family. Also, unlike previous studies in working-class history, which tended to focus on labour movement leaders, the analysis of the family status of workers employed at a specific firm allows the historian to study the lives of "ordinary" workers. The specificity of the analysis can therefore be further justified from a humanistic perspective.

The printing-trades workers at the Methodist Book Room identified from linkages made using the firm's wage books, city directories, tax assessment rolls, and the decennial census, were representative of a persistent group of Toronto printing-trades workers. Historians of social mobility, notably Michael Katz in Canada, have already indicated that transiency was a characteristic of nineteenth-century working-class life.¹¹ In his study of family and class in nineteenth-century Hamilton, Katz argued that there was a positive correlation between persistence in the community, wealth, and home ownership.¹² If Katz's argument is valid, then the sample of printing-trades workers studied from the

¹¹ Michael B. Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City (Cambridge 1975), 19-20.

¹² Ibid., 77-93.

Methodist Book Room is biased. Tramping artisans, for instance, were not picked up in the linkages. Thus, the sample is skewed towards studying printing-trades workers who were stable in the community, with a standard of living above subsistence, and who were more likely to build a "nest egg" by acquiring real estate and accumulating some savings.

The Cost of Living and the Household Economies of the
Methodist Book Room's Printing Office Workers, 1882-1883

There is no expenditure survey for Toronto that is coincident with the sample of Methodist Book Room workers studied during the period between 1 April 1882 and 31 March 1883. The annual report prepared by the Ontario Bureau of Industries for the year 1885, is the earliest compilation with information pertaining to the cost of living in Toronto specifically.¹³ Tables delineating worker earnings and cost

¹³ Edward J. Chambers, "New Evidence on the Living Standards of Toronto Blue Collar Workers in the Pre-1914 Era," Histoire sociale-Social History, XVIII, 36 (November 1985), 289. Historian J.G. Snell discovered that earlier, in 1870, an American investigator, J.N. Larned investigated the cost of living for 7 Canadian communities. Surprisingly, Toronto was not one of the communities included in Larned's study. Recently David and Rosemary Gagan attempted to analyze the standard of living in late-Victorian Ontario by following the model adopted by the participants of the British standard-of-living debate. Some of the observations made by the Gagans are dubious, however, particularly their assertion that worker skill level has no relationship to actual income. J.G. Snell, "The Cost of Living in Canada in 1870," Histoire sociale-Social History, XII, 23 (May 1979), 186-91; David Gagan and Rosemary Gagan, "Working-Class Standards of Living in Late-Victorian Urban Ontario: A Review of the Miscellaneous Evidence on the Quality of Material Life," Journal of the Canadian Historical Association, New series, 1 (1990),

of living were compiled by the Bureau of Industries from returns collected from 2,637 workers in 18 Ontario communities for the year ending 31 October 1885.¹⁴ No information concerning the representative quality of the sample was provided, thus it was not possible to determine the proportion of the total sample from which the Toronto estimates were derived.

The Toronto composite figures indicating earnings and cost of living found in the Bureau of Industries Report for 1885 are as follows: average yearly earnings \$352.97; cost of living to worker with 3.2 dependents \$444.54; costs to worker with dependents of rent \$109.95, fuel \$50.41, clothing \$18.84 per capita, and food \$53.45 per capita; cost of living to workers without dependents \$186.90.¹⁵ The Bureau of Industries survey failed to take into account the cost to workers of alcohol and tobacco, home furnishings, and various other sundry expenses including membership in fraternal organizations, union dues, and insurance premiums. Michael Piva, Terry Copp, and Eleanor Bartlett, in their respective studies of real wage trends and the cost of living during the first two decades of the twentieth century in Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver, estimate that rent, fuel, and food,

171-93.

¹⁴ Annual Report of the Bureau of Industries for the Province of Ontario, 1885 (Toronto 1886).

¹⁵ Ibid., 54-5.

accounted for 60-80 per cent of the expenditures of working-class families.¹⁶ According to the Bureau of Industries report for 1885 the total expenses for food, fuel, and rent for a family with 3.2 dependents is \$384.85, which is approximately 86.6 per cent of the total cost of living figure of \$444.54. The cost of living figure probably underestimates, somewhat, the actual cost of living for the majority of working-class families. Furthermore, costs for shelter are based solely on rental equivalence; no figures were provided in 1885 indicating cost of living to workers who were home owners.

The problem of arriving at a cost of living figure pertinent to the group of printing-trades workers studied from the Methodist Book Room during the period between 1882 and 1883 is further complicated by the fact that annual variations must be taken into account. The inclusion of provincial composites for the years 1884 and 1885 also listed in the Bureau's 1885 report alleviates this problem somewhat. Provincial composites for the years 1884 and 1885 reveal that the cost of living to workers with dependents increased by approximately 3 per cent while the cost of living to workers

¹⁶ Terry Copp, The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1929 (Toronto 1974), 31; Michael J. Piva, The Condition of the Working Class in Toronto- 1900-1921 (Ottawa 1979), 36-8; Eleanor A. Bartlett, "Real Wages and the Standard of Living in Vancouver, 1901-1929," BC Studies, 51 (Autumn 1981), 6.

with no dependents increased by only about 1 per cent.¹⁷ Assuming that this province-wide trend towards an increase in the cost of living is also true of Toronto, a prediction of the cost of living to workers in 1882-1883 can be made. It is therefore assumed for the purposes of comparison in this study that the 1885 prices are 6 per cent above the cost of living to workers with dependents in 1882-1883, and 2 percent above the cost of living to workers without dependents. Thus the cost of living to workers with 3.2 dependents in 1882-1883, is approximately \$417.87, with expenditures for rent of \$103, fuel \$47.39, clothing \$17.71 per capita, and food \$50.24 per capita. It must be reiterated, however, that rent, fuel, and food comprised between 60 and 80 per cent of the total cost of living for a working-class family. The cost of living to a Toronto worker without dependents in 1882-83 is approximately \$183.16.

At the beginning of the period studied, on 1 April 1882, a total of 33 wage entries were found in the Methodist Book Room printing office payroll. By the end of the year, on 31 March 1883, the number of workers on the payroll had increased to 48. Over the entire sweep of the one-year period studied, a total of 92 workers were listed in the Methodist Book Room's printing office payroll. Occupations were identified for 36 (39.13 per cent) of the workers, either from the payroll entries themselves or from the city direc-

¹⁷ Ibid.

tory. Table 5.1 presents the earnings and occupations for the printing office workers identified over the 53 weekly pay periods between 1 April 1882 and 31 March 1883. The Methodist Book Room production workers were paid weekly, on Friday, and in cash. It will be recalled from the previous discussions of the structure of the business and the social organization of production, that the period from 1882 to 1883 was a prosperous year for the business, and the seasonal unemployment typically found in the printing industry was non-existent among the Book Room workers studied. Also, it was found that a substantial portion of worker earnings during this particular year were derived from over-time and bonus work, indicating that many of the Book Room printing-trades workers laboured more than the already lengthy work week of 54 hours for their wages.

The meaning of the printing-trades workers' annual earnings in relation to the estimates of the cost of living derived from the 1885 Bureau of Industries report cannot be fully understood without consideration of the social organization of the workers' households and the individual family economies. An attempt to link the sample of Methodist Book Room workers with the 1881 census manuscript to determine specific household organization was successful for 21 (21.88 per cent) of the male printing-trades workers. Unfortunately, the women listed in the Methodist Book Room's wage book between 1882 and 1883 were not located in the

TABLE 5.1

Yearly Earnings. Household Organization and Property Holdings of Methodist Book Room Printing Office Workers, 1882-1883

Wife/Occupation	Total Earnings (1 April 1952- 31 March 1953)	Number of Household Head (H)/ Secondary Wage Earner (S) Dependents	Age	Condition of Tenure (Freehold, Household)	Amount of Value of Each Total Value of Income Real Property/Personal Property				
WILSON, Thomas Farmer, Job Room	\$848.00	53	H	4	64	F	\$400.00	\$1,845.00	\$1,945.00
COULTER, James Compositor, Job Room	\$897.95	53	H	4	30		\$150.00		
MILNE, Robert Compositor, Job Room	\$711.00	49	H	3	37	H	--	\$642.00	\$642.00
MILLER, John Printer, Job Room	\$818.75	53	H	6	38	H	\$100.00	\$1,063.00	\$1,063.00
WILSON, Thomas, Jr. Compositor, Job Room	\$632.00	53	H	2	27	H	\$100.00	\$750.00	\$750.00
WILSON, Thomas, Jr. Compositor, Job Room	\$209.55	23	H	5	34	F	\$100.00	\$824.00	\$824.00
PRINER, Job Room Left 9 Sept. 1952	\$913.55	53	S	--	23	--	--	--	--
MCCOY, Arden Compositor, Job Room	\$40.40	4	H	2	33	F	--	\$1,051.00	\$1,051.00
PRINER, Job Room Left week 29 April 1952	\$241.65	25	S	--	21	--	--	--	--
HANKIN, William Compositor, Job Room	\$352.50	33	H	3	28	--	--	--	--
GRANDIN, Orlando Compositor, Job Room	\$382.25	34	S	--	20	--	--	--	--
TAYLOR, James Compositor, Job Room	\$346.90	33	S	--	46	--	--	--	--
COURTNEY, James Printer, Job Room	\$638.00	53	H	2	51	F	\$200.00	\$1,000.00	\$1,000.00
BLAIR, James, Jr. Compositor, News Room	\$800.75	53	S	--	25	--	--	--	--
SELF, Robert Printer, News Room	\$552.90	53	H	2	29	H	--	\$980.00	\$980.00
BLAIR, James, Jr. Printer, Job Room	\$426.13	53	S	--	19	--	--	--	--
PRINER, Job Room Left 9 Sept. 1952	\$361.89	43	--	--	20	Boarder	--	--	--

Sources: Methodist Book Room Wake Books. 1 April 1862-31 March 1863;
City of Toronto Archives. 1861-1862; City of Toronto Assessment. 1862-1863.

TABLE 5.1 (continued)

Name/Occupation	Total Earnings April - March 31 March 1883	Number of Pay Periods	Number of Household Head (H)/ Secondary Wage Earner (S) Dependents	Number Age of Dependents	Condition of Amount of Tenure (Freehold, Taxable Household)	Value of Each of Freehold, Taxable Real Property	Total Value of Freehold, Taxable Real and Personal Property
WINTERS, John Printer, News & Job Bn.	\$415.80	51	--	--	--	--	--
RIDLEY, Melzer News Room	\$234.80	53	S	--	--	--	--
MCWILLIEN, Edward Compositor, Job Room	\$373.50	51	--	--	--	--	--
WOODS, James Printer, News & Job Bn.	\$112.80	27	S	--	--	--	--
CURRICH, William Apprentice News & Job Bn.	\$128.40	26	S	--	--	--	--
ELIOT, Thomas Printer, News & Job Bn.	\$224.10	26	S	--	--	--	--
FITZGERALD, Thomas Apprentice, Job Room	\$257.30	41	--	--	--	--	--
STAFFORD, Miss Mabel Printer, News & Job Bn.	\$308.08	43	--	--	--	--	--
BLACKBURN, Charles, Jr. Stereotyper	\$876.85	53	--	--	Lodger	--	--
ORDAN, William, Jr. Stereotyper	\$313.85	53	--	--	--	--	--
SANDHAM, William Printer, News & Job Bn.	\$393.15	44	--	--	--	--	--
LETTERS, John Printer, News & Job Bn.	\$814.25	53	H	5	H	\$180.00	\$841.00
OSBORN, William, Sr. Printer, News & Job Bn.	\$487.25	51	--	--	--	--	--
TAYLOR, Edward S. Printer, News & Job Bn.	\$398.00	49	--	--	--	--	--
TOWNSHIP, Thomas Printer, News & Job Bn.	\$185.80	31	--	--	--	--	--
AUSTIN, Miss Started wk. 2 Sept 1882	\$146.80	22	--	--	--	--	--
RAY, Miss Started wk. 26 Aug 1882	\$45.25	0	--	--	--	--	--
RAY, Miss Started wk. 27 Jan 1883	\$13.50	5	--	--	--	--	--
RAY, Miss Started wk. 26 Aug 1882	\$45.25	9	--	--	--	--	--

Sources: Methodist Book Room, Wage Books, 1 April 1882-31 March 1883;
Canada, Census of 1881, Toronto Free City of Toronto Assessment 1882.

census manuscript. Historians have already acknowledged that the census seriously underestimates the casual, part-time, and temporary labour market participation of women.¹⁸ A further additional problem in using the household information contained in the census manuscript is the lapse in time between the enumeration of the census in April 1881 and the beginning of the payroll series on 1 April 1882. The composition of the workers' households might possibly have changed over the one-year period.

A total of ten male printing-trades workers at the Methodist Book Room between 1 April 1882 and 31 March 1883 were identified as heads of household. In seven of the households the male printing-trades worker was the only family member reported to census enumerators as employed outside the home. According to the 1881 census, three of the households, those of John Imrie, Henry Balson, and Thomas Wilson Jr., had no children. It was already noted, however, that the Wilson's had a child in September 1882. Comparing household composition with the total annual earnings found in Table 5.1, and the approximation of the cost of living derived from the 1885 Bureau of Industries report, it is likely that compositors Balson and Wilson Jr. earned enough

¹⁸ Veronica Beechey, "Recent Approaches to Women's Employment in Great Britain," in Beechey, Unequal Work (London 1987), 190-3; Sally Alexander, "Women's Work in Nineteenth-Century London: A Study of the Years 1820-50," in Juliet Mitchell and Ann Oakley, eds., The Rights and Wrongs of Women (Harmondsworth 1976), 64-5.

to support their families at a level above subsistence and also to accumulate some savings.

John Imrie appeared in the firm's wage books for only four weeks over the year studied, and earned \$48.40. Imrie left the employ of the Methodist Book Room at the end of April 1882, and later in 1884 he entered into a business partnership with David Langford Graham, specializing in music printing.¹⁹ Although establishing a business is indicative of a measure of success by working-class standards, the boundary between working class and petit bourgeois proprietor was indistinct and frequently crossed, and further "its livelihood is derived both from its capital and its own labour."²⁰

Four of the male printing-trades workers identified as household heads were married with children. James Coulter, a job compositor at the Methodist Book Room, was enumerated in 1881 with three young children ranging in ages from two to five. With Coulter as the only reported wage worker, earning

¹⁹ Elizabeth Hulse, A Dictionary of Toronto Printers, Publishers, Booksellers and the Allied Trades, 1798-1900 (Toronto 1982), 130-32; Canadian Printer and Publisher, XI, 11 (November 1902), 13.

²⁰ Geoffrey Crossick and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, "Shopkeepers, master artisans and the historian: the petite bourgeoisie in comparative focus," in Geoffrey Crossick and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, eds., Shopkeepers and Master Artisans in Nineteenth-Century Europe (London and New York 1984), 9. It will be recalled from Chapter Two, that capitalist industrialization within the Toronto printing industry was characterized by combined and uneven development, and furthermore, throughout the period between 1870 and 1914, small producers were predominant in the local printing industry.

a total of \$587.95 between 1 April 1882 and 31 March 1883, the family household economy appears to have been strained. The Coulters adopted a common nineteenth-century survival strategy, and lived in the household of James's father at 67 St. David Street. John Letters was enumerated in 1881 with four young children between six months and six years of age. Letters, the press room foreman, also had the highest annual earnings of any Book Room printing-trades worker identified with annual wages totalling \$814.25. As the family "breadwinner," Letters's wages appear to have been adequate to meet family living expenses. Similarly, the wages of Orlando Gammond were probably sufficient to support the extended family household, which included his widowed mother, in addition to his wife Margaret, and young son.

The family of Charles Blackhall Sr. highlighted several interesting aspects of nineteenth-century working-class family life in general, and the families of the printing-trades workers at the Methodist Book Room in particular. At the time of the enumeration of the 1881 census, Charles Blackhall and his spouse had one child, a son George age 18 years, living at home. An older son and namesake, Charles Blackhall Jr., was a lodger at the Mechanics' Club located at the corner of Sheppard and Richmond streets. Michael Katz in his community study of mid-nineteenth century Hamilton, and Tamara Hareven and John Modell in a broader US context, have examined the social and economic significance of boarding and

lodging in North American families since the mid-nineteenth century, and suggested that the desire for independence was no doubt a major factor in the decision to pay rent rather than live with kin.²¹ For men and women in their twenties boarding and lodging represented a transitional stage between leaving home and setting up their own household. But, as Hareven added in her subsequent monograph, Family time and industrial time, "the timing of a young person's departure from home was contingent on the needs of parents in their transition to old age."²² Another young printing-trades worker at the Methodist Book Room during the period studied between 1882 and 1883, news room compositor R.J. Spedding, lived in a boarding house. Like Charles Blackhall Jr., Spedding was also in his early twenties, and appeared to be in the same transitional stage between leaving home and establishing a household.

It also warrants mention that Charles Blackhall Jr., although living independently of his family, was employed like his father at the Methodist Book Room. Blackhall Sr. was a compositor in the news room, and Blackhall Jr. was a journeyman stereotyper. There is some evidence of family

²¹ Michael Katz, The People of Hamilton, 256-92; John Modell and Tamara K. Hareven, "Urbanization and the Malleable Household: An Examination of Boarding and Lodging in American Families," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 35,3 (August 1973), 467-79.

²² Tamara K. Hareven, Family time and industrial time: The relationship between the family and work in a New England industrial community (Cambridge 1982), 167.

hiring practices at the Methodist Book Room during the late nineteenth century. The Blackhall family was not an isolated instance of father-son employment at the printing-trades at the Book Room. Already discussed above was the employment of two generations of the Wilson family in the job room in the early 1880s, and later of a third generation. Another instance of father-son employment at the Book Room during the period studied between 1882-1883, was pressman William Organ Sr. and his son, William Jr., an apprentice stereotyper.

The three remaining printing-trades workers who were identified as household heads from the 1881 census manuscript were not the sole family wage earners, but rather had at least one other family member working outside the home for a wage. Although his son had already established an independent household, job room foreman Thomas Wilson Sr., a widower by 1881, had four daughters living at home. Three of Wilson Sr.'s daughters were employed in occupations which were deemed respectable women's work by nineteenth century standards: May and Fanny, age 23 and 18 respectively, as clerks, and Emma age 21 as a bookkeeper. No occupation or trade was reported in the census beside the name of the eldest daughter living in the household, Elizabeth age 25. It might be inferred that Elizabeth worked in the home tending to the domestic needs of the family. Assuming that the cost of living estimates derived from the Bureau of Industries Reports are reasonably accurate, Thomas Wilson Sr.

made adequate earnings over the year studied between 1882 and 1883 to support four dependents. While the participation of women in the wage labour market during the period previous to marriage and starting a family was typical of the late nineteenth-century working class, and bestowed some limited measure of independence on young single women, the employment of other family members as secondary wage earners, also provided the family with more flexibility in their budget and an additional measure of economic security.²³ Keeping all four daughters at home, with three of the daughters working for a wage, may have been a deliberate strategy on the part of the family patriarch to try to accumulate a surplus for the period when he was no longer able to work. In 1882 Thomas Wilson Sr. was 64 years of age.

The household headed by job room printer John Mills also had a second wage worker present. Over the period studied between 1 April 1882 and 31 March 1883, Mills earned \$618.75. With six dependents to support, the earnings of one wage worker were inadequate. Mills's eldest child, a 15 year old daughter named Mary, was reported by the census enumerator as "going to school," while a younger sibling, Eva, age 14, was employed as a milliner. In this instance it is impossible to suggest on what basis the decision was made concerning which daughter would attend school, and which daughter would work

²³ Bradbury, "Gender at Work at Home," 121-22. Kathy Peiss, Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York (Philadelphia 1986), ch 2.

in the labour market, but it is likely that Mills's eldest daughter also did domestic work in the home around the hours of the school day.²⁴

Composer Robert Miln's household also had a second wage worker. The Miln household provides an example of kin-assisted immigration.²⁵ Robert's older brother John, also a printer, lived with Robert and his wife in the early 1880s. In 1885, John Miln, who was in fact a widower, brought his seven children to Canada from Scotland, and established a separate household. By this time John Miln was also employed at the Methodist Book Room; he worked as a stereotyper. The subsequent employment of John Miln at the Book Room further suggests that family hiring practices persisted at the Methodist Book Room during the late nineteenth century.

In nine of the households where printing-trades workers from the Methodist Book Room were identified in the 1881 census, the printing trades worker was not a household head and thus might be identified as a secondary wage earner. The

²⁴ For a discussion of the labour of children both in the informal and the formal economy, and also containing several references to late-nineteenth century Toronto working-class households see John Bullen, "Hidden Workers: Child Labour and the Family Economy in Late Nineteenth-Century Urban Ontario," Labour/Le Travail, 18 (Fall 1986), 163-87.

²⁵ For a discussion of the importance of kin in the migration of French Canadians between Quebec and the New England textile mills, see Hareven, Family time and industrial time, 114-19; Bruno Ramirez, On the Move: French Canadian and Italian Migrants in the North American Economy, 1860-1914 (Toronto 1990).

households in which compositors James Taylor and Robert Self were secondary wage earners were headed by widows, where the absence of a male household head and primary wage earner made entry into the labour market a necessity. A widowed father headed the households of compositors William Rankin and James Courtney Jr. In the case of the Rankin household, William, his father James, and an older brother also named James, all reported "printer" as their occupation. William's younger brother Hugh was listed as a "mariner" in the census return. A male boarder, also a printer, lived in the Rankin household. In the absence of a woman in the household, the Rankins employed a domestic servant.

Three of the Methodist Book Room printing-trades workers identified as secondary wage earners -- Thomas Flint, William Church, and James Woods -- were apprentices. Historians have not yet explored with any depth of analysis the significance of apprenticeship during the consolidation of industrial capitalism. The present analysis of the printing-trades workers at the Book Room suggests, however, that within the context of household decision-making strategies, apprenticing in the printing trades contributed a wage to the household economy, and enabled a boy to enter an occupation socially constructed as "manly" and "skilled." Significantly, and in marked contrast to the pre-industrial craft tradition where male children tended to apprentice in the craft of their father, none of the apprentices identified at the Methodist

Book Room between 1882 and 1883 were the offspring of journeyman printers. The extent to which this represents a departure from the earlier pre-industrial tradition of inheritance of the craft along the male line is not clear from this limited analysis of the printing-trades workers at the Methodist Book Room, particularly since several instances of the employment of father and son journeymen printing-trades workers were also noted at the Book Room during the period studied.

When the actual earnings of the Methodist Book Room printing office workers between 1 April 1882 and 31 March 1883 are considered in relation to the cost of living in Toronto and household decision-making strategies for survival, it appears that male printing-trades workers as household head and sole wage earner prevailed in the households of only seven of the 21 printing-trades workers identified. Many of the male Methodist Book Room printing office workers were young journeymen or apprentices living at home and contributing a wage to the household economy. Although extant sources precluded a similar analysis of the women printing-trades workers, a few comments can be made on the basis of the "silences" in the sources. Although the women may have been employed elsewhere previous to securing employment at the Methodist Book Room in the fall and winter of 1882, the total earnings of the five women press room workers were insufficient to support a worker living indepen-

dently in Toronto during the early 1880s (see Table 5.1). On the basis of previous historical writings concerning the family economy and the employment of women in the nineteenth century, however, it is highly probable that the women printing office workers were secondary wage workers contributing to the family economy during the transitional period between leaving school and marriage.²⁶

The municipal tax assessment rolls provide some further indication of living conditions among the printing office workers at the Methodist Book Room by enabling the identification of the propertied and the propertyless. In Ontario, legislative authority over who and what should be taxed was controlled by the provincial government, and the municipality was responsible for determining the mill rate (rate of taxation) and for carrying out the actual assessment and collection of taxes. For the historian, the tax assessments contain useful information about conditions of tenure, amount of real and personal property, amount of taxable income subject to assessment, and total assessed value. According to the 1869 amendment to the Ontario Assessment Act, "real property," was defined as "all buildings or other things erected upon are affixed to the land, and all machin-

²⁶ Bradbury, "Gender at Work," 125; Hareven, Family time and industrial time, 166-68; Parr, The Gender of Breadwinners, ch.4.

ery of other things so fixed to any building."²⁷ "Personal property," included all goods, chattels, shares in incorporated companies, interest on mortgages, dividends from bank stock, money, notes accounts and debts."²⁸ A distinction was made between two conditions of tenure in the 1882 Toronto tax assessment: "Freeholder," or unconditional owner, and "Householder," those who did not own, but rather only occupied a dwelling. The owners of the property were recorded separately by the assessor.²⁹

There are many limitations to the use of the nineteenth century Toronto tax assessments for determining property values, the bulk of which have already been identified by Gordon Darroch.³⁰ Several of the limitations, Darroch suggests, stemmed from numerous tax exemptions, many of which were relevant for the working class.³¹ Specifically, adult boarders and lodgers were excluded as separate taxable parties; only heads of households were assessed. Annual income under \$400 was exempt, and between 1880 and 1887, the

²⁷ "The Assessment Act of 1869," Statutes of the Province of Ontario (Toronto 1869).

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ City of Toronto Assessment, 1882.

³⁰ A. Gordon Darroch, "Early Industrialization and Inequality in Toronto, 1861-1899," Labour/ Le Travailleur, 11 (Spring 1983), 31-61; A. Gordon Darroch, "Occupational Structure, Assessed Wealth and Homeowning during Toronto's Early Industrialization, 1861-1899," Histoire sociale- Social History, XVI, 32 (November 1963), 381-410.

³¹ Ibid., 36-7.

first \$400 of income was exempt for persons having an annual income not exceeding \$1000. Personal property under \$100 was exempt, as were "household effects of whatever kind, books and wearing apparel." In addition, debts, with the exception of mortgages, could be deducted from personal property.³²

The result of these numerous exemptions from taxation was that, in effect, real estate was the main basis of assessment, while personal property was largely free from tax. In addition, the exemptions applying to income excluded many workers from assessment altogether. An additional consideration in using the nineteenth-century assessments for historical research pertains to the actual assessment process. By the late nineteenth-century, the evaluation of property centred around an attempt to determine market value, which varied with the assessors' abilities and skills.³³ Criticisms of assessment procedures and concerns about the skills of the assessors were found at various points throughout the late nineteenth century in the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Toronto City Council.³⁴ Gregory Levine further indicated, however, that although real property was unequally and differentially evaluated in most tax assess-

³² "The Assessment Act of 1869," Statutes of the Province of Ontario, Chapter 27 (Toronto 1880).

³³ Gregory J. Levine, "Criticizing the Assessment: Views of the Property Evaluation Process in Montreal and Their Implications for Historical Geography," The Canadian Geographer, XXVIII, 3 (Fall 1984), 276-84.

³⁴ Darroch, "Early Industrialization," 35-6.

ments in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, "lower-valued property owned by 'lower'-status people was more accurately assessed than higher-valued property owned by more 'well-to-do' folk."³⁵

Only ten of the printing-trades workers from the Methodist Book Room were found in the Toronto tax assessment records for 1882. Taking into consideration the numerous exemptions from taxation, including the fact that the bulk of the workers identified were not heads of household, and further, that the total annual earnings for many of the Book Room workers was below the \$400 minimum required before income was taxed, this finding is not surprising. Table 5.1 indicates the amount of taxable income and the assessors' estimates of real and personal property values for the Book Room workers found in the assessment rolls. Taxable income for workers earning more than \$400 per annum was recorded under the assessment for the Methodist Book and Publishing House. Since the production workers studied also earned less than \$1000 per year, \$400 of their total yearly earnings were exempt from taxation. Real and personal property was assessed separately at the place of residence. For this group of workers, at least, assessments of real property were made on the basis of real estate alone. It is significant that the figures contained in the columns for "Value of Each Parcel of Real Property," and "Total Value of Real and

³⁵ Levine, "Criticizing the Assessment," 277.

