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I

PROLETARIAN SPIRITS

A Social History of
the English-language Labour Press
in Canada to 1900

By

Ron Verzuh, B.A., B.J.

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Institute of Canadian Studies

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PROLETARIAN SPIRITS A Social History of
the English-language Labour Press in
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submitted by Ron Verzuh, B.A., B.J.,
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ABSTRACT

This social history traces the English-language Canadian labour press from 1842 to 1900. It focuses on the role labour newspapers played in battling the appalling social conditions of Victorian Canada, and analyzes their successes and failures in trying to improve the lives of working-class Canadians. Although the original theoretical framework called for a survey of the effects of labour journalism on the passage of progressive social legislation, little such legislation appeared on statute books before 1900. The thesis therefore attempts to show how the papers presented social issues in housing, health, welfare, employment, social security and several other key social development areas, through the use of anecdotal evidence and the critical assessment of the opinions of historians. The underlying theoretical assumption of the thesis was that labour papers would provide a progressive view on all social issues. Although this image did not always prove true, the thesis does unearth evidence of the role of the labour press in the development of a mass working-class consciousness and the creation of a unique working-class culture. The thesis further attempts to show how labour editors of the late 1800s were the pioneers of a radical intellectual and journalistic tradition which found expression in the weekly journals that represented the fledgling Canadian labour movement.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have helped me over the past five years in the preparation of this thesis. I would first like to gratefully acknowledge the assistance of the many librarians who so patiently put up with me as I worked my way, often haltingly, through the research. Fred Longley at the Labour Canada Library deserves special thanks for his persistent faith in this project. I would also like to thank three of Canada's finest social historians, Greg Kealey, Bryan Palmer and Russell Hann. Without their major contribution to the study of social history, this thesis would not have been possible. Thanks are also due to my thesis supervisor Bob Rupert of Carleton University's School of Journalism, Carleton history professor Foster Griesic, and Institute of Canadian Studies director Richard Clippingdale. Finally, my apologies to those I have inadvertently left out. There were many who listened as I tried to articulate my views and perceptions regarding the labour press. In several cases, they helped correct some of my factual errors and inaccuracies as well as my sometimes misguided interpretations. Those that remain are my responsibility alone.

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CHAPTER 1

An Introduction to the Study of
the Canadian Labour Press

The history of the Canadian worker's struggle for social justice has long been tucked away in the pages of the 19th century labour press.¹ Traditionally, historians have scanned these often feisty tabloid newspapers in search of accounts of leadership rivalries, great strikes or the labour movement's official viewpoint on political issues of the day. Seldom, however, have they devoted more than a page or two to the labour press itself. Nor have they thoroughly investigated it as a social force which represented and often helped shape the opinions of a small but vocal group of labour advocates.

Like conventional labour historians, Canada's few journalism historians have also failed to thoroughly study the social significance of the labour press.² Yet there were at least 25 English-language labour papers publishing at various times during the 19th century, beginning as early as 1842 with Quebec City's The People's Magazine and Workingman's Guardian. Among other groups of social reform journals, such as the temperance, religious and farmer's press, the labour press waged an endless battle for survival as new technologies and journalistic conventions gave the

daily press (the party papers and later the so-called people's journals') an indisputable edge in attracting and influencing the working masses. Interestingly, some historians argue that it was the very presence of a labour press that led the dailies to seek broader working-class readerships. But this is not a consideration in Canadian journalism histories.

By contrast, today's social historians have used the labour press to transform "the somewhat arid subject of labour history into a lively crossroads of debate and research on working-class institutions and culture."³ Indeed, through the work of scholars like Gregory S. Kealey and Bryan D. Palmer, at least one all but forgotten social institution is gaining renewed prominence.⁴ For these working-class historians portray the labour press as a principal player--an active voice--in labour's efforts to propagate its brand of social progress. They also help situate it among the many working-class cultural institutions, such as fire brigades, Labour Day parades, pubs, mechanics' institutes and fraternal societies, that were popular in Victorian Canada. Hamilton's Palladium of Labor, for example, even had its own baseball team and challenged teams sponsored by the local commercial press, thus becoming involved in the leisure side of the 19th-century artisan's world as well the working side. As Kealey and Palmer argue in their latest work Dreaming of What Might

Be, a study of the Ontario Knights of Labor, the labour press acted as a mirror of this emergent working-class culture.

In the pages of well-known Hamilton-Toronto journals, such as the Labor Union, Palladium of Labor, Wage Worker, Trade Union Advocate, Canadian Labor Reformer, and Labor Advocate, the culture was at its most vibrant and visible. The existence of other organs, from the voice of (Daniel) O'Donoghue, the Labor Record, to the St. Thomas Canada Labor Courier, edited by George Wrigley, a future farmers' advocate and socialist, through labour papers barely known to have existed--Ottawa's Free Lance and Capital Siftings, London's Evening News (issued by printers in the midst of a 1884 strike), Brockville's Equalizer--demonstrated the scope and strength of the working-class presence in these years. ⁵

This thesis explores this cultural aspect of pioneer labour journalism and probes into the social role of the 19th-century English-language labour press.

The original theoretical framework of the thesis called for a survey of the effects of labour press activity on the passage of social legislation. This more scientific method of inquiry had to be abandoned, however, and a less exacting one substituted, largely due to a lack of legislative change in social policy areas up to 1900. Therefore, the thesis asks how labour journals attempted to effect progressive social change in education, housing, health, welfare, employment, social security and other key areas. It does this by documenting the efforts of several labour editors to

advocate social reforms in the above and other social development areas, and by the critical analysis of labour press content and presentation.

The underlying theoretical assumption of the thesis was that labour papers would provide a progressive view on all social issues. Although the labour press did not always live up to this image, the thesis does present evidence of their role in the development of a mass working-class consciousness regarding social and working conditions and the creation of a unique working-class culture.

The thesis contains five chapters and a conclusion. Chapter 1 is this introduction to the study of the Canadian labour press, which includes a bibliography of other works on the labour press. Chapter 2 traces its origins, covering the period before the founding of the Ontario Workman in 1872, an event that marked the beginning of the official labour press, since in that year trade unions became legal under Conservative Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald's Trades Union Act. Also, as Palmer notes, before the Workman, labour papers were "established but never sustained for any significant length of time," whereas the Workman published until the spring of 1874.⁶ Chapter 2 also identifies possible early influences on Canadian labour editors, such as the reading of British and American journals of social reform which made their way to our foreign shores in the bags and suitcases of migrant workers.

The other chapters cover the social role of the labour press through three decades, 1870 to 1900. Chapter 3 looks at the nine-hour-movement press and the role it played in raising a new class-consciousness among Canadian industrial workers in the 1870s. Chapter 4 documents the meteoric rise in popularity of the Knights of Labor press and its equally rapid demise. It also recounts some of the internal battles that went on between various Knights editors in the mid-1880s. And chapter 5 follows the development of the papers which became labour's socialist voice in the 1890s and beyond.

Each chapter includes a general introduction to the social, economic and intellectual climate of the period and a set of profiles designed to give a sense of journalistic style and content.

Most of the papers under study can be found at the National Library of Canada and the Labour Canada Library, both located in Ottawa. Extensive regional collections are also available through the Ontario Archives, Metro Toronto Library, Hamilton Public Library and the Special Collections Library at the University of British Columbia. Where a paper is available in sufficient quantity to fairly assess its social role, a profile has been done. In some cases, where a journal has not survived the ravages of time, partial profiles have been constructed, using the comments of their contemporaries or those of historians. For example, there do not appear to be any available issues of the

Western Workman (London, Ont.) or the Northern Journal (Montreal), both said to have been publishing at the same time as the Ontario Workman. However, they are still discussed as part of the press of the nine hour movement.

The profiles contain details on the single copy and subscription price of each paper, frequency of publication, circulation (usually between 1,000 and 5,000), advertising rates and revenues, format, place of publication, date of first and last issue (most lasted only a year or two), etc. Comments on the role of the labour press from historians and other labour editors are included in the profiles, along with an anecdotal review of content, including numerous quotations to illustrate how the papers covered social issues in their efforts to influence Canada's social development. They also include biographical information on the labour editor, since in many cases the fortunes of a publication rested solely with him. (This study turned up no women labour editors, although several made editorial contributions or acted as women's page editors.) As social historian Russell Hann suggests, labour editors were often disillusioned commercial journalists who became active labour advocates:

When workers began to organize and to launch their own journals to advance their cause, they might find in their own ranks a handful of learned artisans and the odd self-taught journalist trained at the printer's case to staff their papers. More often, they relied heavily upon sympathetic journalists who became labour's intellectuals....Trained journalists rallied to labour's cause wherever radical workingmen set up labour papers. 7

As stated earlier, 19th-century labour papers endeavoured to shape workers' social attitudes. However, as noted earlier, this thesis does not attempt to argue that they had any direct influence on the passage of new laws designed to ameliorate the appalling social conditions of the time. Indeed, it is doubtful that any study can show exact co-relations between a news medium's editorial advocacy and the passage of laws. Still, the thesis attempts to show how papers might have hastened or hindered social progress and how they tried to popularize social issues, thereby helping to initiate a public outcry which undoubtedly influenced some politicians and other decision makers to debate the need for social legislation. These issues included low-quality education, unhealthy working and living conditions, low-paid child and female factory labour, poverty and unemployment, poor housing conditions, lack of job security and social security (including the various forms of social insurance either provided or proposed by organized labour, such as welfare, health and accident insurance, etc.).⁸ Also discussed are the principal solutions to these problems as advocated by the labour press. They include shorter working hours, temperance, co-operation, political representation, unionization and all-out social revolution.

The thesis concludes with a short analysis of how the political views of the 19th-century labour press evolved regarding the social and working conditions under which the

the freeborn subjects of the Queen, can work a remedy for themselves, they have the right of petition to his Excellency, the Governor-General; let them act upon that right, and they will hurl to the winds the barbarous attempt of the packed corporate legislators who have dared to deny to workingmen and others, the privilege of an open market, for the purpose of providing their families with the sustenance of life, from the means they have obtained by the sweat of their brow, on six hard-working days of the seven days of the week.⁴⁸

"Refusal of Licenses to Tavern-keepers," "Poisoned Imitation Tea," and "The Sheriff of the District of Quebec-His Office and the Duties of It," were other items, mixed with the Guardian's few news stories, that might have caught the eye of authorities looking for evidence of seditious libel and other treasonous acts.

Certainly, there was some hint of the future social concerns of workers in the Guardian; shorter hours of work, earlier pay days, and public control of public offices and utilities were some of the issues that cautiously surfaced, and would resurface more boldly as the labour movement developed. But Moore seems to have borrowed from British radical papers before the 1820s in that he seldom deals with the "social question."⁴⁹ It also seems likely that he followed what Harrison calls the "daring life-style of the Radical publisher and editor, as a small entrepreneur of protest living in continual danger."⁵⁰ Although he might have been aware of the Chartist newspapers of the 1830s, it is not heavily reflected in the pages of the Guardian.⁵¹

University of Toronto doctoral thesis, Radicalism in English-Canadian Literature Since Confederation. Watt notes that:

The working class had appeared for the first time as a significant national force in the Nine Hour Movement of 1872, finding its voice in the weekly newspaper, the Ontario Workman. From then on a proletarian spirit can be seen evolving in the small radical labour press which struggled to support the interests of that class.¹⁰

John David Bell's 1975 Queen's University master's thesis, The Social and Political Thought of the Labor Advocate, and Phyllis Clarke's unpublished essay on Advocate editor Phillips Thompson, discuss the social causes championed by some 19th century labour papers.¹¹ But they deal almost exclusively with the life and work of Thompson. Still, these are valuable sources, since Thompson's career spans the entire history of the official labour press before 1900. Indeed, he has been described as "Canada's most significant late nineteenth-century labour reformer."¹² Bell observes the common traits of most labour papers and attempts to place them in a broader context. He suggests, for example, "that the Labour Advocate was leading, inadvertently, in the direction of the creation of a radical press, separate from established labour organizations but hoping to appeal to the workingman."¹³ It is a speculation that this thesis implicitly supports.

Jane E. Master's 1970 University of Western Ontario masters thesis, Canadian Labor Press Opinion, 1890-1914, focuses directly on the political views of the labour press.

She argues that the labour movement said one thing through its press and did quite another in the polling booth, a contradiction which seems to persist to this day. However, Masters also stresses the papers' social role:

Few social institutions escaped the scrutiny of the labour press. Labour newspapers no longer merely demanded justice for workingmen within the established structure of society. Instead, the cry of the 1890s was for a complete change in the entire system.¹⁴

Wayne Lennon's 1981 Carleton University masters thesis, Striking the Balance--The Labour Press and the National Question in Ontario and the Maritimes, 1872-1913, is a second source in the study of the politics of the labour press. Lennon argues that labour editors failed to see the contradiction in their efforts to "strike a balance between class and nation." He concludes that:

While the editors of the labour press thought they were espousing true internationalism, in reality they were defining limits to the role of Canadian workers in managing their own affairs--limits that placed them in a subordinate position to their American "brothers."¹⁵

In addition to these studies, several recent bibliographies often include labour papers in listings of social reform and radical publications.¹⁶ The latest of these is Paul Weinrich's Social Protest from the Left in Canada, 1870-1970.¹⁷ It is a complete and well-organized guide to the radical and alternative press, but it owes much to the pioneering work of a group of social historians who, in 1973, published Primary Sources in Canadian Working Class History, 1860-1930.

Throughout this study, the absence of more Canadian social history texts has hindered research and pointed up the need to improve Canadian social history through the increased use of primary sources such as the labour press and other social reform movement presses. Despite its flaws, Sources stands as a poignant plea for such improvements. The authors describe social history as the history of "the lives and times of laboring Canadians." And they call their bibliography "the first step along the road to a more complete picture of the forgotten causes, the failed efforts, the obsolete skills, and the private strengths of the largely unknown men and women whose history is essential to an understanding of the world in which we live."¹⁸

As with any historical record, this study uncovers only part of the story, however, it is a part which is too rarely consulted or cited by students and researchers of our past. It is therefore hoped that future social historians will use this thesis as one of the spades with which they can begin to unearth more of the long hidden perceptions and opinions of a class of people whose members often remain nameless and voiceless in the conventional recording of Canadian history. It is also hoped that this thesis will represent another step along the same road the Primary Sources editors travelled in its attempt to shed some small light on one facet of a forgotten time and place in our social history.

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NOTES

1. For the purposes of this thesis the terms labour press and labour papers or journals refer to publications outside the press of individual trade unions. Labour papers are supportive of the trade union movement, but not necessarily supported or governed by unions.

2. The three journalism histories consulted were:

W.H. Kesterton, A History of Journalism in Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967).

Paul Rutherford, A Victorian Authority--The Daily Press in Nineteenth-Century Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982).

Paul Rutherford, The Making of the Canadian Media (Toronto: McGraw-Hill-Ryerson, 1978).

3. Viv Nelles, "Rewriting History," Saturday Night (February 1981), pp. 11-16.

4. The doctoral theses of Greg Kealey and Bryan Palmer contain the most detailed accounts of 19th century labour press activity to date.

--Bryan D. Palmer, A Culture in Conflict (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979).

--Gregory S. Kealey, Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism, 1867-1892 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980).

5. Gregory S. Kealey and Bryan D. Palmer, Dreaming of What Might Be--The Knights of Labor in Ontario, 1880-1900 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 290.

6. Bryan D. Palmer, Working-Class Experience--The Rise and Reconstruction of Canadian Labour, 1800-1980 (Toronto: Butterworth, 1983), p. 92.

7. Russell Hann, "Brainworkers and the Knights of Labour: E.E. Sheppard, Phillips Thompson, and the Toronto News, 1883-1887," Essays in Canadian Working Class History (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), p. 36.

8. The following sources were used in determining the type of social legislation the labour press might have discussed:

Dennis Guest, The Emergence of Social Security in Canada (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980).

R.H. Coates, "Labour Legislation in Canada," Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, Canada and its Provinces (Volume IX), (Toronto: Publishers' Association of Canada Ltd., 1913).

Allan Moscovitch, The Welfare State in Canada--A Selected Bibliography, 1840-1978 (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1983).

9. Robbins Leonard Elliott, A Study of the Canadian Labour Press (University of Toronto masters thesis, 1947). As an example of the type of inaccuracy to be watchful of in this work, note that Elliott incorrectly cites The Union Advocate as Canada's first labour newspaper. In fact, it was a publication dedicated solely to the union of the four provinces at Confederation.

10. The quotation appears in both of the following works:

Frank William Watt, Radicalism in English Canadian Literature Since Confederation (University of Toronto doctoral thesis, 1957), p. 219.

Frank William Watt, "Literature of Protest," in Carl F. Klinck, Literary History of Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 478.

11. Phyllis Clarke "The Politics of Labor: The Life and Times of Phillips Thompson" (University of Toronto Political Science Department: unpublished essay, undated).

12. Palmer, Working-Class Experience, p. 113.

13. John David Bell, The Social and Political Thought of the Labor Advocate (Kingston: Queen's University masters thesis, 1975), p. 10.

14. Jane Elizabeth Masters, Canadian Labour Press Opinion, 1890-1914: A Study in Theoretical Radicalism and Practical Conservatism (London: University of Western Ontario, 1970), p. 1.

15. Wayne Lennon, Striking the Balance--The Labour Press and the National Question in Ontario and the Maritimes, 1872-1913 (Ottawa: Carleton University masters thesis, 1981), p. 110.

16. Several bibliographies contain references to the labour press. In the United States, one of the earliest, The American Labor Press Directory (New York: Rand School of Social Science, 1925) included 31 Canadian references. Lloyd G. Reynolds and Charles C. Killingsworth, Trade Union

Publications, 1850-1941 (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1945) listed 26 Canadian publications. The American Labor Press--An Annotated Directory (Washington: American Council on Public Affairs, 1948) noted 30 Canadian labour periodicals. And Bernard G. Naas and Carmelita S. Sakr, American Labor Union Periodicals: A Guide to Their Location (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, 1956) found 40 Canadian labour papers. In Britain, Royden Harrison, Gilliam B. Mollven and Robert Duncan, The Warwick Guide to British Labour Periodicals (Sussex: Harvester/Humanities Press, 1977) have compiled the most complete directory. In Australia, H.J. Gibbney, Labor in Print--A guide to the people who created a labor press in Australia between 1850 and 1939 (Canberra: Australian Dictionary of Biography, Australian National University, 1975) is apparently the only available directory.

17. Paul Weinrich, Social Protest from the Left in Canada, 1870-1970--A Bibliography (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982).

18. Russell G. Hann, Greg Kealey, Linda Kealey, Peter Marrian, Primary Sources in Canadian Working-Class History, 1860-1930 (Kitchener, Ont.: Dumont Press, 1973), p. 9.

19. Although this thesis is limited to English-language papers, a scan of bibliographies also indicates the existence of an active French-language labour press in Canada during the 19th century. In fact, French-language papers might have developed much earlier than the English, given the much higher population of French speakers up until about 1850, when Le Peuple Travailleur appeared in Montreal. (See H. Clare Pentland, Labour and Capital in Canada, 1650-1860 (Toronto: James Lorimer and Co., 1981), p. 64, for early population statistics on French and English speakers.)

This may have been the first French-language paper published in North America; however, little research has been done to date to prove it. By far the best resource on this subject is André Beaulieu and Jean Hamelin's la presse québécoise des origines à nos jours. (Quebec: Les presses de l'Université Laval, 1973). Another excellent resource is André E. LeBlanc and James D. Thwaites' Le Monde Ouvrier au Québec. They note that at least 12 French-language labour papers were published in Quebec before 1900. André LeBlanc, in a letter to me dated Aug. 9, 1982, says the list is incomplete and that he and Thwaites have recently updated the entries from 352 to nearly 500 labour papers (English and French). A third resource in studying the French labour press is LeBlanc's 1971 University of Montreal masters thesis, The Labor Movement Seen Through the Pages of

Montreal's 'Le Monde Ouvrier/The Labor World', 1916-1926.

Clearly, a full and independent study of the social role of this press is needed as well.

CHAPTER 2

Origins of the Canadian Labour Press

Although the Ontario Workman, founded in Toronto in 1872, is thought to be the first official English-language labour newspaper¹ published in Canada,² the origins of the labour press appear to go back much earlier. Indeed, the appearance of publications which raised social and economic issues of concern to the Canadian worker can be traced to at least 1842, the year the first and perhaps only edition of the People's Magazine and Workingman's Guardian was published in Quebec City. Also, Hamilton's Workingman's Journal predates the Workman by eight years as "the first Canadian newspaper explicitly devoted to 'the Interests of the Producing Classes'."³ Still, there is no record of an official labour organ before 1872 despite evidence of trade union formation as early as 1812.⁴

Part of the reason for the slow start may have been political. Canadian workers were prohibited by law from organizing unions until the Trades Union Act was passed in 1872. Thus, although historians have recorded instances of collective worker discontent since the days of the fur trade and before, any sign of rebellion, including the publication of a newspaper, could have been put down with brutal and legal force.⁵ Also, the authorities then ruling British

North America had much experience in the suppression of the printed word, even before the first newspapers appeared in 1622.⁶

But the threat of political tyranny was not the only or even the most significant factor which caused the Canadian labour press to flower so late. It was joined by a multitude of demographic and socio-economic forces, all of which were at work shaping a new society with powerful institutions and distinct classes.

When Canada's first English-language newspaper, the Halifax Gazette, began publishing on March 23, 1752,⁷ the yet to be constituted nation had less than 25,000 English-speaking inhabitants. Even this estimate may be high, since the bulk of immigration up to 1765 had been from France.⁸ Accounts of the earliest colonists indicate that they were often from 'poor and socially deprived backgrounds.'⁹ It is doubtful that many of them would have been fully literate. Indeed, while journalistic luminaries such as Dr. Samuel Johnson, Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Paine debated freedom of the press, reciting passages from John Milton's Areopagitica, the pioneer Canadian working class probably remained illiterate for the most part.¹⁰

By 1815, there were about 150,000 English speakers. By 1844, Upper Canada had a population of 567,000, many of whom came from the British Isles. In 1871, out of a population of 2,812,367, there were 1,620,851 inhabitants in Upper Canada, where most English speakers had settled.¹¹ But

again, many of these new Canadians, especially those of Irish decent, would have been from poor families without the means to educate their children, even if educational facilities were available.¹² They certainly would not have found the situation improved on arriving in Canada.

Harvey J. Graff in The Literacy Myth confirms that immigrants of "Irish Catholic origin were most often unable to read and write." However, he notes that despite the illiteracy of some immigrants,

Ontario in the 1860s and 1870s was an overwhelmingly literate society. Adult (20 years and older) literacy was over 90% as measured by the censuses of those years. In respect of wealth and occupation, there was superficially a significant degree of stratification by illiteracy; the majority of illiterates labored as semi- and unskilled workers. Large numbers, lacking education, also assumed positions of skill--positions which were maintained over the decade 1861-1871." ¹³

This decade of advanced literacy helps explain the successful creation of an official labour press in the early 1870s.

Most working-class families were not interested in sending their children to school in the early 1850s, although this attitude had changed by the time compulsory education laws were introduced in Ontario in 1871. As David Gagan puts it in Hopeful Travellers, "For the majority, childhood was still associated with work," a factor that the labour press would dwell on throughout the rest of the century, child labour being one of its key social issues.¹⁴

Educational reformers in the 1840s and 1850s, led by Egerton Ryerson in Upper Canada, worked diligently to open up the predominantly private school system, but the resulting public school system attracted largely middle-class children whose parents owned property. The new system met with indifference from working-class families but was seen to provide the middle class "with their main strategy for meeting the problems of their changing society," that of promoting "the new family ideal." Middle-class children, then, would be enrolled in schools that sought to improve the family, the weaknesses of which educators blamed for many social problems. But for working-class children, especially those of unskilled labourers, "the public school system could not have eradicated the social ills associated with ignorance and urban poverty because they were slow to bring the poor children into the schools."¹⁵

Of course, lack of education and illiteracy did not mean the newspaper did not have an influence on the working class of the 19th century. Paul Rutherford explains:

There was a fair chance a literate relative or friend would communicate the substance, if not the contents, of a newspaper to the less skilled. And not just at home but after church, at work, or perhaps in the tavern, which as far back as the 1820s earned a reputation as a reading room cum public forum.¹⁶

However, he also notes that "much of the supposedly literate population had only an imperfect ability to read, obviously an obstacle to the understanding of all but the most simple printed thoughts."

But even if Canada's small working-class population of this period could read, social conditions and hardships must have been so grave that reading would not have been a high priority. High mortality rates, hard labour for long hours at low wages and at terrible risk to life and limb, coupled with poor living conditions, must have severely inhibited any serious desire of workers to educate themselves through reading of any kind, least of all material that would tell them how badly off they were.¹⁷

Several historians have attempted to show the misery and destitution of many families before Confederation and after.¹⁸ Desmond Morton and Terry Copp provide one of the more recent descriptions of the workers' lot:

An unskilled day-labourer in 1867 might earn a dollar a day for a ten-hour day, six days a week. A highly skilled craftsman might earn three times as much. A woman's wage would be half that of a man--as little as thirty-five to sixty cents a day. A child earned as little as twenty-five cents. Employers offered no paid holidays, and they rarely felt obliged to make provision for sickness, injury, or old age except to dismiss or reduce the wages of workers who were past their prime.¹⁹

Clearly, the pioneer working class did not have much time for reading. However, this did not prevent the blossoming of a raft of publications, most of them with low circulations relative to the population.²⁰ With regard to

daily newspapers, for example, Rutherford notes that "In 1873, the average number of copies a Canadian daily sold (there were about 48 dailies in Canada at the time, according to Rowell's American Newspaper Directory) of all its editions. . . was roughly 5,700."²¹

Of course, low circulations were due in part to the large number and variety of publications to choose from by mid-century.²² But it wasn't until then that technological advances in paper making, printing and overseas transportation set the stage for a competitive situation in the fledgling media industry.²³ "The mechanization of Canadian printing," writes Rutherford; "only occurred during the late 1840s and early 1850s."²⁴

Considering the timing of these developments,²⁵ it is unlikely that any English-language workers' journals were published before the appearance in Quebec City of the People's Magazine and Workingman's Guardian in 1842.²⁶ The sheer cost of producing a publication using these new advances (technology always being more costly at the outset) would have eliminated the early workers' movement as a publisher until the 1870s. This does not mean that individual editor-printers could not have founded personalized journals sympathetic to workers, using outdated machinery for small press runs. But to start and sustain a widely circulated labour paper required a more well-established labour movement.

Another factor retarding the development of a Canadian labour press was the lag in founding a Canadian publishing industry in general by comparison to Britain and the United States. It is likely that by 1815, English-speaking immigrants who could read, mostly American, would have been transporting some form of reform journal containing information aimed at the working-class reader. These would have eliminated the immediate need for an indigenous labour press. They were probably temperance or religious journals, not unlike the Christian Reporter and Temperance Advocate publishing in New Brunswick in ²⁷1833, which partly explains why the labour press would later embrace temperance as one of the key social movements for the betterment of the working class.

American migratory workers certainly would not have found any shortage of labour-oriented newspapers to choose from, for by the early 1830s, the American labour press was already much in evidence, according to some ²⁸historians. Foster Rhea Dulles claims that

An equally widespread growth of labor newspapers took place in the early 1830s, with not less than sixty-eight such journals upholding the workingmen's cause and agitating for labor reforms. Their enthusiasm and assurance knew no bounds. ²⁹

John R. Commons gives a slightly different account:

By August, 1830, "not less than twenty newspapers in the several states," are said to have "come out fearlessly in the advocacy of the principles of the Working Men's Party," And by October, 1831, papers in at least seven

States, including Ohio, were reported to have adopted the list of measures published at the head of its editorial column by the Working Man's Advocate (New York). But if all papers are counted which, at one time or another between 1829 and 1832, expressed approval of the movement, evidence now available shows that the list would include some 50 different newspapers in at least 15 States.³⁰

As Louis Filler notes, such papers set the tone for future labour struggles for social and economic reforms in the U.S.:

With such periodicals as The Mechanic's Free Press to speak for it, labor also asked the abolition of debtor's prisons, agitated for free education and free land in the West; it demanded laws which would protect it in the factories and mills. It made sporadic attempts to found a labor party, and in several cities labor candidates even won elections. In 1834 there was an actual effort to federate all the trades, but quarrels wrecked the enterprise.³¹

After 1815, British immigration began to take over from the American and with it there likely came a flood of British working-class papers.³² Stanley Harrison lists 72 newspapers of a radical bent from 1648 to the 1870s, when Britain legalized trade unions (Sir John A. Macdonald copied the British law for Canada's own Trades Union Act.) This period covers the Chartist era, the first independent political movement of the British working class. But it wasn't until the 1820s that trade union papers started to appear. Harrison writes that

there emerged Radical journals which directly represented the views of the "journeymen and labourers", and promoted the emergence of the "general unionism" which was the first ancestor of the modern trade union movement. . . . Radical journals began to debate the problems facing the working men as a class--the Political Economy

propaganda of the factory masters, the various hopes of escape from this anti-human doctrine, including ideas of Co-operative production and exchange, and the shape of the future, as working men began to feel themselves capable of moulding it.³³

Like the early American labour press, the British papers began to focus on social and economic issues in the 1830s as well. G. A. Cranfield shows that "The Working Man's Friend (1832-33) also entered into a field (social advocacy) largely ignored by its rivals, who were perhaps somewhat too political in their approach and tended to overlook the social problems of the period."³⁴

American and British labour publications, then, must surely have reached Canadian shores in immigrants' pockets. They must have fostered a spirit of social reform within future leaders of the Canadian labour movement and its editors. They may also have contributed to the late start of the Canadian labour press by inundating the small colonial market, although there is no evidence to this effect.

"No less than 120 daily, weekly and monthly journals of labour reform appeared during the decade 1863-1873," according to Commons. "Fincher's Trade Review, the first of the national labour papers in the U.S., began publishing on June 6, 1863, and was circulated to three Canadian provinces."³⁵ Its support of trade unionism, co-operation and shorter work hours would no doubt have influenced the editors of the Workingman's Journal in 1864 and the Ontario Workman in 1872.

Before the 1870s, Canadian labour editors were undoubtedly forced to seriously evaluate the competition before attempting to found a labour journal. But this reason, along with others discussed here, would soon be made irrelevant by an economic and social shift following Confederation. This shift brought a new sense of the need for organizations to represent workers, which in turn created the need for a Canadian labour press.

Dennis Guest discusses the shift:

In 1867, the year of Confederation, a majority of Canadians earned their livelihood in one of three ways: farming, fishing, or logging. These three primary industries and some mining were the main support of a small group of manufacturing and service industries. Many, if not most, of the necessities of life were produced on the family farm or obtained by barter. The chief causes of income interruption--illness, injury, premature death of the breadwinner, and old age--were handled within the family group or with the support of neighbours and other members of the then small, closely knit communities.³⁶

Then, as industrialization and urbanization began to develop in the new nation, it "weakened these informal systems of social security."³⁷ Subsequently,

Canadians were forced to devise alternative means of meeting the age-old risks to livelihood, as well as to develop measures to deal with new emerging risks that arose out of Canada's successful progress toward an urban-industrial society.³⁸

The British North America Act, the young country's constitution, invested the responsibility for health and welfare (a meagre concern in those years) in the four provinces.³⁹ The Maritimes adopted provisions of the Elizabethan Poor Laws of 1601. Thus, the almshouse and

workhouse became ways to give tax-supported aid to the poor, unemployed and disadvantaged.. Upper Canada devised its own laws which led to jails becoming poorhouses. Lower Canada relied on church charity.

Any early promise of prosperity as a result of the new union was soon dashed by the economic depressions which rocked the economy from 1873 to the turn of the century. Such a climate of uncertainty and, for many workers, of destitution, fuelled the creation of a more militant and articulate, though not necessarily stronger, union movement. To effectively play its new role of social crusader, lobbying for improved living and working conditions for the working class, that movement reasoned that it would need its own independent press.

Such a press was born in 1872 with the founding of the Ontario Workman. Its roots were already sunk deep in the history of Canadian workers. Its founding spirit flowed from an eclectic blend of British and American labour newspapers and early political, social and economic reform journals which grew out of the temperance and other movements. It would need the same fire and determination of early reform journals started by men like William Lyon Mackenzie and Joseph Howe. For its readers, the Canadian working class, were about to enter a period of hardship and struggle in which the labour press would play a front-line role.

The following profiles of two predecessors of the Canadian labour press attempt to show the early kindling of such a founding spirit.

PROFILES

The People's Magazine and Workingman's Guardian

Subtitle: "To uphold the constitution, to defend the impartial administration of justice, support the rights of the people, and make known their grievances."

First issue: March 16, 1842.

Place: Quebec City.

Frequency: Fortnightly.

Format: Eight-page book size.

Cost per issue: Not cited, but 10 shillings a year plus postage.

Ad rates and ratio: No ads appeared in the available issue, but the proprietor noted in the masthead that ads were accepted.

Union affiliation: No formal connection, although there was a shipbuilders' union and other workers' organizations in Quebec at the time. Their members would likely have found the Guardian of interest.⁴⁰

Circulation: No figures available.

Last issue: March 16, 1842.

In a letter to the provincial secretary for Canada East accompanying the first issue of The People's Magazine and Workingman's Guardian, a Quebec City authority named Robert Russell noted that the editor was "an idle, drunken fellow," and "merely a tool in the hands of some of our good folks in Quebec."⁴¹

The remarks were as much a carbon copy of the ruling-class response to the nascent and rebellious labour press in Britain as the Guardian was a copy of early 19th century attempts to establish a political opposition press. Indeed, it is likely that the Guardian borrowed its name, as did so many labour papers in Victorian Canada, from British models.

The Poor Man's Guardian, for example, or The Workingman's Friend and Political Magazine, both publishing in the 1830s, may have inspired Guardian editor R. M. Moore. They almost certainly influenced him to adopt the satirical style that characterized some items in his first and perhaps only issue.⁴² Moore may also have tried to mimic the political nature of early British journals published in the interests of the working class.

In the tradition of John Wilkes, founder of The North Briton (June 6, 1762),⁴³ one of the first British weeklies set up to press for parliamentary reform, Moore stated in his opening editorial:

The magazine is not intended at present, to be a general political paper, its columns will be confined to the insertion of matters of a local nature, connected with the best interests of the people. This shall be performed with fearless independence as to persons and parties.⁴⁴

An even stronger potential influence on Moore was William Cobbett, easily Wilkes' equal as a crusading editor during Britain's early struggle for a democratic working-class press. Called "The father figure of all the Radicals during a whole long generation,"⁴⁵ Cobbett spent time in Canada as a soldier before "He bought his discharge in 1791 and tried to get his officers courtmartialled for their peculations in the colony,"⁴⁶ writes Harrison. Fifty years later, Moore would try to use his new publication to expose similar cases of embezzlement and corruption in that same colony.

The Guardian editor clearly did not gain the prominence of a Wilkes or a Cobbett for his efforts to fight injustice, nor is there any record that he went to jail, as did hundreds of British editors before him. Indeed, scores of years in prison were logged by editors and newspaper vendors of the Great Unstamped (British penny papers printed and distributed in defiance of stamp tax legislation which required a tax on newspapers).⁴⁷

But it was in this spirit that Moore devoted much of his first issue to a critique entitled "Beauties and Benefits of the British Constitution as Handed Down to Her Present Majesty." It was perhaps the article "Public Men are Public Property: The Quebec Corporation--Unconstitutional Attempt to Tax the People," that spurred the local authority to send the provincial secretary a copy of the Guardian. In the article, Moore wrote

the freeborn subjects of the Queen, can work a remedy for themselves, they have the right of petition to his Excellency, the Governor-General; let them act upon that right, and they will hurl to the winds the barbarous attempt of the packed corporate legislators who have dared to deny to workingmen and others, the privilege of an open market, for the purpose of providing their families with the sustenance of life, from the means they have obtained by the sweat of their brow, on six hard-working days of the seven days of the week.⁴⁸

"Refusal of Licenses to Tavern-keepers," "Poisoned Imitation Tea," and "The Sheriff of the District of Quebec-His Office and the Duties of It," were other items, mixed with the Guardian's few news stories, that might have caught the eye of authorities looking for evidence of seditious libel and other treasonous acts.

Certainly, there was some hint of the future social concerns of workers in the Guardian; shorter hours of work, earlier pay days, and public control of public offices and utilities were some of the issues that cautiously surfaced, and would resurface more boldly as the labour movement developed. But Moore seems to have borrowed from British radical papers before the 1820s in that he seldom deals with the "social question."⁴⁹ It also seems likely that he followed what Harrison calls the "daring life-style of the Radical publisher and editor, as a small entrepreneur of protest living in continual danger."⁵⁰ Although he might have been aware of the Chartist newspapers of the 1830s, it is not heavily reflected in the pages of the Guardian.⁵¹

If Moore continued to publish after his first issue, he may have included items on British working-class efforts to improve social conditions reprinted from the Chartist and post-Chartist press. He would no doubt have seen copies of these papers in the hands of new immigrants and heard bits of hearsay and gossip about the labour movement in Britain. The Guardian editor might also have considered publishing reprinted material from the American labour and social reform press.

