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WOMEN OF THE CLOTH - WEAVERS IN WESTMORLAND AND CHARLOTTE
COUNTIES, NEW BRUNSWICK 1871-1891

by

Judith Anne Rygiel B.Sc., B.Ed., B.A.

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

Department of History
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Ottawa, Ontario
April 15, 1998

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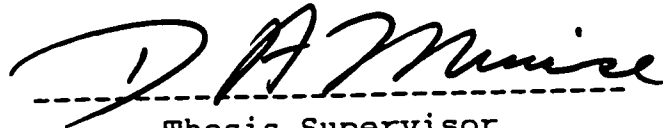
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Abstract

Women weavers in late nineteenth century New Brunswick worked both as rural producers of cloth and industrial workers in the new cotton mills. They could earn incomes through their skills and diligent labour to supplement the family wage and, in the case of mill weavers, to seek some independence. This study attempts to trace the transition of weavers between 1871 to 1891, from the rural setting to the industrial venue in Charlotte and Westmorland counties.

The demographic profile of weavers changed from married women engaged in handweaving as a seasonal occupation to young single women working in the small towns of Moncton and Milltown. As professional weavers, rural women could earn similar incomes as seasonal male wage earners. Young single women, by becoming skilled industrial weavers, could achieve income parity with male weavers and better incomes than other female operatives and waged women workers in the community.

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INTRODUCTION "WOMEN OF THE CLOTH"

Women weavers earned income from their occupations in both the rural countryside and in the industrial sphere of the late nineteenth century cotton factory. The extent of domestic weaving as an artisanal occupation for women in New Brunswick has received little attention from historians. Although five cotton mills operated in New Brunswick in the late nineteenth century, no studies address the transition of women from rural weaving to industrial textile workers.

Domestic weavers contributed to their households by producing cloth for home use as well as for market. Their profession gave them control over both their labour and their product, while the household structure allowed them to integrate part-time work at the loom with the demands of rural agriculture. Weaving products for market required both business acumen and a knowledge of the technical aspects of textile manufacture. Weaving gave rural producers a status in their communities as active members of an economic exchange system. They hired others to help when demands warranted, patronized local stores for supplies, and provided a much needed commodity to other residents as well as outsiders.

Charlotte and Westmorland Counties, in the southwest and southeast corners of New Brunswick, respectively offer significant contrasts and similarities to examine the shift from rural weaving to industrial production of cloth. Both had rural populations engaged in agriculture, fishing and

lumbering in the 1870's. Charlotte County had a predominantly anglophone population of Loyalist, Irish and British extraction. Westmorland County was more ethnically diverse, with concentrations of both anglophone and francophone populations. Both had small towns and an active commercial center on a river basin. Both counties also built cotton mills within a year of each other in the early 1880s. The St Croix Cotton Mill opened in Milltown, Charlotte County, one mile upstream from St Stephen, in 1882; the Moncton Cotton Manufacturing Company in Westmorland County in 1883.

As the rural economy changed in the late 1870s, women and their families faced difficult economic decisions. The downturn of the staple extracting industries, especially lumbering, meant forest workers and lumbermen needed fewer goods to outfit themselves and the lumber camps. Advertisements in newspapers, destined to these consumers of homespun cloth, disappeared from New Brunswick newspapers by the early 1880s. The decline in the lumber trade along the St Croix River hit Charlotte County residents particularly hard. In Westmorland County, the trading and shipping industries suffered the effects of economic difficulties of the 1870s, but railroad construction softened the impact of the prevailing economic hard times.

In both counties, chronic cash shortages forced rural families to embark on alternative strategies to sustain the family economy. Young people in both counties looked

increasingly to industries in New England promising opportunities for cash wages to supplement the family farm income. The cotton mills and shoe factories in Massachusetts and Maine beckoned daughters of farming families from both counties in the late nineteenth century.

The cotton mills, built in both Charlotte and Westmorland Counties in the 1880s, would act as a curb to this out-migration. Securing work in a local cotton mill was a chance for young people to stay near families, yet achieve some measure of independence while contributing wages to the family economy. The cotton mills provided a variety of both skilled and unskilled jobs to workers in both communities. Weaving was one of the skilled and better paid positions open to men and women at both the St Croix and Moncton mills.

The realities of young women's new employment venues were somewhat different from those of their rural mothers. Although difficult to document for this case study, familiarity with textile production in other industrialising communities was an asset in securing work in the cotton mills. The demands of industry, and not her own efforts and local markets, controlled a mill weaver's labour and the product of her labour. The regional and national markets for cotton goods, as well as decisions made by management, dictated how much work was available. The mill bell and the daily demands of mill life changed the weaver's status from an experienced craftsperson in her community, to a hired hand. Her new status

in the community was that of wage earner, who could exchange her wages for consumer goods.

This study, covering the twenty year period from 1871 to 1891, attempts to measure the transition of women from rural producers of cloth to factory hands in cotton mills. It will profile weavers in both counties, first as rural producers of cloth and then as industrial operatives. Implicit in this study is the issue of anonymity of weavers as important contributors to the family wage economy. The identity of women was not always known, neither in their artisanal contributions, nor as industrial textile workers. In some New Brunswick counties, census enumerators did not recognize or were confused about the reporting of persons involved in artisanal professions such as weaving in 1871. Seasonal or part time work was not always reported on the nominative schedules in either 1871 or 1891.

Income parity for women, in both the domestic and industrial realms, in the late nineteenth century was an unusual feature in the family wage economy. Women weavers in both Westmorland and Charlotte counties could earn incomes comparable to men in their communities, both in the rural domestic setting and in the new cotton mills.

Four major themes will be discussed in this case study of late nineteenth century New Brunswick. The first is the importance of domestic weaving in the two counties. What was the extent of the home production of cloth in the two

counties? What kinds of products did weavers make and what was the destination of their products? What were the sources of supplies for their professional activities? Income potential and economic exchanges within their communities are components of the family income. What level of income could weavers earn from their products? How does this income compare with rates for other rural occupations?

The second theme relates to conditions fostering the establishment of cotton mills in Moncton and Milltown. The need to revitalize the economies of their communities, but also to curb out-migration of young people, were arguments promoters advanced to initiate campaigns for building new enterprises. Projected profits by existing mills in New England, Ontario and Quebec encouraged promoters to invest their money in new ventures. A brief survey of the initial building campaigns will show how decisions promoters made impacted potential operatives. Nearby New England had a thriving cotton industry with both mills and machine shops. Did this industry influence any of the choices made in Moncton and Milltown in technology selection, labour organization, management, financing, or construction of their cotton mills?

The third theme deals with the labour supply for the two cotton mills. Recruitment of a suitable workforce was a necessary component in establishing any manufacturing industry. Were there sufficient pools of both skilled and unskilled workers either in the community or nearby? Housing

choices can shed light on choices families and individuals made to secure a livelihood. Did workers live at home or find lodgings within the mill communities? What kinds of lodgings existed to satisfy the influx of workers?

The fourth theme examines women weavers as wage earners. Mills offered some new challenges to weavers and other textile workers in the types of jobs available. The new opportunity to live away from home, the income differentials for mill jobs, and the overriding demands for the elusive family wage were major considerations. What factors affected income rates for workers in the cotton mills? Did some women choose jobs based on wages or did other considerations come into play? Were rates of pay sufficient to keep young women in New Brunswick instead of migrating to neighbouring New England?

Quantitative evidence for the pre-industrial component of this study was derived from the 1871 Manuscript Census, where the Agricultural, Industrial and Nominative schedules are extant. Data for the industrial period was available from the 1891 Census, the Willis Report on the Manufacturing Industries of 1885, and testimonies before the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital in 1888. Community newspapers supplemented information for both the preindustrial and the industrial periods.

Comparing these two counties in New Brunswick will offer a more complete view of the working lives of women weavers. It will address identity and income parity as issues in

understanding the contribution of women to the rural economy and in industrial towns in New Brunswick. It will look at strategies in the industrial setting that families undertook to secure a reasonable family income.

CHAPTER 1 - THE CONTEXT OF WORKING WOMEN

New Brunswick women weavers in the late nineteenth century worked both in domestic production and in the newly established cotton mills. Their roles in these two widely differing work environments built on the traditional heritage of farm women's work in the home setting to provide textiles for home use and for exchange. Young rural women entered the paid labour force in the early 1880s in New Brunswick to become factory hands. This transition from rural production of cloth to a factory setting had two different effects. It changed women's roles in the household and provided them with an identity linked to occupation.

Early studies on the transition from rural manufacture to an industrial setting in America focused on three stages of evolution.¹ Tryon identified the initial stage as one of home manufacture of most goods in a frontier/pioneer situation. Self sufficiency in home production of all consumable goods such as foodstuffs and textiles, was a hallmark of this stage. The second stage was the small handicraft shop outside the home setting supplying goods and services for the community. The craftsman bartered the output of his shop for farm products or other services. The home and the small workshop gradually gave up the production of goods to small factories. These three stages were not distinct in many parts of the

¹Rolla Milton Tyron, Household Manufactures in the United States, 1640-1860 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1917; reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint, 1966).

country but dovetailed as systems of transportation opened communities further from the manufacturing centers of the eastern seaboard.²

Most areas of America had completed this transition to industrial manufacture by the 1830s.³ Weaving and spinning business were the exception. They continued in the home, even after the handicraft system and the small factories took over production of cloth. Tyron argued that the tenacity of Yankee women to hold on to their spinning wheels and looms retarded the complete takeover of the factory system to supply the textile needs of American households.⁴

The stages in transition from home to factory production of cloth followed roughly those for other crafts with some modifications. The home was absolutely independent of the factory in the first stage. The second stage saw the factory as supplementary to home production. In the third stage, the factory supplied some of the labour, either weaving cloth from yarn spun in the home, or spinning mills supplying yarn for domestic looms. In the fourth stage the factory became independent from the home.⁵

A distinct division between these stages of textile production never occurred; instead a diminution of the

²Ibid., 11.

³Ibid., 268.

⁴Ibid., 191.

⁵Ibid., 272.

importance and activity of each of the preceding stages took place, until the factory system took over most of the work previously done in the home. Weaving and spinning in most areas of America passed into the factories before 1830 bringing the women and girls with them.⁶ Tyron argued that by 1860, home production had been superseded by factory produced goods supplying the needs of the people.⁷

Two distinctive themes run through the historiography of women leaving their rural families of origin to enter factories in either the United States or Canada. The need to supplement the family economy, followed by a bid for independence, although limited in many ways, changed women's roles and increased their mobility and opportunities. Cultural and social values often curtailed these opportunities in securing waged work.

Thomas Dublin used individual women and their family ties in New England to examine women's wages and family lives in the transition to industrial capitalism.⁸ He went beyond the traditional economic and political studies of the industrial revolution in America to introduce gender as an analytical framework. Through a series of case studies he examined five distinct occupations in New England in the early nineteenth century - rural outwork, textiles, shoes, garment workers and

⁶Ibid., 272.

⁷Ibid., 11.

⁸Thomas Dublin, Transforming Women's Work- New England Lives in the Industrial Revolution (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).

domestic servants, and teachers.

Outworking in New England, as a cottage industry, was a transitional stage in the passage to industrialization. Stores and factories provided part of the raw materials for production of goods such as hats, shoes and textiles products. Rural women provided labour in exchange for yarn, cash or store credits. Outworking integrated the rural family economy with agricultural responsibilities, allowing women to earn income without leaving home. Young women moved freely between outworking and factory wages between the 1830s and 1840s, staying in the factory for only a short time of their productive lives.⁹

Limited income earning capabilities of outworking and an increasing desire for an independent wage prompted daughters of New England farmers toward factory work. If the factory work provided a new social and economic independence outside the home, it was also short lived. Dublin's study showed that women worked for wages only a brief time before they married and once again became dependent on the family wage economy.

This new family wage was an urban based family economy where whole families laboured together, not in agriculture, but in the mills. A permanent workforce of daughters, plus whole families of immigrants, increasingly replaced the transient work force of single rural Yankee daughters after

⁹Ibid., 73.

1850.¹⁰

Joan Scott and Louise Tilly, along with Ivy Pinchbeck offered a European perspective on the transition of women from rural to industrial production of textiles. Scott and Tilly traced the evolving connections of both single and married women's work in France and Britain between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries.¹¹ They stressed that women's entry into the wage labour force was a strategy intended to serve familial and not individual purposes. The family was an interdependent unit wherein all members contributed to the family wage, even if from a distance.¹²

Waged work, argued Scott and Tilly, represented "a change but not an improvement in women's social position and did not dramatically alter women's relationship to their families."¹³ A daughter's departure relieved the family from the burden of supporting her while maintaining the expectation that she would send home some financial contribution. Their model stressed the continual pressure on women - as daughters, wives and mothers - to serve the larger familial needs.

Early industrialization, especially in the textile sector, relied heavily on the need of women and children to supplement the family income. Under this family wage economy,

¹⁰Ibid., 27.

¹¹Louise Tilly and Joan Scott, Women, Work and the Family (New York: Routledge Press, 1989).

¹²Ibid., 2.

¹³Ibid., 2.

wages from all family members were important to support the daily needs of food and rent. Young women and boys sold their labour power to bring in cash to the family fund.¹⁴ Married women only worked at cash producing activities when the family urgently needed extra income.¹⁵

Ivy Pinchbeck also argued that family wage was the prime motive in assigning textile related duties within the family.¹⁶ In the 18th century, the majority of weavers in Britain were men. They owned their own looms and worked at home in a putting out system, where capitalists and clothiers supplied the raw materials and bought the finished goods. Women engaged in the preparatory work of carding, spinning and making warps, but increasingly, whoever happened to be available, would weave the cloth.¹⁷ The greatest attraction of domestic weaving was the independence of being self employed with the whole family contributing to the final product. By the end of the 18th century, there was a growing class of journeymen and women weavers working for wages in shops on hired looms.¹⁸ The factory system, Pinchbeck maintained, marked the beginning of the loss of independence of the family as an economic unit. Families feared that factories would deprive them of the

¹⁴Ibid., 111.

¹⁵Ibid., 124.

¹⁶Ivy Pinchbeck, Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution 1750-1850 (London: George Routledge, 1930).

¹⁷Ibid., 159.

¹⁸Ibid., 158.

earning power of women and children.¹⁹

Pinchbeck also argued that the antipathy of domestic workers towards machinery prevented them from entering the textile factories in the early days of industrialization. Recruitment did not take place among those already in the textile trade but from agriculturists, domestic servants, the unskilled of all trades and parish paupers. With the advent of the power looms between 1830-1840, British manufacturers preferred weavers with handloom weaving experience. These new workers would have had knowledge of the care and minute attention that the work required. Forced by sheer economic necessity, daughters and wives of distressed handloom weavers left their homes to enter the factories.²⁰

Canadian historiography on the transition from rural production of textiles into an industrial setting is less well developed than in America or Britain.²¹ Virtually no work has been done on the rural production of cloth in the Maritimes.²² Recent articles by Kris Inwood and his colleagues are efforts to study rural weavers in Leeds County, Ontario and Nova

¹⁹Ibid., 182.

²⁰Ibid., 185.

²¹See Marjorie Griffin Cohen, Women's Work, Markets, and Economic Development in Nineteenth-Century Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988); Cohen offered only a small discussion of handweaving among women's economic activities; and David-Thierry Ruddel, "The domestic textile industry in the region and city of Quebec," in Material History Bulletin 17 (Spring 1983): 95-126.

²²Cynthia Casey-Wallace, "Providential Openings": The Women Weavers of Nineteenth-Century Queens County, New Brunswick, Material History Review 46 (Fall 1997): 29-44.

Scotia.²³ Beside museologists and ethnographers the field needs exploration.²⁴

The early industrial period of textiles, with its inherent wage inequalities for women and difficult labour relations, is a recent area of inquiry for Canadian historians.²⁵ Women's waged work in cotton mills and the challenges of industrialization are components of case studies of Maritime and Quebec communities in the late nineteenth century. As in America and Britain, Canadian historians explored themes of supplemental family wage and independence as motivations for young women to enter waged work.

Bettina Bradbury used gender analysis to follow Montreal women within a working class family economy through their life cycle between 1861 and 1881.²⁶ Montreal was already

²³Kris Inwood and Janine Grant, "Gender and Organization in the Canadian Cloth Industry, 1870," in Canadian Papers in Business History vol 1 ed. Peter Baskerville (Victoria: The Public History Group, 1989):17-32; also "Labouring at the Loom: A Case Study of Rural Manufacturing in Leeds County, Ontario, 1870," in Canadian Papers in Rural History vol.7 ed. Donald Akenson (Gananoque, Ontario: Langdale Press, 1990): 215-235; also Inwood and Phyllis Wagg, "The Survival of Handloom Weaving in Rural Canada Circa 1870," Journal of Economic History 53 no.2 (June 1991): 346-358.

²⁴Harold and Dorothy Burnham, "Keep Me Warm One Night" - Early Handweaving in Eastern Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973).

²⁵Peter Delottinville, "Trouble in the Hives of Industry: The Cotton Industry Comes to Milltown, New Brunswick, 1879-1892," Historical Papers, Montreal 1980: 100-115; Jacques Ferland, "In Search of the Unbound Prometheus-A Comparative View of Women's Activism in Two Quebec Industries, 1869-1908," Labour/Le Travail 24 (Fall 1989): 11-43; Jacques Rouillard, Le Travailleurs du Coton au Québec, 1900-1915 (Montreal: Les Press de l'Université du Québec, 1974); Suzanne Cross, "La Majorité Oubliée: Le Rôle des Femmes à Montréal au 19e siècle," Les Femmes dans la Société Québécoise, eds. Marie Lavigne et Yves Pinard (Montréal: Les Éditions Boréal Express, 1977): 33-59.

²⁶Bettina Bradbury, "Women and Wage Labour in a Period of Transition: Montreal, 1861-1881," Histoire Sociale/ Social History vol. 17 no 33(May 1984): 115-31.

experiencing the transition from workshop manufacturing to early factories at this time. She chose her young women, married women, and widows in the two working class wards of Ste Anne and St Jacques. At all three stages of their life cycles women's role as domestic labourers conditioned their experiences as wage labourers.²⁷

Women and children contributed supplemental income to the family economy both through their wages, and their labour. Married women were the least likely family member to work for wages. Bradbury maintained that industrialization did not destroy the working class family. The spread of waged labour among the households of Ste Anne and St Jacques meant a growing separation of home and work. It reshaped the family economy by having some members of the family supply wages while the married women transformed these wages, through careful shopping and home management, into food and clothing for their families.²⁸

Halifax women also entered waged employment after the 1880s when shoe, chocolate, tobacco and cotton factories clamoured for cheap unskilled labour.²⁹ Sharon Myers pointed out that the transition from rural work to factory work forced young single women to find strategies to cope with the reality of the workplace. Economic vulnerability, prevailing gender

²⁷Ibid., 116.

²⁸Ibid., 130.

²⁹Sharon Myers, "Not to Be Ranked as Women - Female Industrial Workers in Turn of the Century Halifax," in Separate Spheres, eds. Janet Guildford and Suzanne Morton (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1994): 161-183.

biased ideology of male employers, and ambivalent messages from middle class reformers challenged the limits young women could exercise to advance their cause.³⁰ Myers argued that women's life cycles and prevailing gender ideals influenced young women to seek work outside the home, accepting that it was a temporary arrangement to supply additional family wages.³¹

Ginette Lafleur's case study of Moncton's working women found a shift away from domestic service to industrial work between 1881-1891.³² This shift was never complete as the number of light manufacturing jobs available for women in both the cotton mill and the hosiery mill never exceeded more than two hundred positions.³³ Before 1881, there were few job opportunities for women in Moncton except as domestics and in personal service such as seamstresses and milliners. Mechanization in the cotton mill allowed unskilled labour, including women and children, to perform repetitive and low paying tasks to supplement family income. Lafleur argued that industrialization and urbanization, by transferring work outside the home, excluded a portion of the female

³⁰Ibid., 162.

³¹Ibid., 164.

³²Ginette Lafleur, "Industrialisation et le travail rémunéré des femmes: Moncton, 1881-1891," in Moncton 1871-1929 - Changements socio-économiques dans une ville ferroviare, ed. Daniel Hickey (Moncton: Les Éditions d'Acadie, 1990): 63-87.

³³Ibid., 82.

population.³⁴ Work in light manufacturing was only a temporary stage for young women as few married women worked for wages.

Del Muisse's study involved the changing nature of women's paid work in the three Nova Scotia industrializing towns of Yarmouth, Amherst and Sydney Mines in the late nineteenth century.³⁵ In Nova Scotia, Muisse found that women entered the paid labour force both to supplement the dominant income of the father or husband, and to seek some measure of independence.³⁶ He argued that the many mill women boarding in Yarmouth presumed that country girls sought a limited independence as well as wages in leaving their families.³⁷

Cultural and social norms were factors limiting women's participation in the workforce to the period between childhood and marriage. Men were expected to work throughout their lifetimes while married women were responsible for child rearing and household maintenance. Males also controlled most industrial jobs and management positions restricting women from acquiring experience and mobility within the work force.³⁸ Other factors lessened women's job opportunities. Muisse argued that women faced discrimination from employers and competition with other women workers based on religion, ethnicity and

³⁴Ibid., 82.

³⁵Del Muisse, "The Industrial Context of Inequality: Female Participation in Nova Scotia's Paid Labour Force, 1871-1921," Acadiensis 20 (Autumn 1991): 3-31.

³⁶Ibid., 12.

³⁷Ibid., 23.

³⁸Ibid., 19.

literacy.³⁹ In Yarmouth, language was a difficulty, restricting young male and female Acadians' mobility and choices of job opportunities. In Sydney Mines, the coal and steel industry offered few positions for female labour.

Although Gail Cuthbert Brandt's studies were on cotton workers in Quebec from 1910 to 1950, similar issues arose about women's decisions to enter the paid labour force.⁴⁰ Through personal interviews with women cotton workers, Brandt found young women often had no choice in entering the cotton mills. Parents expected daughters to hand over their wages to supplement the family income.⁴¹ Young women in the cotton mills experienced little personal autonomy over their lives or their money outside the home.⁴² Brandt argued that religious and lay nationalists discouraged married women from working outside the home, stressing their reproductive role in Quebec society.⁴³

Paris, Ontario's women textile workers had different experiences with lifelong waged labour than their counterparts in Quebec and the Maritimes.⁴⁴ Main stream ideologies

³⁹Ibid., 21.

⁴⁰Gail Cuthbert-Brandt, "Women in the Quebec Cotton Industry, 1890-1950," Material History Bulletin 31 (Spring 1990): 99-105; Cuthbert-Brandt, "Weaving it Together": Life Cycle and the Industrial Experience of Female Cotton Workers in Quebec, 1910-1950," Labour/ Le Travail 7 (Spring 1981): 113-126.

⁴¹Cuthbert-Brandt, "Weaving", 117.

⁴²Ibid., 125.

⁴³Cuthbert-Brandt, "Women in the Quebec Cotton Industry", 102.

