# BUSINESS, ART AND LABOUR:

# BRIGDEN'S AND THE GROWTH OF THE

# CANADIAN GRAPHIC ARTS INDUSTRY 1870-1950

By

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ABSTRACT

The thesis presented in this dissertation concerns the inter-relationship between business, art and labour in Canada during the years 1870 to 1950. It will suggest that the foundations of "Canadian Art" and a Canadian popular culture rest not only within the European traditions of "fine" art, but also in the work of those artists who practiced in the commercial environment of engraving, or graphic arts, houses. Indeed most artists, for the period under discussion, worked as both "commercial" and "fine" artists.

In order to substantiate this argument, a history of the development of the Canadian graphic arts industry will be traced, using the firm of Brigden's Limited as a case study. Graphic arts firms such as Brigden's demonstrate the unique aspects of an industry which included among its workforce artists as well as skilled technicians. Not only did this require a management capable of recognizing artistic creativity and practical knowledge, but it also necessitated an organization capable of adapting to economic, social and technological change. It was from out of this structure that the product of the industry, the reproduced visual image, made its considerable contribution to the development of a Canadian popular culture.

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# CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

The contemporary graphic arts industry in Canada is a multimillion dollar commercial enterprise which includes within its terms of reference printing, typesetting, stereotying, lithography, photo-engraving and bookbinding. Its workers include graphic designers and photographers as well as printers and typesetters; the various unions connected with the industry since their formation in the nineteenth-century, have recently amalgamated (in 1983) to form the Graphic Communications International Union, and the industry's equipment is in the van of computerized technology. But those who work in the industry still talk of "craftsmanship" and "dedication," and many still train in institutions connected with the arts. There are, in short, aspects of an earlier artisanal existence still extant in the graphic arts industry in spite of its position within the modern world of mass communication and advanced technology.

As a unified and all-inclusive service industry, however, that of the graphic arts is a comparatively recent innovation. For a considerable period of time, indeed well into the twentieth century, firms in this field were divided into those working with the written word and those dealing with illustrative material. Thus, in the nineteenth-century, printing, engraving and lithography businesses were, more often than not, separate establishments. The unions were divided into photo-engravers, lithographers, bookbinders, printers and stereotypers, separations which were not changed until 1960, and the artists who worked for the graphic arts firms were not considered to

need a specialized training until after the Second World War. Visual images were not introduced into popular magazines until the 1840s and the engravers and illustrators who initially produced them considered themselves artists or superior craftsmen. In fact, it was not until the speeded-up conditions of industrialized publishing forced an increase in the employment of large numbers of "commercial engravers," that a division was created between engravers working independently and those working as employees.

The term "graphic arts," then, whether defined as an industry, an art or a craft, has not traditionally referred to the reproduction of the written word, but to the creation and reproduction of visual images from one medium to another. Close association with the printing trade was, of course, essential, and lithography, as an alternative reproductive technique, competed for dominance in the early years. But it was the art of wood-engraving which was the founding element of the graphic arts industry. Beginning in the first half of the nineteenth-century in England, wood-engraving became the major form of reproducing images for mass publication. The tradition was transferred to Canada in the 1870s and, parallel to the English experience, was transformed by the introduction of photography, in the form of photo-engraving as a mechanical process, later in the century. From then on, technology, and the whole industrializing process, succeeded in changing the practice of a traditional art, or craft, into a modern commercial enterprise.

The shift from craft to industry during the late nineteenth-century was not, of course, unique to the graphic arts. Other trades underwent

similar changes as mechanical inventions altered traditional modes of production. What made the graphic arts situation different was its dependence on those of its employees with creative skills. However large the enterprise, "art" remained the basis of the whole structure, with all areas of the business related to the talents of the artists employed. Yet, at the same time, graphic arts firms, whether called engraving, photo-engraving, or graphic design firms, followed the same pattern of development as many other Canadian business enterprises. They started as small firms, founded in the nineteenth-century by craftsmen-entrepreneurs, were inherited by family members and were gradually turned into executive and managerially-run organizations. The work-force became unionized, new technology spelled either disaster or rejuvenation, and expansion into branch plants resulted in success or failure. Graphic arts firms, in fact, demonstrated all the customary aspects of business and industrial development, with the added element of artistic creativity. It is this component which suggests that the graphic arts industry holds a place in Canadian social and cultural history unlike that of any other industry. The people whom it employed, and the material which it produced, became essential ingredients in both the formation of "Canadian Art" and the expansion of popular mass communication.

There are three major historical strands which have to be explored in order to trace the development of the graphic arts industry: first, business, because of examining one of the numerous firms which made up the industry as a whole; second, art, because of the artists and

craftsmen who were involved in the creation of illustrations and designs; and third, labour, because of the changes which came about in the graphic arts work force as the result of the introduction of new technology. These three strands are supplemented by a number of other themes which will also be addressed in this study. For example, the retail trade and its advertising requirements affected both businessmen and artists; the establishment of an art "elite" changed the status of artists and craftsmen working in the industry; and the divisions of labour produced by increased specialization and unionization in the printing trades influenced the whole organization of the commercial graphic arts as an industry. These issues, like the main themes of business, art and labour, are customarily explored in separate historiographical fields and rarely brought together. However, by viewing them all under the umbrella of social history, it becomes possible to find new links and to cast new illumination on the development of an important contribution to Canadian popular culture.

Canadian business history is not, so far, an established academic discipline. Historians working in the field deplore the fact that there are no university chairs, no specialized journals, no academic associations and minimal interest from the world of business itself.[1] A history is, however, being written, even if its parameters are not yet clearly defined. There are, for example, the major general studies of Michael Bliss and Tom Naylor, the essay collections edited by Tom Traves and David MacMillan, and an economic historiography concerned primarily with the traditional Canadian history preoccupation of the fur trade, railway transportation and the production of staples.[2] This latter

concentration, on "a staple theory centering upon fish, furs and wheat," has prompted more than one historian to comment on the fact that there has been a tendency to write the general history before all the particular histories have been written: "our practice of going after wholesale syntheses before retail histories," as Alan Wilson describes it.[3]

There is, as yet, no entrepreneurial historiography to compare with American studies, although Michael Bliss's study of Sir Joseph Flavelle and J. M. S. Careless's of George Brown are important works in this field, as is Wilson's account of John Northway, the Blue Serge Canadian.[4] Neither is there a historiography of small businesses, the retail trade, the wholesale trade, or department stores, to compare with English work in the area.[5] To overcome this laggardness, David MacMillan, in the introduction to his Canadian Business History: Selected Studies, argues that business history has to utilize the resources of other historical fields, that business itself must be viewed "in the setting of the contemporary community at large," thus allowing historians to consider business from a variety of aspects. He then asks if the pattern of Canadian business history will be influenced by the English approach which, in his words, tends to view "the business firm or the group of firms as part of an industry or trade within an overall national or international economy," or will it, instead, follow the American "concentration on the analysis of a firm or industry's performance, its influence, its internal organization, with painstaking charting of its personnel capitalization and growth?"[6] Both of these views are basically concerned with economics and do not explore those

aspects of business history which place it in a wider context. Rather, business as a legitimate area of social history offers a far broader range of historical considerations.

The major difficulty in considering business history as part of social history is, as E. J. Hobsbawm has pointed out, the assumption that authors identify "with the views they write about."[7] It can be inferred by readers that the historian who writes about business and businessmen is approaching them from the point of view of "management" or the "entrepreneurial ideal." However, in response to this attitude, J. M. S. Careless has noted that to study businessmen

> is not to endow them with extraordinary wisdom, vision or initiative, to enoble(sic) them all as truly Victorian merchant princes, to forget their faults and failures or to preach a dubious sermon on the virtues of laissez-faire entrepreneurship, ignoring social, political, and economic forces beyond mere entrepreneurial control. Instead, it is to see these businessmen as a distinct element connected with a considerably significant Canadian urban development in an interesting and far from unimportant way.[8]

The history of business cannot, in fact, be considered in its entirety without placing it within the "community at large," as MacMillan suggests, or without examining all aspects of the relationships which exist within the organization itself. Businessmen, whether as owner-founders, or as managers, have, therefore, to be considered in terms of the overall industry of which they are a part.

Hobsbawm has argued that the concept of social history is more useful if taken to mean the "history of society." His basic assumption is that

> the social or societal aspects of man's being cannot be separated from the other aspects of his being,

> except at the cost of tautology or extreme trivialization. They cannot, for more than a moment, be separated from the ways in which men get their living and their material environment.[9]

If this view is taken as an acceptable interpretation of social history, then a true history of business, or an individual business firm, can encompass all elements of that business's creation and function. A study which includes investigation into the relationships between the founding owner, his successors, his workers and his buying public, can be interpreted within the context of its time and place and can be seen as a legitimate expression of social history, or, as Hobsbawm suggested, "the history of society." After all, a business history cannot be thought of solely as a study of management in conflict with its work force, nor can it address the work force without reference to the constraints of management. A balanced analysis is, instead, a composite of all the factors which go into the creation and perpetuation of the firm.

As is the case in the history of any specialized business, the unique aspects of an industry, in this case, the graphic arts, dictate the pattern of its experience. Until the post Second World War expansion of the media of mass communication, the firms which made up the graphic arts industry were comparatively modest. Most of them started as craftsman-owned, were family operated and inherited, and changed to managerial organization, with branches in other cities, only in response to external economic or technological factors. They did not become vast corporate empires, with political clout at a national level, although some would, eventually, merge with other companies. They are, in fact, on a different level of historical investigation to the

railways, steamships or lumber companies. But their involvement in, and reaction to, industrialization, was similar to that of the larger institutions. The craftsmen-engravers who established the first graphic arts firms found that in order to prosper they had to keep up with new technology and with new demands on their skills. They invested in larger premises, introduced mechanized equipment as it became available and began to employ workers other than their own family members. As with the printing industry, they did not suffer unduly during periods of general economic difficulty,[10] and, in response to the demand for advertising material were able to profit from the expansion of the retail trade in the 1880s. With industrialization, graphic arts employees found themselves increasingly forced to specialize, a factor which led to divisions between artists and craftsmen in the first place, and between artists and "commercial" artists later. Those employees who traded their craft for mechanization were further divided into the various trades introduced by the invention of photo-engraving. This latter aspect of the division of labour led to the formation of the Canadian locals of the International Photo-engravers Union in 1904 and to the subsequent problems vis-a-vis management and labour which have played so prominent a part in the history of industrialization. In short, there were factors present in the Canadian industrializing process which were common to all industries. The unique features of the graphic arts industry rested with its connection with art and with its inevitable participation in the creation of a popular culture.

The firm of Brigden's, around which the history of the industry will be traced, is suitably representative of the early firms making up

the industry as a whole. As a case study, it not only demonstrates the way in which industrialization changed original craft production, but it also allows investigation into the place of the graphic arts in such developments as modern advertising, the problems faced by artists working in commerical firms and the difficulties faced by businesses themselves at times of inheritance, or management and technological change. One of the oldest graphic arts firms in Canada, it was founded in Toronto in the 1870s by Frederick Brigden, an English wood-engraver who had worked with William Linton and studied under John Ruskin at the London Working Men's College. It prospered as a direct result of the demand for illustrations in the newspapers and popular magazines of the time and was instrumental in the development of retail advertising catalogues. In 1913, it opened a branch in Winnipeg and in 1917, following the death of its founder and the inheritance of the business by his sons, began the slow process of change from a family owned to a managerially-run institution.

In the early years, production relied upon the skills of Frederick Brigden himself, but as he expanded the business with the introduction of new technology, so he began to employ artists and illustrators who would subsequently become well-known figures in the world of Canadian art. Not only did he recognize the technological and managerial changes needed to develop his small firm, but he also recognized that the talents of his employees were a major asset. As well as his son, Frederick H. Brigden, later to become a leading figure in Canadian art circles, Charles Comfort, Eric Bergman, William Winter, Phillip Surrey, Fritz Brandtner and many other artists important in the history of

Canadian art were employed by Brigden's, either in Toronto or Winnipeg. This was not, of course, a situation unique to Brigden's. It paralleled the experience of firms such as the Toronto Lithographing Company, Grip Limited and Rous and Mann, both in its approach to industrial change and in its employment of artists. Where Brigden's is unique is in the availability of material essential to historical investigation. It is this aspect of the firm which has made it so suitable for a case-study.

Tom Traves has said that "business history offers a new window through which to look at and concentrate on a fundamental feature of activity."[11] He also notes the need to persuade businessmen "to save and open their records to historians."[12] Businesses have been traditionally lax in saving or storing their records, although, as Christian Norman points out in his essay on business archives and history, this has frequently been due to the lack of interest on the part of historians: "until recently Canadian commercial activity has been largely ignored by historians except when it openly affected political or social developments."[13] Neglect may also be due to the fact that when business history has been written, it has invariably fallen into one of two camps, either a "muck-raking" history, devoted to the search for "villains,"[14] or a commissioned history intended to present the business in a good light. While the former emphasis deters businessmen from opening their records to historians, the latter, by suggesting possible interference with historical analysis, dissuades bona fide researchers from undertaking the project. It would seem, however, if Michael Bliss is correct, that this situation is being rectified. Historians are, he says, being invited to write business

histories more frequently, and are not asked to sacrifice their academic integrity in the process.[15] This does not, of course, help the non-commissioned historian gain access to records which may, or may not, exist. As Norman points out, "businesses seldom start a company archives purely from a sense of public responsibility:"[16] rather, documentary collections are usually due to the "dedication of one or two individuals" who donate their time out of personal interest. In the case of the Toronto Lithographing Company, descendant of a long line of smaller engraving and lithographic firms, and now part of Ronald's Federated, this was so. One member of the managerial staff, recognizing the historical value of the firm's collection, which includes early apprenticeship papers, letters, lithograph prints, lithograph stones, paintings and presses, organized it into an intelligent and coherent archive. Unfortunately, the president of the company, in spite of pleas from more than one researcher, will not transfer the collection to the proper environmental controls of a professional archives. The creases in the papers from the 1840s and 1850s, and the effects of the plastic covers in which they are kept will certainly shorten their lease on life.[17]

More material from Brigden's rests in professional archives than from any other graphic arts firm in Canada; or, at least, from any that are known. Requests to companies known to have histories equally as interesting and important as Brigden's have not resulted in cooperation.[18] Members of the Brigden family, however, no doubt because of their recognition of the firm's place in Canadian business and artistic life, placed much of their personal correspondence, and a

considerable amount of their business records in various Canadian archives. Living as they did, in widely separated residences, family members corresponded frequently among the various family branches in England, Toronto and Winnipeg. And, because of their far ranging interests in art, music, literature and the problems of belonging to a Methodist family, their letters encompass far more elements of social interest than are relevant to the present discussion. It is interesting to speculate on why the family members kept so much of their personal correspondence. In the case of Frederick H. Brigden, who became a respected Canadian artist, it is perhaps understandable, as it is in the case of Arnold Brigden of Winnipeg, who always had a keen sense of historical and cultural relationships. But when Frederick Brigden, the founder of the firm, came to Canada in 1872, he had little money, no social status and only fear of what the future would hold. Nevertheless, his diaries, his religious notebooks and his letters have been carefully preserved. They are to be found in the Frederick Brigden Collection in the Toronto Metropolitan Library, as is a large collection of early engravings.

Other engravings are to be found in the Sigmund Samuel Gallery Collection in Toronto and in the archives of the Winnipeg Art Gallery. The latter also contains the correspondence between Frederick H. and Arnold Brigden, and in the Gallery itself there are paintings by many of the artists who worked for the firm over the years. Also in Winnipeg, in the University of Manitoba's Special Collections Division, there is a large collection of the correspondence carried on between Arnold Brigden, his parents, his brother and sisters in England and his

cousins, Frederick H. and Bertha, in Toronto. The business records are not so voluminous as the private correspondence, although a number of useful papers do exist. In the private letters, however, there is frequent mention of business problems, especially in those between Frederick H. and Arnold Brigden at the time of the establishment of the Winnipeg business. There are also many ex-employees of Brigden's still alive. It has been possible, therefore, from interviews and correspondence with artists, photo-engravers, managers and others, to form a picture of the firm's organization and place within the industry as a whole.

The Brigden material acts as Traves's "window," through which one can study an important area of business history within the context of social history. Not only does it provide a biography of Frederick Brigden and other family members, men and women who were "neither politicians nor statesmen," as Alan Wilson would say,[19] but it also offers an excellent example of the growth of one important company in the Canadian graphic arts industry from its beginnings in the 1870s to the advent of modern mass communication in the period following the Second World War. Parallel to this, it is also in the unique position of suggesting an alternative approach to the study of Canadian artists. Within the context of social history, artists can be seen to belong to the development of Canadian culture in a manner which is different to that of the usual art historical interpretation.

Canadian art history has followed the traditional pattern of concentrating on individual artists, on evaluating changes in style, of making aesthetic judgements and of treating works of art as autonomous

objects.[20] It has also joined in the common habit of studying the past in terms of the present; "tinged with a Whig interpretation," as Douglas Cole has said.[21] Griselda Pollack has gone so far as to suggest that much art history is not history at all, but art appreciation.[22] It is a history which has "mystified" its subject matter, failing to put it in its historical context or to relate it to the social situation within which it was created.[23] Much of the critique of the traditional form of art history has emerged from the feminist search for the reasons behind the neglect of women artists in art historiography.[24] It is also possible, however, to criticize the traditional view from the perspective of those interpreting art within the area of culture and cultural history. Concepts of "culture" have, as Raymond Williams points out, repeatedly changed the word's definition. From meaning, at the beginning of the nineteenth-century, "a general state of intellectual development," and progressing to "the general state of intellectual development in society as a whole," it has changed to meaning "the general body of the arts" or "a whole way of life, material, intellectual and spiritual."[25] It is the latter interpretation which is relevant to any discussion of "culture" today, including, as it does, "art" as well as the external social processes affecting the production of art and artists themselves.