Co-operation, the anti-slavery movement, women's rights,⁶ universal suffrage, temperance and other issues which would later appear in the Canadian labour press might also have been seen in the Guardian.⁵² But the likelihood of its continuation after March 16, 1842, is slim. Moore resurfaced in November 1842 as the founder of another Quebec City publication called The Standard, but it too only lasted a few weeks.⁵³

Coverage of social issues affecting the working class would have to await the founding of the Workingman's Journal in Hamilton, Canada West, 22 years later.

The Workingman's Journal

Subtitle: "Devoted to the Interests of the Producing Classes."

First issue: April 16, 1864.⁵⁴

Place: Hamilton, Ont.

Frequency: Weekly on Saturdays.

Format: Seven-column tabloid; four pages.

Cost per issue: Not indicated, but \$2 a year.

Ad rates and ratio: Eight cents a line; 25% ads:75% editorial.

Union affiliation: Probably none.

Circulation: No figures are⁵⁵ available. However, there were about 2,300 workers in 46 factories by 1864. (Hamilton's total population was 19,000.)⁵⁵

Editor: Isaac Buchanan.

Last issue: Unknown.

The founding of the Workingman's Journal in the spring of 1864 was timed to aid businessman Isaac Buchanan in his successful return to the House of Commons and a cabinet post. It also appeared at a time when the "ambitious little city"⁵⁶ of Hamilton was in the process of becoming the "Birmingham of Canada."⁵⁷ That is, it began publishing as this city of 19,000 was being converted from potential trade centre of Upper Canada to future manufacturing centre.⁵⁸ These two time factors had a great influence on how the Journal responded to the social issues of the day.

Running against the mayor of Hamilton in 1864, Buchanan "decided it was necessary to organize the publication of a Workingman's Journal to support his campaign," writes Steven Langdon.⁵⁹ Buchanan won and the Journal became his chief tool for espousing a "producer ideology"⁶⁰ in which workers and owners would produce in harmony. Although such a philosophy

may have worked in a community of small businesses and cottage-type industries, Hamilton, as Michael Katz points out, was destined to become a city of heavy industry and a stopping place for large migrations of immigrant factory workers.⁶¹

Whether Buchanan actually took a hand in editing the Journal or not is unclear. An editorial in the April 21, 1864, edition of The Election News guessed that the paper was "conducted...by some of the intelligent mechanics employed in the Great Western Railway workshops, and perhaps in other workshops."⁶² But Buchanan's views on social issues and his thoughts on the national economy were much in evidence in the pages of the Journal, as was his insistent theme of a "manufacturer-mechanic alliance."⁶³ For example, almost half a page in the June 18, 1864, issue is taken up with a review of Industrial Politics in America, a collection of Buchanan's speeches and writings. As Palmer notes, "the promise of the producers' cooperative commonwealth, dominated the pages of this early workingman's journal."⁶⁴

Despite the impossibility of such a promise in light of the rapid shift to an industrial capitalist economy by the early 1870s, the Journal announced the following in its prospectus:

Everywhere the industrial classes are organizing societies for the protection of their interests and the improvement of their social condition. In the belief that this movement, if carried out on just principles, will do an incalculable amount of good, the columns of the 'Workingman's Journal'

will be devoted to its advocacy. The 'Journal' will preach no blind, unreasoning Crusade against the interest of Capital, but will affirm with all the power or reasoning at its command, the right of the producer to an equitable share of that which he produces.⁶⁵

Of course, the Journal was not the first or the last publication to advocate the producer ideology. It is possible that Buchanan was influenced by Christian socialist periodicals from Britain in the 1850s.⁶⁶ He would also have scanned magazines of the co-operative movement spearheaded by the wealthy industrialist and father of co-operatives, Robert Owen.

In Canada during the 1850s, the Journal founder would have subscribed to The Journal of Industry, published in London, Canada West. It was said to be "Edited by a working man." Its motto was "Self-Preservation is the first law of nature." With its concentration on coverage of "protective tariffs," "Bankrupt laws," and "protection," it also touted the one-big-producing-class idea that Buchanan would go on to popularize in the next decade.⁶⁷ And five years after the Workingman's Journal appeared, The People's Journal took up the fight for the "protection of home manufactures."⁶⁸

(Given Canada's slow development into full-scale capitalist production, the producer ideology had obvious appeal to workers as well as the captains of industry to be. In the 1860s, the Workingman's Journal could argue for such an ideology while at the same time endeavouring to "elucidate the laws which regulate the remuneration of labour," and discuss the various social questions in which

working-men are directly interested." ⁶⁹ Ten years later, the lines between labour and capital clearly drawn, there would be no room for such cozy ideologies. And a labour paper which advocated the like would be considered traitorous to labour's cause. For it was the growth of industry at massive social cost to workers that helped create the need for a trade union movement in the first place. ⁷⁰

Such was the nature of the contradiction the Journal was saddled with as it promised readers it would

consistently enforce the great principle, that the grandeur and power of a nation depends on the happiness, contentment and character of the toiling mass of its people; that their social condition therefore, ought to be the first care of the statesman, the patriot and philanthropist. ⁷¹

Buchanan might have added the pulpit to the list, since it was the church in many cases which saw social issues as its preserve. In fact, the Journal editor would have read with keen interest the social commentaries published in the active religious press of the day. Papers like the Canada Christian Advocate, for example, called for reform of the education system, but they often appealed to the more conservative elements of the working class in Victorian Canada. ⁷² The Canada Evangelist was also publishing in Hamilton in the 1860s, as was the Calliopean, a kind of Ladies Home Journal, and numerous other publications of a moralistic nature, such as the Hamilton Charivari, all of which were probably borrowed from in an effort to make the Workingman's Journal "an acceptable family periodical." ⁷³

An even more significant influence on the labour paper, however, was the power of the temperance movement. One of Canada's earliest social movements, temperance advocates had become a force through dozens of ⁷⁴ publications. One such journal, the Christian Guardian, "edited by Egerton Ryerson (,) campaigned to create a temperance movement, with the result that the first Temperance Society in Home District was formed at York in 1830," writes Leo A. Johnson.⁷⁵ Regarding the Journal's views on temperance as a social cause, Palmer explains:

Temperance had always exercised some attraction for the craftsman, and in the 1860s and 1870s the skilled workers who had stood behind the creation of the Workingman's Journal and the Hamilton Co-operative Association were undoubtedly temperance advocates.⁷⁶

Another influence on Buchanan's Journal might have been the immigrant press, beginning to develop as a result of increased migration from the British Isles from 1815 on.⁷⁷ Papers like Paddy Bennett's True Liberator, publishing in New Brunswick in 1847,⁷⁷ brought news of home to new Canadian workers. They also discussed social issues. Bennett, for example, was "Concerned about justice, a free press, and the 'poor man's rights' particularly where Irishmen were involved."⁷⁸

The threat of competition inspired the Journal to provide readers with news of British workers' organizations and activities geared to improving social conditions. Titles like "Progress of the Working Man's Club Movement in London," "A Lesson for Working Men" (about co-operatives),

and "East London Working Classes," no doubt attracted the attention of immigrant readers. Ads for British magazines also appeared in the Journal. And under headings like "Scraps for the Curious," "Scientific, Useful, Etc.," and "Miscellaneous Gleanings," readers could find tidbits of foreign news, explanations ("Origins of Boots and Shoes," "The Big Tress of California"), anecdotes, one-liners and maxims. All of the above areas of coverage would become mainstays of most labour papers in the decades to come.

Another source of competition and influence must have been the labour and trade papers that made their way from the U.S. For example, Harold A. Logan writes that "Twenty-five members of the Toronto (typographical) society were reported as subscribing to the Printer, the official publication of the American national, in 1860."⁷⁹ (The International Typographical Union in Canada would later play an instrumental role in the development of the labour press.)

Such competition could have induced Buchanan to reprint from various journals, a practice emulated by most labour papers in the 19th century. It may also have encouraged increased coverage of labour issues and events under titles like "Progress of the Cause" (about new unions forming), "Borrowed Editorials," "Strikes in a Nutshell," and a "Trades' Union Directory" (listing union meeting times). Again, all were standard fare in subsequent labour papers.

That Hamilton should be the cradle of the Canadian English-language labour press seems fitting, for it was here that some of the labour movement's toughest battles would be fought. It was here, too, that what was arguably the best 19th century labour paper, The Palladium of Labor, would be born.

Preceding it, however, and serving as midwives to the birth of the Canadian labour movement and its press, were the Toronto printers and their Nine-Hour Movement, which began in earnest with the publication of the Ontario Workman in spring 1872.

NOTES

1. At least one French-language labour paper, Le Peuple travailleur, was publishing in Montreal before the Ontario Workman came on the scene. According to the Union List of Canadian Newspapers Held by Canadian Libraries, Newspaper Section, Series Division, Public Services Branch, National Library of Canada, (Ottawa, 1977), it appeared weekly from 1850-58. See Chapter 1 of this thesis for a brief discussion of the French-language labour press in Canada.

2. Labour newspapers of the 19th century were distinct from the union newspapers or the house organs which constitute the bulk of labour publications in Canada today. They were often endorsed by labour organizations but had to sell advertising and subscriptions in an attempt to survive in the marketplace, a practice which has not been continued by the vast majority of union publications. The Fisherman in Vancouver is one notable exception.

--Robbins L. Elliott, A Study of the Canadian Labour Press (1867-1947), University of Toronto masters thesis (Toronto, 1947), p. 1, says "The first labor journal to be published in Canada was the Union Advocate in the lumber town of Newcastle, New Brunswick, in 1867." This is incorrect. The Advocate did indeed begin publishing in the year of Confederation, but it was not a labour paper. Its primary concern was with the new union of the Canadas, not trade unionism. Elliott acknowledged the error to me in an interview. It is also evident from a glance at available issues of the Advocate at the National Library.

3. Bryan D. Palmer, A Culture in Conflict, McGill-Queen's University Press (Montreal, 1979), p. 106.

4. Desmond Morton with Terry Copp, Working People, Deneau and Greenberg (Ottawa, 1980), p. 10, say "The first traces of dock labour unions can be found in St. John and Halifax during the War of 1812." On p. 11, Morton and Copp note that a carpenter's association existed in 1834 and there was a printer's union as early as 1837.

--Eugene Forsey, Trade Unions in Canada, 1812-1902, University of Toronto Press (Toronto, 1982), pp. 9-31, also provides numerous examples of early trade union activity. He says the earliest formations took place "Before the end of the War of 1812" in Saint John, N.B.

5. Morton and Copp, p. 9, provide some sense of the early situation.

6. Stanley Harrison, Poor Man's Guardians, Lawrence and Wishart (London, 1974), amply documents the history of such suppression in Britain. It is not unlikely that the British behaved similarly in the colonies. Also, British immigrants, aware of such behaviour at home, might be more reluctant to challenge the authorities by publishing labour papers.

7. W.H. Kesterton, A History of Journalism in Canada, McClelland and Stewart (Toronto, 1967), p. 2.

8. H. Clare Pentland, Labour and Capital in Canada 1650-1860, Lorimer and Co. (Toronto, 1981), p. 64, estimates that there were less than 25,000 English speakers, mostly American, in Canada in 1784. He was using 1870-71 Census of Canada (Vol. IV) figures. However, Pentland also estimates that in 1765 nearly all of the 70,000 inhabitants were French.

9. Gustavus Myers, A History of Canadian Wealth (Vol. I - Vol. II was never completed), James, Lewis and Samuel (Toronto, 1972), p. 2, says explorers like Jacques Cartier "impressed the convicts from the jails for maritime service. These unfortunates were not convicts in the modern sense." Rather, they were the beggars and poverty-stricken of the era.

--Pentland also shows that early British immigrants, especially the Irish, would have been largely from poor and unemployed families.

10. The illiteracy problem is still with us, of course. A Labour Canada study released in the fall of 1979 showed that "there are an estimated one million Canadians who cannot read or write. Another four million are said to be functionally illiterate--that is, they cannot read, write, or do mathematics at a level necessary to function adequately in society."

--Audrey M. Thomas, Adult Literacy in Canada, Canadian Commission for UNESCO (Ottawa, 1983), bumps the figure up to about 4 1/2 million illiterates.

11. Pentland, p. 61.

12. Lawrence Stone, "The Educational Revolution in England," Past and Present, No. 28 (London, July 1964), p. 73, says Britain experienced a "prolonged education depression which began in the second half of the seventeenth century and lasted for over one hundred years."

13. Harvey J. Graff, The Literacy Myth, Academic Press (New York, 1979), p. 197.

14. David Gagan, Hopeful Travellers: Families, Land and Social Change in Mid-Victorian Peel County, Canada West, University of Toronto Press (Toronto, 1981), p. 81, says that "In 1851, fewer than 45% of the county's school aged children attended school at some time during that year. Their attendance was undoubtedly sporadic at best, that is, seasonal; and it would be misleading to assume that the minority who sometimes attended school were any better educated than the majority who did not since school attendance, before the 1980s, was so erratic. But in so far as school attendance differentiates the childhood experience of some children from the experience of others, it is evident that formal education outside the home was not yet a common attribute of childhood here. In this respect, children in Peel were no different than their peers in nearby Hamilton where only 40% of school aged children attended school in 1851."

--Gagan, p. 83, adds that "tailors, weavers, farm hands, domestic servants, carpenters, and, surprisingly, small businessmen were least inclined to send their children to school in 1850. . . . By 1870. . . the decennial increase, between 1860 and 1870, in the numbers of children sent to school reflects the conversion of unskilled parents to the idea of educating more of their children even before the element of compulsion was introduced in 1871."

15. Michael B. Katz, "Who Went to School?" in Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past, Michael B. Katz and Paul H. Mattingly (eds.), New York University Press (New York, 1975).

--Ian E. Davey, "School Reform and School Attendance: The Hamilton Central School, 1853-1861," in Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past, Katz p. 312.

16. Paul Rutherford, The Making of the Canadian Media, McGraw-Hill Ryerson (Toronto, 1978), p. 29.

17. Edward G. Salmon, "What the Working Classes Read," Nineteenth Century, Vol. XX (London, July-December 1886), p. 114, says much of the literature in North American workers' homes was at a "low and vicious level." He adds that it was "vulgar, sensuous, and unwholesome."

18. Morton and Copp, p. 4.

19. Ibid.

20. Kesterton, p. 8, notes that "Circulations during the 1752-1807 period were low. Small populations and widespread illiteracy reduced the potential readership of the pioneer press."

--Kesterton, pp. 24-25, gives the following circulation information for the period 1807-1858: In 1824, . . . (William Lyon) Mackenzie claimed that only one newspaper in Upper Canada had a circulation exceeding 400 papers. In November 1834 the Guardian and Advocate was printing 1,400 copies, while the Constitution of December 28, 1836, was able to boast a circulation of 1,250. In 1833, some thirty newspapers in the upper province had a combined circulation of 20,000. In the Maritimes the average circulation of provincial papers was fewer than 4,000 subscribers."

21. Rutherford, p. 9.

22. Rutherford, p. 11.

23. W. Meikle, The Canadian Newspaper Directory, or Advertisers' Guide, Blackburn's City Steam Press (Toronto, 1858) lists 207 daily, weekly, semi-weekly and tri-weekly publications.

24. Kesterton, pp. 23-24, provides details of these advances.

25. Rutherford, p. 8.

--Kesterton, p. 51, says Canada didn't have cheap paper until after 1866. Previously, it was imported at high cost.

26. The French-language labour press in Canada may have developed much earlier given the greater population of French speakers up to about 1850 (see Pentland, P. 64), when Le Peuple travailleur first appeared in Montreal. (See Chapter 1 of this thesis for a brief discussion of this topic.)

--Andre LeBlanc, The Labor Movement Seen Through the Pages of Montreal's 'Le Monde Ouvrier/The Labor World' 1916-1926, University of Montreal masters thesis (Montreal, 1971), p. 104, mentions Le Travail (Quebec, 1890) as a Knights of Labour (Chevaliers du travail) paper, but he says he could not locate copies.

--Douglas R. Kennedy, The Knights of Labor in Canada, University of Western Ontario masters thesis (London, 1956), p. 47, also mentions Le Travail, but says it was not exclusively a Knights paper.

27. Russell Harper, Historical Directory of New Brunswick Newspapers and Periodicals, University of New Brunswick masters thesis (Fredericton, 1961), p. 52, entry 230, says the founding editor of the Christian Reporter and Temperance Advocate claims it was the first temperance paper in N.B.

--It is not unusual that a temperance press would have developed before a labour press in Canada, since the first temperance meeting in North America likely occurred at Sillery, Que., in 1648. See John G. Wooley and William E. Johnson, Temperance Progress in the Century, Linscott Publishing Co. (Toronto, 1903), p. 50.

28. Norman J. Ware, "The History of Labor Interaction," in Labor in Canadian-American Relations, ed. Harold A. Innis, Ryerson Press (Toronto, 1937), p. 5, notes that Canada was 40 years behind the U.S. labour movement.

29. Foster Rhea Dulles, Labor in America, A History, Thomas Y. Crowell Co. (New York, 1966), p. 35.

30. John R. Commons, History of Labor in the United States, Augustus M. Kelley, Publishers (New York, 1966), p. 286.

--Bernard G. Naas and Carmelita S. Sakr, American Labor Union Periodicals: A Guide to Their Location, Cornell University Press (Ithaca, 1956) is a comprehensive listing, but lacks a separate section listing dates of appearance for papers.

31. Louis Filler, The Muckrakers, Pennsylvania State University Press (London, 1976), p. 19.

32. Royden Harrison, Gillian B. Wollven, Robert Duncan, The Warwick Guide to British Labour Periodicals, 1790-1970, Harvester Press/Humanities Press (Sussex, 1977) is a comprehensive listing which includes a separate section listing dates of appearance.

33. Harrison, pp. 57-58.

34. G.A. Cranfield, The Press and Society: From Caxton to Northcliffe, Longman Group Ltd. (London, 1978), p. 135.

35. Commons, Vol. 2, pp. 15-16.

36. Dennis Guest, The Emergence of Social Security in Canada, University of British Columbia Press (Vancouver, 1980), p. IX.

37. Ibid..

38. Ibid.

39. Guest, pp. 9-17, describes the various systems of dealing with poverty which were adopted by the four provinces.

40. Morton and Copp, p. 12, note the existence of the Société amicale et bienveillante des charpentiers de vaisseau (Friendly and Benevolent Society of Ship's Carpenters) in 1840.
- Forsey, pp. 14-16, notes that there was also a printer's union, painter's union and a seaman's union operating in Quebec City at the time the Guardian began publishing.
41. Provincial Secretary's Correspondence, Canada East, 1842, Public Archives of Canada microfilm C-10891 (Ottawa), p. 12045. The letter is dated March 18, 1842.
42. Pentland, p. 260, footnote 21. The name is incorrectly cited as The People's Magazine and Workingman's Friend.
43. Harrison, p. 17.
44. Guardian, Vol. 1, No. 1, March 16, 1842, p. 1.
45. Harrison, Wollven, Duncan, p. 5.
46. Harrison, p. 37, also notes that like Thomas Paine, author of Common Sense, the pamphlet which helped spark the American Revolution, Cobbett made his reputation as a pamphleteer in America. However, his support for the British Tory government in the war against France put him in disfavour with the new pro-French American nation. He returned to Britain in 1800 to found Cobbett's Weekly Political Register in 1802.
47. Patricia Hollis, The Pauper Press: A Study in Working-Class Radicalism of the 1830s, Oxford University Press (London, 1970), pp. 24-25, notes that "The publishers would evade the law if possible; if that was not possible, they would defy it. . . . Vendors of the Unstamped who were imprisoned were martyrs to the sacred name of freedom, not offenders against the law."
48. Guardian, op cit, p. 5.
49. Harrison, p. 47, says "no journal took up any clear position on what was becoming known as the 'social question'."
50. Harrison, p. 57.
51. Harrison, pp. 104-135, discusses "the great press of Chartism" and its coverage of social issues.
52. Robert Owen's co-operative movement journal, New Harmony Gazette (1825-35), may have influenced Moore. The Liberator, published in the U.S. by William Lloyd Garrison in the 1830s may also have had an influence on him, especially regarding the anti-slavery question and women's

rights. Duncan McLaren, Ontario Ethno-Cultural Newspapers, 1835-1972, University of Toronto Press (Toronto, 1973) lists at least four abolitionist papers publishing in Ontario in the mid-19th century. Their existence at least attests to the fact that it was a Canadian social issue as well. Also, there were dozens of reform journals discussed in T.H. Preston, "Reform Journalism--A Sketch of its History in Ontario," Globe (Toronto, March 19, 1892) which Moore must have been reading regularly.

53. André Beaulieu and Jean Hamelin, La presse québécoise des origines à nos jours, Vol. 1, 1764-1859, les presses de l'Université Laval (Quebec, 1973), p. 221.

54. Workingman's Journal, Vol. 1, No. 10, June 18, 1864, p. 4.

55. Steven Langdon, The Emergence of the Canadian Working Class Movement, New Hogtown Press (Toronto, 1975), p. 4.

56. Michael B. Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West, Harvard University Press (Cambridge, 1975), p. 1.

57. Katz, p. 7.

58. Katz, p. 6.

59. Langdon, p. 24.

60. Palmer, p. 107.

61. Katz describes the conversion process in detail.

62. The Election News, Vol. 1, No. 12, April 21, 1864, p. 4. (See Buchanan Papers, PAC, Vol. 115, Item 74836).

63. Palmer, p. 107.

64. Palmer, p. 106.

65. Workingman's Journal, op cit, p. 4.

66. Charles E. Raven, Christian Socialism, Macmillan and Co. (London, 1920), p. 158, describes the founding of The Christian Socialist, a Journal of Association, conducted by several of the Promoters of the London Working Men's Associations in the early 1850s in Britain. It would surely have been read by a man like Buchanan.

67. The Journal of Industry, Vol. 1, No. 4, April 3, 1858, pp. 1-3.

68. The People's Journal, Vol. 1, No. 3, Nov. 20, 1869, pp. 7-8.

69. Workingman's Journal, op cit, p. 4.

70. Katz, p. 7, says this was clear to anyone who wanted to read the signs.

71. Workingman's Journal, op cit, p. 4.

72. Peter Roger Mountjoy, "The Working-Class Press and Working-Class Conservatism," in Newspaper History from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day, eds. George Boyce, James Curran, Pauline Wingate, Constable (London, 1978), pp. 265-280.

73. Workingman's Journal, op cit, p. 4.

--All the publications cited are available at the Hamilton Public Library.

74. Russell Hann, Greg Kealey, Linda Kealey, Peter Warrian (eds.), Primary Sources in Canadian Working Class History, 1860-1930, Dumont Press (Kitchener, 1973) lists numerous temperance papers, many of them pre-dating the labour press. In their introduction, the editors argue that the temperance movement was a central part of a "crusade for virtue" and that it served the development of capitalism by promoting a "new industrial discipline."

75. Leo A. Johnson, History of the County of Ontario, 1615-1875, Corp. of the County of Ontario (Whitby, 1973), p. 216.

76. Palmer, p. 180.

77. Duncan McLaren, op cit, and Emilio Goggio, Beatrice Corrigan and Jack H. Parker, A Bibliography of Canadian Cultural Periodicals in Canadian Libraries, Ryerson Press (Toronto, 1955), list several immigrant papers.

78. James Richard Rice, A History of Organized Labour in Saint John, New Brunswick, 1813-1890, University of New Brunswick masters thesis (Fredericton, 1969), p. 22.

79. Harold A. Logan, History of Trade-Union Organization in Canada, University of Chicago Press (Chicago, 1928), p. 17.

CHAPTER 3

Social Advocacy and the Nine-Hour Movement Press

When the Ontario Workman began publishing on April 18, 1872, it marked the beginning of the official Canadian labour press. It had been preceded by numerous advocates of improved social conditions for the working classes, but the Workman was the first to do so with the support and blessing of the fledgling Canadian trade union movement.

By the 1870s, new technology, cheap newsprint and a much improved transportation and communications system made it technically easier to start newspapers and magazines. Indeed, as Paul Rutherford writes in The Making of the Canadian Media,

By the 1840s and 1850s, there flourished. . . a 'class' press catering to the wide range of special interests, notably agriculture and business, the major sects and churches, law, medicine, and education, temperance and moral reform, even fraternal associations. So by mid-century, the Canadian reader could select from a veritable supermarket of newspaper delights.¹

Such media competed fiercely for the working-class reader's time, money and allegiance. Seldom, however, did any of these early publications attempt to represent exclusively the worker or the nascent labour movement. Only the Workman enjoyed this status.

Previous to the Workman, some workers would probably have looked to publications which 'advocated economic protectionism as a solution to social problems. As working-class historian Greg Kealey suggests,

Tory producer ideology, which argued for a reciprocity of interest between small manufacturers and workers, appealed to workers because of its roots in an older society. Moreover, some Tories' emphasis on protection for the encouragement of native industry, their belief in the primacy of labour, their willing acceptance of the labour theory of wealth, their belief in monetary reform, and their empathy and sincere concern for the conditions of workers added to this appeal. . . . This strain of Toryism was most apparent in Hamilton where it was led by Isaac Buchanan, the pioneer Canadian protectionist. But it was present among the ranks of Toronto Tories as well, especially in the 1870s when its major journalistic advocates, The People's Journal and later The National, were published there.²

By 1872, however, one could see the first signs of what historian Frank Watt calls "a proletarian spirit. . . in the small radical labour press which struggled to support the interests of that class." This spirit "manifested itself in disillusion with and radical criticism of the programme of nation-building," writes Watt, and "in an inclination to associate the patriotic forces which supported the National Policy with the motives and methods of capitalist exploitation."³

Whether such a radical spirit grew out of the working class itself remains in doubt. It is perhaps more likely that long hours of hard labour would have kept most workers from developing the same keen consciousness of what the labour papers outlined as key social inequities. Also, the conservative element in Victorian society was well represented by publications appealing to what Peter Roger Mountjoy calls "working-class conservatism." Mountjoy analyzes the situation in early and mid-19th century Britain, but the point he makes might well apply to Canada:

Whatever the opinions urged from outside, and from a minority of the more educated working classes, it is not unlikely that the predominant working-class attitude was that myopia and resistance to outside influence which leads to real conservatism.⁴

Mountjoy argues that evangelists and political activists could publish until they were blue in the face in an effort to "divert the mass of working-class reading off its natural course of providing escapism and pleasure." But "Politics and religion could both touch the working man as providers of mass entertainment and little else."

In Canada, as in Britain, "All who sought to influence the working classes learnt to copy the techniques of the entertainment press."⁵ The various leisure, temperance, religious, family and other entertainment publications would certainly have provided perspectives on social issues that would appeal to the conservative side of workers as well as providing them with a chuckle, a recipe, a moral or a

household tip. This was the type of literature the labour press was competing with and it helps to explain why, as some historians see it, papers like the Workman seemed so conservative in editorial outlook. Simply, it may have been an economic necessity for them to try to emulate the competition.⁶

The rapid industrial development, brought on by the technological advances referred to above, caused more obvious class distinctions than had surfaced previously in Canada. Thus the emergence of a labour press was also partly the result of a new workers' awareness of the changing economic relationship between producer and owner.

The continued poor working and living conditions caused by the growth of industry in post-Confederation Canada, would have convinced some workers of the need for an independent voice for their class.⁷ These workers no doubt became increasingly frustrated with a system that seemed designed to keep their families destitute. But this same destitution might also have encouraged other workers to turn away from publications which concentrated on revealing their social plight. Indeed, reading the following description of the working-class scene in mid-19th century Canada, one wonders if the proletarian spirit could possibly have stretched beyond the labour editor's desk or the strident pens of radical journalists and labour intellectuals:

Everything depended on good times. A working-class family lived in the shadow of despair. Work was heavy and often dangerous. Severe and crippling injuries were commonplace in almost

every trade. Epidemics swept across Victorian Canada, and medicine, even if a worker could afford it, probably did more harm than good.⁸

Morton and Copp add that "The ultimate disaster for working people was old age. The usual dispensers of useless advice urged workers to be thrifty and commanded children to care for their parents. . . . The crisis of working class life dissolved small savings. The alternatives for people too old to find work could be starvation or a prison cell with, either way, the humiliation of a pauper's grave."

With social conditions as abhorrent as these, the labour press would not likely have been primary reading material in every working-class home. For it was one of the advice dispensers, often long on preaching about thrift as a way of providing for oneself in old age, sickness or other unfortunate circumstances.

Still, the labour press appears to have at least tried to identify these inequities and to have advocated their correction through various forms of social legislation. And it might be able to claim some success in that in the early 1870s, according to Elizabeth Wallace in The Origin of the Social Welfare State in Canada, "both the Conservative and Liberal parties thought it worth while to compete for the favour of industrial workers, who were beginning to make known their desire for social legislation."⁹ Although it was not until the 1880s and 1890s that the labour press would

more openly espouse radical solutions, clearly the early labour papers helped open the 'door by attempting to raise workers' social consciousness.

Of course, the labour press and rival social and economic reform publications had no monopoly on the working-class audience. In fact, it is a small miracle that they continued to tap that market as much as they did during a period when the daily party papers were quickly transforming themselves into the modern commercial press. These new dailies, sometimes called "people's journals," are described by Rutherford as, "at bottom, business enterprises, which their proprietors expected would produce a large advertising revenue. Consequently the papers were designed to appeal not only to professionals and businessmen but also to clerks, workingmen, women and the young."¹⁰

Papers like the Montreal Star (1869) and the Toronto Telegram (1876) tagged themselves the purveyors of objective news and struck out against the stodgy style and partisan politics of the traditional party press. And they packaged it all up under the crusading banner of journalism for the ordinary citizen. As Rutherford notes,

Concurrent with their attacks upon the establishment, the people's journals championed the cause of the masses. Before most of their contemporaries, these papers perceived that the political and economic institutions of the community sometimes worked against the happiness of the lower classes. Much of their attention was fixed on the plight of the workingman and his family. (Emphasis mine.)¹¹

Even the party press, represented by papers like George Brown's Globe (1844) in Toronto,¹² the Halifax Chronicle (1875) and the Ottawa Citizen (1872), cashed in on the lucrative working-class market by publishing often lurid crime reports, sports and a variety of news.¹³

In some ways, the early reform weeklies which preceded the labour press could have been seen to have led the people's journals to the pot of gold represented by the potentially vast working-class readership. By writing about the plight of the worker and calling attention to social inadequacies, these precursors to the crusading daily might have helped tip the newspaper barons off to the potential profits to be had in catering to workers' desires for entertainment.

In the United States, the development of a similar commercial press, the "penny press," also owes much of its success to the labour press of the early 19th century. Dan

Schiller explains in Objectivity and the News:

The penny papers therefore were ultimately different from the labor press. If the latter, from which the cheap commercial dailies obviously borrowed, advocated impartial pursuit of public good, they did so as a necessary part of the struggle to achieve wide-ranging social reform. However, laudable (James Gordon) Bennett's (owner of the New York Herald) or (Benjamin) Day's (owner of the New York Sun) intentions, in contrast, their journals held up the banner of equal rights first and foremost to dramatize and substantiate their own commitment to this ideal. What mechanics thought to accomplish as a political public in the name of reason and a universal justice based on natural rights, newspaper-proprietors pursued as a means to ever-enlarging circulation and profits.¹⁴

In Britain, attempts to suppress any kind of reform press, especially through heavy taxes on the circulation of news, fostered a penny press dedicated to radical social change. The worker's cause figured prominently in papers supported by early worker movements like the Chartists, for example, and others described in Stanley Harrison's book Poor Men's Guardians, A Survey of the Struggle for a Democratic Newspaper Press, 1763-1973.¹⁵

It was against this social, economic and historical background that the Canadian labour press was born. These were some of the main forces involved in shaping it, within both Canadian and foreign labour, political and journalistic circles. The creation of such a press was also aided by an historical movement, the struggle for the nine-hour work day, referred to by John Battye as "The Genesis of the Canadian Labour Movement."¹⁶

Variously called "a social revolution"¹⁷ and "a matter of urgent social necessity,"¹⁸ the shorter hours movement became a cause celebre through the pages of the Workman and other publications, including sympathetic dailies such as the Hamilton Standard,¹⁹ which gained prominence as a result of its support of the Toronto printers' strike of 1872.

Led by James S. Williams, later to become the founding editor of the Workman, the strikers demanded the "fifty-four-hour week without reduction of pay."²⁰ This reduction in hours of work was seen by the nine-hour pioneers as a general panacea to many of the social ills of the day. They

reasoned that workers would be able to spend more hours educating themselves, education being seen by the labour movement as the great class equalizer at the time. There would be more time to cultivate a healthier, happier family life, which would in turn mean better social security in old age. Workers would become more productive because they would remain in much better health and be less tired on the job. As Wallace notes, "Its supporters claimed that legal limitation of the hours of work would help to relieve unemployment as well as give working men more leisure."²¹ The whole community would benefit. For a time, even some merchants supported the idea, for it strengthened their own campaign for earlier closings. (In the U.S., the shorter hours movement was seen by some labour reformers as "a fight for the liberty of the worker," in which the very notion of private property was challenged. Fincher's Trades Review stressed the importance of the issue by including the following line in its masthead: "Eight Hours, A Legal Day's Work for Freeman.")²²

Though the main goals of the Canadian movement were not immediately achieved, it did help launch the labour press, marking the start of a journalistic evolution in which radical journalists would cultivate the image of labour journal as social advocate for the working classes. As Battye explains,

The movement also provided, in the first labour newspaper written by and for Canadian workingmen, a vehicle through which working-class aspirations

could be expressed without depending upon the doubtful and selective favours of the commercial press.²³

But the social advocate image was often contradicted by the labour press's trade union sponsors. As Jane Elisabeth Masters argues, the labour movement put up a radical front through the pages of its newspapers, but it seldom managed to live up to the militant billing it received, and was rarely able to mobilize forces to fight the essentially conservative mainstream political parties.²⁴

Although the Workman was the first of the nine-hour movement papers, it was by no means alone. Other labour papers sprang up to rally workers around the shorter hours flag. One such paper was the Western Workman published in London, Ont. Only reprints from it in other labour papers and the occasional historian's reference attest to its existence, but according to Steven Langdon in The Emergence of the Canadian Working Class Movement, "The Western Workman echoed the same themes (as the Ontario Workman), attacking the poverty which industrial capitalism brought with it, and stressing the 'inherent indestructive energy' of the working class--'which no power could conquer or overthrow'."²⁵

The Workman's Journal may also have been a nine-hour movement supporter, but again no copies are available. As was its habit, the Ontario Workman advised its readers to watch for the new publication (probably published in Toronto). The following comment appeared under the heading "Journalistic" in its April 14, 1873, issue,

We hail the advent of the "Workman's Journal" as a valuable accession to the working class literature of our country. Its columns are unreservedly dedicated to the advocacy of these interests so dear to workingmen, and the ability with which the subjects most closely connected with those interests are handled speaks volumes for its ultimate success. That the Workman's Journal may receive the hearty support of all interested in the welfare of our class is our most anxious desire.²⁶

Although many of the social issues debated during the shorter hours period would resurface again and again in the years to come, the development of a more sophisticated capitalist economy brought with it an increasing awareness, with the help of the labour press, of class division and the nature of class struggle in Victorian Canada.

The following profiles of the Ontario Workman and the Trades Journal attempt to show how the early labour press aided workers in that struggle.

PROFILES

The Ontario Workman

Subtitle: "The equalization of all elements of society in the social scale should be the true aim of civilization."

First issue: April 18, 1872.

Place: Toronto.

Frequency: Weekly on Thursdays.

Format: Eight-page tabloid, six columns.

Cost per issue: five cents.

Ad rates and ratio: One column for a year=\$150; 25% ads:75% editorial.²⁷

Union affiliation: Toronto Trades Assembly, Canadian Labour Union.

Circulation: No accurate figures available.²⁸

Editor: James S. Williams.

Last issue: February 1875.²⁹

The Ontario Workman was Canada's first true labour newspaper. It came on the scene boasting that it would expose "the true cause of all evils that labour complains of" and, "with equal plainness and fearlessness,...show that a simple and effectual remedy can be applied to the removal of the evils."³⁰ Thus began three years of pioneer labour journalism destined to hold some of the most cherished moments in labour press history. And though it has been roundly criticised by trade unionists and historians alike, it was one of the Canadian labour movement's most auspicious accomplishments.

The Workman started life as "the official organ of the nine-hours movement,"³¹ organized labour's first major social protest movement, and ended it as the voice of the Canadian Labour Union, the country's first national labour body. It also spoke officially for the Toronto Trades Assembly, Canada's first city-wide labour central.