⁴⁴Joy Parr, The Gender of Breadwinners (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

concerning gender, class and ethnicity were reversed in this hosiery mill town of predominantly women workers. Married women were frequently the main wage earners for their families since there were few jobs for their husbands. Married women in Paris exchanged services and other strategies with their immediate relatives as well as the larger "mill family" to cope with both household and mill responsibilities.⁴⁵ Parr argued that "...collaborations depended on flexible patterns of co-residence ...and upon exchange of cash and services among women..." This blurred the boundaries between the waged economy and the household economy.⁴⁶

Paris was perhaps an exception in married women dominating the local economy by breaking through the barriers of culturally perceived norms of appropriate gender roles. Parr maintained that this shift in culturally acceptable terms of employment were not viewed well by local residents. They did not see women's coping strategies as signs of ingenuity, practicality and thrift but as signs of improvidence and imprudence.⁴⁷

This brief survey of literature on women's transition from rural producer of cloth to mill hand points out the paucity of studies for this sector of the economy. This micro study of weavers in southern New Brunswick in the nineteenth

⁴⁵Ibid., 94.

⁴⁶Ibid., 94.

⁴⁷Ibid., 230.

century, will corroborate some of these findings and will shed light on other factors affecting their employment as active members of their communities.

CHAPTER 2 - HOME WEAVING IN CHARLOTTE AND WESTMORLAND COUNTIES

The inhabitants of Westmorland and Charlotte Counties had certain similarities in 1871. They worked in farming, fishing, lumbering, and small service businesses in the towns. Westmorland's commercial centers included the small towns of Moncton, Shediac, Sackville and Dorchester. Charlotte County people shopped in St Stephen, St Andrews and St George. Both counties had approximately the same number of families - Westmorland with 4,794 and Charlotte with 4,725 and a similar size population.¹

The ethnic compositions of the two counties was quite different. Although about 40% of both counties inhabitants declared English as their ethnic background, Charlotte County's second largest ethnic group was Irish (39%) while Westmorland's was French (32%). The balance of Charlotte County's 25,882 inhabitants were of Scottish ancestry (16%) and other minor groups.² In Westmorland County, the remainder of the 29,335 inhabitants were of Irish (13%) or Scots (11%) background.³

Home weaving was not an inconsequential activity in the rural 1870s economy. Although manufactured cloth was readily

¹Census 1871, vol.1, 424.

²Census 1871, vol.1, 316, Table III: Major ethnic composition of Charlotte County: 10,783 English (41.6%), 10,154 Irish (39.2%), 4,319 Scottish (16.6%).

³Census 1871, vol. 1, 316, Table III: Major ethnic composition of Westmorland County: 11,871 English (40.46%), 9,356 French (31.89%), 3,719 Irish (12.67%), and 3,148 Scots (10.73%).

available through shopkeepers and merchants, weavers continued to manufacture cloth at home. Domestic cloth makers included weavers who wove at home for their families' textile needs and those working professionally, earning income from the sale of their product. A comparison of weavers in Westmorland and Charlotte counties showed certain similarities but also extreme contrasts for both groups. This case study will include the demographics of weavers, a business profile of professional weavers, types of cloth woven, sources of supplies and outlets.

Domestic cloth production in New Brunswick reached its peak in 1871 with 1,125,069 yards of home made cloth, flannel and linen. Quebec and Nova Scotia also achieved maximum production in 1871 while Ontario had reached its highest by 1861.⁴ When the Census enumerators called in 1871, they found 384 persons in New Brunswick declaring weaving as their occupation.⁵

Census data gave a picture, although flawed, of the demographics of the weaving communities in both counties. People reported weaving activity in 1871 on one or more of three census schedules. They mentioned weaving as an occupation on either the nominative or the industrial and

⁴Sophie-Laurence Lamontagne et Fernand Harvey, La Production Textile Domestique au Quebec, 1827-1941, Collection Transformation # 7 (Ottawa: Musée national des sciences et de la technologie/ National Museum of Science and Technology, 1997), 19. Total cloth production, including linen for 1871: Quebec 4,899,176 yards, Nova Scotia 1,587,990; Ontario 1,800,822 in 1871 down from 2,130,089 in 1861. from Table 7.

⁵Canada Census 1871, vol.2, Table XIII, p 332.

manufacturing schedules. The agricultural returns also reported households producing textile products such as wool fleece, home made cloth and flannel, and linen. Unfortunately these agricultural schedules used only the head of household, not the individual person, as reference for all farming returns. Discerning the gender of the cloth maker from the agricultural schedules was not possible.

Instructions to enumerators were very explicit in distinguishing those textile products belonging on the agricultural returns and those on the manufacturing schedules. The census manual instructed enumerators to "...keep distinct home made fabrics from those made in cloth and linen factories." They are to include only cloth "reckoned by the yard" such as blankets, shawls, and such articles.⁶ The end use of the homemade cloth, whether for the household's own personal use or for sale was ambiguous.

The industrial and manufacturing schedules (Schedule #6) contained pertinent information about those running a business. These schedules listed the business owner by name, the number and sex of the employees, the number of months worked, and fixed and floating capital. It included the kinds, amounts and values of both the raw materials and the finished products. The census manual defined an industrial establishment as a

⁶Canada. "Manual Containing Census Act and Instructions to Officers", Sessional Papers no. 64, 34 Victoria, 1871, 138. (hereafter called Census Manual)

...place where one or several persons are employed in manufacturing, altering, making up or changing from one shape into another materials for sale, use, or consumption, quite irrespectively of the amount of capital employed or the products turned out...a cloth manufactory [is] an industrial establishment.

The employees can be "... made up exclusively with members of the family of the proprietor," or others.⁷

Instructions to the enumerators, both for occupation and industrial manufactures, were a factor in the ambiguity of interpretation. In the case of women's occupations, the census manual informed enumerators

...unless they have a definite occupation besides their share in the work of the family or household, the column is to be filled a (-) sign...If they have a special occupation, such as seamstress, clerk, factory hand, &, then it should be entered accordingly.⁸

Some enumerators in Charlotte County took these instructions to heart by considering weaving a "special occupation" in their districts. Other enumerators noted some weavers but not others within the same district.⁹ In Westmorland County, enumerators noted weaving activity only on the agricultural schedules and not on either the nominative nor industrial

⁷Ibid., 138-9.

⁸Ibid., 134.

⁹In Ontario, Inwood noted that some enumerators distinguished weaving for family use and weaving as a business by using scale of production and proportion of cloth intended for their own use. Farm families reported cloth for their own use on the Agricultural schedule, and their custom production on the Industrial schedule. Kris Inwood and Phyllis Wagg, "The Survival of Handloom Weaving in Rural Canada Circa 1870," Journal of Economic History vol.53, no.2 (June 1993): 348 ftn 13.

manuscript data.

According to the occupational data tables, Charlotte County had the largest number of weavers (94) in 1871.¹⁰ Westmorland County enumerators counted only two weavers, yet noted 166,252 yards of home made cloth, and 27,026 yards of linen for 1871.¹¹ More than 60% of the households in Westmorland County reported producing some home made cloth and flannel on the agricultural schedules.¹²

One of the other difficulties of census interpretation and the discussion on weaving in the literature is terminology. Country weaver, home weaver, domestic weaver, custom weaver, professional weaver, market weaver and itinerant weaver are words associated with people who made cloth at home. They are not interchangeable designations for weavers. In this comparison of weavers in Charlotte and Westmorland Counties, professional weavers were those on Schedule 6 - the Industrial and Manufacturing returns. The home weavers were those households who appeared only on Schedule 5 - the Agricultural returns. Building a profile of home weavers was not feasible since the agricultural schedule

¹⁰Census 1871, vol. 2, "Occupation of the People", 333. Total weavers in the province 384. By county: Charlotte 94, Northumberland 68, Victoria 54, St John 40, Kings 26, Sunbury 39, Carleton 17, Gloucester 14, Albert 11, York 7, Queens 6, Restigouche 6, Westmorland 2, Kent 0.

¹¹Census 1871 vol.3, 218; vol.2, 332. There is a slight variance with my count of 166,005 yards of cloth and 25,021 yards of linen for Westmorland County.

¹²Census 1871. Census schedules: Agricultural returns for Westmorland County. Reels C 10,391-10,393 National Archives of Canada; 3029 families reported cloth making in the county.

did not report which family member(s) actually made the cloth.

An examination of professional weavers and home weavers in the two counties will shed light on the many similarities and differences in their production levels and business activities. As mentioned above, the participation rate of households engaged in weaving in Westmorland County was very high, with 3029 out of 4794 families reporting this activity. The families in Botsford district surpassed their neighbours not only in high participation rates for homespun but also in cloth and fleece production.¹³ More than 80% of the families in the district made homespun cloth, averaging 69 yards per household, when the county average was 55 yards. This high production included 140 of the 622 families weaving more than 100 yards each.¹⁴

Home production rates for Botsford district and the county are significantly higher than Adrienne Hood's rural 18th century Pennsylvania weavers or Thierry Ruddel's in colonial Quebec.¹⁵ Hood determined that annual clothing needs for a household of six people would require about 45 yards of cloth or 7 yards per person. This amount was sufficient to replace a minimum amount of worn clothing but did not account

¹³See Appendix, Table 2.2 "Westmorland County Textile Production"

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Thierry Ruddel, "The Domestic Textile Industry in the Region and City of Quebec, 1792-1830," Material History Bulletin 17 (Spring 1983): 109. Ruddel estimated 26.2 yards of cloth production per farm or approximately 4 yards per rural resident in 1851. Adrienne Hood, "The Material World of Cloth: Production and Use in 18th Century Rural Pennsylvania," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd series vol. 53, no. 1 (January 1996): 43-66.

for household textiles such as bedding and towels.¹⁶

Westmorland County households engaged in sheep farming to produce wool needed for homespun cloth. Sheep husbandry was a major agricultural activity in the county; 63% of households pastured sheep. Botsford, an area bounded by Northumberland Strait, Bay Verte and the district of Shediac was the most productive of all the districts. Home to many francophone Acadian farmers and fishermen in need of warm, sturdy outdoor work clothes, its wool clip of 22,600 pounds in 1871 was the highest for the county.¹⁷ Once carded and spun, Botsford's home weavers transformed this wool into 35,800 yards of homespun cloth.¹⁸

Many families in the county wove more than 100 yards of cloth, a production level exceeding their immediate needs.¹⁹ This high production level was especially prevalent in the francophone districts of Shediac and Bostford. Salisbury, a predominantly anglophone area, had fewer households than any of the francophone districts, but also reported high levels of production. Table 2.1 identifies the districts with their

¹⁶Hood, 47.

¹⁷See Katherine Brett, "Country Clothing in Nineteenth Century Ontario," Proceedings of the 4th Annual Agricultural History of Ontario Seminar ed. Alan Brookes (Guelph: University of Guelph Press, 1979): 40, for a discussion of the durability of homespun for rural work clothes. See also Table 2.2, Appendix "Westmorland Co. Textile Production". Total production of fleece in Westmorland County was 106,828 pounds in 1871.

¹⁸Calculations based on Agricultural returns, see footnote # 11.

¹⁹In Westmorland County 423 households wove more than 100 yards of cloth in 1871. This represented 14% of all weaving households in the county.

production rates.

TABLE 2.1 HOUSEHOLDS WEAVING MORE THAN 100 YARDS OF WOOL CLOTH AND FLANNEL, WESTMORLAND COUNTY, 1871

DISTRICTS	# HOUSEHOLDS WEAVING OVER 100 YDS.	# HOUSEHOLDS WEAVING IN DISTRICTS	% HOUSEHOLDS WEAVING OVER 100 YDS.
DORCHESTER	43	617	6.96%
SACKVILLE	33	357	9.24%
WESTMORLAND	36	270	13.33%
BOTSFORD	140	518	27.02%
SHEDIAC	79	597	13.23%
MONCTON	42	376	11.17%
SALISBURY	50	294	17.00%
TOTALS	423	3,029	

SOURCE: Database constructed from 1871 Census Manuscript Agricultural returns for Westmorland County.

Some households in Westmorland County, like the Cormier's and the Leger's, reported both linen cloth and wool cloth on the agricultural returns. In the Shediac district, for example, Hippolyte Leger's family wove 150 yards of flannel, 200 yards of linen and reported 32 pounds of wool. Hippolyte, a farmer, and his wife Odette, probably had help with flax breaking and weaving from their four older daughters and five sons. The Cormier family, also of Shediac, had five older children and a widow, Elizabeth Michaud living on their farm. The family reported 100 yards of linen and 140 yards of homemade cloth and flannel.²⁰

²⁰See footnote 12.

Although other districts grew flax, the families of Dorchester district, in the Memramcook Valley, were the leaders in linen production, weaving half the total output for the whole county. This fertile area of Westmorland County was situated along the Memramcook River, south of Moncton to the mouth of the Peticodiac River. The large number of francophone farmers in this sector of Dorchester district were descendants of Acadians returning after the Expulsion of 1755. The district of Dorchester had 322 (36%) of its households weaving more than 12,000 yards of linen.²¹ All other areas in Westmorland County reporting high linen production, like Shediac, Moncton and Botsford, also had large francophone populations.

Lamontagne and Harvey, studying Quebec's domestic textile production, found that anglophone counties were the least active in flax production in the nineteenth century.²² The high linen production in francophone speaking districts of Westmorland County was similar to their observations for Quebec. The other counties in New Brunswick with high linen production, Kent, Gloucester and Victoria also counted significant numbers of inhabitants with francophone

²¹See Table 2.2 Appendix "Westmorland County Textile Production".

²²Lamontagne and Harvey, 30. Quebec produced 88% of the total linen produced in Canada in 1871, Nova Scotia, 7%, New Brunswick 4% and Ontario 1%, Lamontagne and Harvey, 27.

backgrounds.²³

The large participation rate and the high output of many households suggested that Westmorland County enumerators did not differentiate home weavers from professionals. The occupational tables for Westmorland reported only two weavers on the nominative data, and none on the industrial schedules, yet over 3000 families reported textile activity on the agricultural schedules. If we were to use only the occupational table as reference, a distorted picture of the extent of weaving activity and the number of weavers in Westmorland County is evident.

Charlotte County enumerators reported somewhat different findings than Westmorland's.²⁴ The 94 weavers on the "Occupation of the People" table for Charlotte did not coincide with an actual count of the weavers in the county.²⁵ The nominative and industrial schedules listed 145 weavers in the county, a difference of more than 54%. Of these weavers, 126 were professional weavers and an additional 19 were home weavers, who declared their occupation on the nominative schedules.

²³Linen production for Kent County in 1871 was 15, 334 yards, Victoria 10,851 yards, Gloucester 14,115. Census vol. 3, 218. The enumerators for Kent County reported no weavers in the occupational data. The word "brayons" (from the French "brayer", to break flax- one of the preparatory steps in linen production), frequently referred to the people in the Madawaska who spoke the particular French dialect of the region.

²⁴Census 1871 Reels c 10,376, 10,377 Charlotte County. National Archives of Canada.

²⁵Census 1871, vol. 2, 250.

Only 79 of the 104 self identified professionals named their occupations on the nominative schedules. The enumerator for parish d-1 St George mentioned, in a marginal note, that 12 handloom weavers (professionals) operated businesses. He stated he had already noted them on the agricultural returns, and consequently did not enter them on the industrial schedules. Since 122 households in this parish wove cloth, extracting these 12 professionals would be difficult.²⁶

These findings for Charlotte County on both the nominative and industrial schedules indicated a significant effort of either the enumerators or the weavers themselves to identify with an occupation, as compared to the anonymous weavers of Westmorland County. The number of households active in weaving, including both the professionals and the homeweavers, was much lower than in Westmorland County. Only 1255 households in Charlotte County participated in cloth making compared to the 3029 in Westmorland.

Most of the 133 identifiable weavers in Charlotte County were women. Only five men declared weaving as their occupation in the county. Three men in St Patrick, all born in Ireland, and one man in Dumbarton, born in Scotland, reported weaving as their occupation on the nominative returns. Peter Smart, of Dumbarton, at 94, was the oldest weaver on the nominative data for the county, producing 30 yards of cloth in 1871. Only one

²⁶There is insignificant data for 22 of the professional weavers. Due to unclear handwriting or mistakes in entries by the enumerators, some of the weavers of Schedule 6 do not appear on The Nominative manuscripts.

man, James Murphy, born in Ireland, declared himself a professional weaver on Schedule 6. On the St David nominative returns, he named his occupation as farmer and not as weaver. He wove for only one month producing sixty yards of homemade twill cloth. He also noted one female employee- whether this was his wife or his 16 year old daughter was not reported.

Home weavers in Charlotte County were neither as numerous nor as productive as Westmorland County's. Home weavers produced 47,128 yards of cloth and flannel and virtually no linen fabric in 1871.²⁷ These 1109 home weavers represented 23.4% of the total households producing cloth, just over one third the number in Westmorland County. The average household's production was 42 yards, somewhat less than the 55 yards for Westmorland home weavers.

Not all home weavers produced small volumes of cloth. Martin Dinsmore's family, of St Stephen parish, reported 1000 yards of home-made cloth. Martin, a house carpenter, and his wife, Jane, had twelve children, six sons and six daughters. Three of the female children aged 24, 12 and 8 were old enough to lend their mother a helping hand. Three of Dinsmore's neighbours also wove more than 600 yards of cloth each, yet none of these households reported weaving as an occupation on the nominative schedules.

The district of St Patrick had the highest participation rate for home weaving in Charlotte County, with 76% of

²⁷Census vol. 3, 218. Residents only wove 12 yards of linen cloth.

households reporting on the agricultural returns, yet only 8 people in this district reported weaving as an occupation on the nominative schedule, and none as professionals. Thomas Tye, of St Patrick's, was another of the five men reporting weaving as an occupation in Charlotte County. Tye, a 75 year old Irish born widower, lived with his son John, his daughter-in-law Mary, and their five small children. The household reported 60 yards of home made cloth, perhaps a joint effort by Thomas and Mary, although Mary reported no weaving occupation.

Fleece production in Charlotte County was also lower than in Westmorland County. Only 1984 families reported wool as an agricultural product, with a total county clip of 62,372 pounds.²⁸ This output, only 58 % of Westmorland's, was possibly due to poorer soils or farms on marginal land. In sharp contrast to Westmorland County, 796 more farms in Charlotte County produced fleece than households making cloth. This suggested a marked surplus of wool to exchange or sell for woollen cloth to neighbouring families, or for market.

Acheson's study of agriculture in New Brunswick found lands in Charlotte County in the 1870's were becoming less fertile after four generations of constant farming.²⁹ He

²⁸See Table 2.3 in Appendix "Charlotte County Textile Production." In Westmorland County 2985 families grew sheep with a clip of 106,828 pounds.

²⁹T.W. Acheson, "New Brunswick Agriculture at the End of the Colonial Era," in Farm, Factory and Fortune: New Studies in the Economic History of the Maritime Provinces ed. Kris Inwood (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1993), 37-60.

distinguished four types of farms ranging from bare subsistence to those diversified sufficiently to produce surpluses such as fleece and cloth.³⁰ Almost half of the farmers of St David's parish, for example, could produce some surpluses in different agricultural commodities, including both cloth and fleece.³¹ St David district had the highest number of professional weavers in the county. Some were extremely productive, with more than half of them weaving in excess of 100 yards. The total output for the 60 professionals of St David's, along with the 95 homeweavers, was 12,000 yards of homespun cloth, more than enough to provide some surplus.³²

Examples of weavers in Charlotte County point out the difficulty in interpreting 1871 Census data. Eliza Murchie, a 47 year old widow, reported weaving on the nominative schedule for St Stephen. She did not declare a business on the industrial schedule yet reported 250 yards of cloth on the agricultural returns. Eliza's neighbour, Caroline Tourleotte, a 30 year old single woman, also listed her occupation as weaver on the nominative schedule. The family, of two elderly parents and Caroline, reported 600 yards of home made cloth on the agricultural schedule. The Cathcart family, lived on a

³⁰Ibid., 53-56.

³¹Ibid., 57.

³²There were 60 professional weavers in St David's: 28 wove under 100 yards, 12 between 100-200, 5 between 200-300, 8 between 300-400, 4 between 400-500, and 3 over 500 (500, 900 and 1384 yards respectively). The total output for these professionals was 10,705 yards.

farm in St Patrick parish. Both the parents, Ann, 45 years old, and Samuel, 58, were born in Ireland. They had one 14 year old son and five daughters aged 17,12,9,7, and 4 living at home. The family reported producing 100 yards of homemade cloth on the agricultural schedule. Samuel reported his occupation as farmer, and Ann had no occupation on the nominative schedule.

Martha Towle, 45 years old, of St David's parish, identified a weaving business on the industrial schedule, but no occupation on the nominative schedule. She reported weaving 1,388 yards of cotton and wool satinet, plain and twill cloth over a 4 month period. She employed 2 females and 1 girl to help her in this work, paying out \$138 in wages. She used 600 pounds of cotton and wool costing \$360; her final products she valued at \$832. She and her 50 year old farmer husband had three sons aged 14, 12 and 4, and two daughters age 10 and 7. Martha also reported another 16 yards of homemade cloth on the agricultural schedule.

Rebecca Stewart's weaving business in St James was an unusual household arrangement engaged in textiles. Rebecca, a single 22 year old, reported weaving 450 yards of homespun cloth over 3 months and employed one female. She lived in the household of her sister-in-law, Jane Stewart, 25 also a weaver, and Jane's older sister Helen, aged 27. Since there was only one person employed, was this a family business with three workers or entirely Rebecca's, as Jane reported no

weaving activity?

Can the work of Eliza Murchie, Caroline Tourleotte, Ann Cathcart, Rebecca Stewart or Martha Towle be considered professional weaving? The scant historiography on domestic weaving offered no clear definition of a professional weaver. Inwood speculated that earning a living solely from a craft was the mark of a professional.³³ The true professional weaver, argued the Burnhams, had their own workshops and expected their customers to come to them.³⁴ The Burnhams maintained there were many professional weavers in Ontario in 1871 and all but one percent were men. Professional male weavers did not buy their own raw materials but wove cloth to order with yarns supplied by the customers.³⁵

Marjorie Cohen concurred with the Burnhams about males exercising the occupation of professional weaver.³⁶ She stated that professional weavers in Ontario were frequently recent

³³Inwood and Wagg, "Survival of Handweaving," 354. See also Kris Inwood and Janine Grant, "Gender and Organization in the Canadian Cloth Industry, 1870," in Canadian Papers in Business History vol. 1 ed. Peter Baskerville (Victoria: The Public History Group, 1989): 17-31; Inwood and Grant, "Labouring at the Loom: A Case Study of Rural Manufacturing in Leeds County, Ontario, 1870," in Canadian Papers in Rural History vol. 7 ed. Donald Akenson (Gananoque, Ontario: Langdale Press, 1990): 215-235.

³⁴Dorothy Burnham and Harold Burnham, "Keep Me Warm One Night"- Early Handweaving in Eastern Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), 11.

³⁵Ibid., 13.

³⁶Marjorie Griffin Cohen, Women's Work, Markets & Economic Development in 19th Century Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 81. There was an assumption that professional weavers in Ontario only made more intricate types of cloth such as coverlets. A weaver also produced many types of utilitarian cloths, such as sheets, which unfortunately, wore out faster than the more decorative show pieces.

male immigrants from Scotland, Ulster and Germany. They worked at farming or other occupations while weaving part time. Cohen made startling comments about women weavers. She conceded that, although many women wove, few considered themselves professionals. She contended that women professionals gave up weaving once they married. Only unmarried women or widows practised weaving as a profession.³⁷ Did married women who were once professional weavers 'forget' their weaving skills and then suddenly remember them when their husbands died?