During the period of industrialization, it is possible to see, as Williams describes, how intellectual attitudes changed in their assessment of the place of art in society. From a concern with an "independent value of art," which retained within it a qualitative element understood by the community, the stress changed to one of "art

as a value in itself, with at times an open separation of this value from common life." From the time of John Ruskin in the 1840s and William Morris in the 1870s and 80s, however, there has been, as Williams notes, "a deliberate effort towards the reintegration of art with the common life of society:"[26] a process centred around the concept of "mass communication." The conflicts between perceptions of art "as a value in itself" (or "art for art's sake") and art as part of everyday life have stimulated the contemporary critique of traditional art history methods. On the one hand, "art" has been approached as part of an elitist study of "fine" or "high" art acceptable to art historians, while, on the other, "commercial" art and the development of "popular" culture have been treated as unacceptable. Art historians have, therefore, generally neglected the role of those artists who were commercially employed and denigrated work produced during periods of commercial employment. Moreover, by concentrating on culture as "the general body of the arts," they have ignored the concept of art as part of a culture which is "a whole way of life." As Alan Gowans argues in his study of the "traditional functions of art in society," the question "What is Art?" should not be answered in terms of aesthetics but in terms of "what it does."[27]

Cultural history is, then, not defined here as the study of "high" art, but rather as the study of a commercially produced art and its relevance, in terms of contributing to "popular," or "mass," culture, within its social context. The question of whether "mass" culture is the same as "popular" culture is, however, a subject of considerable ongoing debate. For scholars such as Raphael Samuel, Stuart Hall, Peter

Bailey and, of course, E. P. Thompson, popular culture is equated with working class culture, with rural traditions, fairgrounds and music halls. But the idea of a "mass" culture surely involves more than the working class. If, as Hall suggests, "ordinary people are not dupes,"[28] and such questions as that of cultural manipulation from above are put aside, then mass culture has to be interpreted as the dominant culture of any society and inclusive of more than one social level. Even if provided by a capitalist "elite" which aims to influence and manipulate a consuming public, the artifacts offered need not be accepted by the public. David Manning White, in his study of American mass culture, observes that "in the minds of certain critics of mass culture the people will invariably choose the mediocre and the meretricious."[29] The assumption of a lack of critical assessment on the part of the "masses" is usually made from above. The whole question of choice and preference can also mean, as Hall has pointed out, that what is "popular" at one period or with one group of people might be considered "elite" at another.[30] The "high" culture of the elite is never, in fact, the dominant cultural production; rather, the culture of the mass public, that of the commerical, or "popular" variety, is far more widespread and all-encompassing. And, as Williams points out, a majority culture is not "necessarily low in taste."[31]

Essential in the creation of a popular culture were, obviously, the invention and acceptance of commercial printing, advertising and visual reproduction.[32] To date, however, most studies of the new mass communication which began to rise in the nineteenth-century, have been concerned with the influence of its content. The emphasis has been on

its power to persuade and manipulate within the context of class struggle and middle class hegemony.[33] What has not so often been explored is the development of the media industry itself. In view of the fact that there is an obvious relationship between the time period within which an industry functions and the type of product which it produces, the history of the media would seem to offer important insights into modern cultural experience. As Janet Wolff says, "the social relations of artistic production, based on [existing] techniques and institutions, also form the conditions of artistic production."[34] In the context of a large public aware of a new type of communication, the graphic arts industry offered an art product which was different from that of an elite or intellectual concept of art as "a value in itself." Instead, the new "commercial" art products were understood and appreciated by a far wider audience and thus presented an opportunity for the "reintegration of art within the common life of society," to use Williams's phrase.[35]

Ever since Ruskin and Morris first pointed out the difficulties that would emerge if art became separated too far from ordinary concerns, historians and others interested in the problem have been at pains to find ways of reuniting art and society.[36] They have deplored the implication that the "common run" of people appear to have no understanding or appreciation of "art" as such, and equally deplore a situation which promotes an art for an elite only.[37] At the same time they question the fact that an art which has been created for mass consumption, for advertising, decoration or any other commercial purpose is denied the definition of "art." The mere labelling of such work as

"applied," "decorative" or "commercial" immediately establishes it as inferior.[38] The fact that it has been commissioned, produced, and paid for demotes it as "art" in the opinion of those concerned with "mystifying" art, to use John Berger's phrase.[39] It also means that, as part of "popular" culture, it is excluded from traditional art history.

It is, on the other hand, possible to take the position, as has Thomas Munro, that all creativity is classifiable as "art". Then it can be inferred that differences in the styles and forms of art are related solely to purpose and not to aesthetic value. For example, experimental, avant garde paintings understood by a limited few, and mass produced posters enjoyed by many, can both be included within the concept of "art." This has nothing to do with aesthetic evaluation. There is, as Munro says, no implication that "a product must be actually beautiful or otherwise meritorious in order to be classed as 'art'."[40] It is, instead, a product the same as any other and its form is determined by the social environment within which it is produced. Within that environment there is, of course, as Gowans points out, "good" work and "bad," depending on the skill of the producer,[41] but to imply that one branch of artistic production is automatically inferior to another is a purely elitist assumption. The graphic arts industry and its historical development provide an excellent vantage point from which to consider the production of art in the wider connotation. Its mechanization and commercialization in the nineteenth-century succeeded in reaching a public previously only minimally aware of visual communication,[42] and its "commercial artist" employees, whether aware of it or not, were of major importance in the establishment of "mass" or

"popular" culture.

In Canada, the development of a popular culture followed a somewhat different course to that recorded in English or European accounts. For much of its history "fine" art and "commercial" art were essentially the same thing. Unlike older societies with "elite" and traditional rural cultures, the Canadian variant was created from scratch. And because cultural development ran parallel to the growth of industry itself, commercial art was one of its essential components. Not only were artists part of the commercial world, but they were also the founders of "Canadian art."

It is impossible to describe Canadian popular culture in the same terms of rural tradition and "folk" culture that is customary in the English situation. The only sources of traditional expression in Canada could be those of native culture, or those carried in settlers' "cultural baggage." Because the art of the former was initially ignored, concepts of both popular and "high" art have grown out of the latter. Unfortunately, standard Canadian art histories ignore the popular form, giving the impression that the search for a "true" Canadian art as, of course, "fine" art, was the major preoccupation of Canadian nineteenth and early twentieth century artists. The fact was that people considering themselves artists, living and working in Canada in that period, worked either for commercial companies as engravers, photographers or display artists, or endeavoured to earn a living teaching others. But the rhetoric of art history is frequently at variance with the facts. Although not emphasized in the traditional art histories, the "great" masters of the past were commissioned and

remunerated by their employers. It was a factor which made no difference to their status as artists or to the acceptance of their work as "art." As Susan Meyer points out in her study, America's Great Illustrators, there was little difference between the employment of artists by wealthy patrons in the Church or the Court in the years before industrialization, and their employment by publishers in the nineteenth-century.[43] It was only with the impact of industrialization and commercialization that the social mores of the time, differentiating between the status of "gentlemen" and those in "trade," created a division between "artists" and "commercial" artists.

There are, unfortunately, few social histories of art, and those which do exist are more concerned with intellectual analysis of style than with the social status of artists or with the social factors behind the work they produce. Arnold Hauser's Social History of Art has been criticized by both E. H. Gombrich and Nikolaus Pevsner for failing to situate artists within their working milieu.[44] And in the Canadian context, Barry Lord's The History of Painting in Canada: Towards a People's Art, is more concerned with the political influences working on the creativity of Canadian artists than with the working lives of the artists themselves.[45] William Colgate, in his history of Canadian art, written in 1943, does recognize the important position occupied by the commercial engraving houses in the development of Canadian painting,[46] but J. Russell Harper, in Painting in Canada: a history, by concentrating so strongly on the place of nationalism and the Group of Seven in the history of Canadian art, gives only passing mention to the commercial background of the actual members of the Group.[47] The overall

implication in all traditional art histories is that there is an accepted division between commercial and "fine" art. And yet, so many artists worked in both areas that to separate any discussion of their production into the two arenas can only be considered unhistorical. It may not be possible to agree with Pollack's criticism that traditional art history is only art appreciation, but it is possible to agree with Gombrich that artists should be studied within their social and cultural context. A history of the graphic arts industry is, obviously, one place where this can be done. Artists as workers within an area of industrial employment, and art as commercial production, can then be recognized as being not only part of the development of a popular culture, but also as part of a process which may help in reintegrating art into "the common life of society."

While the historiographical background for the consideration of business history and art history within the context of social history is somewhat sparse, the same cannot be said when it comes to labour history. Although, as Arthur Marwick points out, all history can be thought of as "social history," there is, he argues, a sense in which it can be defined by what it is not. While not echoing George Trevelyn's attitude that social history is "history with the politics left out," Marwick notes that social history is not primarily concerned with the politics of government, with constitutional or national history.[48] Rather, it is the history of society, in the same sense of the term that Hobsbawm uses. Initially, social history was founded on the history of the working class and was dedicated to rescuing its members from the "condescension of posterity," as E. P. Thompson has described it.[49] Not

only was it concerned with social conditions and social movements, but it was also concerned with the history of labour, the history of trade unionism, socialism and social protest. In fact, its early emphasis was on reform and reform movements to an extent that tended to divide working class, or labour, history from a history of society as a whole.[50] As Thompson and Hobsbawm and others have frequently noted, however, class, working or otherwise, does not denote a "group of people in isolation," but is, instead, "a system of relationships."[51] For example, Leonore Davidoff's study of the English upper-middle class, The Best Circles, was not only concerned with the aspirations of those aiming to climb the social ladder, but was also able to demonstrate how the lifestyle and organization of the social scene ordered and influenced the lives of those domestic workers on whom the whole edifice rested.[52]

Although a great deal of social history still regards the working class as its focus, a change in historical perspective has recently occurred. As Richard Price explains, the history of the working class is now being written, "not through the prism of the social reformer, but rather in terms of the working class itself."[53] It is an approach which allows for study into a far wider range of social and cultural relationships than a history related primarily to working conditions and reform movements. The recent debate on English popular culture, for example, is based on the assumption that working class culture, whether influenced by outside ideologies or not, is an autonomous entity.[54] It is also an approach which is able to examine workers in their working environment in a manner other than that of class antagonism. Thus, in

the context of an industry, or an individual business within an industry, workers are part of a larger whole. The history of their contribution to the particular industry, or to the individual firm, is then viewed more satisfactorily under the heading of social history than that of labour history per se.

To consider Canadian workers in this light has not, so far, become an accepted criterion for Canadian historians. Social history, in Canada, invariably means labour history as in the earlier definition of the term. In spite of the fact that two of Canada's leading practitioners of working class history claim that the "new social history" will no longer be a labour history consisting of "a category of political economy, a problem of industrial relations, a canon of saintly working class leaders, a chronicle of union locals or a chronology of militant strike actions," this is what it most frequently remains.[55] There have only been limited attempts to approach Canadian working class history from the point of view of the English culturalists, to study the Canadian working class as part of a larger whole, or to consider Canadian workers as members of a group not always involved in the problems of labour movements and class struggle.[56] If, however, the history of an industry is to be studied through an examination of all the factors going into its creation, then it is obvious that workers, in the sense of the labour force, are an essential ingredient. They cannot be divided off into a separate history. And, for those working in the graphic arts industry, the nature of the product itself makes their contribution to the overall history one of primary importance.

A history of the Canadian graphic arts industry, then, demands a

combination of materials from a wide range of historical preoccupations. In order to integrate these diverse approaches into a single social history, this dissertation relies upon both chronological and thematic analysis. Starting with the origins of the graphic arts as an art form, discussion will first of all centre on how the graphic arts were introduced into a commercial enterprise in England in the 1840s. This involves reference to the state of the art of wood-engraving, the social position of engravers, the development of the printing trade and the popular press, and the reactions of critics such as Ruskin and Morris to the commercialized situation which they saw developing. The position of Frederick Brigden within the existing commercial and industrial milieu will also be established.

The following chapter will concern the transference to Canada, in the 1870s, of the English tradition. This will be done mainly by following the experiences of Brigden and his colleagues in the establishment of their firm. It will also examine the situation in Toronto in terms of urban growth, the mechanization of printing, the press and advertising. As will be seen, this was the period when Frederick Brigden, like many other craftsmen of the time, discovered his entrepreneurial capabilities and became the owner of a business, with all its accompanying economic and social problems. Chapter Four will then concentrate on the industrialization of the Brigden firm between the 1880s and the First World War. It will include discussion on the impact of new technology, the foundation of unions, the economic climate and the growth of commercial advertising. The firm, and many others like it, moved during this period from its traditional association with

arts and crafts to a new industrialized situation. The talents of its workers were now divided between the technical skills of photo-engravers, photographers and printers, and the creative skills of artists.

Still in the same time period, Chapter Five will establish the artistic and social status of the graphic arts firms and those artists who worked for them. It will consider the position of artists in relation to the art "establishment," and suggest that differences between commercial and "fine" art were not as great as is generally believed. Because Brigden's son, Frederick H. Brigden (or Fred Brigden as he was generally called), holds an important position in Canadian art history, his experience will be used as the connecting link in this discussion. Fred Brigden was also the major figure in the establishment of his family's firm in Winnipeg in 1914. In a manner similar to that of Chapter Three, with its concern to establish Toronto as a milieu for the reception of a new commercial graphic arts business, Chapter Six will describe the situation in Winnipeg in relation to urbanization and industrialization. It will emphasize the state of development of the printing trade, unionization, and the position of the engraving firms already in existence. Also, because the T. Eaton Company provided the incentive for the establishment of Brigden's business in the west, this chapter will discuss the importance of Eaton's and the mail order catalogue for Winnipeg artists. A study of the Winnipeg branch of Brigden's is not only valuable in the history of the industry as a whole, but also because of the contribution it makes to an understanding of the Canadian art community of the period. As in Toronto, the gap

between commercial and "fine" art was very small, if it can be said that it even existed at all.

Chapter Seven will address the issue of the difficulties which arise when a firm passes in ownership to a second or third generation. In the case of Brigden's and other graphic arts firms, the period between the two world wars was one in which managerial control passed to non-family members, when new technology once again demanded change, when union activity became more aggressive, and when artists and "commercial" artists drew apart. In the 1940s, commercial artists, redefined as art directors and graphic designers and working within the new media of mass communication, succeeded in gaining recognition as professionals in their own right. Finally, in the drawing together of the historical components which interacted in the growth of the Canadian graphic arts industry, there will be a brief discussion of the implications of the industry's product on the development of Canadian popular culture.

Although the history of the Canadian graphic arts industry will be traced from its English antecedents and from the advent of mechanical printing and the popular press in Canada in the 1840s and 1850s, the major concentration of this study will be on the period 1870 to 1950, an era determined mainly by the Brigden case study. It is hoped to demonstrate that the growth of the graphic arts industry was an integral part of Canadian industrial, social and cultural experience. This account is not, therefore, a history of industrial relations or class struggle, nor is it an art history concerned with aesthetic values and "elitist" ideals. It is, perhaps, in the so far accepted definition of the field, not even a business history. Rather, by following the

various threads connecting the worlds of business, art and labour, it attempts to place a particular area of social history into its historical context. It is also hoped that it may provide a history of a segment of society which, in no small measure, contributed to the development of Canadian cultural consciousness.

# CHAPTER II: THE ENGLISH TRADITION

The background to the development of the graphic arts as an industry in Canada is found in the formation and development of its early commercialization in England. Late in the nineteenth-century and in the early years of the twentieth, American influence would be equally strong, especially in the areas of advertising and commercial illustration, and, certainly, from the 1830s on, America was a major innovator in the international progress of printing technology. But in the second half of the nineteenth-century it was the English graphic arts tradition which spread to both Canada and America. It formed the stylistic base for the large number of artists who worked for Canadian commercial companies and provided the business model for the companies themselves.

The foundation of the English industry rested on the skill of wood-engraving. Initially thought of as an "art," or "craft," wood-engraving, along with many other crafts during the course of the nineteenth-century, was gradually absorbed into the mechanized system created by the industrial revolution. Not only did it become the basis for a new form of production, but its practitioners, subject to the introduction of specialized divisions of labour, became thought of as commercial employees rather than independent artists or craftsmen. This change did not come about quickly, nor did it take place without criticism on the part of the engravers themselves and those members of the artistic community concerned with the growing division of the arts into so-called "fine" and "applied" categories. When considered in context, however, it appears to be inevitable that such a development

would take place. The growth of the graphic arts industry in England ran parallel to the growth of the printing industry and to the subsequent development of popular mass communication.

By mid-century the relaxation of government taxes on newspapers, paper and advertising, along with technological progress and a new literacy among the general public, had created a new cultural milieu. There was a demand for literature of all kinds and at all levels of society, a situation which produced an unprecedented boom in newspapers, popular magazines, books and journals, many of which incorporated visual material into their texts. The resulting popularity of pictorial news; the interest in illustrated journals of science and nature; the acceptance of the illustrated novel; and the development of new advertising techniques, created a need for large numbers of artists and engravers to provide illustrations at the same time as technological progress in printing machinery allowed their illustrations to be mass-produced. In the second half of the century, as Michael Twyman has noted, "the craft of wood-engraving developed into a veritable industry."[1] And in the process of its alteration from a craft to an industry, it reflected, on the one hand, a new appreciation for visual communication on the part of the general public, and on the other a burgeoning respect on the part of business entrepreneurs for its value in the world of commerce.

By definition, the term "graphic arts" refers to the depiction of form by drawing, etching, or any other means of producing lines on a receptive medium.[2] It has, however, more commonly come to mean the

transference of an image from one medium to another, usually from metal, wood or stone to paper, in order to produce printed reproduction of the original image. In the case of engraving, a design is drawn on a wood block or a metal plate. It is incised, inked and transferred to paper through pressure. The incision is carried out by one of two methods -- relief or intaglio. The relief method involves removing those areas of the block which will leave the design in relief -- a process which can be in the form of metal-cutting, wood-cutting or wood-engraving. Intaglio, on the other hand, is a more complicated ~~form of~~ procedure whereby the lines, or spaces of the drawn design are incised by the engraver's graver, or burin. The ink is then rubbed over and removed, leaving the ink in the incisions to be printed.[3] At the beginning of the nineteenth-century, when commercial prints of landscapes and portraits were the most popular items, most engraving was of the intaglio type, on copper or steel plates. Turner, for example, used steel plates for his books on English and French topography.[4] Processes such as mezzotint, stipple, and aquatint created effects on the metal plate which would reproduce in the print as variations in line and texture;[5] aquatint remained for many years the most popular process for reproducing water-colour paintings. Only the fact that the intaglio printing method precluded the representation of image and text on the same page prevented it from becoming the major process for illustrated books and magazines in the second half of the century.[6]

Reproduction of works of art was not new. It was a process as old as printing itself. Woodcuts had been used to produce the first illustrated book in 1471 and from then until the nineteenth-century,

illustrations were made for books or issued separately, mostly in black and white, or coloured by hand.[7] With the popularity of English landscape painting at the beginning of the century, and with the improvements in printing and publishing techniques, many leading artists became involved in publishing their works in book form or as individual prints.[8] Constable, Turner, John Sell Cotman and David Cox were among those whose landscapes were engraved and published. There was no loss of status implied in the reproduction of their work. Unlike William Morris later in the century, Turner had no contempt for new machinery nor for the engraving process itself. Although he frequently did his own engraving, he also employed professional engravers to copy his work, many of whom were artists in their own right. In fact, William Bartlett, famous in the 1840s for his Canadian Scenery Illustrated, had his work prepared by engravers who had worked with Turner.[9]

Turner was a transitional figure between the older traditions of art and the new era of mass production. He had a healthy respect for the commercial aspects of his profession and was one of the few major artists to accept the arrival of the machine age.[10] But there were many artists who did not have the advantage of Turner's fame and fortune. These were artists who made their living in more limited circumstances; they were not elected to the Royal Academy but, at the same time, they were expected to provide a wide variety of artistic services at a high level of competence. Their experience clearly demonstrated that for a considerable period of time "the line between fine and applied arts could not readily be drawn."[11] Trevor Fawcett, in his study of English provincial artists during the first thirty years of the century, notes

the overlapping of skills practiced by these artists. Advertising themselves as drawing masters, miniaturists, portrait painters, sculptors, engravers and lithographers, theatre scene painters, sign painters and house painters, most of them combined their specialities. For example, a sculptor might decorate chimney pieces, a house painter might provide a decorated ceiling, and combinations such as "Teacher of painting in imitation of marble ... Teacher of fruit and flower painting ... Engraver and drawing master" were common.[12] John Coppin, a member of the Norwich Society of Artists, was officially in business as a "house painter-gilder-glazier-plumber,"[13] and Thomas Bewick's master, Thomas Beilby, was not only an engraver and copper-plate printer, but also a decorator of "brass clock faces, door plates, coffin plates, bookbinders' letters and stamps, steel silver and gold seals, mourning rings, etc."[14] Artists' skills and teaching abilities were much in demand: drawing and painting were considered proper accomplishments for any well bred young woman,[15] interior decoration was popular,[16] and the need for engravers grew parallel with the demand for illustrated books and prints.[17] But the social status of these artists was ambiguous and, as a result, this imprecision played its part in the gradual separation of the arts. It foreshadowed a situation where, unfortunately, the line between the practice of "fine" and "applied" art would more "readily be drawn," as Fawcett describes it.