It has been called "staunch Tory"³² and "flaming, full fledged Tory."³³ And Palmer scolds it for its failure "to breakdown...the barriers between skilled and unskilled men and women" and its "dependency on paternalistic Tory political figures."³⁴ But the Workman has also been characterized as "a great model" and "exemplary in its clarity, forthrightness," the way it recorded the workers' struggles and gave expression to their faith." It "led the way in Labour's early efforts for political action," writes Lipton, and "practiced the truth that a concern for the people's conditions is a prerequisite of progressive politics and integral culture."³⁵

The "outspoken new labour paper,"³⁶ as Morton and Copp describe it, was initially financed as a co-operative venture. This was consistent with the conventional wisdom in labour circles of the time that co-operation was the organizing principle which could save the working classes. Unfortunately, it did not prove a viable principle for the Workman. Six months after its inaugural issue, James S. Williams, a Toronto printer, became "Superintendent." Fellow printer Joseph C. McMillan and David Sleeth Jr. joined him in the September purchase of the paper from the Toronto Co-operative Printing Company.³⁷

Williams, McMillan and 11 other members of the Toronto Typographical Union (Local 91) had recently been arrested for seditious conspiracy as a result of the Toronto printer's strike of 1872. As president of the Toronto

Trades Assembly, Williams was aware of the need to disseminate information that would stimulate workers to organize, especially with the passage of the Trades Union Act by Sir John A. Macdonald's Conservative government in 1872. This law, a close replica of the British act of the same name, legalized unions in Canada. Macdonald chose also to replicate a British law that would significantly weaken the first, the Criminal Law Amendment Act prohibiting demonstrations such as picketing.

In "Our Mission," its first editorial, the Workman pledged to "know no party,"³⁸ and to "advocate the repeal of all laws having a class tendency in their operation." It considered "A thorough and general system of education" to be "one of the first duties of the state." And it said it would "warmly support the principle of UNION among workingmen."³⁹ In practice, the weekly honoured these pledges with columns of information and comment on the nine-hours movement, the new Trades Union Act, and the political dog fights that often ensued between Grits and Tories vying for the labour vote.

Of course, the Workman also found plenty of space for the advice dispensing spoken of earlier. Few issues passed without at least one lecture on the frivolous purchase of tobacco or liquor, two of the most readily available escapes from a life of drudgery. The following message illustrates the style:

You are wasting every year in smoke and drink a sum which if saved and taken good care of, would make you independent at sixty years of age, or set you up in a business of your own at thirty, with some prospects of success.⁴⁰

Workers were told to "Fare hard and work hard while you are young, and you will have a chance to rest when you are old."⁴¹ Seldom did Williams miss an opportunity, it seems, to pass on paternal preachings, such as the following: "The highest riches do not consist in a princely income; there is greater wealth than this. It consists of a good constitution, a good heart, stout limbs, a sound mind, and a clear conscience."⁴² Similar bits of advice on how to live frugal and clean lives came under titles such as "Starting in the World," "Do the Right Thing," and "Stealing, Lying, and Slandering."

In contrast to the nagging tone of these items, the Workman also provided some lively social comment for its day. This included such items as "Education and Employment of Girls," "A Liberal Land Policy," "Suffrage for Women," "Household Education," "Labor and Knowledge," and "Underpaid Work." Still, most historians agree that the paper was essentially conservative and thus more interested in "social amelioration" than radical social change.⁴³ As Robin Wylie argues, for example, "Nine hour leaders (including editor Williams) clearly believed that only through the pursuit of economic reform in the work place, aided either through

legislation or cooperation, would economic exploitation be overcome. There was to be no revolutionary political challenge."⁴⁴

The Workman offered its readers "Foreign," "American," and "Canadian" news mixed with lengthy columns of "Labor Notes" and numerous anecdotes. Moral teachings and tidbits of wisdom and folly were amassed under headlines such as "Sawdust and Chips," "Grains of Gold," and "Tales and Sketches." And on the literary page, one could discover "a good deal of didactic and hortatory doggerel in favour of the workingman's cause."

"During these early stages of Canadian radicalism," writes Watt, "the potential power of literature was gradually realized. Seeds of the understanding were already present in the Ontario Workman." Indeed, Williams published the bad poetry, "despite the editorial view that creative writing was mere entertainment and diversion from the troubles of daily life." He noted that "In these columns we will be invited now and then to turn aside from the turmoil and strife of the world, and find peaceful enjoyment."⁴⁵ Interestingly, as argued earlier by Mountjoy, the provision of entertainment may have been the only route to financial self-sufficiency for the labour paper.

Where it offered the traditional women's page items such as "Household Recipes," the Workman also provided support for women's rights. In "Ballot Women," for example, readers are told to

Teach them (your daughters) that man occupies no position that women cannot fill, even to a pair of pants. Teach them that without the ballot woman is simply a cooking and washing machine; that with it she can rule her own little roost. We have plenty of ballot girls, but what we want is ballot women.⁴⁶

Births, deaths and marriages were announced along with the often gruesome descriptions of an industrial accident or other bizarre and frightening tragedy. Such items as the following indicate both an early concern for health and safety and the Workman's efforts to compete with the commercial press by adding a sensational element to its news coverage:

On Monday last a man named McCan, employed in the Oakville sawmill, met with a shocking accident, one of his hands being completely severed from the arm.⁴⁷

On Saturday last a man named Crosslin, employed in Buck's stave factory, Collingwood, had one of his feet nearly cut off while working a circular saw.⁴⁸

These were interspersed with reports on "Occupations and Health" which listed deaths per thousand in various jobs. One report showed that those "connected with the liquor business are - least healthful," if not "absolutely dangerous."⁴⁹

Vituperative editorials on labour standards, unemployment and poor wages and working conditions appeared frequently as the Workman forged its social advocate image. It noted "The necessity for an improvement in the social condition of our poor,"⁵⁰ for example, and proposed ways to alleviate unemployment such as the following:

It is hoped that the tales of hardship and suffering. . . will go further than merely having public attention directed to them, and the result may be that strenuous and systematic efforts may be made to mitigate the misery, not so much by doling out with the cold hand of charity, as by inaugurating public works.⁵¹

It also took a strong stand, as did labour papers throughout the rest of the century, against immigration for the purpose of employing cheap labour in industries where there were available Canadian workers. Unfortunately, the issue took an ugly, racist turn when it came to the employment of Chinese labourers. Under the heading "The Coolie Traffic," the Workman argued that "Wherever Chinese labor has appeared it has withered our hopes and blasted what little prosperity life seemed to have in store for us."⁵²

An area of perhaps the deepest social concern to the Workman was the use of child labour. "There is no greater evil sapping the foundation of our physical greatness, as a people," suggested the weekly, "than the habit or custom of placing boys in factories and workshops, at an immature and tender age; and this practice is more widely prevalent than many suppose."⁵³

Among the many social issues the Workman carried the banner on, education was perhaps the most rigorously championed. This issue was seen by the labour movement as one of the main keys to solving social problems, along with shorter hours, co-operation, labour representation in government and temperance. For labour,

as this grand principle (education) takes deeper root among the masses of our people, Reform shall become more radical and general. As one of the Reforms, not in the distant future, that the progressive people of this country shall demand, if we mistake not, is that those to whom is entrusted the lives and liberties of the people shall become more directly responsible to the people.⁵⁴

Harvey J. Graff in his study, The Literacy Myth, discusses the role of the labour press in promoting education, especially reading.

Indeed, to the working class press, the promotion of reading was complex. Reading brought comfort in lonely hours and consolation as well as amusement. To satisfy these needs required varying degrees of ability, some of which would not be held by all literate individuals. Recognizing this, both the Workman and the Palladium (of Labor) provided instruction in reading skills, and they inveighed against recurring illiteracy and the degradation of education.⁵⁵

Of course, all of the social reform methods that the Workman advocated or lauded overlapped each other to some extent. The call for shorter working hours that helped launch the paper, for example, raised middle-class eyebrows because it was felt that fewer work hours would mean more hours in the local pub, causing more social problems at home and on the street. Thus the paper generally supported temperance, often warning readers to stay away from the 'demon rum' for fear that they and their families would be driven to 'rack and ruin'. Intemperance was seen as the root of all social evil by some, and workers were told that it would be disastrous to use extra leisure time, won in the hard fight for shorter hours, for drinking.

The counter argument was that this new-found free time could be used to educate the worker. Shorter hours would not mean more pub time, but more educational activity, reading, attendance at public lectures and mechanic's institute seminars. Such arguments were popularized in this way:

An hour a day amounts at the end of the year to 365 hours. In that space how many valuable books may be read, how much pleasure enjoyed in your own home, and how blessed you will be in the gratitude of your own wife and the intimate and cultivated love of your children.⁵⁶

The problem cut deeper into the fabric of society, of course. As Brian Harrison illustrates in Drink and the Victorians, a study of temperance activism in Britain, governments were not always supportive of workers' efforts to improve their lot through abstinence, since it reduced revenues from the sale of liquor. Harrison points out that the Beer Act of 1830, for example, considerably increased the consumption of alcohol thus encouraging drunkenness. Further, some labour advocates were critical of the middle-class nature of the temperance movement, arguing that "by stressing the need for moral effort on the part of the poor, (the movement) was not in fact promoting the interests of their class." Harrison notes that Frederick Engels condemned temperance reformers for failing to see that the workers' environment "made it unrealistic to ascribe their drinking habits to any failure of moral responsibility." As Engels writes in his 1844 book The Condition of the Working Class in England, workers were "deprived of all pleasures

except sexual indulgence and intoxicating liquors. Every day they have to work until they are physically and mentally exhausted. This forces them to excessive indulgence in the only two pleasures remaining to them." For Engels, the problem required a much more drastic solution than simply restricting the consumption of liquor among the working class.⁵⁷

As noted earlier, co-operation was held up as another ideal route to social betterment for workers. Editor Williams frequently spread the word about one co-operative enterprise or another in Britain. Reports regularly appeared on the progress of the co-operative movement as a solution to the problems caused by an inequitable system of distributing wealth. It could, of course, be argued that the high praise for co-operatives was characteristic of the Workman's political view. Rather than take a revolutionary stand on reform of the entire economic system, it advocated reform through individual co-ops.⁵⁸ But that is not how it was seen in 1872. The following reprint from Montreal's Northern Journal, an alternative political paper of the time edited by ex-Chartist John Fraser ("Cousin Sandy"), explains labour's larger view of the value of co-operation:

It is not simply a question of hours of labor or wages; it is a question of social organization, of the true idea of property and what gives a just title to it, of personal estimation and of the relative rank of men; it is a question as to whether a working man shall be looked upon as an economical producing machine; in a word it is social revolution. (Emphasis theirs.)⁵⁹

With the election of Ottawa printer and labour leader Daniel J. O'Donoghue to the Ontario legislature in 1874, however, the possibility of solving social problems through political means began to push co-operation into the back seat.

The Workman usually stopped short of calling for the full extension of suffrage, but it did advocate extension to workingmen without property. This was to achieve legislative gains (through the support of labour candidates) that would go some way toward "a more just and equitable distribution of the comforts, aye, even the elegancies of life."⁶⁰ As the Workman saw it at one point, "The rich getting richer, the poor growing poorer, is now the social order, and as the poor grow poorer so does their servility to the rich increase."⁶¹ Its contemporary, the Workingman's Advocate of Chicago, put it another way:

The tendencies of capital to centralize; of railroads to monopolize; of corporations to combine; and of legislation to discriminate in favor of interests proportionate to the wealth they represent, are omens of evils, and the harbingers of oppression, fatal to the life, growth, and development (sic) of the dearest interests of the laboring classes.⁶²

The quest for labour representation, once begun, preoccupied Williams and company. It was not just a matter of debating the merits and demerits of the two main political parties and supporting labour candidates who sought to defeat them. It was also a question of battling the partisan press. As it was stated under the heading

"Demagogues and the Press," every effort "to secure to labor it(s) just reward is howled down by the 'press'."⁶³ This was clearly the case with many of the party dailies, but the Workman and labour papers that followed also had the daily "people's journals" to thank for much of the best social affairs reporting in their pages. Indeed, the Workman itself recognized the social value of newspapers in this item:

The newspaper is just as necessary to fit a man for his true position in life as food or raiment. Show us a ragged, barefoot boy, rather than an ignorant one. His head will cover his feet in after life if he is well supplied with newspapers. Show us the child that is eager for newspapers. He will make a man of work in after life if you gratify that desire for knowledge. Other things being equal, it is a rule that never fails. Give the children newspapers.⁶⁴

So there developed a kind of love-hate relationship between the labour press and the commercial dailies. While borrowing much, the Workman also lashed out regularly at the editorial stances taken by the daily press. As one moralistic criticism had it, "A corrupt newspaper, like the deadly Upas tree, poisons all who come in contact with it."⁶⁵ Workman readers, too, relished the idea of doing a little press bashing. In "Globular Misrepresentation," a letter writer comments,

Sir--Familiar as I have been for years with the mode of conducting public journals in Canada--accustomed as I am to see questions of the first importance perverted and distorted, their advocates misrepresented and maligned--yet I must confess the Globe out-Herods Herod in its mode of discussing anything relating to the labor movement in this country(. F)or audacious mendacity on this subject it stands unapproached.⁶⁶

The letters page of the Workman, like those of its progeny, was as popular for Canadian working-class readers as Hyde Park on Sunday for the British. Thus it proved a complement to the paper's own railings against those it deemed enemies of the worker. Here, as on the editorial page, were displayed all the warts and eccentricities as well as the sizeable social concerns of labour and its press.

Though the Workman struggled to pay its own way through subscriptions and advertising, the bulk of the work force in the 1870s was not prepared to support an independent working-class press. There were ads for everything from fine hand-made cigars to sure-fire cures for cancer and the latest in men's and women's apparel. Prime Minister Macdonald also aided the cause by pressuring Sir Alex Campbell, a cabinet minister, to purchase government advertising in the Workman.⁶⁷ But the paper could not sustain itself as a viable alternative medium without much broader support from the labour movement. Indeed, some historians argue that part of the reason it survived as long as it did was that it received a \$500 loan from Macdonald. The little cabinet-maker, as he dubbed himself, wrote, "I do not suppose I will ever get the money, but I may as well keep it over them as security for good behaviour."⁶⁸

Bernard Ostry puts that argument in context in Conservatives, Liberals, and Labour in the 1870s, stating that it was a serious move to approach Macdonald at all.

Those responsible, he argues, "must always suffer the accusation of having committed an unethical deed by secretly and irresponsibly compromising their supposedly independent labour journal, and thereby jeopardizing the future of their colleagues and of the movement of which they were respected national leaders."⁶⁹ Ostry adds, however, that

As the only recognized working class weekly in trade union hands, it was an invaluable weapon and one can appreciate the owners' desire to keep it running even at the cost of borrowing from its "opponents." Indeed, the fact that Macdonald was approached was in a very real sense a tribute to his position vis-a-vis the worker and no doubt his name came easily to mind when the proprietors of the Workman were seeking financial aid. No evidence has yet been brought to light to suggest that Macdonald brought pressure to bear upon the journal to pursue a policy sympathetic to his party or that the fact of the loan itself was in any way a barrier to frank and honest discussion of labour problems in the Workman's columns.⁷⁰

The loan was negotiated in late 1872. By 1874, the Workman had suspended publication due to a lack of funds. As Lipton explains, this time, perhaps more appropriately, it was the Canadian Labour Union which at its 1875 convention offered indirectly to bail the weekly out. The convention proceedings state:

Believing that the education of the working men of the Dominion in matters affecting relations between labour and capital is the surest way of awakening their interest and co-operation in the cause of union and labour reform, and believing that the establishment of a labour newspaper is the best means of obtaining that object, The Canadian Labour Union pledges itself to use every legitimate means in its power to support any newspaper that may be established to reflect the views of the masses of our working men in matters affecting their welfare, by agitating for the repeal of those laws which bear heavily and unfairly on trade unionists as a class.⁷¹

It remains unclear whether or not the Workman ever was revived after its February 1975 closure,⁷² although there is some evidence that an attempt was made as late as 1877. But with its eventual demise, the young labour movement was left without a strong social advocate during a period of deepening economic depression and social malaise. None of the major pieces of legislation that labour had been calling for to help ameliorate the horrible conditions of the working class had passed by 1877.⁷³ And the movement was too weak to do anything about the failure of both Liberals and Conservatives to bring about any kind of meaningful social legislation.⁷⁴

The labour press lay dormant until the end of the decade when the depression began to lift. In 1880, it resurfaced in the form of the Trades Journal of Nova Scotia.

The Trades Journal

Subtitle: "Devoted to the Interests of the Mine, the Workshop and the Farm." (This changed on May 10, 1882, to "Unity, Equity, Progress. None Cease to Rise but Those who Cease to Climb.")

First issue: Jan. 8, 1880.

Place: Spring Hill, N.S. (later Stellarton, N.S.)

Frequency: Weekly on Wednesdays.

Format: Four-page tabloid, six columns (later changed to broadsheet over seven columns).

Cost per issue: three cents.

Ad rates and ratio: Annual rate of "one inch, one insertion.....\$60"; 35% ads:65% editorial.⁷⁵

Union affiliation: Provincial Miner's Association (later Provincial Workmen's Association).

Circulation: No accurate figures available. However, in an editorial of Nov. 30, 1881, readers are asked "Will the Journal soon have a circulation of Two Thousand?"⁷⁶

Editor: Robert Drummond.

Last issue: On June 3, 1891, the Journal became the Journal and Pictou News.⁷⁷

Although the west was still largely a roughewn hinterland during the 1870s and 1880s, with relatively underdeveloped social and economic institutions compared to Central Canada, the east had developed its own distinct socio-economic patterns. These were often tied to the 200-year history of the region's coal industry, and they gave rise to the need for an equally distinct trade union movement which surfaced in 1879 as the Provincial Miners' Association.⁷⁸ The new union, which adhered to the worker-owner-alliance philosophy espoused by Isaac Buchanan in the 1860s, quickly created the Trades Journal, the first Canadian Maritime labour paper. And though the Journal was somewhat less concerned with the shorter hours issue and

others championed by its closest predecessor, the Ontario Workman, it was no less a social advocate for the working classes.

Regarding legislative social change in the Maritimes of the 1880s, Journal editor Robert Drummond wrote in his memoirs that "Any influence exerted by the Journal was due to the fact that it was the mouthpiece of the P.W.A., with a membership large enough to secure the attention of the legislature."⁷⁹ Drummond, also general secretary of the PWA for 19 of the 38 years it existed, hastened to add that "In fact, on looking over the list of benefits I am not sure but the Journal carries off the palm for the largest number of reforms."⁸⁰

Under the heading "Improved Social Conditions" in his memoirs, Drummond lists some of the issues the Journal raised as concerns of the PWA. Better education in the form of mining schools and night schools for boys working in the mines "at the early age of twelve--and sometimes at an earlier age"⁸¹ was seen as a main item on the social reform agenda. It was joined by better wages and more frequent pay periods, the latter being seen as crucial to workers avoiding deeper monthly debt. Better home life and improved housing were also priorities, as was the push for government-aided relief societies, "which did incalculable good, and which a majority of miners voted was preferable to the Compensation Act."⁸²

What the memoirs don't add is that the Journal editor was largely responsible for single-handedly bringing those social issues to the fore. Labour historian Harold Logan has commented that "The ready pen of the able and educated grand secretary was an important force in laying the foundations and coloring the thought of the organization, in airing the miners' grievances, and in establishing a recognition for the Association beyond its immediate membership."⁸³ Although he may have been aided by fellow journalists such as C. W. Lunn, founder of the Searchlight (1899-1902), which also served for a short time as the official organ of the PWA,⁸⁴ it is Drummond who must be credited with making the Journal such a success as a crusader for social improvements.

The ready pen gained its most loyal readership under Drummond's carefully preserved pseudonym "Rambler,"⁸⁵ and it was his column, "Rubs by a Rambler," that helped the weekly measure up as an irreverent, sometimes sassy, labour paper which seldom forgot the social interests of the working class. The editor describes some of that irreverence below:

The views of the Trades Journal were opposed forty odd years ago (from 1926) by a majority of the Provincial papers. Some of them--the minority--however--were not only bitter but venomous in their opposition, and for three years the editor of the paper had a lively, and yet, on the whole, an enjoyably exciting time, in thrusting and parrying. He had the experience of two libel suits. The first because he refused to give a Mine Manager the name of a worker, who had written a political skit appearing in its columns, the other because he had printed a statement in

reference to gas in a mine which had been supplied him by a Deputy Inspector of Mines. This case was laughed out of court.⁸⁶

Perhaps Drummond's favourite social cause was temperance. He took great pleasure in using Rubs to attack what he perceived as anti-temperance forces and to praise the prosecution of "rum-sellers" under the Scott Act. When it came to this issue, not even such an august body as the Senate escaped the wrath of the Rambler:

Temperance legislation made no progress this year owing to the attitude of the Senate. No; and as long as the Senate is allowed to do just as they please, temperance or any other legislation, that has for its object the social and moral welfare of the people, will never make any progress.
(Emphasis his)⁸⁷

Get rid of liquor and all other social problems will wane was the belief expounded by the Journal, and it did its share of rabble-rousing for the cause. In one report on a juvenile temperance meeting, for example, the weekly noted that "ten or a dozen young lads. . .acknowledged. . .having broken their pledge. The question may be asked, is parental authority exercised, or is parental affection dead?"⁸⁸

Like the Workman, the Journal usually preferred social reform over revolution. Temperance was acceptable to all classes, making it much easier to advocate than some less popular but more radical route to social improvement. But temperance wasn't the only cause espoused by the Rambler.

Unionism was supported from the earliest issues of the paper, however hesitantly: "We confess that we are amazed at the hostility shown by some managers towards their workmen on account of their being in connection with what is popularly called a Union."⁸⁹ The franchise for workers was also called for: "Let every resident be registered as a voter and let him vote only in the district in which he is registered, whether or not he has property in any other district."⁹⁰ Sickness and benefit societies were rallied for, while Louis Riel was railed against as someone "who ought to have been hanged long ago."⁹¹

The "slavish"⁹² party press took its licks regularly, although the creation of the Maritime Press Association in 1888, with Drummond as vice-president, must have partially buried the hatchet on the feud between the labour and commercial press. Still, in the early years, Drummond took many pot shots at the dailies. "The people are kept divided and arrayed against one another by political bosses," shouted the Sept. 19, 1883, editorial, "while they are poisoned by a venal and subsidized press."⁹³

Rambler's moralistic tone, reminiscent of the Workman, also carried over into the rest of the paper. In one column, the editor exhibited the hard-work-and-save-for-a-rainy-day mentality so common in the early labour papers:

The fact that wealth is not (emphasis his) evenly distributed, should not, however, cause workingmen to fold their hands and mourn over their inequality, but should rather stir them to renewed

exertion knowing it is a profitless business to stand idly waiting for the good time they hope is coming. 94

Occasionally, a stinging commentary would slip by amid the ample supply of reprinted articles which hammered home the message that communistic solutions to social ills were inherently evil. One left-leaning writer who met with Drummond's approval was Dr. J.G. Holland. His series under the title "The Capitalist and the Laborer" was an often sharp rebuke of the system: "To corporations, a workman is a machine, running by vital power, to be supported at the lowest cost, that he may help pay a dividend." 95

As already mentioned, the Journal rarely proposed radical solutions. The closest Drummond came was to quote someone lauding co-operation as "the solution of our present problem, the sole path by which the laboring classes as a whole, or even in any large number, can emerge from their condition of hand to mouth living, to share in the gains, and honors of advancing civilization." 96

Subscribers rarely had the opportunity to read analyses such as the following in the Journal: "As surely as the nineteenth century is drawing to a close, so surely the march of events is bringing the civilized world to a social revolution." 97 But even when they did, it was likely chosen by Drummond to frighten people away from that prospect, unlike future labour editors who would encourage it. An editorial of Jan. 28, 1885, perhaps better illustrates the editor's political views: "The stone deaf ear turned to the

cries of labor, by statesmen, by reformers, and by the clergy, is chargeable with much of the wild communistic spirit, that has seized on many in the lower ranks of life." ⁹⁸

The Journal was no more radical than the Workman, then, but this did not mean a shortage of social affairs reporting and commentary. Nor did the Journal shy away from embracing political solutions to social problems. Indeed, Drummond himself eventually won a Liberal seat in the Nova Scotia legislature, although he had long supported the Conservatives. ⁹⁹ In fact, if temperance was the Journal's first solution to all social ills, politics ran a close second. "Any system of representative government that does not include not only the representation of the great wage-earning class," read one comment, "but, their representation on the floor of the Dominion or Local house by some of themselves is a mere farce so far as they are concerned." ¹⁰⁰ And under the headline "Workingmen and Politics":

We trust that at every colliery the miners will rouse up, and bethink them of the duty they owe to themselves, and form themselves into clubs (workingmen's political clubs). . . . They need not expect to receive their rights, to have even scant justice done them far less any favors granted, until they have clearly demonstrated at an election, that they are a power, and that (emphasis his) separate and apart from the managers. ¹⁰¹

Regular coverage in "Parliamentary Summary," "Local Legislature," and "Dominion Parliament" attests to the paper's efforts to raise working-class awareness of party politics. And it was often from these reports that the Journal's editorial writer would draw a bead on one social item or another. Paramount among these was health and occupational safety.

By the sheer quantity of editorial space devoted to this subject (a "Health" column often ran on page 1), it was obvious that health was a social priority of the paper. Public fears and frustrations regarding mine explosions or cave-ins and the accompanying threat of desititution for a miner's family made this an emotion-packed issue. Lack of sick benefits, poor safety standards and too few safety inspectors were regular editorial topics, as was the need for worker's compensation. In an editorial on the British system, the Journal suggested that "it might be well that in N.S. a workman could sue the managers for damages when he receives an injury to which he has in no way contributed. It might quicken inspection, and make some more vigilant." ¹⁰²

Mental health and asylums were also of interest, although they were often treated more as sources of humour than as signs of serious social disorder. A Dec. 7, 1881, item even called attention to "A Lunatic's Newspaper," where

"As a rule, the articles display marked ability, and no one would suppose that the writers were suffering from mental aberration."¹⁰³

Poverty and old age security were also significant issues. In one Rube column, for example, the writer backed a bill to abolish imprisonment for debt, saying he believed this "will have a tendency to put a check on the credit system which is more a curse than a blessing, especially to the workingmen."¹⁰⁴ An item entitled "A Child's Rebuke" shows the conventional wisdom on caring for the elderly. "An old man whom age had made helpless and decrepit was obliged to depend entirely for his subsistence and care upon his son's family."¹⁰⁵

Housing was another social issue at the Journal. Under the title "Land Policy," it was noted that "Many of the workmen of the Halifax Company would gladly build houses of their own, did the Company have sufficient sense to encourage them in doing so, by offering lots of land at moderate prices."¹⁰⁶

To some extent, the Journal viewed education in the same light as did the Workman: it was a possible source of salvation and a way out of many of the above problems. But it can hardly be said that Drummond took the subject as seriously as Workman editor Williams. The Journal noted with pride that of 500 boys in the Nova Scotia collieries, not more than 12 could not read and write compared with the exact opposite situation in Montreal factories.¹⁰⁷ But then

there was also the attitude that "Not only is excessive brain effort in youth no help toward developing intellectual greatness in manhood, but it is an actual hindrance."¹⁰⁸ Seldom, if ever was a word mentioned about schooling for girls. The Journal was more concerned with advocating improved education for miners so that they might know more about the scientific basis of their trade, or proposing night schools for miners' sons so they could work during the day.

Another social issue the Journal fought hard against was child labour. It was viewed as "barbarous that children should be sent to work at so early an age,"¹⁰⁹ and the Journal abhorred the practice in its editorials. But its kindness did not extend to the Chinese immigrant worker. Like the Workman before it and most labour papers that followed in the 19th century, the Journal was openly hostile and racist toward Chinese labour. Quite simply, stated the weekly, "We have no room for them in Nova Scotia."¹¹⁰ This stance was justified with the claim that this type of immigration caused undue job competition, but the slights on Chinese lifestyle and habits could not be so justified. This, therefore, remains a black mark on the paper's record as a social advocate.

In its attempts to be an alternative to the dailies, the Journal often related the bizarre and unsavoury side of life; the inexplicable and the unbelievable found almost as much space as the local and provincial news. No one could

claim Drummond did not have an eye for the human interest story or the journalistic yarn with widespread appeal. And though it did not often carry local news on its front page, preferring the more graphic depictions of news from afar, the paper did provide "Hints for the Household," "Facts and Incidents," "Mines Report," and "Farmer's Corner" as regular features. It also offered a genre of anecdote and advice similar to that found in the Workman. Poetry and fiction, again of a like kind to the Toronto paper, were in abundant supply.

Its interest in women workers attests to its sincerity in trying to serve the broad community, although it was at times difficult to tell how progressive the Journal was on women's issues. On the one hand, Drummond might support women workers on strike, albeit in a seemingly flippant tone:

There was a novelty in the way of strikes in Cincinnati recently. Some five hundred girls employed in the cotton mills of Gould, Pearce & Co., struck for a reduction of a half hour daily off the time of work which had been ten and three quarter hours. 111

On the other hand, he would also publish comments like the following:

It has long been proved, to woman's satisfaction, at least, that she is mentally man's equal, and with this knowledge, in many cases, has come the desire to prove the equality by persistently pushing herself into his functions. Such persistency goes a great way, in my mind towards proving her ignorance and inferiority. 112

The Journal served as the east coast's social advocate for 11 years, probably the longest continuous publishing life of any 19th-century labour paper. According to Logan, Drummond bought the PWA's interest in the paper in 1884 for \$500 and thereafter was paid an annual sum to run it in the workers' best interest.¹¹³ In 1891, it became the Journal and Pictou News. Drummond explained the change in a front-page editorial:

As a rule we will not bore our readers with long so called editorials, nor will we go to the other extreme by catering to what we believe a depraved taste for small gossip and scandal. If Jessie so and so returns to town after a few months in the States, she will be allowed to return in peace, and the fact not called attention to as a wonderful event. Nor will we call attention to every sign board that is hung up, as if the party had no right to do so, without consulting us or telling the whole community. In short, we may confidentially inform those who are afraid to blow their noses, lest it be publicly noticed, that they can blow till they are blue so long as they do not burst a blood vessel.¹¹⁴

The Journal continued publishing in one form or another until 1898, but its role as a labour paper was apparently diminished with the 1891 name change, as the above editorial might suggest. When one considers the strident new approaches to social advocacy that were taking place with the Knights of Labour papers in the 1880s, however, the Journal's role had paled much earlier than 1891. By comparison, the Knights papers were nothing short of revolutionary in their efforts to spread the union word to

all workers. The Journal was at best a community weekly with strong labour sympathies, a status it more or less officially declared in 1891.

NOTES

1. Paul Rutherford, The Making of the Canadian Media, McGraw-Hill Ryerson (Toronto, 1978), p. 7.

2. Greg Kealey, Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism, 1867-1892, University of Toronto Press (Toronto, 1980), p. 126.

3. Frank Watt, "Literature of Protest," Literary History of Canada, Canadian Literature in English, Second Edition, Vol. 1, University of Toronto Press (Toronto, 1976), p. 478.

4. Peter Roger Mountjoy, "The Working-Class Press and Working-Class Conservatism," Newspaper History from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day, Constable (London, 1978), p. 268.

5. Ibid.

6. As this study attempts to show, early labour papers strived to be alternative sources of news and information for working-class readers. They competed with dozens of newspapers and periodicals that focused on entertainment more than critical social comment. Political weeklies of the early 1870s, especially those sympathetic to the labour movement's social causes such as The National and The Beehive, tended to shy away from such competitive games, preferring to focus more on lengthy intellectual commentary. For an excellent background paper on the British Beehive, from which the Canadian version no doubt took its name and inspiration, see Stephen Coltham's "The Bee-hive Newspaper: Its Origins and Early Struggles," Essays in Labour History, Macmillan (London, 1960), pp. 174-204.

7. Elizabeth Wallace, "The Origin of the Social Welfare State in Canada, 1867-1900," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science (Toronto, August 1950), p. 387, says that "Before the turn of the century Canada had experienced three depressions (then described as recessions of trade), from 1873-9, 1884-7, and 1893-6. By the eighteen-eighties unemployment had ceased to be a novelty, particularly among the immigrants, of whom some one and a half million people left for the United States. As early as 1881 the idea that no one in Canada who was willing to work need want bread was characterized as an illusion of the past, and support began to develop for the view that the government ought to make some provision for the relief of the poor. The proposal encountered the criticism that this would remove opportunities for the exercise of moral virtues such as parental devotion, filial piety, and Christian benevolence, and might also have the unfortunate result of discouraging private alms-giving."

8. Desmond Morton with Terry Copp, Working People. Deneau and Greenberg (Ottawa, 1980), p. 6.

9. Wallace, p. 387.

10. Paul Rutherford, "The People's Press: The Emergence of the New Journalism in Canada, 1869-99," Canadian Historical Review (Toronto, June 1975), p. 175.

11. Ibid, p. 180.

12. George Brown, a staunch Liberal, earned a reputation as arch-villain and enemy of the working class because of his strong anti-worker stance throughout the last half of the 19th century. He became especially notorious in labour circles during the Toronto printers' strike of 1872. Brown hired scab printers, published fiery anti-labour editorials and made speeches bitterly denouncing the nine-hour demands which the printers had struck for. The strike gave rise to the Ontario Workman a month later. See D.G. Creighton, "George Brown, Sir John Macdonald, and the 'Workingman'," Canadian Historical Review (Toronto, December 1943) for one account of Brown's role in the strike.

13. Rutherford, Ibid, p. 189.

14. Dan Schiller, Objectivity and the News, University of Pennsylvania Press (Philadelphia, 1981), p. 71.

15. Stanley Harrison, Poor Man's Guardians, Lawrence and Wishart (London, 1974), p. 137.

16. John Battye, "The Nine Hour Pioneers: The Genesis of the Canadian Labour Movement," Labour/Le Travailleur (Halifax, 1979), p. 25.

17. Ibid, p. 30.

18. Ibid, p. 29.

19. According to Russell Mann in a short biographical note on James A. Fahey, the Standard was founded by Fahey in 1872 and "shortly afterward became the organ of the Nine Hour Movement in Hamilton because of what the movement's corresponding secretary, James Ryan, termed the journal's 'protective spirit and conservative proclivities.'" The love affair was short-lived, however, for the nine hour movement through its official organ, the Ontario Workman, exposed the "mercenary disposition" of the Standard. "Too long have the laborers of the world been the step-ladders to fame and emolument to designing and unprincipled men," said the Workman on June 27, 1872 (Vol. 1, No. 11, p. 4). "but in this instance the man in question, though sufficiently mean, had not brains enough to use the working classes at

sufficient length to give him competency; and now the proprietor of the Standard finds himself no longer in the possession of the confidence of the class from whom he derived his main support in the past, and the subsidies that bought him will soon cease, when the influence that brought them has ceased to be dreaded by the monied classes."

20. Creighton, p. 366.

21. Wallace, p. 388.

22. David Montgomery, Beyond Equality--Labor and the Radical Republicans 1862-1872, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1967, p. 238.

23. Battye, p. 56.

24. Jane Elisabeth Masters, Canadian Labour Press Opinion, University of Western Ontario masters thesis (London, 1970).

25. Steven Langdon, The Emergence of the Canadian Working Class Movement, New Hogtown Press (Toronto, 1975), p. 20. Also note a reprinted article from the Western Workman in the July 11, 1872, Ontario Workman (Vol. 1, No. 13, p. 6), entitled "The March of Labour." This is where Langdon got his quotation. The same article states that "The working classes are now, and now only, beginning to realize the power which lay dormant with themselves. New experiences and the successful combatting of new difficulties increases their confidence, and inspires them with a fuller sense of self-respect and self-cultivation. Until of late their efforts for the protection of their interests, and their social advancement have been but weak and desultory."

26. Ontario Workman, Vol. 2, No. 18, Aug. 14, 1873, p. 4.

27. Ibid, Vol. 1, No. 1, April 18, 1872, p. 4. All figures were taken from this issue. As with all the papers covered in this study, the ad ratio is a rough estimate.

28. Robbins L. Elliott, A Study of the Canadian Labour Press, 1867-1947, University of Toronto masters thesis (Toronto, 1947), p. 44, states that "Circulation figures for the labour press are prone to be more deceptive than useful." Creighton (p. 365) provides a general reference point, noting that "By 1870 the fifty thousand industrial labourers of Canada had developed far more habits of co-operation among themselves and far more means of communication with the outside world than they had possessed in the past." It is unlikely that any 19th century labour paper ever reached a circulation that amounted to even a small fraction of the 50,000 worker population, especially given the competition discussed earlier. About 1,000 to 2,000 seems the likely average circulation.

29. Historians disagree on the exact date of the Workman's last issue. Charles Lipton, The Trade Union Movement in Canada 1827-1959, New Canada (Toronto, 1973), p. 55, carries an account of how the CLU's 1875 convention discussed bailing out the Workman, which Lipton says suspended publication in 1874, but there is no evidence that the bailout took place. The CLU congress proceedings themselves (Leslie E. Wismer, Proceedings, Trades and Labour Congress, Montreal 1951, p. 44) state that the closure date was in February 1875. Elliott, p. 45, says it was 1875. However, National Library holdings go only to April 9, 1874 (Vol. 2, No. 52).

30. Ontario Workman, Ibid.

31. Kealey, p. 130.

32. Robbins, p. 10.

33. Globe, Aug. 15, 1872.

34. See Appendix I for Palmer's exact response to my question on the subject at the Social Welfare Conference, Carleton University, April 1981.