Personal Property," are exactly the same. This finding suggests that the printing- trades workers studied had personal property valued at less than \$100, if they possessed any personal property at all, and that any accumulated wealth was based solely on the value of a modest amount of real estate. Real property for this group of workers was assessed in the \$800 to \$900 range, which was at the lower end of the rental market, and in marked contrast to the dwellings rented by clerks with an assessed value between \$1,500 and \$2,000.³⁶ Furthermore, the dwellings rented by the Methodist Book Room workers identified in the assessment rolls were all cheaply constructed of frame or roughcast, and not out of brick which was comparatively more expensive.

Focussing more specifically on the condition of tenure, only four of the printing-trades workers from the Methodist Book Room appearing in the 1882 tax assessment were free-holders. Two of the homeowners, Thomas Wilson Sr. and Thomas Letters, were foremen. In their position at the upper end of the shop hierarchy, Wilson Sr. and Letters had comparatively higher total earnings, the inference being that for many of

³⁶ Michael Doucet and John Weaver. "The North American Shelter Business, 1860-1920: A Study of a Canadian Real Estate and Property Management Agency," Business History Review, 58 (Summer 1984), 257. Although the comparative figures were derived for Hamilton, located approximately 40 miles from Toronto, and the Toronto figures were probably slightly higher, the argument that the property rented by the Methodist Book Room printing trades workers identified in the assessment rolls was at the lower end of the Toronto rental market still holds.

the workers at the Methodist Book Room home ownership was economically beyond their reach. The housing of the nineteenth-century working class has received some limited attention from social and urban historians.³⁷ With regard to Victorian Toronto specifically, geographer Peter Goheen considered change in the spatial and social organization of the city with capitalist industrialization using the tax assessments as his primary source.³⁸ More recently, Richard Harris compared patterns of home ownership in the three Ontario communities that have received scholarly attention from historians, namely, Toronto, Kingston and Hamilton. Harris found that home ownership within all classes stagnated

³⁷ See Michael J. Doucet, "Working class housing in a small nineteenth century Canadian city: Hamilton, Ontario, 1852-1881," in Gregory S. Kealey and Peter Warrian, eds., Essays in Canadian Working Class History, 83-105; Ian Davey and Michael Doucet, "The Social Geography of a Commercial City, ca. 1853," in Katz, The People of Hamilton, 319-42; Michael Doucet and John Weaver, Housing the North American City (Montreal and Kingston 1991); R. Harris, G. Levine, and B.S. Osborne, "Housing tenure and social classes in Kingston, Ontario, 1881-1901," Journal of Historical Geography, 7 (1981), 271-81; Michael B. Katz, Michael J. Doucet, and Mark J. Stern, The Social Organization of Early Industrial Capitalism (London 1981), 131-57; Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise, Shaping the Urban Landscape: Aspects of the Canadian City-Building Process (Ottawa 1982); John C. Weaver, Hamilton: An Illustrated History (Toronto 1982), 92-107; J.M.S. Careless, Toronto to 1918: An Illustrated History, (Toronto 1984), 89, 138; Richard Harris, "The Unremarked Homeownership Boom in Toronto," Histoire sociale-Social History, XVIII, 36 (November 1985), 433-37; Stephen Hertzog and Robert D. Lewis, "A City of Tenants: Homeownership and Social Class in Montreal, 1847-1881," The Canadian Geographer, 30, 4 (1986), 316-23.

³⁸ Peter G. Goheen, Victorian Toronto, 1850 to 1900: Pattern and Process of Growth (Chicago 1970).

in Toronto during the 1880s and 1890s with rising land costs.³⁹ Thus, it might be expected that few of the printing-trades workers who were household heads in 1882 would own a home. Unfortunately available sources did not permit an analysis of the cultural importance of homeownership for this group of printing- trades workers. Katz, for instance, suggested that for the working class homeownership was an investment providing a form of security against periodic unemployment and a potential source of income in old age.⁴⁰ If Katz is correct, and homeownership was an objective of the nineteenth-century working class, then it was a goal rarely achieved.

The Cost of Living and Household Survival Strategies

Among the Bindery Workers, 1891

Analogous to the period studied between 1882 and 1883, no statistics were compiled indicating cost of living to workers during the 1890s. Thus a model or estimate of the cost of living for the Methodist Book Room bindery workers in 1891 must be formulated. The final expenditure survey conducted by the Ontario Bureau of Industries was for the

³⁹ Richard Harris, "Home ownership and class in modern Canada," International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 10,1 (March 1986), 73.

⁴⁰ Katz, The People of Hamilton, 78-9.

year 1889.⁴¹ An improvement over the earlier 1885 report, subsequent reports compiled for the years 1886 to 1889, distinguished between the cost of living to male home owners with dependents and male tenants with dependents.⁴² The earnings of secondary wage earners were incorporated into the reports, as was "extra" income derived from sources outside the workers' primary occupation.⁴³ Clearly the need for secondary wage earners in the majority of working-class households was recognized by the Bureau of Industries in organizing the surveys. A further distinction on the basis of gender was made between men and women boarders without dependents. As Table 5.2 reveals, the cost of living for women boarders, without dependents was considerably lower than that of their male counterparts, suggesting that women relied more extensively on the informal economy -- making their own clothes and growing vegetables and fruit -- for survival. It is also significant to the social construction of gender relations that the expenses of women boarders were deemed lower than the expenses of men.

The average wages and cost of living to the 282 Toronto workers surveyed by the Bureau of Industries in 1889 are

⁴¹ Annual Report of the Bureau of Industries for the Province of Ontario, 1889 (Toronto 1891).

⁴² Annual Reports of the Bureau of Industries, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889.

⁴³ Annual Report of the Bureau of Industries, 1886 (Toronto 1887).

delineated in Table 5.2. While the costs for life insurance and society dues were provided in the 1889 report, no estimates were made of the proportion of the total cost of living comprised of expenditures for tobacco and alcohol, home furnishings, and other sundry items. An additional problem arises in attempting to determine the relevance of these prices for a period two years later. According to the annual reports of the Bureau of Industries from 1885 to 1889, the cost of living to Toronto workers fluctuated over the latter half of the 1880s, with two years of increase from 1885 to 1887, followed by a decrease in the total cost of living to workers between 1887 and 1888, and an increase from 1888 to 1889.⁴⁴ Without similar expenditure statistics for the 1890s, it is difficult to indicate the trends in the cost of living to Toronto workers for the decade.

Edward Chambers recently compiled a retail price index for Toronto workers during the pre-1914 era, using the figures compiled by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1901 as an equivalent for prices in Toronto in the 1890s.⁴⁵ Chambers acknowledges the difficulties in using the U.S. figures, and tried to compensate for national differences including, "higher expenditures for food and lower outlays for fuel and light in the U.S. than in Toronto." According

⁴⁴ Annual Reports of the Bureau of Industries, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889.

⁴⁵ Chambers, "Living Standards of Toronto Blue Collar Workers," 290.

TABLE 5.2
Cost of Living to Toronto Workers, 1889.

<u>MALES. TENANTS WITH DEPENDENTS</u>	<u>MALES. OWNERS WITH DEPENDENTS</u>
Total No. of Dependents= 3.17 No. of Dependents Under 16= 1.6	Total No. of Dependents= 3.7 No. of Dependents Under 16= 2.2
<u>Yearly Earnings</u>	<u>Yearly Earnings</u>
Wages from Occupation= \$446.52 Extra Earnings= \$4.87 Earnings of Dependents= \$23.17 Total Household=\$474.56	Wages from Occupation= \$531.95 Extra Earnings= \$0.23 Earnings of Dependents= \$18.16 Total Household= \$548.34
<u>Costs of:</u>	<u>Costs of:</u>
Rent= \$110.87	Taxes, Interest, Installments= \$117.58
Fuel= \$39.61	Fuel= \$39.61
Clothing per capita= \$16.67	Clothing per capita= \$16.67
Food per capita= \$56.89	Food per capita= \$56.89
Society Dues and Insurance=\$13.12	Society Dues and Insurance= \$12.57
<u>Total Cost of Living= \$493.46</u>	<u>Total Cost of Living= \$547.80</u>
<u>Deficit= -\$18.90</u>	<u>Surplus= \$0.64</u>
<u>MALES. BOARDERS. NO DEPENDENTS</u>	<u>WOMEN. BOARDERS. NO DEPENDENTS</u>
<u>Yearly Earnings= \$392.82</u>	<u>Yearly Earnings= \$216.71</u>
<u>Costs of:</u>	<u>Costs of:</u>
Board and Lodging= \$184.07	Board and Lodging= \$126.36
Clothing= \$71.16	Clothing= \$67.31
<u>Total Cost of Living= \$331.95</u>	<u>Total Cost of Living= \$214.28</u>
<u>Surplus= \$60.87</u>	<u>Surplus= \$2.43</u>

Source: Annual Report of the Bureau of Industries For The Province of Ontario, 1889 (Toronto 1891.)

to the retail composite price index framed by Chambers, prices increased slightly by 0.7 per cent between 1890 and 1891, and decreased by 8.2 percent between 1891 and 1892.⁴⁶ Assuming that the drop in retail prices translates into at least some decrease in the cost of living to workers, it is likely that the cost of living to Toronto workers declined between 1889 and 1891. A conservative approach will be adopted here, however, and the 1889 Bureau of Industries figures will be used as a rough approximation of the cost of living to the Methodist Book Room bindery workers in 1891.

A total of 45 wage entries were listed on the Methodist Book Room's bindery payroll on 3 April 1890. A year later on 26 March 1891, the number of workers on the payroll was slightly higher at 48. Over the one-year period studied between 3 April 1890 and 26 March 1891, 56 different names appeared in the bindery wage book at various points in time. Using the Toronto city directory for 1891, employment at the Book Room was confirmed, and the first name, gender, and the task performed by the bookbinding process identified, for 21 (37.5 per cent) of the workers entered in the payroll. The name, occupation, and total earnings over the one-year period for this group of 21 bindery workers are presented in Table 5.3.

It will be recalled from the discussion of the social organization of production in Chapter Four, that in the

⁴⁶ Ibid., 289-91.

TABLE 5.3
Yearly Earnings, Household Organization, and Property Holdings
of Methodist Book Store Blindery Workers, 1890-91

Name/Occupation	Total Earnings (\$11 1890-91 26 March 1891)	Number of Household Head (H)/ Second Head (S) Periods	Number Dependents	Age T	Condition of Household	Amount of Property Income	Value of Each Item of Real Property	Total Value of Real Property
PEASON, John E. Bookbinder	\$538.60	52	H	2	65	F	\$400.00	\$1,833.00
BEATTIE, John Bookbinder	\$824.00	52	H	6	32	--	--	--
FLINT, William C. Bookbinder	\$690.90	52	H	5	29	H	--	\$950.00
LEWIS, William A. Bookbinder	\$556.70	52	H	2	35	H	--	\$900.00
ELLIS, John H. Cutter	\$502.45	52	--	--	--	--	--	--
KEARNEY, Robert Bookbinder	\$601.05	52	H	10	55	H	--	\$1,080.00
RHOOD, Arthur Bookbinder	\$547.90	47	S	--	23	--	--	--
ELDER, William J.B. Bookbinder	\$405.60	51	S	--	23	--	--	--
BALL, William C. Apprentice	\$121.51	51	S	--	17	--	--	--
ROBIN, Miss Elizabeth Bookbinder	\$416.00	52	S	--	--	--	--	--
GRAY, Miss Alice Bookbinder	\$183.07	50	S	--	21	--	--	--

TABLE 5.3 (continued)

Name/Occupation	Total Earnings (3 April 1890- 28 March 1891)	Number of Pay Periods	Household Head (H)/ Secondary Wage Earner (S)	Number of Dependents	Huber Age	Condition of Tenure (Freehold, Household)	Amount of Taxable Income	Value of Each Parcel of Real Property	Total Value of Real and Personal Property
MAY, Miss Jennie Folder	\$159.54	51	S	--	--	--	--	--	--
KEMP, Miss Jennie Folder	\$151.70	48	S	--	17	--	--	--	--
DUFFY, Miss Lizzie Bookfolder	\$192.80	52	--	--	--	Boarder	--	--	--
OUTIMAITTE, Miss Mary Folder	\$197.65	49	--	--	24	Boarder	--	--	--
ROBERTSON, Miss Mary Folder	\$185.40	52	S	--	19	--	--	--	--
MCANDREWS, Miss Ada Folder	\$186.60	52	--	--	19	Boarder	--	--	--
HARRINGTON, Miss Ada Folder	\$151.30	52	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
HOARE, Miss Maude Folder	\$69.35	26	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Started wk. 15 Aug 1890									
JOHNSON, Miss Lizzie Folder	\$40.70	40	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Started wk. 15 Aug 1890									
SMITH, Miss Jennie Folder	\$97.10	33	--	--	21	Boarder	--	--	--
Started wk. 15 Aug 1890									

Sources: Methodist Book Room Bindery Wage Books, 3 April 1890-26 March 1891;
Canada, Census of 1891, Toronto Hns; City of Toronto Assessment, 1891.

bookbinding process, women worked at the "forwarding" jobs which were socially defined as "unskilled" by men printing-trades workers and employers. The women folders worked for piece rates which totalled one-third to one-half the wages earned by the men bookbinders. When the total earnings of the women folders over the one-year period are compared to the 1889 Bureau of Industries cost of living composite figures, the earnings of the bindery women, with the exception of forewoman Elizabeth Robin, were well below the cost of living of \$214.28 per annum for women boarders without dependents.

Six Methodist Book Room women bindery workers were located in the 1891 census manuscript.⁴⁷ Two of the women, Ada McAndrew age 19, and Jennie Smith age 21, boarded with families. Smith boarded with a family with the same surname, but it is not known whether this was a kin relation or merely a coincidence. Both women were unmarried, further substantiating the interpretation put forward by Hareven and Modell in the American context, that boarding was life cycle-related among the nineteenth-century working class, and predominant among young single men and women in a stage of transition between leaving their parents' household and marriage.⁴⁸ Another unmarried bindery worker, twenty-four year old Mary

⁴⁷ Canada, Census of 1891, City of Toronto Mss.

⁴⁸ Modell and Hareven, "Urbanization and the Malleable Household," 471; Katz, The People of Hamilton, ch.5.

Outhwaite also boarded with a family, but she shared the accommodation with her widowed mother.

Rent was the single greatest expense for the three women, and with boarding and lodging costs estimated in 1889 at \$126.36 for women in Toronto, consumed the bulk of their meagre wages. In addition to the needs of the household family economy, low wages were, as Bettina Bradbury suggests in her study of nineteenth-century Montreal, an important reason why young unmarried women typically lived at home.⁴⁹ The low income of the Methodist Book Room bindery women almost certainly resulted in crisis for the bindery women who were boarders, and probably forced them to formulate alternative strategies for survival such as growing their own vegetables in the summer, making their own clothes, and exchanging goods in informal networks with other women.⁵⁰

Three of the women bindery workers found in the 1891 census manuscript were secondary wage earners within the household. Jennie Kemp, age 17, was the eldest of 10 children. Jennie's father, Robert Kemp also worked in the

⁴⁹ Bradbury, "Gender at Work at Home," 131.

⁵⁰ See Bettina Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows, and Boarders: Non Wage Forms of Survival among Montreal Families, 1861-91," Labour/ Le Travail, 14 (Fall 1984), 9-46; Elizabeth A.M. Roberts, "Women's Strategies, 1890-1940," in Jane Lewis, ed., Labour and Love: Women's Experience of Home and Family, 1850-1940 (Oxford and New York 1986), 223-47; Diana Gittins, "Marital Status, Work and Kinship, 1850-1930," in Lewis, ed., Labour and Love, 249-67; Ellen Ross, "Survival Networks: Women's Neighbourhood Sharing in London," History Workshop Journal, 15 (1983), 4-27.

bindery at the Methodist Book Room. A journeyman bookbinder, Robert Kemp earned a total of \$601.05 in 1891. The earnings of the household head were below that necessary to maintain the large Kemp family, thus resulting in a need for secondary wages earners. In addition to Jenny, her brother Robert age 15, was a clerk in a book store.

Like Jenny Kemp, Alice Wray, age 21 also lived at home and was a secondary wage worker in the household. Alice's father Frederick worked as a cabinet maker, and two other siblings Fred and Charles, ages 19 and 17 respectively, were employed in the labour force. Charles Wray was listed in the Toronto city directory as a compositor at the Methodist Book Room. Although it is more likely that 17-year-old Charles was apprenticing in the trade in 1891, the persistence of the pattern of family employment at the Methodist Book Room, also found directly above with the Kemp family, is significant. Clearly, kin networks functioned at the Methodist Book Room in the late nineteenth century in integral relationship with the needs of the household family economy.⁵¹

Nineteen-year-old Maria Roberts was the third bindery woman identified from the Methodist Book Room payroll who was a secondary wage earner in the family. Peter Roberts the household head and primary wage earner worked as a carpenter,

⁵¹ Bookfolder Jennie Wray was not a daughter of Frederick Wray. Linkages with the city directory and the 1891 tax assessment rolls indicate that Jennie Wray was the daughter of Samuel Wray, a shoemaker. I was not able, however, to locate the household of Samuel Wray in the 1891 census manuscript.

and Maria's two younger siblings, were also employed in the wage labour market. According to the 1889 Bureau of Industries survey, the yearly earnings of a carpenter averaging \$469.16, plus the additional earnings from three secondary wage earners, were enough to support the family at a level above subsistence. This brings to the forefront questions of "adequate" family income and variations in working-class perception of family need, which has already received some scholarly attention from historians. Historian Elizabeth Roberts in an essay discussing women's household survival strategies in three towns in northern England between 1890 and 1940 stated: "Perceptions of what was necessary for a family's well-being differed considerably from individual to individual.... Even when the basic needs were satisfied some women still saw compelling reasons for working, such as to buy a house, or to improve one, or to educate the children."⁵² Economic need was not the only criteria for explaining labour force participation among married women and older children. Although broad comparisons across national boundaries and involving specific instances are problematic, it is likely that similar variations in perceptions of family need persisted among the nineteenth and early twentieth-century Canadian working-class. With regard to the specific household considered here, by 1891 Peter Roberts was a

⁵²Elizabeth A.M. Roberts, "Women's Strategies, 1890-1940," in Jane Lewis, ed., Labour and Love: Women's Experience of Home and Family (Oxford and New York 1986), 229.

freeholder with real property valued at \$1,213 by a local tax assessor.

Four of the Methodist Book Room male bookbinders identified in the 1891 census were household heads. The Kemp household was already discussed above. In the remaining three households, those headed by John Pearson, John Beattie, and William Flint, the bookbinders were the family breadwinners. All three bookbinders had young children, and while the yearly earnings of bindery foreman John Pearson were sufficient to support a family of three, the resources of the Flint and the Beattie households were strained and reliant on the alternative survival strategies of women in the informal economy. The census enumerator recorded four children ranging in age from 7 months to 5 years in the Flint household, and five children between the ages of 1 and 11 years in the Beattie household.

The three remaining male Methodist Book Room bookbinders located in the 1891 census manuscript were secondary wage earners. Embosser Arthur Rugg, age 23, lived in a household headed by his widowed mother. Rugg's three brothers, two of them also "skilled" workers, contributed wages to the household. Thus, it would seem that the Rugg family was an exception to the conditions of crisis that historians such as Bettina Bradbury have documented in many working-class

families with the death of a spouse.⁵³ This did not, however, appear to be the situation in the household of apprentice bookbinder William Ball, where William, his widowed father, and his married sister Josephine all shared a household. William's father and his brother-in-law worked in comparatively low-paying jobs as unskilled labourers, while Josephine performed the domestic labour within the household.

In the family household where bookbinder William Elmes was a secondary wage earner, several household strategies were apparent from the 1891 census manuscript. Twenty-three year-old William, and his two brothers 32 year-old George, a shoemaker in a local factory, and Charles, age 21, a retail grocery clerk, all contributed a wage to the household. In addition to the income derived from household head Euseby Elmes, also a shoemaker in a local factory, and the earnings of three secondary wage earners, a family of three boarded with the Elmes family. It is difficult to suggest whether the Elmes family lived in conditions of "real" or "perceived" need. Euseby Elmes owned a three-storey home assessed at \$2,760, which was high in comparison to the market value of \$900 to \$1000 of the majority of working-class homes recorded in the 1891 Toronto tax assessment. Elmes, who was reportedly 70 years old in 1891, was probably trying to build a "nest

⁵³ Bettina Bradbury, "The Fragmented Family: Family Strategies in the Face of Death, Illness, and Poverty, Montreal, 1860-1885," in Joy Parr, ed., Childhood and Family in Canadian History (Toronto 1982), 109-28, Bradbury, Working Families, ch. 6.

egg," for a period when he was no longer able to work for a wage.

Analogous to the Methodist Book Room printing workers studied between 1882 and 1883, the assessment rolls for 1891 were used to identify the propertied and the propertyless among the Methodist Book Room bindery workers, with the intent of providing added depth to the analysis of the standard of living of this particular group of printing-trades workers. Many of the tax exemptions of the earlier 1882-1883 period, and the limitations stemming from those exemptions for the writing of working-class history already delineated previously, were also applicable to the 1891 period. To re-state briefly, adult boarders and lodgers were excluded as separate taxable parties, annual income under \$400 was exempt, the first \$400 of income for persons having an annual income under \$1000, and personal property under \$100 was tax exempt. By 1891, however, only income over \$700 was taxable.⁵⁴ A further change in the tax assessment legislation relevant for the study of the working class was an 1885 amendment adding the category "wage earner," which was intended for the purposes of voter eligibility. A "wage earner" was defined as "any male person of the full age of twenty-one years,... who is actually residing and domiciled in any local municipality, and who is not otherwise entered or assessed in the assessment roll of said municipality in

⁵⁴ Darroch, "Industrialization and Inequality," 37.

respect either of property or taxable income." Also, to enter the roll as a "wage earner," a male worker had to earn a minimum of \$250 during the preceding twelve months from an occupation of trade, but less than the minimum taxable income of \$400.⁵⁵

Even with the 1885 amendments in the Assessment Act, only four of the Methodist Book Room Bindery workers were located in the Toronto tax assessment for 1891.⁵⁶ Yearly earnings below the minimum level for income tax and voter ineligibility continued to exclude women from the assessment. Even the four male bookbinders identified in the assessment rolls -- John Pearson, William Flint, William Lewis, and Robert Kemp, had no taxable personal property, and were assessed on the basis of real property holdings. Foreman John Pearson, furthermore, was the only bindery worker with a total yearly income high enough to qualify for income tax. Although Pearson's total earnings for 1891 were \$936, a substantially lower amount of \$800 was recorded by the assessor.⁵⁷ With \$400 of income exempt, Pearson's taxable income for 1891 was \$400. Real property holdings for the four bookbinders were determined on the basis of real estate

⁵⁵ "The Assessment Amendment Act, 1885," Statutes of the Province of Ontario, Chapter 42 (Toronto 1885).

⁵⁶ City of Toronto Assessment, 1891.

⁵⁷ Darroch suggested that tax evasion was "fairly easy and fairly frequent in Toronto," particularly among those with minimal assets. See Darroch, "Industrialization and Inequality," 40.

holdings. Only Pearson, who owned a modest two-storey house, was a freeholder. The remaining three bookbinders were householders. Thus, if home ownership was indeed a cultural aspiration among the nineteenth-century Toronto working class, it was a goal that largely eluded the bindery workers at the Methodist Book Room.

The Cost of Living and the Household Economies of Methodist Book Room Printing Office and Bindery Workers, 1902

The cost of living for Toronto workers during the early part of the twentieth century has already received scholarly attention in the writings of Michael Piva, and more recently by Edward Chambers. The consensus of the two scholars is that the rapid industrial capitalist expansion of Toronto during the pre-World War I period had little positive effect on the living standards of the Toronto working class.⁵⁸ In developing the argument Piva and Chambers constructed real wage indexes, formulated primarily from the price indexes and rent schedules compiled by the federal Department of Labour beginning in 1900, and published in the Labour Gazette, and the 1915 Inquiry into the Cost of Living in Canada, prepared

⁵⁸ Piva, The Conditions of the Working Class, 58; Chambers, "Living Standards of Toronto Blue Collar Workers," 304-5.

by the Department of Labour's statistician R.H. Coates.⁵⁹

While the intensification of state interest in the condition of the working class is a theme of considerable significance for working-class historians, the omissions in the family budgets compiled by the Department of Labour are problematic for the purposes of this study. As Piva and Chambers have already indicated, the Department of Labour's budget for a family of five excludes expenditures for clothing, tobacco and alcohol, home furnishings, and other miscellaneous expenses, and thus represents somewhere between 60 and 80 percent of the total cost of living for a working-class family.⁶⁰ Furthermore, the budget is based on rental figures, and no comparable budget of shelter costs to homeowners for depreciation of the structure, mortgage interest, property taxes, repairs and maintenance, and insurance is provided.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Piva, The Conditions of the Working Class, ch.2; Chambers, "Living Standards of Toronto Blue Collar Workers," 287.

⁶⁰ Piva, The Conditions of the Working Class, 36; Chambers, "Living Standards of Toronto Blue Collar Workers," 287-88. Using prices for home furnishings and clothing listed in Eaton's department store catalogues, Chambers constructed a weighted index of retail prices for 1890-1914 period, using 1900 as the base year.

⁶¹ According to the weighted index of Toronto homeownership costs constructed by Chambers for the period from 1900-1914, the expenses of homeownership increased steadily over the fourteen year period. See Edward J. Chambers, "Addendum on the Living Standards of Toronto Blue Collar Workers in the 1900-1914 Era," Histoire sociale - Social History, XX, 40 (November 1987), 357-62.

Despite the limitations in the Department of Labour's budgets, they are the most readily accessible source for historians. Piva used these figures to calculate the weekly expenditures of a family of five on food, rent, and fuel on an annual basis from 1900 to 1921.⁶² For 1902, the weekly expenditure figure calculated by Piva is \$9.826.⁶³ The food and fuel expenses for this particular year are wholesale prices, and thus are below the actual prices paid by workers.⁶⁴ Taking into account that Piva's figure incorporates only expenses for food, rent, and fuel, and thus probably underestimates the weekly expenses by about 40 per cent, the sum of \$715.33 is suggested as an approximation of the cost of living for a Toronto working-class family of five in 1902. According to the price list compiled by the Department of Labour in July 1902, the monthly rent of a six room house in Toronto was \$10-12. Boarders and lodgers paid between \$3.50

⁶² Piva, The Conditions of the Working Class, 45.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ In November 1901, the Labour Gazette reported: "Many workingmen, by purchasing in larger quantities and direct from the produce vendor on the market, secure more favourable terms; but such cases are rather the exception than the rule, and the prices of retailers are adhered to as a safer ground of comparison." Historian John Benson indicated that during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century street vendors separated bulk products into small cheap units more easily affordable for the urban poor. Benson further stated that peddling and hawking was prevalent in Toronto during the period surrounding the turn of the century until the practice was made illegal by city by-law in 1912. Labour Gazette, II, 5 (November 1901), 277; John Benson, "Hawking and Peddling in Canada, 1867-1914," Histoire sociale-Social History, XVIII, 35 (May 1985), 75-83.

and \$4.00 per week (\$182-\$208 per year).⁶⁵

At the end of the first week of January 1902, 126 entries appeared on the Methodist Book Room's printing office payroll. By the last week of December the number of workers on the payroll had increased to 131. A total of 193 names appeared on the printing office payroll over the sweep of the one-year period, of which 83 (43 per cent) were identified by gender and occupation from the wage books or through linkages with the city directories. Tables 5.4, 5.5, and 5.6 present the total annual earnings of this group of printing office workers for the calendar year 1902. Unlike the printing office payroll, the number of workers employed in the bindery decreased over the same period, declining from 99 workers in January 1902, to 81 workers by the final week of December. Over the course of the year, 138 different names appeared on the bindery payroll. The occupation and gender of 23 of the bindery workers (16.66 per cent) was determined from the city directories. Table 5.7 lists the total earnings for the year for this group of workers.