David Bland, in his history of book illustration, has remarked on the ease with which Turner "at the height of his fame" also produced "designs for almanacks and keepsakes."[18] But Turner was a genius whose talent was recognized early in his career and who, in spite of the fact

that his father was a barber, was admitted to the Royal Academy in 1802 at the age of twenty-seven. For the majority of working artists, however, the status of gentleman was unobtainable. The Royal Academy, founded in 1769, had as one of its aims the improvement of artists' social position, but, as Fawcett points out, the advantages were only felt by the academicians themselves. Those left out of the limited membership felt that "the word painter does not generally carry with it an idea equal to what we have of other professions."[19] It was a situation which led to considerable frustration on the part of engravers, who were excluded from the Academy altogether. There had been protest from the beginning against the Academy's promotion of artists as members of a special group of imaginative, creative people, and engravers who were thought of as "servile copiers."[20] In 1775, for instance, the engraver Robert Strange had published Inquiry into the Rise and Establishment of the Royal Academy of Arts as a protest. And seventy years later, in 1845, John Pye, Turner's close friend and considered by him to be one of the best engravers of his time,[21] wrote a similar protest in Patronage of British Art: An Historical Sketch.[22] Thomas Bewick, whose genius as both painter and engraver was recognized in his own time, was never made a member, and W. J. Linton, Bewick's most famous disciple, was "excluded forever from the Royal Academy."[23]

Those artists whose work was bought and commissioned by the general public, whose engravings were admired in the prints and illustrated books, and whose talents were sought for the teaching of drawing and painting, were gradually excluded from acceptance by those who considered artists as "special people." It was the beginning of what

Josephine Gear calls "the myth of the artist."[24] And it was also the beginning of a process which divided the single family of "artists," people who traditionally worked in a number of different areas, into two groups, those who practiced "fine" arts, usually painters, and the rest. Raymond Williams discusses this transition in Culture and Society: "in this same period in which the market and the idea of specialist production received increasing emphasis there grew up, also, a system of thinking about the arts of which the most important elements are, first, an emphasis on the special nature of art activity as a means to 'imaginative truth', and second, an emphasis on the artist as a special kind of person ... At a time when the artist is being described as just one more producer of a commodity for the market, he is describing himself as a specially endowed person ..."[25] It is doubtful, however, whether the majority of artists thought of themselves as "specially endowed persons." As Fawcett has documented, if an artist was to live he had "to create a product or offer a service tempting enough to attract patronage." As early as 1817, James Stark, in an address to the Norwich Society of Artists, had warned against thinking that art could "subsist on the generosity of the public." Those wishing to work in such a profession had to provide what was demanded by the society within which they lived.[26] Only the few could, therefore, consider themselves as other than producers "of a commodity for the market." The glamour of Royal or government patronage, the status of membership of the Royal Academy or recognition by foreign Salons, were rewards denied to the majority of practicing artists. But it is out of the ranks of these artists that the illustrators and engravers of the second half of the nineteenth-century emerged.

The prime requisite for the publishers of the illustrated magazines and newspapers which, beginning in the 1840s, were rapidly increasing in popularity, was a process which could produce clear illustrations in the minimum amount of time. It was also essential that it would permit the printing of illustration and text on the same page. Intaglio engraving was unsuitable for this purpose, and lithography (the process of printing from a design made on stone with the incompatible combination of oil and water), although suitable, was never popular in England for use with text.[27] "Lurid woodcuts" were used for the earliest illustrated penny story magazines and for such newspapers as The Penny Weekly Dispatch and Bell's Penny Dispatch. But, in the early 1840s, Herbert Ingram, newsagent and ex-printer, noticed that there was an increase in sales when papers and magazines included illustrations. He subsequently, in 1842, founded The Illustrated London News, using wood-engravings to accompany the printing of news and contemporary events.[28] From then until nearly the end of the century, until it was overtaken by photographic techniques, wood-engraving remained the major process of visual reproduction for publications of all kind. All the major periodicals, The Penny Magazine, The Mirror, Punch, The Saturday Magazine and The Graphic, used wood-engravings for their illustrations. As a result, engravers and illustrators were needed on an ever increasing scale.

Paul Hogarth, in his study of artist-reporters, says that artists were recruited from all branches of the arts to work for the illustrated press:

> there were water colourists who had worked for publishers of the travel portfolios, topographical draughtsmen of military surveys and scientific expeditions, painters who needed financial security and illustrators who sought an escape from the sedentary dream world of the Victorian table book.[29]

This was undoubtedly true and the artist-illustrator who provided the pictorial item was an important part of the whole production process. But it was the wood-engraver who was responsible for producing an image which, when printed, was both recognizable and stylistically acceptable. Although some art historians describe this type of commercial work as leading to "a general lowering of quality,"[30] Michael Twyman's assertion that "hundreds of skilled draughtsmen, some of them hardly known today, helped to make the second half of the nineteenth-century one of the finest periods in English illustration,"[31] seems a much more valid conclusion.

Wood-engraving, in the manner it was used by the nineteenth-century popular press, owed its foundation to two sources: first, to the style of engraving created by Thomas Bewick, and second, to the mechanization of printing. Bewick perfected a new method of incising wood blocks for printing, and the steam press, invented during his lifetime, allowed his impressions, and those of his pupils, to be spread "throughout the civilized world."[32] Thomas Bewick was born in Newcastle in 1753 and apprenticed to the engraver Ralph Beilby at the age of fourteen. His natural skills were such that by 1776, at the end of his apprenticeship, he was awarded a "premium," or prize, from the Society of the Encouragement of the Arts, and in 1777 joined Beilby as his partner. Because Beilby's aptitude and inclination were primarily for metal intaglio engraving, Bewick found himself taking over most of the

commissions which necessitated using wood.[33] What resulted was a different form of engraving: one which allowed detail and shading to be expressed in wood with a delicacy and clarity not seen before. Traditionally, engravers had used wood blocks cut on the grain, and had made their relief images by removing the wood between the lines of the previously drawn design. It was a technique known as "black line" and had been used by artists such as Dürer and Holbein, as well as the illustrators of the early printed books and many less accomplished artists. Bewick reversed the whole process by engraving across the end grain of the wood and by thinking of the block as black on which white lines would create the image.[34] He drew or painted his pictures on a hardwood, boxwood, and then, with tools similar to the ones he used for fine metal engraving, he incised the lines, creating in the process effects which were, in Iain Bain's words, "capable of the most exquisite touches of light and shade."[35] He had, in fact, created a new form of artistic expression.

Bewick was a countryman and nature lover, his most famous illustrated books being of birds and animals. He engraved and published A General History of Quadrupeds in 1789, and in 1797 published the first edition of A History of British Birds. These works, and numerous others, which went into many editions, ensured his fame in his lifetime and led to the extension of his reputation and his method of engraving outside England. John James Audubon, the American artist and ornithologist, who visited Bewick in 1827, the year before Bewick's death, described him as "the first engraver on wood that England has produced." There was no one, he felt, who could equal him.[36] It was a

tribute to Bewick's art, given from one artist to another. In the context of commercial wood-engraving, however, Bewick's contribution was equally important. In the speeded-up conditions of the 1840s, although the majority of engravers no longer created their own designs, the white line technique was one which was easily adapted to the demands from the illustrated press for reproductions. Inevitably, as Bland points out, the freshness of Bewick's art could not be maintained,[37] but through his pupils and their apprentices a tradition developed which produced artists and engravers of the highest order.

It was the industrialization of printing, however, which provided the break-through in the commercial reproduction of images. Bewick had used the traditional wooden press, customarily used for printing type. Ink was applied by a leather ball previously dabbed on an inked surface and then applied to the type and wood blocks. The type and blocks, with their engraved surfaces, were locked together, covered with paper and slid under the flat platen of the press. The platen, with its attached tympan was then lowered by a lever that turned a wooden screw. The ink was pressed onto the paper and the print was made.[38] It was not a satisfactory system for the reproduction of fine wood-engravings. Bewick was not a printer himself but he was aware of printing techniques and adapted his engraving methods to overcome some of the difficulties. For example, by lowering areas of his cuts he could allow for lighter printing where desired and by lowering the edges of the block he could prevent over-loading of ink at the sides of the print.[39] But the whole process was time consuming and inefficient, taking three men an hour to produce sixty copies.[40] It was not the sort of operation that would

lend itself to mass production.

Change was signalled for the engravers in 1821. In that year the bed and platen press was invented by the American printer, Daniel Treadwell. Although at first worked by a hand lever, the bed and platen press offered greater control over the pressure exerted on the print. Bewick found that it solved most of his earlier problems, enabling him, by 1826, to reproduce many of his earlier blocks.[41] Made of iron, with moveable beds and inking rollers, the bed and platen press was easily adapted to steam, becoming one of the most useful and popular presses even after the more productive cylindrical steam presses were invented.

By the time of Bewick's death in 1827, the revolution in the reproduction of images which he had helped to initiate had become part of the overall revolution in the process of printing itself. In 1811, the German inventor, Freidrich König, was the first to adapt steam to the printing press. By 1814, with the introduction of cylinders, his machines had become, in the words of a contemporary, "the greatest improvement connected with printing since the discovery of the art itself."[42] Steam driven machines were not accepted easily, however. The transformation of a traditional craft into an industry was not taken lightly by its skilled craftsmen. Machines were not infrequently wrecked by hand pressmen when efforts were made to introduce them into printing workshops. In fact, the installation of König's press at <u>The Times</u> in 1814 had to be carried out in secret.[43] Progress was, therefore, comparatively slow. By 1820 there were only eight steam presses in London and even by 1851 there were only one hundred and thirty members of the Printing Machine Managers Trade Society.[44] The

transformation of the printing trade was, however, inevitable. The Times, for example, with the installation of the new press, was able to print one thousand sheets of newsprint in an hour instead of the two hundred and fifty produced by the hand press. This lowered the cost of printing and permitted the subsequent publication of larger and cheaper editions. By 1828, The Times introduced an even more efficient press, the "Applegath:" built by Augustus Applegath and Edward Cowper, it had four cylinders and could produce up to four thousand sheets per hour.[45]

Throughout the century new machines were manufactured at the request of printing and publishing firms,[46] with newspaper managers designing machines to suit their own particular needs. In 1855, for instance, Joseph Parsons, the printing manager of The Graphic had a machine built to his own specifications[47] and in 1873, after the development of the rotary press machine (which could produce up to 24,000 pages an hour by the end of the century), the printing company of Bradbury and Agnew had a machine specially made for The Weekly Budget. And in 1876, most importantly for the development of the graphic arts industry, W. J. Ingram, publisher of The Illustrated London News, designed a complicated rotary machine (subsequently named after him) which would adapt the curve of the printing cylinders to accommodate engraved plates. It enabled him to make the reproduction of engravings the most important asset of his publication.[48]

Other technical inventions also added to the increased productivity of the press. The mechanical manufacture of paper, invented in France and established in England in 1803 put up the output of paper from sixty to one hundred pounds daily from the hand mills, to one thousand pounds

daily from machines. This meant that by 1843 the cost of paper had been halved.[49] The incorporation of wood pulp into the manufacture of paper also led to the production of cheaper newsprint and cheaper paper for the book trade. Inventions for the automatic casting of type, for bookbinding and for composing were all developed during the course of the nineteenth-century, their principles remaining much the same until the use of electricity and photography translated printing into modern terms.[50] Alterations and improvements were made, ideas copied and patents taken out. And it was not only the introduction of large machines which transformed the printing trade. The power driven "jobbing platen" for example, descendent of Treadwell's bed and platen press, became indispensable for all the small jobs necessitated by the expansion in trade and industry. It was used in a multitude of firms, large and small, for such items as business cards, letterheads, advertising material and stationary and would remain a fixture in all print shops.[51]

By the end of the century, improvements in the rotary press had succeeded in revolutionizing printing. The whole structure of the printing trade was altered. Changes had started to take place as a result of the first steam cylinder press, but it had still been possible for the preparatory processes to be performed by the skilled printer. Traditionally, printers thought of their trade as an art or "mystery." With the rotary press the whole operation was made automatic, thus making the idea of the printer as artist or craftsman obsolete. The ancient trade, or art or craft, of printing had become an industry and the men who worked in it had become participants in a new type of social

organization.[52]

The industrialization of printing was, obviously, one of the major factors in the growth of the popular press in the nineteenth-century. Another was the increased quantity of illustrated material used by publishers of newspapers and popular magazines. Geoffrey Best says that "no single cause can be alleged" to account for the seemingly unlimited market for literature of all kinds in the nineteenth-century, or for the "unprecedented explosion of the newspaper press."[53] Certain factors do, however, seem to have made the period ripe for what Best calls "a real earthquake." The government tax on newspapers, levied in 1819 to counteract the publication of radical literature, was lowered from 4d to 1d in 1835[54] and abolished altogether in 1855. In 1861 the excise tax on paper was removed but, prior to that, as has already been noted, by the 1840s the cost of paper production had been cut in half. It was possible, therefore, by mid-century, to produce books, magazines and newspapers for all classes of society at a price which all could afford. And, as Best has pointed out, there was present, in a society becoming increasingly conscious of the market place, a demand: "The fact is that by the fifties a large and still enlarging middle-cum-working-class public was ready to read all the cheap literature it could get."[55] The growth of general literacy undoubtedly played a role in this demand. Unsatisfactory as the educational system for the working classes may have been, by the 1830s the majority of English people were literate. And as the century progressed, with its compulsory education for children, its adult education programmes and its working mens' institutes, so the number of readers increased.[56]

For the upper classes the availability of literature had never been a problem. Now, for the first time, it was possible for the working and middle classes to obtain reading material at a price they also could afford. Cheap editions of novels, books of science, famous works of literature were, by 1849, available to all. They were published as "standard works" at 7d, 8d or 9d. The novels of Dickens and Trollope were published in installments at 1/- a month; the works of Matthew Arnold, Thomas Hughes, Wilkie Collins and Mrs. Gaskell appeared in cheap monthly serial magazines, and weekly and monthly journals and periodicals were published for all tastes. From the intellectual journals Fortnightly and Contemporary to the "family papers" and religious magazines, or to the "racy" Lloyds and Reynold's Weekly Press, all sections of society were catered for. During the year 1864 it has been calculated that the total circulation of non-daily London published periodicals was 2,203,000 of the popular variety, 2,404,000 of more serious matter, including religious and educational tracts, and 2,490,000 monthly editions.[57] The same demand and response extended to daily newspapers: The Times, The Daily News, The Daily Telegraph, The Morning Chronicle and an increasing number of provincial and suburban papers supported Best's claim that "[t]he mid-Victorian's appetite for newspapers was, like his appetite for other inexpensive periodicals and cheap books, insatiable.[58]

Within this extraordinary development of the popular press, illustration played an important role. For example, The Penny Magazine and The Saturday Magazine, educational and religious weekly magazines with large circulations, were, by 1832, using illustrative material to

promote their message of self improvement. It was, however, the establishment of the satirical magazine Punch in 1841, and The Illustrated London News in 1842, which generated a new popular market for political cartoons, illustrated reports of news and special events and portrait images of famous people. While such magazines as the Pictorial Times, The Illustrated Times, Fun and Judy also used illustrations,[59] newspapers did not begin to print illustrations on a regular basis until near the end of the century. In 1890, The Daily Graphic began to use wood-engravings at the same time as it introduced the new processes of photo-engraving and half-tone,[60] and by 1904 The Daily Mirror was using half-tone blocks made from photographs. In a few years it had a photo-engraving department capable of producing results in half an hour. Other papers and periodicals followed suit, so that by the beginning of the twentieth century, illustrators and engravers, like the printers, found themselves within a new industrial situation.

The Illustrated London News is generally considered to have been the motivating force in the establishment of the graphic arts as an industry. Certainly its founder, Herbert Ingram, could qualify as a new type of entrepreneur prepared to recognize the changes about to take place in an industrialized society. A printer by trade, he had made his fortune by selling a laxative, "Parr's Life Pills." This piece of commercial enterprise enabled him to move to London and establish himself as the publisher of the most successful illustrated journal of the time. The engraver W. J. Linton, in his memoirs, said that Ingram had little literary talent or appreciation of the arts:

> while [he] seemed the last man to be the conductor of an illustrated paper; ... he had a kind of intuitive

> faculty of judging what would please the ordinary public, a perception of that which seemed never to fail ...

He chose good editors, good illustrators and "the best draughtsmen on wood" available. The paper, in Linton's words, "had the good fortune to meet a public want and also by its conduct deserved its great success."[61] The tradition of excellence was continued by his son William, already mentioned as the designer of the Ingram Rotary Press. A recognizable nineteenth-century form of business enterprise had thus emerged: one which would lead to such publishing giants as Alfred Harmsworth and the "press lords" of the twentieth century[62] on the one hand, and to the smaller, but no less valuable, engraving firms on the other.

The format of The Illustrated London News and other similar publications consisted of items of news from all parts of the world, reports of royal and other social events in England, and coverage of any happening of public interest. "Special artists" were dispatched to report events at home or abroad.[63] They covered the Crimean and Franco-Prussian wars, expeditions and surveys in the colonies, and, closer to home, trials, exhibitions and new railway lines. All were reported on and duly illustrated. Rapid sketches were made on the spot and engraved as soon as received by the engravers in London. Artists such as John Gilbert, Kenny Meadows and William Harvey became expert draughtsmen and illustrators, providing prepared drawings for the engravers or engraving them themselves. Such work has, however, been devalued by later critics. Michael Wolff and Celina Fox, for example, in their study of attitudes portrayed in the pictorial magazines, argue

that there was a "vagueness and generalization" in the illustrations and that this was due to engravers' reliance in great part on the "stock block." This type of block was one which was already engraved. It could be adapted to a variety of requirements and could have its context changed by the use of alternative captions.[64] Undoubtedly busy engravers did use such devices on occasion,[65] but Wolff and Fox's critical attitude towards commercial engraving is unnecessarily severe. The criticism seems to stem from artists having claimed that their drawings were ruined by engravers.[66] Recognition of the difficulties under which the engravers worked offers a different interpretation.

For the most part, the engravers who worked for The Illustrated London News and the other illustrated publications were highly skilled. They were forced to work at great speed and were dependent on the co-operation of the artists whose drawings they were given to engrave. But unless the engraver had clear designs to work from, he was, obviously, unable to reproduce the artist's intentions. It is this factor which, for the most part, is overlooked by the critics. Given the circumstances in which they worked, one might marvel that they were able to produce the quality of work which they did. By 1840, there was, as David Sander says,

> a whole new breed of men and women who worked ... all day peering through magnifying glasses at small blocks of wood and cutting the pictures that illuminated an entire century. These were the commercial engravers.[67]

Sander's description of the engravers as responsible for "illuminating an entire century" is much more appropriate than the disparaging remarks of Wolff and Fox. Indeed, until the introduction of photography, the

engravers provided most of the visual material through which the events and personalities of the Victorian age have been recorded.

Thomas Bewick, in his memoirs written between the years 1822 and 1827, had already commented on the possibilities of the engraving process: "The more I have since thought upon the subject, the more I am confirmed in the opinions I have entertained, that the use of woodcuts will know no end ..."[68] What he had not foreseen was that in the process of becoming the most popular and available art-form of its time, engraving would cease to be thought of as "art," and would become, instead, a commercial commodity produced for the market, with the engraver himself demoted to "a superior artisan." F. B. Smith sums up the position of the engravers in the 1840s:

> [they] were well paid for their product, but they remained mechanical process craftsmen in a market situation; the sketches they engraved were rarely their own and they were rarely the publishers of the illustrations that resulted; payment for their work was usually determined by the publisher.