35. Lipton, p. 54.

36. Morton and Copp, p. 27.

37. Kealey says it is McMillan in his article in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol XI, 1881-1890, University of Toronto Press (Toronto, 1982), p. 579. He notes that McMillan was president of the ITU in 1871 and that he ran a small book store which doubled as a labour centre and agency for the Trades Union Advocate in the early 1880s. He went back to printing in 1884 when he joined the satirical weekly Grip.

-- Bernard Ostry, "Conservatives, Liberals, and Labour in the 1870s," Canadian Historical Review (Toronto, March, 1960) uses MacMillan. He calls MacMillan and Sleigh "practical printers" (p. 117), noting that he was unable to determine whether MacMillan was also the union leader. His source is H.A. Logan, Trade Unions in Canada: their Development and Functioning, Macmillan (Toronto, 1948) pp. 42-43.

38. Robin Wylie, "The Political Economy of Nineteenth Century Working Class Struggle: Canada's Nine Hour Men and the Practice of Commodity Fetishism," unpublished paper, Carleton University history department, undated, p. 35, notes that the alliance struck between the Workman and the Conservatives in 1872 annulled the paper's claim of non-partisanship for at least one nine-hour proponent: "One of the byproducts of Macdonald's 1882 victory was the elevation

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of Oshawa's I. M. Gibbs to the federal cabinet. As a result, Gibbs went through the formality of a by-election to confirm his appointment; a formality challenged by J. Brown in his letters to the Workman revealing Gibbs to be an extraordinarily repressive factory owner who had intimidated Brown at work, in his home and at church. He even had Brown removed from the voters' list. The editors of the Workman, however, passionately called for Gibbs re-election."

39. Ontario Workman, Ibid.

40. Ibid, Vol. 1, No. 26, Oct. 10, 1872, p. 3.

41. Ibid, Vol. 1, No. 15, July 25, 1872, p. 3.

42. Ibid, Vol. 1, No. 25, Oct. 3, 1872, p. 3.

43. Wayne Lennon, "Striking the Balance: The Labour Press and the National Question in Ontario and the Maritimes 1872-1913," Carleton University masters thesis (Ottawa, 1981), p. 10. Also note Frank Watt, "Radicalism in English-Canadian Literature Since Confederation," University of Toronto doctoral thesis (Toronto, 1957), p. 108: "in general the ideology of the Ontario Workman is one of acceptance of the basic social order of the day. Like the spokesman of Capital, the Ontario Workman frequently preached harmony and peace, not class war, and asserted its faith that good-will and mutual tolerance would be sufficient to bring about a satisfactory relationship between employer and employee."

44. Wylie, p. 39.

45. Watt, Literary History, p. 480.

46. Ontario Workman, Vol. 2, No. 35, Dec. 11, 1873, p. 3.

47. Ibid, Vol. 1, No. 26, Oct. 10, 1872, p. 1.

48. Ibid, Vol. 1, No. 3, May 2, 1872, p. 1.

49. Ibid, Vol. 1, No. 34, Dec. 5, 1872, p. 1.

50. Ibid, Vol. 2, No. 23, Sept. 18, 1873, p. 4.

51. Ibid, Vol. 2, No. 43, Feb. 5, 1874, p. 4.

52. Ibid, Vol. 2, No. 37, Dec. 25, 1873, p. 8.

53. Ibid, Vol. 1, No. 22, Sept. 12, 1872, p. 5. Note that the item was not originally written for the Workman. Like much of the strongest editorial medicine doled out by the Canadian labour press, this came from an American labour

paper, the Cooper's Journal. Other reprints came regularly from papers like the Workingman's Advocate and the Iron Moulder's Journal.

54. Ibid, Vol. 1, No. 2, April 25, 1872, p. 4.

55. Harvey J. Graff, The Literacy Myth, Academic Press (New York, 1979), p. 299.

56. Ontario Workman, Vol. 2, No. 4, May 8, 1873, p. 5.

57. Brian Harrison, Drink and the Victorians--The Temperance Question in England 1815-1872, University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh, 1971, p. 390-392.

58. British industrialist Robert Owen received praise from the Workman for his much-discussed co-operative cotton mills (early 1800s), as did the Rochdale Pioneers, the British workers who created the first co-op store or consumer co-op. The success of the so-called consumer co-ops emanated from the Rochdale experiment, but producer or industrial co-ops, such as those operating at Mondragon in the Spanish Basque region today, were destined to failure in these earlier years. See Harrison, pp. 69-71, 79-80, for a further discussion of why they failed.

59. Ontario Workman, Vol. 1, No. 15, July 25, 1872, p. 4.

60. Ibid, Vol. 1, No. 16, Aug. 1, 1872, p. 4.

61. Ibid, Vol. 1, No. 39, Jan. 9, 1873, p. 4.

62. Ibid, Vol. 1, No. 26, Oct. 10, 1872, p. 4.

63. Ibid, Vol. 2, No. 23, Sept. 18, 1873, p. 4.

64. Ibid, Vol. 1, No. 28, Oct. 24, 1872, p. 3.

65. Ibid, Vol. 2, No. 39, Jan. 8, 1874, p. 3.

66. Ibid, Vol. 1, No. 14, July 18, 1872, p. 1.

67. Macdonald wrote to Campbell (Sept. 3, 1872) that the addition of the Workman to the government advertising list was "important." (Macdonald Papers, PAC).

68. Morton and Copp, p. 27; Ostry, p. 118, also cites quote and gives source as the Macdonald Papers, p. 523.

69. Ostry, Ibid.

70. Ibid, p. 119.

71. Wismer, p. 51; Lipton, p. 55.

72. See note 29 for a discussion of the date of the last issue. Also see CLU Proceedings, August 1875.

73. Ostry, p. 126.

74. Ibid, p. 125.

75. Trades Journal, Vol. 1, No. 5, Feb. 4, 1880, p. 2.

76. Ibid, Vol. 2, No. 48, Nov. 30, 1881, p. 2.

77. This issue was identified as Vol. 12, No. 23, but Drummond clearly intended to shift his editorial emphasis from labour to one that would appeal to the broader community.

78. Sharon M. Reilly, "The Provincial Workmen's Association of Nova Scotia," Dalhousie University MA thesis (Halifax, 1979), p. 39, quotes the union: "Our object is not to wage a war of labor against capital, . . . on the contrary, by mutual concessions between master and man, we seek to have it (trade) carried on with advantage to both."

79. Robert Drummond, Récollections and Reflections of a Trade Union Leader, published by the Provincial Workmen's Association (Stellarton, 1926), p. 96.

80. Ibid, p. 97.

81. Ibid, p. 169.

82. Ibid, p. 218.

83. H. A. Logan, The History of Trade-Union Organization in Canada, University of Chicago Press (Chicago, 1928), p. 91.

84. Ian McKay, Introduction to C. W. Lunn's From Trapper Boy to Manager--A Story of Brotherly Love and Perseverance, Labour/Le Travailleur, Vol 4., 1979, pp. 214-215, notes that the PMA was attracted to Lunn's "non-political" or non-partisan stance in the Searchlight and his support of temperance.

85. While employed "as a Scotsman low in the management hierarchy of the (Springhill Mining) company", Drummond had been a correspondent for a Halifax paper, writing under the pen-name "Traveller" (Reilly p. 31.) Reilly notes that he was fired for criticising the company in one of his

articles. It is possible that these duties were shared, probably under a different pseudonym, by C. W. Lunn who followed a similar journalistic path to Drummond in the 1880s. McKay, Ibid, p. 215, calls Lunn "a pioneer of the labour press, and a man who saw himself as "an embodiment of the crusading journalism of Joseph Howe."

86. Drummond, p. 90.

87. Trades Journal, Vol. 6, No. 24, June 10, 1885, p. 2.

88. Ibid, Vol. 2, No. 21, May 25, 1881, p. 1.

89. Ibid, Vol. 1, No. 7, Feb. 18, 1880, p. 2.

90. Ibid, Vol. 6, No. 12, March 18, 1885, p. 2.

91. Ibid, Vol. 6, No. 14, April 1, 1885, p. 2.

92. Ibid, Vol. 6, No. 40, Sept. 30, 1885, p. 2. The Maritime Press Association was formed in March 1888 "by means of which they ('newspapermen') might become better acquainted with each other, have a common tie binding them, be enabled better to conserve their rights, secure legitimate privileges, and, generally to protect, preserve, and promote their interests." (Ibid, Vol. 9, No. 11, March 21, 1888, p.2)

93. Ibid, Vol. 4, No. 40, Sept. 19, 1883, p. 3.

94. Ibid, Vol. 6, No. 6, Feb. 4, 1885, p. 2.

95. Ibid, Vol. Vol. 6, No. 42, Oct. 14, 1885, p. 2.

96. Ibid, Vol. 6, No. 46, Nov. 11, 1885, p. 2.

97. Ibid, Vol. 3, No. 37, Sept. 13, 1882, p. 4.

98. Ibid, Vol. 6, No. 5, Jan. 28, 1885, p. 2.

99. Joe MacDonald, "Robert Drummond, The Provincial Workmen's Association and Political Activity, 1879-1891" (Carleton University undergraduate history paper presented to prof. Foster Griezic, March 13, 1975) argues that "The decision to run on the Liberal party's ticket was the cause for much consternation and scandal for Drummond." Perhaps this is partly explained in a May 20, 1885 (Vol. 6, No. 21, p. 2) "Rubs" column: "Conservative as I am in my leanings, I cannot approve of any system that is likely to interfere with the obtaining (of) the true voice of the people in the matter of representation."

100. Trades Journal, Vol. 3, No. 22, May 31, 1882, p. 2.
101. Ibid, Vol. 2, No. 51, Dec. 21, 1881, p. 2.
102. Ibid, Vol. 6, No. 11, March 11, 1885, p. 2.
103. Ibid, Vol. 2, No. 49, Dec. 7, 1881, p. 4.
104. Ibid, Vol. 8, No. 13, March 30, 1887, p. 2.
105. Ibid, Vol. 6, No. 2, Jan. 7, 1885, p. 4.
106. Ibid, Vol. 3, No. 45, Nov. 8, 1882, p. 2.
107. Ibid, Vol. 9, No. 18, May 9, 1888, p. 2.
108. Ibid, Vol. 4, No. 14, April 4, 1883, p. 4.
109. Ibid, Vol. 9, No. 7, Feb. 22, 1888, p. 2.
110. Ibid, Vol. 6, No. 28, July 8, 1885, p. 2.
111. Ibid, Vol. 2, No. 22, June 1, 1881, p. 2.
112. Ibid, Vol. 6, No. 35, Aug. 26, 1885, p. 4.
113. Logan, Organization, p. 91.
114. Journal and Pictou News, Vol. 12, No. 23, June 3, 1891, p. 4.

CHAPTER 4

The Canadian Knights of Labour Press

The Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor first appeared in Canada at Hamilton in 1875, six years after its founding as a secret society at Philadelphia in 1869.¹ During the next 12 years, the presence of the Knights would greatly radicalise the Canadian labour movement's perspective on social issues. Its quick-paced rise in popularity would, by 1887, when it peaked in Canada, have captured the imaginations of more than 12,000 workers across the country.² Social historian Bryan D. Palmer explains the appeal:

Incorporating aspects of trade unionism, tenets of political reform movements, the forms, ritual, and associational strength of the friendly society, and the evangelical zeal of a religion of brotherhood and social justice, the Knights of Labor produced a synthesis that transcended the fragments constituting the whole, exercising a powerful attraction that drew many nineteenth-century wage-earners to its ranks.³

Such widespread interest vastly enlarged the constituency of the labour movement and helped forge an energetic labour press that would carry the word to the burgeoning Knights membership.

As we have seen, the two previous decades had ushered in a somewhat timid, almost apologetic labour press. The Workingman's Journal, for example, seemed to see itself in a

collaborative role with the merchant capitalists of Hamilton in the 1860s. In the 1870s, the Ontario Workman also hesitated to advocate radical social change on behalf of the labour movement, although one must acknowledge its giant leap in that direction when compared with the Hamilton paper. Both papers displayed a paternalistic attitude toward the labouring masses, showing concern for their plight but often viewing the solution as a matter of frugality and passive compromise.

With the coming of the Knights, labour papers took on the role of social advocates with a more vigorous commitment. They embraced the labour or industrial unionism of the order and provided readers with news of how the Knights were organizing the unorganized. Women workers were treated less as a novelty in their pages and more as equals in the movement. Shorter hours and temperance, though still major concerns, were joined by more all-encompassing social solutions such as co-operation, labour representation in politics and socialism.

Such measures as the single tax and land nationalization, proposed by the great social reform theorists of the day, men like Edward Bellamy and Henry George, were the source of much editorial debate in Knights papers and at workers' gathering places.⁴ And with just cause it would seem, for while the depressions of the 1870s had kept the working classes in penury, they did not seem to have equally hindered the development of a more

sophisticated capitalist economy. "The economic recovery of the early 1880s which coincided with the Tory return to Ottawa," writes Kealey, "led to renewed trade-union activity. The relative quiet of the late 1870s was quickly forgotten in the spring strike waves of 1881 and 1882."⁵

Another stimulus for labour and social reform was the revealing of some appalling working and living conditions. Royal commissions, reporting at the beginning and end of the decade, shocked and angered many Canadians, leading to calls for stronger enforcement of factory laws, health and safety regulations and compulsory education legislation. Culling from the findings of the 1881 Royal Commission on Mills and Factories, Fred Landon writes:

Conditions in certain industries were found to be revolting, particularly in the clothing trade where workers were often herded in the lofts of buildings or in low, damp basements with artificial light in use during the whole day. Dangerous machinery was unprotected and steam engines and boilers were found in charge of boys, sometimes only thirteen or fourteen years of age. Ventilation was generally unknown and in some factories closets were used promiscuously by both sexes. Conditions in canning and packing factories were described as, in some cases, "nauseating in the extreme."⁶

The Riel Rebellions and the building of a national railway occupied centre stage for much of the period between this report and that of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital of 1889.⁷ Little significant social or economic change benefitting the working classes seems to have occurred in the intervening eight years.⁸ But this was hardly due to inaction on the part of the Knights

of Labor journals. "Between 1879 and 1886, with Canadian industry expanding behind higher tariff walls, trade unionists developed a united and centralized organization," writes Bernard Ostry. "During these years they also formulated a programme of social reform supported by newspapers that could speak in their interest."⁹

Increased industrial development in building, transportation, manufacturing and communications brought many workers to urban centres in the 1880s.¹⁰ What they encountered were conditions of severe hardship such as Morton and Copp describe below.

Low wages and long hours were not new problems for Canadian workers. What made them unbearable was a flood of government-financed immigration. Manufacturers had won protection for their profits behind high tariff walls; Canadian workers were exposed to competition from hungry, desperate newcomers, brought here at the worker's expense. Frustration grew worse as the prosperity of the early eighties slumped and the bright promise of the National Policy was not fulfilled. The spread of factories and the new technologies hastened the suppression of skilled, autonomous artisans....During the eighties, cities like Toronto, Montreal, and Hamilton grew rapidly without coming to grips with basic urban problems of housing, sewage, or water-supply. Canadians were still half a century away from accepting that the catastrophes of sickness, injury, and long-term unemployment could not be handled by family or friends, or even by traditional charity.¹¹

With more industrialization, there came more labourers. And these workers would swell the ranks of the Knights and entice labour journalists to found new publications in hopes of attracting the subscription support of the new working-class masses.

In 1880, the only labour weekly publishing in Canada seems to have been the Trades Journal in Nova Scotia, although monthlies such as the Canadian Workman in Orillia, Ont., and Printer's Miscellany in St. John, N.B., did provide labour coverage and address social causes of interest to the movement.¹² It was not until 1882 that the Knights inspired the founding of the Trades Union Advocate to speak for workers living in the industrial heartland of the Dominion. It soon changed its name to the Wage-Worker, in keeping with the order's mission to organize all workers, not just trades, into one big union.

In 1883, Knights' press activity shifted into high gear with the founding of the Palladium of Labor in Hamilton. So advanced was the Palladium in its efforts to secure a credible and sustained role for labour journalism (this included early attempts at muckraking) that it reigned as the prince of the labour press until 1886.¹³

Knights historian Douglas Kennedy wrote that the Knights "had little success with another venture on which they embarked, that of founding a labor newspaper."¹⁴ But clearly the Palladium was as successful as any labour paper would be in the 19th century. In fact, it was so successful

that in 1885 it launched a Toronto edition and for a short period in 1886 it published the Evening Palladium, thus becoming Canada's first and only labour daily. And the order found no greater proponents of the aims of the movement than Palladium editor William H. Rowe and T. (for Thomas) Phillips Thompson, the paper's chief political correspondent.

Thompson became the outspoken journalist of his day on social issues deemed critical by the Knights. Increasingly enraged by the deep-seated social inequities he witnessed around him, Thompson took up the pen under the byline Enjolras (a character in Victor Hugo's Les Miserables) and attacked the system. Key among some of the most controversial items he tackled were women's rights; health and safety; equal pay for equal work; bank, land, utility and other monopolies; shorter hours and child labour. Many of these items were also listed in the Knights' aims and principles published almost weekly by the Palladium.

Though hardly a serious challenger to the Palladium, Hamilton workers were invited to subscribe to another local labour paper in early 1885. It was called Justice. This "official organ of the Universal Brotherhood of United Labor"¹⁵ was the handy work of E. P. Morgan and F. L. Harvey, two expelled Knights. Palmer refers to them as partners in crime and bogus labour reformers interested only in lining their own pockets.¹⁶ And it is true that the two men followed a pattern of Knights harassment which included the

establishment of newspapers to secure the "ready cash of advertisers and subscribers."¹⁷ Palmer details the activities of the publishers of Justice, sarcastically labelled "that precious sheet" by the Palladium:¹⁸

The pair arrived in Hamilton in the spring of 1884. For the next year they wrought havoc in the Hamilton Order, gathering around them a core of unsuspecting supporters, cultivating dissension in obscure corners of local assemblies. Between April 1884 and August 1885 the two men quarrelled bitterly with W. L. (sic) Rowe, editor of the Palladium of Labor, were detected by a Hamilton Knight who had been swindled by them in Camden, stood trial in the court of District Assembly 61, suffered expulsion, established a labour-reform newspaper, attempted a bold coup against District Assembly 61's cooperative store resulting in a civil court case, and created an organization to oppose the Hamilton Order, the United Brotherhood of United Labor.¹⁹

Palmer concludes that "Justice won few working-class adherents...and the paper soon lapsed."²⁰

By early 1886, there were at least three other labour weeklies publishing in Central Canada. All of them claimed to be either Knights-owned or Knights-endorsed. And all soon learned that they were competing for a very small²¹ and, as many a labour editor often publicly attested, not very supportive reader market.²² On June 20, 1885, for example, the Palladium chastised the unwilling reader with this quote from American labour radical Richard Trevellick: "Out of 140 Labor papers started within the last two years, one-half of them have gone under--starved to death, and by you."²³ Wage-

Worker editor Eugene Donovan, seldom let a week go by without passing editorial judgment on those who refused to subscribe.

The market grew even more competitive with the arrival on the scene of weeklies such as Goldwin Smith's The Week (changed from The Bystander) and Monetary Times, an organ of the ~~Canada~~ Canada First movement.²⁴ Both were foes of Canadian labour. In fact, Professor Smith seems to have acquired almost as infamous a spot on the list of labour press enemies as arch-villain George Brown of the Toronto Globe.

The daily press was also regularly invading labour press territory. As noted in the previous chapter, the "people's journals," forerunners of the modern daily newspaper, were keenly aware of the huge market represented by the working classes and they were determined to tap it by offering often sensational, sometimes probing coverage of social issues. Oddly, the labour press reprinted from these competitors, almost as often as it criticized them. In some cases, the dailies appeared as progressive as the labour papers hoped to be.

Certainly the Hamilton Spectator and the Globe continued to be enemies of labour in the 1880s, although London Advertiser founder and Knights sympathizer James Cameron began to shift the Globe's emphasis when he became editor in 1882. But papers like the Toronto News, edited by Edmund Ernest Sheppard and Phillips Thompson, and the Bobcaygeon Independent were defiant supporters of labour's

cause. Both papers prided themselves on serving the workers and their families through exposés of wrong-doing, either corporate or political, and strongly worded editorials aimed at reforming the social system. As Russell Hann shows in his exhaustive essay on the News, it not only reflected many Knights views, but what made it truly different from the party press was its "enunciation of a political course that was clearly independent of Grittism or Toryism."²⁵ The labour press hailed this "sympathy with the cause of labor reform,"²⁶ but argued that labour papers "are the school books that labor needs, and (they are) absolutely essential to advancement. These independent guerilla (sic) labor papers, scattered throughout the country, are more reliable than any central organ can be."²⁷

Even more threatening competition was posed by weekly magazines, some of which can be likened to the alternative magazines of today. The Toronto Truth, for example, or the Social Reformer, or the widely respected satirical weekly Grip were all sympathetic to the people the labour press pledged to serve. They offered a variety of reading material and did not have the sometimes hindering affiliation with a labour body.

Finally, there were the family, farm and ethnic publications, the religious and temperance press, as well as consumer magazines like Saturday Night, founded in 1887 by former Toronto News editor E. E. Sheppard.²⁸ The Palladium regarded the religious papers with some respect, saying that

it was "a source of gratification to labor reformers to know that not only the pulpit but the religious press as well, are rapidly falling into line and disussion--some of them at least fairly and intelligently--(with respect to) the great question of the relation between labor and capital, competition and co-operation."²⁹

This tight publishing market and various political rivalries and disputes among labour editors and leaders precipitated a full-blown labour press war in the summer of 1886.

The Canadian Labor Reformer, owned and edited by A. W. Wright, had purchased the Toronto edition of the Palladium and began publishing in May 1886, claiming endorsement by the Knights. Wright had earned his spurs as an editor of political journals such as The National, first edited by Phillips Thompson in the 1870s, and The Commonwealth, published in 1880. Both weeklies had commented on labour issues, the former with a more conservative editorial bent than the latter which espoused some advanced socialist ideas, especially with regard to land and currency reform.³⁰ Wright now tried his hand at editing a publication wholly dedicated to the interests of the labour movement.

Within days, Daniel J. O'Donoghue, who had won labour's first seat in the Ontario legislature back in 1874, started the Toronto Labor Record. About the same time, George Wrigley began publishing the Canada Labor Courier as the official Knights paper in St. Thomas, Ont. (Later that year,

London, Ont., Knights requested permission at a general assembly of the order to "start a co-operative newspaper under the auspices of the Knights of Labor."³¹ But it was not granted.)

It seems the Palladium fired the opening salvo in the long, hot summer of internecine battles between the editors of the four Ontario papers. The Labor Record was the first wounded:

The Labor Record made its appearance in Toronto two weeks ago. . . . The only thing we know to its detriment is the suspicious circumstances that the Spectator praises its 'judgment and discretion,' and considers it 'an admirable Labor organ.' We hope the Record's course will not be such as to deserve the praises of the capitalistic press, and doubt not that as opportunity arises it will do its best to earn that malignant hatred and abuse from the champions of monopoly which is the surest indication that a Labor Reformer is doing his duty.³²

Two weeks later, the Courier was caught using a material called boiler plate in its printing process. The Palladium charged that it was produced by "rats" and "sometimes girls, working like slaves" as well as "Chinese cheap labor."³³ The latter was, of course, anathema to labour reformers, who continued their racist stance against Chinese immigrants throughout the 1880s. The Palladium's column, 'Twixt Hammer and Anvil, dumped salt in the wound with this comment: " 'Hologaugus' is Tuscarora for 'no good.' We have come to the painful conclusion that some of the alleged Labor journals which have sprung into existence like unhealthy growths are hologaugus."³⁴

The Courier was quick to respond, devoting "four columns of its space to telling readers what kind of a paper The Palladium is." The Hamilton paper shot back with, "We are afraid it will be a very long time before anybody thinks it worth while to criticize anything which the Courier is able to say. Evidently the Courier is hankering to have us kick it into notoriety. But we don't intend to do it, except at the regular advertising rates."³⁵

The Record was in for more badgering later that summer for failing to respond to a Palladium call for editorial comment on A. B. Ingram's acceptance of the Tory-backed nomination as St. Thomas labour candidate in the provincial election.³⁶ The Reformer, too, felt the heat, but quickly took a "sound and sensible" position on the Ingram question.³⁷ The Courier, that "insignificant concern in St. Thomas," failed to speak out on the issue.³⁸

The Reformer got into the baiting game in a big way that autumn when it attacked the Courier for bitterly lashing out at the Palladium and the Record. Apparently, Wright did not like Wrigley's explanation of how the Palladium "exerted its pernicious influence" on the Record in the matter of opposing Ingram's candidacy in the riding of West Elgin.

Notwithstanding the Courier's compliment to ourselves, we cannot but regret that there should be such evidently bitter feelings among our contemporaries in the Labor cause, and we sincerely trust that the Courier will adopt a more moderate tone in criticising journals which should be, and are, co-laborers in the cause.³⁹

The Courier, ever ready for a fight, charged the Reformer with political partisanship. Wright defended his paper as "an honest, earnest worker in the cause of oppressed humanity," which had suffered a "wholly unprovoked attack."⁴⁰ After noting that workers were forced to pay for the Courier through Knights dues because it was an official organ, whereas the Reformer charted its path in the precarious marketplace, Wright concluded with this thoughtful remark:

. . . we believe the object of a Labor journal should be to report things as they really are, unmask iniquities, uproot prejudices, expose falsehoods, advocate genuine reform, and assist the toiling masses to attain a higher degree of intellectual, moral and social development than they have yet enjoyed.⁴¹

By early 1887, Wright and O'Donoghue were involved in a public mudslinging match provoked as much by personal differences as political ones between the two Knights leaders. The dog fight took up precious editorial space throughout the spring and could well have continued forever except for the fact that the two papers merged in that year.⁴²

The end of the infighting came none too soon for the working-class reader who might have wanted to support the labour press. For it is little wonder that the Canadian worker did not completely wash his hands of the lot, preferring publications that stuck closer to the issues. Indeed, many workers did just that, as the following comment reveals:

We imagine the editors of those (labour) papers, sitting in a cheerless room, working night and day in a cause that seems hopeless. Their office is on the third storey in a back room. The type is old and battered. The everlasting question is: 'Where will the money come from to buy paper, and pay the printers and postage (?)' Their whole soul is in the cause they advocate. They send out samples time and again to those for whom they are laboring, but few postal orders or registered letters come.⁴³

The Reformer outlived its other adversaries, failing in 1888 but making a brief comeback under the editorship of Phillips Thompson in 1889.⁴⁴ The Palladium had ceased in late 1886 and editor Rowe seems to have fallen into obscurity. O'Donoghue took up a provincial government post with the Ontario Bureau of Industries. Wrigley would later resurface as the editor of numerous journals, including the Farmers' Sun and Citizen and Country, a socialist weekly publishing in the 1890s. Thompson went on from his brief editorship of the Reformer to found the Labor Advocate in 1890 and later joined J.W. Bengough at Grip, the popular satirical weekly. Wright became editor of the Knights' official paper, the Journal of United Labor, at Philadelphia in 1889.⁴⁵

Amidst the bickering and backbiting of labour editors in the 1880s, the Knights papers did manage to keep their dwindling readerships reasonably well informed on social issues and problems of concern to the labour movement. The following profiles give some sense of those issues and how the labour press covered them.

Until this (is) done they will always remain in a disintegrated condition and an easy prey to their enemies.⁶⁸

Politics, though Donavan shunned them, had perhaps played a bigger role and taken up more space in the Advocate/Wage-Worker than coverage of most social issues.⁶⁹ The Knights papers that followed, although they too focused on politics, offered readers a bolder brand of social affairs reporting and commentary, thus adding immeasurably to the tradition of radical journalism that would find such a prominent place in the labour press of the 1880s and 1890s.

The Labor Union/The Palladium of Labor⁷⁰

Subtitle: "A Journal Devoted to the Interests of Workingmen and Working Women."⁷¹

First issue: Uncertain. First available issue is Aug. 11, 1883.⁷²

Place: Hamilton, Ont., and Toronto.⁷³

Frequency: Weekly on Saturday mornings.⁷⁴

Format: Eight-page tabloid, five columns.

Cost per issue: Two cents.⁷⁶

Ad cost and ratio: Eight cents a line; 40% ads:60% editorial.

Union affiliation: Knights of Labor.⁷⁷

Circulation: Uncertain.⁷⁸

Editor: William H. Rowe.

workers' representatives. The debate of mechanics' lien acts, factory acts and employer's liability acts was carefully and meticulously observed in the editorial columns of the Advocate.

In his opening editorial, Donavan outlined the goals of his paper making it clear that party politics was not destined to play a large role in this labour publishing endeavour.⁴⁸

No labour paper can properly fill its mission if it panders to politicians, as they are frequently the creatures of circumstances, who regulate their actions by expediency, and never hesitate to cast aside any supporters when it suits their convenience. We are determined to steer clear of political quicksands, no matter how bright a beacon may beckon us on, and pursue a direct course, perhaps less inviting, our sole aim being the advancement of all legitimate labour interests.⁴⁹

The Advocate called for labour representatives on legislative and municipal bodies. But "No party politics," lectured Donavan,⁵⁰ explaining that "so long as there is a wage earning and a wage-paying class, and their relations have to be legislated upon in Parliament, justice both parties demands that they should have a direct voice in it, for which ever party is absent will certainly be neglected, as the other side will always hold and maintain selfish and opposite points of view."⁵¹

A main aim of labour legislators was to secure limits on the use of child labour, considered one of the worst evils of the social system of the 1880s. Under the title "The Factories Act," the Advocate explained why.

Child labour. . . is demoralizing socially, for the reason that all workshops have a certain percentage of employees who delight in profane language, which the children imitate, and soon become proficient in, looking upon it as manly. The employment of ten or twelve year old children helps destroy home and other times, as they frequently find, after a short stay in the factory, more congenial spirits than in the home circle.⁵²

Of course, there were other social problems associated with child labour as well. Adult poverty and unemployment, for example, were seen to be perpetuated by employers using children to do the work of adults. But Donovan's tack was to expose the more sordid side of the issue. Under the heading "Child's Slavery," a front-page article noted that "The employment of little girls in some of the cotton, woollen and silk mills is the most destructive feature of the whole question."⁵³

Shorter hours and improved working conditions were among the more traditional solutions the Advocate saw being realized through labour representation. But the notion of equal pay for equal work struck a louder chord. In fact, a key point in the paper's political platform, published as "Something to Agitate For," was "To secure for both sexes equal pay for equal work."⁵⁴ Donovan published numerous articles on the subject. The following item is representative:

As a worker woman is man's equal in almost every respect. Of course there are many callings which women could not enter into, and the same may be said of men. But where a woman can perform certain duties as well as men, there is no earthly reason why she should receive less wages than the sterner sex.⁵⁵

Despite the fact that some articles were sexist, few would fail to acknowledge the editor's sincere attempts to bring the cause of women workers to the fore. One item, for example, addressed "sister workers" with this call to arms: "You have been trampled upon and dragged in the dirt too long already. If you do not make a move for reform in your own behalf, you must expect to remain in the servile condition in which you are at present."⁵⁶ On women's rights in general, the Advocate was always supportive. The following item is characteristic.

The movement in favour of women's rights still go(es) on, gathering strength as it proceeds. The last incident in its history is the donating of \$10,000 by Mrs. Jenny Trout for the foundation of a female school of medicine (in the United States). All honour to Mrs. Trout. Now let the husbands and fathers of other ladies follow suit and give as much, and the thing will assuredly be a success.⁵⁷

Legislation limiting women's working hours and guaranteeing equal pay would encourage the movement for women's equality, reasoned the Advocate.

Of course, labour representation in politics was not the only way to push for social change. The Knights, through papers like Donavan's, advocated the use of the boycott and formation of co-operatives as well as promoting sick relief and mutual benefit societies. Agitation for higher wages also remained an important union strategy for ameliorating social problems. As the Wage-Worker put it in an article about a "House for the Poor" in Toronto,

Let the merchants, manufacturers, and others pay a good wage for a day's work, not a mere pittance to keep body and soul together, but sufficient for a man to keep his family respectably upon, and enable him to lay up a little each year for old age, then, and not until then, will the true remedy be found for the present unsatisfactory state of affairs.⁵⁸

Trade unionism and its role as educator of the working class was also a mainstay of the Advocate's platform for social change. As Donavan saw it, "by lawful agitation and persevering argument mechanics have caused Trade Unionism to become not alone a recognized part of our social system, but a power which politicians are forced to acknowledge. The unprejudiced observer must admit that Trades Unions have raised workingmen morally and intellectually, and taught them a higher sense of the responsibilities."⁵⁹ In the famous slogan "Agitate, Educate, Organize," Donavan believed educate should come first.

If wage-workers are ever to become a powerful body for their own good--an organized body that will not be carried away by artful and designing men--a body who are willing to think for themselves, and not follow blindly a false scent laid by tricksters--a body capable of sternly demanding justice, and accepting no compromise--it is their bounden duty to read, to study, to think, concerning their own interests. It is their duty to EDUCATE themselves, and it is the duty of those wage-earners who have been blessed by nature with more than the ordinary abilities, or who have received a fair schooling, to educate their co-workers.⁶⁰

Donavan added that, "We are firmly of the opinion that education is the first step towards the disenthralment or liberation of wage-earners from the bonds of wage-thieving employers."

But this enthusiasm for education of the workers as a remedy for social ills did not extend to the official government education system. The Advocate believed "the system pursued in our schools is a vicious one, inevitably leading to the worst results. The persistent cramming of the poor little mind till the over-worked brain reels, cannot but be productive of evil."⁶¹

Temperance, although the Knights did sympathize with the movement, was not seen as the total solution to social problems that earlier papers sometimes implied it was. Christian organizations, in general, would do far better to devote "a portion of their time in persuading many of our close fisted bosses to pay a living wage to their male and female employees."⁶²

The Advocate rates the usual bad marks for its racist approach to the assisted immigration question, especially its handling of the Chinese worker. The use of convict labour and the workers' continued support of the party press were also topics that raised Donovan's ire to a fever pitch. And when he ran out of words of his own, he turned to the American labour press for aid. Here is a sample from the Kansas City New Argo:

Workingmen howl against a 'subsidized press,' 'monopolistic organs,' and newspapers devoted solely to the interest of capital, but continue to support them nevertheless. This is a rich farce, and is one of the many things which causes these journalistic manipulators to regard the railing of the people as unmeaning gas.⁶³

After six months of publishing, Donavan's "sufficient faith in the honour and integrity of the workingman to know that they will cheerfully support us so long as we are true to our platform" had waned considerably.⁶⁴ He called for greater support from the workers, citing a good record of exposing the "evils that bear against the working classes" and restating the paper's aim to "secure justice to a class, that has no other mouthpiece in Canada."⁶⁵

The support was not forthcoming. On March 8, 1883, Donavan changed the name to the Wage-Worker, announcing that it "will be fearless and independent in its views (in fact, will follow the footsteps of its predecessor), and will not truckle to any party."⁶⁶ Ostensibly, the change was meant to help the paper "embrace the rights, the wrongs, and the material interests of all who earn their livelihood through the sweat of their brow."⁶⁷ But Donavan was probably also staging a last ditch effort to rescue his failing publication.

The end came on April 26, 1883, after exactly one year--52 issues--of the Advocate/Wage-Worker. Claiming a lack of funds, though no shortage of love for the work, Donavan left his readers with the same message he delivered in the first issue:

Before taking leave of the workingmen of this city, I would earnestly entreat them, if they would be an element of strength and advantage to themselves as a body, to eschew party politics, as well as parasites who sometimes under the guise of labour champions trade upon their kindnesses for the purpose of personal advancement and gain.

Until this (is) done they will always remain in a disintegrated condition and an easy prey to their enemies.⁶⁸

Politics, though Donavan shunned them, had perhaps played a bigger role and taken up more space in the Advocate/Wage-Worker than coverage of most social issues.⁶⁹ The Knights papers that followed, although they too focused on politics, offered readers a bolder brand of social affairs reporting and commentary, thus adding immeasurably to the tradition of radical journalism that would find such a prominent place in the labour press of the 1880s and 1890s.

The Labor Union/The Palladium of Labor⁷⁰

Subtitle: "A Journal Devoted to the Interests of Workingmen and Working Women."⁷¹

First issue: Uncertain. First available issue is Aug. 11, 1883.⁷²

Place: Hamilton, Ont., and Toronto.⁷³

Frequency: Weekly on Saturday mornings.⁷⁴

Format: Eight-page tabloid, five columns.

Cost per issue: Two cents.⁷⁵

Ad cost and ratio: Eight cents a line; 40% ads:60% editorial.

Union affiliation: Knights of Labor.⁷⁷

Circulation: Uncertain.⁷⁸

Editor: William H. Rowe.