An attempt to link the workers found in the Methodist Book Room's wage books with the 1901 decennial census manuscript for Toronto was successful for 41 (21.13 per cent) of the printing office workers, and 10 (7.25 per cent) of the bindery workers. Eighteen of the printing-trades workers found in the 1901 census manuscript were male household heads

⁶⁵ Labour Gazette, III, 2 (August 1902), 95-8.

TABLE 5.4
Yearly Earnings, Household Composition, and Property Holdings
of Methodist Book Room Compositors, 1902

Name/Occupation	Total Earnings (January 1902- December 1902)	Number of Pay Periods	Household Head (H)/ Secondary Wage Earner (S)	Number of Dependents	Age	Condition of Tenure (Freehold, Tenant)	Value of Each Parcel of Real Property	Total Value of Real and Personal Property
MILBURN, Robert S.	\$700.26	52	H	4	31	Tenant	\$275.00	\$275.00
MILSON, Henry	\$655.59	51	H	1	--	Freeholder	\$1,312.00	\$1,312.00
MILLER, Frank J.	\$681.09	50	H	2	39	Tenant	\$1,275.00	\$1,275.00
MATSON, Joseph	\$625.17	52	S	--	33	Tenant	\$630.00	\$630.00
COLEMAN, Andrew	\$474.44	39	S	--	--	--	--	--
CITHERN, Thomas	\$555.99	52	S	--	21	Freeholder	\$1,790.00	\$1,790.00
CITHERN, Thomas	\$550.39	52	H	4	45	Freeholder	\$410.00	\$410.00
GRIVVE, Alexander	\$453.04	52	--	--	--	--	--	--
HARFORD, William F.	\$654.42	52	H	1	54	Freeholder	\$557.00	\$557.00
HENRY, Robert	\$609.54	49	--	--	--	Boarder	--	--
INDOTSON, John R.	\$661.00	52	H	2	32	Tenant	\$443.00	\$443.00
LAWRENCE, Frank	\$745.82	52	H	3	39	Tenant	\$588.00	\$588.00
LAWRENCE, Frank R.	\$735.26	52	H	3	38	Freeholder	\$1,206.00	\$1,206.00
LOCHHEAD, Thomas	\$697.85	52	H	4	43	Tenant	\$1,083.00	\$1,083.00
LITTLE, John	\$352.24	30	H	3	57	Tenant	\$683.00	\$683.00
MILLS, John	\$546.84	46	H	--	--	--	--	--
MOORE, Charles H.	\$45.74	31	--	--	--	Boarder	--	--
MOORE, Charles H.	\$45.74	31	--	--	--	Boarder	--	--
O'LEARY, William	\$638.40	50	H	2	41	Tenant	\$1,432.00	\$1,432.00
POWELL, William	\$190.99	15	H	5	39	Freeholder	\$473.00	\$473.00
RIDLEY, Walter H.	\$695.44	52	H	5	35	Tenant	\$1,475.00	\$1,475.00
ROBERTS, George	\$658.11	51	H	2	25	Tenant	\$1,060.00	\$1,060.00
ROTHENFORD, Arthur H.	\$436.52	57	--	--	--	Boarder	--	--
ROTHENFORD, Arthur H.	\$436.52	57	--	--	--	Boarder	--	--
SHAW, William J.	\$641.39	52	H	2	33	Freeholder	\$1,262.00	\$1,262.00
SMITH, James	\$690.24	52	H	2	53	Tenant	\$1,738.00	\$1,738.00
SAUNDERS, Arthur J.	\$536.06	45	H	1	27	Tenant	\$771.00	\$771.00
THOMSON, Christopher	\$655.76	52	S	--	25	--	--	--
THOMSON, Joseph	\$427.31	40	--	--	--	--	--	--
WATSON, James	\$427.31	40	--	--	--	--	--	--
WINTERS, John H.	\$649.64	52	H	5	37	Tenant	\$1,015.00	\$1,015.00
WATKINS, James	\$536.44	59	H	4	65	Tenant	\$1,950.00	\$1,950.00
ELKORTH, John T.	\$623.20	52	S	--	50	--	--	--

Source: Methodist Book Room Payroll Wages Book, January 1902-December 1902;
Canada, Census of 1901, Toronto Area, City of Toronto Assessment 1901.

TABLE 5.5

Yearly Earnings, Household Composition, and Property Holdings
of Methodist Book Room Printing Office Workers, 1902

Name/Occupation	Total Earnings (January 1902- December 1902)	Number of House- hold Members	Sex	and (III)/ Marital Status	Number of Dependents	Age	Condition of Tenure (Freehold, Tenant)	Value of Each Parcel of Real Property	Total Value of Real and Personal Property
PALIN, William T. Foreman, Book Room Printer	\$862.20	51	H	H	3	36	Tenant	\$1,800.00	\$1,800.00
BEANER, Nathan Proofreader	\$706.93	52	H	H	5	34	Tenant	\$1,125.00	\$1,125.00
BEANER, Nathan Apprentice Compositor	\$112.40	22	S	S	--	17	--	--	--
HADDY, R. Stereotypier	\$802.46	49	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
BAKER, William C. Apprentice Compositor	\$310.52	49	S	S	--	--	--	--	--
MURRAY, Richard Apprentice Compositor	\$216.06	41	S	S	--	--	--	--	--
REBERTS, Joseph Stereotypier	\$218.85	37	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
WILSON, Robert F. Apprentice Compositor	\$373.09	52	S	S	--	18	--	--	--
WOOD, James Apprentice Compositor	\$106.44	12	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
YOUNG, Thomas Apprentice Compositor	\$255.97	29	S	S	--	20	--	--	--
ENGLISH, Robert G. Copyholder	\$232.85	52	S	S	--	17	--	--	--
GALLAGHER, James Proofreader	\$456.55	52	H	H	4	60	Tenant	\$1,960.00	\$1,960.00
COOPER, Thomas Proofreader	\$700.27	52	H	H	5	40	Tenant	\$955.00	\$955.00
HARRING, Alfred E. Proofreader	\$653.14	52	S	S	--	22	--	--	--
OGDEN, William S. Stereotypier	\$889.64	52	H	H	6	37	Tenant	\$2,200.00	\$2,200.00
NICH, John Stereotypier	\$423.97	52	H	H	7	64	--	--	--
CHAMBERS, William H. Electrotypier	\$723.07	52	H	H	6	31	Tenant	\$1,000.00	\$1,000.00
FLINT, William J. Apprentice Stereotypier	\$393.74	51	S	S	--	--	--	--	--

Sources: Methodist Book Room Payroll Wage Book, January 1902-December 1902;
Canada, Census of 1901, Toronto Division; City of Toronto Assessment 1901.

TABLE 5.8
Yearly Earnings, Household Composition, and Property Holdings
of Methodist Book Room Press Room Workers, 1902

Name/Occupation	Total Earnings (January 1902- December 1902)	Number of Pay Periods	Household Head (H)/ Secondary Wage Earner (S)	Number of Dependents	Age	Condition of Tenure (Freehold, Tenant)	Value of Each Parcel of Real Property	Total Value of Real and Personal Property
RANDALL, Edward H. Foreman Pressman	\$873.40	52	H	2	28	Freeholder	\$975.00	\$975.00
BROWN, Frank Pressman	\$639.83	52	H	8	37	Freeholder	\$686.00	\$686.00
ALBERT, George F. Pressman	\$402.27	44	H	3	27	--	--	--
COOK, Wellington K. Pressman	\$552.86	52	--	--	--	--	--	--
DAVEY, William Pressman	\$760.74	50	H	5	29	Tenant	\$990.00	\$990.00
DAVEY, Thomas W. Pressman	\$554.33	52	H	2	28	Tenant	\$1,082.00	\$1,082.00
DIXON, Percy T. Pressman	\$411.76	51	S	--	--	--	--	--
FERRAN, William Pressman	\$615.46	52	H	6	42	Tenant	\$660.00	\$660.00
KNIGHT, James W. Pressman	\$819.07	52	S	--	28	--	--	--
MILN, James Pressman	\$709.59	52	H	6	--	Tenant	\$1,183.00	\$1,183.00
FOGARTY, William J. Pressman	\$769.84	52	H	3	28	Tenant	\$850.00	\$850.00
LATRENOUILLE, Julian Apprentice Pressman	\$272.90	52	S	--	15	--	--	--
McILROY, John Pressman	\$699.65	51	H	3	31	--	--	--
McILROY, Thomas Pressman	\$709.59	51	S	--	22	--	--	--
HETCALF, William R. Pressman	\$751.80	52	H	5	42	--	--	--

TABLE 5.6 (continued)

Name/Occupation	Total Earnings (January 1902- December 1902)	Number of Pay Periods	Household Head (H)/ Secondary Wage Earner (S)	Number Age of Dependents	Condition of Tenure (Freehold, Tenant)	Value of Each Parcel of Real Property	Total Value of Real and Personal Property
LEITCH, Thomas	\$768.64	52	H	3	Tenant	\$2,000.00	\$2,000.00
HANNA, Richard S. Apprentice Freeman	\$303.35	51	S	--	--	--	--
LOCK, George J. Freeman	\$377.00	44	--	--	--	--	--
OSMAN, John Freeman	\$312.00	44	--	--	--	--	--
EDMORTH, Henry Fireman	\$602.55	52	H	5	Freeholder	\$1,538.00	\$1,538.00
MOORING, George Freeman	\$195.00	13	--	--	--	--	--
MARSH, John Freeman	\$983.40	52	--	--	--	--	--
GARRETT, Horace Press Feeder	\$484.52	52	S	--	--	--	--
JENNINGS, John T. Press Feeder	\$452.07	52	S	--	--	--	--
KEMP, Robert Press Feeder	\$438.47	51	S	--	--	--	--
LATHESVILLE, Henry Press Feeder	\$381.98	52	S	--	--	--	--
SMITH, William Press Feeder	\$301.57	35	--	--	Lodger	--	--
McCUE, Vincent Press Feeder	\$7.40	2	S	--	--	--	--
PATTERSON, Alfred Press Feeder	\$520.00	52	H	5	Tenant	\$1,200.00	\$1,200.00
BLANCHARD, Miss Eliza Press Feeder	\$279.50	51	S	--	--	--	--
HARDING, Miss Press Feeder	\$202.75	52	--	--	--	--	--
TOMBSLEY, Miss Press Feeder	\$284.35	52	--	--	--	--	--

Sources: Methodist Book Room Payroll Vase Book, January 1902-December 1902;
Canada, Census of 1901, Toronto Area; City of Toronto Assessment 1901.

TABLE 5.7
Yearly Earnings, Household Composition, and Property Holdings
of Methodist Book Room Bindery Workers, 1902

Name/Occupation	Total Earnings (January 1902- December 1902)	Number of Pay Periods	Household Head (H)/ Secondary Wage Earner (S)	Number of Dependents	Age	Condition of Tenure (Freehold, Tenant)	Value of Each Parcel of Real Property	Total Value of Real and Personal Property
BROOKLY, Booth Bookbinder	\$659.26	52	H	2	37	Tenant	\$1,054.00	\$1,054.00
BALL, Wm. C. Bookbinder	\$963.17	52	H	2	27	Tenant	\$1,273.00	\$1,273.00
LEWIS, William A. Bookbinder	\$372.20	32	H	1	55	Tenant	\$750.00	\$750.00
HENDERSON, William Bookbinder	\$555.17	47	H	4	39	Freeholder	\$654.00	\$654.00
HIDER, William G. Jr. Bookbinder	\$251.92	25	H	5	30	Tenant	\$1,386.00	\$1,386.00
EAMES, William J.B. Bookbinder	\$607.83	51	H	2	34	Tenant	\$872.00	\$872.00
KEMP, John Bookbinder	\$640.89	52	S	--	24	--	--	--
HARVEY, Robert Bookbinder	\$530.17	44	H	3	30	Tenant	\$1,440.00	\$1,440.00
ANDERSON, Thomas F. Bookbinder	\$692.13	52	--	--	--	--	--	--
GILL, William M. Bookbinder	\$588.95	50	--	--	--	--	--	--
PRITCHARD, Joseph Bookbinder	\$70.04	6	S	--	--	--	--	--
LESLIE, Walter Bookbinder	\$408.01	33	S	--	40	--	--	--

TABLE 5.7 (continued)

Name/Occupation	Total Earnings (January 1902- December 1902)	Number of Pay Periods	Household Head (H)/ Secondary Wage Earner (S)	Number of Dependents	Age	Condition of Tenure (Freehold, Tenant)	Value of Each Parcel of Real Property	Total Value of Real and Personal Property
WINTERFIELD, William	\$431.53	52	H	7	31	--	--	--
ROBIN, Miss Elizabeth								
Forewoman	\$520.00	51	H	2		Freeholder	\$1,643.00	\$1,643.00
NIXON, Miss Hattie								
Bookbinder	\$238.46	51	--	--	36	Lodger	--	--
MANN, Mrs.								
Mrs. James Rose								
Folger	\$197.70	44	--	--	--	Boarder	--	--
DION, Miss Eugenie								
Bookfolder	\$228.90	52	S	--	--	--	--	--
SUTTON, Miss May								
Bookfolder	\$191.00	52	S	--	--	--	--	--
SIMS, Miss Hattie								
Bookfolder	\$190.25	51	S	--	19	--	--	--
BERGESFORD, Miss Florence								
Bookfolder	\$89.50	26	--	--	--	--	--	--
WEDDELL, Miss Bertha								
Bookfolder	\$219.15	50	--	--	--	Boarder	--	--
HENDERSON, Miss Christina								
Bookfolder	\$201.15	52	S	--	16	--	--	--
PARROTT, Miss Rose J.								
Bookfolder	\$210.40	43	S	--	24	--	--	--
MANN, Mrs.								
Mrs. James Rose								
Folger	\$252.10	52	--	--	--	Boarder	--	--
ROEDER, Mrs.								
	\$309.30	52	--	--	--	--	--	--

Sources: Methodist Book Room Bindery Wage Book, January 1902-December 1902;
 Census of 1901, Toronto; Census of 1901, Toronto; Census of 1901, Toronto;
 Canada, Census of 1901, Toronto; City of Toronto Assessment 1901.

and the sole family "breadwinner." With the exception of proofreader Edwin Swift, all of the household heads were "skilled" journeymen printing-trades workers: eight compositors, six pressmen, two bookbinders, and one stereotyper.

The male "breadwinner" wage was no doubt a myth in most of the households where Methodist Book Room printing-trades workers were household heads, particularly when the broader tendency towards short time during this period of trade depression, already documented in Chapter Four, is taken into consideration. Compositors John Winters and William Powell, and proofreader Edwin Swift, were heads of families with four young children not yet old enough to work in the wage labour market. The total earnings of the workers over the one-year period from January to December 1902 were not sufficient to support a family of six, and were even below the cost of living estimate of \$715.33 for a family of five. Winters and Swift earned \$648.94 and \$708.93 respectively over 52 weeks. Powell was not employed at the Book Room after mid-April, and it is not known whether he was successful in securing employment elsewhere. Powell's earnings for the first fifteen weeks of the year totalled \$190.99. Other historians, including Bradbury and Hareven, have alluded to the vulnerability of families with small children and only one source of income.⁶⁶ Crisis conditions ensued with the loss

⁶⁶ Hareven, Family time and industrial time, 208; Bradbury, "The Working Class Family Economy," 80, 393.

of the income of the household head either through unemployment, illness, or death. The majority of Methodist Book Room printing-trades workers who were identified as household heads from the decennial census (15 out of 18) were comprised of the male household head as the only wage earner and several young children. With only one wage worker these families were in a potentially vulnerable position in the event of loss of income through unemployment, illness, or the death of the sole wage earner.

Five of the households headed by Methodist Book Room printing-trades workers adopted the survival strategy of taking in boarders and lodgers. Stereotyper William Organ, who it will be recalled apprenticed at the Book Room during the earlier period studied between 1882-83, married at some point in the late 1880s. At the time of the enumeration of the decennial census in April 1901, Organ and his wife Mary had five children between two and 11 years of age. William Organ's income of \$989.64 for 1902 was probably adequate to sustain the family at a level above poverty. Organ, however, also rented a house with an assessed value of \$2,200, which was comparatively high by early twentieth-century Toronto working-class standards. According to the 1901 census, the Organ's had seven lodgers living in the household: three Irish immigrant sisters, Mary, Maggie, and Ella O'Mallory, employed in the clothing industry, 34-year old Sarah Graves, who was employed as a labeller, Samuel Hall, a machinist, and

Hall's wife and his eight-year-old daughter. While augmenting the household income, and helping to meet the large fixed expense for rent, the decision to take in boarders clearly increased the domestic work of Organ's wife Mary, although it is likely that daughters Catherine, age eleven, and Mary, age nine, also helped with the housework after school hours.

From the linkages with the 1901 census, four other households headed by Methodist Book Room printing-trades workers were identified as being augmented through the strategy of taking in boarders. Similar to the Organ household, the family of pressman William Metcalf contained several young children, not yet of working age. Pressman Frank Brown's household, consisted of his wife Mary, and seven children, also included an 18-year old male boarder with no occupation recorded by the census enumerator. Brown's eldest son Frank, age 15, was employed as a helper in a local glass works, and thus contributed a modest wage to the family economy. The households of composers Henry Balson and Walter Saunders had no children, and the strategy of taking in a boarder probably allowed the couples greater flexibility in household planning and further enabled them to accumulate some modest savings.

Eight of the households where Methodist Book Room printing-trades workers were household heads also contained secondary wage earners. For these households, in particular, the 1901 census manuscript proved an invaluable source. An

estimate of the annual earnings of all wage workers in the household was included in the census enumeration, thus enabling a rough approximation of total household income for 1901. Two of the households provide further additional insights into the role of secondary wage earners within the household economy. The household of John Mills, an employee at the Book Room during the earlier period studied between 1882-83, illustrates the changing nature of the employment of secondary wage earners within the family over time. The second household, that of fireman Henry Edworthy, illustrates the persistence of family hiring practices by the firm already noted in the earlier periods studied between 1882-83 and 1890-91.

In the previous discussion of the households of printing-trades workers employed at the Methodist Book Room in 1882-83, the inadequacy of the wage earned by compositor John Mills to support his family of seven, and the need for the wage labour of Mills's second daughter Eva, was described in some detail. Twenty years later, John Mills was still employed as a compositor at the Methodist Book Room. The condition of the family economy, however, had changed dramatically. Eva no longer lived at home. Mills eldest daughter Mary, age 33, had an annual income of \$300 from her job as a dry goods clerk. Two younger male siblings also contributed a wage to the household. Arthur, age 22, earned \$360 in 1900-01 from his job as a bookkeeper, and 20-year old

Earnest earned \$250 in his occupation as a book-finisher. With John Mills's reported income of \$600 for 1900-01, the household income from the four wage workers was \$1,510. The improved economic conditions within the Mills household were integrally related to the income of the three additional wage earners, and a household decision-making strategy that kept children living within the home and contributing to the family economy rather than striking out independently.

The household headed by Methodist Book Room fireman Henry Edworthy also contained secondary wage earners, and all three wage workers were employed at the Methodist Book Room. John T. Edworthy, age 30, worked as a linotype machinist, probably repairing the machine., and his brother James, age 26, was employed as a pressman. According to the 1901 census, the wage earnings of the household over the previous year totalled \$1,612, with household head Henry Edworthy earning \$468, and sons John and James earning \$676 and \$468, respectively. The combined income of three wage workers was sufficient to support the family which also included Henry's wife, Mary, and two daughters, Mabel, age 37, and 13-year old Matilda. Interestingly, Mabel was listed in the census as a "retired" dressmaker, suggesting that within this particular family at least, the wage labour of sons was preferred where circumstances permitted.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ In her dissertation, Bradbury suggested important gender implications in the decision to send children into the wage labour market:

In 22 households where a Methodist Book Room printing-trades workers was linked with the 1901 census manuscript, the printing trades worker was found to be a secondary wage earner. Nine of the households were headed by widows, where the absence of a male household head resulted in a crisis situation for the working-class family, and brought about the necessity for the wage labour of offspring.⁶⁸ The conditions in the household of apprentice compositor Robert Wilson, following the death of his father Thomas Wilson Jr., have already been described in the introduction. A similar situation prevailed in the Kemp household, following the death of Robert Kemp, who was employed as a bookbinder in the Book Room's bindery during the previous period studied between 1890-91. At the time of the enumeration of the 1901 census, Robert Kemp's wife, Elizabeth, was a widow with nine

Families sent sons out to work in preference to daughters because sons could earn more. Gender based wage differentials in the marketplace reinforced old divisions of labour based on sex, making youth an apprenticeship for the role of man and wife. Girls combined domestic labour with intermittent wage labour in response to family needs, as daughters within the family economy and later in life as wife or widow.

Bradbury, "The Working Class Family Economy," 75. See also Bradbury, Working Families, ch. 4.

⁶⁸ The Methodist Book Room printing trades workers belonging to households headed by widows include: brothers Archibald and Robert Kemp, Robert Wilson, Vincent McCue, Thomas McIlroy, Christopher Thompson, Moses Fitzhenry, Eliza Blanchard, and Hattie Sims.

children living at home, three of whom were attending school. The two eldest sons were both employed at the Methodist Book Room: Archibald Kemp, age 24, a journeyman bookbinder, and his younger brother Robert, age 20, a press feeder. The persistence of family hiring practices at the Methodist Book Room into the early twentieth century is further revealed.⁶⁹ Four other siblings also contributed a wage to the Kemp household: Elizabeth, age 20, a machine hand; Wilhemina, age 19, a book wrapper; Gavin, age 16, an apprentice case maker; and George, age 14, an apprentice piano varnisher. Another daughter, Jenny, who it will be recalled was employed in the bindery in 1890-91, no longer lived at home at the time of the 1901 census enumeration. The total annual earnings recorded by the census enumerator reveal a combined income of \$1,150 from the six wage earners for 1900-01. The total income from wage work in the formal economy was probably adequate to support the family of ten at a subsistence level in early twentieth century Toronto.

The two households where women printing-trades workers

⁶⁹ There is also some limited evidence of inter-marriage among the families of printing trades workers at the Methodist Book Room. In personal correspondence, Mrs. Edith Durant, the granddaughter of John Letters, press room foreman during the 1880s, informed me that Letters's daughter, Jennie, married bookbinder Archie Kemp. Jennie's sister, Lillie, married John Barber, a pressman at the book room during the early twentieth century, including the 1902 calendar year studied. Before their marriages, both Lillie and Jennie Letters were employed by the Delineator Publishing Co., which leased the top flat of the Richmond St. premises of the Methodist book and Publishing House. Mrs. Edith Durant, personal correspondence with the author, January 1991.

were identified as secondary wage earners from the 1901 census, also had widows reported as the household head. Bookfolder Hattie Sims, age 19, lived with her widowed mother, her sister, and her brother-in-law. Hattie's income for 1901, together with that of her brother-in-law, a fireman, totalled only \$500. To make ends meet, the family also took in a male boarder. The second woman printing-trades workers, Eliza Blanchard, a 28-year old press feeder, contributed at least part of her meagre wages to the household of her widowed aunt, Jane Blanchard. Eliza's cousin, Lillie, age 19, was also employed in the printing trades as a bookfolder.

Brothers Henry and Julian Latremouille were secondary wage earners within the household, and provide yet another example of the employment of kin at the Methodist Book Room. In 1902, Julian was completing his apprenticeship as a pressman, while Henry, also worked in the press room as a press feeder. The two brothers lived in the household of their elder brother, Joseph, who was recorded in the 1901 census as a "printer," and Joseph's wife Annie. The total earnings of the Latremouille brothers, estimated at \$1,050 for 1900-01, together with the income from four lodgers probably allowed the brothers to accumulate some modest savings.

Only two workers on the Methodist Book Room payroll for 1902 were identified as boarders from linkages with the city

directories and the 1901 decennial census manuscript. Press feeder, William Shaw, who immigrated from Scotland in 1890 at age 13, lived in a York Street boarding house. Hattie Nixon, an unmarried bookfolder, age 36, boarded with a family. Taking into account the Department of Labour's rent estimate of \$182-\$208 for a single boarder in Toronto in 1902, and Nixon's yearly earnings of \$238.45, she must have been living in conditions of bare subsistence, and probably relied extensively on the informal economy of women for survival.

Analogous to the earlier periods studied between 1882-83 and 1890-91, the municipal tax assessment rolls were studied for 1901 for further additional insights into the living conditions of the Methodist Book Room printing-trades workers. A total of 46 Book Room workers on the payroll in 1902 were identified in the assessment rolls: 37 printing office workers; eight male bookbinders, and one woman bindery worker. There were no changes to the provincial tax assessment laws in the decade following the 1890-91 period with any relevance to the printing-trades workers considered from the 1902 Methodist Book Room payroll.

Tables 5.4 through 5.7, inclusive, contain the assessments for the 46 Methodist Book Room printing-trades workers found in the Toronto tax assessment rolls for 1901. According to the assessments, none of the workers identified had any taxable income, although a few journeymen compositors, pressmen, and bookbinders, and certainly the foremen, earned

at least the minimum taxable income of \$700. It is, however, significant that in the early twentieth century the majority of the workers on the Methodist Book Room's payroll earned less than the minimum taxable income. The tax assessments were based solely on the market value of the property. Also, there were no assessments of personal property for any of the Book Room workers studied. While it is possible that the personal property of the workers was below the taxable minimum, another, more likely, explanation was offered by Darroch. By 1900, very few people, Darroch indicated, were assessed as holding any taxable personal property, and "assessors may simply have come to rely increasingly on their own assessment of real estate and less on contacting and extracting information from residents."⁷⁰

Nearly three-quarters of the Book Room workers found in the assessment rolls (34 out of a total of 46) were tenants. This finding is somewhat surprising given the homeownership "boom" in Toronto between 1899 and 1921, recently documented by Richard Harris.⁷¹ According to Harris, rapidly rising rent prices in Toronto provided many families with a strong incentive to acquire a place of their own. Improvement in the availability and terms of mortgage credit, in particular the introduction of blended payment schemes, made the single-

⁷⁰ Darroch, "Early Industrialization," 41.

⁷¹ Richard Harris, "The Unremarked Homeownership Boom in Toronto," Histoire sociale- Social History, XVIII, 36 (November 1985), 433-37.

family dwelling more accessible for working-class families.⁷²

The 12 freeholders identified among the Methodist Book Room printing-trades workers were primarily skilled journeymen: seven compositors, three pressmen, one bookbinder, and one bindery woman. The woman freeholder was bindery forewoman Elizabeth Robin. A spinster, and the only child of James Robin, a painter by occupation, Elizabeth Robin probably inherited the house owned by her father upon his death.⁷³ As can be seen from the assessment figures in tables 5.4 through 5.7, the market values of the homes owned by the group of Book Room employees studied were relatively modest, ranging in value from \$416 to \$1,642, with an average

⁷² Doucet and Weaver explained blended payment schemes as follows:

Instead of having to secure savings or another loan to pay the principal at the end of the mortgage term, the mortgagor with a blended payments arrangement paid off the interest and principal together. The fifteen- or twenty-year term was another feature of the blended payment system that made home ownership seem easier to attain.