Smith also notes that even the master-engraver was not considered a gentleman as was the artist. Instead, with a fairly inexpensive outlay for tools and other equipment, the engraver was assured of a "steady trade with an expanding market."[69]

Among the master engravers, however, there were many who should have been given the status of artists, and many who laid the foundations for future graphic arts firms, both in England and the new world. Such men as John Orrin Smith, W. J. Linton, Joseph Swain and George and Edward Dalziel cannot be classified as business entrepreneurs in the same sense as men like Herbert and William Ingram, but they did own their own businesses, employ other engravers and train apprentices. In

fact, although the work carried out in their workshops was credited to the skills of the master engravers, a great deal of it was produced by their employees.[70] Without them, the vast quantity of work required could never have been provided. Because of the demand, various methods were introduced to speed up the work process. Specialization not only took place between illustrators and engravers, but also within their separate areas. Illustrator-draughtsmen, who drew or painted the designs on the blocks, specialized among landscapes, catastrophes, portraits or more prosaic items such as machinery for manufacturers' catalogues, while the engravers specialized even further. Some concentrated on faces, some on clothing, while others were limited to backgrounds or buildings. By the 1850s a technique was also introduced whereby separate blocks could be bolted together at the back in order to make larger prints possible. Individual engravers worked on the separate blocks, thus creating a situation where they were quite frequently not aware of what the end result might be.[71]

Engraving firms' reputations were made on the speed at which they worked and the quality of the material which they produced. Joseph Swain's firm, for instance, which engraved the blocks for Punch, could have the main cartoon ready within twenty-four hours of receiving the drawing,[72] while the Dalziel brothers were so successful that their business eventually extended into printing and publishing. They engraved Edward Lear's Nonsense Books and the works of the Pre-Raphaelites, as well as acting as art editors of other publications and commissioning illustrations for books they were publishing themselves.[73] But they also undertook more general work, such as the

illustrations for the Coalbrookdale Foundry Catalogue. Pictorial advertising was, in fact, becoming increasingly important to the engraving trade and to nineteenth-century business as a whole. By the 1860s, engraving firms were themselves advertising in The Printers Register. Such promotions as "Wood Engraving in all its Branches, with superior Finish, Economy and Dispatch" and "Specimens, with terms and References, sent on application," were common. The advertisements were sometimes accompanied by sample engravings which, as Kenneth Lindley, in his study of wood block engravers has noted, were "a very good indication of the standard offered."[74]

The best known artist-engraver, and the one who probably had most influence on the development of illustration in the future, especially in its transfer into the Canadian context, was W. J. Linton. His firm, Smith and Linton (first a partnership with John Orrin Smith and later with Harvey Orrin Smith), was not a financial success like that of the Dalziel brothers, mainly due to Linton's literary and political activities. But it was held in high regard by leading artists and publishers of the time. For many years it supplied The Illustrated London News with its illustrations, working from the drawings of Gilbert, Meadows, Harvey and others. It provided "copies of pictures by the old masters, and paintings in the annual exhibitions of the Royal Academy ..." as well as engravings for Bell's Life of London of the winners of the Ascot and Epsom race-meets.[75] And among those who worked for Linton were Walter Crane, later to become famous for his coloured book illustrations, and Frederick Brigden, the man who would extend Linton's ideas and techniques into Canada.

Linton's importance rests in his continuation of the techniques of Thomas Bewick and in his resistance to the separation of the arts. Poet, editor and ardent radical, William Linton was born in London in 1812. His father, a builder and architect, recognizing a talent in his son, provided him with drawing lessons. In 1828 the young Linton was apprenticed to the wood-engraver George Wilmot Bonner. This placed him, as F. B. Smith says, "in the mainstream of nineteenth-century engraving." Bonner had been a pupil of Robert Branston and a contemporary of Bewick's. And Branston, although not in the same league as Bewick, had, nevertheless, adopted Bewick's technique of white-line engraving.[76] In his memoirs, Linton records his training, when Bonner's pupils not only prepared their own blocks from the boxwood logs, but also drew and sketched for their own engravings: "I recollect being sent up the Thames side to sketch the 'Red House' at Battersea ... and the old wooden bridges between Putney and Fulham."[77] Like Bewick before him, his training was far more extensive than some accounts of the commercial engravers would lead one to believe.

Linton was a great admirer of Bewick's style. "My life through," he wrote, "I have sought to maintain [it] as the only artistic method of engraving in wood."[78] When he joined John Orrin Smith in partnership in 1842, he found himself among artists who had either trained under Bewick or had been influenced by him. William Harvey, "Bewick's favourite pupil,"[79] Luke Clennel, Charlton Nesbit and Bewick's son, Robert, all influenced Linton. Like Bewick, they all had skills in drawing and painting which they practiced as well as their engraving.[80] This belief in engraving as an art requiring skills beyond the actual carving of

wood was one which Linton inherited from Bewick and, in turn, passed on to his pupils. When, in 1884, Austen Dobson wrote Thomas Bewick and his pupils, he sent a copy to Linton with the dedication, to "Engraver and Poet, the steadfast apostle of Bewick's white line," written on the flyleaf.[81]

Recognizing the pitfalls inherent in the mechanical copying of others' work, Linton emphasized to his pupils the need for engravers to be the "collaborator" of the artist. They should not be the "mere servant" or the "servile copier" in the translation of original work into print. Like Robert Strange and John Pye, he strongly resented the exclusion of engravers from "artist" status. He encouraged his fellow engravers to think of themselves as "members in the great Guild of Art" instead of "mere mechanics."[82] This idealism did little, however, to improve engravers' social or economic situation. Linton, the political radical, involved with the Chartist movement, with radical publications, with Mazzini and other political figures, was not concerned with such practicalities as trade unions.[83] He was a much admired, if somewhat remote, figure to his pupils, most of whom did not, of course, benefit from the financial status of a master engraver.

After the death of John Orrin Smith in 1843, Linton's work for The Illustrated London News was gradually taken over by the magazine's own engraving department. He had been chief engraver for the illustrated journal for five years, "much helped," as he said, "by the exceptionally good work done by my people ..." But in 1848 he recorded that The Illustrated London News "stopped employing me, one by one drew off my workmen, and so broke up my business."[84] Smith suggests that the loss

of business with the magazine was probably due to Linton's literary and political interests causing delays in the delivery of material. In spite of this, however, while involved in numerous editorial projects, he apparently continued to work for The Illustrated London News on a free lance basis. In 1855, he set up in business with Harvey Orrin Smith, the son of his late partner, and became part of the highly creative illustrative activity of the 1860s.[85]

The period from 1855 to 1870 is often described as the "great period" of English illustration. Many leading artists of the time participated in the illustration of novels and books of verse. The Pre-Rapaelites, Rossetti, Millais and Holman Hunt, as well as Whistler and Arthur Hughes, all created designs which they drew directly onto the engravers' blocks. Forrest Reid, writing in the 1920s about these artists, described them as part of a transitional movement and said that illustration was becoming "a dubious mixture of art and something that is not art."[86] Whether this attitude was recognized by the artists themselves at the time is difficult to tell. What does begin to become apparent from this time on is that illustrators, or artists who provided designs for engravers, were as involved in the changing social situation as were the engravers.

In the 1850s and 1860s, however, the stigma of "commercial" artist had not yet affected the position of those who provided illustrations. Engravers, on the other hand, were already suffering from criticisms of their work. The poet William Allingham, for example, whose The Music Master was illustrated by Hughes, Rossetti and Millais and engraved by the Dalziels, refers in the preface to the "excellent painters who on my

behalf have submitted their genius to the risks of wood engraving."[87] It was not a remark intended to please engravers. David Bland mentions that the Dalziels had difficulty in engraving the illustrations for Edward Moxon's publication of Tennyson's Poems in 1857. But Linton, a friend of Moxon's,[88] was also involved in this production, one of considerable importance. Using illustrations by Rossetti and Millais and others, it was one of the first books to relate the typography (the arrangement and printing of type or letters) to the illustrations in order to create a harmonious design.[89] It was, in fact, an early instance of the drawing together of the various elements essential for the functioning of a successful graphic arts business: illustrators, engravers, typographers and printers were all involved in the reproducing of images complementary to the written word.

Linton was continually busy during this period. He produced such work as the Pictorial Tour of the Thames, Burns' Poems and Songs, an illustrated Shakespeare, and in 1863, one of his most beautiful works, an illustrated guide to the Lake District. His album, Thirty Pictures of Deceased British Artists, published in 1865, included reproductions of work by Constable, Gainsborough, Blake and Turner, most of which he draughted as well as engraved. And yet, it was not enough. In 1866, dissatisfied with the situation in England ("I had little occupation in England"), he moved to America, where despite frequent visits to England, he remained for the rest of his life. He received the social status which had been denied him in his own country and was an important influence on the developing American school of illustration and engraving.[90] But his influence also continued in England, especially as

it affected the growing divisions within the arts. As Walter Crane wrote in 1896, Linton gave to his pupils, "a sense of necessary relationship between design, material and method of production -- of art and craft -- which has had its effect in many ways."[91]

In Linton's workshop during this period were pupils who have left descriptions of the conditions under which engravers worked. Their records also, quite unwittingly, further demonstrate the divisions which were becoming accepted within the trade itself. Walter Crane, for example, in his reminiscences, emphasized the fact that he was apprenticed to Linton as an artist-draughtsman and not as an engraver.[92] Frederick Brigden, on the other hand, apprenticed as an engraver and, looking back years later, referred to himself as having been "a little art workman ... too self absorbed, and too engrossed in a life struggle for a foothold, to see much beyond my own nose."[93] And yet, in 1859 and 1860 respectively, Crane, the London artist's son, and Brigden, the deaf saddler's son from Sussex, were both accepted as apprentices by Linton for three years, and both had their indenture fees waived by Linton in light of their apparent artistic talents.[94] In their memoirs they both commented on Linton's skills and on the kindness of Orrin Smith who was responsible for the apprentices. Orrin Smith no longer carved, according to Brigden, because it had "injured his eyes."[95] But Crane described the manner in which Orrin Smith introduced him to the task of drawing ink sketches on the boxwood blocks,[96] and Brigden, in one of his first letters home, expressed relief at Orrin Smith's mastery of sign language. This latter accomplishment was almost a necessity in a trade where many deaf, and even dumb, youths were

apprenticed to wood-engraving.[97]

Crane's account of Linton's workshop can presumably be taken for what he said it was: "a typical wood-engraver's office of that time." There was, he said,

> a row of engravers at work at a fixed bench covered with green baize running the whole length of the room under the windows with eyeglass stands and rows of gravers. And for night work, a round table with a gas lamp in the centre, surrounded with a circle of large clear glass globes filled with water to magnify the light and concentrate it on the blocks upon which the engravers ... worked, resting them upon small circular leather bags or cushions filled with sand, upon which they could easily be held and turned about by the left hand while being worked upon with the tool in the right. There were, I think, three or four windows, and I suppose room for about a dozen engravers; the experienced hands, of course, in the best light, and the prentice hands between them.[98]

It was an organization which was far from the simplicity of Bewick's time, but it remained standard for the rest of the century. It would also, in the 1880s, be the arrangement adopted by Frederick Brigden in his Toronto workshop. Crane noted the development of specialization necessitated by the increased speed of delivery required by the publishers: in a block containing figures and faces, for example, the head would be cut by the master hand and the "less important 'facsimile' work by the apprentices."[99] In spite of this arrangement, and the fact that there was also a "tint man," it seems as if the apprenticeship of an engraver was as extensive as it had traditionally been. Brigden recorded in his diaries and notebooks of the time how he was set to study "tone, letters, tints, tools, shading for folds, arms, landscapes ... faces, water ... cross lines, land-effect principles," and at the same time expected to keep up his drawing skills to complement his

engraving technique.[100] A list of blocks he engraved for Linton also demonstrated the variety of work undertaken by the workshop: for comic broadsheets, "History of a cup of tea!," "History of a coal scuttle," "History of Tom Noddy," and for more serious requirements, "several small blocks for 'Half-hour lectures on Art'," a landscape by Crome ("Mr. Linton expressed great satisfaction with my landscape"), and a drawing by John Franklin, "Monk with a Crucifix."[101]

Crane and Brigden both supplemented their training outside the workshop. Crane studied animals on a student's ticket at the Zoological Gardens,[102] while Brigden attended Ruskin's lectures on art and drawing at the London Working Men's College. They both later commented on their lack of money. An apprentice's salary was ten shillings a week, but whereas Crane lived with his family in London, Brigden lived "in a little back room, with as much cupboard as bed room, in a big house, fit for a Dickens' mystery ..."[103] The separation between illustrators and engravers seems marked in their recollections. Crane says that he emerged from Linton's workshop in 1862 as "a fully matured artist with settled aims and a decided style of [my] own."[104] Brigden, on the other hand, continued as an engraver, thinking of himself as an "art-workman" even when employed by The Illustrated London News at the end of his apprenticeship.[105] In spite of these differences, however, they were both profoundly affected by Linton's theories on art. While never attempting to influence his pupils politically, Linton had, nevertheless, imbued in them his belief in the unity of art.[106]

Linton's ideas on the social position of artists and on the need for unity in the arts pre-dated those of Arthur Mackmurdo and the Arts

and Crafts movement, as well as those of William Morris. They reflected the theories of John Ruskin, the "great man" of nineteenth-century art. Crane and Brigden, like all students of the arts in the second half of the century, treated Ruskin with awe and respect.[107] He was, as Brigden said, "a sort of Art Missionary, introducing religious sentiment into art culture." His books, including Modern Painters and The Stones of Venice, were the first works of art criticism in England to analyse the genius of Turner, to recognize the art of the Pre-Raphaelites and to support, albeit unknowingly, the perception theories of the French Impressionists. His essays on art and politics were published in book form and his Elements of Drawing, published in 1854, was based on the lectures he gave at the Working Men's College.[108] But his students were probably unaware, at least in their youth, of Ruskin's concern for the state of the arts. He was the first to recognize what was taking place as a result of the divisions created within a previously integrated profession, what Raymond Williams calls, "the differentiation between the production of one kind of object and another."[109] He devoted much of his writing and lecturing to pointing out the social consequences of such a system. He saw that when the so-called "fine" arts separated too far from everyday concerns, from the arts of "utility" and the general public, "art" would only be practiced and appreciated by a small group of connoisseurs, with the result that the separation of artists started by the Royal Academy in the eighteenth-century would be taken to extremes.

In his lecture, "The Division of the Arts," Ruskin said:

> Under the present system, you keep your Academician occupied only in producing tinted pieces of canvas to

> be shown in frames and smooth pieces of marble to be placed in niches; while you expect your builder or constructor to design coloured patterns in stone and brick, and your chinaware merchant to keep a separate body of workmen who can paint china but nothing else. By this division of labour, you ruin all the arts at once.[110]

He analyzed the impersonalization of the worker which took place in the industrialized society of nineteenth-century England in its relation to the production of art. Ruskin deplored the attitude that one who created beautiful pictures should "be taken away and made a gentleman and have a studio," with workmen to produce his designs for him. He said that such a system was founded "upon two mistaken suppositions: the first, that one man's thoughts can be, or ought to be, executed by another man's hands; the second, that manual labour is a degradation, when it is governed by intellect."[111] There should be no division, in his view, between those whose imagination created designs and those who put them into practice. Nor, he felt, should there be a separation between art and society. In a well ordered society, ("good" in his phraseology), only "good" art was possible. Such divisions as "fine" and "applied" would not then apply. In "The Nature of Gothic," he emphasized that only the "excellence of achievement" was important, not whether the producer was "artist" or "workman;" "the distinction between one man and another," he wrote, "be only in experience and skill ..."[112]

Ruskin, with his disciples Morris and Mackmurdo, took the literal meaning of art back to its original definition of "skill." In the case of Morris, this meant a return to the standards of hand workmanship and the plurality of skills possessed by artists prior to the advent of

industrialization."[113] Mackmurdo, on the other hand, while not accepting mechanical means of design and production, nevertheless recognized the need for good design within industry and urged the development of design as an entity in itself.[114] They were both dedicated to the ideal of the "craftsman as artist" and, in the tradition of Ruskin, saw the concept of "art for art's sake," or "art as a value in itself," as leading only to the eventual decline of all the arts. Morris, in The Art of the People, written in 1879, said, like Ruskin, that the quality of art produced was dependent on the society within which it was created. He saw no value in "art for art's sake" which became "an art cultivated professedly by a few, and for a few, who would consider it necessary ... to despise the common herd ..."[115] Such an art, argued Morris, would eventually become "too delicate a thing for even the hands of the initiated to touch ..." Only the return of art to the people, "to the pleasure of life ... to our daily labour" would be able to reunite art and society. There had gradually arisen, then, by the last quarter of the century, through the theories of Ruskin, through the politicization of art and society as interpreted by Morris, and through the Arts and Crafts movement founded by Mackmurdo, an intellectual critique of the state of the arts based on the need, as Williams has described it, for the "reintegration of art with the common life of society."[116]

In spite of this, however, the progression which saw the gradual decline of the artist-craftsman and the growth of a new industry was not halted. The position of the wood-engravers by the 1870s was radically different to that at the beginning of the century. While Bewick and his

contemporaries had not been accorded gentleman status, or admission to the Royal Academy, their names were known and their skills admired. They were still considered artist-craftsmen, in contrast to the facsimile engravers in Linton's studio. With the introduction of photo-engraving in the 1880s, the wood-engravers now either retrained to become part of the new technical process, or worked in a declining trade.[117] The rise of the "art for art's sake" movement and the artist-aesthete also reduced the status of the artist-illustrator or designer. Henry Furst, writing in 1924 of the 1890s, said that "Art was then, as now, almost entirely in the hands of men whose connection with theories and literature is closer than their connection with practices and life."[118] Illustrators either became completely dissociated from the reproductive side of the new industry, or they became, as in the case of Walter Crane, advocates of the theories of the Arts and Crafts movement, turning their designing skills into new fields of colour and printing. Eventually they would become the "commercial" artists of the twentieth-century. It was a process which was, as Williams points out, part of the overall change taking place in industrialized society, and one which inevitably, in its context, led to a form of class differentiation.[119]

Due to the specialization of labour necessitated by new technology, to the changes in ownership and management of printing and publishing firms, and to the acceptance of visual advertising,[120] engravers and illustrators were drawn into a complex system of graphic arts firms, commercial art agencies and reproductive technologies.[121] The status of those artists working in this area may have led, as Williams says, to "a

hardening of specific judgements into presumption of classes, based now not only on mixed criteria ... but also ... on criteria which are incompatible with the original delimitation by the nature of the practice,"[122] to a situation, that is, where to be a "commercial" artist was to be judged not as a bona fide artist, but as something inferior. At the same time, it has to be remembered that the new industrialization of the graphic arts provided employment. The publishing industry, as Susan Meyer says, "emerged as the chief employer of artists. The publications succeeded both church and court as the great showcase for artists, and illustration, a creation of the Industrial Revolution, became a significant avenue for the artist."[123]

During the nineteenth-century in England, then, the art of visual reproduction, along with its related trade of printing, changed from being a skill practiced by individual artist-craftsmen to being part of a new industrialized process. For both wood-engravers and illustrators, the development of the graphic arts into an industry meant a change in social status and a change in opportunity. While still retaining their Ruskinian ideals of the unity of art, craft and society, they found themselves caught up in the external influences of commercial enterprise and new technology. On the one hand their social position as artists, or artist-craftsmen, declined as the result of association with "trade," and, on the other, their hopes for advancement in their own field of expertise were affected by the introduction of such mechanical inventions as photography and photo-engraving. It is not surprising, therefore, given the circumstances, that some of them, men like Frederick Brigden, for example, should have chosen to emigrate.