By linking the nominative and industrial data, a profile emerged of the 103 identifiable professional women weavers in Charlotte County. They are concentrated in three rural parishes - St David, St James and West Isles.³⁸ More than half of the county's professional weavers resided in the farming community of St David. Here, forty seven women declared themselves weavers on the nominative returns and fifty six as operating hand loom businesses on the industrial schedules. Only nine of the professionals did not identify themselves as weavers on the nominative schedules.

Professional women weavers covered a wide range of ages and marital statuses. Table 2.5, derived from my database of weavers in Charlotte County, highlights their status and ages.

³⁷Ibid., 81.

³⁸The distribution of the 103 identifiable professional women weavers was: St David's 56, St James-1, 18, St James-2 16, and West Isles 13. Four other weavers in St David lacked complete data due to illegible writing on the manuscript data or missing information. See also Table 2.4 "Business Profile of Professional Weavers" in Appendix.

**TABLE 2.5 AGE AND MARITAL STATUS OF PROFESSIONAL FEMALE
WEAVERS, CHARLOTTE COUNTY - 1871**

AGE	SINGLE	MARRIED	WIDOW
18-20	6	-	-
21-30	6	9	-
31-40	2	18	-
41-50	1	32	2
51-60	-	17	2
61+	-	6	2
TOTAL	15	82	6

SOURCE: Data derived from the 1871 Census, Charlotte County.

Contrary to the statements of both Cohen and Burnham, professional weavers included a high proportion of married women. Eighty-two married women, ranging in age from 20-60 years, made up 75.9 % of the total cohort of professional weavers in the county. Women in their forties formed the largest group of the married professional weavers with an average age of 43.5 years. The majority of the 15 unmarried weavers were between 18-41 years old with most under the age of 30. Thirteen lived in one district, St James, comprising 37% of its 35 professional weavers. Single women made up only a small proportion (13.8%) of the total cohort of professional weavers in the county. Only five widows, aged 47 to 67, exercised weaving as a profession in the county. Suzanna Ludgate, a 77 year old widow in St David, was the oldest professional weaver, reporting 90 yards of cotton and wool cloth woven over a two month period in 1871. The marital

status and ages of Charlotte County professional women weavers supports Inwood's findings for Leeds County, Ontario. Women weavers in his study were either young and single or middle-aged and married.³⁹

Religious affiliation and ethnic origins were dissimilar from Inwood's group in Leeds County. Equal numbers of weavers in Charlotte County belonged to the four major Protestant sects of Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists and Anglicans.⁴⁰ A large proportion of the women professional weavers were native born with a smaller number from either Ireland or the United States.⁴¹

The business profile of the 103 women professional weavers attests to their active contribution to their families' income. They were prolific weavers with an average output of 220 yards of homespun cloth.⁴² They wove 22,642 yards of cloth, almost half the total volume of the 1109 homeweavers in the county.⁴³ Professional weavers in West Isles and St James-2 reported yardages on two different schedules. They

³⁹Inwood, "Labouring at the Loom," 227.

⁴⁰Religious affiliation of the 103 professional women weavers: Church of England 25, Methodist 25, Baptist 23, Presbyterian 20, Roman Catholic/Other 9.

⁴¹Birth places of women weavers: 76.6% in New Brunswick, 16.5% in Ireland, 5.8% in the United States. All six male weavers were foreign born, 5 in Ireland, and 1 in Scotland.

⁴²Inwood found the average output for women weavers in 1870 was 388 yards, working over 4.2 months. Women in Charlotte County worked for a shorter period, averaging 2.53 months. Inwood, "Survival of Handloom Weaving", 355, Table 4.

⁴³See Table 2.4 in Appendix "Business Profile of Professional Women Weavers Charlotte County, 1871".

noted yardages on the industrial schedule and small amounts as well, averaging 40 yards, on the agricultural schedules. These two different entries for these 23 professional weavers leads to speculation that certain yardages were destined for commercial purposes and the rest for household use.⁴⁴

Some weavers, like Elizabeth Morris of St David's, wove 900 yards in four months. Most other professionals did not achieve this output nor commit this amount of time to their weaving. The database, derived from the industrial schedules, gave some indication of the amount of time professional weavers dedicated to their work.

**TABLE 2.6 NUMBER OF MONTHS WORKED BY 100 PROFESSIONAL WEAVERS
CHARLOTTE COUNTY, 1871**

NUMBER OF MONTHS WORKED	NUMBER OF WEAVERS	NUMBER OF PERSON MONTHS WORKED
1 MONTH	37	37
2 MONTHS	14	28
3 MONTHS	29	87
4 MONTHS	11	44
5 MONTHS	2	10
6 MONTHS	5	30
7 MONTHS	-	-
8 MONTHS	1	8
9 MONTHS	1	9
TOTAL	100	253
AVERAGE NUMBER OF MONTHS WORKED - 2.53		

SOURCE: Data derived from 1871 Census, Charlotte County.

⁴⁴see also footnote # 9.

Weaving in Charlotte County was definitely a part time occupation for most professional weavers. The majority (80%) worked 1-3 months per year at their businesses, and only 7 wove for six months or more.

Additional help from family members, especially young girls or widowed relatives, was a distinct advantage in producing larger yardages. Few of the professional women weavers in Charlotte County reported any additional help on the industrial returns. The one exception was in the parish of St James-1, where the enumerator consistently noted 1 female/1 girl for all 19 weavers in his district. Whether all weavers in this parish actually had one young employee is difficult to verify. Several prolific weavers in this parish had no female children at all nor female servants or relatives living in the household.

Inwood maintained that weaving families in Leeds County were larger than average, with a disproportionate number of women over the age of 16.⁴⁵ In an attempt to corroborate Inwood's statement for Charlotte County, I reconstituted all professional weavers on Schedule 6 with their families from the nominative schedule. Of the 48 professional weavers in the county producing more than 100 yards, most had less than 3 extra females over the age of ten. Only two professionals, both weaving over 400 yards, had 5 or more female members in their families.

⁴⁵Inwood, "Labouring at the Loom," 225-6.

The volume of yardage produced and the number of months engaged in business had a direct bearing on monthly net incomes. The majority of professional weavers (69%) wove between 50 and 300 yards, more than adequate amounts to provide a surplus for sale or barter.⁴⁶ Those weaving between 300 - 400 yards, working on average 3.46 months per year, could net \$34.44 per month from their home businesses. Weavers producing either smaller or larger yardages did not experience higher monthly incomes. The only exceptions were the three weavers producing more than 650 yards.⁴⁷

Though most professional weavers worked part time, their incomes made a difference to the family economy. They earned a net income averaging \$30.14 per month worked, with those in St David higher at \$38.92. Although the majority of St David's 56 professionals worked fewer months than other weavers, they earned higher net incomes through larger outputs. Weavers in St David dedicated only, on average, 1.75 months to their weaving. In West Isle, a fishing community, weavers reported the same output as St-James-1, but took about a month longer to reach the same production level.⁴⁸

The average income of professional weavers in Charlotte

⁴⁶Among professional women weavers, 72 wove less than 300 yards, 16 between 300-399, 6 between 400-499, and 8 over 500 yards. See also Table 2.7 in Appendix "Yardages and Income- Charlotte County, 1871".

⁴⁷See Table 2.7 "Yardages and Income" in Appendix.

⁴⁸See Table 2.4 in the Appendix "Business Profile of Professional Weavers, Charlotte County, 1871" for income averages. Average months worked: St James-1, 3.27 months; St James-2, 2.87 months; St David, 1.75 months; West Isle, 4.25 months.

County was on par with and sometimes exceeded wages paid to other seasonal workers in the county. Sawmills along the St Croix River were the largest employers of male labour in 1878. They employed 726 men who worked for seasonal wages averaging \$29.22 per month. In St Stephen, there were few opportunities for women to earn income. The 12 female tailors earned only \$16 per month for their labour, about half the income of weavers. The only other major employers in St Stephen/Milltown were the axe and tool manufacturers with 20 employees and the granite quarry with 12 workers. The wages of the axe factory worker were slightly below the incomes of St David's weavers, at \$37.20 per month. The granite workers, also seasonal employees, earned on average \$36 per month.⁴⁹

Income of both professional and home weavers contributed as well to the economy of their parishes. In Charlotte County, professional weavers reported \$7734 worth of raw materials consumed in their businesses. Weavers might purchase, barter or personally manufacture part of the raw materials for production. Raw materials included both fibers, and products to colour the wool. Weavers made some textiles with only one type of fiber, such as all cotton or all wool cloths, or a combination of cotton warp and wool weft. The use of purchased spun cotton for all or part of a textile reduced significantly the amount of labour involved in its final production. Woven

⁴⁹Canada. "Report of Edward Willis on the Manufacturing Industries of Certain Sections of the Maritime Provinces," Sessional Papers (No.37) 48 Victoria, 1885: 58.

cloth was destined for a variety of uses, such as household linens including bedding, clothing materials, and farm textiles. This last category included bags, sacks, winnowing cloths, wagon covers and horse blankets.

The census enumerator in St David was very specific about the types of cloth made by professional weavers. He listed textile products as satinet, twill and plain weave. Sometimes the enumerators specified the fiber composition of the cloth as well, such as cotton warp/ wool weft. In other areas of the county the enumerators noted the final product as cloth goods, homemade cloth, homespun cloth or simply cloth.

Merchants in both counties supplied cotton warp yarns and dyes to both home weavers and professionals. Wool handspun yarns were either manufactured by the household or exchanged with neighbours. Cotton warps, available in either blue or white, arrived initially from Britain or the United States until the William Parks' New Brunswick Cotton Mill commenced production in 1861. Parks informed the public of their product through the Saint John newspapers in 1866. They wished to

...draw the attention of those who use cotton warps to the kind we are now Manufacturing at the New Brunswick Cotton Mills....they have proved to be both better and cheaper than any imported from either England or the United States.⁵⁰

After 1877, Parks advertised a larger variety of colours of warps including white, blue, red, orange and green in various

⁵⁰St John Evening Globe, September 15, 1866.

sizes.⁵¹

Dry goods stores and druggists advertised dyes and mordants in the local newspapers. They carried indigo dyes from Madras, Rhodes and Bengal and dyewoods such as redwood, fustic, logwood, annatto and cudbear. Alum, vitriol and copperas to fix the colour on the wool are frequently on advertisements for stores in Shediac, St Stephen, St Andrew and Moncton.⁵² Calais, Maine merchants also vied for business in St Stephen and vicinity by placing advertisements for dyes and warps in the St Croix Courier.⁵³

Ancillary services done in carding, and fulling mills relieved weavers in both counties of some of the tedium of yarn preparation and cloth finishing. Westmorland county had seven carding mills - two located conveniently in Shediac, one in Moncton and two in Dorchester. Two mills operated in Sackville, one a carding/fulling mill and the other, only a fulling mill. Jonathan Weir announced the opening of his carding mill in Moncton, in 1870, by offering free pickup and delivery of wool from the train station. His offer thus relieved his customers of spending their time transporting fleeces as well as ensuring their patronage.⁵⁴

⁵¹St Andrew's Standard, November, 7, 1877.

⁵²Moniteur Acadien, April 1869 and October 25, 1869; St Croix Courier, December 23, 1865; St Andrew's Standard, November 7, 1877.

⁵³St Croix Courier, October 14, 1869; and November 13, 1879.

⁵⁴Moniteur Acadien, July 14, 1870.

Charlotte County had four carding and fulling mills, three located in areas of the highest concentration of professional and home weavers. Any process to reduce the laborious preparation time for yarn production could increase significantly the volume of cloth or knitted goods. The very productive St David weavers wove more than 11,000 yards of homespun cloth using up large amounts of handspun yarns. The returns of the carding mill in St David, however, indicated that not farmers in the district brought their fleeces for carding. It processed only about half the total volume of wool produced in the district.⁵⁵

Weavers in both Charlotte and Westmorland counties needed outlets for both their homemade cloth and handspun yarns. The combined production of homeweavers and professionals in Charlotte County exceeded 70,000 yards, that of Westmorland 166,000 yards. What was the destination of so much cloth? Unfortunately the Census did not answer this question. Did some households trade wool, butter or other items for finished cloth? Was surplus cloth sold through rural storekeepers? Answers for these questions are difficult without additional evidence from store ledgers, journals or diaries.

A few fragmentary clues for the commercial disposal of some surplus cloth turned up for both Shediac, and St Andrews as well as outside the region. No advertisements for homespun

⁵⁵St David's carding mill processed only 2900 of the 7369 pounds grown in the district

cloth wanted appeared in either the St Croix Courier or the Moniteur Acadien for the 1870's. One merchant in Shediac, Richard Bell, never advertised in the Moniteur Acadien, although many of his customers were francophones.⁵⁶ In his ledger, Bell noted the warps, dyes and sundry goods sold to weavers in exchange for their finished homespun cloth. He resold this cloth to other customers in exchange for honey, eggs, beef, tallow, butter and cash.⁵⁷ Several entries in the early 1860s noted homespun cloth purchased and sold, but later accounts are frequently incomplete and sketchy.

Albion House, a dry goods store in St Andrews, offered for sale "1 piece of Sheep's Grey Satinett Homespun [by] Mrs. Taggart- makes A-1 quality." This advertisement ran in the St Andrew's newspaper for over one year in 1867-68.⁵⁸ A previous advertisement from Albion House included "homespuns good for boy's or men's wear" in their list of goods for fall purchase.⁵⁹

Saint John merchants and wholesalers could have handled surplus cloth through their businesses. These merchants dominated the commerce on the St John River Valley and along the Fundy coasts of both New Brunswick and Nova Scotia in the

⁵⁶Richard Bell Ledger 1837-1879, F 1123-1-2, Centre des Études Acadiennes, Université de Moncton.

⁵⁷Ibid., 1860, 4-13.

⁵⁸St Andrew Standard, October 9, 1867.

⁵⁹St Andrew's Standard, September 11, 1867.

nineteenth century.⁶⁰ Two St John merchants placed advertisements for homespun cloth and home knitting in 1861 and 1862. Samuel Brown wanted "1000 yards of homespun cloth, 100 doz pairs of socks, and 100 doz pairs of mitts." ⁶¹ Ennis and Gardner requested a quantity of homespun cloth, mitts and socks in an ad place in the St John Evening Globe in 1862.⁶²

Fredericton merchants advertised for homespun cloth in exchange for store goods as late as 1880. A.A. Miller's dry goods store placed an advertisement in June, 1880 urging weavers to

LOOK SHARP. BUY YOUR COTTON WARPS AND MAKE UP Homespun Cloth, Socks, Mitts, &c. early in the season and you can be relieved of all such Domestic Goods...in exchange for Dry Goods. We want about 4000 Yds. of Cloth.⁶³

A further advertisement in September announced that Miller was ready to

...purchase Homespun Cloth of all kinds in large quantities, also 2000 pairs of socks and mitts, 1-2 ton Woolen Yarn, Over Socks, Home Knit Drawers, Shirts, Pants, &c in exchange for Dry Goods.⁶⁴

If the weaver did not want to patronize Miller's, his competitor, Dever Bros. Dry Goods was ready to do business.

⁶⁰T.W. Acheson, St John- The Making of a Colonial Urban Community (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985): 21.

⁶¹St John Morning News, January 4, 1861.

⁶²St John Evening Globe, October 29, 1862.

⁶³New Brunswick Reporter, June 8, 1880.

⁶⁴Ibid., September 8, 1880.

Dever's placed an advertisement in the same issue of the New Brunswick Reporter: "Wanted 2000 Yards Homespun, 100 Doz. Socks and Mitts." Two other drygoods stores in Fredericton, Sharkley's and Edgecombe's, also advertised periodically in the New Brunswick Reporter for homespun cloth in the 1870s. Advertisements like these, in both local and regional newspapers, suggested that potential commercial markets existed for the sale of home made cloth from both home weavers and professionals.

The study of domestic cloth makers in Charlotte and Westmorland counties pointed out the difficulties in interpreting census data. Unfortunately the enumerators in Westmorland County did not consider weaving an occupation. This severely limited constructing a profile of their demographics and business activities. Although similar in numbers, the population in the two counties produced notably different volumes and types of cloth. The extent of Westmorland County's involvement in weaving was significant with the large participation rate of households producing both woollen and linen cloth.

Through the profiles of professional domestic weavers in Charlotte County, a picture emerged of their demographics and economic contributions. Although a part-time activity, weavers were able to generate incomes for their households on par with other male work in the county. Charlotte county's professional weavers, primarily native born, rural, middle aged, married

women contributed as well to the local economy. They purchased supplies with money generated from their home businesses, augmented their family farm incomes and created an identity through their occupation as weavers.

CHAPTER 3 - THE COTTON MILLS COME TO TOWN

Cloth makers and cloth production left the farms of Charlotte and Westmorland Counties steadily in the late 1870s. New venues for both full-time and part-time wage labour opened in the 1880s as urbanization and industrialization offered an alternative to rural industry and life. Cotton mill proposals and campaigns filled the pages of daily newspapers in many communities of southern New Brunswick.

A recession in the lumbering business in the late 1870s severely affected the businesses of Charlotte County, neighbouring Calais, Maine and Moncton. The communities needed new enterprises to lessen the impact of the recession. Industrial cloth making was one of the new options business people considered in many Maritime communities to diversify their investments, create new jobs and revitalize their communities. A comparison of the promotional campaigns and outside influences on the cotton mills in Moncton and Milltown, during their first two years, offered a glimpse at how community minded entrepreneurs decided to revitalize their respective communities.

Domestic manufacture of cloth had been rapidly decreasing in many Maritime homes between 1870 and 1880. Easier access to Canadian factory produced cloth, and a recession in the staple producing sector greatly reduced the need for home made cloth. The output of homemade cloth and flannel dropped 30% in Westmorland County and 36% in Charlotte County by 1881. The

home production of linen fell in Westmorland County by more than 50%.¹

The promise of profits was one of the lures to build cotton mills. The Canadian cotton sector was prosperous in the period 1878 to 1882. In Quebec, the Montreal Hudon Mill paid a 10% commission on its common stock in 1878, and a stock bonus of 33 1/3% in 1880. They also paid cash dividends of 10% in 1881 and 1882. The Montreal Cotton Company, in Valleyfield, paid dividends of 11% in 1880, 20% in 1881 and 14% in 1882.² In America as well, Massachusetts cotton companies, such as the Atlantic Mill, paid dividends of 6% and the Androscoggins Mill 8% in 1879. Both mills expected to pay larger dividends in 1880. An article in the St Croix Courier in 1880 reported mills in Georgia paid out dividends of between 10 and 12% in 1879.³

In New England, the average cotton mill earned a 25% dividend and some more, reported Mr. Thompson, one of the consultants hired by the cotton mill committee in St Stephen. "Men could not find a better investment for their capital" he stated to promoters in St Stephen. Thompson estimated a

¹The farm share of all processing of woollen and linens changed in New Brunswick from 98% in 1870 to 19% by 1890. Kris Inwood, "Maritime Industrialization from 1870 to 1890: A Review of the Evidence and Its Interpretation," in Farm, Factory and Fortune, ed. Kris Inwood (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1993), 151. My calculations for Charlotte and Westmorland Counties from 1871 Census, vol. 3, 218 and 1881 Census, vol.3, 236.

²Report of the Royal Commission on the Textile Industry (Ottawa, 1938), 34.

³St Croix Courier, Feb.05, 1880.

dividend of no less than 10% if the mill were conducted on "business principles and well managed."⁴

The other lure for cotton mill construction was the adoption of a protective tariff by the Conservative government in 1879. The National Policy, by protecting economic interests and promoting economic self-sufficiency on a national level, encouraged the development of manufacturing industries that had not existed before 1880 or had on a limited basis.⁵ The National Policy changed the tariff on imported cloth from 17.5% to 28.7% for woolens and 29.6% for cottons. The new tariff rules admitted raw wool and cotton, and cotton yarns duty free; woollen yarns paid 29.3% duty.⁶ This change in tariff created a demand for locally manufactured cloth and an opportunity for local business people to start up new enterprises.

Promoters in Ontario, Quebec and the Maritimes set up twenty new cotton mills in the ten year period between 1872 and 1883, sixteen of them under the aegis of the National Policy. Only seven cotton mills existed in the Dominion in 1879, producing 38,000,000 yards of cloth per year, insufficient to supply the needs of the country. All the cotton mills in the country prior to 1880 concentrated their

⁴St Croix Courier, Mar. 04, 1880.

⁵T.W. Acheson, "The Maritimes and "Empire Canada", in Canada and the Burden of Unity, ed. David Jay Bercuson (Toronto: MacMillan, 1977), 92.

⁶A.B. McCullough, The Primary Textile Industry in-Canada-History and Heritage, (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1992), 70.

production on grey goods (unbleached cotton) using skilled and unskilled labour.⁷

Maritime entrepreneurs promoted new cotton mills in several communities, including Moncton, Marysville, Milltown and St John in New Brunswick and Halifax, Windsor and Yarmouth in Nova Scotia. The financial success of William Parks' New Brunswick Cotton Mill, in the 1870s, was encouragement that a cotton mill would bring prosperity to their communities. This Saint John mill had started production in 1861, garnering awards at national exhibitions for its quality yarns and cloth.⁸

Promoters needed to consider a number of crucial factors before setting up any cotton mill. Sufficient start up capital to construct, equip and initially operate a factory was of prime concern. Since most of them had little technical knowledge of textiles, they would need to consult experts in the field as to size of operation, building plans, and management techniques. The supply of a skilled labour force to supervise and train other workers was another concern. They needed to assess and choose specific technologies to fit the skills of available labour while remaining cost effective.

⁷Report of the Royal Commission on the Textile Industry, 32-33.

⁸The Parks New Brunswick Cotton Mill advertised its products frequently in both trade journals and local newspapers. In an ad in the Nov. 7, 1877 St Andrew's Standard, Parks mentioned his company was "awarded the only medal for cotton yarns of Canadian manufacture at the Centennial Exhibition". In 1882 the Parks company won 7 prize medals at the Toronto Industrial Exhibition, and silver medals at both the Montreal Exhibition, and Kingston Provincial Exhibition. Monetary Times and Trade, May 25, 1883.

One of the biggest problems the mill promoters would encounter was the marketing of the output from the mills. The choice of types of cloth - plain grey goods, fancy cloth or dyed cloth - would have an effect on sales of their product. The small population of the Maritimes could hardly consume the total output. They would need markets and agents outside the region to maximize their sales. Geographical location, shipping, the availability and cost of importing raw materials from cotton growing areas of America were other marketing factors.⁹

Some minor industrial production of textiles in both communities had existed concurrent with domestic production of cloth in the 1870s. In Charlotte County, four carding mills offered their services to weavers and spinners. James McGill, in Penfield parish, ran a water powered, small woollen mill employing two men and three women in 1871. His factory ran twelve months of the year manufacturing 6,000 yards of narrow Kersey cloth.¹⁰

Westmorland county had seven carding/fulling mills in 1871 providing services to weavers and spinners. In Moncton, William Snow operated the English Woollen Cloth Manufacturing Company. Snow's factory initially carded and fulled woollen

⁹Philip J. Wood, "Determinants of Industrialization on the North American "Periphery", in Hanging By a Thread: Social Change in Southern Textiles, eds. Jeffery Leiter, Michael Schulman and Rhoda Zingraff (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1991), 61.