Michael Doucet and John Weaver, "The North American Shelter Business, 1860-1920: A Study of a Canadian Real Estate and Property Management Agency," Business History Review, 58,2 (Summer 1984), 244. See also Harris, "The Unremarked Homeownership Boom," 436.

⁷³This further raises the question of the extent to which male printing-trades workers acquired homes through father-son inheritance.

assessed value of \$1,112.50.⁷⁴

The Family Life Cycle and the Standard of Living of
Methodist Book Room Printing Trades Workers

The previous sections of this chapter provide snapshots of the households of Methodist Book Room printing-trades workers at three specific periods. Working-class and family historians have argued, however, that family survival strategies are life cycle-related.⁷⁵ A criticism of many of these previous studies of the family economy using a life cycle approach is that they do not provide a cross sectional analysis of a sample of families over time, but rather suggest broad tendencies in the organization of the family economy on the basis of static glimpses of families at a specific point in time, usually the date of the enumeration of the census. Thus, an attempt is made here to reconstruct the life histories of the select group of Methodist Book Room printing-trades workers between decades coinciding with the enumeration of the three decennial censuses of 1881, 1891, and 1901.

From the group of 36 Methodist Book Room workers studied between 1 April 1882 and 31 March 1883, 20 were identified by

⁷⁴ Unfortunately, in the 1901 municipal tax assessment rolls information concerning the types of materials used in the construction of the home was not included.

⁷⁵ Louise Tilly and Joan W. Scott, Women, Work, and Family (New York 1978); Bradbury, "The Working Class Family Economy"; Hareven, Family time and industrial time, chs. 7, 8.

household in the 1891 and 1901 census manuscripts, and/or the corresponding municipal tax assessment rolls. Among the bindery workers in 1890-91, only four workers were linked by household to either the 1881 and/ or the 1901 census manuscripts or assessment rolls. Three workers on the 1902 payroll were identified by household in the earlier 1881 and 1891 censuses. With the exception of bindery forewoman, Elizabeth Robin, the workers linked between census years were all skilled male workers, and tended to be long-time employees at the Methodist Book Room. The fact that women printing-trades workers typically were not linked across census periods is not surprising given the broader trends in women's labour force participation, and the tendency towards part-time, casual, seasonal, and irregular employment. Also, during the nineteenth and early twentieth century period studied, it was the custom for women to take the surnames of their husband upon marriage. Thus, without a prior knowledge of the names of the spouses of women printing-trades workers who subsequently married, it was impossible to reconstruct their life histories from the decennial census manuscripts.

Consistent with the previous life cycle analyses of working-class families, the most vulnerable families among the Methodist Book Room workers were those families in the early stages of formation, with only the income from the male household head to support a wife and several young children. The most solvent families were those in which one or more

children also worked for a wage, although the skilled worker status of the household head and primary wage earner, together with stable employment at the Book Room, were also critical in determining the standard of living attained by the printing-trades workers. Although available sources did not permit an analysis of the cultural importance of homeownership for late nineteenth and early twentieth century printing-trades workers, homeownership was not within the grasp of the majority of the Book Room workers studied.

Twelve of the Methodist Book Room workers linked between decennial census periods were skilled journeymen printing-trades workers and male household heads with young families. There was also a tendency for this group of workers to rent, rather than own, a single family dwelling.⁷⁶ The family economies of compositor John Mills and stereotyper William Organ, already discussed in detail above, are cases in point. Another additional example is the household of James Coulter, a job compositor at the Book Room in the 1882-83 period studied. During the latter part of the 1880s, Coulter

⁷⁶ Although the social reform literature, widely used by North American historians to describe living conditions among the working-class with the development of industrial capitalism, focuses on working-class tenements and slums and the need for urban reform, Robert Barrows argued that working-class housing in American cities during the period between 1870 and 1930 was typically the one or two family house. Piva also found this to be the case in Toronto during the period of his study between 1900 and 1921. See Robert G. Barrows, "Patterns of American Urban Housing, 1870-1930," Journal of Urban History, 9, 4 (August 1983) 395-420; Piva, The Conditions of the Working Class, 125-29.

married and started a family. According to the 1891 census, James Coulter and his wife Mary had three school-age children. The family shared their rented single-storey accommodation with James's elderly father William, age 69, and his sister Sarah, age 29. With James Coulter as the only wage earner, the resources of the family must have been strained and the family was no doubt reliant on the informal economy for survival.

Over the course of the family life cycle, eight of the Methodist Book Room workers identified as heads of household became home owners. Compositors James Courtney, Henry Balson, and Orlando Gammond all acquired homes in middle age. Although it might be assumed that later in the life cycle a family might conceivably have accumulated the necessary savings to finance the purchase of a home, it would appear that among the Methodist Book Room workers studied that skilled worker status and long-term stable employment with the firm were the primary determinants in the acquisition of a home. The households of two other Methodist Book Room printing-trades workers identified from the 1882-83 printing office payroll, compositors Robert Self and James Taylor are cases in point. In 1891, Self and Taylor were still employed at the Book Room, and both compositors were home owners. At some point between 1881 and 1891, James Taylor left the household of his widowed mother, and by 1891, he was married with one child. Taylor was the owner of a two storey house

built of brick and roughcast with a market value of \$1,500, which was comparatively high by working-class standards. Robert Self also left the household headed by his widowed mother at some point between 1881 and 1891. At the time of the enumeration of the 1891 census, Self was married with two young children, four and six years of age. Like Self, Taylor also owned a home which was assessed in 1891 with a market value of \$1,903. Although the families of Taylor and Self were in the early formative stages in 1891, the journeymen compositors had both acquired a home.

An indication of how precarious life was for late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Toronto working-class families was clearly illustrated when the printing-trades workers and household head died. This was already suggested in the discussion of the households of bookbinder Robert Kemp and compositor Thomas Wilson Jr. A similar situation also prevailed in the households of male printing-trades workers following the early demise of their spouses. The wife of job compositor Amos Pudsey died between the enumeration of the 1891 and 1901 censuses. In 1901, Pudsey, now a foreman, was left with five children between the ages of five and 16, none of whom were reported in the census enumeration as working for a wage. The family employed a housekeeper to tend to domestic needs.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ See, for example, Bettina Bradbury, "The Fragmented Family: Family Strategies in the Face of Death, Illness, and Poverty, Montreal, 1860-1885, in Joy Parr, ed., Childhood and

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter focussed on the relationship between the cost of living and the family economies and household survival strategies of printing-trades workers at the Methodist Book Room. The households of a group of workers on the Book Room's payrolls at three different periods, 1882-82, 1890-91, and 1902, were reconstructed through linkages with the Toronto municipal tax assessment roles and the decennial census of 1881, 1891 and 1901. An attempt was made to determine the living conditions and survival strategies of the families of Methodist Book Room printing-trades workers, during each of the three periods. The extent to which the male breadwinner wage form was a reality for printing-trades workers employed at the Methodist Book Room was also considered. The male breadwinner wage was a reality only for comparatively few skilled male printing-trades workers and foremen at the upper end of the shop-floor hierarchy. In the subsequent chapter the analysis extends to unionism among Toronto printing-trades workers and considers breadwinner ideology as a strategy to protect the interests of journeymen in the printing trades.⁷⁸

Family in Canadian History (Toronto 1982), 109-28.

⁷⁸ This finding is consistent with Bradbury's findings for late nineteenth-century Montreal, where she found that with the exception of a few families where the male household head was employed in the most skilled trades, "the largest fraction of the working-class, the unskilled, and most in trades undergoing rapid transformation, had to find ways of complementing the wages of the male family head to achieve

The majority of workers studied at each of the three one-year periods were in the vulnerable early stages of family formation when children were not yet old enough to contribute a wage to the family economy, and the family was dependent on the income from a single wage earner. The households of compositor Thomas Wilson Jr. and bookbinder Robert Kemp illustrate the crisis conditions that occurred within the families of Toronto printing-trades workers following the early demise of the male household head and sole wage earner. A greater measure of economic flexibility was found in those households with a male journeyman printing-trades worker as the primary wage earner, with one or more of the older children contributing to the family economy. Most apprentices and unmarried journeymen continued to live at home during the stage in the life cycle previous to marriage.

If homeownership was a goal of the late nineteenth-century working class as Katz suggests, it was a goal seldom attained by the group of printing-trades workers studied.⁷⁹ The majority of the printing-trades workers who were heads of household rented modest single family dwellings. The handful of Book Room workers who became home owners were characterized by skilled worker status and long-term stable

the minimum standard of living...." Bradbury, Working Families, ch. 3.

⁷⁹ Katz, The People of Hamilton, 78-9.

employment with the firm. There was also a slight tendency for homeownership to be life cycle-related, with workers acquiring homes in middle age, probably after accumulating a small "nest egg" over their career, or possibly inheriting a house.

The wage labour of women was under-enumerated in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century censuses. A few unmarried women bindery workers were, however, identified as boarders from the 1891 census. For these women the standard of living almost certainly approached poverty level, as the cost of rent consumed the bulk of their meagre wages. For these women bindery workers the informal economy was no doubt crucial for survival.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century period a pattern of kin employment was found at the Methodist Book Room. It is not known whether the firm formally implemented a policy of hiring workers from the same family. The high incidence of family employment suggests, however, that informal kin networks assisted workers in securing positions, or entry into apprenticeship, at the Book Room.

CHAPTER VI

DEFENDING "THE ART PRESERVATIVE:" CLASS AND GENDER RELATIONS IN THE TORONTO PRINTING TRADES UNIONS, 1870-1924

The preamble to the 1903 revised constitution of the Toronto Typographical Union delineates the union's purposes:

To establish and maintain an equitable scale of wages and protect ourselves from sudden or unreasonable fluctuations in the rate of compensation for our labor; and protect, too, just and honorable employers from the unfair competition of greedy, cheap labor, huckstering rivals; to defend our rights and advance our interests as workmen; to create an authority whose seal shall constitute a certificate of character, intelligence and skill; to build up an organization where all worthy members of our craft can participate in the discussion of the practical problems upon the solution of which depends their welfare and prosperity as workers; to foster fellowship and brotherhood, and shield from aggression the isolated and defenseless toiler, to aid the destitute and unfortunate, and provide for the decent burial of deceased members; to develop and stimulate, by association and social converse, true manhood; to encourage the principle and practice of conciliation and arbitration in the settlement of differences between capital and labor; to incite all honorable efforts for the attainment of better conditions of labor-- shorter hours, increased privileges, and greater enjoyment of the ennobling amenities of life, the concomitants of culture and civilization; to defend the defenceless, befriend the friendless, and in all charity inculcate lessons of justice and good will among men....¹

Wayne Roberts used the above quotation in developing his argument that the printers institutionalized much of the "artisanal package" of the earlier craft society into trade

¹ Insert Toronto Typographical Union Minutes (TTU), 17 October 1903. Emphasis mine.

union practice.² Similarly, Gregory Kealey characterizes the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a period of "union regulation" of the Toronto printing trades during which the printers combined craft custom with trade unionism, and were successful in their struggles with employers for job control.³ Both historians further suggest that the incorporation of artisan custom into trade-union regulation in turn accounts for the predominant role played by printers as "progenitors of the modern labour movement."⁴

With their emphasis on the institutionalization of craft custom into trade union practice, and the concomitant development of a "culture of control," Kealey and Roberts neglect the centrality of patriarchal relations in the conflict between employers and the "male-orchestrated, male-led, and male-oriented" printing trades unions.⁵ How the

² Wayne Roberts, "The Last Artisans: Toronto Printers, 1896," in Gregory S. Kealey and Peter Warrian, eds., Essays in Canadian Working Class History (Toronto 1976), 129-30.

³ Gregory S. Kealey, "Work Control, the Labour Process, and Nineteenth-Century Canadian Printers," in Craig Heron and Robert Storey, eds., On the Job: Confronting the Labour Process in Canada (Montreal and Kingston 1986), 76, 86-94.

⁴ Roberts, "The Last Artisans," 141; Wayne Roberts, "Studies in the Toronto Labour Movement, 1896-1914," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1978; Kealey, "Work Control," 75; Gregory S. Kealey, Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism, 1867-1892 (Toronto 1980), ch.6.

⁵ Jacques Ferland, "'In Search of the Unbound Promethia': A Comparative View of Women's Activism in Two Quebec Industries, 1869-1908," Labour/ Le Travail, 24 (Spring 1989), 16. This is not to suggest, however, that Roberts neglects any analysis of gender in his historical writings. A chapter of his dissertation, published previously as Honest Woman-

Toronto printing trades unions were socially organized to sustain unequal gender relations in the context of capitalist industrialization, in order to carry out the objectives delineated by the union in 1903, namely, "to defend our rights and advance our interests as workingmen," while developing "those kindly instincts of humanity that most highly adorn true manhood," remains unstudied in the completed historical writings.⁶ Also, the glorification of craft unionism in the writings of Kealey and Roberts excludes any consideration of fragmentation within the working class, specifically, the neglect of the interests of women printing-trades workers by male unionists for purposes of maintaining their position of gender privilege, all of which occurs under conditions of industrial capitalist exploitation.⁷

hood, is an important ground-breaking effort to consider the relationship between work and the emergence of feminist consciousness among women wage workers. Roberts' conceptualization of gender, however, neglects any analysis of the social relations between men and women, and is thus one-sided. See Wayne Roberts, Honest Womanhood: Feminism, Femininity and Class Consciousness Among Toronto Working Women, 1893 to 1914 (Toronto 1976).

⁶ The notion of "true manhood" is also a part of the discourse of the moral reform movement that evolved in Canada during the latter part of the nineteenth century. See Mariana Valverde, The Age of Light, Soap, and Water (Toronto 1991).

⁷ Feminist historians have given some attention to the exclusionist strategies formulated by male unionists in response to the complex interaction between class conflict and gender antagonism. See, for example, Heidi Hartmann, "Capitalism, Patriarchy, and Job Segregation by Sex," Signs, 1, 3, Part 2 (Spring 1976), 137-69; Sarah Eisenstein, Give us bread but give us roses: Working women's consciousness in the United States, 1890 to the First World War (London 1983), 25; Sonya O. Rose, "Gender antagonism and class conflict:

Thus, an analysis of the historical development of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Toronto printing trades unionism that incorporates not only workers' defensive struggles for craft control, but also struggles over patriarchal relations is needed. The chartering of separate unions of pressmen, stereotypers, lithographers, photoengravers, and bookbinders during the late nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century also requires historical study, but in the context of the emergence of new technologies, the social reconstitution of "skill," and the gender division of labour. The analysis thus shifts to the entirety of the Toronto printing trades.

The first part of this chapter focuses on craft control and male domination of the printing sector of the Toronto printing industry and the virtual exclusion of women by the Toronto Typographical Union during the period from 1870 to 1914. This period was previously identified as a period of segmentation in the city's printing industry with the separation of newspaper publishing from book and job print-

exclusionary strategies of male trade unionists in nineteenth-century Britain," Social History, 13,2 (May 1988), 191-208; Ruth Milkman, "Organizing the Sexual Division of Labor: Historical Perspectives on "Women's Work," and the American Labor Movement," Socialist Review, 49 (January-February 1980), 95-149; Ruth Frager, "No Proper Deal: Women Workers and the Canadian Labour Movement, 1870-1940," in Linda Briskin and Lynda Yanz, eds., Union Sisters: Women in the Labour Movement (Toronto 1983), 44-64; Marie Campbell, "Sexism in British Columbia Trade Unions, 1900-1920," in Barbara Latham and Kathy Kess, eds., In Her Own Right: Selected Essays on Women's History in British Columbia (Victoria 1980), 167-86.

ing, and a division in the labour process with the separation of composition, which remained labour intensive and reliant on the skill of the hand compositor, from presswork which was increasingly mechanized with the development of cylinder and rotary presses. Strategies formulated by male unionists in the typographical union in defense of a masculine craft-based notion of "skill" and to exclude women hand compositors from the union are considered in part two of this chapter. Part three is a discussion of the conflict surrounding the introduction of machine typesetting into the Toronto printing industry during the 1890s, and the ensuing crisis of class and gender which posed a threat to the domination of the male hand compositors in the typographical union. An analysis of the "apprentice question" and the decline of apprenticeship as a means of acquiring both skill in the trade and "manliness" with the emergence of technical education in the early twentieth century is undertaken in part four. The discussion of the typographical union is completed in part five with a consideration of the Woman's Auxiliary formed in 1905. ITU Woman's Auxiliary No. 42 was intended primarily as a support service for the male-dominated typographical union. The latter two sections of the chapter focus on the organization of separate unions in the various printing trades with technological innovations and developments in the labour process. Particular emphasis is placed on the bookbinding sector where folding and stitching were socially defined as

women's work, thus, permitting further analysis of gender inequality in the context of printing trades unionism.

Extensive primary sources are available for the historical study of printers' union organization, which might, perhaps, be attributed to the fact that literacy was a requirement of the compositor's job. For Toronto, specifically, the minutes from both the regular monthly meetings of the Toronto Typographical Union and the meetings of the union executive are extant for most of the period studied between 1870 and 1914.⁸ Although not as detailed as the typographical union minutes, the minutes from the monthly meetings of the Toronto Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union, Local 10 are extant from 9 March 1883 to 7 December 1890, as are the minutes from the Web Pressmen's Union, No. 1 for the period between 16 January 1902 and December 1922.⁹ Minutes from the meetings of the workplace unit of the union, or the "chapel" in printers' parlance, exist for the daily Empire from 25 December 1887 to 30 March 1894, and provide a wealth of insight into social relations among male workers within the

⁸ The extant TTU minutes relevant for the periodization of this study are as follows: Minutes of the Regular Meetings of the TTU, 12 January 1870 to 1 September 1883; 4 October 1890 to 5 December 1914; and Minutes of the Meetings of the Executive Committee of the TTU, 1 March 1902 to 26 December 1914, PAO.

⁹ Minutes of the Meetings of Toronto Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, Local 10, 9 March 1883 to 7 December 1890, NAC; Minutes of the Meetings of Toronto Web Pressmen's Union, No.1, 16 January 1902 to 21 December 1914, PAO.

composing room.¹⁰ Unfortunately, similar minutes for the other printing trades unions organized in Toronto during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were not found. The organs of the international unions namely the International Bookbinder, the American Pressman, the Typographical Journal, and the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers Union Journal, however, contain information about local activities from union correspondents in addition to information about interaction between the Toronto locals and the international unions.¹¹

I

"United to Support; Not Combined to Injure:" Job Control and Patriarchal Domination of Toronto Printing Trades Unionism, 1870 to 1914

The origins of printing trades unionism in Toronto lie in the organization of the York Typographical Society by twenty-four journeymen printers on 12 October 1832, in response to changes in the craft perceived by the journeymen

¹⁰ Empire Chapel Minute Book, 25 December 1887 to 30 March 1894, Robert Kenny Collection, University of Toronto Archives.

¹¹ Typographical Journal (TJ), 1 (1), 15 July 1889 to XLV, 6 (December 1914); International Bookbinder (IB), 1 (1), January 1900 to XV, 12 (December 1914); American Pressman (AP), 1 (1), November 1890 to XXV, 1 (December 1914); International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union Journal (IE&SUJ), available from V, 1 (January 1910) to IX, 12 (December 1914).

to be "of a kind highly detrimental to their interests."¹² In response to this crisis in social relations of production, which was attributed to the recent innovations in steam presses and the process of stereotyping, the journeymen incorporated clauses into the constitution of the typographical society intended to protect their interests. Among the changes in the constitution were a standard wage rate of £1, 15s per week, a ten-hour work day, payment for over-time work, apprentice regulations, and travel assistance for members wishing to seek employment elsewhere.¹³ The York Typographical Society collapsed in 1836 in the aftermath of a failed effort to achieve wage parity with New York printers and the political turmoil of the pre-rebellion period.¹⁴

After a lapse of eight years, the union was reorganized on 9 February 1844, when the employers attempted to reduce the wages of journeymen printers. At this time, the journeymen adopted as their motto: "United to Support, Not Combined to Injure," to stipulate the intent of the society "to meet any emergency," and to placate any accusations of illegal combination.¹⁵ The Toronto Typographical Union has persisted continuously since 1844.

¹² See John Armstrong's serialized history of the TTU, originally published in the Toiler, and located in the Robert Kenny Collection, University of Toronto Archives.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.; Kealey, Toronto Workers, 84.

¹⁵ Ibid.

Approached by the New York union to join the National Typographical Union in February 1859, the Toronto local postponed affiliating with the national union until 1866.¹⁶ Upon joining the NTU, the union became the Toronto Typographical Union, Local 91. The affiliation of the TTU with the NTU was part of a campaign initiated at the 1860 convention of the NTU to draw unions in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Canada East, and Canada West into the organization. In 1869, the NTU was renamed the International Typographical Union (ITU), to recognize the inclusion of Canadian members.¹⁷

One of the strengths of the typographical union, as Kealey and Roberts have both already suggested, lies in the fact that previous to the widespread implementation of machine typesetting in the 1890s printing was not a "beleaguered craft."¹⁸ Despite the invention of power presses the old skills of the hand compositor and the letter pressman were never entirely displaced. While other crafts had undergone a crisis of skill and of masculinity with capitalist industrialization, the skills of the hand craftsman in

¹⁶ Sally F. Zerker, The Rise and Fall of the Toronto Typographical Union 1832-1972: A Case Study of Foreign Domination (Toronto 1982), 73-7; Kealey, "Work Control," 82.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Roberts, "The Last Artisans," 126; Kealey, Toronto Workers, 89-90.

printing had remained vital to commodity production.¹⁹ Another additional strength of the typographical union was that workplace regulation by male trade unionists was consolidated through the assimilation of the "chapel" as the workplace unit of the union. Although they were subject to union approval, each chapel framed a set of by-laws for their shop.²⁰

It will be recalled from the previous discussion of the social organization of production at the Methodist Book Room, that the chapel functioned as a self-regulating body within the workplace controlling production, maintaining order and discipline within the shop, and sustaining a close identity of interest among a fraternity of men. Further insight into this shop-floor level of patriarchal organization is found in an extant minute book from the chapel of a local daily newspaper, the Empire, for the period from 1887 to 1894.²¹

¹⁹ For historical writings concerning the social construction of masculinity and gender relations in other trades with capitalist industrialization see Joy Parr, The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950 (Toronto 1990); Patricia A. Cooper, Once a Cigar Maker: Men, Women, and Work Culture in American Cigar Factories, 1900-1919 (Urbana and Chicago 1987); Mary H. Blewett, Men, Women, and Work: Class, Gender, and Protest in the New England Shoe Industry, 1789-1910 (Chicago 1988); Nancy Grey Osterud, "Gender Divisions and the Organization of Work in the Leicester Hosiery Industry," in Angela V. John, ed., Unequal Opportunities: Women's Employment in England 1800-1918 (London 1986), 45-68.

²⁰ A.J.M. Sykes, "Trade-Union Workshop Organization in the Printing Industry-- The Chapel," Human Relations, 13(1960), 49-65.

²¹ Empire Chapel Minutes, 25 December 1887 to 30 March 1894.

The monthly meetings of the chapel were called to order by a shop steward, who was typically elected on an annual basis by the workers in the shop. The shop steward retained the customary title of "Father of the Chapel." He looked to the interests of the journeymen within the workplace and maintained discipline within the shop. In the case of the Empire chapel, the order of business at the monthly meetings typically centred around the distribution of advertisements and the easily composed and more remunerative "phat" matter among piece-rate compositors, and the rotation of the task of "objectionable man" among the journeymen. The "objectionable man" was paid a bonus by the other compositors in the chapel for distributing the small type heads, such as periods, semicolons, dashes, and other "unpopular" matter, which would otherwise result in the loss of time which was valuable to compositors receiving piece rates. The self-regulatory function of the chapel is also suggested by the implementation of new regulations as circumstances warranted. For instance, at the 25 January 1890 meeting of the Empire chapel the members instituted a rule stipulating: "any member of this chapel found putting slugs in any other than the proper place assigned for them shall be fined the sum of not less than 25 cents."²²

Each compositor employed in the newspaper office had a "sit," and when he was ill or wanted time off it was his duty

²² Ibid., 25 January 1890.

to appoint a "sub." The chapel also regulated the employment of subs. At the Empire, rules of the chapel stated that "a sub engaging on a frame must stay on that frame until such time as relieved by the regular resuming work." This particular rule was formulated in response to a crisis that arose in the composing room when a frame was left vacant through a misunderstanding between the regular and the sub as to which compositor was to work on a particular day.²³ The above example suggests that workplace regulations were modified by the chapel as circumstances warranted. Thus, the late-nineteenth century printers' chapel was not merely a replication of the earlier craft societies, but was transformed by industrial capitalist development and an increasing division of labour.

The membership of foremen in the typographical union was crucial to the success of the journeymen printers in defending their position in the workplace during the period between 1870 and 1914. While the shop foreman controlled the hiring and firing of workers, the foreman as a member of the union was also subject to union sanction if he violated union laws at the request of the employer.²⁴ Interestingly, union

²³ Ibid., 20 January 1888.

²⁴ Zerker, The Rise and Fall, 112; Kealey, Toronto Workers, 86. There is also some limited evidence of employer resistance to foreman membership in the TTU. In August 1910, W. George, foreman at Hunter, Rose & Co., was brought before the union on charges of non-payment of dues. George responded that Rose did not want a foreman to be a member of the union. See TTU Minutes, 25 August 1910.

membership by employers was also found in the Toronto local during the early 1870s. When Charles Hawkins entered into co-proprietorship with Samuel Bell in 1872, he requested that the union allow him to remain a member.²⁵ After considerable debate, the union granted Hawkin's request.²⁶ The fact that the request had to be made and that a lengthy debate ensued suggests, however, that employer membership was already quite unusual and that class lines were becoming more clearly drawn. By 1873 employers were excluded from membership in the union, and members who became proprietors were forced to resign from the union.²⁷

During the period from 1870 to 1914, composers successfully defended their status as skilled workingmen using the chapel as the workplace unit of the local union. TTU law stated: "All differences between employers and employees, and between the hands, shall, if possible, be settled by the Chapel."²⁸ Only when a settlement was found to be "impracticable" by the chapel was the matter referred to the President for action by the union.²⁹ Grievances were typically handled by the local union, and only rarely were

²⁵ TTU Minutes, 5 October 1872.

²⁶ TTU Minutes, 2 November 1872.

²⁷ TTU Minutes, 7 June 1873; 5 July 1873.

²⁸ Constitution and By-Laws of the Toronto Typographical Union, Revised 1872.

²⁹ Ibid.

appeals against the decision of the local union made to the executive council of the ITU.

Available minutes from the meetings of the TTU for the bulk of the period between 1870 and 1914, reveal the types of grievances handled by the local typographical union. Among the grievances brought before the union were violations of the terms of apprenticeship by employers.³⁰ In an effort to reduce production costs, employers took on more apprentices than the journeyman-apprentice ratio of one to five stipulated in union law. Violations of the terms of apprenticeship not only threatened union regulation of the conditions of entry into the trade, but the use of cheap apprentice labour by employers jeopardized the position of the journeymen printer as the family "breadwinner."³¹ Other

³⁰ See for example, TTU Minutes, November 1870, 4 April 1871, 24 July 1871, 14 October 1871, 8 January 1881, 2 April 1881, 6 May 1893, 1 May 1897, 2 December 1899, 2 November 1901; Executive Committee Minutes, 24 February 1906.