# CHAPTER III: TRANSFERENCE OF THE TRADITION

Emigration from Britain to Canada during the third quarter of the nineteenth-century was comparatively light. Compared with the mass exodus during the 1840s as the result of the Irish famine, and the later burst of migration at the end of the century and prior to the First World War, it was a period of moderate, but steady, activity. During the years 1869 to 1873, however, there was a marked increase in numbers. The change was sufficiently noticeable to warrant discussion in the House of Commons, but government assistance was not recommended. Rather, a number of private agencies offered help to worthy emigrants.[1] The reasons for increased emigration at this time seem to have been related to unrealized hopes on the part of artisans and skilled workers for improvements in their standard of living. Geoffrey Best and S. C. Checkland, in their work on mid-Victorian Britain, have pointed out how, in spite of the fact that real wages were rising, adequate housing and regular employment did not automatically follow. The lives of the skilled members of the working class, or of the working class as a whole, were not thereby improved.[2] There was, says Checkland, a "continuous trend in betterment, but so slight, and so often reversed in bad times, that the statisticians found real demonstration very difficult."[3]

What gave the impression of improved conditions was the artisan-craftsman's retention of dignity and respectability within changing circumstances.[4] During the first half of the nineteenth-century the "labour aristocracy" of skilled workers in such trades as building, mechanical engineering and printing had become used

to wages which were relatively high and stable, and to the possibility of an improved standard of living. There was, as Checkland notes, the belief in "a continuous ladder of opportunity of which all might avail themselves." It was the popular belief propounded by Samuel Smiles: that through "self help," through the use of "initiative and intelligence," any individual artisan could eventually become a master and own his own business.[5] It would have been of considerable anxiety to the skilled workers, therefore, that from the 1860s on, their numbers were being overtaken by a rising class of semi-skilled machine operators which jeopardized their hopes of a better future.[6]

Certainly, in the case of the engraving trade, this would have been so. Photo-engraving and photography had been possibilities from the 1850s on, so that wood-engravers, aware of the likely changes in their craft, would, by the 1870s, have been concerned about their employment prospects. Unlike other trades, they did not involve themselves in trade union activity as a form of protection against semi or skilled labour, but whether this was because of their lingering connection with the world of "art" is difficult to tell. William Linton, the most prominent engraver radical of the time, never considered unionization, nor, for that matter, seemed aware of the changes threatening the craft as a whole.[7] But a man such as Frederick Brigden, with no financial support to fall back on, recognized the possible advantages of emigrating to the new world and when the opportunity arose, made the decision to do so. It was, therefore, through craftsmen such as Brigden, that the English tradition of fine wood-engraving was transferred to Canada and graphic arts businesses were established which

would eventually function on a par with those left behind.

Among the apprentices in William Linton's studio at the same time as Walter Crane and Frederick Brigden were two deaf brothers, Charles and Henry Beale. As boys, they had been at the Brighton School for the Deaf with Brigden, but, unlike him, they had come from financially comfortable circumstances. Their father, a physician, belonged to a well connected country family with property in Gloucestershire. In 1869, however, they decided to emigrate to Canada, taking with them sufficient capital to establish their own engraving business. They do not seem to have done this immediately, however. Henry Beale is recorded as having worked in Toronto in 1870 and Charles Beale in London, Ontario, in 1871. But also in 1871, the firm of Beale Brothers, Engravers, was listed in the Toronto Directory at 48 King Street East.[8] In December of the same year, the Beales wrote to their friend, Frederick Brigden, suggesting that he join them. In 1872 he decided to accept their offer. It is difficult to judge what the motives might have been behind the Beales' decision to emigrate, unless their deafness was a source of embarrassment to their family. But in the case of Frederick Brigden it is possible to assess the motivating factors and to recognize the validity of his decision.

By the time Brigden received the Beales' invitation, he was an established engraver working for The Illustrated London News. He was thirty years old, married and the father of two small sons. He was also a man of deep religious beliefs. The eldest son of Thomas Brigden, a saddler and harness maker in Worthing, he had grown up in the

non-conformity of Wesleyan Methodism. In 1853 he had, as the result of scarlet fever, become deaf and was enrolled at the School for the Deaf in Brighton. Here he learned the hand language of the deaf, the customary academic subjects of the time, and wood-engraving. He was sufficiently gifted in engraving for his school principal, William Sleight, to recommend him to Linton as an apprentice.[9] He became an avid reader, making long lists of books to be read in his spare time between studies. In 1858 he took the pledge of tee-totalism and throughout his early writings are repeated admonitions to himself concerning his need for more and more religious dedication.[10] In 1860, when he went to Linton's studio in London, he was introduced to the Mission for the Deaf in Deptford, eventually becoming a lay-preacher and making the Mission one of the focal points of his life.[11] From his own experience he had a profound understanding of the isolation imposed upon the deaf, but he found, through his religion, a means of circumventing his disability. He was, in fact, a perfect example of the contemporary belief in self-help and spiritual improvement. Although he himself took many years to recognize the fact, he also had all the traditional early attributes of the nineteenth-century entrepreneur.

During the nineteenth-century, many of the leading men of business had come from humble beginnings, had strong religious beliefs, were largely self-educated and had, through their own skills and determination, founded industries and commercial enterprises in a variety of fields.[12] William Lever, for example, leaving his father's grocery shop to work on his own, turned the making of soap into a financial empire;[13] John Sainsbury, opening his shop in London in 1869

with only his wife to help him, founded a chain of stores which would number two hundred and fifty by 1956, and the future Lord Northcliffe, Alfred Harmsworth, who started his working life on the staff of The Bicycling News, were all such men.[14] It was the same in Canada. George Brown left his father's newspaper, The Banner, ("the organ of the Free Church of Scotland"), in 1844 to start one of his own, The Globe.[15] It became Canada's leading popular daily newspaper, making Brown Canada's first newspaper entrepreneur.[16] Joseph Flavelle started life in humble circumstances, went to work at thirteen and started his own business at eighteen. He followed the nineteenth-century dictum of "hard work, honesty, sobriety, and daily prayer,"[17] and by the end of the century was a millionaire. Similarly, Timothy Eaton turned his modest dry goods store into a retail business which, in Canada, became a household word.[18]

Frederick Brigden was not in the same league as men like George Brown or Timothy Eaton, although he came to know them both. His aims in life were different. A comfortable home, good books, painting expeditions with friends, work with the Toronto Mission for the Deaf and his Church were his satisfactions of later life. Even so, he built up a successful business, often in the same manner as his more famous contemporaries. He was always aware, as was George Brown, of the need to incorporate the latest developments in technology, and yet, like Brown, he was often incapable of understanding the problems of his employees or the ambitions of his own family. In 1894, for example, he tried to persuade his younger son to give up his hopes of becoming an artist and to settle, instead, for being an "art-workman" as he had

done.[19] He had possibly a closer parallel with men such as John Northway, the "blue serge Canadian," than with the more flamboyant entrepreneurs: with men who were, as Alan Wilson says, "neither politicians nor statesmen." They were men who built solid businesses and who were honest in their paternalism, even if some of them, like Brigden, lacked imagination in their later dealings with their employees.[20]

The tailor Northway, religious, self-educated and later the owner of a prosperous retail clothing store chain, emigrated to Canada in 1869. He was one of those artisans who recognized the fact that, however hard he worked, his chances of advancement would be negligible.[21] Also, during the 1860s, advertisements and inducements to emigrate were such that anyone with a desire to improve their situation would be hard put to ignore them.[22] Not least among the inducements was the fact that the crossing of the Atlantic by steamship had considerably improved travelling to Canada and America. Fares which in 1825 had been as high as £20, were, by 1863, only £4.15s per head, and for sailing ships even cheaper at £2.17.6d per head.[23] For men like Northway and Brigden, therefore, prepared, as Wilson says, "for toil and challenge,"[24] emigration to the New World offered an answer to their dilemma.

When, in December 1871, Brigden received Charles Beale's letter, he hesitated before accepting the challenge of emigration: "I see no light of providence just now that way," he wrote in his diary.[25] But by the following year he had decided to accept the Beales' offer, and in September, with his wife, Frances, their small son, George, and their

eight month old baby, Frederick Henry, embarked on the voyage to Canada. It was in a small notebook, written in pencil on the deck at night, while his family were cramped in the sleeping quarters of the emigrant ship below, that Frederick Brigden recorded the motives for his decision, motives related as much to frustration as to finance. "I have felt the last two years pressing on me harder," he said, "than any previous years." He noted that, although he was respected in his trade, however hard he worked, he could never progress beyond a certain point: "I reckon I ought to make £2.00 to £2.10 a week at the utmost and that I have no prospect of ever passing that ... the average of my earnings ... is [more] fairly put at £1.8 or £0.0 [i.e. nothing] a week. It is not the hard work but the hopelessness I want to escape from."[26] It was a comment which summed up his situation and that of many others caught in a time of transition.

By the middle of October 1872, Brigden and his family were in Toronto.[27] He was one of the large number of "independent and conservative artisans and mechanics," described by Wilbur Shepperson in his study of British emigration to North America.[28] These were also men who, in Checkland's words, shared "a substantial element of skill and business enterprise."[29] Brigden would, at this point, have classified himself as a craftsman (in fact, for long after his business was established, he referred to himself as an "art-workman"), and would possibly have imagined that he could achieve a comfortable existence on the strength of his skills alone. He neither thought of himself as an artist, as his master, W. J. Linton, would have engravers think of themselves, nor as a prospective businessman. His immediate concerns

would have been with the enormity of his decision, the sadness of leaving England and the unknown elements of his new country. George Kitson Clark, in An Expanding Society, quotes Sir Keith Hancock as saying that "Men do not emigrate in despair, but in hope," and adds "that may be so, but at the moment of their departure from their mother country they do not always go in peace."[30]

For Frederick and Frances Brigden, with their small sons and their life savings of £100, it could not have been easy. Like the earlier Chartist emigrants of the 1840s, Brigden wrote poems about his feelings on the journey. But where the Chartist poetry was concerned with political images,[31] that of Frederick Brigden reflected both his feelings of insecurity and his religious beliefs: "In vain seeks rest, the weary gale/ as outcasts of the earth we roam ... through toil and pain/ with fear and hope in equal strife/ We voyage the eternal shores to gain/ through suffering into life."[32]

It is difficult to know what Brigden's expectations of Canada were. Certainly what he found was not the flourishing business he had anticipated.[33] Beale Brothers was not part of the overall expansion taking place in Toronto at the time of his arrival. Toronto, in the 1870s, was in the process of transforming itself from what Peter Goheen calls "a place of craftsmen and artisans," to an industrialized metropolis. This might not have been obvious to a newcomer, but a continually increasing population and an expanding industrial economy were changing an old colonial city into "a commercial and industrial capital."[34] It was not yet a large city by the standards of London: Goheen estimates that in 1871 Toronto's population was 56,000 and that

it contained under five hundred industries. That it would grow to a population of 208,040 by the end of the century and become "a great manufacturing and industrial centre,"[35] would not necessarily have been apparent to an immigrant engraver hoping to improve his station in life. But Toronto was, in fact, just the place where energetic and determined men were beginning to make their presence felt.[36] It was already a city where trade and commerce was beginning to flourish.

As a result of railway building in the 1850s, Toronto was the terminus for trade from the rest of Ontario and the western United States.[37] The Northern Railroad, in conjunction with the Great Lakes steamer service, connected it with the west, the Great Western Railway with Buffalo and New York, and the Grand Trunk Railway with Montreal. It was a wholesale distribution centre for most of south-western Ontario and had, by the 1860s, become the largest wheat exporting city in Ontario.[38] In banking and commerce it had become the major focal point of the province. The Board of Trade and the Toronto Exchange were incorporated by the 1850s,[39] the Canadian Bank of Commerce, the Bank of Toronto and other such financial institutions were in existence by the 1860s,[40] while such useful trade agencies as an agricultural fair and a Crystal Palace of Industry had also been founded.[41] There was small scale manufacturing in the form of the Toronto Dry Dock Company, the Toronto Rolling Mills and a furniture factory, as well as breweries, distilleries, and firms for the production of such essentials as soap and candles.[42] And there was a rapidly growing retail trade which received "considerable impetus," as D. C. Masters says, with the arrival of Timothy Eaton in the city in 1869.[43] In short, Toronto in the 1870s,

although small and unsophisticated by London standards, was an urban centre of major importance and one quite capable of supporting a number of printing and engraving establishments.

It has been suggested by Paul Rutherford, in his history of the Canadian press, that the emergence of mass communication varies from country to country, and that Canada's development was different to that of England or the United States.[44] This may be so in terms of the motives behind, and the messages imparted, by the popular press. But in other respects, the elements which hastened the rise of the popular press, and subsequently the engraving and illustration trade in England, were the same as those developing in Canada. Certainly, Toronto, the centre of urban growth, had all the essential attributes for the development of a new commercial engraving industry, including a growing reading public, new technology, cheaper newsprint and expanding retail businesses which would need advertising copy. The only differences affecting engravers such as Frederick Brigden and the Beales were those of time and space: the difference in size, and therefore of demand, between London and Toronto was probably expected, but the position of the engraving trade might have been a surprise. Whereas in London the engraving "industry" was well under way by the 1850s, in Toronto in the 1870s it was only just beginning to get established. Not that there were no engravers working in Toronto; there were, but the value of illustration to newspaper owners and department store merchants had not yet been recognized. Also, where in England fine wood-engraving was the result of an historical process which had taken it from the art of Turner and Thomas Bewick to the so-called "mechanical" engraving

produced for The Illustrated London News, in Canada it would start from that point: where engravers and illustrators were "art-workmen" as Brigden called himself, and not "artists."[45]

The rise of the popular press in Canada, as in England, was the result of a combination of factors. The education system, while inadequate for those at the bottom of the economic and social scale, had nevertheless provided an overall increase in the literacy of the general public.[46] Reading rooms, circulating libraries, mechanics institutes and literary debating societies were all active.[47] Newspapers existed for all tastes and became more generally available as rail transport extended and postal rates declined. There was, in fact, a reading boom exactly as had taken place in England.[48] And the production of material to satisfy the demand was, again, the result of technology and the activity of certain men with entrepreneurial skills sufficient to recognize the growing market, as had Herbert Ingram when establishing The Illustrated London News.

Alan J. Lee, in his study of the origins of the popular press, has contrasted the growth of the newspaper industry in Britain, France and the United States. His conclusions are that

> Economic conditions favourable to the growth of the newspaper industry in all three countries appeared at approximately the same time, and in the same sequence. Technological advances were transported rapidly from one to the other; each experienced a marked growth in population ...; an expanding market was being created in all three, which in turn created a vast advertising potential; the pattern of amalgamation and integration in industry was a common one and applied equally to newspapers ... the expansion of cheap communication facilities was a common feature, first with railways and then with the telegraphs; the price of paper started to fall at about the same time in each country ...[49]

These are conclusions which can apply equally to Canada, which, in spite of later development, nevertheless had telegraphic connections between its major eastern cities by the 1840s,[50] sufficient railway transport which was increasing throughout the whole second half of the nineteenth-century, a paper industry, which by the 1870s was of major international importance,[51] and in Toronto, as early as 1844, the cylinder printing press.

During the 1830s, with the exception of type, all the necessary requirements for printing could be obtained in Toronto. Newsprint, previously imported from England, was manufactured by the mills of John Taylor, or those of John Eastwood and Colin Skinner, using the water power of the River Don,[52] and hand presses, originally imported from the United States, were by 1836 manufactured in Toronto.[53] But with the recognition that there was a larger public that could be reached, the reliance on an entirely Canadian manufacture was impractical. George Brown, for example, the owner of The Globe and the man who would be, in Rutherford's words, "the outstanding newspaper entrepreneur of his era,"[54] imported in 1844, from the United States, the first cylinder press into Canada. It was the Hoe rotary press, newly invented in New York and capable of producing 1250 copies per hour.[55] In 1853 he imported a new rapid-action rotary press from A. B. Taylor of New York,[56] in 1860 a double-cylinder press capable of printing 3000 sheets an hour,[57] and in 1868 a new Hoe Lightning "four-feeder" press.[58] Brown, the true entrepreneur, was always aware of the latest advances in technology. He had, for example, seen the Taylor press at the New York Crystal Palace industrial exhibition.[59] He realized, moreover, that in

order for his business to expand, for his newspaper to reach a larger public, he needed cheaper newsprint. Traditionally, this was made from rags, but Brown experimented with a "straw paper" process, and eventually, John Riordon, at his St. Catherine's mills, also on the Don, became the first paper maker to produce white paper from wood pulp.[60] By 1870 the firm of Riordon had become a major pulp and paper company and Canada was well on the way to being an important exporter of wood pulp.[61] But already, by the 1850s, with the use of the new presses, the daily newspaper had become an accepted fact. As J. M. S. Careless, George Brown's biographer says, Brown "was really ushering in the age of the big mechanized press in Canada."[62]

George Brown was not, of course, the only newspaper publisher, nor the only businessman to advance the printing trade. From the 1840s on in Toronto there were music publishers, book binders, stationery manufacturers and booksellers.[63] Not the least important of these was John Ellis who, in 1843, established his engraving business. He specialized in the printing of maps and plans, but apparently also produced lithographs and engravings. His son John was also an engraver,[64] as was Joseph Rolph who purchased the business from him in the late 1860s.[65] John Ellis, senior, and Joseph Rolph had both trained and worked in England, the former being a freeman of the Goldsmith's Company, the latter a graduate of the School of Design at Somerset House, London. Ellis came to Canada in 1836 and Rolph in 1857: they were undoubtedly among the first engravers to work in the city,[66] but others also began to establish themselves, either as independent engravers or as printers employing engravers. William Walter Copp, for

example, came to Canada in 1842. He apprenticed with the printer Hugh Scobie and in 1863 joined William Cameron Chewitt and Henry James Clark as a partner in W. C. Chewitt and Company. In 1869 he established the firm of Copp, Clark and Company with Henry Clark. Like Chewitt and Company it encompassed a wide variety of functions: both firms advertised themselves as "Booksellers; stationers; printers; lithographers; engravers; bookbinders; publishers; map printers and publishers."[67] But it was not until the 1870s that firms specializing solely in the production of illustrations began to make their appearance.[68] That this coincided with changes in the retail trade and, more specifically, with advertising techniques, should not, bearing in mind the expansion of business in Toronto, seem surprising. During the 1870s, the new department stores of men like Timothy Eaton and Robert Simpson completely changed older systems of retailing and became part of the overall growth of Toronto as an urban metropolis.