¹⁰Census 1871 Reel C10,376, Charlotte County. National Archives of Canada.

cloth in the 1860s before adding two looms to manufacture cloth on a small scale. Snow's factory purchased 25,000 pounds of wool, cotton warp and dyes to produce both custom cloth and carded wool rolls. His seven male employees wove 8000 yards of custom work during their nine months of employment in 1871.¹¹

Snow joined forces with the Humphrey family in 1881. They opened the Humphrey and Snow Woollen mills, a small scale operation producing flannels, homespuns, tweeds and wool yarn. By 1887 the mill ran ten looms using domestic wool from local farmers. The Humphrey family, John Albert and William, bought out Snow in 1884, adding the woollen mill to their other two industries, lumber and grist mills.¹²

Community newspapers and civic leaders actively promoted stock subscription as a community effort where all would benefit. Few business people in either community, like the Humphreys' in Moncton, or the Murchies' in St Stephen, possessed sufficient capital to undertake such a large project on their own. David Main, editor and owner of the St Croix Courier in St Stephen, and an active promoter for the mill, already had an inkling that a cotton mill might benefit the St Croix River community. In 1879 he ran feature editorials in his newspaper extolling light manufacturing, such as a cotton

¹¹Census 1871 Reel C10391, Westmorland County. National Archives of Canada.

¹²Lloyd Machum, A History of Moncton-Town and City, (Moncton: City of Moncton Publishing, 1965), 129.

mill, to revive business in the community.¹³

The Moncton Daily Times, a strong supporter of the National Policy, actively championed the town's natural advantages for a cotton mill. Through many editorials and feature articles, the newspaper promoted Moncton as the natural center of the three Maritime Provinces. Moncton had many advantages over other locations. The Intercolonial Railroad hub in Moncton allowed easy connections to markets in Central Canada and the West. Bricks for building materials, and steam coal for power were cheap and readily obtainable. A local work force was nearby, both for construction and as mill employees. An excellent water system and gas lights already served the town.¹⁴ A site was available at a nominal cost, including the potential for a railway spur to facilitate transportation of raw materials and finished goods.¹⁵

The St Croix Valley also had many advantages for a cotton mill. Amos Lockwood, one of the consultants, noted

...the ample supply of water, cheap lumber and labour, good transportation facilities, a river not subject to sudden or extensive freshets, little or no floating ice, a fair farming country, a healthy

¹³St Croix Courier, July, 1879. David Main offered continuous support for the mill campaign including a feature issue on June 23, 1881 with the history of the building campaign. The reproduction quality of the St Croix Courier for the latter part of the nineteenth century was quite poor.

¹⁴Daily Times, Jan.15, 1881.

¹⁵Daily Times, Aug.17, 1883. J.A. Humphrey and the Harris brothers were financial backers and administrators of the Moncton Land Co. They donated a 10 acre site on Main St. for the Moncton Sugar Refinery. Phyllis Leblanc, "Moncton 1870-1937: A Community in Transition" (Ph.D thesis, University of Ottawa, 1988), 46. I could not find out if the Moncton Land Co. sold or donated the cotton mill site.

climate and a home market for manufactured goods.

He was sure with "...the proper amount of capital, suitable engineering, and a competent management," the proposed cotton mill would be a successful manufacturing enterprise.¹⁶ Promoters debated the merits of potential and available sites both near St Stephen and its sister community of Milltown, one mile upstream on the St Croix.

Support for the proposed St Croix cotton mill came from unexpected quarters. Two letters arrived at the St Croix Courier office in April, 1880 - one from Lowell, Massachusetts and the other from a rural Charlotte County resident. The Courier published both Mr. F.J. Robinson's and the 'Farmer's' letters highlighting the commercial potentials to the shareholders and the benefits to the community. Robinson, a former Charlotte County resident, noted

...the number of young men and women in different parts of New England from the St Croix Valley who would be glad to return home and honor their native place with their presence and usefulness and gladden their home circle.

The benefit of wages to the community and opportunities for employment would "improve things very much and make things more lively."¹⁷

The St David 'Farmer' proposed that each of the rural districts of St James, St Stephen and St David take out \$5000

¹⁶St Croix Courier, Nov. 8, 1880.

¹⁷Ibid., Apr. 22, 1880.

in stock to support the cotton mill. The mill would be a paying investment, increase the wealth and population of the town of St Stephen, and make the farms more valuable. An added enticement for the county was employment possibilities for young people to keep them from forced emigration.¹⁸

Bonusing, in the form of both cash and tax exemptions, was an inducement communities offered to new enterprises. Bonusing was a financial incentive to build up local industry, lure businesses away from neighbouring communities and attract foreign investment.¹⁹ Towns, especially in Quebec, were aggressive in competing for new cotton mills. They advanced cash grants to establish cotton firms, to cover depreciation, to expand, and to subsidize wages. Municipal and provincial tax concessions, water and power allowances were common enticements.²⁰

Most of the Ontario cotton mills built in the period, including both the Stormont Cotton Company and the Canada Cotton Company, both in Cornwall, received cash grants in 1878. Canada Cotton received a second cash bonus from Cornwall in 1880.²¹ In Nova Scotia, the town of Truro offered a ten-year tax holiday to a proposed cotton mill in 1879. The provincial

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹R.T. Naylor, The History of Canadian Business, 1867-1914 vol.2 Industrial Development (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1975), 130.

²⁰Ibid., 129-137.

²¹Ibid., 136.

government offered a better deal. It passed legislation offering any cotton mill built within the next three years a twenty year provincial, municipal, and local tax exemption.²²

Both the municipal governments of Moncton and Milltown offered bonuses to the proposed new cotton mills. The Town Council of Moncton voted an exemption in 1881 of both school and municipal taxes for any company undertaking the manufacture of cotton or woollen goods.²³ In 1883 Moncton, through its Incorporation Act, granted the cotton mill a twenty year exemption from rates and taxes.²⁴ In addition, the town council offered exemptions from taxation, both for municipal and school purposes, to new manufacturing enterprises employing a stated amount of capital. The new brass works and the sugar refinery had already benefitted from this exemption.²⁵

The citizens of the St Croix River Valley were generous in their offer of tax concessions and cash to potential cotton mill developers. Amos Lockwood, one of the American consultants with cotton mills in Maine, promised to raise \$200,000 among his business colleagues. Both Lewis Dexter, one of the major shareholders from Rhode Island, and Lockwood

²²Ibid., 135.

²³Daily Times, Jan.15, 1881.

²⁴Acts of the General Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick, C35, May 1883, 103.

²⁵Daily Times, Jan.15, 1881.

wanted the initial capitalization of \$400,000 increased to one million dollars. The American investors required a \$30,000 cash bonus to start immediate construction. Milltown council offered a ten year exemption on municipal taxation and the requested bonus. The Milltown Council also supplied half the bonus with the balance from private investors in Calais and Milltown, Maine and St Stephen.²⁶

Local entrepreneurs in both communities initiated subscription campaigns to raise the initial capital costs. They appealed to civic pride, loyalties, kinship networks and regional solidarities to raise funds. The 10 prominent business people on the St Croix knew that they could not raise the proposed building costs of \$400,000 alone. They estimated that, if they raised 1/3 to 1/4 of the amount, the remainder would come from foreign capital.²⁷ By raising a portion themselves it would show people abroad "that the businessmen of St Stephen have confidence in the undertaking and are willing to invest their own money."²⁸

The initial stock subscription of the St Croix mill was for 8,000 shares at \$50 each.²⁹ The Town of Milltown purchased \$30,000 of stock. Merchants, professionals, and lumber mill

²⁶St Croix Courier, Nov. 8, 1880. Peter Delottinville, "Trouble in the Hives of Industry: The Cotton Industry Comes to Milltown, New Brunswick, 1879-1892," Historical Papers (Montreal, 1980), 105.

²⁷St Croix Courier, June 23, 1881 in "Overview of the History of the Mill".

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹St Croix Courier, Mar. 4, 1880.

owners made up about 30% of the 126 subscribers. The price of shares attracted not only business people but many small property owners including artisans, saw mill employees, labourers and farmers. The working class made up 66% of all individuals investing in the company.³⁰ Local stock subscriptions raised \$200,000 by May, 1881. This meant that only about 20% of the total investment was local, the rest foreign. The composition of the first board of directors, where four of the five board members were Americans, aptly showed this split between foreign and local funding.³¹

Business people from both sides of the river called on their networks to attract foreign investment. Owners of American mills in the Eastern States, especially Amos Lockwood and Lewis Dexter, promised more than \$400,000, plus additional funds from their colleagues in Boston and Providence, Rhode Island.³² The rationale for American investment in Canadian cotton mills, especially on the St Croix, was to recover the lost trade in the eastern Provinces when the National Policy came into force. The Monetary Times, a leading national business journal, projected that the St Croix mill would become essentially a "Yankee institution" with this influx of

³⁰Delottinville, "Trouble in the Hives", ftn # 10, 104.

³¹St Croix Courier, May 3, 1881. The Directors of the Board were Amos Lockwood, Lewis Dexter, and Charles D. Owen from Rhode Island, L.G.Downes from Calais, Maine and James Murchie from St Stephen.

³²St Croix Courier, May 6, 1881 and July 7, 1881.

foreign capital.³³

Investors in Moncton were more conservative in their financing strategies. They too envisioned \$400,000 as the net capital cost for a cotton mill, with half the amount needed to start construction. The Cotton Company offered 4000 shares at one hundred dollars each in November, 1881.³⁴ The subscription campaign raised \$120,000 in the first four days, with \$30,000 on the first day alone. Both The Daily Times and the Monetary Times indicated that American and British investors might cover the rest of the projected capitalization.³⁵

There were fewer investors in the Moncton Cotton mill than in the St Croix mill. Eighty shareholders attended the first Board meeting to elect the seven directors, all local men, in December, 1881.³⁶ The Monetary Times was impressed with the generosity of the business people in Moncton who

...have only moderate circumstances. Yet they had united their energies, and have thus accomplished what would be creditable to much older and larger towns. Persons who have always invested their surplus funds in mortgages are now cheerfully subscribing to the Moncton Cotton Co.³⁷

³³Monetary Times, Dec.3, 1881.

³⁴Daily Times, Nov. 4, 1881. Palmer fonds 7611, Stock Certificate. Mount Allison University Archives, Sackville, New Brunswick.

³⁵Monetary Times, Dec. 16, 1881; Daily Times, Nov.4, 1881. I could find no evidence that either British or Americans invested in the company.

³⁶Daily Times, Dec. 29, 1881. There are 24 identifiable shareholders listed in the Moncton Cotton Company. See Notes at end of chapter.

³⁷Monetary Times, Dec.16, 1881. The town of Moncton had a population of 5032 in 1881; Westmorland County 37,719 people. Census 1881 Table 6, vol. 1, 22.

Some individual subscribers placed their faith in the project immediately and bought shares when the subscription books opened on November 4, 1881. The Palmers of Dorchester invested in several new Moncton businesses in the 1880s. They bought shares in the Moncton Brass and Iron Manufacturing Co., the Peters Combination Lock Co. and the Moncton Cotton Manufacturing Co. Although H. W. Palmer attended the initial meeting of the Cotton corporation, he waited until August 16, 1882 to purchase seven shares.³⁸

Other subscribers invested more heavily in cotton in New Brunswick. Senator Amos Edwin Botsford, of Sackville, had a variety of investments both within the region and outside. He purchased Colonial Foundry stock, shares in the Montreal Passenger Railway Co., and the Montreal Telegraph Company.³⁹ He invested in the new Moncton enterprises such as the Moncton Cotton Company, the Acadia Sugar Refinery, and the Moncton Gas Light and Water Company. His other projects included the Sackville Electric Light and Telephone Company, the St John Cotton mill and the New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island Railway Company.⁴⁰

Botsford invested almost \$11,000 in two of the proposed

³⁸Palmer fonds, 7611. Mount Allison University Archives, Sackville, New Brunswick.

³⁹Botsford family fonds 8420. Mount Allison University Archives, Sackville, New Brunswick.

⁴⁰Lorna Milton Oulton, "A.E. Botsford", Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol.12, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 116.

cotton mills in New Brunswick. He bought ten shares in the Moncton Cotton Company during the initial campaign in November/December 1881 and two \$500 bonds in July 1883.⁴¹ He invested heavily in the St John Cotton Company between December 1881 and 1883. He took 30 shares, at \$100 each, in December, 1881 and an additional 20 shares in January, 1882.⁴² Botsford also purchased six \$500 bonds in the St John Cotton Company in August 1883, only one month after his bond purchase in the Moncton Cotton firm.⁴³ He did not cash in his twice yearly coupons in either company but reinvested them.⁴⁴

Although subscribers financed capital costs, the cotton companies depended on banks to finance their day to day operations. The Bank of Nova Scotia opened branches in Moncton in December of 1880, and in St Stephen in May 1882. The Bank based its lending policies on the amount of security, the quality of endorsements and the prospect of success. The Bank of Nova Scotia advanced both the Moncton Cotton Company and

⁴¹Botsford ledger, 103. Botsford family fonds 8420. The Moncton Cotton Company promised a bond interest rate of 6% per annum, payable half-yearly over a ten year period. Act of General Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick C35 "Act of Incorporation of Moncton Cotton Company", 103.

⁴²Botsford ledger, 103. Botsford bought an additional 4 shares in the St John Cotton Mill for William (?) in Aug 1882.

⁴³The St John Cotton Company, a new Parks mill, offered a 6% rate of interest, the bonds repayable in five to ten years. The bond offer in May 11, 1883 was the second instalment of an authorized issue of \$75,000. Monetary Times, May 11, 1883. Botsford likely bought into the final issue in August, 1883.

⁴⁴Botsford ledgers 102, 103. He reinvested \$385 of coupons in the Moncton mill, and \$532 in the St John mill between 1881-1889. When the Syndicate bought out the Moncton mill in 1891, Botsford noted a loss of \$939.98 on his initial investment.

the St Croix Cotton mill operating funds - \$30,000 for Moncton and an undisclosed amount for St Croix.⁴⁵

Outside influences played a major role in the way promoters selected building options for the proposed cotton mills. Business people in both communities included merchants, lumber mill owners and members of the professional classes who had insufficient technical knowledge of large scale industrial production. They formed committees to consult both Canadian textile companies and American concerns. Promoters sought information about the feasibility of proposed locations, the cost of equipping and building a mill, the choice of technology, the day to day management, and the recruitment of skilled workers.

In Moncton, Mr. Fred Bosson, architect and engineer of Boston, arrived in town for a consultation on November 29, 1881. The healthy \$120,000, promised earlier in the month in subscriptions, assured promoters of the feasibility of a mill. Both Bosson and his father were part of the Lawrence Company of Boston and acted as expert consultants on the manufacturing of cotton and wool in the United States. Fred Bosson, reported the Moncton Daily Times, was "conversant with everything relating to the cotton business, including the construction of the mill, the selection of the machinery, and the general

⁴⁵James Frost, " 'The Nationalization' of the Bank of Nova Scotia, 1880-1910," in Industrialization and Underdevelopment in the Maritimes, 1880-1930, ed. T.W.Acheson (Toronto: Garmond Press, 1985), 31-33. The St Croix mill accounted for about 40% of the estimated \$150,000 Bank of Nova Scotia loans in St Stephen in 1884- therefore about \$60,000.

management of the work."⁴⁶

Fred Bosson became partners with John Oldfield of Boston in 1883 to set up the new firm of John Oldfield & Co. Their firm advertised their business as "Mill Engineers and Architects, Importers of Cotton, Woollen and Merino Machinery."⁴⁷ They imported a wide range of textile machinery from "the best English makers" to supply the ever-growing industry in both Canada and the United States. The cost of English machinery was about 15% less than American models but with the transportation differential, the prices were competitive.⁴⁸ Since Canada did not manufacture any loom equipment, mill machinery entered the country duty free.

The Bossons designed the Moncton Cotton mill building and the Oldfield Company supplied the textile machinery. Bosson remained initially in Moncton with Oldfield's son to supervise both the mill's construction and installation of machinery.⁴⁹ The Moncton Cotton mill was to be a vertically integrated enterprise. All parts of the operation from receiving the bales of cotton, cleaning the fiber, carding and spinning, and finally weaving and finishing the cloth would happen on the premises.

⁴⁶Daily Times, Nov. 29, 1881.

⁴⁷Daily Times, Mar. 13, 1883.

⁴⁸St Croix Courier, Feb. 5, 1880.

⁴⁹Daily Times, Mar. 13, 1883. C.B. Record Esq, one of the directors and shareholders, was general supervisor of the mill construction. Daily Times, May 11, 1883.

The choice of spinning technology had a profound effect on the ultimate labour choices, market demand for the final product, choice of raw materials, efficiency and energy requirements.⁵⁰ Ring spinning frames and their precursor, throstle frames, required little strength or skill from the operatives. Women and children learned and mastered the procedures in a few days.⁵¹ Although ring spinning frames took up less space and were less susceptible to fire, they required more power to operate.⁵² Throstle spun yarns tended to be rougher and uneven and suitable for coarser goods such as plain sheeting. Finer grades of cotton, spun on throstles, would break in the winding process.⁵³

Mule spinning could produce a wider variety of yarns suitable to either coarse or high quality goods. Even with the new automatic return feature, they still required skilled adult men to operate and maintain. Unskilled child labour helped by picking up the bits of fluff falling off the mules. Mules ran efficiently on less power than throstle frames. British and American cotton manufacturers had differing preferences for either mule spinning machines or throstles.

⁵⁰Issac Cohen, American Management and British Labor - A Comparative Study of the Cotton Spinning Industry, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 31.

⁵¹Ibid., 31.

⁵²McCullough, 19.

⁵³Cohen, 35. Lars Sandberg, Lancashire in Decline- A Study in Entrepreneurship, Technology and International Trade, (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1974), 18-20.

British manufacturers preferred the mules, since they needed finer yarns for high end goods exported to America and Europe and lower quality yarns and goods to India. Americans used throstle spun yarns to weave standard cloth for sheeting, jeans and shirting.⁵⁴

Oldfield's company put together a shopping list for three English firms, Hetherington and Sons, of Manchester, Howard Bullough Company of Accrington and Henry Livesey of Blackburn. The Moncton Cotton mill purchased both mule spinners and ring spinners to produce warp yarns for sale and to be woven into finished cloth goods. Hetherington supplied the eight self-acting spinning mules, 32 carding machines, a doubling frame, a scutcher, an opener and a finisher. The Bullough company also supplied major components of the spinning equipment including 18 ring spinners, 8 roving frames, drawing frames, slubbing frames, slashing and sizing machines.⁵⁵

The Moncton cotton mill, through the Oldfield agency, purchased English looms from the Livesey Company.⁵⁶ The types and sizes of looms influenced the kinds of products produced and ultimately the kinds of markets available for such goods. Some looms operated more efficiently with coarser throstle spun yarns, others better with mule spun. Combining mule spun

⁵⁴Cohen, 34.

⁵⁵Daily Times, May 11, 1883.

⁵⁶Thomas Nann, Whitin Machine Works, (New York: Russell & Russell, 1950), 487.

yarns for warps and throstle spun for wefts increased the range of products and changed the composition of the workplace to a more equal distribution between skilled and unskilled labour.⁵⁷ The Moncton cotton mill produced two types of products - yarns and finished cloth. They spun different sizes of yarns intended for warps, and wove grey cottons, both twill and plain, for sheeting, and shirting, as well as ducks and jaconets.⁵⁸ The mill later diversified its product line to include towelling in 1884.⁵⁹

Milltown promoters actively sought expert advice from mill owners in Ontario, Quebec and New England. They spent almost a year and a half consulting individual mill owners, industrial textile technology makers, and potential investors for estimates of potential costs as well as profits. Mr. Albert H. Neil of Calais went on fact finding missions in early 1880, visiting mills in both Ontario and Quebec and the 'West' (Massachusetts).

In Ontario, he visited three mills - the Canada Cotton Manufacturing Company, in Cornwall, and two southern Ontario mills in Dundas and Lybster. The three Ontario mills were a similar size, with between 12,500 and 18,000 spindles. In Quebec, the Hudon mill in Montreal, with 30,000 spindles and a capitalization of \$500,000, was the largest mill in Canada.

⁵⁷Cohen, 157.

⁵⁸Daily Times, Mar. 13, 1883; Apr. 9, 1884.

⁵⁹Daily Times, Dec. 23, 1884.

All the mills had been built in the 1870s prior to the new tariff protection. Even without tariff protection, the Hudon mill had paid a dividend of 40% to its investors the previous year.⁶⁰ The Massachusetts mill owners suggested a cost of \$20-\$28 per spindle with a minimum of 10,000 spindles. They advised that a mill of 20,000 spindles would be the most cost effective to run and manage with a workforce of 400 employees. This size of mill could manufacture three to four kinds of shirting and sheeting. It would double the number of yards of cloth, thereby increasing potential profits. Some of the New England mill owners and business people, like Mr. Ordway, president of the Merchant's Association of Boston, indicated a willingness to invest in the proposed cotton mill.⁶¹

Neil not only questioned cotton mill owners but sought advice from industrial technology manufacturers as well. He consulted one of the oldest and best known in New England, the Lowell Machine Shop for a breakdown of the construction and furnishing prices. The Lowell company suggested a cost of \$160,000 for the simplest kind of mill making one kind of cloth. For a more diversified product, they suggested an additional 25% in cost plus the costs of transporting the machinery. The Lowell company offered building plans and would send competent mechanics to set up a mill "...if St Croix paid

⁶⁰St Croix Courier, Feb. 19, 1880.

⁶¹St Croix Courier, Feb. 5, 1880.

their board."⁶² The Lowell Machine Shop carried a large selection of textile machinery including ring frames and looms. In 1881 alone, they sold 987 ring frames and 5,646 looms, the largest number sold since 1855.⁶³

The St Croix promoters hired Mr. D.M. Thompson, an engineer from Providence, to inspect potential mill sites, assess the waterfall power of the St Croix River and address investors. Thompson was a well qualified consultant, having just returned from extensive trips to textile mills in Great Britain, Europe, Canada and the southern States. He projected dividends of 25% for potential investors in cotton in the next few years.⁶⁴

Neil also consulted Mr. G.P. Whitman, a mill builder and furnisher, from the new Amery Mill in Manchester, New Hampshire. Whitman was conversant with all aspects of mill construction and furnishing from "the foundation up and has contracted for everything that has gone into it."⁶⁵ Whitman also recommended a mill of 20,000 spindles at a cost of \$20 per spindle.

Amos Lockwood had the most influence of all the people that the Milltown promoters consulted. Lockwood, a mill

⁶²St Croix Courier, Feb. 8, 1880.

⁶³George Sweet Gibb, The Saco-Lowell Shops-Textile Machinery Building in New England, 1813-1950, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), 649.

⁶⁴St Croix Courier, Mar. 4, 1880.