³¹ With the exception of an essay by Patricia Connelly, the family wage ideal has received little scholarly attention in the Canadian context. Although relying extensively on secondary literature, Wally Secombe has studied the development of the male breadwinner ideal in nineteenth-century Britain. Jane Mark-Lawson and Anne Witz recently completed research focussing on the transformation from "family labour" to "family wage" in the nineteenth-century coalmining industry. Similarly, the concept of a "living wage," or a wage adequate for a male primary wage earner to support his family at a level above subsistence has received some limited consideration in the US context. See M. Patricia Connelly, "Women Workers and the Family Wage in Canada," in Anne Holberg, ed., Women and the World of Work (New York 1982), 223-37; Wally Secombe, "Patriarchy stabilized: the Construction of the male breadwinner wage norm in nineteenth-century Britain," Social History, 11, 1 (January 1986), 53-76; Jane Mark-Lawson and Anne Witz, "From 'family labour' to 'family

grievances made by the chapels to the TTU concerned apprentices doing the work of journeymen compositors and disagreements among chapel members over the distribution of advertisements and easily set "phat" matter.³²

With innovations in the stereotyping process during the period after 1870, newspaper publishers increasingly turned to pre-set boiler plate matter or matrices to avoid costly composition costs. The use of plate matter for advertisements cut into the compositors' customary prerogative over "phat" matter. In December 1892 the Mail chapel submitted a grievance to the local union that type had been added both at the top and the bottom of an electrotypes advertisement appearing in the newspaper, and demanded that the advertisement be considered as "reset" and that the compositor be remunerated accordingly.³³ Subsequently, a provision was incorporated into the newspaper scale stipulating: "The

wage? The case of women's labour in nineteenth-century coalmining," Social History, 13, 2 (May 1988), 151-74; Hilary Land, "The Family Wage," Feminist Review, 6 (1980), 55-77; Michèle Barrett and Mary McIntosh, "The 'Family Wage': Some Problems for Socialists and Feminists," Capital & Class, 11 (Summer 1980), 51-72; Martha May, "Bread before roses: American workingmen, labor unions and the family wage," in Ruth Milkman, ed., Women, Work, and Protest (London 1985), 1-21; Ruth Milkman, "Organizing the Sexual Division of Labor," 108-9.

³² See for example, TTU Minutes, 28 October 1871, 21 November 1871, 3 April 1873, 12 August 1876, 5 January 1878, 6 February 1881, 5 May 1883, 13 December 1890, 6 May 1893, 7 April 1894, 7 October 1899, 2 November 1901, 3 December 1910, 7 January 1911; Executive Committee Minutes, 4 June 1904, 25 June 1904, 24 September 1909, 6 July 1912.

³³ TTU Minutes, 3 December 1892.

loaning and borrowing of matter or matrices between newspapers printed in separate establishments, either by employer or employee, is prohibited, except in extraordinary emergencies, which renders it unavoidable."³⁴

Despite the attempt by the local union to legislate against the use of borrowed matrices, grievances concerning the abuse of matrices continued to appear before the local union throughout the remainder of the 1890s and into the early 1900s. In an effort at policing the use of matrix advertisements, the union passed a resolution in August 1903 requiring the shop stewards in newspaper offices to submit proofs of all matrices to the local's business committee every month.³⁵ The newspaper scale signed in 1907 by the Local 91 and the newspaper publishers stipulated:

Sec.5- The loaning, borrowing, purchasing or sale of news matter in type, linotype, matrice or plate form, or of miscellaneous matter or cuts in such form, between the newspapers represented in this agreement, is prohibited. This section shall not be construed as prohibiting the acceptance and use by newspapers of plates, blocks, and matrices of advertisements of establishments located outside of Toronto, or of Toronto advertisers, not properly considered merely local advertisers.³⁶

A dispute between Local 91 and the newspaper publishers over the latter part of section 5, in particular the definition of "local advertisers" ensued. Although Local 91 President

³⁴ TTU Minutes, 4 March 1899.

³⁵ TTU Minutes, 1 August 1903.

³⁶ Insert TTU Minutes, 1 June 1907.

James Simpson, corresponded with ITU President Lynch concerning the possibility of international arbitration, the dispute was resolved locally.³⁷ On 10 July 1908, James Stevenson and Hugh Stevenson acting on behalf of the union and J.F. Mackay and J.E. Atkinson representing the newspaper publishers reached an agreement on the interpretation of the latter portion of section 5 of the newspaper scale.³⁸ The local arbitrators ruled that the following did not need to be reset: "Cuts, blocks or matrices of advertisements, the order for which comes from a recognized advertising agency or from an advertiser direct, either in or outside the city of Toronto, except where they appear in Toronto papers only, the onus of proof to be on the publisher."³⁹

Worker militancy in the Toronto printing trades and the role of Toronto printers as progenitors of the Canadian labour movement, notably during the now famous 1872 strike for the nine-hour day, have already received considerable scholarly attention from Canadian historians, and thus will not be discussed in detail here.⁴⁰ An overview of the

³⁷ TTU Minutes, 6 June 1908.

³⁸ TTU Minutes, 15 July 1908.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ See Harold A. Logan, The History of Trade-Union Organization in Canada (Chicago 1928), 8-17, 29-42; Eugene Forsey, Trade Unionism in Canada, 1812-1902 (Toronto 1982), 47-50, 95-106; Kealey, Toronto Workers, 87-96, 124-38; J.M.S. Careless, Brown of the Globe, Vol. 2 (Toronto, Reprint 1989), 289-95; B. Ostry, "Conservatives, Liberals, and Labour in the 1870's," Canadian Historical Review, 41(1960), 93-127.

strikes and lockouts involving Toronto printing-trades workers over the entire sweep of the period studied between 1870 and 1914, and the issues involved in these conflicts is found in Appendix A. In his historical writings focusing on the nineteenth century Toronto printers, Kealey argued that the primary issues of the struggles "revolved around control and authority."⁴¹ While the conflicts revolved around union recognition, wages, hours, and the closed shop, all struggles which largely resulted in victories for the printers, Kealey in his focus on workers' control fails to take into consideration the centrality of patriarchal relations in the discourse. These struggles were not simply class struggles for workplace control. The struggles were also "male-orchestrated, male-led, and male-oriented labour conflicts" in defense of masculine craft-based notions of skill, and in defense of the socially-defined status of the journeyman as the family provider.⁴² Thus, the success of the printers in their struggles with employers cannot be attributed solely to a "culture of control," and the centrality of patriarchal relations in the resolution of the conflict between employers and labour in these defensive struggles must also be taken into consideration.⁴³

⁴¹ Kealey, "Work Control," 84-6.

⁴² Ferland, "In Search of the Unbound Promethia," 16.

⁴³ See *Ibid.*, 11-44; Hartmann, "Capitalism, Patriarchy, and Job Segregation by Sex," 139.

Interestingly, following the labour conflicts of the 1870s, a "Guardian Committee" comprised of three members was established by Local 91 in October 1879 to "act in all cases in relation to unfair offices and unfair men as a Secret Committee."⁴⁴ The organization of a secret society was not unique to the Toronto local of the ITU. At the 1880 convention of the ITU, the activities of the "Brotherhood of the Union of North America," a secret society comprised of printers from the various ITU members, was the central topic of discussion.⁴⁵ Although the delegates attending the convention ruled that "the existence of such an organization within the membership of the subordinates of the International Union is destructive of the spirit of brotherhood and equality upon which the union is founded," and declared the organization illegal, the Brotherhood continued to function on into the 1890s, and subsequently became part of the "Wahneta" faction of the two-party political system within the ITU.⁴⁶ Sociologists Lipset, Trow, and Coleman suggested that the function of these secret societies within the union organization was to sustain the militancy of the union members, and to engage in workplace activities which would

⁴⁴ TTU Minutes, 4 October 1879.

⁴⁵ George A. Tracy, History of The Typographical Union (Indianapolis 1913), 320.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

force employers to accept the terms of the union.⁴⁷ It is likely that the Guardian Committee of Local 91 was associated with the Brotherhood, given that John Armstrong, a member of the Guardian Committee was also president of the ITU from 8 June 1878 to 5 June 1879. What is significant, however, is that a fraternity of "brothers" was functioning to defend the interests of the union at the workplace level, thus suggesting a discourse between the defense of working-class masculinity and resistance to industrial capitalist exploitation.⁴⁸

II

Women Compositors and Strategies of Gender Exclusion in the Typographical Union

What has been neglected in the historical writings of Kealey and Roberts in their emphasis on the institutionalization of craft custom into trade unionism, and the maintenance of a "culture of control," is that the social organization of production, masculine definitions of "skill," and male domination of the typographical union, functioned to the virtual exclusion of women for the purposes of protecting

⁴⁷ Seymour Martin Lipset, Martin A. Trow, and James S. Coleman, Union Democracy: The Internal Politics of the International Typographical Union (New York 1956), 37-47.

⁴⁸ For an analysis of masculine solidarity in nineteenth-century American fraternal organizations see Mary Ann Clawson, Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism (Princeton 1989).

the interests of the male printers under conditions of industrial capitalist exploitation. The NTU raised the issue of the inclusion of women in the union shortly after its formation, at the 1854 convention held in Buffalo. At the convention a resolution was adopted "that this union will not encourage, by its acts, the employment of females as compositors."⁴⁹ The "woman question" re-emerged at the international level in the 1860s. At the 1867 convention of the NTU, the delegates decided that the question of the employment of women compositors was a local matter and should thus be settled by the local union.⁵⁰ Two years later, in 1869, the international union, since renamed the ITU in recognition of the Canadian membership, passed an amendment to the constitution providing for the granting of separate charters for women printers in any city where the application was approved "by the subordinate union of male members."⁵¹ In the aftermath of a New York printers' strike in January 1869, during which Susan B. Anthony, as head of the Working Women's Association, encouraged employers to establish a school for the training of women typesetters, Women's Typographical Union No. 1 was chartered.⁵² The experiment in trade

⁴⁹Tracy, History of The Typographical Union, 153-4.

⁵⁰Ibid., 226.

⁵¹ Tracy, History of The Typographical Union, 235.

⁵² Ibid., 253-6; TJ, LVII,4 (October 1920), 408-9; and William Leach, True Love and Perfect Union: The Feminist Reform of Sex and Society (New York 1980), 165-89.

unionism by the New York women printers was not successful and met with hostility from the male unionists. At the 1873 convention of the ITU in Montreal, a motion was passed that no more charters be granted to unions comprised of women only, although women were permitted to join the men's locals.⁵³ This further suggests a reinforcement of patriarchal control within the ITU.

Although Toronto printers were no doubt aware of the events in New York, the impact of the women's activism within the local Toronto printing trades is not known. According to the 1871 decennial census only 9 of 353 printing office workers in Toronto were women, and some of these women were probably press feeders.⁵⁴ In 1889, Local 91 reported that only 35 women as compared to 595 union and non-union men were employed as compositors in Toronto. Twenty-eight of the women compositors were employed in the Truth office, a non-union weekly newspaper and job printing establishment. Of the remaining women compositors, four of the women were employed at the Central Press Agency, a boiler plate concern owned by the World newspaper company, two set type at Dudley & Burns, and one woman was employed at Timms, Moore & Co. Both of the latter businesses were non-union job printing shops. All of the women were "learners," with experience in

⁵³ Tracy, History of the Typographical Union, 268.

⁵⁴ Ontario Census Returns 1871, City of Toronto, District 46, Schedule 6, Census of 1871, NAC, RG 31, Vol. 801.

the trade ranging from one to four years.⁵⁵ During the 1870s and 1880s, the small number of women compositors in Toronto posed little threat to the livelihood of journeymen printers or to their socially defined status as "craftsmen" within the workplace. The skill of the male hand compositor remained essential to the production process and was not yet threatened by mechanization or a gender division of labour.

When asked if the union had any objection to taking in women compositors as members, John Lumsden, a Toronto newspaper compositor and the vice-president of TTU Local 91, testified to the Royal Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labour in November 1887, that the union had no objections to women belonging to the union as long as they came in on "equal terms" with the men.⁵⁶ Testimony by Stewart L. Dunlop, also a journeyman printer and member of Local 91, although not working at the trade at the time, revealed that women practically never entered the workplace on equal terms with men compositors.

Q.-Do female compositors work by the day or week, or by the piece? A.- They work, I believe by the piece.

Q.-If they do the same class of work as male compositors are they paid the same rate? A.- Well, not usually....

Q.- Do these female compositors begin in the same manner that boys do and work up to the position we would call journey work in the same manner? A.- No, they are put on case immediately, and are given

⁵⁵ TV, I, 3 (15 September 1889).

⁵⁶ Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital in Canada, 1889, Ontario Evidence, 109.

copy and told to proceed.⁵⁷

Later in the questioning Dunlop was asked:

Q.- Do employing printers prefer female labor at the lower wages to journeymen at the higher wages?

A.- Some do.

Q.-Then there is an advantage to the employer in getting females at the lower wages? A.-There must be in some cases, but, of course those who do first-class work and are competing for first-class work scarcely employ female labor at all except for feeding presses.⁵⁸

The tendency towards ambiguity in the responses made by Dunlop might perhaps be attributed to the fact that he was responding to questions posed by A.T. Freed, Tory editor of the Hamilton Spectator.⁵⁹ Dunlop's testimony, however, does suggest that the conditions of capitalist industrialization within the nineteenth-century printing trades denied women both access to apprenticeship on the same terms as men and wages equal to male compositors, and thus functioned to the exclusion of women from the typographical union while simultaneously protecting the wage scale of the male printers. In fact, Lumsden stated that there were only two women in the typographical union in 1887.⁶⁰ Also, as American historian Ava Baron has suggested, in restricting women's entry into the typographical union by demanding that women

⁵⁷ Ibid., 40.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 41.

⁵⁹ Greg Kealey, Canada investigates industrialism (Toronto 1973), xii.

⁶⁰ RCRLC, Ontario Evidence, 113.

meet masculine "craft" standards, the male trade unionists stripped the women compositors of the opportunity to define their own notion of "femininity" and neglected to consider the unique interests of the women as wage workers.⁶¹

Insight into the views of women's work held by the male trade unionists is further gleaned from Dunlop's testimony to the Royal Commission. Dunlop was again responding to questioning by Freed.

Q.- Is it a fact that as a rule women who do go to work at the printing business consider it a temporary occupation; consider their business in life to get married and become the heads of families, while the men consider it their life occupation? A.- Certainly, it is a life occupation to the men.

Q.- How is it with the woman? A.- Well, it is only a temporary occupation; it helps her to get her clothing, and perhaps she is obliged to pay for her board.⁶²

The response by Dunlop that women only worked temporarily for "pin money" during a brief period before marriage did not reflect the reality of living conditions for the bulk of women wage earners in late nineteenth-century Toronto, and in addition was an exclusionary strategy used by male trade unionists in response to the potential threat to both masculine craft status and the male breadwinner wage ideal posed by women compositors who could be employed at compara-

⁶¹ Ava Baron, "Questions of Gender: Deskillling and Demasculinization in the U.S. Printing Industry, 1830-1915," Gender and History, I, 2 (Summer 1989), 186.

⁶² RCRLC, Ontario Evidence, 48.

tively cheaper piece rates.⁶³

Employers also developed ideologies based on gender inequality to justify the use of women compositors as a low-wage pool of labour. Although there was no testimony by any Toronto employing printer before the Royal Commission, the responses by Hugh Graham, proprietor of the Montreal Star, to the questions posed by Samuel Heakes provides some insight into the employers' perspective on the employment of women compositors.

Q.- Do you find the girls do equal work with the men? A.- I do not think quite as good taking the men all round...

Q.- You think a woman cannot compete successfully with a man? A.- I think there is a little difference. We pay our best men 30 cts., and our best women 29 cts., that is only a difference of one cent per thousand; but there are reasons obvious to everybody, why a woman cannot be depended upon to the same extent as a steady man; besides they are not equally as strong and cannot endure the same amount of fatigue and therefore altogether they are not worth as much.⁶⁴

Physiological differences between men and women, namely the tendency for women to be physically weaker than men and thus perform below male standards, were used by Graham to justify the lower rate of remuneration to women compositors.

The testimony by the male printers and by proprietor

⁶³ Previous scholars have suggested that the male breadwinner wage form was used by male unionists in an attempt to exclude women from occupations socially constructed as "men's work." See Secombe, "Patriarchy stabilized," 55, 65; Eisenstein, Give us bread but give us roses, 19-25; May, "Bread before roses," 3-8.

⁶⁴ RCRLC, Quebec Evidence, 327.

Hugh Graham illustrates the complex interaction of gender and class, which functioned to the disadvantage of women compositors under conditions of advanced industrial capitalism. Rather than joining with women compositors in the struggle against capitalist exploitation, male trade unionists defended masculine craft-based notions of skill by formulating defensive strategies which effectively excluded women from membership in the typographical union. Employers, on the other hand, justified paying lower wages to women compositors by arguing that women were not capable of performing "equally" to men. A certain measure of cross-class alliance between employers and male unionists stemming from the gender-based exclusion of women compositors can also be inferred.

III

A Crisis in Male Craft Domination:

The Introduction of Machine Typesetting

The replacement of flat-bed presses with high-speed rotary and cylinder presses in newspaper production during the period after 1850 greatly increased production output. Bottlenecks developed in the production process, however, as typesetting remained reliant on the skills of the hand compositor. During the latter part of the nineteenth century technological innovations in machine typesetters, notably the invention of the linotype by Otto Mergenthaler in the 1880s,

together with the expansion of the daily press and the intensive capitalization of the newspaper sector of the printing industry, made machine typesetting a viable alternative to hand composition in the production of newspapers.

Typesetting machines had a keyboard similar to a typewriter. Newspaper publishers viewed machine typesetting as analogous to the work of women typists in the clerical sector, and attempted to gender the operation of the typesetting machines as women's work, thereby reducing labour costs by eliminating the comparatively more costly male hand compositors.⁶⁵ For instance in May 1894, the editor of the Canadian Printer and Publisher, the journal of the Toronto printing employers, noted:

Male typesetters have certainly a great deal to complain of these days, for it is hard to adopt one's self to new conditions. Female type setters are, more and more, working their way into the trade. Typesetting is a pleasant occupation, not purely mechanical, but giving occupation for both brain and hands. Women's delicate fingers are peculiarly suited to the setting of fine type.⁶⁶

Fearing displacement by women machine operators, the ITU

⁶⁵ For an analysis of the "feminization" of clerical work see Graham Lowe, "Class, Job and Gender in the Canadian Office," Labour/Le Travailleur, 10 (1982), 11-37; Graham Lowe, "Mechanization, Feminization and Managerial Control in the Early Twentieth-Century Canadian Office," in Heron and Storey, On the Job, 117-209; Margery Davies, Woman's place is at the typewriter (Philadelphia 1982); Ava Baron, "Contested Terrain Revisited: Technology and Gender Definitions of Work in the Printing Industry, 1850-1920," in Barbara Drygulski Wright, et al., eds., Women, Work, and Technology: Transformations (Ann Arbor 1987), 58-83.

⁶⁶ Canadian Printer and Publisher, III, 5 (May 1894), 1. [Hereafter CP&P]

quickly sought to establish control over the operation of the machines. In 1889 the international union adopted a resolution instructing: "all offices within its jurisdiction where type-setting machines are used, practical printers shall be employed to run them; and also that subordinate Unions regulate the scale of wages on such machines."⁶⁷ The international union also appointed a committee to consider the need for additional legislation concerning the operation of machines. Interestingly, the union report emphasized the physical demands of operating the machines, the inference being that only men were capable of operating the machines: "That the work upon machines, being of a more exhaustive character, both physically and mentally, than hand composition, that the hours of labor upon them be reduced to the lowest possible number-- eight hours being the maximum."⁶⁸

The first typesetting machine in Toronto was installed in the Globe office in 1891.⁶⁹ By August of the following year the widespread implementation of the machines in newspaper composition was reported in the Canadian Printer and Publisher:

There are two kinds of machine in use, namely the Rogers Typograph, and Mergenthaler Linotype. At present there are ten Rogers machines in use in the city, distributed as follows: Globe, three; Mail,

⁶⁷ TJ, I,1(15 July 1889),4; George E. Barnett, Chapters on Machinery and Labor (Carbondale and Edwardsville 1926),3-29.

⁶⁸ Tracy, History of the Typographical Union, 453-55.

⁶⁹ Kealey, "Work Control," 89.

three; Empire, three; and the J.B. McLean Co., one. The Globe office has also six linotypes in constant use....⁷⁰

It will be recalled that typesetting machines were used at the Methodist Book Room in the production of the Christian Guardian beginning in 1893. Initially, however, the employers were not satisfied with the performance of either the machines or the machine operators. The early typesetting machines broke down almost constantly, and the efficiency of the operators was below the employers' expectations.⁷¹

In January 1892, the Globe chapel complained to the union that boy apprentices were being employed on the Rogers typograph, at rates below those of journeymen.⁷² The use of cheap apprentice labour by the management of the Globe illustrates the complex interaction between class and gender. The employment of apprentices on the typesetting machines not only intensified the class struggle between employers and journeymen, but also threatened the masculine status of the hand compositor as a skilled craftsman and family breadwinner. Local 91 quickly sought to establish control over the operation of the typesetting machines and declared a time scale rather than the customary piece scale in the hope of avoiding speedups in the operation of the machines. The

⁷⁰ CP&P, I, 4 (August 1892), 3.

⁷¹ CP&P, I, 5 (September 1892), 8; CP&P, II, 9 (September 1893), 16; CP&P, II, 7 (July 1893), 2.

⁷² TTU Minutes, 6 February 1892.

employers refused to agree to the scale, since they had not yet established the "utility" of the machines.⁷³

In September 1892, the union unilaterally declared a time rate of \$15 per week.⁷⁴ The following month the News office announced that the Rogers typograph was to be installed in the composing room and that the men learning the machines would be paid a sliding piece rate scale from \$0.25 per 1000 ems the first week decreasing to \$0.14 per 1000 ems after ten weeks.⁷⁵ A sub committee appointed by the union failed to reach an agreement with the management of the News.⁷⁶ The compositors reportedly objected to the scale, rather than the machines. According to the Canadian Printer and Publisher, the piece scale proposed at the News would result in a wage reduction of at least \$0.50 per day.⁷⁷ Thus, the sliding piece scale represented a potential threat to the union's position concerning the journeyman breadwinner. On 26 October 1892, the compositors were locked out, and replaced by non-union machine operators-- several of them women. The compositors locked-out at the News established

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ TTU Minutes, 3 September 1892.

⁷⁵ TTU Minutes, 22 October 1892.

⁷⁶ TTU Minutes, 25 October 1892.

⁷⁷ CP&P, I, 7 (November 1892), 14.

another daily newspaper in Toronto, the Star.⁷⁸

The lockout at the News was eventually resolved in favour of the union. According to the terms of settlement the News was to become a union office. The typographical union also secured control over both the operation of the typesetting machines for male unionists and a time rate scale. The News Printing Company was to nominate "union men" as students to learn on the machines at a rate of \$12 per week for six weeks. At the end of the six-week period, an operator demonstrating proficiency, which was defined as the ability to set 2000 ems per hour or 100,000 ems per week, was to be remunerated at a rate of \$14 per week, and would replace the non-union operators-- some of whom were women.⁷⁹

The threat posed by the typesetting machines to the workplace domination of the male trade unionists continued throughout the 1890s. On 19 December 1892, ten men were locked out at the Ontario Stereotype Co., a boiler plate manufactory, in order to make room for cheaper labour, in the form of what Local 91's unofficial correspondent to the Typographical Journal referred to as "that coming curse-- the incompetent compositress." The locked out journeymen were replaced by women compositors, employed at a comparatively

⁷⁸ Globe, 27 October 1892; Globe, 29 October 1892; Globe, 3 November 1892; CP&P, I, 7 (November 1892), 14; TJ, IV, 10 (November 1892), 3.

⁷⁹ TTU Minutes, 3 December 1892.

lower piece rate of \$0.23 per 1000 ems.⁸⁰ Concurrent with the events at the Ontario Stereotype Co., C.B. Robinson, the proprietor of the weekly religious newspaper, the Canada Presbyterian, announced that his combined newspaper and job printing office was an "open shop," and as such he could operate the machines as he saw fit. In actuality, Robinson was also employing women apprentices as machine operators at rates below the union scale. On 10 January 1893, 22 union men, two non-union men, and six boy apprentices walked off the job. The management of the Presbyterian replaced the striking compositors with non-union workers, most of them women and boys.⁸¹ Subsequently, the office was declared closed to typographical union members, and the union men found employment elsewhere.⁸² The conflict at the Ontario Stereotype Co. was resolved on terms that gave Local 91 control of the shop and maintained patriarchal social relations within the typographical union. On 5 June 1893 the union passed a resolution declaring the boiler plate establishment a union shop.⁸³

No figures were found delineating the precise number of women machine operators who were taken into the typographical

⁸⁰ TJ, IV, 15 (1 February 1893), 6; TTU Minutes 16 February 1893.

⁸¹ TTU Minutes, 16 February 1893; Globe, 10 January 1893.

⁸² TTU Minutes, 10 March 1893.

⁸³ TTU Minutes, 1 April 1893.

union with the settlement of the disputes at the Ontario Stereotype Co. and the Presbyterian. At the regular monthly meeting of the union on 8 July 1893, Allie Roy and Maggie Adair, both from the Presbyterian office, were initiated into the union.⁸⁴ The women compositors from the Ontario Stereotype Co. made application for union membership in June 1893, but there is no reference in the union minutes to the women ever being initiated into Local 91, although their applications were accepted.⁸⁵ The admission of women machine operators into the typographical union served primarily to protect the interests of the male trade unionists. Whether or not the outcome of the dispute was beneficial to the women compositors is subject to debate. While at least two women were taken into the union, and thus entitled to higher wages in accordance with the union scale, prevailing social relations within the union meant that the women compositors had to comply with the terms established by the dominant male trade unionists. Since there was only evidence of two of the women typesetters ever being admitted into the union, it would appear that at least some of the women did not comply with the terms of apprenticeship established by Local 91, and thus were denied entry into the union. Furthermore, in joining the union on terms established by men the unique interests of women as workers were neglected.

⁸⁴ TTU Minutes, 8 July 1893.

⁸⁵ TTU Minutes, 3 June 1893.

Slightly less than two years later the issue of the employment of non-union women on typesetting machines at rates below the union scale erupted again. In April 1895, the chapel from a local boiler plate concern, the Toronto Type Foundry, brought a grievance before the union that the firm's manager, was using "girls," on the typesetting machine, and was not paying the women the union scale.⁸⁶ When interviewed by a committee from Local 91, Wright, the treasurer of the Toronto Type Foundry Co., indicated that the object of the introduction of cheap female labour was to remain competitive with the Truth in the manufacture of ready prints.⁸⁷ On 27 April, the union instructed the chairman of the chapel to enforce the constitution and scale of prices.⁸⁸ The management of the Toronto Type Foundry refused to comply with the union terms, and a strike ensued.⁸⁹

Once again strike action resulted in victory for the trade unionists. In August, the management of the Toronto Type Foundry agreed to hire members of Local 91, and at the union scale.⁹⁰ The outcome of the strike was less satisfactory, however, for Margaret Aitken, a member of Local 91 working at the Type Foundry. In the Fall of 1895, Aitken was

⁸⁶ TTU Minutes, 25 April 1895.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ TTU Minutes, 27 April 1895.