Advertising in Canadian newspapers was already an accepted fact. But prior to the 1870s it had been almost completely devoid of illustrations. With the exception of occasional simple woodcuts, it relied on the written word for its message.[69] It was, as Rutherford has noted, "cluttered with type." The name of the product, its claims to merit (especially in the case of patent medicines), and facts about its popularity and wide distribution were its prominent features. Little was done to make the advertisements attractive or appealing to a possible customer. Advertisements stayed the same for weeks on end, and old traditions of modesty and "good taste," which deplored the practice of "puffery" or over-praising, resulted in boredom or indifference on

the part of the public. Thomas Thompson, for example, in advertising his clothing store in 1850, said: "As the subscriber is much opposed to the system of puffery, now so common, [I] would merely request the public to call and examine for themselves."[70] It was hardly a piece of eye-catching promotion for his business. H. E. Stephenson and Carlton McNaught consider that advertising in this era was unimaginative because its production was not organized on a professional basis. The advertising agency, an institution which could give the retailers expert advice, already existed in England and the United States,[71] but would not become established in Canada until 1889, when Angus McKim opened his Newspaper Advertising Agency.[72] For Stephenson and McNaught, advertising agencies were the major influences behind the introduction of new ideas into advertising, but it seems equally valid to suggest that the emergence of illustration and engraving companies at the same time as new ventures in retailing, was the most obvious instigator of change. Illustrators and engravers were able to provide men like Timothy Eaton and Robert Simpson with the means to revolutionize Canadian advertising.

Timothy Eaton emigrated to Canada from Ireland in 1834. He operated a dry goods store in St. Mary's, near Stratford, for twelve years, and in 1869 moved to Toronto where he opened his department store. It was basically a general store and his first advertisement in The Globe was of the traditional kind: there were no illustrations, only plenty of clearly presented type. There was, however, a new element. In his advertisement Eaton stated "We propose to sell our goods for cash only - In selling goods we have only one price."[73] It was a principle started in America by A. T. Stewart who, in New York in

the 1830s, became "the greatest merchant of his time".[74] Stewart based his business policy on honesty and "one price," recognizing that earlier retailing habits of bargaining and haggling over prices did nothing to increase business.[75] Moreover, American department store advertising changed to a more specific and direct style.[76] Both of these policies were adopted by Timothy Eaton. The lack of advertising agencies did not deter him. According to D. C. Masters "he issued 40,000 handbills a month and gave exact instructions, to the distributor, as to where they should go."[77] He replaced his advertisements regularly, often taking up a whole page, and made the whole presentation more informal and familiar.[78] The list of goods "on sale" were itemized, priced, and eventually, illustrated. Other store owners copied him until the new style of advertising became generally accepted. And it was the early style of illustration for newspaper advertisements which was the fore-runner of the mail order catalogue, a means of advertising which relied almost completely for its success on the clearness and exactness of its illustrations.

In October 1872, then, when Frederick Brigden and his family arrived in Canada, all the necessary requirements were in existence for a successful engraving business. Toronto was growing rapidly, it had a large reading public for a popular press, there were all the latest technical machines for the printing trade, and it was on the brink of a new era in the retail trade. And yet Beale Brothers was not part of this activity. It had no large contracts and seemed to be declining rather than expanding.[79] Whether it was because Charles and Henry Beale lacked the entrepreneurial spirit is hard to tell. But for Brigden, the

slowness of work was extremely frustrating. To come from the prestige of working for The Illustrated London News, however insecure his employment, to a situation where slack periods were more frequent than not, must have been, at the least, disheartening. It took him until the spring of 1873 to feel at home, and then it seems to have been his creative responses which first allowed him to accept his new life. In his diary for April he said,

> Going home under the stars, evening sun just set, line of yellow, felt the throb and stir of the life of the New World for the first time. All had been as dead before, had not realized I was on another continent with another future before me, the far off stir of the vast continent, an onward life here advancing ever.[80]

He noted the colours of butterflies and birds, the view from Henry Beale's window (which reminded him of Worthing), the lack of "middle class people," and the clothes of the "lower orders." He commented on Henry Beale's wedding which took place in a "private house" and reported that he had made an engraving of it. And in a letter to his old teacher, William Sleight, of the Brighton School for the Deaf, he said, "business, dear Friend, at present [is] not well situated."[81]

In June of the same year, Brigden began to comment in his diary on what was needed to improve the business. He wrote, "Something must be done to fill up the slack season but hitherto nothing very profitable has been suggested." He went on to propose:

1. A monthly paper illustrated, religious and philanthropic.

2. Portraits drawn and engraved and laid up in stock - the principal clergy of Canada, church, Presbyterian, Wesleyan, such as [is] usual in English magazines. Christian Times, Church Bells, Wesleyan Magazine, American Tract.

> Draw from photos, quick and cheap.
>
> A ruling machine of £50 would give a great superiority in quality of work.[82]

When exactly he offered to put his savings into the business is unclear.[83] He became manager of Beales' operation and then, in 1876, the name of the firm was changed to the Toronto Engraving Company; in 1877 Brigden was listed in the Toronto Directory as joint partner with Henry Beale.[84]

There are a number of theories put forward to explain the successful nineteenth-century man of business. Traditional theories that emphasize the theme of self-help, early struggles, religious beliefs, craft apprenticeship and self-education,[85] have been challenged by more recent scholarship.[86] Jonathan Boswell has pointed out that sources are frequently biased and that biographies of early founders have been romanticized. In Boswell's view, the entrepreneur himself was too often presented as either a "rags to riches hero" or a "ruthless go-getter."[87] In spite of this, however, there seems to be some agreement that it was not purely the maximization of profit which motivated the nineteenth-century entrepreneurs.[88] Such factors as improving one's living standards and those of one's family are obvious, but others, such as frustration with inefficiency, of recognizing customer needs which were unfulfilled, and of knowing that one could improve the situation are also part of what Boswell calls the "psychology of founders."[89] According to Ronald Edwards and Harry Townsend, there is an urge among such men to create something of their own. They have an ability or flair to recognize what is needed, to seize opportunity when it is offered and to act on their own

judgements.[90] Also, Boswell, in his study of small firms, has noted how in the early nineteenth-century in England, most businesses "grew from founders' activities as artisans, jobbers, or middlemen." He then points out that "[t]here were no established organizations to start from or copy; whole processes - assembling and organizing men, material and capital had to be learned from scratch."[91] This is a factor which would seem to apply to the engraving companies of late nineteenth-century Toronto equally well. They were starting from scratch, providing a new type of service, and needed to make their potential clients aware of their existence.

Paul Rutherford notes the importance of the entrepreneurs to the development of Toronto, even if their social consciences were often lacking.[92] They were men who "seized the main chance" in recognizing the opportunities and options available to them and who, like George Brown and Timothy Eaton, were able to gauge the needs of the time. It seems that, in a similar manner, Frederick Brigden was able to recognize what was needed by the businessmen of Toronto in the way of illustrative material and was capable of building up a business through his own creative talents. Although other engraving companies came into existence at roughly the same time and later,[93] the Toronto Engraving Company succeeded in attracting the most important clients of the period. George Brown, John Ross Robertson and William Weld wanted engravings for their newspapers and Timothy Eaton and Walter Massey came in the 1880s for illustrations for their mail order catalogues.[94] In fact, by 1878 John Ross Robertson was running a series of illustrated biographies of local public figures in The Telegram, just as Brigden had

imagined when noting down his ideas for improvements five years earlier.[95]

It was, of course, not only Brigden's business acumen which allowed him to establish the Toronto Engraving Company as an important organization within the emerging Canadian graphic arts industry. It was also because of the English tradition of fine, white-line engraving which he brought with him. Inherited from Thomas Bewick via William Linton, it was the type of engraving which had revolutionized the popular, commercial press in England and which he recognized could do the same in Canada. Brigden understood what was needed for the new advertising and the new popular press and was, through his own artistic skills, able to provide it. Art and business were, therefore, the first essential components in the early commercial production of illustrative material.

# CHAPTER IV: BUSINESS AND LABOUR IN TORONTO, 1870-1914

During the years from the late 1870s to the beginning of the First World War, the city of Toronto, along with other major Canadian cities, underwent its formative period of industrial and commercial growth. Changes were seen, not only in the establishment of new businesses and new industries, but also in the development of new architecture and new forms of "social mix". They were also present in the industrializing process itself: an artisan-craftsman could become either the owner of his workplace and assume the role of a "businessman," or, more frequently, become one of the far larger group of wage-earning "workers." For the former this sometimes meant, at least in the founding years of a business, that he would fulfill the dual capacity of owner and craftsman. He was an entrepreneur in the sense of having the insight to recognize the possibilities open to him and the ability to organize his business accordingly, and yet, at the same time, he found it necessary to maintain his craft skills: essentially in order to supply the product on which his business depended, but also to train others to take over from him as the business expanded. For the latter, the "worker," on the other hand, it meant the gradual loss of the original skills and purposes of his craft. These became divided into specialized areas, some completely mechanized and others with a lessened need for craft knowledge. The ancient craft of printing, for example, became divided into presswork and typesetting, with the pressmen working in a mechanized environment much earlier than the typesetter.[1]

Thus, a labour force skilled in the use of new techniques and new machines became, along with business enterprise and artistic creativity,

an essential component of the developing Canadian graphic arts industry. This ultimately led to a division of labour where artists were separated from engravers, as well as workers from management. Moreover, where commercial artists would find themselves in an ambiguous position in relation to the growing Canadian consciousness of national artistic expression, engravers found themselves to be part of the whole industrializing and unionizing process of nineteenth-century Canada. Frederick Brigden and the Toronto Engraving Company were an integral part of this period of transition.

The changes taking place in Toronto in the last decades of the nineteenth-century are described by Peter Goheen as being the transformation between old and new, between past and present: "it is clear that Toronto in 1860 and 1870 belonged to the past."[2] Not only was it a compact "walking city" of roughly four square miles, it was also a city where the various elements of social organization were intermixed. Roughly 50,000 people lived cheek by jowl with commercial and industrial establishments. The Parliament buildings, the Anglican Cathedral and Upper Canada College were located in the same general area, close to the water front with the factories and warehouses, while banks, lawyers' offices and artisans' workshops were all "a jumble of confusion."[3] One has only to look at the architecture evidence to understand the social mix prevailing. Houses of the wealthy, built in fashionable Victorian revival styles, were juxtaposed with cottages or small terraced shops; and houses of an earlier Georgian simplicity were similarly flanked by imposing banks or churches.[4] Within this mix, as

Goheen has noted, artisans' workshops "occupied many commercial lofts."[5] And it was in one of these workshops, over the stationery firm of Barber and Ellis, on the corner of Jordan and King Streets, that Henry Beale and Frederick Brigden established their Toronto Engraving Company in 1878.

Prior to 1878, the partners had not had a settled workplace, and although Henry Beale was listed in the Toronto Directory of 1870 and the Toronto Engraving Company was listed by 1876,[6] their financial position seems to have been precarious to say the least. It was such that, at the beginning of 1873, Frederick Brigden was lending Charles Beale money "to save him from a difficulty." Charles Beale, in spite of this, was forced to sell land he had purchased, Henry Beale became bitter and unfriendly, and Frederick Brigden felt that "the hopes with which I came out have been disappointed."[7] Brigden and his family had to leave the small house they had rented on Beech Street and move in with Henry Beale, a factor which must have made life even more difficult for all of them. Work was so slack in 1873 that Brigden's total savings for the year amounted to only £30, which, as he ruefully remarked, was only "about £6 or £7 more than the usual savings in England."[8] The position was no better in 1874. Henry Beale wanted to renege on his financial arrangements with Brigden due to lack of work. In his diary, Brigden said, "Henry objects to be responsible for paying me. He has withdrawn his name from the firm." He then attempted to assess the situation: "Ought he to sustain any loss on my account, if so, how much. Do I render adequate service to both to make it imperative on them to keep me on a full pay. Shall I make any proposal beforehand."[9] He worked out a

financial proposal to cover the "slack season" -- a month's holiday in June, without pay, a month's work at $8 per week and three months at $10 per week. Presumably Henry Beale agreed to the proposal, although there was "some bitter talk, harsh on my side about the situation. A bitter temper is now prevailing ..."[10]

It is obvious from his diaries, however, and in spite of his worries over his work, his family and his religion, that Frederick Brigden's decisions concerning the deployment of his money were always well thought out. It is necessary, he wrote in 1873, "to obtain sufficient to educate and start my children. To lay by enough for our later years. I think I must invest in land, build houses. Propose to leave my £150 in England ... £300 in 10 years or building societies here, or guaranteed stock of railway [shares] in Great Britain."[11] Without doubt, Frederick Brigden appears to have been the most astute of the three where finances were concerned. Unfortunately, the diaries do not explain how he was able to invest in the business, but it is obvious from other sources that this is what he did. In 1876 and 1877 the three men were listed in the Toronto Directory as engravers of the Toronto Engraving Company, with Charles Beale as manager. In 1878, with the move to 17 Jordan Street, Charles was no longer listed, but Henry Beale and Frederick Brigden were recorded as joint proprietors.[12] There were no more reports in the diaries of "bitter talk" between the partners. Instead, they seem to have returned to their former friendship and to have settled down to a period devoted to the establishment of their business. They remained at the Jordan Street workshop for the next ten years, until, in 1888, Henry Beale retired and returned to England.

Besides the more secure financial situation which seemed to prevail, the firm's increasing stability was no doubt helped by its location in the commercial centre of the city. Even when industry shifted westward away from the "jumble of confusion," and the residential areas were gradually displaced north,[13] commercial enterprises remained and expanded, increasing in the process the amount of work available. Along King Street, from John Street to Yonge, in the vicinity of Wellington, Bay, Jordan and Melinda, were situated many of the businesses necessary for the expansion of the engraving trade. Newspapers such as The Globe and The Telegram had their premises in the area, as well as printers, publishers, stationers and other engraving companies.[14] Competition must have been keen, but because many of the existing firms fulfilled a variety of trades, it is possible that Brigden and Beales' specialization worked to their advantage.

Where, for example, the Toronto Engraving Company advertised itself as providing "all branches of Wood Engraving" only,[15] Copp, Clark and Co., as already noted, were advertising as "Booksellers; stationers; printers; lithographers; engravers; bookbinders; publishers; map printers and publishers." The Bengough brothers, George, John and Thomas, were, between them, printers, lithographers, cartoonists and journalists although they advertised themselves as printers and publishers. Barber and Ellis, the firm that rented its upper floor to Brigden and Beale, was listed in the Toronto Directory as "wholesale and Manufacturing stationers; paper dealers; engravers; lithographers; printers; bookbinders,"[16] the firm of Rolph, Smith and Co., created when Joseph Rolph purchased the business of the engraver John Ellis in

1867 and went into partnership with David Smith in 1873, advertised as "Engravers; lithographers; electrotypers; die sinkers; embossers; manufacturing stationers," and the Toronto Lithographing Company, founded in 1878, advertised as "lithographers, engravers, electrotypers."[17] For some time, firms providing illustrative material continued to offer a wide variety of media plus the paper, printing and bookbinding services needed to produce the finished product. Specialization gradually became the norm, however; it was only many years later, when reproductive technology advanced and the major graphic firms had established themselves, that all stages of the process were once again housed under one roof.

In the 1880s John and Thomas Bengough left Bengough Brothers to found Grip Printing and Publishing Company and Roger Cunningham opened the first photo-engraving business in the city.[18] The former became an engraving house only, in 1893, and would become famous as the work place of many of Canada's most important artists, while the latter, bought out by Frederick Brigden in 1889, was a significant example of the move towards the mechancial methods of reproduction which were beginning to take over the engraving trade. The changes in the trade, as well as the obvious increase in the use of illustrative material, can be observed in the pages of the Toronto Directory. In 1884, there were sixteen engraving firms listed; in 1889, when Frederick Brigden ran a series of advertisements saying "All descriptions of wood engraving. First Class Work. Moderate Prices," there were thirty-one firms listed, some of whom offered photo-engraving as well. Brigden himself, in the classified section of the Directory, added photo-engraving and offered

"Plates by every process for illustrative purposes."[19] By 1890, the firm was listed as "wood and photo-engravers," and by 1893 the Directory was carrying a separate section for photo-engraving firms. Many firms were listed more than once under different headings, but it is interesting to note the general specialization which occurred: engravers became separated under the headings "Brass, General, Half-tone, Metal, Photo, Wood." In 1896, an organization called the Canadian Photo-engraving Bureau described itself as providing "half-tone cuts from photos (on copper), zinc-etching for general printing, wood-engraving, designing and electrotyping," and in 1897, a Toronto Engraving School advertised its "List of Studies" as including all types of lettering, "Plain, Ornate and Grotesque Styles," for the engraving of silverware, watch caps, rings and medals. Obviously, there was still a wide diversity of skills required in the engraving industry. But the school only appears to have lasted for three years and the Canadian Photo-engraving Bureau, by 1899, had become the firm of Moore and Alexander, with large full page advertisements for all the new techniques of photo and half-tone engraving as well as "commercial photographing."[20]

During this period, from the late 1870s to the end of the century, Frederick Brigden's sole concern was to improve the business, to put it on a firm financial footing and to provide quality work. Although seemingly possessing the entrepreneurial skills necessary to organize the business, he was also aware of the fact that the whole enterprise depended at first on his and Henry Beale's engraving talents. As early as 1876 Brigden was providing illustrations for George Brown and <u>The</u>

Weekly Globe. His fine, white-line engravings of leading citizens and politicans, landscapes and historical monuments appeared regularly. In the 1880s his engravings were to be found in The Toronto Evening Telegram and The Farmer's Advocate as well as in books such as C. Blackett Robinson's History of Toronto and County of York, published in 1885 and Toronto: Past and Present, published in 1884.[21] And yet, although Brigden was aware of the need to incorporate technical advances into the business as soon as possible and recognized the growing need for good illustrative material, he seemed to have been strangely removed, at least as far as one can gather from his writings, from what was going on around him. He does not seem to have understood the wider economic situation which was affecting Toronto trade and commerce, nor did he seem aware of the fate of many of his fellow engravers. Lack of knowledge of the Canadian economic situation would, no doubt, be confusing to a struggling immigrant engraver, but an awareness of the depression existing in certain Toronto industries might perhaps have helped Brigden and Beale in understanding their initial difficulties, as an acceptance of the changes taking place among engravers themselves might have saved him much distress later.

The prosperity which had accompanied the development of industry and the expansion of the retail trade declined, in 1874, in response to a world wide depression. Opinions differ as to the severity of the depression in Canada,[22] but it is quite clear from the records of business cycles that a poor economic climate prevailed until 1879.[23] Its effects were, however, unevenly distributed within Canadian industry. This depended, it seems, on the stage of industrial

development reached by individual firms. As Gregory Kealey has noted in his study of Toronto's industrial revolution, many of the industries affected were not yet sufficiently advanced in their mechanization or sufficiently aware on their managerial side, to cope with the effects of over-production, competition and a depression.[24] Most of Toronto's new industries, footwear, furniture, and machine-making, for example, had grown from small artisanal workshops. Their founders, like the furniture makers, Robert Hay and John Jacques, had emigrated in the early nineteenth-century, had become successful and had expanded their businesses. By the early 1850s, Jacques and Hay were employing about a hundred men and were using a steam engine to power their new machinery. They invested heavily in new technology and in the process created a modern industrial organization dependent on the division of labour. In the case of the furniture makers this separated management and designers, heavy machine work and hand cabinet making, carpenters and upholsterers.[25] It was a development which, however, demonstrated the continuing importance of hand craftsmanship. Most of the emerging factories were a mixture of hand and machine techniques. Indeed, only a hundred and thirteen out of five hundred and sixty factories in 1871 were using steam power and many crafts, especially those producing luxury goods, were still unmechanized.[26]

This situation suggests the unevenness of growth in the industrializing process, and also demonstrates the problems inherent in the new system as craftsmen and artisans were forced to adapt to the new machines and techniques. For some industries the impact of the depression was considerable. The boot and shoe trade, for example,

never really recovered, while many of Toronto's basic metal companies failed.[27] Others, however, including furniture and distilling companies, recovered in the 1880s, and some, including publishing and printing, showed continued growth throughout the whole period.[28] Sally Zerker, in her work on the Toronto typographers, has noted that the printing industry did not suffer from the depression at all until 1875, and the effects were not long lasting.[29] In spite of the uneven impact of the depression on Canadian industry, however, the fact that Brigden and Beale started their business at the beginning of the economic downswing could not have been to their advantage. On the other hand, given that industrial production and business were undergoing a period of organization and consolidation, with Toronto gradually assuming its role as a major metropolitan centre, they were in a position to benefit from the changes taking place. Together with the growth of the retail trade discussed earlier,[30] and the rise of such industrial companies as Massey-Harris in farm machinery and Mason and Risch in piano manufacturing,[31] the market for advertising in the form of illustrative material would continue to grow.