⁶⁵St Croix Courier, June 23, 1881, "History of the mill".

architect, owned textile mills in nearby Waterville, Maine as well as investments in textile machine shops. Lockwood had been in business since the 1840s acting as technical advisor, builder and investor in the New England cotton industry. He and his partner, architect Stephen Greene, advertised that their Boston firm "...specialized [in] the plans, specifications and superintendence for the constructions, equipment and organization of cotton, woollen, worsted and other textile mills."⁶⁶

Lockwood was a major shareholder in the prosperous Saco-Lowell Water Power Machine Shop, manufacturers of textile machinery in Biddeford, Maine. He had been one of its principal investors in 1867, purchasing 500 of the 3000 company shares plus a further 500 shares in 1883.⁶⁷ The Saco-Lowell Machine Shop had been in business since 1836 and was associated with the Boston Associates machine shop in Lowell, Massachusetts.⁶⁸

The St Croix promoters met with Mr. R.H Dunn, Lockwood's manager and agent at the Waterville mill, who confirmed the benefits of a cotton mill to a small town such as Milltown. The residents of Waterville had purchased half of the \$600,000 stock subscription during the 1872 building campaign. The mill

⁶⁶Dana Johnson, "Historic Marysville," Canadian Heritage Parks Canada Report (Ottawa, 1993), 729-30.

⁶⁷Gibb, 391.

⁶⁸Gibb, 112.

had paid a dividend of 8% to stockholders every six months, and Dunn estimated that real estate values had doubled and tripled. The Lockwood mill provided employment for 375 people and were prepared to double the capacity of the mill, thus increasing employment.⁶⁹ This testimonial from another town stressing the benefits to the community of cotton mills did not fall on deaf ears.

Lockwood-Greene's firm received the contract to build the St Croix Cotton mill on Salmon Falls near Milltown in May 1881.⁷⁰ All the design work, and the contractors for the St Croix mill came from foreign sources. This included Amos Lockwood's Engineering and Architecture firm, Mr. R.E. Patterson of Lewiston, Maine, general contractor and S.E. Grant, Master Mason. Even the bricks for the building came from the American side of the St Croix River.⁷¹ The mill construction required 200 men in various capacities, providing much needed employment for the local workforce.

The St Croix mill purchased both types of spinning equipment through the Lockwood-Greene Company. The 16,000 spindle mule spinners came from Curtis Sons in England, and the 10,000 spindle ring spinners from Whitin Machine Company in Whitinsville, Massachusetts. Lockwood had connections as

⁶⁹St Croix Courier, Feb. 19, 1880; Mar. 4, 1880.

⁷⁰Lockwood-Greene would also receive the contract for the 60,000 spindle Gibson mill, in Marysville near Fredericton. Its projected cost was \$1,000,000 and opened in 1884. Monetary Times, May 11, 1883.

⁷¹St Croix Courier, June 23, 1881.

well with the Lewiston Machine Company, in Lewiston, Maine that supplied the 368 plain and 368 fancy looms for both projected plain and fancy goods.⁷² The mill machinery came from the Holyoke Machine Company in Massachusetts.⁷³

The St Croix and the Moncton Cotton mills opened within a year of each other. The St Croix mill, ready for business in 1882, would be almost two and half times the size of Moncton's mill. The promoters of the St Croix mill had thoroughly done their homework in consulting the best people in the business in New England. The promoters in Moncton were far more conservative in their undertaking when the mill finally opened for business in 1883.

The construction of the cotton mills in Milltown and Moncton had repercussions throughout both counties. Demand for construction labour meant jobs in the communities, an increase in cash wages, and increased business for merchants and farmers, boardinghouse keepers, and public houses. The St Croix mill construction was the beginning of a building boom on both sides of the St Croix River. The next step for both mills was the recruitment of a suitable labour force to fit the requirements of the technology they had chosen.

⁷²St Croix Courier, June 23, 1881.

⁷³Monetary Times, June 3, 1881.

NOTES:

List of Identifiable Investors in the Moncton Cotton Mill
 (Daily Times, Dec. 29, 1881; * Stock certificates from City of
 Moncton Museum, ** Stock certificate from Mt Allison
 University Archive)

Shediac:

R.J. Smith

Sackville:

D.G. Dickson
 David Dickson
 Josiah Woods
 Prof.C. Weldon
 Amos Botsford **

Dorchester:

C.R.Palmer
 H.W.Palmer **
 George Chandler
 Chas. U. Chandler
 H.R. Emerson

Coverdale:

Alphonse Melton

Welford:

Rev Beckerfield
 Andrew Dunn

Peticodiac:

George McCready

Ottawa:

Joseph Dalton

Moncton:

Thomas Taylor *
 John McKenzie
 J.L. Harris
 Chris P. Harris
 John Albert Humphrey
 W.J. Robinson
 C.B. Record
 R.A. Borden

CHAPTER 4 RECRUITMENT OF COTTON OPERATIVES .

The choice of technology had been the first major decision in determining the gender composition of the workforce. Recruitment of workers was the second phase to make the mills efficient, profitable and functional. Cotton mills in both Milltown and Moncton had to compete with their neighbours in New England for both the skilled and unskilled workers needed to fill the many mill jobs. American mill recruiters had been coming to New Brunswick for the past thirty years with inducements such as this one from the New Brunswick Reporter in 1882:

Come with me and you will be gaining an independent livelihood, receive good wages, and if you are careful, lay up money, and at the same time get out of this hum-drum life and see the world.¹

The Amesbury, Massachusetts cotton mill had sent their agent to Fredericton to interview and recruit young New Brunswick women to work in their mill. The St Croix Cotton mill in Milltown had just hired its workers in August and the new mills in Moncton (1883) and Marysville (1884) had not yet opened their doors.

One of the concerns of both local residents and mill promoters was to try to stem the flow of out-migration from rural communities. Out-migration from New Brunswick in the

¹New Brunswick Reporter, Nov. 15, 1882.

1870s was the highest of all the Maritime provinces.² The older settled counties, such as Charlotte and the river counties of the St John, were the first to suffer the draw of neighbouring America, especially to Massachusetts and Maine. Young southern Maritime women had been leaving their communities for American factories in great numbers since the 1840s. One of the St John newspapers had reported, as early as 1849, the departure of upwards of 100 young women for factory work in Maine.³ Charlotte County was one of the hardest hit of the border counties, losing an estimated 3200 residents between 1871 and 1881 and another 4700 between 1881-1891.⁴

Those areas most highly dependent on farming, fishing and lumbering, were the most severely hit by the economic decline of the 1870s. In Charlotte County, the number of sawmill jobs declined by 200 between 1871 and 1878.⁵ The population increased only marginally in Charlotte County between 1871 and 1881 and suffered a decline of nearly 9% between 1881-1891. Westmorland County was better able to combat out-migration with the new jobs available for men on the Intercolonial

²Patricia Thornton, "The Problem of Out-Migration from Atlantic Canada, 1871-1921," Acadiensis vol. XV (Autumn 1985): 18; 16,900 people left New Brunswick in the 1870s, Thornton, 17 Table 3.

³Rusty Bitterman, "Farm Households and Wage Labour in the Northeastern Maritimes in the Early 19th Century," Labour/Le Travail 31 (Spring 1993): 34.

⁴Thornton, Total Net Migration table, 32.

⁵The number of men employed in sawmills in 1871 was 947 and dropped to 737 in 1878. Census 1871, vol. 3, 346; Canada, "Report of Edward Willis on the Manufacturing Industries of Certain Sections of the Maritime Provinces" Sessional Papers No. 37, 48 Victoria 1885: 58.

Railway and its associated industries such as the ICR carshop. Westmorland County experienced a population increase of 28.58% between 1871 and 1881 and another increase of 9.88% between 1881-1891.⁶

The interior parishes of St James, St David, St Patrick and Dumbarton in Charlotte County were the ones most troubled with population decreases.⁷ These parishes also had the highest concentration of both professional and home weavers in 1871. Home weaving in both Charlotte and Westmorland counties had suffered a drop during the 1870s. By 1881, home weaving production had declined in Charlotte County by 36%; in Westmorland County by 30%.⁸ Easier access to Canadian made cloth, and a recession in the lumbering sector reduced the need for home made cloth, especially in Charlotte County.

Lured by financial rewards, and embellished tales of life in America, plus disheartened by the drudgery of farm work, young single women left for Maine and Massachusetts cities in

⁶Alan Brookes, "Out-Migration from the Maritime Provinces, 1860-1900: Some Preliminary Considerations," Acadiensis Vol. V (Spring 1976): 31-32.

⁷T.W. Acheson, "A Study in the Historical Demography of a Loyalist County," Histoire Sociale/Social History 1 (April 1968): 62. The population of these four interior parishes of Charlotte county declined by nearly 30% between 1881-1891, while the total county population experienced a drop of nearly 9%.

⁸Based on my calculations from 1871 Census, vol. 3, 218 and 1881 Census, vol. 3, 236. The farm share of all processing of woollens and linens changed in New Brunswick from 98% in 1870 to 19% by 1890. Kris Inwood, "Maritime Industrialization from 1870 to 1890: A Review of the Evidence and Its Interpretation," in Farm, Factory and Fortune, ed. Kris Inwood (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1993), 151.

the 1880s.⁹ Migration was more heavily experienced among the active lower age group of males and females. Boys left at a younger age, more frequently between the ages of 15-19, and their sisters a little later between 20-24.¹⁰

The Amesbury's agent's promotional campaign in the New Brunswick Reporter painted a rosy picture of mill life applicable to both the Moncton and Milltown mills. "Good inducements offered to good reliable help; skilled help preferred," were part of the criteria demanded by cotton mills both in America and in the Maritimes.¹¹ 'A True Bluenose', a concerned citizen, wrote two letters to the Reporter about the Amesbury, Massachusetts cotton mill recruitment. He decried the lack of concern of local residents and the negligence of the press,

...in its duty in not presenting to our people the arduous labour and trials to which our girls will be subject in an American cotton factory; particularly should our farmers know the facts, because it is among them the agents for these

⁹Brookes, 43, Table 5. Massachusetts and Maine were almost evenly split as the choice destinations for New Brunswickers in the 1870s and 1880s. In the 1870s, 33% of departees chose Massachusetts, 26% chose Maine; in 1880s the margin of choice was similar with 33% going to Massachusetts and 29% to Maine. Nova Scotians in both periods overwhelmingly (58% and 57%) chose Massachusetts. Cotton factory workers in Massachusetts in 1880 could expect weekly wages ranging from \$4.23 - \$7.08 with a median wage of \$4.93. Edith Abbott, Women in Industry (New York: D.Appleton Company, 1910; reprint New York: Source Book Press, 1969), 290-1.

¹⁰Thornton, 18-19. Males left more often between the ages of 15-19 and 25-29 and females between 20-24 and 30-34. Thornton did not explain what factors kept the young men of 20-24 years and the women of 25-29 at home. Counties nearest and best connected with the United States experienced the highest migration levels. Four river counties of the St John River Valley area saw the departure of close to 60% of their young people in the 1880s.

¹¹New Brunswick Reporter, Nov. 15, 1882.

companies receive the largest number of recruits.¹²

'Bluenose' was not very complimentary about cotton mills, whose overseers "...grind them [cotton girls] down to the dull monotony of their slavery." Cotton mills, 'Bluenose' stated, were unhealthy and demoralising places, unfit for the sensibilities of young New Brunswick women. Furthermore, girls were subject to the whims of their overseers about the duration and conditions of their employment. 'Bluenose' insinuated that cotton mill girls died young, lasting no more than from five to ten years as a result of their trials.¹³

Mr. Risteen, paymaster of the Amesbury mill, responded to 'Bluenose's' critique, citing the lucrative pay scales for female help at his mill. Females in his mill could expect \$25-\$30 per month, less \$2.25 per week for board, and male help between \$45-\$50 for the **same work**.¹⁴ The mill agent had stated that female help could demand as high wages as male help, for doing the same labour. It was in the recruiter's interest to paint a rosy picture of mill life, as he usually received a commission and travelling expenses to find new operatives.¹⁵

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴ My emphasis, since the recruiter had promised income parity while the paymaster expressed a totally different income potential. New Brunswick Reporter, Nov.25, 1882.

¹⁵Lyman cotton mill in Holyoke, Massachusetts paid its recruiter \$4-\$5 for each person recruited, plus his travelling expenses to go to rural Quebec to recruit new mill employees during an acute labour shortage in 1860s. Bruno Ramirez, On the Move: French Canadian and Italian Migrants in

Mr. Risteen warned prospective female operatives that good health and forbearance were necessary to overcome the initial obstacles and difficulties of mill life. He guaranteed a return ticket to Fredericton for any girl falling ill from mill work.¹⁶ Profitability was obviously a concern, as Risteen reiterated, "...if she does not readily take to the work there is no profit for us in keeping her."¹⁷

This three week discussion in the New Brunswick Reporter was a little too late for recruitment at the St Croix mill. The mill superintendent had already received applications from 1500 local people by early January, 1882. Experienced and skilled hands, who had left the St Croix Valley for employment in cotton mills in New England, were among the early job applicants. Many now wanted to return home and work on the St Croix.¹⁸ Competition was keen, as the St Croix mill expected to hire about 500 workers, two thirds of them women.¹⁹

Women were not the only potential workers for the St Croix mill. One of the merchants in St Stephen, Josephus Murchie, noted that farmers living near the town were better

the North Atlantic Economy 1860-1914 (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1991), 115.

¹⁶New Brunswick Reporter, Nov.25, 1882.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Calais Times, Jan. 20, 1882; quoted in Peter Delottinville, "The St Croix Cotton Manufacturing Company and Its Influence on the St Croix Community, 1880-1892." (M.A. thesis, Dalhousie University, 1979), 150.

¹⁹Calais Times, Nov.3, 1882, quoted in Delottinville "The St Croix Cotton Manufacturing Company", 150.

off these days. They could afford a few luxuries and needed tools for their farms since "[many of their] boys and girls are working at the cotton mill..."²⁰ Charlotte County was turning into a cash society where the addition of children's earnings was an important component of the family wage. Buying on time or using barter were no longer the most acceptable means of purchasing items.

Information about the identity of the cotton mill workforces in this study come mainly from government documents. These include both the nominative manuscript schedules and the tabular Occupational returns of the 1891 Census, in addition to reports of three inquiries on factories and manufacturing in the 1880s. These sources allow a rough profile of women workers in the two cotton mills. Unfortunately, without first hand written accounts of their experiences, we can only speculate about their motivations to enter the mills and their daily concerns as mill workers.

The 1891 manuscript Census listed many of the operatives of both the St Croix and Moncton cotton mills. The tabular Occupational returns for the same Census gives some indication of the gender breakdown of the workforce. The two sources did not give the same number of workers. Only about 66% of workers reported in both mills identified themselves on the nominative schedules.

²⁰Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor in Canada Evidence New Brunswick (hereafter called RCL-NB), (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1889), 505.

Three possible explanations accounted for these numerical differences. The Preface to the 1891 Census noted,

An effort has been made to give for the first time the occupation of the female part of the population. The returns show the number of females engaged in permanent occupations or regularly engaged in specific occupations.

The occupational returns did not include women working part-time or employed seasonally.²¹ In the case of the St Croix mill, many of the workers lived on the American side of the border in Calais or Milltown, Maine. A third possible explanation was that some workers did not identify their occupations to the Census enumerators, leading to an under enumeration of the mill workforces on the nominative schedules.

The three Canadian government inquiries on manufacturing enterprises in the 1880s gave another perspective on mill workers. The Blackeby-Luke inquiry of 1882 reported on working conditions in mills and factories in Canada in an attempt to assess the need for factory legislation. The prime concerns of this inquiry were the employment of women and children, the sixty hour work week, and health and safety issues.²²

A second inquiry, in 1884, headed by Edward Willis,

²¹Canada Census 1891, vol. 2, viii.

²²Canada. "Report into the working of Mills and Factories of the Dominion, and the labor employed therein." Sessional Papers (No. 42), 45 Victoria, 1882: 1-9.

toured manufacturing industries in the three Maritime provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island.²³ Willis had two mandates during his visit to the major Maritime towns and cities. He was instructed to compare the work forces and wages paid in 1878 and 1884, and to view the general working conditions in industries. He further enlarged his mandate to include a progress report on the effects of the tariff and to get "at the real view of the proprietors as respects the National Policy."²⁴

The third government inquiry, The Royal Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labour, in 1888, proved the most valuable as a source of information on individual wages and working conditions.²⁵ The Commission's goal was to seek and report on all questions affecting both the working people and the capitalists engaged in the manufacturing sector. From this inquiry the Commission made recommendations to government to improve factory conditions and lives of workers. Published in 1889, this report included 5000 pages of testimony from 1800 witnesses from all sectors of industry, including workers, managers and owners.

²³Canada. "Report on the Manufacturing Industries of Certain Sections of the Maritime Provinces." Sessional Papers (No. 37), 48 Victoria, 1885: 35-58.

²⁴Ibid., 36.

²⁵Canada. Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor in Canada Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1889. See also Greg Kealey, ed. Canada Investigates Industrialism (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973) for an abridged version of the Royal Commission's Report and testimonies from workers.

The Commissioners visited five cotton mills in the Maritimes, including Moncton and Milltown as well as Marysville, St John and Halifax. The choice of interviewees was unclear. A.T. Freed, the chairman of the Commission, noted "...employers were quite willing that their hands should testify, and not a few actively interested themselves in the investigation."²⁶ In Moncton, eleven cotton mill workers, including four women, gave testimony. In Milltown, only four cotton mill employees, all men, testified at the inquiry. The oral testimony from the 15 employees of the Moncton and Milltown mills gave a tentative view of both the physical conditions in the mills and some idea of the daily work of operatives. Testimony from the other Maritime cotton mills supplemented both the St Croix and the Moncton information.

For this study of cotton mills in Charlotte and Westmorland Counties, I constructed a data base by extracting cotton workers from the nominative schedules of the 1891 Census.²⁷ I searched schedules for all parishes in both counties since some workers may have commuted to work. This gave me information on the workers' ages, sex, marital status, occupation, place of birth, ethnicity, and residence. I was particularly interested in family groupings working together in the mill and the incidence of boarding.

²⁶Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor in Canada (hereafter called RCL), (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1889): 7.

²⁷Census 1891 Charlotte County, reels T 6298-99, Westmorland County, reels # T 6305-06, National Archives of Canada.

For the Moncton cotton mill, I constructed a profile on 119 workers from the nominative data, out of the possible 179 workers indicated on the 1891 Occupational tables. The St Croix cotton mill workforce was much larger on the Occupational tables. I found 425 members on the nominative schedules from the possible 631 workers.

TABLE 4.1 EMPLOYEES AT THE COTTON MILLS 1891

MONCTON	OCCUPATIONAL DATA	NOMINATIVE DATA
NUMBER OF WORKERS	179	119
MALES	82	60
FEMALES	371	59
MILLTOWN		
NUMBER OF WORKERS	631	425
MALES	260	182
FEMALES	371	243

Ethnicity was a factor in the hiring of cotton mill operatives for both the Moncton and Milltown workforces. The Moncton Daily Times carried a letter from 'Business' in 1881, during the cotton mill's promotional campaign, extolling the potential workforce as

... a docile and industrious people, of the same class ... from Quebec Province has gone to swell the population of Lowell, Fall River and other centres of cotton manufacturing in the States.²⁸

French Acadians made up a significant proportion of the Moncton cotton mill community, both when it opened and in

²⁸Daily Times, Aug.16, 1881.

1891. The Daily Times in 1884 noted the mill gave employment to about 150 hands, mostly French Acadians, except the English overseers.²⁹

Certain ethnic bias were prevalent as well in the hiring practices of the St Croix Cotton mill. The construction manager, R.E. Patterson, an American from the Bates mill in Lewiston, Maine, refused to hire French Canadian workers. He considered them a "very inferior class of men," and somewhat lazy. He did lavish praise on local construction workers from the St Croix Valley who, he claimed, could accomplish twice the work of the Frenchmen.³⁰ Patterson's attitude might have influenced the new superintendent's hiring practices, "...as probably none of that poor class of ignorant French Canadians would find employment in the St Croix mill."³¹

The international border between New Brunswick and Maine was very fluid in the 1880s, with residents on both sides freely crossing over daily to work or shop.³² The mill welcomed Americans and former residents of the St Croix who had left to work in the cotton mills in New England. Returning former residents back to their homes and families was one of the

²⁹Daily Times, Aug.9, 1884. The data base for 1891 showed that 46 of the 119 workers (38.6%) expressed their ethnic origin as French.

³⁰Calais Times, Jan. 20, 1880, quoted from Delottinville, "The St Croix Cotton Manufacturing Company", 149.

³¹Ibid.

³²Davis, 259. Emigration restrictions on the Maine-New Brunswick border only came into force in the early 1930s, curtailing the daily flow of workers living in Calais or Milltown, Maine but working in Milltown, New Brunswick.

motives of the St Croix mill promoters. When the mill first opened in 1882, it lured fifty skilled operatives from the Bates mill in Lewiston, Maine, with higher wages than offered in New England.³³

Foreign workers were less well received at the St Croix mill than former local residents. When 100 Scottish workers arrived in 1886 to replace striking workers, the community and the cotton mill people shunned them.³⁴ Most of the St Croix Valley was of British or American stock and had no particular liking for either Irish or Italian workers, possibly for economic reasons.³⁵

Managers and overseers in both mills came from either America or Britain. The St Croix mill hired most of its managers and skilled department overseers from nearby American mills. The Bates Cotton mill in Lewiston, Maine was the source for several supervisors and mill agents.³⁶ All of the managers in Moncton, except Fred Bosson, were from British cotton mills.³⁷ In Moncton, as in some Quebec mills, language on the shop floor was different from management. Many of the workers were French speaking while managers and overseers spoke

³³Eastport Sentinel, April nd, 1882, in Harold Davis, An International Community on the St Croix (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1950), ftn # 61, 259.

³⁴Delottinville, "The St Croix Cotton Manufacturing Company, 154.

³⁵Ibid., 137.

³⁶St Croix Courier, July 6, 1882 and Dec.24, 1885.

³⁷RCL-NB, 327; Daily Times April 9, 1884, Mar. 13, 1883; Census 1891.

English. In the Valleyfield mill in Quebec, McCullough found anglophone managers as well, and that French Canadian workers could not break through to more senior positions above assistant overseer until 1900.³⁸

Mill owners recruited most of their operatives from rural areas in neighbouring New Brunswick communities. At the St Croix cotton mill in Milltown, 77% of the workers were from New Brunswick, the others from America and abroad. The St Croix mill database revealed two unexpected findings. Although many of the workers resided in the three subdistricts of Milltown, very few lived or boarded in St Stephen, a short walk from the mill.

The second surprise was the number of cotton workers reporting outside the immediate Milltown/St Stephen vicinity. About 15% of cotton mill workers, mostly females, reported to enumerators in their home parishes ten to twenty miles from the mill site. One can only speculate why this many cotton workers were in another district when the enumerators called. Commuting for two to four hours each day, while working an eleven hour day, would not seem feasible. Perhaps some of the 62 operatives, were seasonal workers, currently unemployed, or lodged in St Stephen or Milltown only part of the week.³⁹

³⁸Alan McCullough, The Primary Textile Industry in Canada-History and Heritage (Ottawa: Supply and Services, 1992), 98.