⁸⁹ TTU Minutes, 3 August 1895.

⁹⁰ TTU Minutes, 24 August 1895.

brought before the TTU on charges of "ratting," or strike-breaking. At the regular monthly meeting of the union on 5 October, a trial committee appointed by the union reported: "Miss Aitken said in her defence that she had lost money on the Stereo Plate Co., and also was liable for more losses, and also that she being a female she could not get back so easily as quick as a male so she stayed in."⁹¹ The members of Local 91 subsequently voted to expel Margaret Aitken from the union.⁹² While in this instance the woman typesetter certainly acted against the interests of the union, the gender inequalities in the social organization of the late nineteenth-century Toronto printing trades which effectively denied women the same opportunities as male printers are obvious from the comments made by Aitken in defending her actions. Gender exclusion within the TTU is further suggested by the report submitted by Local 91 to the ITU on 30 April 1895, which lists only two union women machine operators in contrast to a total of 42 male union machine typesetters.⁹³

⁹¹ TTU Minutes, 5 October 1895.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ TJ, VII, 1 (15 August 1895), 2.

IV

The Decline of the "All Round Printer"
and the "Apprentice Question"

The gender antagonism noted among the nineteenth-century male trade unionists towards the employment of women compositors is further evident in the struggle between employers and the journeymen printers over the employment of boys and "two-thirds" apprentices. Discourses of class and gender were incorporated into the journeymen printers' response to the "apprentice question."

In organizing the York Typographical Society in 1832, the journeymen delineated specifically the conditions of apprenticeship in an effort to control entry into the trade:

That the practice of having a number of apprentices in the different establishments must prove an injury to the journeymen, it is deemed necessary by this society that no member shall consent to work in any office where more than two are employed, except in the event of its being the last year of the elder apprentice's time, when a third may be taken on.⁹⁴

The exploitation of cheap apprentice labour by employers not only threatened the position of journeymen within the workplace, but also a journeyman's ability to provide for his family. Efforts by the typographical union to regulate apprenticeship, including the admission of fifth year apprentices into the union as conditional members in 1869, and strict journeyman-apprentice ratios were not entirely

⁹⁴ Armstrong, serialized history of the TTU.

effective. Throughout the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century up to 1914, the problem of regulating apprenticeship continued to plague Local 91, and grievances from chapels concerning violations of apprentice regulations often were brought before the local union.⁹⁵

For nineteenth-century printers, apprenticeship was more than a system for boys to acquire the technical skills of the trade, it was also, as Ava Baron argues, an essential ingredient in acquiring manhood. According to Baron, "completion of an apprenticeship simultaneously symbolized passage into manhood and into skilled 'competent' worker status."⁹⁶ Earlier in the nineteenth century "competence" was determined by the journeyman printer's ability to earn a "man's wages." By the latter part of the nineteenth century "competence" was linked with a masculine definition of craft skill.⁹⁷

At the April 1871 meeting of Local 91 a resolution was passed stipulating that boys must serve five years at the printing business from the age of 16 years to 21.⁹⁸ By the 1870s apprentices were no longer indentured into the trade. A verbal agreement between the employer and the apprentice defined the terms of the relationship. Concern over the

⁹⁵ See footnote 28.

⁹⁶ Baron, "Deskilling and Demasculinization," 181.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ TTU Minutes, 4 April 1871.

competency of apprentices was expressed by union members throughout the 1880s. In their testimony before the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital in 1887, both Dunlop and Lumsden expressed concern over the inadequacy of apprentice training.⁹⁹ Dunlop, when asked by Freed if it would be advantageous to return to the system of indenturing apprentices, responded in the affirmative.¹⁰⁰

Union concern over the "competency" of apprentices is further suggested by a report made by the Business Committee of Local 91 on 2 April 1892:

One of the greatest evils which your committee have to contend against is the "boy question." In its scope it is one of the most important and most difficult questions affecting the trade. It is a common complaint on the part of employers especially the proprietors of book and job offices that the union by the acceptance of inferior compositors puts a premium on incompetency... This union has always endeavoured to make the membership card a guarantee of competency which at present is far from being the case through the opposition of employers, not, it is true openly but by their inordinate desire to make all they can out of their capital investment by the employment of boy labour... Who are to replace these thoroughly practical men fast dying out owing to the present system of get without regard for quality on the part of the employer.¹⁰¹

A recommendation made by the Business Committee in their report that apprentices be required to show that they have served five years was adopted by the typographical union.

⁹⁹ RCRLC, Ontario Evidence, 40-1, 45-6.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 42.

¹⁰¹ TTU Minutes, 2 April 1892.

The decline of the practice of placing an apprentice, or "devil" as the apprentice was called in the tradition of the craft, under the personal tutelage of an experienced journeyman was a general concern within typographical union circles during the 1890s.¹⁰² The neglect of apprentices and the failure to inculcate "manliness" through apprenticeship was discussed in an article in the 15 July 1896 edition of the Typographical Journal entitled "The 'Devil'":

The employer, formerly recognizing a limit to apprenticeship, made an effort through the foreman to give the apprenticeship the proper tuition against the time of his arrival at the journeyman stage. Now the apprentice keeps on forever-- more or less-- in that uncertain condition, neither boy nor man, yet in many cases long past the age at which maturity is supposed to come. Apparently the employer cares not a continental whether the boy ever becomes proficient at his calling or not.... On the other hand, the journeyman concerns himself with the boy's typographical welfare only after he has become a conditional member... The result is

¹⁰² The CP&P for November 1908 suggests the origins of the printers' "devil" in the folklore of the craft:

In early days printing was styled the "black art" and printers were supposed to be in league with Satan. But it was in the time of Aldus Minutius in Venice that matters took a serious turn. This was the famous printer who first published the Greek and Roman classics. He took into his employ a negro boy who was homeless in the Streets in Venice. The people supposed the boy was an imp of Satan and helped in the printing. Mobs collected about to wreck it when the boy was brought forward and exhibited and showed that the boy was flesh and blood, but, he was still called "the printers' devil" and every boy in his position ever since has been called so.

CP&P, XVIII, 11 (November 1908), 43.

that between neglect from both sides he enters the journeyman stage with but a modicum of the knowledge he should possess...¹⁰³

Trade unionists attributed the decline of the apprenticeship system not only to the tendency among employers to minimize labour costs by employing apprentices, but also to the widespread implementation of machine typesetting and the trend towards specialization and the division of labour within the printing industry, whereby the "all round" printer was increasingly replaced by the "specialist" who was only proficient in one aspect of the labour process.¹⁰⁴ Rules governing the use of typesetting machines by apprentices were implemented by the local Toronto union. According to Local 91's machine scale implemented on 3 February 1900, apprentices were permitted to practice on the typesetting machines, but only during the last three months of their five-year apprenticeship.¹⁰⁵ The intent of the rule was to ensure that apprentices were trained in all facets of the trade, and that the journeymen trade unionists retained control over the operation of the machines.¹⁰⁶

Although the typographical union struggled to retain apprenticeship as the method of training, by the early 1900s the union was caught up in the broader trend towards techni-

¹⁰³ *TJ*, IX, 2 (15 July 1896), 49-51. Emphasis mine.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*; *TJ*, XIV, 10 (15 May 1899), 409-10.

¹⁰⁵ ITU Minutes, 3 February 1900.

¹⁰⁶ See TTU Minutes, 4 March 1897; 1 April 1899.

cal education. In August 1903, C.J. Atkinson, a member of Local 91, appeared before the Executive Committee of the union asking for permission to establish a class at the Broadway Boys' Institute "to teach regularly employed apprentices in union offices a further knowledge of the printing business."¹⁰⁷ Atkinson was given permission to conduct the class on the condition that only apprentices from union shops were admitted.¹⁰⁸

The ITU appointed a Technical Education Commission in December 1907 comprised of James Lynch, J.W. Hays, and J.W. Bramwood, representing the Executive Council of the ITU, and A.H. McQuilkin, of Chicago, Frank M. Walker of Houston, and W.B. Prescott, former member of Local 91 and president of the ITU from 1891 to 1898.¹⁰⁹ The Technical Education Commission subsequently reported that a technical course by correspondence was the best method of training apprentices and the "International Typographical Union Course in Printing," was established. The course was comprised of 37 lessons, with emphasis on layout and design, colour harmony, special job composition, and imposition, thus revealing the influence of the new area of specialty within the printing industry in the

¹⁰⁷ Executive Committee Minutes, 29 August 1903.

¹⁰⁸ Executive Committee Minutes, 26 September 1903; TTU Minutes, 3 October 1903.

¹⁰⁹ Tracy, History of the Typographical Union, 908-10.

field of "commercial art."¹¹⁰ Local 91 set up a committee to administer the course to apprentices in Toronto.¹¹¹

In October 1910, R.J. Stevenson was selected as Local 91's representative to appear before the Royal Commission on Technical Education which was appointed on 1 June 1910, "to inquire into the needs and present equipment of the Dominion as respects industrial training and technical education, and into the systems and methods of technical instruction obtaining in other countries."¹¹² James Simpson, a prominent Toronto labour movement figure and former president of Local 91, was a member of the Commission. In his submission to the Royal Commission, Stevenson spoke of the typographical union's "long and fruitless agitation to preserve some semblance of a real apprenticeship system," and further described in considerable detail the contents of the ITU correspondence course.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 938; *TJ*, XXXII, 6 (June 1908), 648-51.

¹¹¹ *TJ*, XXXII, 5 (March 1908), 584-5. W.R. James was appointed secretary of Local 91's Technical Education Committee.

¹¹² *TTU Minutes*, 1 October 1910; Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education, Part I, vii.

¹¹³ Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education, Part IV, 2050-53. In his study of the development of technical education and industrial training during the period leading up to the 1910 Royal Commission on Technical Education, David Enns argued that organized labour was ambivalent about the value of technical education. While some workers believed that technical education, properly controlled, would provide them with the knowledge necessary to keep pace with technological change, others feared that technical education would replace apprenticeship and elimin-

On 4 February 1911, Local 91 passed a resolution stipulating that after 1 June 1912, an apprentice must serve four years, and pass the course of instruction in printing provided by the ITU Commission on Supplemental Trade Education, before obtaining membership in this union.¹¹⁴ Thus, under conditions of intensive industrial capitalist development in the printing industry over the period between 1870 and 1914, apprenticeship was transformed from a entirely workplace-centred experience, intended both to provide apprentices with the technical skills of the trade and inculcate manliness, to an experience involving education external to the workplace and overwhelmingly focussed on the technical requirements of printing.

V

ITU Woman's Auxiliary No. 42

The organization of a woman's auxiliary under the umbrella of the typographical union further suggests a relationship between gender and class in the social organization of the typographical union.¹¹⁵ The Woman's International

ate workers' control over training. David Stanley Enns, "Technical Education and Industrial Training in Early Twentieth Century Canada: The Royal Commission of 1910," MA thesis, Dalhousie University, 1982, 9-10, ch. 3.

¹¹⁴ TTU Minutes, 4 February 1911.

¹¹⁵ Woman's auxiliaries of trade unions have received only limited attention in the recent historical writings of women's labour movement experiences. See, Sara Diamond, "A Union Man's Wife: The Ladies' Auxiliary Movement in the IWA,

al Auxiliary (WIA) of the ITU was organized on 13 August 1902 at the annual convention of the ITU, for the immediate purpose of promoting the campaign for the eight-hour day.¹¹⁶ The objectives underlying the formation of the WIA extended beyond the eight-hour campaign.

The objects of this Auxiliary shall be to create a closer and more fraternal feeling between the families or members of the Union; to instill the principles of Trades Unionism in the women relatives of the members; to advance the interests of all labels recognized by the American Federation of Labor; to promote sociability; to render assistance necessary in time of sickness and trouble, and for such other beneficial purposes as the majority of members may elect....¹¹⁷

The WIA was thus given the charitable functions socially designated as "feminine" during the course of the nineteenth century, but which were previously carried out by the male unionists themselves earlier in the century. The wives, daughters, sisters and widows of ITU members were eligible to

The Lake Cowichan Experience," in Barbara K. Latham and Roberta J. Pazdro, eds., Not Just Pin Money: Selected Essays On The History Of Women's Work In British Columbia (Victoria 1984), 287-96; Marjorie Penn Lasky, "'Where I was a person:' The Ladies' Auxiliary in the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters' Strikes," in Ruth Milkman, ed., Women, Work, and Protest: A Century of U.S. Women's Labor History (Boston 1985), 181-205. Sylvie Murray, "A la jonction du mouvement ouvrier et du mouvement des femmes: la des femmes: la Ligue auxiliaire de l'Association internationale des machinistes, Canada, 1903-1980," M.A. thesis, Université du Québec à Montréal, 1988. Wayne Roberts refers to the Woman's Auxiliary of the TTU briefly, in a single paragraph, in Honest Womanhood, 46.

¹¹⁶ Souvenir, 51st Annual Convention of the ITU, Toronto, 14-19 August 1905.

¹¹⁷ Souvenir, 69th Annual Convention of the ITU, Toronto, 11-16 August 1924. The Souvenir contains a historical overview of the formation of the WIA.

join a local auxiliary, provided they were at least 16 years of age. A woman might also retain membership in the WIA if she married a man who was not a printer.¹¹⁸

Mrs. Frank Kennedy, President of the WIA contacted Local 91 in October 1902, asking for the cooperation of the men in organizing a local auxiliary. At the November monthly meeting of the union, five male union members-- W.R. James, Williams, Edward Meehan, John Armstrong, John Cairn-- were appointed a committee to initiate the formation of a woman's auxiliary.¹¹⁹ Slightly more than a year later, James reported at the 5 December 1903 meeting of Local 91 that the Auxiliary Committee was dead. The committee was discharged, and a motion that another committee be appointed was withdrawn when it was explained that a branch of the Women's Label League (WLL) had recently been organized in the city.¹²⁰ Obviously, the men felt that the role of women in the local labour movement was to support the label campaign, and since the women had already formed a branch of the WLL to carry out that objective there was no need for another organization for the same purpose.

¹¹⁸ Souvenir, 51st Convention of the ITU.

¹¹⁹ Executive Committee Minutes, 25 October 1902.

¹²⁰ TTU Minutes, 5 December 1903. The Women's Union Label League, No. 66 was organized in Toronto on 29 October 1902. Mrs. May Darwin served as President of the local branch of the Label League in the early 1900s. Darwin was the sister of local bookbinders and prominent labour movement figures, Robert and William Glockling. See Fifth Report of the Bureau of Labour of the Province of Ontario, 1905 (Toronto 1905), 56.

On 10 December 1904, a woman's auxiliary was formed in connection with Local 91, apparently on the initiative of the women themselves, but with the typographical union assuming the initial organizational expenses.¹²¹ Although the reaction of the predominately male TTU to the formation of the women's local was mixed with "Brother Bill" expressing a pessimistic view towards the woman's auxiliary through the medium of the Typographical Journal, generally the members of Local 91 were supportive of the auxiliary.¹²² In addition to paying the expenses of organizing, President Meehan spoke about the recent formation of the auxiliary at the regular monthly meeting on 4 February 1905, and "invited all members to bring the'r female relations to the Auxiliary meeting."¹²³

In its role as a support service to the interests of the typographical union, Woman's Auxiliary No. 42 immediately joined Local 91's "eight hours" campaign. Although the typographical union's three-year contract with the employers' association did not expire until 1 June 1907, the women promoted the eight-hour cause. In February 1906, Mrs. Williams, No. 42's correspondent to the "Woman's Department" of the Typographical Journal reported: "Altho' Toronto is in the reserves, we are watching very intently the fight for the shorter day, and say more power to those on the firing line.

¹²¹ Report of the Bureau of Labour, 1909, 154.

¹²² TJ, XXVI (1905), 173-4.

¹²³ TTU Minutes, 4 February 1905.

We are ready to pass up the ammunition."¹²⁴

An important dimension of the support service provided by the WIA centred around the role of women as primary family consumers in promoting the union label. In 1905, WIA President, Mrs Frank Kennedy indicated:

Women, by virtue of her right as purchasing agent for the family and home, can give most potent aid to the union, in making the union label of the trade the prime factor in the sale of all manufactured commodities on the market, by insisting that the goods she purchases shall bear the union label of each particular trade engaged in their manufacture, and the exercise of their power and discrimination between unfair and union-made goods, must necessarily have a beneficial effect for the betterment of the workers employed in the making of such goods.¹²⁵

The women of No. 42 actively participated in the label campaign, and encouraged the use of the ITU label on printing by attaching stickers to non-union printing and returning the printed material to the manufacturer.¹²⁶

In the Fall of 1905, the WIA initiated a boycott of the Butterick Co., publishers of women's patterns and fashion magazines. The Butterick Co. had broken their agreement with New York Typographical Union No. 6 by employing non-union men.¹²⁷ In Toronto Woman's Auxiliary No. 42 joined the

¹²⁴ TJ, XXVIII,2 (February 1906), 145-6.

¹²⁵ Souvenir, 51st Convention of the ITU.

¹²⁶ TJ, XXIX, 1 (July 1906), 43; TJ, XXX, 4 (April 1907), 365; TJ, XXXII, 1 (January 1908), 38; TJ, XXXIII, 4 (October 1908), 412-13; TJ, XXXIV, 1 (January 1909), 104.

¹²⁷ Executive Committee Minutes, 25 November 1905; TJ, XXXIV, 4 (April 1909), 425-6, 428.

boycott, with the correspondent to the Typographical Journal even suggesting: "McCall's to the for, and Butterick's and all such rubbish to the ashpile!"¹²⁸ The WIA continued the boycott of the Butterick Publishing Company for more than five years before the ITU finally reached an agreement with the Butterick concern in 1911.¹²⁹

At the local level the woman's auxiliary of the typographical union provided support for sick printers and their families. A committee of Woman's Auxiliary No. 42 visited sick printers and their families bringing food and other necessities. On occasion the "Sick Committee" provided funds to printers just released from the hospital with no resources to pay for lodging.¹³⁰

Additional to its role as a social support service for the male unionists, the woman's auxiliary also provided a means for working-class women to become actively involved in the labour movement and local political issues of importance to the working class of Toronto. For instance, in October 1905, the women of No. 42 donated the proceeds from a euchre party to bakers on strike in three local shops.¹³¹ Later in March 1911, the members of the auxiliary opposed the instal-

¹²⁸ TJ, XXXIV, 1 (January 1909), 104.

¹²⁹ TJ, XXXVIII, 5 (May 1911), 611.

¹³⁰ Executive Committee Minutes, 23 February 1907; TTU Minutes, 2 March 1907; TJ, XXXI, 2 (August 1917), 166.

¹³¹ TJ, XVIII, 1 (January 1906), 37.

lation of water meters in the city, and in February 1912 pledged their support to striking cloakmakers using boycott tactics.¹³² Significantly, the issues supported by the woman's auxiliary were linked to woman's role as manager of the household consumption unit. The woman's auxiliary, furthermore, provided a framework for the women to engage in the working-class struggle.

Another objective of the woman's auxiliary was to encourage social interaction among printers and their families. The women of No. 42 frequently used the "At Home" to bring printers and their wives together.¹³³ Other social events organized by the local woman's auxiliary include: oox socials, musical entertainments, card parties, dances and the occasional excursion to Niagara Falls.¹³⁴

A different dimension to the sociability of the woman's auxiliary of the typographical union is that the organization provided social support for a community of women. Woman's Auxiliary No. 42, experienced some considerable difficulty,

¹³² TTU Minutes, 4 March 1911; Lance, 24 February 1912.

¹³³ TJ, XXVII, (1905), 587-8; TJ, XVIII, 1 (January 1906), 37; TJ, XVIII, 6 (June 1906), 699; TJ, XXX, 3 (March 1907), 259.

¹³⁴ TJ, XXXIII, 3 (September 1908), 297; TJ, XXVIII, 2 (February 1906), 145-6; TJ, XXXIX, 1 (July 1906), 43; TJ, XXXIX, 3 (September 1906), 304; TJ, XXX, 2 (February 1907), 135; TJ, XXX, 5 (May 1907), 499; TJ, XXXI, 1 (July 1907), 37; TJ, XXXI, 5 (November 1907), 516; TJ, XXXII, 2 (February 1908), 144; TJ, XXXII, 5 (May 1908), 529-30; TJ, XXXIV, 3 (March 1909), 294; TJ, XXXVI, 5 (May 1910), 516; TJ, XXXVII, 5 (November 1901), 498; TJ, XXXVIII, 2 (February 1911), 155; TJ, XL, 3 (March 1912), 282-3; TJ, XLI, 6 (December 1912), 617.

however, in attracting new members. In April 1907, the auxiliary changed its meeting day from the third Monday evening of the month to the second Tuesday afternoon of each month, "in order to try and help out some of the ladies who found it difficult to get away in the evening."¹³⁵ The change in meeting time was not successful, however, and in July the women decided to revert back to evening meetings.¹³⁶ By 1910, the membership of the local woman's auxiliary was only about 50 members; considerably out of proportion to Local 91's membership of more than 1000.¹³⁷

There are no further references to Woman's Auxiliary No. 42 in either the Toronto Typographical Union Minutes or the Typographical Journal after 1915. The souvenir for the 69th Annual Convention of the ITU held in Toronto in August 1924, indicates that the Woman's Auxiliary No. 42 was re-organized on 8 February 1924 with eighteen charter members.¹³⁸ Presumably, the initial organization disbanded during the period of the First World War. Although Woman's Auxiliary No. 42 served primarily as a support service to the interests of the male-dominated typographical union during the period from 1905 to 1915, the auxiliary also brought a small number of the wives, daughters, and sisters of printers into the

¹³⁵ TJ, XXX, 4 (April 1907), 365.

¹³⁶ TJ, XXXI, 2 (August 1907), 166.

¹³⁷ TJ, XXXVI, 3 (March 1910), 270.

¹³⁸ Souvenir, 69th Convention of the ITU.

labour movement and provided mutual support for a community of working-class women. Furthermore, by drawing this group of women into local trade unionism, the woman's auxiliary probably fuelled some measure of class consciousness.

VI

Issues of "Skill" and Gender and the Organization of Toronto Printing Trades Unions

Technological innovations and changes in the labour process during the latter part of the nineteenth century had further additional implications for the development of printing trades unionism and implications for class and gender relations. Previous to capitalist industrialization, both composition and presswork were carried out by the same worker in a combined newspaper and book and job shop. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, the emergence of the daily press and the development of the Toronto printing industry into the nation's leader in book publishing, brought about a separation of newspaper production from commercial job and book printing. Furthermore, innovations in the production process with the mechanization of presswork resulted in a decline, although not a total elimination, in the need for the services of the "all around printer." While compositors successfully defended their "craft" status with capitalist industrialization, it will be recalled from the analysis of the social relations of production at the

Methodist Book Room that a redefinition of both skill and masculinity occurred among pressmen as they made the transition from craftsman to machine operator. Recognizing these changes in the social organization of production, the TTU revised the conditions of membership in 1870 from "any printer" who had completed the terms of apprenticeship, and stipulated instead that "a compositor, pressman, or power pressman, who has served the usual apprenticeship in the business and is in receipt of not less than the Union rate of wages" could join the union.¹³⁹ Significantly, typographical union membership was still defined according to a masculine conceptualization of skill, and no attempt was made by the union to include women and boys working at the socially defined "unskilled" task of press feeding. Union membership was also tied to receiving the union scale, a wage which was seldom realized by women.

Throughout the 1870s, compositors dominated the typographical union. Resentment on the part of the pressmen stemming from the neglect of their specific trade interests led to the formation of a separate pressmen's union in 1882.¹⁴⁰ Toronto Printing Pressman's Union, Local 10, however, was initially chartered under the umbrella of the ITU.

The available minutes from Local 10, although lacking in

¹³⁹ TTU Minutes, 8 March 1870.

¹⁴⁰ First Report of the Bureau of Labour, 1900, 27.

detail, suggest that pressman experienced organizational difficulties during the early years of the union's existence. At the monthly meeting of Local 10 on 13 February 1865, a motion was carried that "a circular be sent to every member of this Union stating the fact that the Union is to be reorganized in every shape."¹⁴¹ A shortage of pressmen in Toronto during the late 1880s further hindered the pressmen's organizing efforts, particularly as employers attempted to take advantage of the situation by making use of cheaper apprentice labour. In December 1888 the union voted to raise the senior apprentices-- boys who had completed 4 years of the five-year apprenticeship-- to full members, and provide them with a permit to work under the scale.¹⁴²

Even after the pressmen formed a separate union in 1882, relations between the pressmen and the compositors continued to deteriorate, most notably during the fall of 1887, when the typographical union refused to recognize a strike by the pressmen for an increase in the scale of wages to \$12 per week.¹⁴³ Class fragmentation between pressmen and compositors was not confined to the Toronto locals. Historian Elizabeth Baker alluded to mounting tensions in pressmen-compositor relations within the parent ITU.

¹⁴¹ Minutes, Pressmen's Union, Local 10, 13 February 1865.

¹⁴² Minutes, Pressmen's Union, Local 10, 14 December 1888.

¹⁴³ Kealey, Toronto Workers, 89-90; Minutes, Pressmen's Union, Local 10, 13 January 1888.

The new era of printing which began in the 1880s brought striking advances to the men of the pressroom, and those who were members of the International Typographical Union felt increasingly oppressed by the hold of the compositors. Their craft had undergone fifty years of mechanization while typesetting had stood still. Now, in their determination to be heard as craftsmen in their own right, they had come to feel more and more conscious of their value to employing printers and less and less dependent upon the compositors for union strength.¹⁴⁴

The Toronto pressmen were approached by the Cincinnati Pressmen's Local, No. 11 in April 1885, asking for the views of the Toronto union concerning the organization of an international pressmen's union.¹⁴⁵ The matter was left in abeyance until 1888 when a strike by the New York Typographical Union "Big 6," for a new wage scale was settled by the typesetters without concern for the interests of the pressmen.¹⁴⁶ The Toronto pressmen passed a resolution of "sympathy" in favour of a separate international pressmen's union at the regular monthly meeting of the union held 10 March 1888.¹⁴⁷

A conference of pressmen representing thirteen unions was held from 8-10 October 1889 in New York. The convention formed itself into the "International Printing Pressmen's Union of North America." Toronto Local 10 was represented at

¹⁴⁴ Elizabeth Faulkner Baker, Printers and Technology (New York 1957), 69.

¹⁴⁵ Minutes, Pressmen's Union Local 10, 10 April 1885.

¹⁴⁶ Baker, Printers and Technology, 73-4.

¹⁴⁷ Minutes, Pressmen's Union, Local 10, 10 March 1888.

the convention by J.W. Williams, who was subsequently elected first vice-president of the new organization.¹⁴⁸ Toronto representation in the formation of the international union, and the election of Williams to the executive, further demonstrates the prominence of the city's printing industry in the broader North American context.

Somewhat analogous to the situation within the ITU where technological innovations and changes in the labour process contributed to the secession of the pressmen from the ITU, similar changes in printing techniques and the invention of larger and faster presses resulted in a hierarchical division on the basis of skill between pressmen and press feeders, and, eventually, the chartering of a separate union of press feeders. At the monthly meeting of Local 10 on 14 December 1888, a committee was appointed to interview the press feeders regarding the formation of a union.¹⁴⁹ The committee reported "prospects hopeful" for a feeders union at the next monthly meeting.¹⁵⁰ Although no reason was cited in the pressmen's minutes for the delay in organizing, Printing Press and Assistants and Feeders, No. 1 was not chartered

¹⁴⁸ Minutes, Pressmen's Union, Local 10, 9 November 1889; AP, I, 1 (November 1890), 1; Baker, Printers and Technology, 74-7.