Last issue: Uncertain.⁷⁹

With the death of the Trades Union Advocate, the Palladium of Labor became Canada's premier advocate of labour's cause. For the next three years editor William H. Rowe, the son of a British wool merchant,⁸⁰ published what was arguably the cream of 19th century Canadian labour papers.⁸¹

Surprisingly little is known about the man responsible for this impressive publishing feat. Indeed, Canadian biographies of labour figures provide few, if any, insights into the founder of Canada's first and only labour daily.⁸²

When Palmer refers to him it is to label him "overly opinionated"⁸³ and "intemperate."⁸⁴ Yet Rowe was to lead the way in labour journalism in the early 1880s, providing a home for the outspoken champions of labour's cause, and occasionally getting arrested in the process.⁸⁵ It was his paper that would pioneer the open advocacy of socialist ideals and boldly break trail in the use of muchraking techniques to expose the wrong-doing of capitalists. Perhaps most important of all, Rowe pushed hard for the recognition of women's rights. For the first time, a labour paper included "Working Women" in its banner. Child labourers, the elderly and the poor could also look to the Palladium for support.

The editorial mandate of the "only labor paper published in Canada" captures its social commitment: "to support the cause of the Productive Industry, by making knowledge a standpoint for action, and industrial, moral worth, not wealth, the true standard of individual and national greatness. Our cause is the cause of the People. Non-Partisan. ⁸⁶Non-Sectarian." An earlier editorial further clarifies the Palladium's social role:

Our mission is to Spread the Light; to expose the inequalities of distribution by which the few are enriched at the expense of the many. To call things by their right names, and point out to workingmen how these inequities secure the full reward of his toil. . . .⁸⁷

The Palladium was cocky, proud and driven in its role as labour reformer and social advocate. And for Rowe there was no greater enemy to the cause of social justice than the monopoly. It was through the front-page columns of Enjolras, the pen-name used by popular labour journalist Phillips Thompson, that the Hamilton paper would make its strongest contribution to the cause.

Thompson, who had held a prestigious seat on the editorial board of the Globe in the early 1880s, came to the Palladium a seasoned journalist, having worked on numerous papers, such as the St. Catharines Post, Toronto Telegraph, Mail and Globe. He had also founded a paper called the Daily City News and co-published a political weekly called The National in the 1870s, after which he journeyed to Boston to take up duties as literary editor of the Evening Traveller.

He had earned an early reputation as a humourist, under the pen-name Jimuel Briggs, D.B. (for Dead Beat), from Coboconk University, and his biting wit often trickled from between the lines of the strident tracts that filled the Palladium's front page.⁸⁸ His subjects ranged from women's rights to education and co-operation to Canadian literature (he was also an accomplished poet and song writer.) But it was on the "labor question," that Enjolras truly set the pace of labour journalism in the 1880s with a prolific outpouring of often top-notch polemical arguments against the capitalist system.⁸⁹

"It is the spirit of society which needs to be radically and fundamentally regenerated," wrote Thompson in a typical column. This would be done "by the presentation of loftier ideals and nobler views and purposes. It is not in this reform or that, so much as in the spread of generous sympathies and the encouragement of the better impulses of humanity which are now systematically (sic) stifled and crushed out by false teaching that the social condition of mankind will be improved."⁹⁰

Seldom leaving an issue unanalysed, an event unprobed, Thompson raged against governments, employers and even fellow labour advocates. But for his and labour's arch enemy, the monopolist, he saved his most potent turns of phrase:

We're it not for land monopoly, none of these villainous schemes (railway and stock gambling, political corruption, wheat and coal owners, manufacturing rings, imported immigration, money

monopolies) by which the capitalist devil-fish draws within its capricious clutch the earnings of the toiling millions would be possible.⁹¹

Other columns, like "Our Social Club" (probably written by Thompson for the Labor Union, the Palladium's predecessor, before he created the Enjolras pseudonym) and "Twixt Hammer and Anvil,"⁹² took a similar view, arguing that

Private corporations for quasi-public purposes have outlived their usefulness and scandalously abused their prerogatives. The sooner that Government takes charge of the railroads, the telegraphs, the currency and the insurance business the better, and more economically will the people be serviced in these important departments.⁹³

Get rid of monopolies and you would solve Canada's social problems. That was the key message, and it perhaps applied to the country's main financial institutions more than all the others:

Our present banking system is nothing more nor less than legalized robbery. What this country wants, and what it must have before it can even become a prosperous nation, is a currency issued by the Government, based on the solvency of the country, and issued to the people through the means of Government distributing offices at a rate of interest sufficient to cover the cost of issue and distribution, and nothing more.⁹⁴

Temperance, which had been a universal solution to social ills in the minds of earlier labour editors, took a back seat to monopoly. For Thompson, abstinence would never of itself bring the millemium (sic). Nevertheless it would tend to remove many of the obstacles in the way of

intelligent and effective co-operation among workers with a view to righting their wrongs and recovering their lost heritage."⁹⁵

In a moment of unrestrained joy, Thompson told readers what he thought would bring the millenium in "Revolution!" Describing a protest in London, England, he wrote: "It is coming, yes, the revolution is coming!....The light is breaking, the clouds are passing. Hail to the rising sun of Freedom."⁹⁶ Earlier he had written in less enthusiastic language, "We do not advocate Revolution, but at the rate at which the concentration of wealth and its natural consequences(--the increase of poverty(--are proceeding, it is apparently the inevitable outcome."⁹⁷

The revolution was a long way off, of course, but Thompson accurately named poverty as a crucial social issue of the 1880s. Items regularly appeared describing the plight of one working-class sector or another. "Selling Men and Women" was one such article: "The overseers of the poor in some of the New Brunswick parishes annually sell the aged and decrepit paupers to those who are willing to keep them at the cheapest figure for the year."⁹⁸

In one of its numerous critical comments on the church's role in helping the poor, the Palladium scolded members of the clergy for failing to sympathize with labour reform. In "Practical Christianity," Rowe suggested that

"the evil (lack of adequate housing for the poor) is the legitimate outcome of private land ownership and the competitive system."⁹⁹

Curbing monopolies, then, was the solution to poverty, but that would only come with strong unions and worker representation in the legislatures:

The ultimate goal of the Labor Reform movement is the establishment of an industrial Democracy on the ruins of the present capitalistic system; the abolition of individual rights in the soil, usury and profit-mongering, and an organized system of production, under which every (one) will be a worker, and no man a loafer or parasite--each receiving the full value of his services and paying no tribute to idleness. No two-penny-half-penny measure such as the politicians promise, can or ought to satisfy Labor Reformers, or blind them to the magnitude of the work they have undertaken.¹⁰⁰

The Palladium was a stalwart advocate of the passage and rigid enforcement of the Ontario Factories Act, which stipulated age limits for child workers and improved hours and working conditions. And it urged support of labour candidates for public office to introduce improvements to such legislation. Child labour was "Morally, Socially and Industrially Wrong," as one headline put it, and editor Rowe rarely missed an opportunity to expose the damaging effects of using children like young Fred Hanly, for example, whose hand was badly mangled by a cotton mill machine before his 14th birthday.¹⁰¹

To assist labour politicians and sympathizers in passing tough legislation, Rowe employed what is probably one of the earliest instances of muckraking in Canadian

labour journalism by hiring an unnamed writer to uncover alleged employer abuses in cotton mills. "In the Ontario and Hamilton Cotton Mills," revealed the Palladium investigator, "children as young as nine and ten years of age are kept at work for twelve hours each day."¹⁰²

Another area of social concern where labour representation struck the Palladium as a possible solution was equal pay for equal work and equal treatment of women workers, especially domestic servants and "factory girls." "The Seduction Law," for example, was a comment on the Charlton Act introduced to protect young women workers from being led by employers into a life of ill repute.¹⁰³

An equally potent solution might have been the securing of equal rights for women, especially at the ballot box. "If a majority of our women were to demand the right of suffrage," claimed the Palladium, "they would be voting in ninety days. If they were to set their fair faces against monopolized capital, monopolized capital would disappear."¹⁰⁴ Enjolras, in a column entitled "Women's Rights," detailed the paper's stance:

The right of woman to be regarded in all matters of citizenship and all relations between the government and the people as the equal of man can hardly be denied by any clear-sighted and consistent Labor Reformer...The fact that 'woman's sphere is home,' that there her chief joys, interests and affections are centred (,) far from being a reason for refusing her political equality with man (,) is an argument for putting into her hands the ballot as a means of protecting that home from the despoiler. On all questions of temperance, education and social reform generally, the addition to the electorate of a large body of voters who make the welfare of the house their

chief consideration, will have a tendency to supply the stimulus to effective and progressive legislation that is now wanting. 105

Old people, too, would benefit from the support of honest workers' candidates, and the Palladium readily assisted the push for pension and social insurance legislation. Again, Enjolras best articulated labour's position.

No man whose best years have been spent in useful and honorable toil, in work often of infinitely greater value to society than that of the government official, ought to be left destitute during the latter years of his life....If a government can tax the farmer and the artizan, and the laborer to pay pensions to superannuated office-holders, why should it not tax the wealthy either by a graduated income tax, or still better, by a tax on land values, for the support in comfort of the wage-earners who are past work. 106

In an editorial entitled "Pension the Aged," the Palladium added this perceptive comment:

If the tremendous increase in the power of production characteristic of the age of steam and electricity went to benefit Labor instead of landlordism and monopoly, not only could every old man and woman be made comfortable and placed beyond the reach of want, but every child could be spared the necessity of work, every woman redeemed from other cares than those of the household or the light avocations suited to her capacity, and the hours of producers shortened to less than over-half of their present length. 107

Just as the nine-hour movement ate up pages of copy in the labour press of the 1870s, the eight-hour movement was a cause célèbre of the 1880s. Although it was a much hotter issue in the United States, leading to the famous Haymarket riot in Chicago and the subsequent hanging of anarchist labour leaders, still it was regularly promoted in the

Palladium. "To prolong Labor beyond that period (eight hours)," suggested editor Rowe, "is commercially unprofitable, economically illogical, and morally wrong."¹⁰⁸

A related legislative issue was weekly pay days. As 'Twixt Hammer and Anvil noted, "Weekly paydays are one of the civilizing agencies of the future."¹⁰⁹ It was thought that weekly pay days would curb the use of credit and therefore keep workers from falling into unending debt and eventual poverty.

Labour representation promised to deliver progressive laws in all these social areas, but the success rate at elections was generally abysmal. Thus other methods of pursuing needed social changes, some of them advocated more strongly by earlier labour papers, were also supported in the Palladium. Co-operation was one such method, and Enjolras, always ahead of his time on social issues, made this uninspired comment about it:

When working men will make the same sacrifices and show the same spirit in co-operative experiments--even if they don't look very promising--as they do in connection with strikes, and lock-outs and boycotts(,) cheerfully and uncomplainingly, then we shall have a chance to make the system a grand success. ¹¹⁰

Boycotts and strikes were not favourite methods of the Knights, as Thompson implies above. In fact, they advocated a system of compulsory arbitration for settling disputes between workers and employers. Despite this official stance, however, the boycott and strike were often used in

the war against social oppression, and the Palladium provided ample coverage of such activities at home and abroad.

Little in the way of meaningful social change could be accomplished, of course, without a solid educational program for workers and their families. The Knights saw education as a social tool for aiding the masses to rise up against the system. As with other papers, the Palladium's support of compulsory school attendance for children also meant there would be more jobs for unemployed men, with cheap child labour forced into school during the day. 'But as 'Twixt Hammer and Anvil remarked, it didn't do much good. "Although we have a Compulsory Education Act on our statutes, no effort is made to enforce it."¹¹¹

Like other issues in which the Palladium became embroiled--assisted immigration, convict labour, street railway monopolies and prison reform to name but a few--the education issue was a complex one. Once having successfully lobbied for compulsory schooling, the labour press began to play a different tune. "The idea of educating is to break the child's will instead of educating it. When he is put into possession of his will, half the problem of education is solved. There are brutes to-day employed in educating our youth who themselves require education."¹¹² As for political education, Enjolras once again had his

revolutionary hat on when he wrote, "Let us by all means AGITATE AND EDUCATE public opinion with an eye to the good time coming of social regeneration."¹¹³

Educators weren't the only ones to feel the editorial sting of the labour press. Like all labour papers of the day, the Palladium portrayed the Chinese immigrant as a sub-human creature--the yellow peril--thus contributing to an already seething public hysteria. As with all its editorial battles, the weekly's fight for an anti-Chinese law was vicious, perhaps more vicious than in any previous labour paper. And sadly, it was one of labour's few legislative successes.¹¹⁴

Another black spot on the Palladium's otherwise exemplary record was Rowe's running debate with fellow editors Daniel O'Donoghue, George Wrigley and A.W. Wright. As suggested earlier, the time and space taken up with such political squabbles might have been more productively spent criticising the social system. In the end the public refused to tolerate or support it.

In between arguments with other labour editors, Rowe amused himself by baiting the editors of the party press. "Beware you beetle-browed ignoramuses who have scarcely sufficient brains to appreciate even the gratification of their own selfish and idiotic malice," he once wrote of the editors of commercial dailies.¹¹⁵ And he frequently warned workers to be wary of such a press:

Without any desire to represent the unknown gentlemen of the local party press as more mercenary than the average mortals, we are at liberty to remind our readers that their unusual interest in the workingman should not be taken for more than its market value. 116

Yet for all his self-righteous yammering at the daily press, Rowe was himself accused of undermining them to build up his own daily publishing enterprise.¹¹⁷ And perhaps the accusations were partially accurate, for the Palladium ended life as the Evening Palladium.¹¹⁸ In one of its few issues, the EP took what turned out to be a final shot at the daily competition. In asking local merchants to advertise, he argued that "Rates are lower and circulation much larger than either of the two clumsy-looking blanket-sheets published in this city."¹¹⁹

The Knights were at the peak of their power and influence in 1886, and the Palladium had been instrumental in putting them there. When the year ended, the hard-fighting weekly also disappeared. The great experiment in organizing all workers quickly evaporated in the year that followed, making way for the bread and butter trade unionism of the powerful Trades and Labour Congress.

In 1887, two other Knights papers--the Labor Record and the Canada Labor Courier--also failed. Only Wright's Reformer was left to carry on the work of the Palladium as the flagship of the dying Knights of Labor.

The Canadian Labor Reformer

Subtitle: "We demand all the reform that justice can ask for and all the justice that reform can give."

First issue: May 15, 1886.

Place: Toronto.

Frequency: Weekly on Saturdays.

Format: Two-column magazine or demi-tabloid, usually 12 pages.

Cost per issue: Five cents.

Ad cost and ratio: Rates "made known on application"; 25% ads:75% editorial.

Union affiliation: Knights of Labor.

Editor: A.W. Wright.¹²⁰

Circulation: Unknown.¹²¹

Last issue: 1889, possibly 1892.¹²²

Nineteenth-century labour journalism was reaching its peak in 1886, along with Knights popularity and influence. Labour papers of the period played a strong, sometimes unproductively competitive, social advocacy role, suppling readers with weekly doses of Knights publicity, social issues comment, and union organizing news. And in every spare column inch of editorial space the editors talked politics, politics and more politics.

In early May 1886, Daniel O'Donoghue began publishing the Labor Record¹²³ in Toronto and George Wrigley started the Canada Labor Courier in St. Thomas, Ont.¹²⁴ Later the same month, A.W. Wright issued the Canadian Labor Reformer after purchasing the Toronto edition of the Palladium of Labor. All Knights of Labor weeklies, the four fought tooth and nail for a limited readership within Toronto's labour movement. The survivor of those battles was the Reformer.

It is unlikely that any of the four papers appealed to more than a few thousand readers at any one time, and it may be that each paper appealed to the same few thousand. In any event, by 1887, the Reformer was the lone labour paper publishing in Toronto. A Brantford, Ont., reader provides the rough chronology of events:

Since the Toronto Trades Union Advocate 'passed over the river,' I with other workingmen here have often wondered why the Queen City of the West, with its numerous Knights of Labor Assemblies and trade unions, had not filled up the gap of three years' width with a bona fide labor paper. The want must have been keenly felt in your city, as the aching void reached the Ambitious City, and no doubt pity was in her eye when the Palladium reached out a withered limb with artificial foliage, in the shape of a Toronto edition of that paper, to fill the place once occupied by the Advocate. At last things have changed, and I am pleased to see the first number of the Labor Reformer launched forth on the turbulent waters of labor journalism with her sails well set to the breeze and her helm well down.... Several complain about the width of the reading columns, but I suppose that is a matter of taste."¹²⁵

The waters were indeed turbulent for Wright, who had been active in labour journalism since the mid-1870s. A dedicated Tory, he used the Reformer to provide workers with

a political education. As this letter from Wright to John A. Macdonald in 1884 shows, politics played a central part in the editor's life and work. The letter was an attempt to get the Tories to buy the troubled Palladium of Labor which had momentarily ceased publication.

My plan is to have a paper started which will be made the organ of the Knights of labor and perhaps of the Trades and Labor Council. Put it in the form of a joint stock company allotting a minority of the stock to the more active and prominent members of the labor organizations, thus identifying them with the paper without running the risk of letting them actually get control of it. My idea is that in order to fully obtain and retain the confidence of the working classes the paper should be conducted editorially on a purely labor platform, even antagonizing the Conservative Party where it could be done harmlessly but whenever opportunity offered putting in a word where it would do good. ¹²⁶

It was this type of behaviour that earned Wright the reputation as an opportunist and a man who engaged in sordid activities. Nevertheless, his plan for the takeover of the Palladium finally won out with the founding of the Reformer. Politics was at the heart of the new enterprise, and despite Wright's tendency to use his publications for his own political ends, ¹²⁷ labor representation in the legislatures of the land was clearly seen as the most effective route to social reform. ¹²⁸

"Strikes, lock-outs, and all other phases which contests between employer and employee assume, are mere indications of the existence of deep-seated disease in our

social system," opined the Reformer. Only adherence to the principles of labour reform would bring about true social change. In his opening editorial, Wright added:

We have to face a long, stern and arduous conflict; to do our part manfully through good and evil report, in prosperity and adversity, having in view the ultimate triumph of our principles, which will come surely as there is a God in Heaven or an innate sense of justice and right in the great heart of humanity. This, rather than the lower or more transitory object, should be the aim of every true Labor Reformer. 129

The Reformer's first front cover was a full-page illustration of an adult and two children struggling with a snake-like railway. The title, "Strangled by Monopoly," probably referred to the streetcar railways in Toronto and possibly alluded to the building of the national railway. It was an appropriate first cover, for the Reformer saw monopoly, especially monopoly of land, as the cause of "the worst evils of the present social condition."¹³⁰

The adverse effects of technological change were blamed on monopoly, for example. In an article entitled "The Effect of Labor-Saving Machinery," the Reformer noted that "It is monopoly of the land and the money which enables the few to use machinery to cheapen labor and further enrich themselves, instead of the saving going to benefit the toilers by giving them shorter hours and increased pay."¹³¹ Of course, poverty was also a by-product of monopoly. As one editorial argued: "That poverty is the legitimate offspring of the competitive system will be

apparent to anyone who will give the matter a moment's thought, and on thinking more deeply it will become clear that but for this system actual poverty could not exist,"¹³²

Solutions to these and other social problems of the late 1880s did not vary greatly in the Reformer. However, such all-encompassing methods of social change as temperance, shorter hours and co-operation were slowly edged aside. In one article, Wright sows the seeds of doubt about co-operation:

Co-operation is a good thing, and we would strongly advise all workingmen who can to avail themselves of its advantages, but they should avoid the mistake of supposing that it is the cure for the unfair distribution of wealth from which Labor suffers.¹³³

Education, also seen as one of the big social solutions, paled beside politics as well. Still, as one commentator wrote,

The educational system of this country is one of the things we boast about, but it seems to be degenerating at as rapid a rate in some directions as it is improving in others. The farmers and mechanics have as good a right to efficient teachers in the public schools as they have to expect unadulterated merchandise when they purchase the necessities of life.¹³⁴

Politics, it seems, was the ultimate solution for Wright. It would bring an Employers Liability Act, for example, to protect workers from health and safety hazards. And it would pressure government to devise a social insurance plan for all workers. As Wright, who often wrote under the pen-name Spokeshave, worded it, "Life assurance is now pretty well recognized as a duty which a man owes to his

family, and clearly it is the duty of the government to see to it that as far as possible it should be placed within the reach of all."¹³⁵

Critics of Wright, and he no doubt had many, might have seen the advocacy of social insurance as a way of lining his own pockets. After all, the Reformer itself offered subscribers accidental death insurance for \$25, calling it "Funeral Benefit Insurance" in large house ads for the scheme.¹³⁶ Nevertheless, a government life insurance plan had been promised in a throne speech as far back as 1879, and pressure from the labour press was quite in order.

Like Rowe at the Palladium, Wright also advocated legislative reforms that would benefit women both in the workplace and at home. "The absurd and unjust discriminations which restrict women to the least remunerative occupations and fix her receipts at a much lower figure than men can earn, simply on the ground of sex," said one editorial, "are the result of the same traditional prejudice which excludes females from the ballot-box."¹³⁷ The Reformer took an equally progressive stand on social issues of a more domestic nature, "Woman beating," for example, "should be stamped out, and all respectable men should ostracise the miserable, cowardly wretch guilty of the offence."¹³⁸

Wright was not nearly so generous regarding the assisted immigration question. Nor was he any less brutal than other labour editors in dealing with the Chinese

immigrant worker. One item of crude racist humour serves to illustrate: "'Will Chinamen eat rats?' asked a small boy. 'That depends,' said his father; 'If they are clean, decent rats, perhaps, but even a heathen Chinese will refuse scab rats'." 139

Like other labour papers, the Reformer did not see the similarity between discrimination against one group (women) and another (the Chinese). Part of the logic of the labour movement's position on this question of immigration comes out in a critique of Canadian generosity towards the immigrant:

A number of well-intentioned persons in Canada are engaged in the work of providing destitute immigrants with comfortable homes and situations. This is very praiseworthy work, and appears to indicate a cosmopolitan generosity, but we think quite as much good might be done in looking after our own destitute poor, hundreds of whom are industrious and would be willing to do any work if only assisted out of their present straights and provided with employment. 140

But for the Trades Journal out on the east coast, the Reformer carried labour's social banner throughout the latter part of the 1880s. The Labor Record, edited by Wright's arch political opponent O'Donoghue, merged with the Reformer in 1887. And with the failing of the Palladium, the Toronto paper became the organ of District Assemblies 61 and 125 of the Knights. Wright moved on to edit the official Knights organ in Philadelphia, the Journal of United Labor, in 1889, and Phillips Thompson took a short turn at editing the Reformer. 141

By the end of the decade, however, the Knights' influence was fading quickly. Their views on arbitration and strikes, their politics in general, would not satisfy the more radical elements of the labour movement's intelligentsia. The 1890s would see the flag of socialism raised higher than ever before. It would also witness the rise of business unionism with the consolidation of union strength under the Trades and Labour Congress.

The Trades Union Advocate ended its life as the Knights' first Canadian paper with this reprinted quote:

We regard this unusual outcropping of able and even elegant writings in the labour and Trades Union papers as one of the 'signs of the times' which the public would do well to consider. It shows, to our thinking, that discontent with the hardship, inequalities, and injustices of human life, under the present unfair distribution of the products of Nature, toil and skill, is spreading and taking hold among people who 20 years ago had only a distant, pitying sentiment for the condition of the really poor. . . . They are beginning to understand that they must make common cause with the labourers and mechanics against their common enemies--the corporations, monopolists and favoured moneyed institutions--or see all grades of the producing classes sink into hopeless poverty. 142

Things had changed little in the intervening years, and the reality of Canada's working class would lead the labour press of the "Gay Nineties" to embrace socialism as the ultimate method of bringing about positive social change.

NOTES

1. Bryan D. Palmer, A Culture in Conflict (Montreal, 1979) p. 154, writes that "As early as 1875 the Knights of Labor had secured a foothold in the city (Hamilton), establishing Local Assembly 119 on a secret basis."

--Gregory S. Kealey and Bryan D. Palmer, Dreaming of what might be: The Knights of Labor in Ontario, 1880-1900 (Cambridge, 1982) is an in-depth treatment of all facets of the Canadian Knights, including date of arrival, and should be considered the general authority on the subject.

--Douglas R. Kennedy, The Knights of Labor in Canada (University of Western Ontario masters thesis, 1956, published, London, Ont.) p. 35, says the Knights entered Canada in 1881, but probably means that was the first date they openly declared themselves a worker's organization.

2. There is some discrepancy over how many Canadian workers actually belonged to the Knights. Kennedy, p. 40, says there were 12,253 members, seven District Assemblies and 168 Local Assemblies.

--Fred Landon, "The Canadian Scene," in the Canadian Historical Association Report of the Annual Meeting held at Toronto, May 25-6, 1942 (Toronto, 1942) p. 18; says there were 12,553 members in 174 Local Assemblies.

--Harold A. Logan, Trade Unions in Canada, Their Development and Functioning (Toronto, 1948) p. 50, estimates that there were 250 Local Assemblies and that Quebec alone counted 16,000 Knights. But judging from membership figures cited in Palmer, p. 154, and Kealey, Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism, 1867-1892 (Toronto, 1980) p. 181, this figure seems too high.

--Logan, Table III, p. 19, cites the number of "gainfully employed 10 years of age or over by industrial groups" as 1,615,000 for 1891 out of a total population of 4,833,000 (Table II, p. 18).

3. Palmer, p. 154.

4. The ideas of Henry George and Edward Bellamy held great appeal for the labour reformer of the 1880s. Their works helped spawn the single tax and land nationalization movements. George's Progress and Poverty and Bellamy's Looking Backward were of particular note.

5. Kealey, p. 175.

6. Landon, p. 10.

7. Greg Kealey (ed.), Canada Investigates Industrialism (Toronto, 1973) contains the commission report and provides numerous examples from workers themselves of living and working conditions during the 1880s.

8. Bernard Ostry, "Conservatives, Liberals, and Labour in the 1880s," in the Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, (Toronto, May 1961) p. 141, "In that decade (1880s) of industrial expansion and Conservative rule not a single important measure on behalf of the industrial worker was placed upon the Dominion's statute books." Some provincial laws were passed, however.

9. Ostry, p. 142.

10. Elisabeth Wallace, "The Origin of the Social Welfare State in Canada, 1867-1900," in the Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science (August 1950) p. 386, "Between 1880 and 1900 the urban population more than doubled, rising from 14 to 37 per cent of the whole."

--Logan, Table II, p. 18, cites 4,324,000 as the 1881 population and 5,371,000 as the 1901 figure.

11. Desmond Morton and Terry Copp, Working people, An Illustrated History of Canadian Labour (Ottawa, 1980) p. 35.

12. The Canadian Workman began publishing in the late 1870s as the organ of the Ancient Order of United Workmen of Canada based in Orillia, Ont. But it was concerned almost exclusively with life insurance for workers. Its area of coverage did not generally extend into other key social matters as did that of the weekly labour papers. Indeed, it was very much a house organ for the AOUW.

--Printer's Miscellany, was also publishing in the late 1870s and early 1880s at St. John, N.B. As its subheading explained, it was more of a trade paper than a labour paper--"An exponent of printing and all the kindred arts." (Vol. IV, No. 1, July 1879). Still, it was edited by Hugh Finlay, who James Richard Rice in his 1969 master's thesis, A History of Organized Labour in St. John, N.B., 1813-1890, p. 123, calls "an early, if not first, president of Local 85 (of the International Typographical Union)." This background suggests that he may have included some labour items in his publication. Some social historians argue that it was a labour paper because it reflected the nature of craft.

13. There is some evidence that at least four other labour papers were publishing between 1883 and 1886. The Palladium of Labor (Vol. 2, No. 32--Sept. 30, 1884--p. 7) ran the following item under the heading "The Winnipeg Labor Call.": "With kindly greeting THE PALLADIUM welcomes the Labor Call, published at Winnipeg, the first and second numbers having arrived last Monday. The Call is a neatly printed 'spicy' twenty column weekly, devoted to the interests of labor. Its matter is admirably selected, and its editorials pithy and pointed. We hope it will receive the support it deserves. The following extract from its Saturday edition will show our readers what manner of man is at the wheel: 'To scoundrels who rob and plunder all that come within their reach The Labor Call will prove a terror; to adventurers who come to this country to get rich by unscrupulous means, and then decamp with their plunder, The Labor Call will have a watchful eye, and to oppression and wrong in every shape and form, The Labor Call will prove a sure and swift answer. The Labor Call will be perfectly free and independent. It will be untrammelled by any party, either political or social; receives no bonus from any power or person, and will allow nothing to obscure its vision when justice and right demand its advocacy and support'."

--The Palladium of July 24, 1886 (Vol. 4, No. 28, p. 6), also made reference to a Vancouver paper in its 'Twixt Hammer and Anvil' column: "The workingmen's candidates in Vancouver were defeated, but the workers are not discouraged. Their organ claims a moral victory."

--A third weekly was mentioned in the June 19, 1886, Canadian Labor Reformer (Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 9) under the heading "Among Our Contemporaries": "The latest worker in the labor field is the Winnipeg Industrial News, 'devoted,' as the motto announces, to 'Fraternity, Co-operation and Labor.' The new paper is neatly printed, well written, and its selections are chosen with judgment. We confess the Industrial News is somewhat of a surprise to us, as we hardly thought the cause had taken sufficient root in Winnipeg to warrant such a venture, we are glad to find we were in error, and gladly welcome our brother into the ranks." A letter to me from the Manitoba Legislative Library, dated April 14, 1982, says the News started May 15, 1886 and stopped Sept. 28, 1887.

--The fourth Knights paper publishing in this period was the Victoria Industrial News, which Kealey says published between Dec. 26, 1885 and Dec. 18, 1886.

14. Kennedy, p. 45.

--The Palladium of Oct. 6, 1883, (Vol. 1, No. 39, p. 2) would not have agreed with Kennedy: "The success of the Palladium of Labor is a fertile source of trouble to those pigheads, who are opposed to all expression of free, untrammelled opinions."

--Kealey, Toronto Workers, p. 193, also seems to disagree with Kennedy's assessment of the Knights' journalism efforts: "Labour papers accompanied the Knights' successes all over North America, especially in Canada."

15. Palmer, p. 187.

16. Ibid, p. 186.

17. Ibid.

18. Palladium of Labor, April 11, 1885, Vol. 3, No. 13, p. 2.

19. Palmer, p. 187.

20. Ibid, p. 188

21. The potential readership was, of course, immense. As Logan's estimates suggest (Table III, p. 19), there were probably more than 1½ million workers. It is anybody's guess how many could read or find time to read, but no labour paper ever came close to making even a slight nick in that vast market of readers. Part of the problem may have been lack of adequate circulation, as Edward G. Salmon, "What the Working Classes Read," in Nineteenth Century (July-Dec. 1886) p. 116, suggests: "The chief difficulty about literature for the working classes is to reach them. If the literature were lying on their table they would often read, but they seldom sally forth into the highways and byways of the literary world to discover what they shall purchase. Beyond doubt they have become possessors of thousands of cheap volumes, but the working men and women of England do not number thousands, but millions, and it is matter for regret that, with the many means of disseminating among them the masterpieces of the English language, more energy is not exerted in bringing home to them the inherent attractions of Shakespeare, Scott, Marryat, Dickens, Lytton, Eliot. The working classes ready the Sunday newspaper as largely as they do because it is left at their door. What religious organisations have done in the distribution of tracts which the working classes do not read, surely some other organisation might do for the distribution of works of a wholesome character and of abiding interest which they would read."

22. Sender Garlin, John Swinton: American Radical (1829-1901) (New York, 1976) p. 1, provides more evidence of the lack of working-class support for labour papers. He quotes the New York Times obituary of the editor of John Swinton's Paper, from which Canadian labour papers often borrowed: "Shortly after his death seventy-five years ago, the New York Times reported that he had been 'the champion of the workingmen with voice and pen' and cited the many crusades he had led. Referring to the labor publication he founded and edited, John Swinton's Paper, the Times noted that 'he had been on the side of the masses, but his paper died for want of support by them.' And it added, in a spirit of self-congratulation, that 'the very class of people that Swinton tried to benefit neglected and frequently condemned him'." Garlin also notes that Swinton's family moved to Montreal when he was 14. "Shortly thereafter he began work as a printer's apprentice on the Montreal Witness, later becoming a journeyman printer, an occupation he followed until he became a newspaperman."

23. Palladium of Labor, June 20, 1885, Vol. 3, No. 23, p. 1.

24. The labour press called the anti-labour publications by various names. The Canadian Labour Reformer (Vol. 1, No. 41, Feb. 19, 1887, p. 4), for example, referred to the Week as "a stalwart hater of the labour movement." The Monetary Times was an "inveterate and implacable foe to the labor movement." The Palladium (Vol. 1, No. 39, Oct. 6, 1883, p. 2) joked that if the Week wasn't any better than the Bystander, it ought to be spelled "Weak." The Trades Union Advocate stamped the Monetary Times "the monopolist's organ" (Vol. 1, No. 2, May 11, 1882, p. 2).

--Ramsay Cook, "The Professor and the Prophet of Unrest," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, (Ottawa, 1975), pp. 227-250, provides a first-class analysis of the debates that ensued between intellectuals like Goldwin Smith and Phillips Thompson regarding the labour movement and social questions, such as women's suffrage which Smith opposed.

25. Kealey, Toronto Workers, p. 194, says "The presence of a labour press and of the new popular papers forced some of the established newspapers to rethink many of their attitudes, and even their space allocations. Thus the Globe invited (Daniel J.) O'Donoghue to contribute a weekly labour column."

--Kealey and Palmer, Dreaming, p. 302, note that labour reform editors "may well have been aided, as well as undermined" by popular evening dailies such as the News. "Even well established Grit organs like the London Advertiser and the Toronto Globe courted a working-class readership."

--Russell Hann, "Brainworkers and the Knights of Labor: E.E. Sheppard, Phillips Thompson, and the Toronto News, 1883-1887," Essays in Working Class History, (Toronto, 1976) p. 40.

--Desmond Morton, "The Globe and the Labour Question: Ontario Liberalism in the 'Great Upheaval'," Ontario History, Vol. LXXIII, No. 1, p. 24, says Cameron was "Born in Markham in 1843 of humble Scotch-Irish parents," served an apprenticeship in printing, and founded the London Advertiser in October 1863. His paper became a strong liberal voice in western Ontario, even rivaling the powerful Globe in that role. "For Cameron, (Knights leader Terence V.) Powderly and the Knights had an instinctive appeal. In London, the Advertiser became almost as much their organ as the Toronto News."

26. The Labor Union, Vol. 1, No. 4, Feb. 3, 1883, p. 1. The reference was to the Bobcaygeon Independent.

27. Canadian Labor Reformer, Vol. 1, No. 24, Oct. 23, 1886, p. 8.

--The labour papers themselves had harsher words for the commercial party press. A regular feature of all labour papers was the identifying of faults and biases in the daily press. The Palladium (Vol. 3, No. 37, Sept. 26, 1885, p. 1) for example, argued that "The monopoly press speak sneeringly of Labor papers 'catering for a faction.' The toiling masses who are systematically robbed by a handful of monopolists may be a 'faction,' but as they constitute nine-tenths of the people, we are satisfied to cast our lot with 'the faction'." The Reformer (Vol. 1, No. 14, Aug. 14, 1886, p. 5) argued that "One difference between the Labor press and the party organs is that the former feel at perfect liberty to say what they honestly think on all subjects, without waiting for anyone's permission, while the party hack must wait, open-mouthed, till some party boss deacons off the tune." The Labor Union (Vol. 1, No. 3, Jan. 27, 1883, P. 5) took a different tack: "Items appearing in the capitalistic press concerning strikes, can not often be relied on. When strikes are a success, such papers call them 'compromises', and when they are compromises, they are called 'defeats'."

28. Jesse Edgar Middleton, "Newspapers in Toronto," The Municipality of Toronto--A History (Toronto, 1923) p. 430. Middleton provides an account of the activities of various 1880s publications, among them Grip, Saturday Night, The Week, The Irish Canadian and other religious and ethnic papers, and numerous Toronto dailies.

29. Palladium, Vol. 3, No. 15, April 25, 1885, p. 4.

--Reformer (Vol. 1, No. 35, Jan. 8, 1887, p. 6) welcomed the arrival of another competitor, this one anti-religious. Secular Thought was a 12-page paper published by Charles Watts, a noted Toronto secularist. The Reformer noted, "As it professes to be, above all things, liberal, we may suppose it will be liberal on the labor question."

--Wallace, p. 389, argues that the religious press proved to have a less than sympathetic view of labour's involvement in social issues: "The Methodist Church showed some concern for early factory legislation, but opposed the movement for an eight hour day on the ground that the workers were not apt to make wise use of their leisure time. Religious articles of the eighteen-seventies and eighties for the most part condemned socialism, attacked strikes, and advocated cheap skilled labour as necessary to the well-being of society. Church papers openly stated their lack of faith in the endeavour to abolish poverty by acts of parliament. Accepting as axiomatic the statement that the poor we have with us always, they were inclined to deplore any encroachment by government upon the sphere of charity, still regarded at that time in many parts of English as well as of French-speaking Canada as the proper province of the church."

30. Palmer, p. 114, assesses the politics of The National and The Commonwealth.

31. Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor of America, Vol. IV. Commencing with the session at Richmond, Virginia, Oct. 4 to 20, 1886, p. 129.