³⁹1891 Census data base analysis. The 62 rural workers came from the parishes of St James (23), St David (10), Upper Mills (9), Dufferin (8), St Croix (8), St Andrew's (2), St Patrick (1), and St George (1). These 62 workers included 52 women and 10 men.

At the Moncton mill nearly 83% of workers came from either New Brunswick or neighbouring Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. Many of the women working in Moncton in 1891 came from rural areas within fifty miles of the town. The majority (73%) came from the three surrounding counties of Westmorland, Kent and Albert.⁴⁰

Two distinct patterns of women's migration from rural areas were prevalent in Moncton. Unaccompanied women left their families of origin to seek a limited independence. Some young single women, like sisters Sarah and Virginie Leblanc, left their family behind on the farm in St Louis de Kent, in neighbouring Kent County. Sarah, 23 years old and Virginie, 32 found lodgings in Moncton and cotton mill work. The Moncton Cotton mill never provided any living accommodations for its operatives. Most of the Moncton cotton workers (70%) lived at home while the rest lived in boarding houses or hotels.⁴¹

Young people found accommodations in large private

⁴⁰Using Census data, Hickey and Lafleur linked 324 of the 577 working women in Moncton in 1891 back to their domicile in 1881: 160 came from Westmorland County, 49 from Kent County and 28 from Albert County. Others came from slightly further afield: 15 from Northumberland County, 33 from PEI, 33 from NS and 10 foreign born. Daniel Hickey, "Moncton, 1871-1913: Le Commerce et l'industrie dans un carrefour ferroviaire," in Moncton 1871-1913, changements socio-économiques dans une ville ferroviaire ed. Daniel Hickey (Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie, 1990), 54-58. See also Ginette Lafleur, "Travail rémunéré et industrialisation: Panorama du travail féminin dans une petite ville en mutation, Moncton, 1881-1891," (M.A. thesis, Université de Moncton, 1990).

⁴¹In the Moncton data base of 119 workers, 18 women and 20 men were lodgers; 5 of these men lived in hotels. Ginette Lafleur, "L'industrialisation et le travail rémunéré des femmes: Moncton, 1881-1891," in Moncton 1871-1929: Changements socio-économiques dans une ville ferroviaire, ed. Daniel Hickey (Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie, 1990), 67. Her study on women's paid work in Moncton found 59% of the 577 working women lived in boarding houses in 1891, indicating a pattern of unaccompanied migration.

boarding houses, such as Heskin's in Milltown, in company owned boarding houses, or frequently with local families.⁴² In Milltown, only 20% of the 223 female workers lodged outside their familial homes. Few (3%) of the 182 male operatives living in Milltown sought lodgings. Since many of the St Croix mill workers lived in Calais and Milltown, Maine, these low percentages of lodgers may not be a true indication of the number of cotton workers living away from the family home.

The St Croix Cotton Company also built housing for its workers on both sides of the Canadian/American border. It purchased five acres of land in Milltown, Maine to build tenements and boarding houses to rent to new employees. In Milltown, New Brunswick, the Company built a forty-two room boarding house, Corporation House, expected to accommodate 80 boarders.⁴³ Owners of two privately owned boarding houses in Milltown, New Brunswick and Milltown, Maine enlarged their premises to house the influx of new cotton operatives.⁴⁴ The St Croix Cotton mill provided some accommodation for the supervisory staff also by building eight staff houses. Others, in the managerial strata of the mill, bought homes in St Stephen or Milltown, touching off a rise in land and real

⁴²1891 Census data base for Milltown. The average ages of the 27 cotton workers residing at Heskins boarding house was 22 years for the 21 females, and 28 years for the 6 males.

⁴³Calais Times, May 11, 1883 from Delottinville "The St Croix Cotton Manufacturing Company, 169.

⁴⁴Calais Times, June 13, 1884; and Sept. 16, 1884, from Delottinville, "The St Croix Cotton Manufacturing Company", 160.

estate values.

Young people seeking limited independence through boarding were features of cotton mills in Yarmouth, and Halifax, Nova Scotia. Young rural born Acadian males and females left their family homes to seek work 'in town' in Yarmouth in the 1880s-1890s.⁴⁵ Many of the young women mill workers in Yarmouth lived in boarding houses near the mill. In Halifax, many young factory women, including those working at the Halifax Cotton mill, migrated from rural areas and towns within the province. Only a small minority of the women were foreign born.⁴⁶ Having relatives in the city or town could be both an advantage and a liability for factory workers in all areas. Kin became surrogate parents, curtailing some of the young people's independence while providing some of the comforts and support of a distant family.

Steady work on the railway and carshop jobs, as well as in the cotton mill, attracted many rural people to Moncton in the 1880s. The family migrating as a unit to find work was another strategy to secure economic well being. Dominique Belliveau left his farm in rural Dundas, Kent County and moved his family to Moncton. He found work on the Intercolonial Railroad and his two daughters, Evangeline, aged 15, and

⁴⁵Del Muise, "The Industrial Context of Inequality: Female Participation in Nova Scotia's Paid Labour Force, 1871-1921," Acadiensis vol. 20, 2 (Autumn 1991): 22-23.

⁴⁶Sharon Myers, "Not To Be Ranked as Women: Female Industrial Workers in Turn of the Century Halifax," Separate Spheres eds. Janet Guildford and Suzanne Morton (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1994), 167, fn. 25, 168.

Marcelline, aged 14, became cotton mill girls.⁴⁷

Residents and local businesses benefitted from the influx of workers who distributed "...considerable money throughout the village for boarding and furnishing the necessities of life to the large number of hands employed." reported the St Croix Courier.⁴⁸ Wages of \$10,600 a month circulated in the St Croix community in 1884, rising to \$18,000 a month in 1891. In Moncton, the cotton mill distributed \$3000 in monthly wages to its 180 workers in 1886 and about the same amount in 1891.⁴⁹ The building boom of new housing, especially in the St Croix Valley, revived the sawmill business with demands for lumber in the mid 1880s.

Job mobility for both management and operatives was an element in the cotton mill business. Four different overseers ran the St Croix weave room in the two year period between 1884-1886. Many left to take up new duties in other cotton mills in Canada, such as the new Marysville mill or to return to America.⁵⁰ In Moncton, as well, job mobility was common among managers. The first manager, Fred Bosson, an American, stayed only a short time; he quit in 1883 before the mill

⁴⁷Hickey, 56.

⁴⁸St Croix Courier, Sept. 28, nd, Delottinville, "The St Croix Cotton Manufacturing Company", 169. The cost of boarding was similar in Milltown and Moncton, with females paying on average \$2.25 per week while men paid \$3.00-\$3.50.

⁴⁹Canada Sessional Papers 37, 1885, 58; Census 1891, vol.4, 119. See also Table 5.8 in the Appendix.

⁵⁰Delottinville, "The St Croix Cotton", 152.

opened. Mr. Richards, an experienced English mill manager directed operations in 1884. Two more managers, both Englishmen, took over operations between 1884 and 1891. Like their managers, many workers followed the tides of opportunity to other mills in the vicinity or to New England. Most female workers in both Moncton and Milltown were single women. Since no employment records for either Moncton or Milltown have survived, and the census is only every ten years, tracking women's employment profile was problematical. Many of the women would have left the mill to marry, or simply left the district. A few instances of women working for a number of years in the mills will be discussed further on in this study.

Recruitment was only the first stage in establishing an efficient and profitable cotton mill. Most of the cotton mill workforce in both communities were from rural areas within a fifty mile radius, migrating to Moncton and Milltown either unaccompanied or with their families. All of the managers and highly skilled workers moved from Britain or New England mills to spend a short time in Milltown or Moncton. Salary scales, gender, age, and working conditions also affected factory workers and were a part of mill culture. Labour problems and market conditions of the 1880s impacted on the duration of workers employment. Mill culture, demographics and other factors affecting weavers' employment form part of the succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER 5 - "THE RATTLE OF THE SHUTTLE AND THE WHIRR OF THE SPINDLE"¹ - WELCOME TO THE FACTORY

The cotton mills in Moncton and Milltown welcomed young men and women with the sound of the mill bell, the deafening noise of machinery and the fine dust of cotton fiber. These mills offered the possibility of economic and social independence from families, while allowing workers to enjoy amenities not available on the farm. Cash wages for children could make the difference in a family's survival strategies. Families, as a group, often migrated to towns where wages earned by their young sons and daughters in the mills benefited the whole family.

Cash income was one of the lures of mill work. The weaver's pay packet was somewhat heavier than that of other women in the mill workforce. Through diligent labour, she earned more income than other women in the mill, and achieved income parity with her male counterparts. This chapter will focus on women weavers, their incomes and the factors affecting their employment. It will discuss cotton workers and especially weavers' contribution to the family wage economy.

The Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital noted that new mills and factories curtailed both the flow of population and money outside the country. Unfortunately, the Royal Commission argued, factories filled

¹Quoted from John Kelly, Acting Chairman, Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labour, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1889): 87.

their workforces with women and children to achieve the greatest profits for the smallest expenditure. The mills offered women and children work since "... [they] may be counted upon to work for small wages, to submit to petty and exasperating exactions, and to work uncomplainingly for long hours."²

Two debates focused on women's incomes in the cotton mills in the nineteenth century. The first maintained that income differentials existed for females and males doing the same jobs in the textile industry. The other argued that women weavers received both a higher income than other mill jobs available to them, and on par with men weavers. McCullough, for example, found ample evidence in Canada to suggest that, in addition to occupying lower paying job categories, women textile workers received less pay than men for the same job. Even when they worked in higher paying departments, they usually worked as assistants. This differential between men and women's income was the norm in every textile job category where men and women worked.³

In New England, Abbott argued that women's income in cotton mills approximated those of men until the advent of mechanical improvements in looms in the 1890s. Women in Massachusetts received good pay to perform skilled tasks in

²Royal Commission Report on the Relations of Capital and Labour (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1889), 87. (hereafter called RCL)

³Alan McCullough, The Primary Textile Industry in Canada (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1992), 96.

warp dressing and weaving rooms in cotton mills. In other manufacturing industries, such as shoemaking, skilled work with compensating pay, was not the norm.⁴ Weaving was a distinctly more profitable occupation for American women than most other mill jobs, from the early years of the industry until the late nineteenth century.⁵

Both the Moncton and St Croix cotton mills followed the common practice of hiring significant numbers of women and children in the 1880s. No legislation existed in New Brunswick in the late nineteenth century regulating the employment of young children in factories and mills. The database revealed more than 25 children, under the age of 15 years, employed in each mill. The youngest child working in the Moncton cotton mill was 10 years old, at St Croix, 11 years.

TABLE 5.1 WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN THE COTTON MILL WORKFORCE

	MILLTOWN	MONCTON
MEN	213	58
WOMEN	340	68
BOYS (UNDER 16)	47	24
GIRLS (UNDER 16)	31	29
TOTAL WORKERS	631	179
TOTAL WOMEN/CHILDREN	418	121
% OF WOMEN/CHILDREN	66.24%	67.59%

SOURCE: 1891 Census, vol. 3, 119.

⁴Edith Abbott, Women in Industry (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1910; reprint edition New York: Source Book Press, 1969), 314.

⁵Ibid., 276.

The cotton mills employed mostly single young men and women. In both cases nearly 80% of the workforce of the cotton mills in Milltown and Moncton were single young people. Married men were more likely to hold down mill jobs than married women both in Charlotte and Westmorland Counties. Widowed men and women made up only a small percentage of both workforces.

TABLE 5.2 MARITAL STATUS OF COTTON MILL WORKERS

	MILLTOWN		MONCTON	
	NUMBER	% OF TOTAL	NUMBER	% OF TOTAL
SINGLE WOMEN	223	52.47%	52	43.69%
SINGLE MEN	121	28.47%	45	37.82%
MARRIED WOMEN	15	3.53%	5	3.36%
MARRIED MEN	60	14.11%	12	10.08%
WIDOWED WOMEN	5	1.10%	1	0.84%
WIDOWED MEN	1	0.23%	3	2.52%
TOTAL WORKERS	425	99.91%	119	98.31%

SOURCE: Database extracted from 1891 Nominative Census schedules.

The majority (67.5%) of the unmarried young men and women at the St Croix mill fell between the ages of 16-30 years, with the largest group under 25. Moncton's single cotton workers were much younger than the St Croix group, with 68% under the age of twenty.

TABLE 5.3 AGE DISTRIBUTION OF UNMARRIED MEN AND WOMEN

AGE	MILLTOWN		MONCTON	
	% OF WOMEN TOTAL#-223	% OF MEN TOTAL#-111	% OF WOMEN TOTAL#-52	% OF MEN TOTAL#-45
<15	4.40%	5.40%	28.80%	26.60%
16-20	40.30%	36.90%	40.30%	42.20%
21-25	35.80%	30.60%	25.00%	13.30%
26-30	12.20%	13.50%	1.90%	6.60%
31-35	2.60%	9.90%	3.80%	4.40%
36-40	3.50%	1.80%	0	2.20%
41-50	0.89%	0.90%	0	4.40%
51+	0.44%	0.90%	0	0

SOURCE: Database from 1891 Nominative Census schedules.

A brief discussion of the organization of work in a cotton mill will highlight job requirements and the divisions of labour. Both the Moncton and St Croix cotton mills were vertically integrated industries: all components of the cloth manufacture, from initial opening of the bales of cotton to its shipping to market, took place on one site. Textile mill jobs were contingent on many factors. Some positions required little skill except vigilance, while in other jobs, skill, training, strength, and endurance were necessary. Some jobs exposed workers to potential personal danger, such as operations using machinery with fast moving parts, especially in the carding room.

Carding and picking, requiring heavy machinery, cleaned

and transformed the raw cotton lint into coarse roving for the spinning frames. These spinning frames, both mule jennys and throstles (ring spinners), drew and twisted the carded fiber into finer roving and finally different thicknesses of thread for either the warp or the wefts. The thread for wefts went directly onto quills or small bobbins ready for the weaving process.

The bobbins of warp thread underwent several processes before weaving commenced. Workers wound the warps to the required lengths, then sized the warp with a starch solution for strength. After it was dried by a fan, the workers rewound the prepared warp onto a second beam. Finally, operatives drew the warp threads, one at a time, by hand, through the heddles and reed according to a particular pattern in preparation for weaving. The cloth room or hall was the final step before marketing the cloth. Here operatives measured, folded and batched the cloth or yarns for later washing, bleaching, dyeing or printing before its eventual shipment out of the factory to selling agents.

The mechanical capabilities of the machinery limited some jobs in the mill, but other factors determined the final division between men's and women's jobs. Men did many of the jobs in the picking and carding rooms that demanded strength and endurance. Although semiskilled, these jobs often exposed workers to risk of personal injury. Men had a monopoly on the jobs requiring mechanical skills, such as machinists and loom

fixers. They filled most of the supervisory jobs in all departments of the cotton mill. At the St Croix mill, Rosann McDonald held down the position of section girl in the weaving room. Out of the 223 females in the mill work force, she was the only female in a semi-management position.

Both males and females held a variety of jobs in the two cotton mills. The St Croix mill had more diverse and defined jobs than the Moncton mill. Female workers at the St Croix mill identified 17 different jobs, ranging from weaving, and bookkeeping, to general cotton mill hands. The 1891 database showed 168 women weavers at the St Croix mill, the largest occupational group (69%) among the 243 women reporting. In contrast, only 6 women reported spinning, one of the less arduous tasks. Few workers reported spinning jobs at St Croix. These might have been the mill jobs occupied by the American workers residing in Calais and Milltown, Maine.

Men identified 28 different jobs at the St Croix mill, including some held in common with the female workers, such as bookkeeper, packer, cloth hall worker and weaver. Men filled the supervisory jobs such as overseers, superintendent and loom fixers. Twenty-nine men listed themselves as labourers in the mill, although Dexter, the assistant superintendent, mentioned there were no labourers employed. He also stated that most of the weavers were women, though 58 men declared

weaving as their job.⁶

An occupational table linked to skill requirements and gender will show some of the variables in job designation as well as appropriate types of income in a cotton mill.

TABLE 5.4 OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE OF WORK IN A COTTON MILL

JOB	SKILL REQUIRED	SEX	PAY RATES
PICKING	NO	M	DAY
CARDING	NO	M/F	DAY
SPINNING-THROSTLE	NO	M/F	PIECE WORK
SPINNING-MULE	YES	M	PIECE WORK
SPINNING ROOM-HELPER	NO	M/F	PIECE WORK
WINDING	YES	F	DAY
WARP DRESSERS	YES	F	DAY
WARP DRAWERS	YES	F	PIECE WORK
WEAVERS	YES	M/F	PIECE WORK
DYERS	YES	M	DAY
CLOTH HALL-FINISHERS	YES	M	DAY
CLOTH HALL-PACKERS	NO	F	DAY
LOOM FIXER	YES	M	DAY

SOURCE: Based on occupations listed in Report of Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital for Moncton and Milltown cotton mills, 174, 176. Occupations listed are in the normal progression of converting raw materials into finished cloth in a vertically integrated cotton mill.

Occupations at the Moncton mill were less diverse than at St Croix. Women declared only seven different jobs, the majority being weavers or spinners and 'employee'. The men at

⁶RCL, Evidence New Brunswick, (hereafter RCL-NB), Lewis Dexter's testimony, 480-1.

the Moncton mill reported twelve different jobs with the highest numbers being weavers and spinners. An almost even proportion of men and women declared weaving as their occupation in the Moncton mill. In Moncton, only about a third of the women chose weaving as their occupation while a larger proportion worked as spinners.⁷

Men or women could tend machinery equally well in either the spinning or weaving rooms. These repetitious jobs required watching the machinery and intervening periodically to assure its smooth functioning or to repair broken threads. Throstle spinning required low levels of skill and paid the lowest wages for all adult operatives. Other jobs, such as warp dressers, weavers, and drawers, required intervention based on skill, judgement and speed of execution. A weaver watched for broken warp threads, repaired them quickly, and replaced bobbins when they ran out of weft yarns. The operative had to stop the loom to perform each of these tasks. Weavers filled bobbins about 100 times in a ten-hour day and might repair 40 to 50 fine warp threads per day.⁸ The frequency of intervention to replace empty bobbins or repair broken threads limited the number of looms a weaver could tend.

Both men and women worked as weavers, but women held the

⁷In Moncton, 20 of the 59 females (33%) and 24 of the 60 males (41%) were weavers; 18 males and 29 females reported spinning as their occupation. At the St Croix mill, 168 of the 243 females (69%) and 58 of the 182 males (31%) reported weaving as an occupation.

⁸McCullough, 20.

jobs of warp dressers and warp drawers. Warp dressers needed considerable skill and judgement for their tasks. They decided on the consistency of the starch sizing, the appropriate room temperature, and the amount of residual moisture in the prepared warp. Each of these factors could cause difficulties and breakage once the warp was on the loom, thereby ruining the piece of cloth. One of the pitfalls of this process was the constant dampness and humidity required for the successful application of the starch sizing. Cotton mills normally maintained a constant temperature of 80 F and a high humidity to facilitate cotton handling.

The other skilled job, drawing-in the threads through the heddles and reed, although repetitive, required speed and dexterity. Drawing-in was not an arduous job, as the operative sat at her work, away from the noise and dust of the more mechanized jobs. Drawing-in, which paid good piece work rates, was one of the few mill jobs based entirely on human skill.⁹

Women's wages for all jobs in the cotton mill had to be set high enough to attract them away from other competing female jobs, such as domestic service. Women factory and mill hands, suggested A.H. Blackeby in his report into the Mills and Factories of the Dominion in 1882, could earn "...better wages than are usually paid for domestic service."¹⁰ Both New

⁹Thomas Dublin, Women at Work-Transformation of Work and Community, Lowell 1826-1860 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), 62-69.

¹⁰Canada. "Report into the Working of Mills and Factories of the Dominion", Sessional Papers (No.42) Victoria 45, 1882, 4.

England and Quebec cotton mills used a similar criteria for women's wages in the nineteenth century.¹¹ Women's wages at the two cotton mills ranged from a low of \$1.50 per week for young helpers in the weaving room in Moncton, to income as high as \$9 a week for skilled weavers at St Croix. Inconsistencies in reporting caused certain difficulties in interpreting testimony before the Royal Commission on Capital and Labour. Workers and managers often reported slightly different wage rates for the same job. As well, some jobs paid piece rates while other jobs daily wages, making direct comparisons problematical.

Weaving was a skilled and well paid job at both the Milltown and Moncton cotton mills. Not all weavers received the same income when they collected their pay envelope. Some of the differences depended on their skill and speed, others on factors outside their control. The number of looms tended, their output, the complexity of the pattern, and the density of the cloth (number of threads per inch) were four technical criteria determining weavers' piece work wages. Since all weavers at both mills received piece work rates, there was neither uniform and nor predictable pay. Weavers tended from two to six looms at any one time, with pay increasing with the number of looms. John Parks, the manager of the St John cotton

¹¹Dublin, Women at Work, 65; Abbott, 284; Cohen estimated that domestic servants received about \$2.83 for a 70 hour work week. Marjorie Cohen, Women's Work, Markets and Economic Development in Nineteenth-Century Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 138.

mill, noted in his testimony to the Royal Commission, "a good weaver will attend six looms, a poor one two. If a weaver could only tend to one, it wouldn't be worth their while to come to work."¹²

The pay rate for weavers tending six looms at the St Croix Mill was \$1.50 per day while those weavers running four looms earned from \$1.00-\$1.25 per day.¹³ Weavers, like Jane Ashworth and John Fielding, at the Moncton mill, both reported earning \$1.25 a day for tending six looms. The manager at the Moncton cotton mill estimated his weavers received \$.85 per day for tending four looms.¹⁴ Most weavers at both the St Croix and Moncton mills tended four looms and would receive the lower rates. Dexter mentioned that only thirty women weavers at St Croix ran six looms, and could expect the higher pay, averaging \$9 a week.¹⁵ Not all women workers chose the more demanding weaving jobs. Tending six looms was arduous work and required vigilance and speed. Many hands did this job for the additional pay, noted Walmsley, the weaving overseer in Moncton. Although weaving paid better than most other mill jobs, he reported difficulty in finding skilled operatives for

¹²RCL-NB, 30.

¹³RCL-NB, Lewis Dexter, assistant superintendent, testimony, 480-1.

¹⁴RCL-NB, Testimony of Richard Hocken, manager, 301. Both John Fielding and Jane Ashworth, weavers, reported tending six looms. 324, 332.

¹⁵RCL-NB, Dexter's testimony, 481.

his department.¹⁶ Training new employees was a drain on the efficiency and production levels for the department. The need for good weavers was especially crucial when production increased and there was little time to train new operatives. The St Croix mill needed more 'good weavers' for increased production, reported the Moncton Daily Times in 1884.¹⁷

In Milltown, some women workers also chose less demanding jobs in other departments.

There are many girls at the mill who easily earn, by weaving, \$9.00 per week, which is a significant fact, considering that it is more than able-bodied men earn in the woods. But weaving is hard work, and most girls do not like it. They prefer to "wind" and "spool", at which many girls make good wages, while there are not a few who can earn only the sum of \$1.80 a week.¹⁸

The St Croix mill had only been in operation for two years when the Calais Times carried this comment about the demands of industrial life. A comparison of women's occupational profiles when the mill opened in 1882, and the 1891 database was not possible due to a lack of employment records.