¹⁴⁹ Minutes, Pressmen's Union, Local 10, 14 December 1888.

¹⁵⁰ Minutes, Pressmen's Union, Local 10, 11 January 1889.

until June 1890 under the umbrella of the IPPU.¹⁵¹ One significant difference from the earlier secession of the pressmen from Local 91 was that the press feeders apparently organized with the full support of the pressmen's union.

Existing sources provide little insight into local union activities and social relations between the pressmen and the press feeders. At the international level, disputes arose during the 1890s, with the pressmen claiming that the assistants and the feeders were doing the work of journeymen pressmen in "making-ready" the form and at lower wages. A closely allied grievance among the feeders concerned the irregular enforcement of International recommendations on apprentice pressmen, who were typically recruited from the ranks of the press feeders. While the IPPU recommended a ratio of one apprentice to four journeymen and that pressmen's unions should admit to membership apprentices who had

¹⁵¹ Minutes, Pressmen's Union, Local 10, 10 May 1890; Report of the Bureau of Labour for 1900, 28. Later in 1908, the Toronto pressmen's and the feeders' and assistants' unions split from the IPP&AU over the issue of a special assessment for the "eight hours movement." The Toronto locals refused to pay the assessment, and split from the IPP&AU and subsequently joined the Canadian Federation of Labor (CFL). Similarly, a group of local Toronto bookbinders, who felt that the international union was not meeting the needs of its Canadian members, separated from the bookbinders' international in 1911, and chartered a separate local under the CFL. The national union was not a success and the secessionist bookbinders reunited under the IBB in 1916. The pressmen, however, did not affiliate with the IPP&AU again until 1922. See Zerker, The Rise and Fall, 196-200; AP, XIX, 10 (September 1909), Supplement, 34-5; AP, XXI, 9 (August 1911), Supplement, 88-9; IB, XI, 12 (December 1910), 498-500; TJ, XXXVIII, 2 (February 1911), 199-201; IB, XVIII, 4 (April 1916), 194-5.

completed three years of presswork, local pressmen's unions were given the authority to decide how many apprentices they would take, and at what stage of their apprenticeship they should be transferred. With the glut of apprentices and "two-thirders" in the labour market, the assistants and press feeders felt that the apprentice recommendations denied many of the best assistants and feeders access to journeymen status.¹⁵²

The conflict between the pressmen and the press feeders and assistants was partially resolved at the annual convention of the IPPU in 1896, where concessions were made to the pressfeeders and assistants. A resolution was passed at the convention specifying that when a member of an assistants' or feeders' union received the pressmen's scale he should apply for membership in the pressmen's union. Also, the feeders and assistants were formally recognized within the association with the changing of the name of the international to the "International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union (IPP&AU)."¹⁵³

With the introduction of larger and faster presses in the 1890s, the work of the feeder was socially redefined along the lines of both skill and gender. The previous analysis of the social relations of production in the Methodist Book Room during the early 1880s, reveals that

¹⁵² Baker, Printers and Technology, ch.10.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 175-80.

pressfeeding was socially defined as unskilled work for boys and women. Beginning in the late 1890s the IPP&AU, through its journal The American Pressman, defined the work of the press feeder as the work of mature men using the ideology of the male breadwinner to justify the claim.

Not many years ago the pressfeeder was a mere boy, just out of school and inspired by dreams of great achievements which he was hopeful of realizing when he attained his majority. He probably commenced his career in a printing office as an errand boy or sweeper and in spare moments learned to kick a jobber... But his wages refused to be raised. Then it occurred to him that if the feeders organized a union they could formulate a scale of wages which they could convince their employers was just. No doubt many feeders will recall struggles they had to secure recognition as union men at the hands of employers.... Today the feeder presents a different spectacle. Instead of the boy or youth we find in the average feeder of the present time a matured young man, in numerous instances married and with a family to support. The tendencies of the times have conspired to make his calling more of a permanency lessening opportunities for advancement; he has learned to understand his work better;... and above all, is more profitable to his employer.... But the feeder doesn't get a cent more for it. A feeder is a skilled workman and as such should at least be paid living wages and not upon a standard lower than that of a common laborer...¹⁵⁴

A discourse between skilled worker status and male breadwinner ideology was used in this case to justify higher wage demands.

By the turn of the century the concept of the male breadwinner was used by the male trade unionists to attempt to exclude women from the pressroom and the IPP&AU. For

¹⁵⁴ AP, VII, 12 (November 1897), 349.

instance, in a critique of the employment of women in the pressroom published in November 1905, the American Pressman suggests that women "come in competition with the boys who enter a pressroom to make a profession of the calling," and abandon the pressroom as soon as they "see an opening for marriage or find a place congenial to their tastes."¹⁵⁵ The article concludes:

Now how far should the I.P.P. and A.U. encourage the employment of females in pressrooms to the detriment of the rising generation of males as bread winners. The female never aspires to be a pressman as the work is not adapted to their sex. The question arises how to get rid of their encroachment.¹⁵⁶

Patriarchal exclusion in the social organization of the pressmen and assistants' union, consistent with the broader late nineteenth and early twentieth century ideology of the male household head as the family "breadwinner" is suggested by the above quotation. Further indicative of gender exclusion of women from presswork is the reconstitution of presswork as "not adapted to their sex."¹⁵⁷ No substantive conclusions could be made as to the effectiveness of the union strategy of the male breadwinner in excluding women from the pressroom at the local Toronto level. The analysis of productive relations at the Methodist Book Room revealed that women were employed in the pressroom as press feed rs

¹⁵⁵ AP, XV, 12 (November 1905), 386.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

during the period between October 1901 and December 1902, whereas the annual reports from the Ontario Bureau of Labor for the years 1903 through 1905 lists only one woman as a member of the Printing Press Assistants and Feeders Union, No. 1 in each of the three years.¹⁵⁸ This discrepancy suggests that the while women were not included in formal trade union organization, non-union women continued to work in the pressrooms of "open" commercial book and job printing establishments into the early twentieth century.

Web presses, fed by machine from a continuous roll of paper, were first installed in the daily newspaper offices in Toronto in 1880. The implementation of web presses in newspaper production resulted in a further division of the labour process, and a reconstitution of skill. Journeymen web press workers were viewed as merely machine tenders by their flat-bed counterparts. This tension between the two groups of journeymen pressmen is suggested in the following defence of web presswork as "skilled" labour published in The American Pressman:

Many pressmen who have acquired skill in handling two-revolution and stop cylinder presses, have the idea that there is little brain work needed in running a web press; that the machine is entirely automatic after the make-ready is finished, and that it permits the pressmen and helpers to stand round with folded arms watching the big combination do its work. This is a great mistake, as anyone will certify who has been in the press-room of a

¹⁵⁸ Report of the Bureau of Labour, 1903, 60; Report of the Bureau of Labour, 1904, 56; Report of the Bureau of Labor, 1905, 49.

daily newspaper when the perfecting web press was at full speed, and observed its many duties. These monsters have to be watched as closely as a baby; watched, too, with a sharp eye to one's own personal safety as much as to the proper conduct of the press and paper... There are many more helpers to a web machine than to any ordinary cylinder, and the pressman remains indispensable as ever he was.¹⁵⁹

Departing from the earlier "craft" based notion of skill for the hand pressman, "skill" for pressmen working on the web presses was socially defined to incorporate the mechanical capabilities required by the pressman to operate the web presses. The American Pressman delineated the traits required of the web pressman: "He must be a skilled mechanic ... with cool head and iron nerves, quick witted, full of resource and ready for all emergencies."¹⁶⁰ The definition of "skill" for the web pressman was also exclusively masculine in conceptualization.

A wedge developed between the flat bed pressmen in the book and job sector and the web pressmen working in the newspaper offices. Thus, in 1893, nineteen web pressmen formed a web pressmen's union in Toronto. Originally chartered under the umbrella of the ITU, Toronto Web Pressmen's Union No. 1 was transferred to the IPPU with the signing of an agreement between the ITU and the IPPU on 23 August 1894, recognizing the sole right of the IPPU to jurisdiction over

¹⁵⁹ AP, III, 11 (November 1893), 569-70.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., Minutes, Toronto Web Pressmen's Union, No. 1, 20 May 1907.

all branches of the printing trades pertaining to the pressroom.¹⁶¹

Technological developments and a growing division of labour resulted in the organization of several different trade unions to meet the needs of the predominantly male work force in these new areas of specialization which emerged in the Toronto printing industry during the latter decades of the nineteenth century. With the assistance of Edward Meehan and John Armstrong of Local 91, Mailers' Union, Local 5 was chartered under the umbrella of the ITU on 11 November 1893.¹⁶² Separate locals of stereotypers and electrotypers and photo-engravers were also chartered in Toronto during the 1890s, also initially under the ITU. Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union, No. 21 was organized in January 1893, and Photo-Engravers' Union, No. 20 was chartered in October 1899.¹⁶³ Both unions received the endorsement of the local typographical union. In support of the organizing efforts of the photo-engravers, Local 91 agreed after 1 May 1900, not to handle any plates without the local photo-engravers label.¹⁶⁴ Increasingly both the photo-engravers and the stereotypers

¹⁶¹ TTU Minutes, 2 September 1893; Baker, Printers and Technology, 183.

¹⁶² TJ, XL, 1 (January 1912), 86; Report of the Bureau of Labour, 1900, 29.

¹⁶³ TJ, XV, 9 (1 November 1899), 374-5; TTU Minutes, 2 September 1893.

¹⁶⁴ TTU Minutes, 7 April 1900.

and electrotypers were dissatisfied with the failure of the ITU to look to their specific trade interests. Consequently, the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union was organized in August 1902, and the International Photo Engravers of North America was organized in May 1904.¹⁶⁵ Both Toronto locals subsequently affiliated with the independent parent organizations. The photo-engravers reorganized as Photo-Engravers' Union, Local 35 in July 1903, and affiliated with the IPEU.¹⁶⁶ Branch No.12 of the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada, initially organized as a National Assembly of the Knights of Labor, was chartered as a district organization encompassing Toronto, London, and Hamilton, in April 1903 (see Appendix B).¹⁶⁷

Throughout the period studied between 1870 and 1914, stereotyping, lithographing, electrotyping and photo-engraving were almost exclusively male occupations. Although the trades emerged as a result of technological innovations and were socially constructed as requiring "artistic" capabilities, the respective trade unions were organized along "craft" lines to defend the interests of the male trade

¹⁶⁵ Gary M. Fink, The Greenwood Encyclopedia of American Institutions: Labor Unions (Westport, Connecticut 1977), 187, 303.

¹⁶⁶ Report of the Bureau of Labor, 1905, 49.

¹⁶⁷ Fink, Labor Unions, 185; Report of the Bureau of Labour, 1907, 106.

unionists. Benefit features, strike provisions, and an appeal procedure to an international authority if trade disputes could not be resolved at the local level were all incorporated into the constitutions of the unions.¹⁶⁸ As Appendix A reveals, strike action involving the lithographers and photo-engravers locals during the period from 1900 to 1914 centred around issues of union recognition, wages, and hours. Thus, analogous to the male-dominated typographical union, these struggles were all "male-orchestrated, male-led, and male-oriented labour conflicts" in defence of a masculine definition of skilled worker status and the concept of the male breadwinner.¹⁶⁹

VII

Bookbinders' Unionism and the Organization of the Bindery "Girls"

In contrast to the other printing trades studied, a significant proportion of the labour force in the bookbinding sector of the Toronto printing industry was comprised of woman performing tasks socially designated as "women's work," namely the folding, collating, and stitching tasks in the

¹⁶⁸ See for example, Constitution of the General Association of the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada, 1904, in American Labor Unions Constitutions and Proceedings.

¹⁶⁹ Ferland, "In Search of the Unbound Prometheus," 16; Hartmann, "Capitalism, Patriarchy, and Job Segregation," 139, 163-7.

bookbinding process. Thus, the organization of woman bindery workers was an important concern for male unionists during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Although the origins of trade unionism among the Toronto bookbinders are not known, a reference to a bookbinders union was found in the minutes of a special meeting of the typographical union called on 29 April 1869, when a deputation from the bookbinders' union was invited to the meeting of the TTU to discuss steps that might be taken to thwart a change in the tariff structure which would remove the duty on imported books, which spelled a threat to the livelihood of the printing-trades workers.¹⁷⁰ Later, during the 1872 strike for the nine-hour day, the bookbinders' union went out on strike along with the TTU.¹⁷¹

A bookbinders' Local Assembly of the Knights of Labor, No. 5743, appropriately called "Hand in Hand," was organized on 25 February 1886, and persisted until 1894.¹⁷² In May 1889, "Hand in Hand" LA 5743 sponsored an "At Home" in Shaftesbury Hall in an effort to draw women bindery workers

¹⁷⁰ TTU Minutes, 29 April 1869. Forsey stated that the Toronto bookbinders union was initially organized under the umbrella of the ITU. He did not, however, provide any indication of the date of the initial organization of the union. Forsey, Trade Unions in Canada, 272.

¹⁷¹ Forsey, Trade Unions in Canada, 95-101; Logan, History of Trade-Union Organization in Canada, 30-1.

¹⁷² Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Industries, 1892 (Toronto 1894), 18; Gregory S. Kealey and Bryan D. Palmer, Dreaming of What Might Be: The Knights of Labor in Ontario, 1880-1900 (Toronto 1987, Originally 1982), 102, 322.

into the Knights of Labor.¹⁷³ "Hand in Hand" contained both men and women. While few details about the activities of the Toronto bookbinders in the Knights of Labor were found in the research completed to date, Kealey and Palmer posit that the Knights forged a "movement culture" during the 1880s in which for the first time workers saw the potential for a unified working class.¹⁷⁴ While the Knights of Labor expressed a concern for the plight of women workers, and women were incorporated into the Knights, the organization also reinforced the patriarchal social relations of Victorian society. The ideology of the Knights of Labor was "buttressed by that predictable prop, the family, and the timeless innocence and preeminence of femininity," and reinforced with the thinking that women, if conditions permitted, would prefer to return to their "proper" sphere in the home.¹⁷⁵

The collapse of the bookbinders LA in 1894 was associated with the broader demise of the Knights of Labor in

¹⁷³ Kealey and Palmer, Dreaming of What Might Be, 107.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., ch.8.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 318; Karen Dubinsky, "The Modern Chivalry: Women in the Knights of Labor, Ontario, 1880-1891," MA thesis, Carleton University, 1985; Susan Levine, Labor's True Woman: Carpet Weavers, Industrialization and Labor Reform in the Gilded Age (Philadelphia 1984), ch.5. Bettina Bradbury criticized Kealey and Palmer for being dismissive in their critique of the Knights of Labor. She further stated that Kealey and Palmer deny that an important element in the social construction of masculinity for skilled workers was their capacity to support a wife. Bettina Bradbury, "Women's History and Working-Class History," Labour/Le Travail, 19 (Spring 1987), 35.

Ontario in the early 1890s. However, one year earlier in June 1893, Local 28 of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders (IBB) was chartered in Toronto.¹⁷⁶ Journeymen bookbinders previously associated with the Knights of Labor affiliated with Local 28. Two prominent Toronto labour movement figures and journeyman bookbinders, brothers Robert and William Glockling, are a case in point. Active in District Assembly 125 of the Knights of Labor, Robert Glockling was the DA financial secretary in 1887, recording secretary in 1888, and treasurer from 1889 through to the early 1890s. At the annual convention of the IBB in 1898, Robert was elected first vice-president, and subsequently president in 1905; a position he held until his death in 1913. Robert Glockling was also president of the Toronto Trades and Labor Council in 1889-90 and from 1895-96, and Liberal appointed Secretary of the Ontario Bureau of Labor from 1900 to 1906.¹⁷⁷ William Glockling was secretary of LA No. 5743 in the early 1890s, and secretary of Local 28 in the early 1900s. Subsequently, in 1916, William was elected first vice-president of the IBB.¹⁷⁸ Despite the continuity in personnel between the Knights of Labor and the IBB at the

¹⁷⁶ Report of the Bureau of Labour, 1900, 28.

¹⁷⁷ Kealey, Toronto Workers, 324; Roberts, "Studies in the Toronto Labour Movement," i-ii; IB, I, 4 (May 1900), 4; IB, XIV, 2 (February 1913), 50.

¹⁷⁸ Kealey, Toronto Workers, 325; Eleventh Report of the Bureau of Industries, 18; Report of the Bureau of Labour, 1900, 28; IB, XIX, 11 (November 1918), 392.

local level, women were not included in Local 28 during the early stages of the union's existence.¹⁷⁹

A strike at the Canada Publishing Co. by twelve bindery "girls" on 11 October 1893, provides some limited evidence of militancy among the "unorganized" bindery women. An attempt by the foreman to reduce piece rates among the stitchers in the bindery precipitated the conflict.

The girls...say the foreman brought in some work, which he said should be done the same as usual, only they were to use white thread instead of blue floss as before. They had always got 40 cents a thousand for it formerly, but when they asked if the price was to remain the same, the foreman said it was not, but that it was to be done for 25 cents. The girls thereupon refused to go to work unless the old price remained. They declared they would not go back and work for that amount per thousand. Previously they had barely made enough to live on, but with this cut the most expert binder in the business could not make more than 18 cents a day.¹⁸⁰

Unfortunately, an abundant labour market of cheap women stitchers in late-nineteenth century Toronto, meant that the women were easily replaced, and the strike at the Canada Publishing Co. was almost immediately lost.¹⁸¹ This same vulnerability of women bindery workers to replacement by employers undercut the possibilities for women to organize collectively into unions.

Although women did not initially have a presence in the

¹⁷⁹ Report of the Bureau of Labour, 1901, 55.

¹⁸⁰ Globe, 12 October 1893.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.; The Mail, 12 October 1893.

local Toronto bookbinders's union, women were included under the umbrella of the IBB from the outset. The preamble to the constitution of the IBB states, in part:

The efforts of individuals without union, having proved ineffectual to maintain an adequate rate of compensation for their labor, and experience having shown that associated and united effort, when founded on justice and guided by reason, being of great benefit to working men and women, and in order to concentrate our efforts for the attainment of our rights, we deem it necessary that an organization of our craft be formed which will have a tendency to elevate our conditions and place the bookbinding trade in the front rank of the mechanical industries of the world...¹⁸²

The trade unionism of the bookbinders is rooted in an advanced industrial capitalist society, with elements residual from the international union's Knights of Labor antecedents, notably the explicit inclusion of all workers in the bookbinding trade, both men and women.¹⁸³

During the late 1890s and the early 1900s, the organization of women bindery workers was at the forefront of the IBB's agenda. Although the skills of the hand bookbinder were still required to produce "up-market" books, special editions and subscription books, an expanding market in "cheap-books" and periodicals, technological innovations, and

¹⁸² Constitution and By-Laws of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, 1892, in American Labor Unions Constitutions and Proceedings.

¹⁸³ The IBB was organized in Philadelphia in May 1892, by amalgamation of the National Trades Assembly No. 230 of the Knights of Labor, and the International Bookbinders Union, both of which were holding conventions at the same time in the city. See IB, VI, 6 (June 1906), 170-1.

changes in the labour process weakened the position of "skilled" male hand bookbinders. By the 1890s, machines for gathering, casing, folding, stitching, embossing and stamping were available. In the "forwarding" tasks already gendered as women's work, specifically folding, gathering, and stitching, the introduction of machinery did not pose a threat to the status of male journeymen bookbinders. However, in the production of cheap books, where casing, stamping and embossing were performed by machines, hand bookbinding was becoming a "beleaguered craft," and employers attempted to employ cheaper female labour at piece rates well-below the wages of journeymen bookbinders.¹⁸⁴

The laws of the IBB were modified in 1899, to incorporate the chartering of separate locals of women bindery workers using the designation "Bindery Women's Local Union," for the purpose of defending the craft status of journeymen bookbinders under conditions of intensifying industrial capitalist exploitation.¹⁸⁵ Later in February 1905, international President Robert Glockling used the International Bookbinder to argue that the organization of women bindery workers was of "mutual" benefit to both sexes. Focusing first on the benefit of union affiliation for bindery women

¹⁸⁴ Mary Van Kleeck, Women in the Bookbinding Trade (New York 1913).

¹⁸⁵ Constitution and By-Laws of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, 1899, in American Labor Unions Constitutions and Proceedings.

Glockling stated:

History tends generally to imply the idea of the inferiority of women in the industrial and political field. It remained, however, for the Labor organizations to declare against this doctrine. The Order of the Knights of Labor in the early eighties declared for "Equal pay for equal work." And why not? Assuming that wages represent the media of exchange for life's necessities, why should not Women share equally in wage distribution? Does it require any less for life's necessities of woman than man's?¹⁸⁶

Glockling then turned to the advantages to men bookbinders derived from the organization of women:

From an economic point of view, women's Locals are a necessity to the Brotherhood. The exploiting of female labor will grow if not checked. Why is a girl employed in place of a man? The answer is, "Because she is cheaper." With our women organized, we will be able to educate them in the economic situation, and thus avert much of the future difficulties that will inevitably arise if we keep them apart.¹⁸⁷

Women were accepted by men in the bookbinding trades in the "forwarding" tasks where they did not pose a threat to the skilled hand bookbinder, and where indeed the organization of women might potentially be of "mutual" benefit to both sexes.

In the context of this wider campaign by the international to organize women bindery workers, Bindery Women's Union, No. 34 was formed in Toronto on 26 June 1901. The workers in the bindery at the Methodist Book Room were at the forefront of the organization of the Bindery Women's Union. Charles Goldsmith, an organizer for the IBB, and a bookbinder

¹⁸⁶ IB., VI, 2 (February 1905), 43.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

at the Methodist Book Room, assisted in the organization of the women bindery workers.¹⁸⁸ The male bookbinders recognizing that bindery women needed union support, felt that women could only be effectively organized with the help of the men. The editor of the International Bookbinder, J.L. Feeney of Washington stated:

It is the duty of the local organizations of men to make some effort, in each city where there is no women's organization, to organize them into a union... The women have to be taught what trades unionism is, and when they have become educated and thoroughly understand the tenets and principles of organization, there are no better trades unionists than the women workers.¹⁸⁹

A measure of ambivalence thus creeps into the relationship between men and women unionists in the bookbinding trades. While the assistance of the men in organizing the women suggests a measure of class solidarity and recognition of women's participation in the labour force, the intent behind the organization of women, namely, to protect the position of men in the workplace suggests that in keeping with the prevailing gender inequality the male bookbinders would have preferred to keep women in the home. Paternalism is also apparent from the above comment that women bindery workers are incapable of organizing without the assistance of men.

Initially organized with 150 women, only 273 out of a total of 500 Toronto women bindery workers, had joined the

¹⁸⁸ TJ, XIX, 2 (15 July 1901), 81-3.

¹⁸⁹ IB, V, 7 (July 1904), 136.

union by the following year.¹⁹⁰ The low level of union membership among the bindery women might be attributed to the tendency for women's labour force participation to be short-lived.¹⁹¹ In the fall of 1902, the Women's Bindery Union made an unsuccessful demand for a 50 per cent wage increase, and a reduction in the hours of labour to 44 hours per week.¹⁹² Commenting on the women's demands the Canadian Printer and Publisher indicated that the employers viewed the work of women in the binderies as lacking "permanency," and as of less value than the labour of men "who enter as apprentices, have every intention of making the trade their life-work, and in time, if capable, they become expert binders."¹⁹³ According to the reports of the Ontario Bureau of Labor, the wages of women bindery workers increased by \$0.50 over the course of the year to \$4 per week of 52 hours in 1903, a figure that was substantially below the \$12 per week received by men bookbinders.¹⁹⁴

Toronto Women's Bindery Union was short-lived. In 1908, the union surrendered its charter and merged with the men's local. The consolidation of the two unions was the result of

¹⁹⁰ TJ, XIX, 2 (15 July 1901), 81; Report of the Bureau of Labour, 1902, 58.

¹⁹¹ Roberts, Honest Womanhood, 47.

¹⁹² CP&P, XI, 8 (August 1902), 4.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Report of the Bureau of Labour, 1902, 58; Report of the Bureau of Labour, 1903, 53.

a directive by IBB President Glockling ordering that "where small locals exist of men and women, separated, that there be but one local."¹⁹⁵ With the demise of the local women's bindery union, the potential for any recognition of the distinct concerns of women bindery workers was lost as the women became a minority interest in the male-dominated and male-controlled union.

Despite the elimination of the small independent women's locals, including Toronto Local No. 34, the IBB continued the campaign to organize women bindery workers. Glockling emphasized the importance of organizing women bindery workers in his address to the annual convention of the IBB in 1910:

I want to go on record as giving attention to the organization of the Bindery girls, for without their assistance we would not be able to accomplish very much. There should be great efforts made in this connection, for I have always found that the man is able to take care of himself under most any circumstances whereas the women are not so fortunate. It is not because the employer prefers to employ women in preference to men, but rather because he can secure her labor much cheaper than that of the men, if the women were to receive equal pay with the men we would have no objections to her taking our place.¹⁹⁶

The paternalistic assumption that women were not capable of organizing for themselves is obvious from Glockling's remarks. Less obvious, perhaps, is the persistence of the

¹⁹⁵ Proceedings of the Annual Convention of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, Cincinnati, 8 June 1908, in American Labor Unions Constitutions and Proceedings.

¹⁹⁶ Proceedings of the Annual Convention of the IBB, 1910, in American Labor Unions Constitutions and Proceedings.

exclusionary "equal pay" strategy used by male-dominated craft unions since the latter part of the nineteenth century in defence of their position as "skilled" workers and family breadwinners. This defensive strategy of gender exclusion was adopted where women machine operators encroached on "finishing" tasks in the bookbinding process which were designated as the work of skilled men bookbinders. In Toronto, however, "girls" doing the work of journeymen bookbinders at cheaper rates undermined the position of the male bookbinders in Local 28 throughout the period studied to 1914.¹⁹⁷

Summary and Conclusions

During the period between 1870 and 1914, the Toronto printing trades unions were socially organized to sustain unequal gender relations. The strength of the Toronto Typographical Union previous to the widespread implementation of machine typesetting in the 1890s lies in the fact that composition was not a "beleaguered craft." Male compositors successfully defended their status as skilled workers using the chapel as the workplace unit of the local typographical union. While conflicts centred around issues of union recognition, wages, hours, and the closed shop, previous

¹⁹⁷ In August 1914, "Spike," Local 28's correspondent to the International Bookbinder reported that "girls" doing the work of journeymen bookbinders, and the secession in 1908 of a group of local bookbinders to join the "National" union, undermined the position of Local 28. See IB, XV, 8 (August 1914), 515-16.

historians of the Toronto printers with their emphasis the culture of workers control neglected to consider the centrality of patriarchal relations in the resolution of conflicts between workers and employers.¹⁹⁸ The struggles were organized and carried out by the male trade-unionists in defence of masculine craft-based notions of skill and in defense of the socially-defined status of the journeyman as the family breadwinner.

Masculine definitions of skill and male domination of the Toronto Typographical Union functioned to the virtual exclusion of women from the trade. While ostensibly the union had no objection to taking in women as members as long as they completed the five-year apprenticeship and received the union scale, employers viewed women compositors as a cheap source of labour and were not willing to pay the women the union scale. Fragmentation along class lines might, therefore, be inferred. Rather than joining with women compositors in the struggle against capitalist exploitation, male unionists defended their masculine craft status.