32. Palladium, Vol. 4, No. 18, May 15, 1886, p. 2.

33. Palladium, Vol. 4, No. 20, May 29, 1886, p. 2.

34. Ibid, p. 6.

35. Palladium, Vol. 4, No. 24, June 26, 1886, p. 2.

36. Palladium, Vol. 4, No. 29, July 31, 1886, p. 2.

37. Palladium, Vol. 4, No. 33, Aug. 28, 1886, p. 2.

--The Record also got into trouble for failing to criticize the Ontario government's immigration policy in the same article that it criticized that of the federal government. As the Palladium (Vol. 4, No. 31, Aug. 14, 1886, p. 2) put it, "why does a paper professing to be published in the interest of Labor, make fish of one and flesh of the other administration in a case where both are so clearly to blame."

38. Palladium. Vol. 4, No. 34, Sept. 4, 1886, p. 2.

39. Reformer, Vol. 1, No. 18, Sept. 18, 1886, p. 5.

40. Reformer, Vol. 1, No. 23, Oct. 16, 1886, p. 3.

41. Ibid.

42. Kealey, Toronto Workers, p. 193.

43. Palladium. Vol. 3, No. 11, March 28, 1885, p. 1.

44. Kealey, Ibid.

--There is some further evidence that the Reformer might have survived as late as 1892, according to notes on microfilm held by the Ontario Archives in Toronto.

45. Kealey, Ibid.

46. Trades Union Advocate, Vol. 1, No. 26, Oct. 26, 1882, p. 2, notes that it had "hundreds of patrons" and "is appreciated by hundreds of readers."

47. Kealey uses this spelling in most references, but "Donovan" appears in other texts.

48. Unlike preceding labour papers, the Advocate used the British "our" spellings, rather than the American "or" common to many commercial publications in Canada, especially dailies.

49. Advocate, Vol. 1, No. 1, May 4, 1882, p. 2.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid, Vol. 1, No. 2, May 11, 1882, p. 2.

53. Ibid, Vol. 1, No. 16, Aug. 17, 1882, p. 2.

54. Ibid, Vol. 1, No. 14, Aug. 3, 1882, p. 2.

55. Ibid, Vol. 1, No. 21, Sept. 21, 1882, p. 2.

56. Ibid, Vol. 1, No. 33, Dec. 14, 1882, p. 3.

57. Wage-Worker, Vol. 1, No. 51, April 19, 1883, p. 6.
58. Ibid, Vol. 1, No. 49, April 5, 1883, p. 4.
59. Advocate, Vol. 1, No. 3, May 18, 1882, p. 2.
60. Ibid, Vol. 1, No. 7, June 15, 1882, p. 2.
61. Wage-Worker, Vol. 1, No. 48, March 29, 1883, p. 2.
62. Advocate, Vol. 1, No. 5, June 1, 1882, p. 2.
63. Ibid, Vol. 1, No. 8, June 22, 1882, p. 4.
64. Ibid, Vol. 1, No. 1, May 4, 1882, p. 2.
65. Ibid, Vol. 1, No. 26, Oct. 26, 1882, p. 2.
66. Wage-Worker, Vol. 1, No. 45, March 8, 1883, p. 2.
67. Ibid, Vol. 1, No. 46, March 15, 1883, p. 2.
68. Ibid, Vol. 1, No. 52, April 26, 1883, p. 4.
69. Kealey, Toronto Workers, p. 324, notes that Donovan did not play a significant role in labour affairs after the death of his paper.
70. The Palladium began as The Labor Union and ended as the Evening Palladium.
71. As The Labor Union, the subtitle was "A Weekly Journal Devoted to the Interests of All Classes of Labor." The Palladium called itself several other names in the masthead: "Canada's Journal of Organized Labor," "Official Organ of District 61 of the Knights of Labor," and "Official Organ of the Knights of Labor." The Evening Palladium was promoted as "The People's Paper."
72. The Labor Union began on Jan. 13, 1883, but only 14 issues are available. The first available issue of the Palladium is Vol. 1, No. 31, published on Aug. 11, 1883. The 20-issue gap is never explained in future issues, perhaps indicating that the issues are simply missing from library collections.
73. A Toronto edition was published for a brief period before being purchased by the Canadian Labor Reformer in 1886. It first published on Dec. 12, 1885, and was edited by W.H. Bews, according to Kealey, Toronto Workers, p. 240.
74. The Evening Palladium published daily, of course, but it is uncertain for how long. Dec. 20, 1886, Vol. 1, No. 7 is the last available issue. It is not mentioned in other

labour weeklies publishing in early 1887. This may indicate that the daily was short-lived, dying only a few weeks after it began.

75. The two-cent charge held for the Labor Union as well, but by 1885 both the Hamilton and Toronto editions had jumped to three cents. The Evening Palladium was a penny paper.

76. Palladium, Vol. 2, No. 9, April 12, 1884, p. 1, announces that the Palladium has become an official Knights paper published by the Co-operative Printing and Publishing Co. Rowe is "manager" instead of "publisher and proprietor" as before.

77. Labor Union, Vol. 1, No. 5, Feb. 13, 1883, p. 2. An affidavit is sworn by Rowe stating that "the circulation of this week's issue of THE LABOR UNION will be five thousand copies."

--Palladium, Vol. 1, No. 52, Jan. 5, 1884, p. 2, Rowe notes that "Of this number we issue little less than 7,000 copies..."

78. A journalist named George H. Taylor appeared with Rowe in the Palladium masthead for a short time in early issues. Palladium, Vol. 3, No. 24, June 27, 1885, p. 7, includes a note stating that Taylor "for some months in 1883 was editor and part proprietor" and that he was working for the Detroit Free Press.

79. Palladium, Vol. 4, No. 49, Dec. 18, 1886, appears to be the last weekly edition.

80. Palladium, Vol. 2, No. 25, Aug. 2, 1884, p. 2, An obituary on William Rowe, the editor's father, says he came from Cornwall, England, in 1866. The family spent two years in the United States, then moved to Hamilton in 1868. The father was in the "wool and commission business" in which he "met with fair success," with the firm of Berryman and Rowe. He died of "pulmonary consumption," leaving a wife, five daughters and William H.

81. Kealey, Toronto Workers, p. 279-280, says the Labor Advocate "was by far the most impressive." But he is referring only to Toronto labour papers.

82. Morden Lazarus, Up From the Ranks: Biographical Sketches of 115 Trade Union Leaders (Toronto 1977) does not mention Rowe.

83. Palmer, p. 191.

84. Palmer, p. 198.

85. Palladium, Vol. 3, No. 14, April 18, 1885, p. 7. An item entitled "The Criminal Libel" explains that Rowe has been arrested for allegedly libelling Falconer L. Harvey.

--Of course, editors being arrested was nothing new. As chapter 2 notes, many years have been spent behind bars over the centuries in the battle for a free press.

--Rowe's contemporary Robert Drummond, editor of the Trades Journal, also risked imprisonment, as noted in chapter 2.

86. Palladium, Vol. 1, No. 32, Aug. 18, 1883, p. 8.

87. Labor Union, Vol. 1, No. 1, Jan. 13, 1883, p. 1.

88. Phyllis Clarke, "The Politics of Labor: The Life and Times of Phillips Thompson" (unpublished paper written at the department of political science, University of Toronto, 1974) provides a short biography and analysis of Thompson's political thought.

89. Clark, p. 23, cites Phillips Thompson, The Labor Reform Songster, Journal of the Knights of Labor Print (Philadelphia 1892).

--Hann, Brainworkers, p. 39, provides numerous details of Thompson's career as a radical journalist.

90. Palladium, Vol. 1, No. 48, Dec. 8, 1883, p. 1.

91. Palladium, Vol. 2, No. 16, May 31, 1884, p. 1.

92. Palladium, Vol. 3, No. 27, July 18, 1885, p. 7. Under the headline "Baseball" it is noted that there were nine "Palladium employees." One of them may have written "Twist Hammer and Anvil. It was probably Thompson or Rowe, however.

93. Palladium, Vol. 2, No. 19, June 21, 1884, p. 1.

--Wayne Lennon, Striking the Balance--The Labour Press and the National Question in Ontario and the Maritimes 1872-1913 (Masters thesis, Carleton University 1981) found that "The general philosophy of the Palladium was pro-workman and anti-capitalist."

94. Palladium, Vol. 2, No. 24, July 26, 1884, p. 1.
95. Palladium, Vol. 2, No. 1, Jan. 12, 1884, p. 1.
96. Palladium, Vol. 2, No. 24, July 26, 1884, p. 2.
97. Palladium, Vol. 2, No. 9, April 12, 1884, p. 2.
98. Palladium, Vol. 2, No. 48, Jan. 10, 1885, p. 2.
99. Palladium, Vol. 1, No. 44, Nov. 10, 1883, p. 2.
100. Palladium, Vol. 4, No. 30, Aug. 7, 1886, p. 1.
101. Palladium, Vol. 4, No. 10, March 20, 1886, p. 7.
102. Palladium, Vol. 2, No. 15, May 24, 1884, p. 4.
103. Palladium, Vol. 4, No. 4, Feb. 6, 1886, p. 2.

--Upton Sinclair, The Jungle (New York, 1960, originally published by the author in 1906) includes an account of such employer abuses of young women workers.

104. Palladium, Vol. 3, No. 22, June 13, 1885, p. 1.
105. Palladium, Vol. 4, No. 10, March 20, 1886, p. 1.
106. Palladium, Vol. 4, No. 18, May 15, 1886, p. 1.
107. Palladium, Vol. 2, No. 31, Sept. 13, 1884, p. 2.
108. Palladium, Vol. 2, No. 36, Oct. 18, 1884, p. 1.
109. Palladium, Vol. 4, No. 29, July 31, 1886, p. 6.
110. Palladium, Vol. 4, No. 31, Aug. 14, 1886, p. 1.
111. Palladium, Vol. 4, No. 32, Aug. 21, 1886, p. 4.
112. Palladium, Vol. 2, No. 44, Dec. 13, 1884, p. 8.
113. Palladium, Vol. 1, No. 47, Dec. 1, 1883, p. 1.
114. Palladium, Vol. 3, No. 28, July 25, 1885, p. 2, "The anti-Chinese bill,...has at length become law....It imposes a tax of \$50 on each Chinese laborer landed in Canada, and further provides that the number of Chinamen brought by any vessel shall not exceed one to every fifty tons burden of the ship."

115. Palladium, Vol. 3, No. 1, Jan. 17, 1885, p. 2.

116. Palladium, Vol. 1, No. 31, Aug. 31, 1883, p. 2.

117. Palmer, pp. 190-191.

118. Right from his Labor Union days, Rowe had talked of starting a daily. Then it was called the Daily Union. He finally realized his dream in December 1886, but it was an apparently short-lived venture.

119. Evening Palladium, Vol. 1, No. 7, Dec. 20, 1886, p. 2.

--Though the Evening Palladium only survived a short time, it was impressive in that it preceded Britain's first daily labour paper by about 25 years. Stanley Harrison, Poor Man's Guardians (London 1974) p. 173, notes that the Daily Herald, founded in 1911, was "the first working-class daily newspaper" in Britain. The Warwick Guide to British labour papers does not indicate whether the Herald was the first.

120. R.L. Simpson and R. Kingsmill were managers of the Reformer, according to the introductory notes to Ontario Archives microfilm 220. The notes were made by Bill Cooper, the newspaper archivist.

--The Reformer was published by the Labor Publishing Association.

121. Reformer, Vol. 1, No. 12, July 31, 1886, p. 3. "Not only have all the old Toronto subscribers to the Palladium of Labor--whose Toronto edition we purchased--remained with us, but their number has been far more than doubled."

122. Cooper's notes suggest that the Reformer published as late as 1892. Kealey, Toronto Workers, p. 193, says the paper failed in 1888 and made a short comeback in 1889 under the editorship of Phillips Thompson.

123. There is only one available issue of the Labor Record. From it emerges the following rough image of its social role. It began on May 1, 1886, edited by O'Donoghue and published by the Co-operative Printing and Publishing Co. It was a six-column tabloid issued weekly on Fridays. It cost \$1 a year. Ads cost 10 cents a line. The opening editorial promised: "In the earnest and honest pursuit of its mission THE LABOR RECORD will ever be found doing battle for the cause of justice and humanity. While aiming to educate, it will at the same time be a truthful index of the views of organized labor on all questions affecting the public welfare, whether of a moral, social, political or municipal character."

124. There are only three available issues of the Courier. From them emerges the following rough image of its social roots. It began on May 12, 1886, edited by Wrigley and published by the Courier Company, Printers and Publishers. A partnership with Arthur Godfrey Mortimer was dissolved, according to a note published in the Courier on June 15, 1886. It was a five-column broadsheet or oversized tabloid issued weekly on Thursday mornings. It cost \$1 a year. "Organized Labor is the Bulwark of the Nation," was its subtitle and Wrigley believed that "labor, and especially that organized labor, should have an equal show with the capital." The Courier advocated "that unjust monopoly should cease to exist," and that "co-operation, arbitration, agitation, organization and education" were all routes to social reform. Wrigley would be "ready at all times to champion the rights of the labor classes, without regard to sex, color, religion or nationality." (Vol. 1, No. 5, June 15, 1886, from a partial issue with no page indicated.) Co-operation and labour representation in politics seem to have been the main areas of coverage.

125. Reformer, Vol. 1, No. 5, June 12, 1886, p. 7.

126. Kealey, Toronto Workers, p. 231, quoting a letter dated March 17, 1884, found in the Macdonald Papers.

127. Kealey, Ibid, p. 163, refers to Wright as "even the opportunist." Palmer, p. 186, reports that Wright "often used his position to fill his own pocket" and that he "was an extremely complex personality, and much of his sordid dealings occurred after the Order had reached a stage of serious decline."

128. Kealey, Ibid, p. 167, notes that The Commonwealth only published for the length of Wright's campaign in a West Toronto riding in 1880.

129. Reformer, Vol. 1, No. 30, Dec. 4, 1886, p. 5, announced that "On Wednesday last Mr. A.W. Wright of The Labor Reformer was unanimously nominated by the Knights of West Lambton, assembled in convention, as their candidate for the Local Legislature."

129. Reformer, Vol. 1, No. 1, May 15, 1886, p. 1.

130. Ibid.

131. Reformer, Vol. 1, No. 14, Aug. 14, 1886, p. 4.
132. Reformer, Vol. 1, No. 15, Aug. 21, 1886, p. 4.
133. Reformer, Vol. 1, No. 36, Jan. 15, 1887, p. 5.
134. Reformer, Vol. 1, No. 18, Sept. 18, 1886, p. 3.
135. Reformer, Vol. 1, No. 12, July 31, 1886, p. 7.
136. Reformer, Vol. 1, No. 38, Jan. 29, 1887, p. 1.
137. Reformer, Vol. 1, No. 5, June 12, 1886, p. 5.
138. Reformer, Vol. 1, No. 22, Oct. 9, 1886, p. 6.
139. Reformer, Vol. 1, No. 1, May 15, 1886, p. 7.
140. Reformer, Vol. 1, No. 17, Sept. 4, 1886, p. 7.
141. Kealey, Toronto Workers, p. 193.
142. Trades Union Advocate, Vol. 1, No. 50, April 12, 1883, p. 8.

CHAPTER 5

Labour's Socialist Voice

The 1890s was a vintage epoch for the English-language Canadian labour press in its role of social advocate.¹ But in a sense it was also the last hurrah for this feisty breed of independent weekly journal. For as Canada moved to claim the 20th century for its own, these recorders of the labour movement's social role would be transformed into something quite different.

The Knights of Labor had captured the imagination of Canadian workers in the 1880s and carried the new spirit of the labour movement limping into the 1890s. Though bruised and battered from internal squabbles and vigorous competition for a limited and largely unsupportive working-class readership, Knights-inspired journalists resurfaced in the 1890s at the helms of some of the finest labour papers ever published. But the revival would be short-lived, for with the new decade came increasingly harsh social conditions calling for a vision of change that the Knights could no longer deliver. Crippled by a public image as violent anarchists (the movement had been blamed, some say wrongly, for the Haymarket Riot in Chicago in 1886), the once-powerful order was impotent.

The Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital reported some improvements in conditions as the decade of the 1880s ended. But to labour activists and social reformers--former Knights and rival labour journalists like Joe Marks, Phillips Thompson, A.W. Wright and George Wrigley--the commission's report pointed up more clearly and more significantly than ever how much still had to be done as Canada industrialized.

Historian Greg Kealey describes the situation as the 1890s commenced:

The confrontation between pre-industrial and industrial modes of working and of living is one key issue in the development of a factory system. Resistance of skilled artisans to the incursions of the factory and the recalcitrance of agrarians when confronted with industrial discipline make the process of industrialization harsh and relentless. The men and women, fresh from Canadian farms and Old World fields, did not adjust easily to the new discipline of machines and factories. Female and child labor, long hours, horrible working conditions, and low wages were additional companions of Canadian industrialization.²

The labour commission made several recommendations regarding the use of child labour, living and working conditions, educational standards and facilities, shorter work hours, etc.³ But Thompson, editor of the Toronto Labor Advocate, the last of the Knights papers, argued that "None of the suggestions of the commission have been put on the statute books, and the money laid out on this expensive job was worse than wasted, in as much as it was made the means of giving a soft job to a few political heelers in return for their influence at elections."⁴

Adding fuel to the social reform flame was the advent of muckraking to expose the evils of industry. In the United States, journalists like Ray Stannard Baker, Upton Sinclair, Ida Tarbell, and Lincoln Steffens wrote about corporate corruption, horrifying social conditions and inactive governments. They published in magazines like McClure's, Arena and the Appeal to Reason.⁵ All were read by Canadian labour journalists and they undoubtedly influenced men like Toronto's J.J. Kelso, founder of the Children's Aid Society, and Montreal's Herbert Brown Ames, who wrote well-researched and, at the time, shocking accounts of what life was like for the industrial classes. In The City Below the Hill, Ames describes parts of Montreal in the 1890s:

The local death rate is the accepted test, here and elsewhere, of the extent of deficiency that may exist in the matter of home conditions and surroundings. After what we have learned by comparison, we are not surprised to find that the death rate in the city above is 12 to the thousand, the rate in the city below is 22½ to the thousand. In more than half the cases the victims are little children. About one-fifth of the deaths in 1895 were due to typhoid and diphtheria. Certain localities below the hill show symptoms indeed alarming. Between Versailles street and Chaboillez square is a region with a death rate of 40 per thousand. This is the city birth rate. It means that here as much life is consumed as is produced.⁶

In The Social Development of Canada, S.D. Clark confirms that similar conditions existed in other industrial centres. Quoting one early account of "The Slum in Toronto," he noted that "there is a lack of proper sanitary conditions--one out-door closet for dozens of men, women and children. It is simply disgraceful. Then looking out you

can see the garbage piled up as high as the window. Nauseating odors and sights on every hand. How can children grow up decently in homes like these!"⁷

The labour movement in the 1890s, then, was confronted with these realities, and its press was charged with the task of disseminating the various solutions proposed by reformers. Of course, it was not the only movement concerned about the devastating changes wrought by rapid development. The temperance movement, farmers, the church and various proponents of socialism were all engaged in the debate, and all had their separate publications. All agreed on the seriousness of the problem, and occasionally alliances were struck between labour and one or more of these other movements. But by and large they were short-lived, usually ripped apart by sectarian arguments or personality clashes. Socialism, in particular, had become a focal point of disagreement among most groups.

What social historian Bryan Palmer describes as "the persistence of social inequality, exploitation, and oppression into the 1890s,"⁸ led many labour reformers to embrace one socialist doctrine or another as the only remaining solution. And though, according to labour historian Desmond Morton, "socialism had a meagre appeal for Canadian labour in the 1890s,"⁹ labour journals packed their pages with socialist addresses and debates.

Ivan Avakumovic suggests in Socialism in Canada that "only a minority of workers displayed any sustained interest in public affairs and socialist agitation" in the 1890s. He adds that the lack of interest was due to long, arduous work days and the fact that most of the "immigrants and native Canadians who moved to the West were busy settling down in new surroundings."¹⁰ Yet some of the most heated socialist debate took place in the west, and in many cases the ideas were brought to the new land by immigrants who had been taught Marxist principles. Indeed, it was in British Columbia that the hottest debates took place, according to A. Ross McCormack in Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries: The Western Canadian Radical Movement. He notes that "The conditions of western Canadian society were conducive to the growth of radicalism,"¹¹ and that "Socialist propaganda found its most eager audience among miners in British Columbia and Alberta and among low-status eastern European workers."¹²

Much of this propaganda was to be found in the labour press, partly because of the developing rift in the Dominion Trades and Labour Congress (formed in 1883) between western socialists and eastern labourites. (The rift would eventually develop into a full-fledged war between the labour reformers who supported American Federation of Labour president Samuel Compers' pure and simple unionism, which seemed to harken back to the old producer ideology of the 1870s, and those who espoused the socialism of such organizations as the Western Federation of Miners and the

Industrial Workers of the World, the famed Wobblies.) But there were other rifts as well, such as that between Christian socialists and those of the Marxist or scientific persuasion, or between democratic socialists and the nascent social democrats.

Newspapers like the Industrial Banner in London, Ont., Citizen and Country in Toronto, Winnipeg's Voice and the B.C. Workman all engaged in the socialism debate. They published reports on socialistic communes like the Ruskin colony in B.C.; showed an interest in the communal lifestyle of the Doukhobors, a pacifist religious sect which had emigrated from Russia; and paid more than passing attention to the emerging social gospel. Citizen and Country, edited by long-time radical labour journalist George Wrigley, a founder of the Canadian Socialist League, eventually became the official organ of Christian socialism and later the Socialist Party of Canada. Voice editor Arthur W. Puttee was an active Unitarian who strongly supported the social gospel and labour church concepts in his paper.¹³

But it was not all praise from the labour press. Many editors chastised the church for not paying more attention to the plight of the poor. They chided it for not supporting the labour movement in its attempts to improve social conditions, and for not encouraging their folds to join in labour's aspiration to form a political party. Out of this

early debate grew the ideas of men like William Ivens, founder of labour churches in Canada, and J.S. Woodsworth, first leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation.¹⁴

Politics and its role in Canada's social development was clearly the all-consuming passion of the labour press in the 1890s, whether it was socialism, independent labour parties, municipal labour candidates or alliances between farmers' groups, like the Patrons of Industry, and labour. It was in this arena that its voice was heard loudest and where it received its fiercest criticism.

In constant competition with each other to see who could whip the commercial press hardest for what was considered shamefully inadequate and downright biased coverage of labour and social issues, the labour journals also came in for the odd trouncing.¹⁵ Often it was at the hands of men like Goldwin Smith, an outspoken commentator in journals like the Bystander (later the Week),¹⁶ or J.G. Carter Troop, editor of the Trinity University Review in Toronto. Under the heading "Labour Journalism," Troop editorialized that "If labouring people derive their notions of things, social and political, from the labour journals received by us it is not much to be wondered at if envy and malice and all uncharitableness should be found smouldering in the breasts of the labourers."¹⁷

Neither was there any wonder that certain segments of the establishment or status quo were upset with the labour press. As Jane Elizabeth Masters points out in her thesis on labour press opinion,

By 1890 Canadian labour opinion had reached a far more radical stage than at any previous time. Few social institutions escaped the scrutiny of the labour press. Labour newspapers no longer merely demanded justice for workingmen within the established structure of society. Instead, the cry of the 1890s was for complete change in the entire social system. The paradox of the working-class viewpoint was that labour combined a radical stand in opinion and theory with a moderate position in practical politics.¹⁸

Modern-day critics of the 19th-century labour press argue that they had little influence on the social affairs of Canada. John David Bell, for example, states in his thesis on "The Social and Political Thought of the Labor Advocate," that "Labor periodicals in Victorian Canada were few and ephemeral. Their circulation was confined to a small coterie of labor activists, and they were usually on the verge of financial collapse."¹⁹ Kealey and Palmer agree in part, but add the human element to their assessment of the social value of the labour press:

Providing much of the test of instruction was a handful of committed publishers/editors. Often themselves practical printers, these men struggled through the 1880s and 1890s, working into the early morning hours to put out their weekly journals....Always on the brink of financial ruin, such newspapers kept afloat during these years only by dint of extraordinary effort, personal perseverance and occasional support from a long-established trade union.²⁰

About 15 of these journals were publishing in Canada in the 1890s, all with circulations ranging from 1,000 to about 5,000. Few survived more than a year or two, although some continued well into the next century, often under different names. All were at least endorsed by an official labour body, but little financial support seems to have been offered.

Nevertheless, the labour press played a significant role in providing labour and social reform advocates with a forum for discussion and debate of social issues and sweeping solutions to society's problems. As Kealey and Palmer write,

the men who kept them (the journals) going were often ill-tempered, and indiscriminately combative, as with Hamilton's William H. Rowe or St. Thomas' George Wrigley, or constantly manoeuvring to attain economic ends, like the notorious but resourceful A.W. Wright. But whatever their personal idiosyncracies these men attempted to move the class beyond economism, striving "to take a broader and more comprehensive view of the entire subject of Labor Reform than is embodied in mere unionism, and to grasp and apply those great underlying principles of equity and justice between men which alone can permanently and satisfactorily solve the issues between labour and Capital". 21

They were also the working papers of an intellectual radicalism which laid the groundwork in many cases for future social legislation and a lasting third-party political system. The following five profiles of labour journals of the period illustrate the role they played in keeping these issues in the public eye.

PROFILES

The Echo

Subtitle: "A Journal for the Progressive Workman, and Family Newspaper."

First issue: Oct. 4, 1890, after publishing briefly as 'a Montreal Herald strike paper in the spring (beginning May 20).²²

Place: Montreal.

Frequency: Weekly on Saturdays.

Format: Eight-page tabloid, five columns.

Cost per issue: Three cents (\$1 a year).

Ad cost and ratio: 10 cents a line; 30% ads:70% editorial

Union affiliation: Endorsed by the Dominion Trades and Labour Congress and the Central Trades and Labour Council of Montreal.²³

Circulation: Uncertain.

Editor: David Taylor.²⁴

Publisher: The Echo Printing and Publishing Co.

Last issue: Exact date is uncertain.²⁵ However, at an 1893 Dominion TFC executive meeting, the president "deplored the disappearance of the Montreal Echo, because of lack of interest."²⁶

Although labour papers had existed in French Canada from at least the 1850s when Le peuple travailleur was publishing, few English-language journals appeared before the Montreal Echo.²⁷ There is mention of the Northern Journal published in Montreal in the early 1870s,²⁸ and the Canadian Workman (1888) was short-lived Montreal Knights paper.²⁹ But it appears that the Echo was the first sustained attempt to "advocate all measures having for their object the advancement and elevation of the working classes."³⁰ It was also the first labour journal to publish in the 1890s.

Though not explicitly a Knights paper, the Echo continued to carry many of the old torches held high by journals published in the heyday of Knights' social reform activity during the 1880s. Women workers, child labour, shorter hours, the single tax, labour representation in politics were all given plenty of column space in the Montreal paper. But there was also an evident shift in editorial emphasis to new social concerns and new solutions.

Talk of socialism, the social role of the church and independent socialist labour parties filled the pages of the Echo, marking a tightening of the lines between labour and capital. Behind the scenes, the labour movement was slowly edging towards a kind of civil war between reformers and radicals. The Echo reflected the coming storm by its coverage of the socialist debates raging in Europe and America, while continuing to issue calls for the old social

panaceas (co-operation, temperance, anti-Chinese immigration) though devoting less and less editorial space to such issues.

Clearly, the Echo helped set the stage for the final exit of the labour movement from the old producer ideology of the mercantile capitalist era and aided its entry into the new industrial capitalist economy which was quickly emerging.

"The publishers of The Echo belong to the class to whom they especially appeal for support--the workingmen," wrote David Taylor in his opening editorial. "Knowing many wrongs under which our working population suffer, we shall be able to hold them up to public view and demand their redress, nor rest satisfied till this is accomplished."³¹

Inviting 'correspondence "on all social and political questions,"³² Taylor ensured that readers would have something to comment on by publishing provocative opinions in columns like "The Social Problem" and "Our Boarding House." Reminiscent of the earlier writings of Enjolras in the Palladium of Labor, these were imaginative ways of bringing workers up to date on the latest views of labour luminaries such as Cyrille Horsiot, the Echo's resident social philosopher.

A committed socialist, Horsiot produced pages of material on "The Morality of the Capitalistic System of Industry," as one headline put it. And, like Phillips Thompson and others, he also wrote songs and poetry for the

working classes, some of which inevitably found its way into the Echo. But regardless of the form his writing took and regardless of the subject, capitalism was always his main target. On health and safety in the workplace, he wrote,

It is frightful to see the death of scores of men on duty in the mines, railways, buildings, at sea, and everywhere; some entombed full of life, others crushed to jelly or scalded, while others are drowned like rats in a pit or burned alive as the Saracens of Spain were in the good old time. But it is more frightful to be a witness of the moral death of thousands everyday the year round; the death, when the body so odiously continues to walk, to lead, and to move its mechanical existence, while there is already no more spirit, no manhood in this useless being. How many deaths are occurring day by day caused by the saw mill of human spirit, bones and flesh, which is called capitalism? ³³

In somewhat less inspired language, "Our Boarding House" also spoke out on the health issue, arguing that "It is time that these corporations (in this case railways) are taught that human lives are of greater importance than the dollars and cents; it is time that they are taught that citizens have rights which they must respect."³⁴ The Echo would also offer advice and cures for everything from smoking and an overworked brain to cancer. In one issue, hard-working students were encouraged to avoid "unstrung nerves, insomnia, dispepsia or indigestion" by taking "Paine's Celery Compound."³⁵ It was the type of advertisement Labour press readers had become used to over the years.

Another social issue that raised the ire of Echo writers was the plight of the elderly. One article spoke of "an aged couple, 60 and 70 years respectively," who

"committed suicide together because they were to be turned out of house and home for non-payment of rent."³⁶ On the related matter of housing, the Echo called for a "general clearing out of the unsanitary dens which infest the eastern and central portions of the city, and the erection in their stead of tenement houses of moderate rental constructed on modern sanitary principles."³⁷

Child labour continued to be a major social concern in the early 1890s, and the Echo's Horsiot led the way in exposing and criticising it: "in factories, where labor-saving machinery has reached its most perfect and wonderful development, little children (are) debarred from their legitimate and only inheritance--the school."³⁸ Here Horsiot raises the education question and hints at the evils of new technology, both popular topics in the 19th-century labour press.

Also popular, but much less gallant on the part of the labour press, was the stand taken against Chinese immigrants. Racist remarks had long been an unseemly trademark of labour journals, but occasionally a writer would attempt to put the question into larger perspective. The Echo handled the story in a fashion typical of future papers which would embrace socialism as the only cause: "The delegates of the Congress recognize fully the right to life inherent in every man, but they also understand that capitalism is continually encroaching upon this right and

that the importation of Chinese and cheap pauper labor is but another move on the part of capital to make labor more dependent and submissive."³⁹

Women, too, came in for some criticism for displacing male workers. But more often than not, as in the past, the labour press came to their defence whether they were fighting for the right to organize or for equal pay for equal work. One progressive-minded commentator wrote that "Women are the greatest sufferers from low wages. The cruelest feature of the wage situation is that women standing side by side with men in the same shops and stores are paid far less wages for the same work. This is an aristocracy of sex that shames and belies all our claims to democracy."⁴⁰ Another writer described the life of a female factory worker:

She worked all day in the cloak factory. Stitch, stitch, stitch, all day, until her eyes smarted and her fingers were weary. Every day and every day just the same, and only \$4 a week. At night she went home to a small, poor room, to a frugal supper, to her lonely thoughts and her hard-earned slumbers.⁴¹

Still, the view that women were standing in the way of the advancement of men won almost equal space in the Echo. This hard-line comment brought numerous letters to the editor: "considering the place woman occupies in the world, having to watch and guide the early footsteps of man, and teach him during his tender years, his duties in life and, in fact, help very materially in forming his character, and prepare him for the coming struggle--I would suggest, in view of

these facts, that, as a national and social measure, female labor in the workshop be abolished by Act of parliament. Let man be monarch in the field of labor, and revered in his house, and let women do her share of life's duties apportioned to her by Providence."⁴²

The solutions to these social problems were numerous and varied. Some, like better education, shorter work hours, co-ops and temperance, had been repeated in labour papers for decades. In the old days, each of these had been seen as a complete solution in itself. A nine-hour day, for example, would provide the worker with more time to educate himself, spend with his family and improve living conditions. In the 1890s, an eight-hour day was the issue, but it alone would not bring the solution to social problems. It had to be combined with other methods, and social reform movements had to form coalitions to bring about a new society. Writing on temperance, "Our Boarding House" noted that

No man can rightly call himself a labor reformer who is not in favor of restricting or abolishing the liquor traffic, and I know that the temperance movement is not so narrow-gauged but what its members realize the necessity of enacting laws such as would more fully protect the interests of labor.⁴³

The 1890s brought new solutions, too. Profit sharing, for example, received much more coverage in the Echo than it had in most earlier papers. Land nationalization, the single tax and anti-monopoly, which had often been proposed in editorials, now took on a new urgency. "With the establishment of the single tax," suggested one article,

"land monopoly would disappear, and the power of the few to levy blackmail on the many would be destroyed."⁴⁴ The need to organize into unions was also becoming a more intense subject. And the church was occupying more and more space in the Echo, a sign that the domaine of welfare and charity, once the exclusive mandate of organized religion, could possibly be shared with organized labour. Still, a coalition of the two social forces was by no means right around the corner, as articles like "The Gap Between Labor and the Church" showed: "The reason the workingman does not attend church is that the capitalist, as a rule, is a man who goes to church; and the relations between them and their employees are not so cordial during the six days of the week as to make the workman wish to be anywhere near them on the seventh."⁴⁵

Of course, for some labour and social reformers of the period, all of these solutions combined would still fall far short without political power, preferably socialist in nature. Vital public protections through social insurance, an end to patronage, the abolition of the Senate, and equality for all would come only through socialism. Cyrille Horsiot epitomized this view in "How to Acquire Our Freedom":

Socialism--and by this I mean the theory of a co-operative commonwealth--has not only itself a large following in North America, but its influence has been felt in every labor organization. Indeed, there is no bona-fide labor movement existing without some expression of socialism in its platform or principles. The theory of force in reform movements is neither new nor without

creditable precedents, and it is also true that many workingmen to-day value life at its minimum when indissolubly wedded to incessant toil for the merest pittance upon which life can be sustained.

But it must also be remembered that when violent attempts at revolution fail, greater despotism results; if the wage-slave succeeds not in breaking his fetters, he draws the halter tighter round his neck. An appeal to the ballot in a country where the ballot can be used as effectively, if used intelligently, is an acknowledgement on the part of revolutionists that they are in a hopeless minority, for when workingmen are too stupid or too ignorant to vote for their rights instead of parties, they are certainly too cowardly to fight for them.⁴⁶

Again, "Our Boarding House" put it less eloquently but more succinctly: "Female labor, pauper and contract labor, shorter hours, lien and factory acts, land and money reform, and all the thousand and one things demanded won't settle it unless you legislate rent, profit, and interest out of existence, by forming a gigantic combine of the people, by the people, and for the people."⁴⁷

Such was the view of the labour press at the opening of the 1890s, a view no man had done more to develop than T. Phillips Thompson. The Echo described the Labor Advocate editor as "a sterling labor reformer, whose name is a guarantee of the excellence of the paper and its thorough independence."⁴⁸

The Labor Advocate

Subtitle: "We Demand All the Reform that Justice Can Ask for, and All the Justice that Reform Can Give." (Masthead: "A Weekly Labor Reform Newspaper.")

hoped that what started out "purely as a business enterprize"⁸⁰ would take off, allowing him more time to pursue his political interests. When it did not, he sometimes turned on the very class he was attempting to serve.

The capitalist press denounces Labor Reform and singles out its active leaders for virulent, spiteful abuse. Does he (the workingman) stand by the man under fire and write to the editor telling him what a despicable intellectual prostitute he is? Does he then and there quit taking the paper? Oh, dear no! He keeps right on subscribing for it all the same. He never kicks at anything he reads in a paper, unless it happens to be a labor paper and then doesn't he raise an everlasting racket if anything appears that he does not altogether agree with? ⁸¹

When the Advocate had to close "because it does not pay expenses,"⁸² some, like the popular columnist Ben,⁸³ said "The Church, aided by the indifference of the labor men, has crushed the paper."⁸⁴ Thompson was even more direct: "It is much to be regretted that the wage-earners are so stupidly blind to their own interests that they cannot see the advantage of having a live outspoken journal to plead their cause."⁸⁵

Later observers, with the benefit of 100 years of hindsight, would argue that the Advocate's failure was as much due to Thompson's individual style and political expression as to the absence of labour support. As Wayne Lennon suggests, Thompson's views were "probably not acceptable to most of his workers and this may help explain the short life of the Advocate."⁸⁶

radical republicanism, to land and currency reform, to Bellanyite nationalism, to 'class-conscious' socialism."⁵⁴

The Advocate was no less than Thompson's personal podium for social reform, his journalistic battering ram for the causes he had associated himself with through almost 30 years of writing. Bell writes that "if the Labor Advocate's stance on immediate issues almost invariably reflected that of the Toronto Trades and Labor Council, its frequent and extensive excursions into the broader and more abstract questions of social and political philosophy expressed the unorthodox views of Thompson himself, and not those of the more conservative labor movement."⁵⁵

But the Advocate represented more than Thompson's private diary. It was also a turning point for labour's political evolution. As "Canada's foremost late nineteenth-century labour intellectual,"⁵⁶ Thompson was instrumental in steering labour towards socialism in the 1890s, and the Advocate was his tool for doing so. Indeed, through his "inspiring and enthusiastic editorship," he "made a determined attempt to instill into the minds of the workmen that 'Socialism' alone was the solution of the labor problem."⁵⁷ As Bell observed, "the originality of the Labor Advocate's thought and its contribution to the development of the ideology of Canadian radicalism lay primarily in the completeness of its rejection of capitalism and economic individualism, and in its unprecedented exposition of an avowedly Socialist dogma."⁵⁸

For Thompson, this had become the sole goal of his years of political development as a labour journalist. As he noted in the epitaph to his paper, "If the Labor Advocate has done something to prepare the more receptive minds among its readers for this inevitable change, and to show that in socialism alone can be found the solution of the problem, our existence will not have been in vain."⁵⁹

In its brief 10-month publishing life, the Advocate took on many of the social causes of earlier papers. And though all previous solutions would ultimately be washed away by the high tide of socialism as the final solution, Thompson provided his readers with much to consider in the way of social issues.