Skill and experience were factors determining the amount a weaver's income. Weavers received minimal pay during their training time. Dexter described the training program for weavers at the St Croix mill:

¹⁶RCL-NB, testimony of John Walmsley, overseer of the weaving room, Moncton Cotton mill, 323.

¹⁷Moncton Daily Times, Dec.23, 1884.

¹⁸Calais Times, Dec.30, 1884, quoted in Delottinville "The St Croix Cotton Company", 156.

When hands first comes[sic] to work they will probably get a frame, and then they work at that till they can run a number of looms. They first get two or three looms and work them by hand; then they go on until they are able to run four by steam.¹⁹

Ability to learn was a factor in the number of looms tended. Hochen suggested that one to three months was the average training time at the Moncton mill "... for we find that some women are more apt to learn than others."²⁰ Hochen was vague on the age women started in the weaving room in Moncton. In the St Croix mill, the youngest persons entrusted with looms were fourteen years old; very few under that age worked as weavers reported Dexter.²¹ Twenty to twenty-five years was the average age for weavers in his mill.²²

Different types of cloth paid different rates, thus affecting a weaver's pay envelope. The number of threads per inch, the complexity of the pattern, and the length of cloth were all outside the weaver's control. Finer cloths had more picks per inch (weft rows) and took longer to weave, thus increasing the weaver's work. Weavers received a fixed price for a certain length of cloth. The usual length of a piece,

¹⁹RCL-NB, Dexter, 480.

²⁰RCL-NB testimony of R.Hocken, 301.

²¹Alma O'Brien, age 13, was the youngest female weaver in the St Croix database. Six 14 year olds and five 15 year olds joined her among the youngest persons employed as weavers at St Croix. In Moncton, one youngster, aged 10 and his brother, aged 12 were the youngest people reporting as weavers. Six other young people aged 14-15 reported weaving as their occupation.

²²RCL-NB Testimony of Lewis Dexter, 481. On the St Croix data base, only 12 weavers are 15 years or younger, with 70% of weavers between the ages of 16-25.

(also called a 'cut'), was fifty yards but this was not uniform for all types of cloth. Some weavers could complete four to six cuts a day depending on the relative length and complexity of pattern.²³ Managers usually posted price lists for each style or type of cloth, the number of yards in the piece and the number of picks per inch. This price list helped weavers estimate how much they would earn on a particular job.²⁴ Weavers supervised a number of looms with different types of cloth at the same time. In the St Croix mill, for example, weavers usually ran two looms on fancy work and two on plain cloth, with differing rates of pay.²⁵

Fines could reduce a mill worker's pay envelope, especially those paid on piece work rates. Weavers paid fines more often for inferior work than other mill employees. The St Croix mill fined for chronic lateness, breaking factory rules and negligent or careless work. In Moncton, John Walmsley, the weaving overseer, judged all work coming off the looms in the mill. He imposed small fines of \$0.10 for inferior or bad work. Fines did not replace the cost of damaged goods but acted as deterrents for careless work. Mill workers were not always knowledgeable about the rates of fines nor the mill rules, as overseers or managers were not always diligent in

²³John Walmsley, an experienced Moncton weaver tending six looms, noted he could weave off four to six cuts per day at \$0.23 to \$0.26 per cut. RCL-NB, 325.

²⁴Delottinville, "The St Croix Cotton Company", 201.

²⁵RCL-NB, Dexter, 480.

posting such notices.²⁶

Lewis Dexter, the manager of the St Croix mill, did not think the amount of fines paid for bad weaving in his mill were very high.²⁷ He estimated that the total fines in the weaving room amounted to \$20 for the year, and between \$30-\$90 for the whole mill.²⁸ Dexter perhaps underestimated the amount of fines to the Royal Commission. Seven months after their 1888 visit, the St Croix Courier described the fining system at the cotton mill.

All the cloth goes to the inspector's room before going to the cloth room. If there is the slightest imperfection in any of the cuts, the overseer or second hand fines the entire cut. The fines for the last five weeks pay amounted to \$100....The St Croix weavers are fined pretty well up to \$1000 per year.²⁹

Other conditions outside the weaver's control also affected their take-home pay. Mill workers normally worked sixty hour weeks, with early closing on Saturdays in the summer. Work started at 6:30 a.m. and lasted until 6 p.m., with one hour off at noon for dinner. Slow-downs and shutdowns, due to market demands, insufficient water levels or flooding, could reduce the number of hours worked, thereby

²⁶Walmsley, the weaving overseer, reported there were no rules posted in the weaving room. One of the weavers, Jane Ashworth, contradicted Walmsley by saying there were rules posted and that there were no fines. RCL-NB 322, 332.

²⁷RCL-NB, Dexter, 480.

²⁸Ibid., 486.

²⁹St Croix Courier, Jan. 31, 1889.

severely affecting the weaver's pay packet. Testimony from cotton workers in Moncton noted the recent cut-backs in hours worked and closures due to bad trade in 1888.³⁰ Women weavers in the Moncton mill could expect steady work for only ten months of the year, if they worked full-time, noted the manager, Mr. Hocken.³¹

Labour conflicts could also affect a weaver's income. Two disputes over weavers' rates erupted at the St Croix mill in the mid 1880s. The manager had increased the length of cut by thirteen yards over a two year period in 1884-6, without increasing the weaver's pay. Since the mill paid by the piece instead of by the yard, it forced workers to increase their pace to maintain the same income.³² Extracting surplus-value, with this method, was a popular practice in both Ontario and Quebec cotton mills as well in the late nineteenth century. Labour disputes, including strikes, often resulted.³³

A second dispute at St Croix took place in early January of 1886 when the manager changed the piece rates for different styles of cloth. Some weavers received a \$.02 increase while others a \$0.02 decrease per cut. Within a week Dexter posted new rates reducing all weavers to previous levels. The change

³⁰RCL-NB, 323 John Fielding, 332 Jane Ashworth, 328 Isodore Legare.

³¹RCL-NB, Hocken, manager of the Moncton Cotton mill, 301.

³²Delottinville, "The St Croix Cotton Mill", 200-03.

³³Jacques Ferland, "In Search of the Unbound Prometheus-A Comparative View of Women's Activism in Two Quebec Industries, 1869-1908." Labour/Le Travail 24 (Fall 1989): 25.

reduced the average weaver's income by about \$1.20 per week.³⁴ Mule spinners also faced a 5-10% reduction in wages. Both groups walked out for a two week period in February of 1886, demanding a fair day's pay. In the aftermath of the labour dispute, including two weeks of lost wages during the strike, the mill fired one third of the weavers.³⁵

Dismissal was a constant fear. Department heads, not the manager, hired the workers and could fire them at their discretion, with little or no notice. Employees, on the other hand, had to give two weeks advance notice of their leaving. The St Croix mill paid its employees cash wages once a month, with three weeks pay held back. The Moncton mill also paid its workers in cash, but every two weeks with just ten days held back.

The terms of employment agreement were often harsh. The Hochlega Cotton Company, of Montreal, for instance, could

...at any time, without notice, discharge any employee for incompetence, unfaithfulness, immoral or improper behaviour, or for any wilful damage done to the property of the Company. The worker shall work on all holidays, except for Christmas and New Year's, or any other day that the Company deems to grant.³⁶

Employees of the Moncton Cotton mill did not sign this type of

³⁴Delottinville, "The St Croix Cotton Company", 200-203.

³⁵Ibid.; Both the Moncton and St Croix mills struck at least three times between 1883-1889, McCullough, 106. I could not verify this statement with either the Moncton or the St Stephen newspapers.

³⁶Kealey, 226.

agreement though they had to follow similar rules.³⁷ At the St Croix mill, employees did not sign a contract either, although they needed to sign the pay roll to receive their wages.³⁸

Women weavers, because of their higher levels of income, are of particular interest. Supplemented with Jane Ashworth's testimony to the Royal Commission in Moncton, plus the databases for the two mills, a small picture emerged of women weavers in 1888-1891. Three of every four weavers were young, especially in the Moncton mill, where the majority were under twenty years. Almost equal proportions in both mills (15%) fell into the older age group of 30 years and higher.

TABLE 5.5 WOMEN WEAVERS AGE DISTRIBUTION

AGE	MILLTOWN		MONCTON	
	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%
<15	6	3.57%	4	20.00%
16-20	54	32.14%	11	55.00%
21-25	65	38.69%	2	10.00%
26-30	17	10.11%	0	0
31-35	5	2.98%	2	10.00%
36-40	10	5.95%	1	5.00%
41-50	5	2.98%	0	0
51+	6	3.57%	0	0
TOTAL WORKERS	168		20	

SOURCE: Databases from 1891 Nominative Census

The majority of weavers on both the Moncton and Milltown

³⁷RCL-NB, Hocken, 302.

³⁸RCL-NB, Dexter, 483.

databases were unmarried women, a situation similar to other cotton mills in Canada. In Moncton, only six of the weavers appeared to have lodged outside their familial homes. In Milltown, 41 of the 168 women weavers reported lodging. Since most women weavers lived within a family unit, supplementing the family wage was a likely motivation for seeking work in the cotton mill.

TABLE 5.6 WOMEN WEAVERS MARITAL STATUS

STATUS	MILLTOWN		MONCTON	
	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%
SINGLE	149	88.69%	18	90.00%
MARRIED	14	18.33%	1	5.00%
WIDOW	5	2.97%	0	0
UNKNOWN	0	0	1	5.00%
TOTAL	168		20	

SOURCE: Database from 1891 Nominative Census

Pooling the earnings of family members was common in the late nineteenth century. Almost half of all workers at both mills had some other family member sharing their day's labour. In the St Croix Valley, 293 households found employment at the St Croix mill. Some had just one family member, others as many as 3-7 siblings or parents sharing the daily work. Out of 82 households reporting two or more people, 29 reported more than three family members working at the mill.

Family wage was especially important to the 58 workers of St Croix with widowed parents. Four Milltown weaving families

stood out because of the large number of members working together. Mrs. Dawson, a widow, sent seven of her children, ranging in age from 18 to 26, to the mill each day. Four daughters and one son were weavers; two other sons were labourers. Mrs. McKenzie, a widow also, needed the income of her children, six of whom reported daily to the weaving shed at the St Croix mill. The six McKenzie workers, three brothers and three sisters, ranged in age from 14 to 26. A third family, the Hinchey's, sent four of their five daughters, aged 15 to 20 to weave in the cotton mill. Their widowed mother stayed home with their younger sister. Rheda McGivney had four daughters sharing her work in the weaving room.³⁹

At the Moncton Cotton mill, family wage was also an important feature among weavers. One of the weaving families, the Bernard's, with a widowed parent, sent four brothers and sisters to the weaving room each day. Six other families reported more than two siblings working together as weavers in Moncton. Family wage was common to both the anglophone and francophone segments of the Moncton cotton mill population. One Moncton family, the Watsons, came from England to work in the cotton mill. John, Sr. was a loom fixer; his three sons and one daughter were all weavers.⁴⁰

Combined family income could make the difference between destitution and some measure of comfort. Alexander Gibson,

³⁹From 1891 Milltown database.

⁴⁰From 1891 Moncton database.

owner of the Marysville mill near Fredericton, estimated a generous family income from cotton mill work. Gibson testified at the Royal Commission's visit, "...there are some families here [at the cotton mill] who earn over \$100 a month, between what comes in from their own wages and those belonging to their families."⁴¹ An estimate of the minimum and maximum wages of some families with multiple wage earners in Moncton and St Croix showed that some families could earn close to Gibson's estimate. But his assessment only held true if more than three family members occupied the better paying weaving jobs, or if one of the parents was in a supervisory position.

The Bernard family of Moncton, for example, working as a unit, could earn a maximum wage of \$30 per week. The Watson family, whose male head held a higher paying job as a loom fixer, might earn as much as \$42 per week. The weekly income for the single parent Dawson family of seven working children, five of them weavers, might have surpassed \$35. These calculations are tentative and based on the lower estimated rates for weaving and other jobs in the mills.

Although the Royal Commission visited most of the mills and asked similar questions, information on wages was not uniform. Most mills responded to questions about the dominant occupations such as weaving, mule spinning, ring spinning and

⁴¹RCL-NB, Gibson testimony, 445.

carding, but not other categories.⁴² Weavers were the best paid women workers in both the Moncton and Milltown mills. They earned the same income as male weavers and more than other female workers in the mill or in the community. In Moncton, both Jane Ashworth and John Fielding, experienced weavers tending six looms, reported the same income of \$7.50 a week.⁴³ Weavers tending four looms earned a lower income of \$5.10 per week on piece work.⁴⁴ Loom fixers and mule spinners received higher wages than both male and female weavers. Peter Duxberry, a mule spinner in Moncton, received \$7-\$10.50 per week for his labour while John Lieper, a loom fixer at St Croix, reported wages of \$1.95-\$2.10 per day.⁴⁵

Testimony from the two weavers in Moncton indicated an income parity for male and female weavers. In other departments of the mill, such as spinning and carding, men and women doing the same jobs did not experience wage parity. At the St Croix mill, no weavers gave testimony at the Royal Commission inquiry. Dexter, the assistant superintendent, reported on the wage rates. Both men and women weavers in the St Croix mill received between \$6-\$9 per week for piece work. The mule spinners received a wage similar to the weavers' \$6-

⁴²See Table 5.7 "Maritime Cotton Mills Weekly Wage Comparisons" in the Appendix.

⁴³RCL-NB, 324 testimony of John Fielding, 332 testimony of Jane Ashworth.

⁴⁴RCL-NB, 301 Testimony of R. Hocken.

⁴⁵RCL-NB, 327 testimony of Peter Duxberry, testimony of John Lieper, 497.

\$9 per week. Wage parity existed for male and female ring spinners at the St Croix mill as well, contrary to the Moncton situation.

The other cotton mills in the Maritimes did not follow the St Croix's lead in income parity for weavers. In Halifax, for example, male weavers earned almost double the income of female weavers.⁴⁶ The Saint John mill paid the lowest rates for beginning female weavers and average wages for mule spinners. In Marysville, Alexander Gibson testified "...when a girl gets to understand weaving, she can make good wages..." to explain his pay scales.⁴⁷ Incomes for beginning weavers in Marysville averaged \$4.50 per week, rising to \$7.50 for expert weavers tending six looms.⁴⁸ Marysville's top female weavers' rates were the same as Moncton's weavers. Male weavers in Marysville received higher starting rates but reached no higher than St Croix's. The overseer of the weaving room in Marysville, John Hatch, rationalized the higher wage rate for men in his department. Men, he stated, "... do the heavy work and look after the machinery," both jobs requiring more skill than women weavers. Male weavers in his department could expect \$8-\$10.50 per week for their labour.⁴⁹

St Croix had the highest average weekly wage of cotton

⁴⁶RCL, 188. Halifax tabular data for wages in the city.

⁴⁷RCL-NB, testimony of Alexander Gibson, 447.

⁴⁸RCL-NB testimony of C.S. Googhan, superintendent of Marysville, 448.

⁴⁹RCL-NB, 461 testimony of John Hatch, Marysville.

mills in the Maritimes, Ontario or Quebec in 1891. Employees there averaged \$6.30 per week, while Moncton ranked fourth at \$4.51. Four years earlier St Croix had ranked third behind second place Moncton and first place Windsor. The average wages in three of the Quebec mills fell below \$4 per week in the same period, while those in Ontario were competitive with the New Brunswick mills.⁵⁰

The value of goods produced was one possible explanation for St Croix's higher wages. In 1886, for example, St Croix produced \$650,000 worth of goods, more than three times the value of its nearest competitor, Halifax. The St Croix mill wove 130,000 yards of grey goods and coloured cloth, more than double the output of Marysville and Windsor, its nearest competitors in the Maritime.⁵¹ The value of goods produced at St Croix in 1891, again, were higher than mills of a similar size, such as Marysville.

Women, by working as weavers in the cotton mills in both Milltown and Moncton, also earned income comparable to men in their communities. Limited job opportunities existed for both males and females in Milltown/St Stephen. The saw mills on the St Croix River were the largest employers apart from the cotton mill in 1884. The building boom generated by the cotton

⁵⁰See Table 5.8 in Appendix "Canadian Cotton Mills-Average Weekly Salary Comparison".

⁵¹The Moncton Daily Times Jan.05, 1886. Output for the other mills: Halifax: 72,500 yards, Windsor: 62,500 yards, Moncton: 50,000 yards, St John: 25,000 yards, Gibson (Marysville): 67,00 yards.

mill needed lumber products for new housing and renovations. The sawmills paid out \$6552 in average weekly wages in 1884. The average sawmill wage came to \$7.47 per week for these 876 seasonal labourers, compared to \$6-\$9 paid full time weavers. The Ganong candy factory, the small soap factory, and the axe and tool manufacturers all had relatively small workforces.⁵²

Moncton had a much larger variety of jobs available for both men and women.⁵³ The Intercolonial railroad was the largest male job employer followed by the car shops, the sash and door company and the sugar refinery. Both men and women found jobs as store clerks, tailors, and in custom shoe work. The hosiery company was one of the few all female workshops. Women weavers' incomes, while not the highest for all jobs in the community, compared favourably with those of middle rank railway workers and higher than most other female jobs.⁵⁴

Since we have only a snapshot of weavers for 1888, it is difficult to know how long they stayed in the cotton mills and their level of experience. In America, young women entered the mills at about 13 years of age in the 1860s and 1870s. They often worked into their twenties, contributing to their

⁵²Canada. "Report of Edward Willis on the Manufacturing Industries of Certain Sections of the Maritime Provinces," Sessional Papers (No. 37) Victoria 48, 1885, 58. See also Table 5.9 and 5.10 for comparisons of wages in the St Stephen-Milltown and Moncton communities for 1884 and 1888.

⁵³Ginette La Fleur, "Industrialisation et le travail rémunéré des femmes: Moncton, 1881-1891," in Moncton 1871-1929- Changements socio-économiques dans une ville ferroviare, ed. Daniel Hickey (Moncton: Editions d'Acadie, 1990), 66-78.

⁵⁴Ibid., 54-56. See Table 5.8 for Comparisons for wages in Moncton.

families' support for potentially ten years, before leaving to marry.⁵⁵

Twenty Maritime women cotton workers gave some information about their length of employment and working lives to the Royal Commission hearings in 1888. Five women had worked in local cotton mills for four years, and three others, each five, six and seven years. The one married operative, in St John, had been at the cotton mill for seven years. The remaining twelve women did not disclose the length of their employment. The nine women in St John and seven in Halifax who testified at the inquiry chose to remain anonymous. No women testified at the region's two largest cotton mills, Marysville and St Croix. In Moncton, four women, Annie Tower, Jane Ashworth, Annie Vail, and Ruth Vail answered the commissioners questions.⁵⁶

Both Annie Tower and Annie Vail, spinners in the Moncton mill, had worked there for four years at the time of the Royal Commission's 1888 visit. Annie Tower had started working at the cotton mill at age 11 in 1884, and was working as a

⁵⁵Dublin, Women at Work, 182.

⁵⁶For further discussion on the Royal Commission's interviews with women see Susan Trofimenkoff, "One Hundred and Two Muffled Voices: Canada's Industrial Women in the 1880's," in Canada's Age of Industry 1849-1896, eds. Michael Cross and Greg Kealy (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), 212-229. When the Moncton Daily Times reported on the proceedings of the inquiry on April 14, 1888, they did not mention the four women by name. The newspaper's caption for this part of the article, "The Ladies testified", further supported Trofimenkoff's argument that women's voices carried no weight when reporting on industrialization, though they made up almost one-fifth of the labour force in Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick.

spinner during the 1891 Census. Jane Ashworth, one of the few foreign born Moncton mill operatives, had previously worked as a weaver at the Valleyfield cotton mill and in England. Neither Jane nor the other two women, Ruth Vail and Annie Vail, were found on the 1891 Census. Annie Perkins was the only St Croix female cotton worker whose name surfaced in other records. She appeared in the minutes of the 1886 strike committee meeting as its treasurer. In 1891 she was an unmarried 40 year old, still working as a weaver at the St Croix mill.⁵⁷

Women in both the Moncton and St Croix cotton mills had to juggle many factors in their decision to earn wages. Women made personal decisions to accept the arduous demands of mill work. The young woman's choice of mill weaving meant some status as a skilled member of a team producing cotton cloth. As a mill weaver, she was not an independent maker of a product, but a link in the production line. As a team member in a mill, she had the opportunity to meet other young men and women, thus enlarging her circle of friends and potential marriage partners.

The mill girls' experiences as weavers earning a decent income, were very different from their mothers. With a sixty hour work week, the mill restricted their personal freedom. Constant noise, dust and humidity in their work environment, and the surveillance of overseers had to be accommodated; the

⁵⁷Delottinville, "The St Croix Cotton Company", 207.

pace and product of their work was dictated by forces outside of their immediate control. Management decisions, the vagaries of the markets for cotton goods, the demands of business people and selling agents all contrived to diminish a sense of permanence.

Those women who chose weaving as their work at the cotton mill could achieve some limited independence. Their income as weavers were high enough to allow boarding out or lodging and some modicum of luxury. As weavers, young women could save some money for their future needs, perhaps a portion for marriage. The need for a family wage was a prime consideration in choosing mill work. If the family circumstances were acute, a woman's contribution, especially with the higher wages of a weaver, could mean the difference between poverty and some semblance of a decent family wage. In both Moncton and Milltown, the database analysis strongly suggested that this need for family wages took precedence over the independent income theory popular with some historians.

CONCLUSION "WOMEN OF THE CLOTH"

This study of "women of the cloth" attempts to trace women's transition from rural weaving to industrial cotton work in late nineteenth century New Brunswick. Four issues problemize a study of rural cloth makers and mill weavers. Under reporting and anonymity derive directly from the use of census data as a primary source. Income parity issues and family income strategies were evident from database analysis and government inquiries.

Under reporting women's jobs, and their economic contributions to their households were social issues in the nineteenth century. Women's and girl's work were frequently part of household chores and considered too insignificant to merit attention. Men, as well, sought occupation pluralism to support their families. They frequently reported dual occupations or the ones that occupied most of their working hours. Instructions to census enumerators in collecting the data were not clear enough for either 1871 or 1891. Census instructions did not necessarily consider seasonal or part-time occupations, for either men or women, as significant contributors to the family income.

Westmorland County census enumerators reported only two weavers in the whole county in 1871 but more than 160,000 yards of cloth. Were weavers engaged in this profession seasonally and therefore not reporting it as a major portion of their income? The time of year the census enumerators made

their rounds might have also impinged on their data collection.

The 3014 households reporting textile products on the agricultural returns in Westmorland County, in 1871, suggest that anonymity was a major consideration. Why census enumerators did not report Westmorland County weavers on either the nominative or industrial schedules remains a mystery.¹ In Charlotte County some women chose to report weaving as a business. Were there other professional weavers or households, besides the 1100 home weavers in the county, earning income from cloth making? Since the population of both counties had a similar need of textile products, the difference in the number of households involved in weaving and the production rates were substantial.

Under reporting was also a constraint in building a better profile of the industrial workers in both Milltown and Moncton for 1891. Only about 66% of cotton workers in both communities reported on the nominative schedules. The Royal Commission inquiry on Capital and Labour in 1888 included testimony from only a few respondents. In two Maritime mills, women chose anonymity in their testimony. The lack of female respondents in both the St Croix and Marysville mills leads to questions about manager's statements concerning women's work.