Unlike George Brown's newspaper business, which had been well in the van in the introduction of mechanization, the Toronto Engraving Company, at least until the late 1880s, was still part of the old artisanal craft system. Although the records are not always reliable, the Toronto Assessment Rolls of 1879 record Brigden and Beale as having two employees for that year and no further employees were listed until 1890. Certainly, compared with the flourishing business of Barber and Ellis beneath them, they were hardly making their fortunes. When, in

1884, Barber and Ellis were listed as having total assets of $19,1400 and five employees earning from $400 to $200 yearly each, Frederick Brigden and Henry Beale were assessed at $600 and $400 respectively.[32] It was not until Henry Beale retired in 1888 and Brigden moved to new premises in 1889 that the business can be said to have become part of Toronto's industrial and commercial growth.

In 1889, the new workplace of the Toronto Engraving Company was located on the corner of Bay and King Streets, where it occupied the upper floors over Trebles shirt factory.[33] On the north-east corner was the neo-classic revival house designed by the architect Joseph Sheard for the wealthy pharmacist John Cawthra,[34] and further on the west side of King Street was an office building with shops which, according to Eric Arthur, "has attracted the attention of visiting architects from abroad for many years."[35] If the photographs in Edward Nicholsons's book on the Brigden firm are correct,[36] then the exterior of the building in which Frederick Brigden began to develop his business into a modern graphic arts house was modest indeed, and perhaps an indication that architectural change in Toronto had still a long way to go.[37] The interior was, however, another matter. It was functional and highly ordered, reflecting in its organization Brigden's managerial initiative, his inherited craft traditions and his gradual introduction of new techniques.

According to the authors of Business and Society: Traditions and Change, entrepreneurs "see the chances open to them and the limitations placed upon their actions, as being determined by the character of the societies in which they operate." They are aware of the influence of

government, of "inherited culture, the state of technology."[38] This is an interpretation which might not apply to those individuals who, through immigration, find themselves in a new environment, with limited understanding of its culture, its politics or its economics. But presumably, by the time Frederick Brigden started on his own, he had acquired an understanding of the Canadian way of life. In 1884, his family now including two Canadian born daughters, he bought a house at 103 Rose Avenue and increased his participation in his religious and literary interests. His religious life centred on All Saints Anglican Church and his work with the deaf and dumb,[39] the latter extending beyond any nominal philanthropy. Sometime in the 1870s, at first on his own and later with J. D. Naismith, he organized and ran the Toronto Mission for the Deaf, the first of its kind in Canada. He preached regularly, started Sunday Schools, held social outings and gave Bible classes during the week in his home.[40] In 1888 he also started the Saturday Club which met every other Saturday at Rose Avenue. Originally begun as a literary club for his sons and other young men in the engraving business, it became an established arts and letters club which continued to meet after Frederick Brigden's death in 1917, and included among its members a number of men who subsequently became well known in Canadian artistic circles.[41]

Possibly the fact that Frederick Brigden's home life was now settled and full allowed him the freedom to concentrate on the expansion of his business. Certainly, his energy and determination would place him among the type of businessmen discussed by Edwards and Townsend in their study of business leadership. They emphasize that "people in

business are not just puppets responding to technology and economic forces." They are, instead, people with the "strength and willingness to work hard," an understanding of the market place, and the enthusiasm to inspire others.[42] It is a view supported by Boswell in his investigation of the various elements which go towards making up a successful firm. He says that the market and new technology are important factors but the psychology and personality of the owner-founder are of equal importance in the achievement of success.[43] He also notes that the success is due, in no small part, to the necessity of the owner-manager of a small, emerging firm being obliged, "indeed, compelled, to view things as a whole, in a synoptic way."[44] This would seem, indeed, to have been Brigden's way of establishing his business. He followed the pattern described by Edwards and Townsend: that is that most businesses start small with "something similar to what is already being done, and their prospects depend on an expanding demand for their product and on their ability to take some of the custom away from existing firms."[45] He recognized the increasing demand for illustrative material and was well aware of the need to be ahead of his competitors. Moreover, he had the synoptic capability described by Boswell, of combining his artistic skills and his organizational abilities to form the basis of his firm's eventual success.

In 1884, before moving to the new premises, he had finally acquired the ruling machine for which he had mentioned the necessity in his diary of 1873,[46] and in 1886 had taken his son George, aged seventeen, into the business to learn the craft of engraving and to work in the office. In 1888, his younger son, Fred Brigden, was also taken into the firm.[47]

But where George's interests would develop on the managerial side, Fred (as he was called to differentiate him from his father) had shown talent in drawing from an early age and had already attended the Art School on King Street which, in 1912, would become the Ontario College of Art.[48] In 1888, however, he joined his father in the production of drawings and engravings required by The Farmer's Advocate, The Telegram, and, eventually, the Eaton mail order catalogue.

According to a floor plan of the King Street premises in 1891, the studio-workshop was ordered on the lines of the studio where Brigden had served his apprenticeship, that of William Linton. There was a long bench under the windows on the King Street side of the building for engravers and apprentices, with a separate area for Frederick Brigden and his engraving tools, and an office for George. On the Bay Street side was another engraving area and a room for Fred. The ruling machine was near the centre of the space, handy to all, while the round table, described so clearly by Walter Crane in his memoirs,[49] was still in situ with its globes of water and centre light. There was a table, plane and circular saw for the preparation of the boxwood engraving blocks, an inking slab and a press. There was also a shipping area with a sales counter and shelves. But besides all these traditional elements, there was a photography section consisting of a camera room, a dark room, and a zinc etching department with a dark room of its own.[50] The workplace was, on a small scale, a perfect example of the modernizing process described by Goheen and Kealey. By gradual stages throughout the 1880s and 1890s, Brigden moved the creation of his product from the past to the present, not to a completely mechanized situation, but to the

mixture of technology and hand craftsmanship which was typical of Toronto's industry at that period of its development.

In 1889, the Toronto Engraving Company bought out the short lived photo-engraving firm of Ralph Cunningham (it seems only to have existed for one year), and in 1890 Brigden sent his son, George, to Dayton, Ohio, to study the latest techniques of "negative making and the etching of both line and half-tone plates."[51] In 1893, the firm was sufficiently advanced in its use of the new process that its advertisement in the Toronto Illustrated announced that "The Company executes every description of Designing and Engraving for Illustrative and Trade Purposes." It went on to say that a staff of "from fifteen to seventeen artists and engravers" were capable of working in photo-engraving, half-tone and clean line etching, and in wood-engraving, the latter skill having "long been established." They could work in the fields of portraiture, landscape, agricultural or machine reproductive engraving; the plant was equipped "with all the latest tools and appliances;" and its contracts included "many of the leading journals and papers throughout the Dominion." Frederick and George Brigden were described as "experts in their special lines," and Fred Brigden as "a fine designer ... one of our most promising and versatile young artists."[52] Altogether, it was a large, elaborately decorated advertisement, intended, no doubt, to show off the skills of its designer and engraver, Fred Brigden.

What it also demonstrated, however, was Frederick Brigden's adoption of a new style of business. He utilized a new form of advertising and introduced electricity and photo-engraving into a

previously all hand-craft trade. Wood-engraving, a trade which had always emphasized personal skills and the production of what Linton would have considered an art (created, in Linton's opinion, by artists), would become absorbed into a new mechanized industry. Brigden did not seem to be concerned with any loss of artistic integrity, however. No doubt because of his religious background, his training and his earlier acceptance of his "place" in the English social scale he had always thought of himself and other engravers as "art workmen." While he still stressed the need for quality and accuracy, it is obvious that he had no qualms with the acceptance of new inventions. In order to compete with other firms it was necessary to take advantage of new techniques as soon as they appeared.

During the 1880s, a number of new, or improved, inventions, proceeded to transform the printing and engraving trades. Much hand labour was removed from type-setting by the introduction of linotype and monotype machines,[53] while the efficiency of the rotary press was improved by the use of curved stereotype plates allowing it to print on both sides of the paper at once.[54] Parallel with these changes, the invention of photo-engraving introduced the first major change in the reproduction of illustrative material since Bewick's use of white-line engraving in the eighteenth-century.

Photo-engraving, as described in a book published by the Brigden firm in 1929, was "an interpretative art founded upon photo-mechanical processes enhanced by skill and artistry." In glowing terms it was promoted as an art capable of translating "tone values into relief printing surfaces," from which "exact reproductions of the original can

be printed innumerable times."[55] At the time of its introduction, however, "process work," as it was called, was viewed somewhat more prosaically.[56] John Southward, in his Progress in Printing and the Graphic Arts during the Victorian Era, written in 1897, said that "[t]he introduction of the half-tone block has almost revolutionized modern methods of printing,"[57] and William Gamble, founder and editor of the English trade journal Process Work and the Printer, later to become famous as the Penrose Annual, wrote in the same year, "We have been often told that high-class wood-engraving is not dead yet, but we may well ask, if it is not dead, where is it? Certainly there is little to be seen in the illustrated papers and monthly Magazines."[58] The emphasis was on the adoption of new inventions, not on the production of work with artistic integrity.

The change, of course, was not as quick as enthusiasts such as Southward and Gamble might lead one to believe. The need for fine wood-engraving did not immediately disappear. Indeed, there was a period when both wood and photo engraving were used by newspapers and periodicals. But, eventually, the new process came into general use and the old was discarded except for special purpose. William M. Ivens, in his book, How Prints Look, has written "On the Social Importance of the Graphic Techniques." He has noted, rather cynically, and metaphorically, that,

> Having thus lost their general economic justification and stabilization, most of the old techniques became languages used for their own sweet sakes rather than for their power and utility. They left the work and sweat of life and took their places at the vicar's tea table, where their accents and their manners were of more account than what they thought or said.[59]

Art, in other words, became separated from traditional craft through the introduction of new technology. The gulf between them was even wider than John Ruskin and William Morris had recognized and deplored earlier. And, although wood-engraving would re-emerge as an art form in the 1930s, and its proponents would later be restored to "artist" status, the position of those artists or engravers who continued to work in an industrial, commercial, situation, was not obviously located within the world of "art" for a considerable period of time.

Photo-engraving was the natural outcome of the perfecting of photography as a reproductive medium. Photography itself had steadily progressed since its invention in France in 1826 by Joseph Niepce. Like the mechanization of printing, the various stages in the development of photography and photo-engraving were international. Louis-Jacques Daguerre of France discovered the first means of preserving images on light sensitive materials; William Fox Talbot, of England, invented the calotype which used the negative-positive principle for the first time; Frederick Archer of England and James Cutting of the United States were both responsible for the introduction of "wet plate" photography which cut down the length of exposure needed; an English physician, Richard Maddox, invented the dry plate process, and in 1888, the American manufacturer, George Eastman, developed a camera which could use already prepared film instead of plates.[60] In 1852, the Englishman Talbot, while experimenting with his calotypes, had found that he could put a tone image onto a printing plate. This was subsequently improved on by Firmin Gillot of France and Carl Angerer of Vienna. But the invention of the half-tone process itself is generally credited to Frederick Ives

of Philadelphia, whose inventions of 1878 and 1886 perfected the original idea.[61] Max Levy, also of Philadelphia, started manufacturing half-tone screens for sale in 1891, but, as James Moran says in his history of William Gamble and the Penrose Annual, "there had to be a substantial demand for the new blocks and their manufacture had to be forthcoming on a commercial scale."[62] Thus, for many years, there was a mixture of traditional wood-engraving, engraving of photographs printed on wood blocks, and the new photo-engraving which was printed on copper or zinc plates.

According to Moran, the term "process work" was used as early as 1839 to describe a print "from a block other than a wood-engraving." It was, moreover, not a print "from a printing surface produced direct from the original," but was one made "from a copper duplicate made from a wood-engraving by electrolysis." By 1888, however, the term applied to "blocks made by mechanical means," although, as Moran points out, the "mechanical means" still required a series of "skilled operations."[63] The process itself allowed reproduction of drawings, photographs and wash paintings to be made mechanically and accurately without the intervening interpretation of the wood-engraver. To explain very roughly, the process was as follows: the negative of an object photographed for reproduction was placed over a light sensitized metal plate which, in turn, was exposed to light. This caused the solution on the plate to wear away the transparent areas of the negative. The dark areas of the negative were thus protected on the plate while the light ones were etched away in an acid bath. The result was a relief engraving on a metal plate, ready to be inked and printed as before.

Line engravings allowed reproduction of black and white drawings, wood or other engravings and photographs, while half-tone allowed reproduction of coloured paintings, wash drawings and photographs which appeared in their various tones from light to dark.[64]

For line engravings, zinc plates were used; the plate, after preparation, being mounted on a wooden block to the same level as the type to accompany it. For half-tones, the process was somewhat more complicated, involving the use of a screen composed of two pieces of glass with parallel lines engraved on them cemented together at right angles to form a grid. The screen was placed in the camera in front of the film so that the photographed subject would be registered in dots of varying intensity depending on their light or dark tonal values. The process of transferring the image to, in this case, the copper plate, was then the same as for line engraving. The screens varied in the number of lines used, thus allowing for finer or coarser reproduction.[65] The printed end result, looked at under a magnifying glass, appears as a number of small dots in a range of tones from white through grey to black. But in the pictures printed in newspapers and magazines in this manner, with various technical improvements until the present day, only the black and white gradation of tone can be seen.

This explanation is, of course, only a simplified account of what was, in fact, a very complicated and time consuming process. It makes one wonder why, at the time, it was hailed with such enthusiasm. Southward, in 1897, saw the mechanical processes in all branches of the printing trade as making life "more pleasant" for the "working printer." He suggested that "moral as well as hygienic conditions" had been

completely changed as a result of machines. In the case of typesetting, according to Southward, the dirt and monotony of setting type by hand was replaced by a scene where the worker sat at a machine where he "merely watches his copy and taps his keys with a finger of either one or of both hands."[66] For the engravers, however, it was not a matter of simply tapping keys or handing over to a machine. The new technique involved negative making and stripping, plate preparation, developing and washing, numerous stages before the etching itself, which then took place in a bath of nitric acid which had to be shaken by hand.[67] In Southward's opinion, mechanization was able to decrease costs because the printing trade was able to cut down on its labour force. This supposition seems questionable in light of the fact that the new skilled operators of linotype and monotype machines received higher wages, and that instead of cutting down on its workforce, the number of employees engaged in the printing trade actually rose during the second half of the nineteenth-century.[68] Specifically, in the engraving industry, the reproduction of illustrations by mechanical means meant an increase in the work force, not the opposite. More and differently trained workers were needed and, in order to accommodate the new machines and the new operators, larger and more suitable workplaces became essential.

Frederick Brigden, obviously well aware of the long term advantages of the new processes, however time and labour consuming they might be, finally, in 1898, purchased his own building at 92 - 94 Bay Street, where the firm stayed until 1912.[69] It was conveniently situated opposite The Telegram, was well supplied with new machinery and equipment and, unlike the old workshop on the corner of King and Bay

Streets, had a separate department for each function of the business. There was a smart and practical "front office," an art department, an engraving department and a printing department, although the latter, until the purchase of the Graphic Press in 1908, contained only one Platen press.[70] As the firm expanded it increasingly became a family concern. From the turn of the century George Brigden had acted as manager and, even earlier, according to his biographer, Fred Brigden had been working as art superintendent, although he is not listed in this capacity in the Toronto Directory until 1901.[71] In 1904, Frederick Brigden's nephew, Arnold, emigrated from England to join the firm as an apprentice engraver and "finisher," and in 1905 the firm was incorporated. Frederick Brigden was, of course, President, George was Manager, Fred was Art Superintendent and Brigden's younger brother, William, became a partner. The latter, a master printer, had emigrated that same year, obviously with the intention of improving the printing side of the business.

This period of growth and reorganization was not accomplished without worry on the part of Frederick Brigden, however. His investment in the business had been high and, in the same year, he had undertaken improvements to his home. In his diary of 1898 he said that he had "spent largely on the business and home," that he feared that he had "in a measure gone too far." But he rationalized that the expenditure for new equipment was necessary in order to advance his business. He also worried that his sons were not being adequately recompensed for their work. He wanted them to "participate in the returns in better proportion," but stressed that "bonus in payment must awate (sic) the

business returns ... to begin at the middle of next year as the heavy expenses of the past year has (sic) crippled me."[72] In spite of his anxieties, it is obvious that his business was prospering, as was, also, his home life. In his diaries he described the pleasure the remodelling of their home gave to Frances, the satisfaction he obtained from his sketching and geological trips into the country, his work with the deaf and dumb, the marriage of his daughter, Ellen, the success of his son, Fred, as an artist, and his holiday in England for three months in 1901. On his return from England he wrote, "this week [I] have done that rare thing, some wood engraving, it is years now since I had this work to do, am pleased to find no falling off in skill of hand or eye."[73] His family, his church and his business were the topics mentioned in his diaries, but, as before there was no mention of wider economic issues. The business was, apparently, unaffected by the rise and fall of business cycles, although it has to be noted that, in 1898, he was making a major change during a period of undoubted economic prosperity,[74] and would not need to introduce further changes until 1907. On the other hand, his employees, who had been steadily increasing in number, were about to cause him serious problems.

Much of the work undertaken by the Toronto Engraving Company was for newspapers and magazines: advertising, designs and illustrations fulfilled the promises of the 1893 advertisement in Toronto Illustrated. In that same year, however, the Company began providing illustrations for the Eaton mail order catalogue.[75] The fact is not mentioned in any of the literature on Timothy Eaton or the T. Eaton Company, but in all the information on the Brigden firm, this contract was described as a

major item in the firm's output. According to the Eaton sources, the catalogue, which started as a small book of thirty-two pages in 1884,[76] was, by 1901, being produced entirely in Eaton's own printing department, with its own art department and its own staff artists.[77] Eaton's may eventually have had sufficient facilities to provide all its own art work, and certainly, in 1901 it started its own printing department,[78] but prior to this it used the printing presses of the Methodist Book House and the illustrative services of the Toronto Engraving Company. And, according to a business report in The Globe and Mail, it was still using the latter in 1970.[79] Fred Brigden, in a letter to an Eaton family member written in the 1950s, described how, in the early 1890s, "our firm was called upon to do some of the first illustrations for the catalogue." He said that while wood-engraving was the medium first used, photo-engraving "was rapidly being developed" and the earliest fashion illustrations "were drawn in pen and ink and reproduced by line engraving." He went on to say that the early catalogues "were rapidly improved as the half-tone process began shortly after to be used." The effect of all this was an expansion in the workforce, explained by Fred Brigden as the result of the fact that "Both Mr. Eaton and Mr. Dean encouraged us to develop a specialized art department for mail order illustrations. More artists were brought from the States and a number of young Canadians of talent were trained."[80] Obviously, in order to produce the amount of work now required, the number of employees was being increased in all areas.