Trained as a lawyer, Thompson took up journalism before he had a chance to practice. After working for various newspapers in southern Ontario, he tried his hand at humour under the pen-name Jimuel Briggs. The experience sharpened his political wit, thus preparing him for a somewhat turbulent career as one of the fathers of radical Canadian journalism. In 1874, he co-founded The National, a political and economic journal which served up propaganda for Sir John A. Macdonald's National Policy and was sympathetic to the Canada First movement. "Thompson's editorials in The National represent an unexplored aspect of the 'Canada First' ideology," writes Ramsay Cook:

From the outset his intention appears to have been to support William Foster, Goldwin Smith, W.F. Howland, and the other Canada Firsters who established The Nation. 'The utterances of The

National will be characterized by snap and spice-vim and vigor,' Thompson announced in the first issue. 'Untrammelled by journalistic conventionalities and bound by no slavish deference to English or American models it seeks to promote the growth of a healthy, indigenous Canadian literature, racy of soil, and reflecting Canadian sentiment.' 60

But as noted earlier, by the 1880s Thompson had broken with the Canada Firsters, who opposed trade unionism, and become a prolific advocate of labour's cause, contributing endless pages of "often strident and sensational journalism"⁶¹ to several Knights of Labor papers, most notably the Palladium of Labor.

Such a lengthy and varied career gave Thompson a seasoned eye for social injustice. And with it he led readers of the Advocate through a maze of inequities in the early 1890s. As he stated in his opening editorial,

Realizing that the monopoly of land, capital and the means of exchange and transportation is the cause of the poverty of the masses, the Labor Advocate will keep steadfastly in view the need of abolishing monopoly in all its forms, and asserting the right of the workers to control for their own benefit all the opportunities and requisites for production. At the same time it will strenuously urge such temporary and partial reforms as are likely in some degree to better the lot of the toiler and to lead up to more radical measures in the future. 62

Poverty, then, was the foremost social inequity in Thompson's eyes, and it was the result of the "modern competitive system."⁶³ He analyzed the situation this way:

The difference between the labor movement as we know it and similar agitations of the past is simply this. In old times the workingman simply knew that he was poor while others were rich. Now he knows that he is poor because others are rich.

Then he thought the social inequalities were due to chance or the mysterious ways of Providence. Now he knows that they are caused by robbery and injustice. ⁶⁴

Unlike its contemporary, the Montreal Echo, the Advocate took a less equivocal stand on women workers, probably in part due to Thompson's women's page editor Mrs. E. Day MacPherson. In the column "Casual Comments," "Ben" writes that "Women should receive, in all cases where similar work is done, the same wages as are paid to men; anything less than this is injustice." ⁶⁵ And on women's rights:

All along the lines good women are working to clear a place for themselves as more active participants in the public affairs of the nation....They agitate the subject of social reform by claiming a place in public functions, and are striving their utmost to regenerate the woman of to-day into a creature who shall have all the rights and responsibilities that hitherto have belonged to man. ⁶⁶

Child labour was another social issue on which no labour editor could avoid commenting, least of all the crusading Thompson. Noting that Quebec had passed amendments to its Factory Act "which will remedy some of the most glaring evils of child labor," he gave credit to the "persistent agitation carried on by the labor organizations of Quebec." ⁶⁷ Housing shortages, health and safety, and the problems faced by the aged were also frequently covered in the Advocate. ⁶⁸

As noted above, socialism was the only real solution for Thompson, but as implied in his opening editorial, he saw some value in the various social reforms perennially

touted by labour. Education, for example, was a regular issue. One front-page cartoon (a rarity in the labour press up to this point) sported the caption, "When we get free books, we'll have real free schools, but not before."⁶⁹ The single tax, too, found a regular place because it was "doing excellent work in breaking ground for Socialism, by causing people to think of the evils begotten by land monopoly and the way to remedy them."⁷⁰ Temperance, shorter hours and social insurance were also viewed as partial measures. In an article entitled "Martyrs of Labor," for example, Richard Lewis of Toronto writes,

with such perils (mining disasters) surrounding the workman, the state should levy an insurance tax out of the profits (of mine owners), making ample provision for the families of the brave men who are killed in the discharge of duties as necessary to the safety of the nation as armies. The owners could well afford to pay that special tax.⁷¹

Of course, none of these measures held much real meaning for Thompson, a man convinced that "The approaching revolution will probably be one of violence."⁷²

In his attempts to put labour issues into a larger social context, the Advocate editor relished any debate involving the church and the political system. He had, after all, cut his debating teeth on the subject by taking on Goldwin Smith's view that "religion was the cement of social order."⁷³ In the Advocate, he was aided by another frequent contributor to the religion debate, clergyman Hugh O. Pentecost, who presented this rather enlightened view: "Nearer and nearer comes the day when the present popular

idols will be smashed, when God will have better ones, when the State will give place to society without rules and without slaves, when guns shall be beaten into table knives and swords into paper cutters, and when policemen's clubs shall be whittled into jackstraws."⁷⁴

Clearly, the early signs of the social gospel were to be found here, with a healthy hint of anarchism. Thompson, himself claimed that his socialism was bolstered by theosophy, an unorthodox religion made popular among Bellamyite socialists by reformers such as Annie Besant whom Thompson much admired. As for the orthodox church, however, it found itself harshly criticised in the Advocate for failing to sympathize with the poor and the labour movement which was pledged to help them.

Like its predecessors, who saw the need to bring about social reforms through direct legislation (referenda and plebiscites) and independent political parties, the Advocate devoted much space to electoral politics. Thompson supported labour candidates in local elections, and even ran unsuccessfully in provincial by-elections in Toronto in 1892 and 1893.⁷⁵ In 1899, he became the first president of the Canadian Socialist League,⁷⁶ and "From that point on he would embrace one cause only, that of socialism."⁷⁷

The Advocate was Thompson's soapbox for all of these social issues and solutions, but more than that, it was also his refuge from the "reptile press" or the "Prostitute press"⁷⁸ from which he made his living.⁷⁹ Clearly, Thompson

hoped that what started out "purely as a business enterprize"⁸⁰ would take off, allowing him more time to pursue his political interests. When it did not, he sometimes turned on the very class he was attempting to serve.

The capitalist press denounces Labor Reform and singles out its active leaders for virulent, spiteful abuse. Does he (the workingman) stand by the man under fire and write to the editor telling him what a despicable intellectual prostitute he is? Does he then and there quit taking the paper? "Oh, dear no! He keeps right on subscribing for it all the same. He never kicks at anything he reads in a paper, unless it happens to be a labor paper and then doesn't he raise an everlasting racket if anything appears that he does not altogether agree with?"⁸¹

When the Advocate had to close "because it does not pay expenses,"⁸² some, like the popular columnist Ben,⁸³ said "The Church, aided by the indifference of the labor men, has crushed the paper."⁸⁴ Thompson was even more direct: "It is much to be regretted that the wage-earners are so stupidly blind to their own interests that they cannot see the advantage of having a live outspoken journal to plead their cause."⁸⁵

Later observers, with the benefit of 100 years of hindsight, would argue that the Advocate's failure was as much due to Thompson's individual style and political expression as to the absence of labour support. As Wayne Lennon suggests, Thompson's views were "probably not acceptable to most of his workers and this may help explain the short life of the Advocate."⁸⁶

For Thompson, the comparatively attractive and tightly edited weekly was another milestone in a career that would continue to influence the labour movement and its press until his death on May 20, 1933, at 88. For the 19th century labour press, it opened the flood gates for a socialist debate which would preoccupy labour editors for decades to come.

The Industrial Banner

Subtitle: "For the Right, Against the Wrong! For the Weak, Against the Strong!"

First issue: -1891.⁸⁷

Place: London, Ont., and Hamilton.

Frequency: Monthly.

Format: Four-page tabloid, six columns.

Cost per issue: Five cents (50 cents a year).⁸⁸

Ad cost and ratio: Ad rates not published; 30% ads:70% editorial.

Union affiliation: London Trades and Labour Council.

Circulation: Uncertain.⁸⁹

Editor: Joseph T. Marks.

Publisher: London Trades and Labour Council.

Last issue: Feb. 24, 1922.

On Oct. 16, 1896, Joseph T. Marks, a London, Ont., tinsmith, was paid \$10 for editing one issue of the Industrial Banner.⁹⁰ It was small and infrequent payment for someone who would dedicate most of his life to publishing the labour journal. Indeed, as one student historian glowingly recorded it, Marks "edited the old Industrial Banner continuously for twenty-eight years and most of the time without drawing his salary. Much credit is due this champion of labor's cause."⁹¹

The longevity of Marks' editorship is all the more remarkable considering the predictably short-lives of the Banner's contemporaries. Toronto's Labor Advocate died an untimely and bitter death in the same year the Banner began. Many other journals around the country also suffered quick and painful deaths. The Signal and Workman's Advocate of Truro, N.S.,⁹² The Workman of St. John, N.B.,⁹³ The Worker in Toronto,⁹⁴ and the People's Journal of Vancouver,⁹⁵ all came and went in the early years of the 1890s. In Ottawa, no less than four attempts to nurture a labour press took place between 1893 and 1896: The Wage-Earner, The Free Lance, Capital Siftings and the Ottawa Tribune.⁹⁶

Clearly, the job of keeping a labour journal alive required "an everlasting stayer," as Winnipeg Voice editor Arthur W. Puttee would later describe Marks.⁹⁷ Not all labour reformers were up to it. Philip Obermeyer, of the Hamilton Trades and Labour Council, makes a strong case for quitting the thankless task:

I do not expect that the Hamilton edition (of the Banner) will be continued, as it has been a losing venture, in spite of the immense demands it has made on my time. I positively retire from connection with it at tonight's meeting, as I have not had the slightest help from any of the members, and cannot give up any more of my time.⁹⁸

Even for men like Marks, the task could be made more trying by internal arguments and accusations. The London Trades and Labour Council, for example, called Marks' integrity into question over "his financial transactions in regard to the Industrial Banner and the street railway strike."⁹⁹ Marks publicly rebuffed the charge, escaping with his integrity very much in tact. But it was an audacious slap in the face for the staunch believer in the rightness of the labour movement.

Like many of his predecessors, Marks had been a strong Knights supporter, holding the positions of Master Workman and recording secretary for Local Assembly 711Q (London). He was also the founder of the Industrial Brotherhood of Canada, a labour organization set up "to develop the intelligence of individual workers."¹⁰⁰ Both the Banner and the brotherhood were forums for lively debate on social and economic issues of the day. As an editorial in early 1897 noted,

We propose to pursue the same fearless and independent course in regard to public and economic questions, as has characterized the management of this paper in the past. There is only one advocate of labor in London, and the citizens are beginning to understand that it is also the foremost exponent of social and municipal reform. The Banner is in the field, not as a financial venture, but as an educator of public opinion on economic and social questions.¹⁰¹

They were also tools for social action. In 1895, under the brotherhood umbrella, for example, Marks set up The Forward Movement, which was later renamed the Canadian Co-operative Movement. The purpose of the "economical, practical and common-sense" movement¹⁰² was "to band the wage earners of this country into an organization that will make them practically independent of the capitalists by becoming their own employers. Our watchword is co-operation....Believing that the time is ripe and the need urgent we appeal to all wage earners to unite with and assist us to solve this great question of poverty and the unemployed."¹⁰³

The Banner, of course, was the clarion of the London labour movement, championing not only the poor and unemployed, but also speaking out on social issues like child labour, women's suffrage, municipal corruption, housing shortages, health problems, the elderly and the inevitable "alien" labour question. In its pages, readers found the principal proposals for social improvement: the single tax, shorter work day, temperance, higher pay.

Like Thompson, Marks was single-minded about the ultimate solution to society's ills. "Co-operation, pure and simple," he lectured, "is the coming system. Call it collectivism, nationalism, socialism, or what you will, it all means the same thing."¹⁰⁴ But there was much room in the Banner for the exposure of social problems and the many less-than-perfect solutions to them.

On the restriction of Chinese immigration, a constant black mark on the labour press's social reform record, Marks considered himself a bit of an expert. Describing the oriental immigrant's social and work habits as loathsome, the Banner editor urged readers to "Agitate this question everywhere until the government shall be compelled to act and stem the tide of undesirable Mongolian immigration."¹⁰⁵

In an attempt to strike a blow against monopoly, another omnipresent evil covered in the labour press, Marks reprinted the following note on pensions from J.A. Wayland's "free-lance socialistic periodical," The Appeal to Reason:¹⁰⁶

After forty years of toil, having produced by his labor enough to keep half a dozen families, he finds himself poor and dependent in his old age! Robbed of his earnings through monopoly, as fast as he created it, his life has been one continual drudge, with nothing but the poor house or private charity as a reward. Under a just system he could years ago have ceased to work and spent his declining years in peace and plenty, respected and honored for a useful, industrious life.¹⁰⁷

On another key social problem, housing, Marks also turned to reprinted material for this thought: "Rent, interest and profit are the means by which the poor are held down in ignorance, and slavery....Rent, interest and profit are only secondary names for robbery, theft and plunder."¹⁰⁸

Also of importance, though it does not appear to have been given as much coverage in the Banner as elsewhere, was the issue of female labour and women's rights. One front-page headline called the "Conditions Under Which Working

Girls are Forced to Labor" a "Scandalous State of Affairs," and insisted on stricter enforcement of Factories Acts.¹⁰⁹ Child labour also surfaced less frequently than in other journals, perhaps partly due to monthly frequency. In the following reprint, Marks hints at his views on the subject: "No. it is not well with the child. Nor can it always be prosperous for those who disport in luxury upon the ill-paid labor of little hands."¹¹⁰

Poverty received more column space than most social problems, and in this case Marks needed no help from the American labour papers he relied on so heavily to fill in his own inadequacies as a journalist.

The deserving poor are but the natural products of a vicious social system that puts a premium on rascality and idleness by defrauding and degrading the laborer whose enterprise and energy are unfairly manipulated to keep in luxury and affluence a class of idlers whose chief aim would seem to be the oppression of their fellowmen.¹¹¹

The quest for an eight-hour day was another subject Marks handled well on his own, adding a slightly new twist to the old arguments. "Because the hours of labor have been reduced in the past," he wrote, "it would be unsafe to say that humanity was getting better. First recognize how and why they have been reduced, and then ask yourself the question: 'Why should men work even eight hours a day when the advanced mechanical skill and productive power of the world is sufficient to feed, clothe, house and provide every luxury requisite to happiness with less than four hours of

toil a day?' Is it not a fact easily proved that even at eight hours a day, the worker is just toiling four hours too long?"¹¹²

Nor did Marks need assistance in voicing the labour movement's much-argued solutions to the above social problems. Take the single tax. "Let the single tax once come into operation," he proposed, "and men will no longer hold idle vacant land for speculation, then honest industry will have a chance, use will be the rightful title to occupancy, and the value of land caused by the congregation of population and the erection of homes, schools, churches and manufactories will be shared by the people whose enterprise have created it."¹¹³

Often Marks turned from his own prophesying to criticism of the church for its failure to address social ills: "Workingmen are not drifting from the church, but the church is drifting from the workingmen, when she refuses to denounce injustice in high places, and remains silent on those great questions that vitally affect humanity (child labour, reduced hours of work, monopolies)."¹¹⁴

Governments, too, were readily offered advice on how to solve social problems. "The government should assume all natural monopolies, such as railways, etc. The municipalities should assume all municipal monopolies, and then, under a proper electoral system such as proportional representation, and a just system of taxation like the single tax, with the initiative and referendum, it would not

be long before the people, by voluntary action on their part, would gradually evolve a co-operative system of industry that would assuredly kill the present system of competition."¹¹⁵

That Marks was a socialist is not in doubt. Indeed, by 1897 he was even calling for "a most radical and far-reaching change of base," likely a veiled plea for social revolution.¹¹⁶ "Individualism," he wrote in early 1899, "has turned many people into thieves and scoundrels because of a system of competition which presses honest people to the wall."¹¹⁷ If there is a distinction to be made between him and his fellow socialists in the labour movement of the late 1880s and early 1890s, however, it may be that he was more pragmatic, more inclined to set up co-operatives than to editorialize about them.

Interestingly, Arthur W. Puttee, the labour editor who held Marks in such high regard, would also emulate his practical ways. And his Winnipeg Voice, like the Banner, would survive far into the 20th century.

The People's Voice/The Voice

Subtitle: "A Weekly Newspaper Endorsed and Supported by the Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council (Voice subtitle: "A Weekly Newspaper Published in the Interests of the Laboring Classes.")

First issue: June 16, 1894.

Place: Winnipeg.

Frequency: Weekly on Saturdays.

Format: Initially four columns, later changed to eight-page tabloid, five columns.

Cost per issue: Not noted (\$1 a year).

Ad cost and ratio: 10 cents a line; 30% ads:70% editorial.

Union affiliation: Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council.

Circulation: People's Voice started with "a guaranteed circulation of 1,000."¹¹⁸

Editor: C.C. Steuart (People's Voice); Arthur W. Puttee (Voice). —

Publisher: People's Voice Co.; The Voice Publishing Co.

Last issue: April 13, 1923 (as Western Labor News).¹¹⁹

"Business Men....The Voice starts today with a guaranteed circulation of 1,000 copies. Not bad for a new paper, eh? Before the end of the month we expect the number will reach 1,500." So boldly claimed a youthful, almost baby-faced C.C. Steuart¹²⁰ in the above call for advertisements issued in the first number of what the energetic People's Voice editor would soon boast was "The Only Labor Paper in Western Canada."¹²¹

Other labour papers had often made the same prediction, including several which preceded the Voice in the west. In the 1880s, no fewer than four journals had pioneered the vast territory beyond the Ontario border. Winnipeg had been a centre of Knights activity and they published the Labor

Call in 1884. Then in 1886, the Industrial news appeared. Calgary's Northwest Call, another Knights paper, was pushing labour's cause by 1887. And as early as 1885, Victoria was reading about the labour movement in its own Industrial News.¹²² But few papers saw their circulation predictions materialize. The Voice, however, would be different.

By August, after about two months of publishing, Steuart claimed a copy run of 4,000. In January 1895, he guaranteed a circulation of 2,000. Local merchants were indeed impressed with the new weekly's ability to reach its audience. In fact, by the middle of Volume III, Steuart announced that the paper would be enlarged to accomodate "the demand upon our advertising space."¹²³ Even before then, Western Canada's "pioneer labor paper" had been forced to increase ad space.

It was an auspicious start, and one that in large part must be credited to Steuart's tireless efforts to sell the paper as an "outspoken, independent journal in the labor and general reform movement, fearless in advocacy of clean federal, provincial and municipal administrations, ever alert to put down 'snobishness' and better the state of the social conditions of this grand western country."¹²⁴

Like earlier successes in labour press publishing, few as they were, Steuart succeeded partly because he brought some light-hearted humour and vitality to his work. In this appeal for subscriptions, he tries his hand at some poetry as he addresses a workingman's wife:

'Twill cost him but a dollar, which sum would be well spent/In helping on the paper which for workingmen is meant,/For where he'd learn by reading of what is taking place/Within the world of labor, in improving this great race/Of Laboring humanity--their struggles, triumphs, blows/Are pictured in these columns--by Steuart C's bellows.¹²⁵

It was no worse than much of the doggerel that passed for working-class poetry and literature in the 19th century. And it seemed to bring results. On a more serious note, Steuart provided readers with other reasons to subscribe:

We maintain that the claims and rights of the working classes can only be properly set forth in journals solely devoted to labor matters. That is the reason for our starting this paper. Newspapers run by capitalists and syndicates will only give a half-hearted support to that section of industry which most requires support. How can it be otherwise, when they are the property of the capitalist? The only way to have an independent press is to establish it yourselves and be sure that it receives support sufficient to keep it free.¹²⁶

Unfortunately, the Winnipeg paper also adopted some of the more unsavoury traits of its successful predecessors. Its coverage of the Chinese immigration question was particularly ruthless, partly because the threat of job loss was greater in the west than in central Canadian centres. "Why not bestow your patronage upon people of your own kind--clean, proper living, live-and-let-live Christian people--whom you would not be ashamed of associating with every day of your lives," asked Nana Pauline. "The Chinese can never do this."¹²⁷ Other writers referred to them as a "scourge," a "curse" and an "undesirable class."¹²⁸ But as with most earlier journals, this was one of the few blotches

on an otherwise unblemished effort to promote trade union principles, shorter hours, temperance, anti-monopoly, land nationalization and the single tax.

The Voice also provided readers with ample comment on women's issues. A letter signed "Mrs. Unionism" asked "the attention of all right-thinking women, in fact, all women, to help in the cause of labor."¹²⁹ In "Equal Suffrage," Mrs. Charles Hislop, wife of a local politician, stated the case with dignity: "Woman's suffrage will elevate the condition of both husband and wife. Woman demands no special laws; she asks her place as a citizen and wishes only to stand free, side by side with her brother man, to aid in working out the highest destiny of humanity."¹³⁰

But the Voice was not content to leave readers with the idea that women should only stand behind their union men. In July 1895, Steuart saluted a "Woman Union Leader" from Belleville, Ont.,¹³¹ and on the matter of equal pay for equal work, the Voice quoted Cora D. Hind: "As a matter of self-protection, if from no other motive, men should cry aloud for equal pay for equal work without reference to sex."¹³²

Later, when the Voice was guided by Arthur W. Puttee, Winnipeg's first women's union, at the Emerson and Hague overall factory, must have derived much courage from the paper's sympathetic coverage of its early struggle. Articles like "For a Living Wage--Business Crushes the Defenceless Women Workers" were tremendous morale boosters to the 50 striking female workers.¹³³ The news wasn't all

good, of course. As with earlier papers, the Voice could turn on women workers, especially where men's jobs were concerned. "The world would be better off if all women were turned out of their jobs," wrote the Rev. S.G. Smith in an 1899 edition.¹³⁴

The Voice was less equivocal when it came to child labour. "Take all the children out of the workshop and put them in the school," bluntly demanded one early article.¹³⁵

Late in its second year, the Voice editorial offices were visited by a starving immigrant boy begging for food. The incident emboldened the "Here and There" columnist to pen the following on page one:

Is it not inexcusable in a new country to have old-fashioned misery such as this?...that children starve in the midst of plenty, that they should grow up ignorant and dangerous to society, whilst smug preachers persuade comfortable congregations to contribute towards paying off the church mortgages.¹³⁶

Poverty, in general, was a chief concern of both Steuart and Puttee. It was not an issue where the "best paper of its class in the Dominion"¹³⁷ cared to hedge on its promise of being "outspoken and courageous in the cause of right, willingly espousing the side of the oppressed against the encroachments of those who wield power unjustly."¹³⁸ In a high passion, as he often was when he sat down to compose his weekly column, John Peter Paulby described the Winnipeg slums of the 1890s:

Have we slums in Winnipeg?...A visit to the northern end of the city along the railway track and what is popularly known as the "New Jerusalem" will reveal a state of things which should bring a

blush to the cheek. What a frightful state many of the hovels are in! In the first place those buildings would not make a respectable cowshed. In the second, the space for occupation does not exceed two small rooms, and in these whole families live. In the third, the surroundings are of the most dismal kind and cannot but have a tendency to breed disease. 139

And in one of his many columns on how to solve such problems, Winnipeg's elder statesman of labour, William Small, proposed that the city's "Vacant Lands" be used to house the poor, workers, and their families. Other writers proposed building co-ops.

One contributor backed the advanced idea of an unemployment insurance scheme, others saw temperance and the single tax or co-operatives as solutions to the poverty problem, and still others believed the answer was to be found in strong unionism or socialist politics. Education, too was a favourite subject, especially during Steuart's time at the helm.

The public school system is socialism. All have to contribute to its support according to their ability or the property they have, yet all use it with equal freedom. The poor children, whose parents have little property pay hardly any municipal tax, receive the same benefit as the rich man's children....All men are socialists, though they (may) not know it. 140

Gradually, socialism took the lead as the one solution. And though there is no clear turning point, the Voice did seem to slowly become more involved in politics after Puttee took over in May 1897. The paper had always been political, of course. In 1894, for example, it gave front-page play to the formation of the Canada Labor Party, which included in

its list of "Social Demands" shorter hours, nationalization, compulsory education, progressive income tax, employment of the unemployed in public works and social insurance of various kinds.¹⁴¹ But Puttee made it all the more real in 1900 by winning labour's first seat in Parliament.

If Steuart had been responsible for mapping out a successful course for the Voice, Puttee, a printer by trade, would be charged with steering it through the hard-bitten socialist debates that marked his early editorship.

"The object, first and foremost of labor organizations," opened a reprinted article from the Ottawa Tribune shortly after Puttee took over, "must be to gain control of the political power."¹⁴² But Puttee's surprise victory, though it gained him access to that power, also brought trouble. For according to accounts by historian A. Ross McCormack, Puttee was too willing to accept Liberal party help, thus displeasing the socialists. He regularly promoted the founding of a political party modelled on the British Labour Party, and in 1906 Winnipeg's Independent Labour Party was launched. Again, the socialists were angered that the party was moderate, carefully avoiding the word socialist even in its name.¹⁴³ Puttee continued to edit the Voice during his years as a member of Parliament, even using the paper to campaign in the 1904 election which he lost. Only in 1918 did he finally give up the helm "when his editorial policy alienated Winnipeg's labour leaders and the paper was forced to cease publication."¹⁴⁴

Still, in the late 1890s the Voice continued to speak candidly and supportively about socialism. "Individualism Causes Waste and Poverty in the Midst of Plenty," chided one headline, adding that "Experience Teaches that Socialism can be Applied Successfully."¹⁴⁵ In a series of articles entitled "Our Social System," Esau Brammell engaged readers with his proposals for a new social order, as did another columnist pen-named Libertas. But political power had clearly knocked the socialist wind out of the Voice's sails by the turn of the century.

When Puttee died at 90 years old on Oct. 21, 1957, Canadian Labour praised the former MP, Winnipeg Typographical Union member, and city councillor (1917-18): "He was a quiet and unassuming man, and much of the social legislation for which he fought vigorously is now largely taken for granted."¹⁴⁶ But in the late 1890s, the future passage of bits and pieces of social legislation was far from the minds of many labour reformers and radicals. For them, the stakes were much higher and the potential winnings much sweeter, for if socialism won out--and the possibility seemed bright at the moment--the social welfare of the entire country would be theirs to decide.

Citizen and Country

Subtitle: "A Journal of Social, Moral and Economic Reform"

(Also noted under the flag: "Direct Legislation is the common denominator for all fractional reforms," "Support a principle if it be right, even though it be not popular," "'Tis Wisdom's law, the perfect code. By love inspired; From him on whom is much bestowed is much required.")¹⁴⁷

First issue: April 15, 1898.

Place: Toronto (later Vancouver).¹⁴⁸

Frequency: Weekly on Saturdays.

Format: Eight-page tabloid, seven columns.

Cost per issue: Two cents (\$1 a year).

Ad Cost and ratio: Ad rates not published; 5% ads:95% editorial.

Union affiliation: Toronto Trades and Labour Council.

Circulation: Uncertain, but possibly as high as 6,000.¹⁴⁹

Editor: George Wrigley.

Publisher: Social Progress Co. Ltd.¹⁵⁰

Last issue: 1902 (uncertain)¹⁵¹

George Wrigley was no stranger to social reform journalism when he and a "comrade" invested the "nearly \$5,000" it took to set up Citizen and Country. As Arthur W. Puttee told Winnipeg Voice readers, "George Wrigley is a

name that should be well known by every man in this country that pretends to be intelligently interested in social reform."¹⁵²

Like many of his contemporaries, he had been an active Knight. In the mid-1880s, he edited the Canada Labor Courier in St. Thomas, Ont., and was soon embroiled in vituperative arguments with other Knights papers of the period. Wrigley irked the other editors by allegedly using material produced by scab labour and refusing to toe the line in support of labour candidates in local elections.¹⁵³ In the early 1890s, he bounced from one social movement to another, editing The Canada Farmers Sun, The Templar and the Brotherhood Era.¹⁵⁴ The latter contained a regular page devoted to Toronto Trades and Labour Council activities.

The variety of experience Wrigley gained from these editorships later resurfaced under one banner in Citizen and Country. The new paper would be an imperfect attempt to merge the common aspirations of the diverse movements he had worked for and supported. The glue that would hold them all together was socialism or, at the outset, Christian socialism.

Wrigley had an eclectic vision that called for the founding of a weekly newspaper that would embody most of the major causes of the labour movement, while combining them with the other forces of social change which regularly raised topics "affecting the best interests of the

People."¹⁵⁵ It was a vision, it would seem, whose time had come. For by avoiding the taint of a single, and often sectarian, social movement, the former newspaperman could proudly announce at the end of year one that "Six thousand papers are now sent weekly to business and professional men, farmers and workingmen."¹⁵⁶

As the official organ of the Canadian Socialist League, Citizen and Country brought readers news of "Christian Socialism, Henry George's single tax, the Co-operative Commonwealth of Louis Gronlund, and that embodiment of dissension Daniel De Leon's Socialist Labour party."¹⁵⁷ And his headlines reveal Wrigley's efforts to bring all the socialist tendencies of the era under the roof of Christian socialism: "The Church and Sociology"; "The Social Crisis and the Silent Church"; "Preachers Discuss Socialism"; "Socialism vs. Christian Socialism"; and "The SLP (Socialist Labour Party) of Canada--Its Attitude Towards the Church Defined."

As the official organ of the Direct Legislation League of Canada, Citizen and Country provided column space for the discussion of other political and social avenues of reform as well. It even called for the abolition of the Senate, a proposal that was favourably received by many labour reformers.¹⁵⁸ But its mainstay was always socialism. In fact, Wrigley organized the comments and proposals of various social movements into columns such as "The Brotherhood of Man"; "The Land Monopoly," conducted by the Toronto Single

Tax Association; "Banking and Currency," for the advocates of currency reform; "Public Ownership;" and, "Electoral Reform."

The latter column often included material on women's suffrage; however, women's issues in general received mixed coverage in the "Toronto reform journal."¹⁵⁹ "Citizen and Country stands for woman's suffrage," wrote Wrigley in a front-page column, "and not even the fact that women, like men, are too often indescribably foolish can diminish our ardor for equal suffrage of the sexes."¹⁶⁰ More often than not, however, Canada's national socialist weekly would be pushing women back into the kitchen by publishing such articles as "Queens of the Kitchen--A Proposal to Teach Toronto Women Scientific Housekeeping." It was not an unpopular notion in official labour circles, since the Dominion Trades and Labour Congress itself had in 1899 adopted the abolition of woman from heavy industry as part of its political platform.¹⁶¹

Citizen and Country also fell easily into step with organized labour on the Chinese immigration question. But unlike many of its predecessors, it took a slightly more enlightened view of the situation. A column entitled "The Chinese Problem," by "Heterodox Economics," analyzed it this way:

The disastrous effect of Chinese wages on Canadian wage workers is not to be charged to the unfortunate Chinese at all. The responsibility for that lies with Canadian and British employers, whose patriotism and Christianity does not rise above profit seeking and never stops to consider

soul crushing....Really it is disgusting to the Socialist Labor Party to note the infamous abuse of unfortunate Chinese victims of Canadian capitalists, supported at the Dominion ballot boxes by trade unionists who fawn and toady to that class whose administration supported by themselves is the cause of evils charged to the Chinese.¹⁶²

Progressive as that may sound today, for a movement whose newspapers had made it their stock in trade to hurl abuse at the oriental worker for almost two decades, this must have been considered heresy of the highest order.

The temperance movement also received broader analytical treatment in Citizen and Country, undoubtedly because Wrigley had edited The Templar years before. In one of the few political cartoons to appear in the 19th century labour press, Rudyard Kipling's racist The Great White Hope is depicted in temperance terms. And, in the spirit of coalition that had inspired the founding of Citizen and Country, Wrigley at one point recommended that the three main temperance organizations of the day--The Good Templars, Sons of Temperance and Royal Templars--merge to form a "Temperance Trust."¹⁶³

Other causes backed by the weekly included the shorter work day (oddly, Wrigley was calling for a "Nine-Hour Workday"¹⁶⁴ when other reform papers were leaning to eight), better education ("The Free Library System has been very successful," writes Wrigley, noting that in 1898 there were 384 libraries in Ontario as opposed to 12 when the act was passed in 1895),¹⁶⁵ improved housing ("Homes for the People")¹⁶⁶ and health and safety ("There is Blood on Our

Hands," chided one article about an industrial accident in which a young worker was killed by a rip saw).¹⁶⁷ Also under the health heading came the perennial cure for cancer, with "Positive Proof of Its Efficacy."¹⁶⁸

One case where Wrigley did not wander far from the labour journalism fold, as he had so often done with the Courier, was in his condemnation of the "great unwashed partisan press."¹⁶⁹ "It is hard to determine which is the more contemptible," he wrote, "the editor without brains of his own or the penny-a-liner who does the bidding of political bosses and endeavors to manufacture public opinion."¹⁷⁰

To its contemporaries, Citizen and Country was "ably edited" and always prepared to discuss the "many reform problems that the press generally fears to handle."¹⁷¹ Its devotion, however, seems much more directed to a discussion of socialism than the social problems that gave rise to it during the 1890s. As historian Ross A. Johnson points out,

The importance of the Citizen and Country can be seen from what happened when the newspaper was moved to Vancouver: the idealist movement in eastern Canada quickly petered out and British Columbia became the center of socialist thought in Canada. Wrigley moved to Vancouver with the paper and began the metamorphosis which changed him from his earlier espousal of reform measures and Christian Socialism to advocacy of revolutionary or Marxist socialism.¹⁷²

By late 1900, the paper's subtitle had changed to "Canada's National Advocate of Trades Unionism and Socialism." Its slogan would become "For the masses against

social conditions that perpetuate the classes,"¹⁷³ and it would undergo various name changes (including the Canadian Socialist, the Western Socialist, and the Western Clarion) before finally being suspended in 1918, only to be resurrected again in 1920.¹⁷⁴

Other papers would claim the endorsement of the labour movement at the turn of the century, papers like the B.C. Workman¹⁷⁵ and the Rossland Industrial World¹⁷⁶ which continued some of the traditions of the labour press of the 1890s. Meanwhile, Citizen and Country, and later papers like Cotton's Weekly in Quebec, pushed the socialist cause as labour's sole political destiny.

NOTES

1. This study does not cover the French-Canadian labour press. See Chapter 1--Introduction--for an explanation.

2. Greg Kealey, Canada Investigates Industrialism: The Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital, 1889 (Toronto, 1973), p. xxi.

3. In the labour commission's own words, "The shortening of the hours of labor for women and children has for years been kept before the public by labor organizations." The commission report added that they were instrumental in securing the following "especial benefits": "better wages, shorter hours of labor, better protection from accident, a more friendly relation to capital, prevention of child labor, higher education, a better knowledge of their trades through the discussion of their wants, voluntary and compulsory insurance, payment of sick and death benefits, and the extension of relief to the needy." (p. 53) The report went on to laud the labour movement and, inadvertently, its press: "To the persistent efforts of labor organizations may also be traced, very largely, the advanced state of public opinion in relation to the sanitary conditions of factories, workshops, and dwellings of the working classes."

4. Kealey, Commission, p. xxi.

5. Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines (4 vols.) (Cambridge, Mass., 1957) includes special sections on the various types of social reform publications that likely influenced the Canadian labour editor in the 1890s.

--Lawrence Goodwyn, Democratic Promise: The Populist Movement in America (New York, 1976) p. 354, notes the influence of "The thunder of its (populism's) great journals,...(which) was echoed in literally thousands of tiny, struggling weeklies across the nation." Goodwyn lists The Advocate, The American Nonconformist, The Appeal to Reason, The Southern Mercury, The People's Party Paper and The Progressive Farmer, all papers that would have been heavily borrowed from in the labour press north of the border.

6. Herbert Brown Ames, The City Below the Hill (Toronto, 1972) p. 105.

7. S. D. Clark, The Social Development of Canada (Toronto, 1942) p. 420.

them, but simply because a scandal would be created, and society would be shocked if they were allowed to starve on the streets or in their miserable garrets."