Income parity for women weavers, both as rural producers

¹In neighbouring Kent County, as well, census enumerators reported no weavers, but listed 108,636 yards of handwoven cloth and flannel and 7,239 yards of linen in the Agricultural tables. 1871 Census, vol. 3, 218.

and mill workers, was a positive discovery in this study. Late nineteenth century rural women had limited opportunities to earn extra cash. Textile production, while often not generating cash, could bring consumer goods into the household through the barter system. Income from textiles often matched the income men earned from their seasonal labour in the woods, on the farm, or on the water.

The cotton mills in both Moncton and Milltown offered families another option to earn additional income away from the farm. More than 400 women and children left their residences daily in Milltown and Calais to earn wages at the St Croix cotton mill. Moncton's much smaller mill offered employment to more than 100 women and children in 1891. In both mills, women's work as weavers offered wage parity with male weavers, and more income than other females both in the mill and in the community. Young unmarried people filled the majority of jobs in both mill work forces and family wage considerations were of major importance. More than half of all young people in both mills had another sibling or parent working in industrial textile production as well.

The scale of the St Croix mill offered the community at least the hope of stemming the flow of young people to neighbouring United States. Up to the 1880s, limited opportunities existed in both communities to satisfy young peoples' desire to seek both their fortunes and their independence. Unfortunately, the arrival of Maritime cotton

mills did not significantly stem out-migration. There were insufficient places in the cotton mills to satisfy the demand for employment. Only 1752 people found work in the five New Brunswick cotton mills in 1891. This represented a mere fraction of the nearly 19,500 people who left the four New Brunswick counties supporting cotton mills. Westmorland and Charlotte Counties alone saw nearly 8000 people leave between 1880-1891 to seek their fortunes elsewhere.²

The demographic profile of "women of the cloth" changed dramatically from 1871 to 1891. At the beginning of the period, the majority of weavers were married women working at home on their farms, either as professional weavers or home weavers. In the later period, the new "women of the cloth" were unmarried daughters seeking wages in the cotton mills. The rural handweaver of the 1870s could no longer supplement her household's income adequately by the 1890s. Though she had a product to sell, the market for homespun cloth started to decline in the mid 1870s. Decreasing economic fortunes and out-migration forced families to seek other strategies to accommodate family needs.

The cotton mill changed the nature of weaving. The skilled, autonomous rural weaver gave way to the mill weaver, who performed a limited range of skilled tasks for an short period of time, usually until she married. The task specific skills learned in the mill were not necessarily transferable

²Thornton, 32.

to other settings. Both kinds of weavers used their labour power to create cloth; the rural weaver worked through the seasonal demands of agriculture, the industrial weaver within the demands of outside markets. The rural weaver had the additional concern of providing both income and comfort to her family through her labours. Cloth from her hands generated both goods for barter and a chance to express her creative abilities through weaving. Her skills as a weaver did not disappear when market forces made her family seek other strategies to sustain the family. Her knowledge and skills gave her a sense of permanence in her ability to contribute to her family.

Cotton mill workers had no such sense of permanence in their occupations. Market demands and the economy dictated the amount of work available. Permanency and constancy were not part of the reality of cotton mills in the 1880s, when economic conditions and overproduction of grey goods forced mills to short time and often closure. At best, women weavers were involved with cotton mills for only a short time before their marriages, and could earn decent wages. The elusive family wage was a major concern for mill workers as well. Their contribution of income, even for a short time could make a difference in the family economy.

The two cotton mills, initially built through local investment, increasingly saw the encroachment of outside financiers relieving the community of its hold on the mills.

The St Croix mill's scale of building would not have been possible without the injection of funds from American investors. Why did the promoters acquiesce to such grandiose building plans? Would a smaller mill in the St Croix, such as the one in Moncton, have sufficed for the size of both local and regional markets? The answers to these questions were not the immediate mandate of this study, although both beg more investigation.

After researching almost five thousand households reporting cloth makers in these two New Brunswick counties, 425 women of the cloth stood out. These included 103 professional rural weavers in Charlotte County, 243 female cotton workers at the St Croix mill, 59 Moncton mill women and the 20 Maritime women testifying at the Royal Commission inquiry. The Census and the government documents only revealed a part of their stories. These 425 women of the cloth left no diaries nor journals to allow us to hear their voices nor know their real motivations in choosing weaving as their vocations.

TABLE 2.2: TEXTILE PRODUCTION

WESTMORLAND COUNTY, 1871
(7 DISTRICTS)

HOMESPUN	A-DORCHESTER	B-SACKVILLE	C-WESTMORLAND	D-BOTSFORD	E-SHEDIAC	F-MONCTON	G-SALISBURY	TOTAL
NO. OF HOUSEHOLDS	891	660	406	622	883	797	535	4,794
NO. OF HOUSEHOLDS PROD. HOMESPUN	617	357	270	518	597	378	294	3,029
% OF DISTRICT HOUSEHOLDS PROD. HOMESPUN	69.25%	54.09%	66.50%	* 83.28%	67.61%	47.18%	54.95%	51.37% (AVERAGE)
% OF COUNTY HOUSEHOLDS PROD. HOMESPUN	20.37%	11.79%	8.91%	17.10%	19.71%	12.41%	9.71%	100.00%
TOTAL AMOUNT OF HOMESPUN (yds.)	31,143	18,748	15,861	* 35,805	28,558	19,185	18,707	130,200
AVERAGE HOMESPUN PROD. (yds)	50.47	46.91	58.74	69.12	47.84	51.02	63.63	55.39 (AVERAGE)
LINEN								
NO. OF HOUSEHOLDS PROD. LINEN	322	5	8	117	253	91	21	817
% OF DISTRICT HOUSEHOLDS PROD. LINEN	* 36.14%	0.76%	1.97%	18.61%	28.65%	11.42%	3.93%	9.36% (AVERAGE)
% OF COUNTY HOUSEHOLDS PROD. LINEN	39.41%	0.61%	0.98%	14.32%	30.97%	11.14%	2.57%	100.00%
TOTAL AMOUNT OF LINEN (yds.)	* 12,831	87	157	1,553	7,454	2,528	411	25,021
AVERAGE LINEN PROD. (yds.)	39.85	17.40	19.63	13.27	29.46	27.78	19.57	23.85 (AVERAGE)
WOOL (fleece)								
NO. OF HOUSEHOLDS PROD. WOOL	586	386	288	498	528	393	308	2,985
% OF DISTRICT HOUSEHOLDS PROD. WOOL	65.77%	58.48%	70.94%	* 79.74%	59.80%	49.31%	57.57%	51.70% (AVERAGE)
% OF COUNTY HOUSEHOLDS PROD. WOOL	19.63%	12.93%	9.65%	16.62%	17.69%	13.17%	10.32%	100.00%
TOTAL AMOUNT OF WOOL (lbs.)	16,515	13,479	13,548	* 22,601	14,279	13,810	12,596	106,828
AVERAGE WOOL PROD. (lbs.)	28.18	34.92	47.04	45.57	27.04	35.14	40.90	36.97 (AVERAGE)

NOTE 1: Households producing more than one item (ie. homespun, linen, wool) are included under each item heading.

NOTE 2: * Items refer to significant production.

APPENDIX

CHARLOTTE COUNTY, 1871

TABLE 2.3: TEXTILE PRODUCTION

DISTRICT & SUBDIVISION	NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS	NO. PROD. CLOTH	% CLOTH PRODUCERS	NO. OF YARDS	AVER. NO. of YARDS	NUMBER PROD. WOOL	% PROD. WOOL	POUNDS of WOOL	WEAVERS SCH. 6	OTHERS	CARDING MILLS
a. Claredon	42	24	57.14%	713	29.71	30	71.43%	546	0	7	0
b. Lepreau	100	15	15.00%	479	31.93	25	25.00%	562	1	0	0
c. Penfield	178	93	52.25%	3,236	34.80	118	66.29%	3,055	0	0	0
d-1 St. George	313	122	38.98%	3,983	32.65	143	45.69%	3,289	12	0	0
d-2 St. George	324	118	36.42%	4,816	40.81	129	39.81%	3,824	0	0	0
e. St. Patrick	228	172	76.11%	7,388	42.95	196	86.73%	5,844	0	8	0
f. Dumbarton	168	116	69.05%	4,630	39.91	129	76.79%	4,007	0	0	1
g-1 St. Andrew	346	3	0.87%	180	60.00	4	1.16%	345	0	0	0
g-2 St. Andrew	213	88	41.31%	3,372	38.32	16	7.51%	3,167	0	0	0
h. St. David	308	95	30.84%	1,311	13.80	250	81.17%	7,369	60	4	1
i-1 St. Stephen	461	28	6.07%	4,314	154.07	91	19.74%	3,269	0	2	0
i-2 St. Stephen	329	48	14.59%	1,513	31.52	57	17.33%	1,434	0	0	0
i-3 St. Stephen	424	11	2.59%	2,322	211.09	42	9.91%	1,327	0	0	1
j-1 St. James	232	53	22.84%	2,938	55.43	168	72.41%	4,724	19	0	1
j-2 St. James	205	11	5.37%	503	45.73	178	86.83%	6,359	16	2	0
k. West Isle	298	1	0.34%	50	50.00	180	60.40%	5,015	14	0	0
l. Campello	202	76	37.62%	2,494	32.82	99	49.01%	2,028	0	0	0
m. Grand Manan	356	35	9.83%	2,886	82.46	129	36.24%	6,208	0	0	0
TOTALS	4,726	1,109	28.73%	47,128	42.60	1,984	41.99%	62,372	122	23	4

APPENDIX

CHARLOTTE COUNTY, 1871

TABLE 2.4: BUSINESS PROFILE:
PROFESSIONAL WEAVERS

DISTRICTS	WEAVERS	FIXED CAPITAL	TOTAL YARDS	AVERAGE YARDS	NET MONTHLY INCOME	NET TOTAL INCOME	NET YEARLY INCOME
St. James - 1	18	\$20.00	4,744	263.50	\$32.38	\$1,911.00	\$106.16
St. James - 2	16	\$21.50	4,475	279.60	\$22.52	\$1,036.00	\$64.75
St. Davids	57	\$14.19	10,303	180.75	\$38.92	\$3,892.00	\$68.28
West Isle	12	\$16.53	3,170	264.10	\$17.19	\$877.00	\$73.08
TOTALS	103	\$16.61	22,692	220.30	\$30.14	\$7,716.00	\$74.91

(AVERAGE)

(AVERAGE)

(AVERAGE)

APPENDIX

TABLE 2.7: YARDAGES and INCOME CHARLOTTE COUNTY, 1871

YARDAGE (YARDS)	NUMBER OF WEAVERS	AGE (AVERAGE)	MONTHS WORKED (AVERAGE)	YDS. PER MONTH (AVERAGE)	YEARLY NET INCOME (AVERAGE)	MONTHLY NET INCOME	PRICE PER YARD (AVERAGE)
0 - 49	4	43.00	1.00	37.50	\$13.75	\$13.75	\$0.62
50 - 99	28	46.50	1.21	56.94	\$23.44	\$19.72	\$0.69
100 - 199	20	49.95	2.00	69.30	\$49.95	\$21.07	\$0.69
200 - 299	19	42.00	3.31	85.39	\$80.31	\$24.26	\$0.73
300 - 399	16	38.40	3.46	101.34	\$119.18	\$34.44	\$0.71
400 - 499	6	41.83	4.66	89.28	\$101.00	\$21.67	\$0.69
500 - 649	5	45.40	5.80	93.44	\$174.40	\$30.06	\$0.69
650 +	3	40.33	4.60	209.85	\$356.33	\$77.46	\$0.64

APPENDIX

TABLE 5.7: MARITIME COTTON MILLS - WEEKLY WAGE COMPARISONS - 1889

JOB	SEX	MONCTON	ST. JOHN	ST. CROIX	MARYSVILLE	HALIFAX
WEAVER	F	\$7.50	\$3.00 - \$6.00	\$6.00 - \$9.00	\$4.50 - \$7.50	\$4.25 - \$4.75
WEAVER	M	\$7.50	NA	\$6.00 - \$9.00	\$8.00 - \$9.00	\$4.00 - \$8.25
SPINNER	M	\$2.40 (BOYS) \$1.25 (GIRLS)	NA	\$3.90 - \$4.80	\$6.00 - \$9.00	\$1.25 - \$1.50
SPINNER	F	\$3.00 - \$3.60	\$2.00 - \$4.00	\$3.90 - \$4.80	\$4.5 - \$4.80	\$1.50 - \$3.40
SPINNER - MULE	M	\$7.50 - \$10.50	\$8.00 - \$9.00	\$6.00 - \$9.00	\$10.50	\$10.00 - \$11.00 (SUPERVISOR)
WEAVING ROOM	GIRL / BOY	\$2.00	NA	NA	NA	\$2.50 (BOY)
CLOTH ROOM	GIRL / BOY	\$3.50	NA	NA	\$4.80 (F) \$7.50 (M)	\$1.50 - \$2.62 (BOY)
CARD ROOM	F	NA	\$3.00 - \$6.00	\$6.00 (M)	\$6.00	\$1.80 - \$5.60
DYE ROOM	M	NA	\$7.00 - \$9.00	\$6.00 - \$7.50	\$7.50	NA
WARPERS	M	NA	\$8.00	\$5.10 - \$6.00	NA	\$4.00 - \$6.00 (FEMALE)
BEAMER	M	NA	\$6.00 - \$10.00	NA	NA	\$2.25
BEAMER	F	\$2.40 - \$3.25	NA	NA	\$4.50 - \$6.00	\$2.25
CARDER	M	\$7.00	\$3.50 - \$10.50	NA	\$6.00	\$1.50 - \$2.50
CARDER	F	\$4.00	\$3.50 - \$6.00	NA	\$4.80	\$2.50

SOURCE: Relations of Capital and Labour, 1889: 166,174, 176, 178, 182.

APPENDIX

TABLE 5.8: CANADIAN COTTON MILLS - AVERAGE WEEKLY SALARY COMPARISON

MILLS	1886			1891		
	NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES	TOTAL MILL WAGES/WK	AVERAGE WAGE/WK	NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES	TOTAL MILL WAGES/WK	AVERAGE WAGE/WK
MARITIMES						
HALIFAX	250	\$1,000.00	\$4.00	317	\$1,153.00	\$3.63
WINDSOR	180	\$860.00	\$4.77	146	\$591.00	\$4.05
YARMOUTH	80	\$260.00	\$3.25	133	\$769.23	\$5.17
MONCTON	180	\$790.00	\$4.30	179	\$807.69	\$4.51
ST. JOHN COUNTY	NA	NA	NA	280	\$1,153.84	\$4.12
ST. JOHN CITY	180	\$600.00	\$3.33	184	\$961.53	\$5.22
GIBSON (MARYSVILLE)	240	\$930.00	\$3.80	478	\$2,615.38	\$5.47
ST. CROIX	550	\$2,200.00	\$4.02	631	\$4,038.46	\$6.40
MARITIME AVERAGE			\$3.92			\$4.77
QUEBEC						
BEAUHARNOIS				1,040	\$16,000.00	\$3.55
HOCHELAGA				1,699	\$8,083.00	\$4.75
QUEBEC CO.				200	\$7,692.00	\$3.84
STANSTEAD				855	\$3,125.00	\$3.65
QUEBEC AVERAGE						\$3.94
ONTARIO						
BRANT, N				180	\$8,076.00	\$4.48
BRANT, S				100	\$5,384.00	\$5.38
CORNWALL & STORMONT				1,191	\$71,571.00	\$6.00
HAMILTON, (CITY)				534	\$27,307.00	\$5.11
KINGSTON, (CITY)				210	\$1,000.00	\$4.76
LINCOLN & NIAGRA				280	\$1,211.00	\$4.32
ONTARIO AVERAGE						\$5.01

SOURCES: DAILY TIMES (MONCTON), JAN. 05, 1886; CENSUS 1891, VOL. 3, 119-120, 134.

APPENDIX

TABLE 5.9 WAGE COMPARISONS - OTHER OCCUPATIONS 1884

OCCUPATION	MONCTON			MILLTOWN		
	# OF PEOPLE	SEX	WAGES PER WK.	# OF PEOPLE	SEX	WAGES PER WK.
SAW MILLMEN	18	M	\$6.00	876	M	\$7.47
SOAP MAKER	13	M	\$7.50	6	M	\$10.00
BRICKS WORKS	60	M	\$7.00			
SUGAR MFRE.	80	M	\$7.50			
WOOL MFRE.	10	M	\$7.80			
WOOL MFRE.	10	F	\$3.00			
KNITTING MACHINE	35	F	\$3.00			
COTTON MFRE.	57	M	\$9.00	525	ALL	\$5.06
	14	B	\$2.00			
	100	F	\$3.00			
CANDY MFRE.				27	M	\$12.18
				20	B	\$3.65
				30	F	\$3.40
CLOTHIER	3	M	\$13.00	14	F	\$3.50
	17	F	\$3.00			

SOURCE: Report on Manufacturing, 55, 56, 58.

APPENDIX

TABLE 5.10 WAGE COMPARISONS - OTHER OCCUPATIONS 1888

OCCUPATION	MONCTON		MILLTOWN	
	SEX	WAGES PER WK.	SEX	WAGES PER WK.
CANDY MFRE.			M (unskilled)	\$6.00 - \$8.00
(SEASONAL)			F (skilled)	\$4.00 - \$5.00
			F (unskilled)	\$2.00 - \$3.00
LABOURER				\$6.00 - \$7.50
SOAP	M (skilled)	\$10.50	Boys	\$4.00
	M (unskilled)	\$6.00	Girls	\$2.00 - \$5.00
SHIPPERS			M/ F (piecework)	\$8.00 - \$9.00
STORE CLERKS		\$4.00 - \$9.00		
HOSIERY	F	\$2.00 - \$2.50		
SHOE MAKERS: (CUSTOM)	F	\$2.50 - \$3.50		
	M	\$6.00 - \$9.00		
TAILORS: (9 MONTHS/YEAR)				
PANTS/VESTS	F	\$3.00 - \$4.00		
COAT	F	\$5.00 - \$8.00		
TAILORS	M	\$8.00 - \$12.00		
RAIL ROAD:				
BRAKE MAN		\$7.50 - \$9.00		
SECTION MAN		\$6.30 - \$6.90		
SAW MILL EMPL.		\$5.50 - \$9.75		
CAR SHOPS:				
BLACKSMITH		\$16.20		
LABOURER		\$6.60 - \$8.10		
SUGAR MFRE.	M (skilled)	\$7.50 - \$18.00		
	M (unskilled)	\$5.40 - \$7.20		

SOURCE: RCL, 174, 176.

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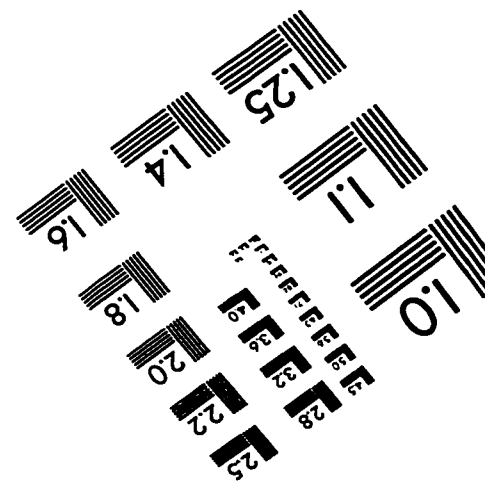
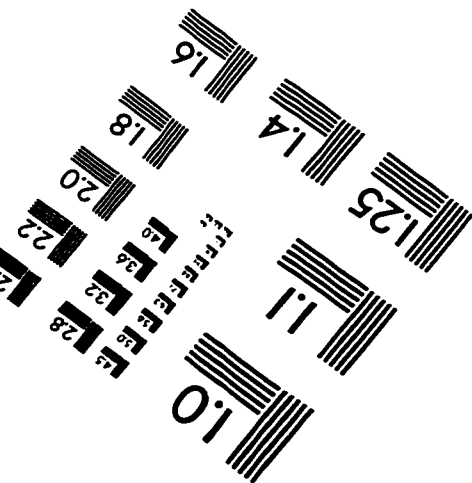
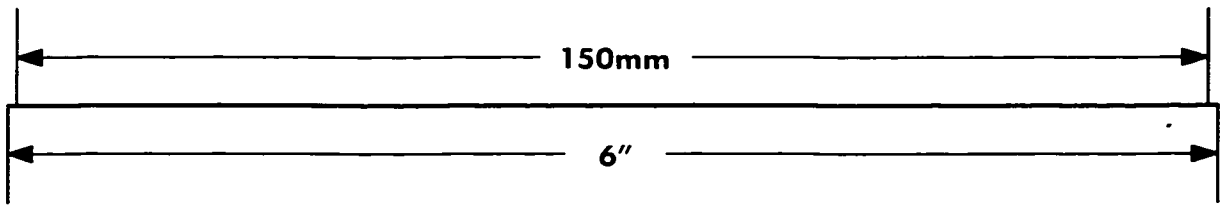
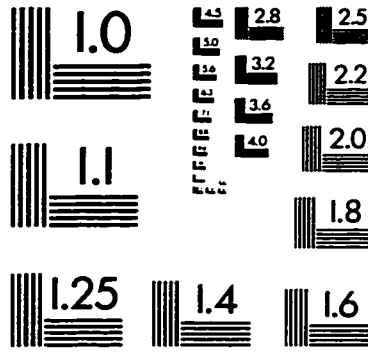
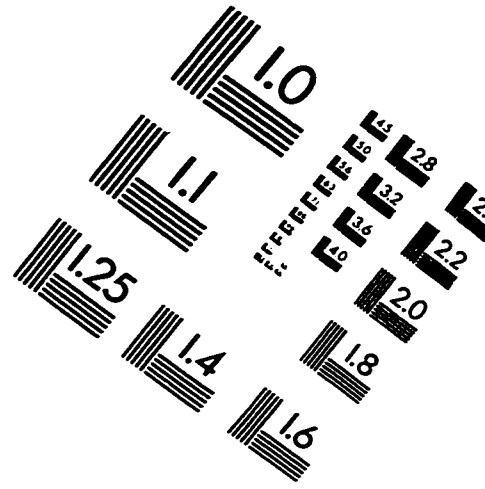
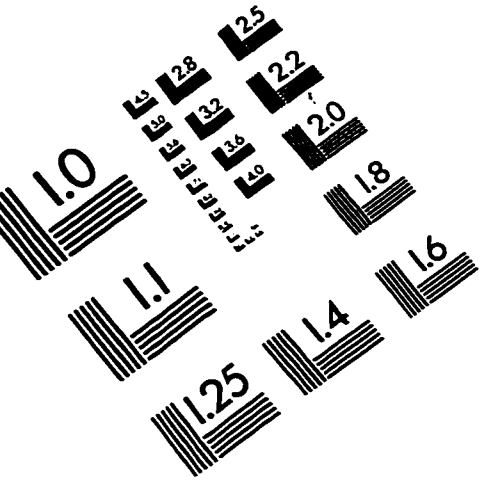
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