The first real crisis to the male craft-domination of compositors occurred with the introduction of typesetting machines in Toronto in the early 1890s. Employers, notably newspaper publishers, attempted to gender the operation of the machines as women's work using the analogy between the

¹⁹⁸ Kealey, Toronto Workers, ch. 6; Kealey, "Work Control," 84-6; Roberts, "The Last Artisans," 126, 141-42.

work of women typists in the clerical sector and the suitability of women's "delicate fingers" for operation of the linotype keyboard. Local 91 quickly established jurisdiction over the use of machines for union members. During the early 1890s, the local typographical union waged several successful struggles with employers over the use of "girls" and apprentice labour on the machines. A lockout at the News in October 1892, and the replacement of union compositors by non-union machine operators, many of them women, brought about the founding of another daily newspaper in Toronto. The compositors locked-out at the News established the evening Star, placing the union label over the editorial heading.

Throughout the period between 1870 and 1914, relations of class and gender were incorporated into the struggle between employers and journeymen over the "Apprentice Question." The exploitation of cheap apprentice labour threatened both the position of journeymen printers in the workplace and their ability to earn a "living wage." Another dimension of the relationship between class, gender, and skill centred around the conditions of apprenticeship. For the male unionists in the Toronto Typographical Union, apprenticeship was more than a system for boys to acquire technical skills, it was also an essential ingredient in attaining manhood. Acquiring "competence" in the craft was linked to a masculine definition of craft skill. With the

broad movement towards technical education, and the introduction of the ITU correspondence course in 1908, apprenticeship was transformed from a workplace-centred experience intended both to teach apprentices the technical skills of the trade and develop manliness, to an experience involving education external to the workplace and increasingly focussed on the technical requirements of the trade.

The final dimension of gender relations within the typographical union considered in the analysis was the organization of the Woman's International Auxiliary in August 1902. A local Toronto branch, Woman's Auxiliary No. 42, was formed slightly more than two years later in December 1904. Primarily a support service for the male-dominated typographical union, the Woman's Auxiliary immediately joined the ITU "eight hours" campaign. Another aspect of the support service provided by the WIA centred around the role of women as primary family consumers. Woman's Auxiliary No. 42 was active in promoting the union label. While the auxiliary brought the wives, daughters, sisters, and widows of ITU members into the labour movement, albeit in a limited way, and probably fuelled a limited measure of class consciousness among the women, the women were still excluded from the main typographical union.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century, technological innovations and changes in the labour process resulted in the re-

definition of "skill" and further brought about the organization of separate unions of pressmen, press feeders, stereotypers, photoengravers and bookbinders. The formation of unions within the Toronto printing trades had implications for class and gender relations within the Toronto printing trades. For example, during the early 1880s pressfeeding was socially defined as unskilled work suitable for women and boys. With the subsequent introduction of larger and faster presses beginning in the early 1890s, the work of the press feeder was socially redefined along the lines of both skill and gender. The pressmen's union used the ideology of the male breadwinner to attempt to exclude women from the press room.

In contrast to the other sectors of the Toronto printing industry, large numbers of women were employed in the bookbinding sector. A bookbinders assembly of the Knights of Labor, appropriately named "Hand in Hand," was organized in Toronto in 1886, and contained both men and women bindery workers. According to Palmer and Kealey, however, the "movement culture" forged by the Knights of Labor reinforced the patriarchal social relations of Victorian society.¹⁹⁹

With the demise of the Knights of Labor in the late 1880s, Local 28 of the IBB was chartered in June 1893. The IBB encouraged the incorporation of women into the union, but with a paternalistic assumption that women were incapable of

¹⁹⁹ Kealey and Palmer, Dreaming of What Might Be, 318.

organizing themselves and had to be taught by men what trades unionism was. A movement by the IBB to organize women bindery workers in 1899 resulted in the organization of Toronto Bindery Women's Union No. 34 in 1901. The experiment in an independent women's union was not a success. A large percentage of women found work in non-union shops. One year after the initial organization of the union, only slightly more than half of the local women bindery workers had joined the union. In 1908, the women's bindery union merged with the men's local. Analogous to the typographical union, the male unionists in the bookbinder's union also adopted the exclusionary "equal pay" strategy during the first decade of the twentieth century when women machine operators threatened the position of journeymen bookbinders in the "finishing" tasks in the binding process.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

By 1871 Toronto was the major printing and publishing centre in Canada, accounting for 30.6 percent of the total national product reported of \$4,460,268. A pattern of geographical centralization was thus established in the Canadian printing industry by the late nineteenth century. The city continued to dominate the nation's printing industry over the latter part of the nineteenth century, producing roughly 30 per cent of the total product value of \$25,425,970 in 1911.

Rather than a linear stage-by-stage process of industrial capitalist development, the argument developed in the thesis is that change in the structural organization of the Toronto printing industry between 1870 and 1914 might be understood as uneven and combined development. Contrary to other earlier interpretations, industrial capitalist transformation did not result in the disappearance of small producers. During the period studied between 1870 and 1914, the role of small producers shifted from artisan master to that of petit bourgeois producer. Many small producers, retaining old craft methods of production, co-existed with the capital intensive and highly mechanized daily newspaper sector and large multi-faceted commercial printing and book publishing firms. Illustrative of the importance of small producers to the overall development of the Toronto printing industry was the tendency for large multiple printing-trades

firms to subcontract out jobs to small firms. The role of small producers in the process of industrial capitalist transformation requires further historical study using both the decennial census statistics and city directories as one of the significant findings of this study of the printing industry is that the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century censuses seriously under-enumerated the number of businesses.

During the late nineteenth century, segmentation occurred within the Toronto printing industry with the emergence of the daily press, the separation of newspaper publishing from book and commercial job printing, technological innovations including the invention of larger and faster presses, the introduction of machine typesetting, and an increasing division of labour. A trend to specialization also characterized the structural development of the Toronto printing industry between 1870 and 1914. With technological innovations in the production process, specialty firms proliferated in Toronto including establishments specializing in "boiler plate," colour printing and typesetting, and firms specializing in illustrations using engraving and lithographing techniques. In addition to the firms specializing in a particular function, businesses specializing in a product line proliferated in Toronto during the period between 1870 and 1914. For example, J.B. Maclean and his brother Hugh built a successful magazine publishing business based on trade journals. Separate businesses concentrating on the

production of city directories, music publishing, and stationery also appeared.

Male workers were predominant in the Toronto printing industry throughout the period from 1870 to 1914. The percentage of women employed in the city's printing industry actually declined from 34 per cent in 1871 to 17.6 in 1911. Gender segregation as further evident, with women concentrated in the bindery performing those jobs socially defined as "unskilled," including folding, stitching, and collating. Seasonal variation in the Toronto printing industry also had important ramifications for printing-trades workers. The peak fall and Christmas season was typically followed by a slack period in the late spring and summer.

The central argument of this study is that during a period of competitive capitalism in the Toronto printing industry between 1870 and 1914, patriarchal social relations were integral to the experience of class. In concurrence with recent trends in feminist historical writing, it was argued that the interrelationship of class and gender can only be fully understood through an analysis of both the workplace and the family. Departing from the previous studies of the Toronto printers which focus on newspaper compositors, the availability of business records and payrolls from the Methodist Book and Publishing House permitted an in-depth study of workers involved in the gamut of the printing trades.

The profitability of the Methodist Book Room's virtual monopoly in Church publications allowed the firm to expand into non-Church related printing and bookbinding and commercial job printing. By the early 1900s, the Book Room was a leader in agency publishing in Canada and was also involved in a cartel in the school textbook market with two other local Toronto firms, William Gage & Co. and Copp Clark. Commercial job printing for Simpson's department store, Butterick's fashion periodicals, and miscellaneous work for local businesses, some obtained through Methodist Church connections, revealed the diversity of printing and bookbinding conducted at the Methodist Book Room. Consistent expansion and diversification in both the religious and the non-religious printing and bookbinding carried out at the Methodist Book Room brought about a need for expansion in the manufacturing facilities. The overwhelming increase in capital investment in machinery during the early 1900s suggested an increased level of mechanization in the actual production process. For labour, employment at the Methodist Book Room was one of the better situations for late nineteenth and early twentieth century Toronto printing-trades workers. The need to put out the Church publications on a regular basis translated into steady employment for a core group of Book Room employees.

A sample of the extant wage books from the Methodist Book Room was studied from the printing office for the fiscal

year 1882-1883, the bindery for the fiscal year 1890-91, and for both the printing office and the bindery for the calendar year 1902. The workers identified by gender and occupation either from the payrolls themselves or from linkages with city directories became the focus of the analysis. The group of Methodist Book Room workers studied was biased since the workers who could be identified from linkages with the city directories were more likely to be relatively stable members of the community and employed at the Methodist Book Room for some considerable period of time. An advantage of a firm-specific study, however, is that actual wage levels were obtained, thus enabling the identification of deviations from the union rate, the source typically used by labour historians in discussions of wage rates.

As expected, the analysis revealed a gender division of labour consistent with that found in the broader overview of the Toronto printing industry derived from the aggregate census statistics. At the Methodist Book Room women worked at jobs socially defined by male printing-trades workers and employers as lesser skilled, specifically proofreading and press feeding in the printing office, and folding, collating, and stitching in the bindery. The women folders identified from the Book Room bindery payrolls for 1890-91 and 1902 all worked piece rates and had an income one-third to one-half that of journeymen bookbinders.

The analysis of the wage books also disclosed a hier-

archical workplace organization. A small number of Methodist Book Room journeymen rose through the ranks of the shop floor and became foremen. In the Methodist Book Room printing office the foremen were all union members. The foreman's power in the shop was thus limited by the fact that as a union member he was subject to the discipline of his union brothers. Although a few Methodist Book Room workers, including Charles Roddy and John Imrie, subsequently made the transition to petit bourgeois proprietorship, for the majority of workers, movement up the shop floor hierarchy, but still within the working class, was the extent of any upward mobility.

Historian Bettina Bradbury has argued that to grasp fully the complex interaction of patriarchy and capitalism we must go beyond the workplace and study the family, and further consider how family decision-making strategies influenced who would enter the labour force.¹ An attempt was made to link the sample group of Methodist Book Room workers used to study the social relations of production with the decennial census manuscripts for 1881, 1891, and 1901 and the municipal tax assessment rolls. The analysis of the relationship between the cost of living, the wages earned by

¹Bettina Bradbury, "Gender at Work at Home: Family Decisions, the Labour Market and Girls' Contributions to the Family Economy," in Greg Patmore and Gregory S. Kealey, eds., Canadian and Australian Labour History: Toward a Comparative Perspective (Sydney and St. John's 1990), 119; Bettina Bradbury, Working Families: Daily Survival in Industrial Montreal (Forthcoming).

Methodist Book Room workers, and the household family economies revealed that the male "breadwinner" wage was a reality only for comparatively few skilled male printing-trades workers at the upper end of the workplace hierarchy. The majority of the Book Room workers identified lived at subsistence level and relied on the wages of older children and probably the labour of women and children in the informal economy. The significance of these findings is reinforced when the fact that the sample was skewed towards studying the most stable and consistently employed of Toronto printing-trades workers is taken into consideration.

Previous historians of the Canadian working-class experience have focussed only on the labour movement activities of the Toronto printers and the relative success of the nineteenth-century printers in their struggles with employers in comparison to other skilled craftsmen. The inference in these writings by Kealey, Roberts, and to some extent Zerker, is that the nineteenth-century Toronto printers represented something of a privileged group among the working class, and realized a standard of living somewhat above the majority of the working class.² Contrary to the

²Gregory S. Kealey, "Work Control, the Labour Process, and Nineteenth-Century Canadian Printers," in Craig Heron and Robert Storey, eds., On the Job: Confronting the Labour Process in Canada (Montreal and Kingston 1986), 92; Gregory S. Kealey, Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism 1867-1892 (Toronto 1980), ch. 6; Wayne Roberts, "The Last Artisans: Toronto Printers, 1896-1914," in Gregory S. Kealey and Peter Warrian, eds., Essays in Canadian Working Class History (Toronto 1976), 125-42; Sally F. Zerker, The Rise and

writings of these historians, the analysis of the select group of Methodist Book Room printing-trades workers suggests that the families of printing-trades workers lived in subsistence-level conditions. Substantive conclusions cannot be made, however, until the standard of living of the families of all Toronto printing-trades workers are compared against the household family economies of workers in other skilled and unskilled occupations.

If home ownership was an aspiration of the working class as Michael Katz has suggested, it was a goal not typically attained by the Methodist Book Room printing-trades workers.³ The majority of the printing-trades workers who were heads of households rented modest single family dwellings. The workers who did acquire homes were characterized by skilled journeymen status and long-term stable employment at the Book Room. There was a slight tendency for home ownership to be life cycle-related, with workers acquiring homes in middle age after children were old enough to enter the workforce and contribute a wage to the household economy, and some modest savings were accumulated.

A pattern of kin employment was also found at the Methodist Book Room throughout the late nineteenth and early

Fall of the Toronto Typographical Union 1832-1972: A Case Study of Foreign Domination (Toronto 1982), chs. 5 and 6.

³Michael B. Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City (Cambridge, MA 1975), 19-20.

twentieth centuries. In the case of the Wilson family three generations were employed at the Book Room. Informal kin networks probably assisted workers in securing positions with the firm or entry into apprenticeships. The possible role of patriarchal Church and Methodist ideology in influencing hiring practices at the Methodist Book Room remains an area for further investigation.

The analysis of trade union organization within the Toronto printing trades further sustains the argument concerning the interrelationship between class and gender, and the centrality of patriarchal relations in the resolution of conflict between labour and capital. Prior to 1890, male unionists in ITU Local 91 successfully defended masculine craft-based notions of skill and virtually excluded women compositors from the typographical union. In Montreal during the 1880s women were employed as compositors in newspaper offices.⁴ This suggests that perhaps a comparatively stronger trade-union organization existed in Toronto at the time. This assertion could be substantiated through a comparative study of gender exclusion among male unionists in the typographical unions in both Toronto and Montreal.

The first real threat to the domination of male hand compositors occurred with the widespread implementation of machine typesetting during the 1890s. Employers seeking to reduce the high labour costs incurred for typesetting sought

⁴Bradbury, Working Families.

to gender the operation of the machines as women's work analogous to the work of women typists in the clerical sector. The Toronto Typographical Union quickly appropriated the operation of the machines for its predominantly male membership, and was successful in several conflicts with employers during the 1890s in defence of masculine notions of skilled-worker status. Instead of joining with the women compositors in the struggle against capitalist exploitation, the male unionists defended their masculine craft status. This exclusion of women on the basis of gender resulted in a measure of fragmentation along class lines. The contribution of this aspect of the research is to illustrate that not only does struggle define class relations, but similarly shifts in gender relations are also the product of struggles carried out in specific historical contexts.

Gender antagonism within the local typographical union extended to the employment of apprentices and the actual conditions of apprenticeship. The exploitation of cheap apprentice labour by employers threatened the status of journeymen compositors within the workplace. While the development of the male breadwinner wage form awaits in-depth research in the Canadian context, it would appear that the exploitation of cheap apprentice labour also threatened the ability of journeymen to earn a "living wage" or a wage sufficient to support their families on the earnings of the male household head.

For male unionists in the Toronto Typographical Union, apprenticeship was more than a means of acquiring the technical skills of the craft, it was also essential in making the transition to manhood. In the context of a broader trend towards technical education during the decades surrounding the turn of the century, the ITU introduced a correspondence course for apprentice compositors in 1908. Apprenticeship shifted from an entirely workplace-centred experience intended to impress upon boys the masculine skills of the craft, to an experience involving education external to the workplace with more emphasis placed on the technical requirements of the trade.

Another aspect of gender relations within the typographical union considered was the formation of the Women's International Auxiliary of the ITU in the summer of 1902. A local Toronto branch, Woman's Auxiliary No. 42, was formed two years later in 1904. The Woman's Auxiliary functioned primarily as a support service for the male-dominated typographical union. The women in their role as primary family consumers actively promoted the union label and also joined in the ITU "eight hours" campaign. Another further objective of the Woman's Auxiliary was to promote sociability among the families of typographical union members.

Technological innovations and changes in the labour process during the latter part of the nineteenth century had additional implications for the development of printing

trades unionism and class and gender relations. Resentment on the part of pressmen stemming from the neglect of their specific trade interests by the compositor-dominated typographical union led to the formation of a separate pressmen's local in 1882. Tensions between the pressmen's union and the typographical union both at the local and the international level during the 1890s are further illustrative of class fragmentation among printing-trades workers.

Analogous to the division between pressmen and compositors on the basis of skill was the division between pressmen and press feeders which resulted in the chartering of a separate press feeders and assistants union in Toronto in 1890. Earlier in the 1880s press feeding was socially defined as unskilled work suitable for women and boys. With the introduction of larger and faster presses beginning in the 1890s, male press feeders struggled to redefine the task as skilled men's work. Male press room workers further utilized male breadwinner ideology in their attempt to exclude women from the work of press feeding.

Innovations in the labour process and the emergence of new areas of specialization resulted in the organization of separate trade unions. For example, during the 1890s and early 1900s, separate locals of stereotypers and electrotypers, photo-engravers, and lithographers were formed in Toronto. These printing trades were almost exclusively male occupations. During the latter part of the nineteenth

century, stereotyping, lithographing, electrotyping and photo-engraving were socially defined as requiring the skill of an artist. Thus, similar to the typographical union, the respective trade unions formed in these printing trades were organized along craft-based lines for purposes of defending the interests of male unionists.

Some considerable attention was given to the organization of bookbinders. Unlike the other sectors of the Toronto printing trades, large numbers of women were employed in the bookbinding sector. A bookbinders assembly of the Knights of Labor, called "Hand in Hand," was organized in Toronto in 1886, and contained both men and women bindery workers. Although little is known about the specific activities of the Toronto bookbinders assembly, historians Gregory Kealey and Bryan Palmer indicated that the "movement culture" forged by the Knights of Labor reinforced the patriarchal social relations of Victorian society.⁵

With the demise of the Knights of Labor, Local 28 of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders (IBB) was chartered in Toronto in June 1893. Brothers Robert and William Glockling, both journeymen bookbinders, and prominent in the Knights of Labor, and in the local Toronto labour movement, joined Local 28. Robert Glockling subsequently served as President of the IBB from 1905 until his death in 1913.

⁵Gregory S. Kealey and Bryan D. palmer, Dreaming of What Might Be: The Knights of Labor in Ontario, 1880-1900 (Toronto 1987, Originally 1982), 318.

The laws of the IBB were amended in 1899 to incorporate the chartering of separate locals of bindery women under the guidance of male unionists. The male bookbinders in the IBB assumed that women were incapable of organizing themselves and had to be taught the fundamentals of unionism. Charles Goldsmith, an organizer for the IBB and a bookbinder at the Methodist Book Room, initiated the organization of women bindery workers in Toronto. Bindery Women's Union, No. 34 was formed in Toronto in June 1901. Although the evidence is admittedly thin, the organization of a separate women's bindery union in Toronto was apparently not a success. Initially organized with 150 members, only about one-half of the city's 500 women bindery workers had joined the union by the following year. As a result, Women's Bindery Union No. 34 was short-lived. In 1908 the union surrendered its charter and merged with the men's local. Although the male bookbinders continued to emphasize the importance of organizing the women, the potential for any recognition of the distinct concerns of women bindery workers was lost.

During a period of intensive industrial capitalist development in the Toronto printing industry from 1870 to 1914, gender was interwoven with the experience of class for printing-trades workers. The work of women in the printing trades was socially defined by employers and by male unionists as unskilled, and consequently, of lesser value than the work of skilled male journeymen. In defending masculine

craft-based notions of skill, male unionists excluded women workers from entry into those jobs designated as skilled by men, and further neglected the concerns of women workers in the printing trades. Unequal gender relations were not confined exclusively to the workplace, but were also integrally related with the dependence of the family on the wages of the male household head for survival. Inequalities of class and gender are therefore illuminated through empirical historical research focussing on workers in a specific trade in a community setting with a consideration of social relations both in the workplace and in the family.

The research was an attempt at a convergence between working-class and labour history, feminist history, family history, and socialist feminist theory. A limitation of the in-depth study of the Methodist Book Room workers is that the analysis is overly structuralist in orientation. The women bindery workers, furthermore, tend to appear as victims rather than as active agents in gender and class struggles. Consistent with the broader agenda of socialist feminist historians, more research is needed at the household and workplace levels of analysis which focuses on women as active agents in gender and class struggles, and not as victims of patriarchal and capitalist oppression. How decisions were made within the family about which children remained at home or in school, and which children entered the wage labour force, must be considered. At the level of the workplace and

the trade union, more historical study is needed of the specific processes whereby women's work is defined as lesser skilled or unskilled.

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APPENDIX A

Strikes and Lockouts in the Toronto Printing Trades, 1870-1914

SECTOR/PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT	DATE	ISSUE	RESOLUTION
Local 91, and Bookbinders employed at the <u>Globe</u> ; <u>Express</u> ; <u>Daily</u> <u>Telegraph</u> ; Hunter, Rose; Copp, Clark & Co; Dudley & Burns; Rowse & Co.	25 March 1872	9- Hour Day;Wages	-Workers won \$10 per week of 54 hours; Local 91 lost some members -Macdonald government passed the Trade Unions Act, legalizing trade unions
Local 91; <u>Globe Weekly</u> and Job Printing Depts.	2 April 1877	Piece Rate Reduction	-Workers on strike one month - Strike a loss for Local 91; union was forced to accept wage cuts
Local 91; Bell, Hawkins &Co	23 March 1878	Non-compliance with union scale; Refusal to recognize 54-hour work week	-Shop closed to union members
Local 91; <u>Telegram</u>	6 May 1882	Treatment of Union Mechanics in the city by the proprietor, J.R. Robertson	-Guardian Committee called out members of Local 91; Boycott of the <u>Telegram</u>
Local 91; <u>Telegram</u>	March 1883	Refusal to honour union scale	-Boycott
Local 91; <u>Mail</u> and <u>Globe</u>	1884	Wage reduction	-Employers won reduction to 30¢/1000 ems, down from 33 1/3¢

Local 10, Pressmen	5 Sept. 1887	Wages	-14 Oct. 1887 strike committee disbanded; unsuccessful for union
Local 91; <u>World</u>	1888	Union control of "phat"	- <u>World</u> became a closed shop in 1890
Local 91; <u>Evening News</u> . 28 compositors locked out	27 Oct.- 20 Dec. 1892	Scale on typesetting machines	-Resolved in favour of the union - <u>News</u> became a closed office
Local 91; 10 men locked out of Ontario Stereotype Co.	19 Dec. 1892	Men replaced by women on machines working at lower piece rates	-In favour of union
Local 91; <u>Canada</u> <u>Presbyterian</u>	10 Jan. 1893	"Open" shop: Employing women as machine operators at rates below the union scale	-Shop closed to members of Local 91; Men found employment elsewhere
Local 91; Toronto Type Foundry	April-August 1895	Use of women machine operators at rates below the union scale	-Victory for the union
12 Non-union Bindery Women at Canada Publishing Co.	11 Oct. 1893	Piece rates	-The women were replaced
Local 28; Hunter, Rose & Co.	29 Dec. 1896- 31 Dec. 1896	Against the use of a non- union man on a cutting machine	-Non-union worker discharged

Printing Pressmen & Assistants, No.1; 70 workers in Book and Job Offices	15-18 Oct.1899	Wages; demanded an increase from \$12 to \$14 for a 54 hour week	-Compromise; wage \$13.50
Local 91; 5 workers at Henderson & Co.	7 Nov.1899	Putting an apprentice on machinery before time specified in union rules	-In favour of Union
Engravers	18 Jan. 1901- 1 Feb. 1901	Strike against the employment of non-union workers	-Some strikers left the city; others returned to work
Local 91, Supported by Pressmen and Feeders and Bindery Women; Against T.Eaton Co.	16 April-Nov. 1902	Union recognition	-Successful: Union recognized
Local 28, Bookbinders	23 Sept. -2 Oct. 1903	Firm placing a porter in the bindery to do the work of a journeyman bookbinder	-In favour of Local 28
Local 35; Photo-Engravers	3 June-31 July 1904	Union recognition; Wages	Union recognition at the Toronto Engraving Co.,Alexander Engraving Co.,and the Dominion Engraving Co.
Lithographers' International Protective & Beneficial Association of US and Canada	7 June- 5 July 1905	Union Recognition	Verbal Agreement

Lithographers' International Protective & Beneficial Association of US & Canada	2 Aug- 30 Sept. 1905	Against employment of non-union workers	-Replacement; Strikers obtained work elsewhere
Lithographers; Alexander & Cable; Toronto Lithographing Co.; Rolph, Smith & Co.; Hough & Co.	August 1906- May 1907	8-hour day	-Lost
Photo-Engravers, Local 35	4-15 March 1907	Against employment of non-union workers	-Lost; Places filled by 14 English Photo-Engravers
Local 35; Photo-Engravers	27 Jan.- 24 Sept. 1913	Union recognition; Wage increase to \$22-24/week, up from \$18-20; Collective bargaining	-Compromise; re-instate strikers, recognize union

Sources: Gregory S. Kealey, Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism 1867-1892 (Toronto 1980), ch.6; Harold Logan, The History of Trade-Union Organization in Canada (Chicago 1929), 7-26; Canada, Department of Labour, Strikes and Lockouts Files, NAC, RG 27.

APPENDIX B

Toronto Printing Trades Unions to 1914

UNION	DATE OF INITIAL ORGANIZATION	SUBSEQUENT ORGANIZATION
Toronto Typographical Union, Local 91	12 October 1832 as the York Typographical Society	-York Typographical Society folded in 1836 -Reorganized 9 Feb. 1844 -May 1866 affiliated with the National Typographical Union as Toronto Typographical Union, Local 91 -Women's Auxiliary, No. 42 organized 10 Dec. 1904
Printing Pressmen's Union, Local 10	October 1882, under the ITU	- 8 October 1889 affiliated with the IPPU -1908 split with IPP&AU over 8-hour assessment; affiliated with the CFL
Local Assembly, No. 5743, Knights of Labor(Bookbinders), "Hand in Hand"	25 February 1886	-Last known date 1894
Printing Press and Assistants and Feeders, No.1	June 1890, under IPPU	-1908 split with IPP&AU over 8-hour assessment; affiliated with CFL
Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union, No.21	31 January 1893, under ITU	- August 1902, affiliated with IS&EU
International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, Local 28	25 June 1893	
Web Pressmen's Union, No.1	1893, under ITU	-23 August 1894, affiliated with IPPU

Mailers' Union, Local 5	11 November 1893, under ITU	
Photo-Engravers' Union, No.20	October 1899, under ITU	-Suspended 1901
Bindery Women's Union, No.34	26 June 1901, under IBB	-Charter surrendered 1908; Women affiliated with Local 28
Photo-Engravers' Union, Local 35	15 July 1903	-1904, affiliated with IPEU
Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of US and Canada, No.12. Toronto, London and Hamilton	11 April 1903, under Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of US and Canada	
Canadian National Bookbinders' Union, No.1	15 December 1911, under Canadian Federation of " for	-Ceased to exist March 1916; Members joined IBB, Local 28

1851- National Typographical Union; 1869 renamed the
International Typographical Union to recognize Canadian Locals
1889- International Printing Pressmen's Union; 1896 renamed the
International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union
1893- International Brotherhood of Bookbinders
1902- International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union
1904- International Photoengravers' Union

Sources: Gregory S. Kealey, Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial
Capitalism (Toronto 1980), ch.6; Ontario, Reports of the Bureau of
Labour for the Province of Ontario, 1900-1913; Gary M. Fink, The
Greenwood Encyclopedia of American Institutions: Labor Unions
(Westport, Connecticut 1977), 187, 303; American Labor Unions
Constitutions and Proceedings.