69. LA, Vol. 1, No. 6, Jan. 9, 1891, p. 42.

70. LA, Vol. 1, No. 17, March 17, 1891, p. 132.

71. LA, Vol. 1, No. 15, March 13, 1891, p. 6.

72. LA, Vol. 1, No. 17, March 17, 1891, p. 135.

73. Cook, p. 229.

74. LA, Vol. 1, No. 18, April 3, 1891, p. 144.

75. Phillips Thompson, The Politics of Labor (Toronto, 1975) p. xiii.

76. Phyllis Clarke, "The Politics of Labor: The Life and Times of Phillips Thompson" (University of Toronto, unpublished political science dept. paper, undated) p. 25.

77. Palmer, p. 120.

78. LA, Vol. 1, No. 3, Dec. 19, 1890, p. 22.

79. Hann, p. 43.

80. LA, Vol. 1, No. 1, Dec. 5, 1890, p. 4.

81. LA, Vol. 1, No. 12, Feb. 20, 1891, p. 92.

82. LA, Vol. 1, No. 44, Oct. 2, 1891, p. 348.

83. "Ben" was G. A. Howell (Ibid.)

84. Ibid, p. 352.

85. Ibid.

86. Wayne Lennen, Stealing the Balance--The Labour Press and the National Question in Ontario and the Maritimes 1872-1913 (Carleton University MA thesis, 1981) p. 37.

87. The first available issue is Vol. 5, No. 3, January 1897. J. M. Connors' draft biography of James Simpson, Simpson Papers, Baldwin Room, Metropolitan Toronto Library (unpaginated) talks of "the little monthly sheet that had been established as far back as 1891 which in these early days was not any larger than a leaflet but which had to be enlarged on four different occasions and had become quite a pretentious publication."

23. Weinrich, p. 388, says the Echo was originally started by Local 176 of the Montreal Typographical Union.

24. Unlike most other labour editors of the period under study, David Taylor is seldom mentioned in labour history texts. It is significant that after editing the Montreal Echo he went on to found Saturday Times, "A Journal of Current Thought and Opinion," in May 1894. Saturday Times was much respected by labour reformers. For example, the Winnipeg People's Voice was compelled to issue this call for action when the paper failed in November 1895: "Organized labor of Eastern Canada, accept outside advice; get together on one common ground, sink personal feelings and petty jealousies, and resurrect that excellent paper--Saturday Times. (Vol. 2, No. 23, Nov. 16, 1895, p. 2)."

25. Weinrich, p. 388, suggests that the Echo could have published as late as 1898, but library holdings only exist to Sept. 26, 1891.

--Union List of Canadian Newspapers Held by Canadian Libraries (Ottawa, 1977) p. 291, also lists 1898 as a possibility. It indicates that the Archives nationales du Québec hold the original edition of Dec. 25, 1892.

26. Eugene Forsey, Trade Unions in Canada, 1812-1902 (Toronto, 1982) p. 474.

27. André LeBlanc and J.D. Thwaites, Le Monde Ouvrier au Québec, (Montreal, 1973) provides a listing of early French labour journals. Union List, p. 307, lists Le peuple travailleur.

28. Forsey, p. 100.

29. Ibid, p. 584.

--Kealey, Commission, p. 249, includes testimony from Arthur W. Short, editor of the Canadian Workman.

30. Echo, Vol. 1, No. 1, Oct. 4, 1890, p. 4.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. Echo, Vol. 1, No. 20, Feb. 14, 1891, p. 1.

34. Echo, Vol. 1. No. 26, March 28, 1891, p. 8.
35. Echo, Vol. 1. No. 19, Feb. 7, 1891, p. 3.
36. Echo, Vol. 1, No. 35, May 30, 1891, p. 4.
37. Echo, Vol. 1. No. 26, March 28, 1891, p. 4.
38. Echo, Vol. 1, No. 52, Sept. 26, 1891, p. 5.
39. Echo, Vol. 1. No. 50, Sept. 12, 1891, p. 8.
40. Echo, Vol. 1, No. 47, Aug. 22, 1891, p. 3.
41. Echo, Vol. 1. No. 10, Dec. 6, 1890, p. 1.
42. Echo, Vol. 1, No. 6, Nov. 8, 1890, p. 1.
43. Echo, Vol. 1, No. 34, May 23, 1891, p. 8.
44. Echo, Vol. 1. No. 14, Jan. 3, 1891, p. 4.
45. Echo, Vol. 1, No. 27, April 4, 1891, p. 1.
46. Ibid.
47. Echo, Vol. 1. No. 17, Jan. 24, 1891, p. 5.
48. Echo, Vol. 1, No. 11, Dec. 13, 1890, p. 4.
49. Bell, p. 10, says the price was reduced to two cents in May 1891.
50. Labor Advocate, Vol. 1, No. 44, Oct. 2, 1891, p. 4.
51. Grip Printing also published the very successful satirical weekly, Grip, edited by John Wilson Bengough. Through the 1880s, the lively demi-tabloid magazine was an inspiration to many labour journalists. The name comes from the Charles Dickens novel Barnaby Rudge in which a small black bird plays the role of Grip.
- Ramsay Cook, "Neglected Pine Blasters," Canadian Literature, (Number 81, 1979) discusses the similarities between Thompson and Bengough, whom Thompson later worked with on Grip. Oddly, he says that neither editor "took himself too seriously" (p. 96). But this can hardly be true of Thompson.
52. Greg Kealey, Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism, 1867-1892 (Toronto, 1980) p. 280.

53. Bell, p. 9.
54. Russell Mann, "An Early Canadian Labour Theorist," in the Bulletin of the Committee on Canadian Labour History (Autumn, 1977) p. 38.
55. Bell, p. 10.
56. Mann, p. 38.
57. Victor O. Chan, Canadian Knights of Labor with special reference to the 1880's (McGill University MA thesis, Montreal, 1949) p. 31.
58. Bell, p. 5.
59. LA, Vol. 1, No. 44, Oct. 4, 1891, p. 4.
60. The National was co-founded by H. E. Smallpiece. In 1878, they were joined by A. W. Wright, who would start The Commonwealth in July 1880. Both journals covered labour issues.
- Cook, "Professor and Prophet," p. 236, quotes the first issue of The National (Jan. 22, 1874).
61. Ibid, p. 237.
62. LA, Vol. 1, No. 1, Dec. 5, 1890, p. 4.
63. LA, Vol. 1, No. 9, Jan. 30, 1891, p. 68 (pagination was accumulative).
64. LA, Vol. 1, No. 7, Jan. 16, 1891, p. 52.
65. LA, Vol. 1, No. 36, Aug. 7, 1891, p. 288. From the start, LA took a strong stand on behalf of women: "The cause of woman suffrage is intimately allied with that of Labor Reform....Woman, without the ballot suffers from the discrimination against her sex and is forced to take lower wages for the same class of work for which men are better paid." (LA, Vol. 1, No. 1, Dec. 5, 1890, p. 5).
66. LA, Vol. 1, No. 40, Sept. 4, 1891, p. 319.
67. LA, Vol. 1, No. 4, Dec. 26, 1891, p. 28.
68. LA, Vol. 1, No. 21, April 24, 1891, p. 166. Making the case for a national pension plan, LA writes: "Old people who have never been convicted of crime but who are too feeble to work are sent by police magistrates and justices of the peace to jail, not from any feeling of compassion for

them, but simply because a scandal would be created, and society would be shocked if they were allowed to starve on the streets or in their miserable garrets."

69. LA, Vol. 1, No. 6, Jan. 9, 1891, p. 42.

70. LA, Vol. 1, No. 17, March 17, 1891, p. 132.

71. LA, Vol. 1, No. 15, March 13, 1891, p. 6.

72. LA, Vol. 1, No. 17, March 17, 1891, p. 135.

73. Cook, p. 229.

74. LA, Vol. 1, No. 18, April 3, 1891, p. 144.

75. Phillips Thompson, The Politics of Labor (Toronto, 1975) p. xiii.

76. Phyllis Clarke, "The Politics of Labor: The Life and Times of Phillips Thompson" (University of Toronto, unpublished political science dept. paper, undated) p. 25.

77. Palmer, p. 120.

78. LA, Vol. 1, No. 3, Dec. 19, 1890, p. 22.

79. Mann, p. 43.

80. LA, Vol. 1, No. 1, Dec. 5, 1890, p. 4.

81. LA, Vol. 1, No. 12, Feb. 20, 1891, p. 92.

82. LA, Vol. 1, No. 44, Oct. 2, 1891, p. 348.

83. "Ben" was G. A. Howell (Ibid.)

84. Ibid, p. 352.

85. Ibid.

86. Wayne Lennen, Striking the Balance--The Labour Press and the National Question In Ontario and the Maritimes 1872-1913 (Carleton University MA thesis, 1981) p. 37.

87. The first available issue is Vol. 5, No. 3, January 1897. J. M. Connors' draft biography of James Simpson, Simpson Papers, Baldwin Room, Metropolitan Toronto library (unpaginated) talks of "the little monthly sheet that had been established as far back as 1891 which in these early days was not any larger than a leaflet but which had to be enlarged on four different occasions and had become quite a pretentious publication."

88. W. L. Davis, A History of the Early Labor Movement in London, Ontario (University of Western Ontario MA thesis, 1930) p. 19, notes: "Unions subscribing to have the paper mailed direct to the individual address of each member were charged Twenty cents a year per member, while the individuals receiving it directly through the mail paid thirty-five cents per year. Labor bodies using the paper for propoganda (sic) or organization purposes were supplied in any quantity desired at the actual cost of the paper and press work, such copies being run off after the regular edition had been published, there being no cost for type setting."

89. Invoices in a recently uncovered scrapbook (available from the Regional Collection of the University of Western Ontario Library) show that the Banner had regular copy runs of more than 2,500. An invoice dated Jan. 2, 1899, records a copy run of 15,000 at \$226. One on Oct. 29, 1898, shows 6,000 copies at \$25. The London Advertiser Printing Co., founded by Globe editor James Cameron, a Knights sympathizer, printed the Banner.

--Banner, Vol. 5, No. 6, April 1897, p. 4, ran the following under the heading "Is the Banner Read?": "Librarian Blackwell, of the Public Library, says most emphatically, Yes. In our last issue we recommended to the public that they read Ignatius Donnelly's book 'Caesar's Column'....Since the recommendation in the Banner Librarian Blackwell says there has been a constant demand for the work....There is no doubt but what the Banner is read, and well read, too."

90. The \$10 payment is noted in a daybook of cashflow items such as incoming subscriptions and advertising revenue, printing, postage and sales commission costs. (Also available at the Regional Collection of the UWO Library) p. 20.

91. Davis, p. 23.

92. The Signal began publishing in August 1890. Available issues for Sept. 13 and 20, 1890, show the cost at \$1 a year. No editor is mentioned. There was the usual ratio of ads to editorial copy. Little social issues coverage.

93. The Workman started as a strike paper in September 1892. Local 85 of the International Typographical Union was on strike at the Progress in St. John, N.B. It was published every Saturday and cost one cent. Its subtitle read: "Beware of entrance to a quarrel, but being in, bear't that the opposed may beware of thee." James Richard Rice, A History of Organized Labour in Saint John, N.B., 1813-1890 (University of New Brunswick MA thesis, 1968) p. 158, notes that the paper may have lasted for 150 issues. There is no

mention of an editor, although it may have been Hugh Finlay. He published Printer's Miscellany, a trade newspaper, between 1876 and 1882, and was probably Local 85's first president. He also worked as foreman of the Telegraph office (Rice, p. 123).

--Forsey, p. 210, reports that Local 85 "took steps to set up a new labour paper, the Weekly Toiler," in 1895. But there is no indication that it succeeded. It seems the labour press in the east entered a hiatus after this which lasted until January 1899 when Halifax printers began publishing a strike paper called the Weekly News (Forsey, p. 216).

94. The Worker appeared in 1894, but no issues are available. Several labour journals reprinted from it or mentioned it, including the Winnipeg People's Voice (Vol. 1, No. 5, July 14, 1894, p. 2): "Toronto has again been blessed with an independent paper. On June 30 the first number of The Worker appeared. It is an eight-page paper well filled with just such matter as would be sought by earnest readers. It proposes to fight staunchly in the cause of the toiler."

95. The People's Journal began in February 1893, cost five cents and called itself "An Independent Weekly Newspaper Published Every Saturday Morning by G.F. Leaper." (Vol. 1, No. 1, Feb. 18, 1893, p. 1.) Forsey, pp. 221-222, says George Leaper started it as a "co-operative labour paper," adding that it lasted about three months.

96. Forsey, p. 474, says the Ottawa Trades and Labour Council was publishing The Wage-Earner in 1893. Hann, Kealey, Linda Kealey and Peter Warrian (eds.), Primary Sources in Canadian Working Class History, 1860-1930 (Kitchener, Ont., 1970) also list it as 1893, but give no place of publication. There is no evidence that it succeeded; however, it may have been the first name of The Free Lance. It began on Friday, Oct. 13, 1893, as "A Weekly Newspaper Published in the Interests of Labor, Temperance, Single Tax, Municipal, Provincial, Federal Reform, Societies, Home Circle, and General News." (Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 1.). On May 5, 1894, Capital Siftings came on the scene. Edited by J.G. Kilt, it challenged the Free Lance's role as a labour paper. It appears that Kilt, who charged two cents for his paper, as compared to three cents for the Free Lance, was making a bid for the working-class audience. But without an endorsement from the labour council, this must have been difficult. Still, the Ottawa labour community benefitted from the rivalry in that both papers competed in providing news for workers. Unfortunately, the rivalry turned bitter before too long, and the pages of both papers began to fill with venomous arguments about why one paper was a better source of labour news than the other. In the

July 7, 1894, Siftings, for example, Kilt took the following pot shot at the FL editor: "The Prospectus (of FL), I would suggest to the great J.W.P. (presumably the FL editor), should be hung about his desk until he eventually uses it as an epitaph for his insignificant little paper, which is a disgrace to labor." (Vol. 2, No. 1, p. 2.) The FL became The Ottawa Iribune on April 4, 1896.

97. Voice, Vol. 6, No. 17, Oct. 6, 1899, p. 5.

98. Banner scrapbook.

99. Davis, p. 116.

100. Davis, p. 23.

101. IB, Vol. 5, No. 3, January 1897, p. 4.

102. IB, Vol. 5, No. 7, May 1897, p. 4.

103. IB, Vol. 5, No. 11, September 1897, p. 4.

104. IB, Vol. 5, No. 4, February 1897, p. 4.

105. IB, Vol. 5, No. 12, October 1897, p. 1.

106. Mott, p. 204.

107. IB, Vol. 7, No. 5, March 1899, p. 2.

108. IB, Vol. 8, No. 2, December 1899, p. 3.

109. IB, Vol. 5, No. 12, October 1897, p. 1.

110. IB, Vol. 5, No. 6, April 1897, p. 4.

111. IB, Vol. 5, No. 4, February 1897, p. 1.

112. Ibid.

113. IB, Vol. 5, No. 8, June 1897, p. 1.

114. IB, Vol. 5, No. 9, July 1897, p. 2.

115. IB, Vol. 5, No. 11, September 1897, p. 2.

116. IB, Vol. 5, No. 6, April 1897, p. 4.

117. IB, Vol. 7, No. 6, April 1899, p. 2.
118. Voice, Vol. 1, No. 1, June 16, 1894, p. 3.
119. Union list, p. 85.
120. Voice, Vol. 1, No. 12, Sept. 1, 1894, p. 2 (photo).
121. Voice, Vol. 1, No. 9, Aug. 11, 1894, p. 2.
122. See Chapter 4 of this study for notes on these labour journals.
123. Voice, Vol. 3, No. 22, Oct. 17, 1896, p. 4.
124. Voice, Vol. 1, No. 13, Sept. 8, 1894, p. 3.
125. Voice, Vol. 2, No. 35, Feb. 8, 1896, p. 2.
126. Voice, Vol. 1, No. 6, July 21, 1894, p. 3.
127. Voice, Vol. 2, No. 18, Oct. 12, 1895, p. 1.
128. Voice, Vol. 1, No. 2, June 23, 1894, p. 1.
129. Voice, Vol. 1, No. 19, Oct. 20, 1894, p. 7.
130. Voice, Vol. 1, No. 41, March 23, 1895, p. 3.
131. Voice, Vol. 2, No. 7, July 27, 1895, p. 2.
132. Voice, Vol. 5, No. 1, June 17, 1898, p. 8.
133. Voice, Vol. 5, No. 37, Feb. 21, 1899, pp. 4, 8.
134. Voice, Vol. 6, No. 29, Dec. 29, 1899, p. 5.
135. Voice, Vol. 1, No. 7, July 28, 1894, p. 2.
136. Voice, Vol. 2, No. 47, May 2, 1896, p. 1.
137. Voice, Vol. 4, No. 1, June 19, 1897, p. 4.
138. Voice, Vol. 3, No. 1, June 13, 1896, p. 2.
139. Voice, Vol. 2, No. 23, Nov. 16, 1895, p. 1.

140. Voice, Vol. 1, No. 4, July 7, 1894, p. 2.
141. Voice, Vol. 1, No. 20, Oct. 27, 1894, p. 1.
142. Voice, Vol. 3, No. 48, May 15, 1897, p. 8.
143. A. Ross McCormack, "British Working-class Immigrants: The Case of Arthur Puttee," Canadian Ethnic Studies, (Vol. X, No. 2, 1978), p. 34. A similar debate carries on today within the New Democratic Party and in other left-wing circles.
144. A. Ross McCormack, "Arthur Puttee and the Liberal Party: 1899-1904," in The Canadian Historical Review (Toronto, Vol. II, No. 2, June 1970) p. 143.
145. Voice, Vol. 4, No. 47, May 6, 1898, p. 1.
146. Canadian Labour, November 1957, p. 4.
147. Wrigley had dropped the "Moral" from his subtitle by Vol. 2, No. 24, April 29, 1899.
148. Ross Alfred Johnson, No Compromise--No Political Trading: The Marxian Socialist Tradition in British Columbia (University of British Columbia Ph.D. thesis, 1975) p. 74.
149. Citizen and Country, Vol. 2, No. 17, March 11, 1899, p. 3.
- C & C] Vol. 2, No. 22, April 15, 1899, p. 3, provides the following information under the heading "Our First Birthday": "A year ago to-day the first number of Citizen and Country was printed and mailed. It was issued until July 1 as a semi-monthly, and since then it has been published weekly, an enlargement from a six-column to a seven-column paper having been made on November 15 last." Wrigley goes on to explain that he mailed out 200,000 sample issues at the start. The first issue of 30,000 on March 15, 1898, was "still-born" because it was "refused the privilege of the mails on the ground that it was 'an advertising medium'." Wrigley regularly ran notes on progressive social reform books which criticised government policies. These were considered advertising by the Post Office.
150. Ibid. The Ontario government apparently refused to grant Wrigley's joint stock company (with assets of \$20,000) a charter to publish C & C unless it changed its name from Social Progress Co. Ltd. Wrigley obviously refused and eventually the charter was his.

151. Weinrich, p. 390. See later footnote on name changes.
152. Voice, Vol. 6, No. 20, Oct. 27, 1899, p. 5.
153. See Chapter 4 of this study for a more complete account.
154. Louis Aubrey Wood, Farmers' Movements in Canada (Toronto, 1975) pp. 114, 147, says Wrigley started the Sun in London, Ont. in 1891 (Vol. 1, No. 1 actually appeared on May 3, 1892) but moved to Toronto in 1893. While in London, Wrigley was also working with the Advertiser, the newspaper that printed the Industrial Banner. During Wrigley's time as editor, the paper gave much coverage to labour issues. However, Capital Siftings criticised this aspect of the paper (Voice reprint, Vol. 1, No. 13, Sept. 8, 1894, p. 1): "The Farmer's Sun, the organ of the Patrons of Industry, is doing its utmost to swim in harmony with labor. It is, of course, somewhat at sea with regard to lines upon which labor men like to see a newspaper--laying special claim to their support--run. Probably the farmers did not notice the predominance of the coarse boiler-plate (labour boycotted printing plates made with this apparently scab-produced substance) in the Patron sheet. Labor men have, however, and the talented editor should not disparage his columns with this out-of-date trash."
- John Smart, The Patrons of Industry in Ontario (Carleton University MA thesis, Ottawa, 1969) p. 23, explains that by October 1895, Wrigley had divided the Sun into two papers. Brotherhood Era would be "aimed at an urban or 'urbanized' audience." By April 1896, however, the Era had "ended its separate existence and become the back pages of" the Sun. Goldwin Smith took over the ailing Sun in the late 1890s, changed its name to the Weekly Sun and began contributing a column under the pen-name "Bystander" (Wood, p. 148).
155. C & C, Vol. 2, No. 17, March 11, 1899, p. 3.
156. C & C, Vol. 2, No. 22, April 15, 1899, p. 3.
157. Johnson, p. 52.
158. C & C, Vol. 2, No. 21, April 8, 1899, p. 3.
159. Palmer, p. 121.
160. C & C, Vol. 2, No. 4, May 27, 1899, p. 1.
161. C & C, Vol. 2, No. 21, Oct. 7, 1899 (volume numbers in error) p. 1.

- 162. C_E_C, Vol. 2, No. 17, March 11, 1899, p. 1.
- 163. C_E_C, Vol. 2, No. 24, April 29, 1899, p. 3.
- 164. C_E_C, Vol. 2, No. 20, Sept. 30, 1899, p. 2.
- 165. C_E_C, Vol. 2, No. 19, March 25, 1899, p. 2.
- 166. C_E_C, Vol. 2, No. 11, July 22, 1899, p. 1.
- 167. C_E_C, Vol. 2, No. 8, June 24, 1899, p. 1.
- 168. C_E_C, Vol. 2, No. 31, Nov. 18, 1899, p. 4.
- 169. C_E_C, Vol. 2, No. 20, April 1, 1899, p. 3.
- 170. C_E_C, Vol. 2, No. 21, Oct. 7, 1899, p. 1.
- 171. Voice, Vol. 5, No. 6, July 22, 1898, p. 4.
- 172. Johnson, p. 74.
- 173. Weinrich, p. 390.

174. Avakumovic, p. 20, says C_E_C "was renamed first the Canadian Socialist and then the Western Clarion." Weinrich, p. 391, says the Canadian Socialist was formerly the Western Socialist, and that it was later incorporated with Social Justice, also edited by Wrigley (1902). The Union List, p. 54, says the Western Socialist was the Western Clarion, suspended in 1918 and resurrected in 1920 to succeed the Indicator in Vancouver.

175. The B.C. Workman began in early 1899 (first available issue is Vol. 1, No. 19, May 20, 1899) and was endorsed by the Victoria Trades and Labour Council. The masthead slogan read: "A slave to no party; of no sect and I." It cost five cents. No editor is named.

176. Johnson, p. 96, lists several B.C. papers, among them the World, which began publishing in late 1899 and was the official organ of District 6 of the Western Federation of Miners. The Sandon Paystreak, Ferguson (later Lardeau), Eagle and the Nanaimo Clarion (later Western Clarion) are all noted as "radical journals" (socialist rather than labour).

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

The Canadian labour press began with the paternalistic and perhaps politically naive view that the solution to workers' social woes was individualistic. Ontario Workman readers, for example, were repeatedly advised to save their hard-earned pennies and not to waste their often diminishing pay packets on tobacco, alcohol and other frivolous addictions. Deepening depression throughout the 1870s, however, served to politicize some workers by illustrating that the developing economic and political system might not be operating in their best interest. This political consciousness raising was aided in the 1880s by the coming of the Knights of Labor, who brought an evangelical energy to the labour movement that would eventually set many labour editors on the winding road to socialism. By the 1890s, the labour press had become a loud and strident voice for left-wing solutions of one form or another as the key cures for all social ills.

Although the original intent of this thesis was to show the influences of the labour press on the passage of key pieces of social legislation, such a framework became unworkable due to a lack of such legislation on the statute books before 1900. Nevertheless, the thesis reveals, through the use of anecdotal evidence and critical

assessments of both labour press content and historians opinions, that the 12 papers studied in depth did play a social role in the development of a mass working-class consciousness and culture.

As we have seen, the labour press pronounced itself on most, if not all, key social problems. The underlying theoretical assumption of this thesis was that when it did so the labour press would live up to its advance billing as the progressive voice of Canadian labour. As witness the Chinese worker question, it did not always confirm that image.

Who was listening to this social voice of the labour movement and what impact it had on the intellectuals of the day are other questions raised in this thesis. In answer to the first, despite efforts to attract a mass working-class readership, the labour press call to arms--whether it was the Western Workman rallying around the nine-hour movement, Daniel O'Donoghue's Record supporting a labour candidate for public office, or the Montreal Echo advocating revolution--fell largely on deaf ears.

Labour papers continued to offer serialized novels, poetry, children's corners, sensational news coverage from various foreign wars (often with graphic depictions of the attendant horrors), and a women's how-to column. But even these usually popular diversions, borrowed from the daily commercial press, failed to capture either the wide interest or financial support of the working-class population.

Appeals for new subscribers were more akin to desperate pleas for help, and when the response was negligible labour editors launched into editorial tirades chastising readers for not rescuing their foundering publications from financial ruin.

In the early years, editors would throw together often gray and unprofessional-looking page layouts in a late-night flurry to get their weeklies to bed and on the street the next morning where they would be picked up for a few cents a copy. By the 1890s, technology had helped the labour press advance noticeably. There was a sharp increase in the use of photographs of labour leaders and the ever-popular Labour Day parade. Graphic line drawings, often depicting the manners and dress of high society or the latest atrocity uncovered in China, India or other mysterious faraway lands, adorned the pages of several labour weeklies. Quality political cartoons also made their debut.

But nothing, it seemed, could draw the working-class reader's attention away from the penny dailies or "people's journals" that developed alongside the worker's weeklies from the 1870s on. Many dailies borrowed from the successful, but often highly sensational, formulas of American newspaper magnates like William Randolph Hearst or Joseph Pulitzer to lure readers into their pages. Some of the dailies, such as the Toronto News, edited by E.E. Sheppard and Phillips Thompson, were also pro-labour papers.¹ Although they must have been welcome by the labour

movement, they surely also took readers away from the struggling weeklies. Indeed, such formidable competition led many labour editors to consider publishing a daily themselves. It was a dream realized only once when Hamilton's Palladium of Labor published the Evening Palladium for a brief period in 1886. The feat would never² be repeated by the labour press.

Competition for Canadian workers' limited reading time also came from American labour and social reform journals, many of them more professionally produced, more original and more outspoken on social issues than their Canadian counterparts. Frank Luther Mott, in his History of American Magazines, writes that "Hundreds of labor periodicals were begun in the period between 1885-1905, most of them³ perishing within those twenty years."

"A labor man without a labor paper is like a soldier without ammunition," crowed the Winnipeg Voice in early 1896.⁴ And clearly there was no shortage of social reform ammo in the form of the labour press. Still, the working public wasn't storming the barricades to buy a labour paper. Indeed, there are records showing high circulations for special editions of labour papers dealing with crucial elections, lengthy strikes or important trade union assemblies--George Wrigley claimed to have printed 200,000 copies of the inaugural issue of Citizen and Country and an Industrial Banner logbook shows press runs of 12,000 and

higher. But the average circulation of any of the 25 or more labour journals published between 1842 and 1900 was between 1,000 and 5,000, with many being around 2,000.

Of course, no accurate conclusion can be drawn about the influence of a publication based solely on the breadth of its circulation. Even today, radical and alternative publications--the inheritors of early labour press tradition--rarely have circulations of more than a few thousand. Many small newspapers and magazines are carefully monitored by politicians, pollsters, bureaucrats and policy analysts, all looking for a change in attitude, new cultural trend or internal debate that will provide some insight into the interests and concerns of the medium's constituency. So it was with the 19th-century labour press.

At least three of the papers studied survived well into the 20th century--The Voice, Industrial Banner and Citizen and Country. During the 19th century, the Trades Journal claims the prize for longevity, publishing for well over a decade. Others lived a year or less, as with the Labor Advocate, The Echo, and many of their predecessors. What did these papers bring to the struggle for social justice during their often turbulent publishing lives? Media historian Paul Rutherford generously suggests that,

. . .these weeklies shaped the traditions of the working class in early industrial Canada and criticized, vociferously, the capitalist system which in so many ways seemed unjust to the labouring man. Together, the specialized journals mobilized what were distinct social and economic

interests in a struggle for national pre-eminence, and so added a new dimension to the already complex expression of the Canadian mosaic.⁵

In The American Radical Press, Joseph R. Conlin presents another view: "American radicals deemed the publication of some sort of periodical to be so vital that it is by no means frivolous to suggest that the movements, parties, factions, and tendencies that make up that American radical history were actually subsidiary to their organs."⁶ He goes on to explain that the "'movements' were frequently identical in personnel to their 'publications staffs'," adding that,

As regards the radicals and their periodicals, some historians have written fastidiously from the newsprint without recognizing that in large part they were writing about little else but a desk, a typewriter, a printing press, and a busy mind. There are in some histories more than a few "mass demonstrations" footnoted to a radical newspaper that represent only the reveries or the ill-advised propaganda devices of a revolutionary journalist.⁷

The significance of the labour press, then, has not gone entirely unnoticed and unrecorded. Whatever their primary motivations and however limited their circulations, labour and radical papers did have an influence in that they provided a forum for the discussion and debate of popular ideas for social change. As Conlin notes, "Many of the leaders of radicalism in the 1890s were primarily propagandists and while they worked through universities,

churches, lecture platforms, and books, periodical publications remained, as they would thereafter, the most important single means of spreading the word."

For 19th-century labour editors, the word--a mixture of propaganda, fact and fiction--was not always crystal clear. There was much ambiguity surrounding many of the social issues of the day. Editorialists might write of the crying need for better educational facilities one week, but angrily chastise the authorities for cramming too much into young minds the next. Although the Palladium of Labor and other Knights papers took progressive stands on women's suffrage and women workers' problems, some papers would turn on them when it served the interests of the male-dominated labour movement. Clearly, jobs for men were more important than jobs for women to the Trades and Labour Congress of the 1890s, for example, and many papers reflected that view. Child labour posed a similar editorial dilemma. Labour advocates deplored the use of small children, often under the age of 12, to provide cheap manual labour. But given the depressions that incessantly plagued Canada in the latter part of the century, keeping most working-class families in abject poverty, labour editors surely must have pondered the question deeply, since to condone child labour might have helped place bread in the empty larders of worker's families.

Perhaps the most unequivocal stand taken by the labour press--and its darkest hour--was the consistent denigration of Chinese immigrant workers. To be sure, the Canadian government's immigration policies fomented racist attitudes among Canadian workers who either feared for their jobs or saw positions they could fill taken by eager alien labourers. Still, labour editors cannot be excused for perpetrating this shameful contradiction in the movement they pledged to serve. Racism, from whatever quarter and for whatever reason, is still wrong in the eyes of any true social reformer, as later labour editors would eventually attest.

Another social issue where the labour press found little to be equivocal about was poverty. Some of the best of 19th-century labour journalism and editorial advocacy is on this subject, much of it from the pen of Phillips Thompson, editor of the Labor Advocate. Still another was health and safety in the workplace. It was an issue all papers were concerned about, whether it was the Palladium of Labor, which hired an investigative reporter to reveal the unbearable working conditions in some Ontario cotton mills in the 1880s, or the Trades Journal, which had perhaps its finest hour when editor Robert Drummond tackled the mining industry's safety standards.

There were other issues, too, that found a place in these earnest weeklies, some of them ahead of their time, such as the abolition of the Senate. Yet there is no

evidence that any key piece of social legislation appeared on the statute books before 1900 as a result of labour press agitation. Still, by identifying the issues and publishing the debates that ensued in academic and labour intellectuals' circles, labour papers recorded the development of a working-class consciousness and presented an image in microcosm of working-class culture. They were the sounding boards for the pioneers of a little-explored radical intellectual tradition in Canada. And although the roots of that tradition can be traced back to the British Chartist movement and before, its development in Canada to some extent parallels that of the fledgling labour press among other radical presses of the 19th century. The relatively tame and sometimes compromising views expressed in the Ontario Workman, for example, are merely a reflection of the labour intellectual's search for a workable ideological framework. As the intellectuals move through a period of social reformism in the 1880s, slowly embracing socialism as an all-encompassing solution to the misery of the working-class in Victorian Canada, the labour press again serves to reflect the developing tradition.

Unfortunately, readers were often forced to bear witness to the growing pains of that tradition as well. In the mid-1880s, for example, when papers like the Canada Labor Courier and the Canadian Labor Reformer locked horns over various political differences, readers had to wait patiently while the editors publicly harangued each other

for weeks on end. In the 1890s, Ottawa's Capital Siftings and Free Lance imitated their ancestors by using editorial columns to debate which paper better served the interests of the working class. Certainly these internal battles had to occur, and often the subjects of debate were not unworthy of deep private discussion, but to use the pages of their journals as the forum must have helped distance them even more from the mass circulations they so desperately sought.

Whether the early labour papers had an influence on the later 20th-century ones is open to speculation. Bell argues that the Labor Advocate's "influence on subsequent labor periodicals was probably not very great."⁹ But a comparison of the journals that immediately followed it surely proves otherwise. Many emulated the Toronto paper. Also, papers publishing in the early part of the 20th century continued to copy styles, arguments and techniques featured in their pioneer brethren.

As the internecine labour wars between socialists and unionists heated up before and after the First World War, reaching fever pitch during the Winnipeg General Strike, the labour press became ever more strident. But as the 20th century wore on, and the labour movement began to sanitize its radical image through the communist purges of the 1930s and 1940s, fewer and fewer labour journals raised social issues with the same spirit of advocacy as had their predecessors in the 1880s and 1890s. By the 1950s and 1960s many unions would have their own publications, paid for by

union dues and edited by union public relations officers. Fewer labour editors would sell ads to survive as the Industrial Banner's Joe Marks had done in 1891. Fewer needed to compete for subscriptions as C.C. Steuart had done so innovatively for the People's Voice in 1894. Indeed, the modern-day labour press, with few exceptions, would be a trade union press, all too often featuring speeches by the union president, amply dressed up with photographs of him at the convention podium.

Was anybody listening to the labour press of the last century? Can it take any credit for the social advances of the post-Second World War period?

Yes, a few did listen. And they carried some of what Canada's pioneer labour journalists were trying to say into the legislatures, city halls and church basements of the land. A young Winnipeg man named J. S. Woodsworth was most assuredly among those few who read and drew inspiration from the labour journals of the 19th century. And there were others, destined to be less famous perhaps, who were inspired by the social voice of the Canadian labour movement.

NOTES

1. Greg Kealey, Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism (Toronto, 1980), p. 194.

2. Most papers regularly alluded to the need for a daily labour paper. Cyrille Horsiot of the Echo (May 30, 1891, Vol. 1, No. 35, p. 5) wrote: "What a blessing it would be for all intelligent and honest producers the day they can boast themselves of a true daily labor paper as their own, for it will be the gospel and real deliverer of the white slaves." The Voice actually set up a company to produce The Daily Voice in November 1896 during a Tribune lockout (Nov. 14, 1896, Vol. 3, No. 26, p. 4). But the deal fell through when the "Trouble Ended." (Nov. 28, 1896, Vol. 3, No. 28, p. 1): "Probably the most disappointing feature of the settlement from a public standpoint, and especially considered in the light of the interests of the working people, will be the fact that the publication of the new independent daily paper will, of necessity, have to be indefinitely postponed." Citizen and Country reported the refusal of organized labour to endorse a daily to be published in the interests of workers by the Standard Newspaper Co. (Oct. 14, 1899, Vol. 2, No. 22, p. 2).

3. Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines (Cambridge, Mass.), p. 220.

4. Voice, Jan. 4, 1896, Vol. 2, No. 30, p. 3.

5. Paul Rutherford, The Making of the Canadian Media, (Toronto, 1978) p. 43.

6. Joseph R. Conlin, The American Radical Press (Westport, Conn., 1974) p. 7.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., p. 24.

9. John David Bell, The Social and Political Thought of the Labor Advocate (Queen's University masters thesis, 1975), p. 9.

APPENDIX I

The following is a transcript of Bryan Palmer's response to my question regarding the Ontario Workman at a Social Welfare Conference in April 1981 at Carleton University in Ottawa.

Q. One of the papers you have not mentioned, and one of the figures in the labour press you have not mentioned, is the Ontario Workman and J. S. Williams. Is there any reason for that?

A. Well, aside from the fact that that is the press that comes out of the nine-hour movement and it's in the 1870s and I'm mainly just talking about the 1880s,. . . I would argue that it predates this moment. So that this is a press that is in fact funded by John A. Macdonald and the Tories. It represents an interesting, I think, transition between (the) unfocused economic initial period of labour upsurge in the 1850s and the more consolidated movement of the 1880s.

In other words, 1872 represents an institutional response to focus demand for the nine-hour day, the beginnings of this labour press. But it doesn't break down, for instance, the barriers between skilled and unskilled men and women, and it doesn't go outside a kind of dependency on paternalistic Tory political figures. So that's really why I wasn't talking about it so much.

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