Because of the vagaries of their listings, it is impossible to tell from the Assessment Rolls how many employees were working for the

Brigden Company at any specific time. The workshop plan of 1891, for example, shows eleven people working besides Frederick Brigden and his sons, while the Rolls list only one employee in 1890 and none at all in 1891. But there were obviously increases, not least because of the technology. J. E. Middleton has mentioned a "staff of forty or more"[81] by 1893, when the work for Eaton's was first produced, but the Toronto Illustrated advertisement stated that "from fifteen to seventeen artists and engravers are regularly employed." In 1906 the Assessment Rolls listed twenty employees consisting of eight engravers and twelve artists, excluding family members, and judging from extant photographs there were anywhere from twenty to thirty people working for the firm. Whatever the number, however, there were enough to warrant a visit from the vice-president of the International Photo-engravers Union in April of 1904, because, as Brigden himself said, his firm had "more men in the business than any other house here ..."[82] In June of the same year, Frederick Brigden was faced with the fact of a strike and the acceptance of a union. From his diary of June 1904, it is clear that he did not understand the situation. He put it down to the fact that "the increasing size of a place inevitably leads to the loosening of personal ties and tends to the corporate ideas." But he also said that "unionism is in its trial for productiveness," and, in his opinion, its success or failure was dependent on its supporters.[83] The graphic arts industry was, in fact, about to come to terms with the problems associated with changing a craft oriented system into a mechanized one. This meant not only adapting to the introduction of new machinery and new technology, but also adjusting to an industrialized system which was based on the

division of labour, on labour organization and on confrontation.

Labour organization in the Canadian printing trades had grown steadily since the formation of the first Toronto Typographical Society in 1832. This first association only lasted until 1837, but in 1844 the Society reorganized as a union and continued to develop as such from then on.[84] Although it introduced a provident society in 1848, its major focus was, from the beginning, on industrial regulation. At first this was centred on the need to retain the established wage in the face of attempts to lower it, and on resistance to the attempts of certain employers to substitute boy apprentices for skilled journeymen at lower rates of pay.[85] In 1853 and 1854 the union struck for higher wages, in 1866 it united with the National Typographical Union of the United States to become Local 91 of the International Typographical Union and in 1868 it was one of the first unions to begin agitation for a shortened work week or the nine hour day. The lack of response from employers to petitions and appeals led to the printers strike of 1872, an event which has been credited with pioneering the nine hour movement in North America, and which had a definite impact on the development of all future labour relations in Canada.[86]

Throughout this organization, the employer who opposed the Union most forcefully was George Brown of The Globe. He attempted to organize employers in opposition to the Union, to employ apprentices instead of skilled workers, and to employ journeymen at the standard rate of $7 per week only on the condition that they left the Union.[87] His opposition to labour association was ostensibly based on his over-riding belief in the right of an entrepreneur to act on the laisser-faire laws of supply

and demand. In the nineteenth-century theory, such factors as wages and hours of work were dependent on the state of the market, not on the needs of workers:" [t]here is no law," said George Brown, "which makes 8 or 9 hours labour right and 10 hours wrong."[88] But, as Sally Zerker has pointed out, his views were inconsistent to say the least. While denying labour the right to organize, he was the prime mover in the establishment of the employers' Master Printers Association,[89] and went on record as suggesting that if as much work could be done in eight hours as in ten, then there was nothing wrong with a shortened work day.[90] But when faced with the demands of his own workers in 1872, his anti-union attitude quite obviously determined his reaction. Following a mass meeting organized by the Toronto Trades Assembly to support the printers, Brown began legal action against the leaders of the Typographical Union which resulted in the arrest of twenty-four members of the strike committee.[91] Although initially seen as a failure, the strike had, in fact, a number of important consequences. The arrests were declared illegal, government action resulted in the introduction of the Canadian Trade Union Act, and the action of the Toronto Trades Assembly in the strike established the premise of a central organization and the subsequent formation of the Canadian Labour Union in 1873. This was succeeded by the Canadian Labour Congress in 1883, the Dominion Trades and Labour Congress from 1887 to 1891, and from 1892 the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada.[92] In its long term effects, therefore, the printers' strike was crucial in determining the course of labour-management relations in Canada. But problems concerning wages, union membership and hours of work continued throughout the 1880s and

1890s,[93] aggravated by the continual introduction of new technical inventions and the centralized policies of the International Typographical Union in the United States.

The first organizations of printers, in both the United States and Canada, had consisted of men who were capable of performing all processes of the trade. They were, as Zerker describes them, "multi-function printers ... not specialists."[94] With the introduction of new technology, however, divisions within the trade became inevitable. Rotary presses, photochemistry, the linotype and monotype machines all led to the need for new skills and new organizations. The first division was caused when the introduction of machine presses separated pressmen from typesetters. Unfortunately, while presses had become increasingly complicated from the 1830s on,[95] typesetting had remained static until the linotype became an accepted fact by the turn of the century.[96] In spite of this, however, the International Typographical Union maintained the superiority of the typesetters, acting as if they alone were printers.[97] It was part of a paradox which existed in regard to all the new technical processes affecting the printing trade by the 1880s. While claiming jurisdiction over such diverse occupations as pressmen, stereotypers and electrotypers, bookbinders and photo-engravers, the Union, through allowing these groups to form separate craft locals, unwittingly initiated their secession and their creation of autonomous international unions. From 1889 to 1911, the printing pressmen, the bookbinders, the stereotypers, the typographers and the photo-engravers gradually developed their own unions and in 1911 formed the Allied Printing Trades Association.[98]

In Canada, the Toronto pressmen obtained a separate charter for their local as early as 1883, but it was not until 1889 that the International Printing Pressmen's Union was formed,[99] becoming in 1896 the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union. The pressmen were followed by secession of the bookbinders in 1892 and the stereotypers and electrotypers in 1902, both groups forming autonomous international unions. In 1900, the photo-engravers began to secede from the ITU when seven locals of New York state formed their own union.[100] It received recognition as the International Photo-engravers Union in 1903 and in 1904 joined the American Federation of Labour.[101] In the same year it united with the other new unions and the ITU in an agreement for use of the allied union label and for support in the campaign for the eight hour day.[102] Finally, in 1911, the four new unions and the ITU formed the International Allied Printing Trades Association as a means of effecting mutual support and co-operation wherever possible.[103]

Within the context of the graphic arts industry in Toronto at the beginning of the twentieth century, information on the photo-engravers is sparse. There was only one local of the IPEU by 1902 compared with thirty-five ITU locals, twelve Pressmen, six Bookbinders and four Stereotypers and Electrotypers locals.[104] It is not clear whether wood-engravers were trained as photo-engravers or whether men were brought in from the United States to train apprentices. The latter seems the more likely in view of the fact that the two skills existed together for some time and that the presence of workers from the States is frequently mentioned in the Brigden letters and diaries. In the

particular case of the Toronto Engraving Company, and with a view to determining the causes of the photo-engravers strike of 1904, it is necessary to try to form an understanding of the photo-engraving work-force. As previously mentioned, George Brigden had trained as a photo-engraver and others were obviously employed in this aspect of the business, but how many is difficult to tell, especially as the photo-engraving process itself involved a division of labour. According to a description of the photo-engraving trade in the United States in 1915, workers in the trade consisted of foremen, artists, photographers, etchers, routers, finishers, proofers, strippers, blockers, apprentices and art apprentices. It is emphasized, however, that often "one man may perform several or all of the operations."[105] Certainly this would seem to have been the case at the Toronto Engraving Company. The Assessment Rolls of 1906[106] list only a prover besides engravers, artists and photographers, with only the addition of a router and six etchers in 1909. Subsequent inclusions of printers, press-feeders, typesetters, salesmen, superintendents and stenographers attest to the growth of the business, but whether the photo-engraving department itself employed a wide variety of specialists is unclear. In view of the fact that all the operations had to be performed, it has to be assumed that many of the workers were skilled in several facets of the trade.

It is, however, difficult to tell if the wages paid to Brigden employees were average or not for the time. In the Rolls of 1906, the prover is listed as earning $80 per annum; the eight engravers from $1000 for the highest to $250 for the lowest, with an average of $500 per annum; the twelve artists from $1000 to $100, again with $500 as

the average, while the five photographers ranged between $550 and $250. The averages are above those tabulated by Michael Piva for all manufacturing industries in Ontario in 1906.[107] In his calculations of real annual earnings -- vis a vis the cost of living -- in a selected group of ten major industries, those working in the printing and publishing trades earned wages second only to steel workers for the years 1904 to 1906. From 1907 until 1914, they are listed as the highest earners, with a real income average of 87.6 to the steel workers 81.1 and the textile workers 62.7. They did not lose their position even when, after 1907, there was a decline in their real earnings overall. Piva also points out that employment was constant for those in the printing trades during the depressions of 1907 to 1908 and 1913 to 1914.[108] In spite of their earnings in relation to other workers, however, the members of the printing trades were not well paid. As pointed out by Piva, no industrial workers in his study in fact received wages which were adequate in relation to the cost of living.[109] When compared with the printers, then, it seems that Brigden's employees earned less than the going rate. By 1902, typographers were earning $18 per week for night work and $16 for day,[110] while the average paid employee at the Toronto Engraving Company was earning approximately $10.25 per week. The difficulty in interpretation arises from the discrepancies in earnings. It can only be assumed that the high wage of $1000 (or $19.23 per week) was paid to the most trained photo-engraver and the lowest of $250 to a new apprentice. It is also impossible to tell if the Brigden wages were the same as those paid by other engraving houses, of if there was any

difference in wages between wood and photo-engravers. Both skills were still being practiced in 1920, but there is no differentiation in the Assessment Rolls.

Moreover, it is not possible to determine the number of hours worked by Brigden's employees. The round engraving table, with its globes for night work was still in use, thus giving the impression that hours of work extended beyond those of daylight. And the fact of working overtime to prepare material for catalogues and newspapers was frequently mentioned by Fred Brigden in his correspondence and by Brigden employees.[111] What this meant in terms of actual hours and rates of pay is, obviously, indefinite. Why, therefore, the Toronto Engraving Company was the major focus of the International Photo-engravers Union's strike in 1904 cannot be assessed with any accuracy. It can only be inferred, in view of the overall attitude of employers to employees at the time, that workers in the engraving trade were probably overworked and underpaid. According to Frederick Brigden himself, his firm bore the brunt of the strike because it was the largest. In his comments on the event, he noted that although the other engraving houses were affected, they were able to remain "free" because they were smaller.[112]

Prior to the photo-engravers strike, however, there were two other events which had an effect on the Brigdens' attitude towards strike breaking and unions in general. These were the printers' strike against Eaton's and the Toronto fire. In 1901, the T. Eaton Company had started to operate its own printing department. Although purporting to abide by union rules, in fact the new department was not a union shop. The

Toronto Typographical Union called a strike which, supported by the Pressmen and Bookbinders unions, included a highly successful boycott of the store. But because of the TTU's settlement of the strike without consultation with the other craft unions, considerable dissension was created among the various factions involved.[113] More importantly for its connection with the graphic arts industry, the strike was settled following recognition of Eaton's ability to produce its mail-order catalogue without the skills of union workers.[114] Whether it would have been able to do this if the photo-engravers had been already organized is difficult to say. Certainly, Fred Brigden's account of the Eaton strike is illuminating in the context of his father's reaction to the strike of 1904.

According to Fred Brigden, Eaton's had only "a small number of printers" working in the new print shop on "stationery and other items." The catalogue itself was being printed at the Methodist Bookroom and the illustrations and engravings were being prepared by the Toronto Engraving Company. When the Methodist Bookroom printers joined the Eaton strikers, Timothy Eaton employed one Lowry, "a tall handsome Irishman with a black moustache who was the successful manager of the Gents furnishing department," to organize the publication of the catalogue. Lowry bought presses and brought in "some efficient pressmen and typesetters from out of town sources without union affiliation." There were problems when the electrotypers joined the strike, but Lowry overcame this by first arranging with the Toronto Engraving Company to make two sets of illustrations in case of failure, and then installing a complete electrotyping plant purchased from a firm in Chicago. Men were

sent with the plant "to teach the process to half a dozen young men Lowry had taken from among his own department salesmen," and "to the surprise of everyone the catalogue came out well printed and on time."

Lowry was rewarded for his efforts by being given an executive position as manager of catalogue production, "with an office ... only three removed from Mr. Timothy Eaton." But he did not last long in Eaton's good books. After apparently investing in firms selling to Eaton's, a policy which was "against Mr. Eaton's principles," he was, according to Fred Brigden, given "his walking papers."[115] Fred Brigden, in his description of Eatons and the strike, showed no interest in determining the causes of the strike. He appeared to be totally unaware of how the substitution of salesmen for skilled workers might affect the printers, or of how such an act might influence the workers in his own family's business. Although he described Lowry and his activities with a certain amount of scepticism, he had only admiration for the actions of Timothy Eaton. His father's reactions to union activity were not, however, so easily explained by a belief in individualism and enterprise. Not only the effects of the Toronto fire, but his never failing religious beliefs made Frederick Brigden's decisions concerning his workers ambivalent on the one hand and practical on the other.

On April 19, 1904, the "great fire of Toronto" destroyed fourteen acres of commercial and industrial property. It spread north down Bay Street and west along Front, causing damage to the amount of $13,000,000.[116] The fact that his business was saved was, for Brigden, purely an act of God. In his diary of April 20, 1904, he said that the fire "stopped short of our business house on Bay Street .. the flames

creeping up against it and a veritable furnace rolling up." But, he added, "God is here. The hand of the Lord is stretched out ... the great blessing of life is to have God near." When, therefore, the Vice-President of the International Photo-engravers Union visited him, he was probably more open to the suggestions of others than he might otherwise have been. And also, in April, the Vice-President apparently decided "that the men were not sufficiently organized to want a strike."[117] In June, however, the situation was different.

On June 4, Frederick Brigden wrote in his diary "God delivered us from the ravages of fire but we have fallen into the hands of man. The men have struck, long expected and struggled against - the blow has fallen." There was no consideration of why his workers had chosen to strike, only a search for scapegoats. He blamed the organization of the strike on the men brought in from the States, a factor necessitated by the increasing size of the business. But it is obvious from his diary that his thoughts on the subject were mixed. On the one hand he seemed to be aware of external factors: "The promptest action, the most [shrewd] arrangement, the most resolute force of character cannot finally bar the advance of this wave of the spirit of the day," while on the other he advocated the dismissal of "all ardent unionists," expressing the belief that a worker's "character" was more important than his "cost." His thoughts were confused, but in fact, he returned to the business practicality which had served him so well in the past. "The wisest course in the long run," he wrote, "is to accommodate ourselves. Having carefully used all possible resources and found none, available resistance is powerless ... Our course now must be to make the

best arrangements possible and study to accommodate ourselves to the new conditions." He noted that unionization only applied, at the time, to "larger establishments" like his own, and he relied on the long standing association of his workers with the firm to make his acceptance of the union successful. "The element of personal fidelity has survived to a certain extent," he said, adding, "As the only union house we may for a time bind the men more closely and urge to greater exertions."[118]

In his study of the "transformation" which took place in American society in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth, Robert Wiebe has discussed the impact of industrialization on employers whose workplaces inevitably changed in size from a "shop" to a "factory." Although the industries and the type of businessmen Wiebe describes were in different categories of size and wealth to Frederick Brigden and the Toronto Engraving Company, his comments are relevant in accounting for Brigden's initial reaction to unionization. The changes from shop to factory "occurred so quickly," says Wiebe, "that the executive who boasted that his office was open to any man on the payroll deluded himself into believing the old paternalism still obtained." Or, he adds, the employer resisted understanding the new situation "because the fatherly care of employees was still widely regarded as his Christian duty."[119] Certainly Brigden exhibited a Victorian paternalism in his reaction to an industrializing situation and, as Wiebe has also described as typical, blamed discontent on "the influence of 'outsiders'." But Brigden's indifference to wealth and his continuing work with the Saturday Club, his Church and the Toronto Mission to the Deaf made him a somewhat unusual figure in the

world of business. His acceptance of the unionizing of his workers may have been based on a rationale related more to the effects of a strike on his business than to concern for his workers' welfare, but the Toronto Engraving Company became, nevertheless, the first engraving house to employ members of the International Photo-engravers Union.

The new situation had no immediate effects on Brigden's firm. In 1905 Frederick Brigden summarized the events of 1904: "a prosperous year in business returns in spite of large payments to men." He mentioned the "starting of the company idea," but the opening of management to non-family executives was something which did not take place for another thirty years. In 1908, the firm purchased the Graphic Press which, with William Brigden as manager, soon became an important part of the business.[120] In the same year, however, Frederick Brigden noted for the first time in his diaries, the vulnerability of his business to outside economic forces. He recorded that the reordering of his staff had led to "greater ease in running the business," but the "great depression has come suddenly and with the men under contract we have suffered an over amount of labour." Although he noted that the returns for the year were "the smallest known yet," he added that they were "sufficient."[121] The firm's plans for a new building were stopped and in May of 1909 he wrote, "last year ended with a deficit in business, the first in our history ... the cost of the strike and a great fall in business were the causes." But again he qualified his account: "we have overcome it [the deficit] and gained ground but still cannot be said to be making money. The business does not pay me anything like a [fair salary] for this time of life but I have all I need."[122]

The depression did not, however, deter Brigden in his belief in the necessity of keeping ahead of his competitors. Both in the printing and engraving departments the introduction of new technology continued. In letters to his nephew, Arnold, William Brigden described the difficulties of mastering the new invention of colour printing; "there is something radically wrong with our colour plate making. We certainly ought to be more certain how to get results. It all seems such a hit and miss affair." As with photo-engraving, the early efforts with colour must have been extremely time consuming. William Brigden said that more time was spent with corrections "than in actual production."[123] Obviously the method was eventually learned, but many aspects of the introduction of new techniques seem to have been mastered by trial and error. In 1909 Fred Brigden was asking his cousin to send him the latest details concerning photographic techniques,[124] and in 1912, mistakes were still being made with the colour printing process. It was a situation which emphasized the lack of skilled men in all the new processes and the need for adaptation to the new industrial work environment by managers as well as workers.

In spite of the difficulties in adjusting to new machines, new work systems and poor business years, Frederick Brigden cannot have felt that his firm was in any danger of failing. In his diary of 1910 he said, "I am now asking of God that He will build a factory that will be good for all who serve us." He expressed the desire that his brother should "also have a part in it," and then said "O my Lord build up this business and let me see it before I die."[125] It was a prayer and a project which came to fruition in 1912 in the Brigden Building at 160-164 West

Richmond Street. In 1911 the name of the firm was changed to Bridgen's Limited and in 1912, when all departments of the firm were housed in the "steel and concrete structure of the most modern type,"[126] it advertised itself as consisting of "Artists, Engravers and Printers." It was, in fact, the first Canadian firm to house all aspects of the graphic arts industry in one building.[127]

The large five storey building was functional and well designed, and Brigden's Limited might have appeared to be Frederick Brigden's final contribution to the Canadian business scene. But in 1913, four years before his death, with his new investment only just in working order, he was asked by Eaton's to open an art and photography studio in Winnipeg to produce the new Eaton's western mail-order catalogue. It was a project which would be undertaken by his younger son and his nephew, but it must have seemed to Frederick Brigden to be the culmination of his beliefs and prayers.

Frederick Brigden died in 1917, after a life devoted to the nineteenth-century concepts of religion and self-help. Although undoubtedly a business entrepreneur by the standards considered earlier, it is possible that his work with the deaf and dumb meant as much to him as his business. In his later years, as he left more of the running of the business to his sons, he followed the traditional Victorian hobbies of botany and geology. He continued his meetings of the Saturday Club, and he returned once more to art when he took up water-colour painting. He no longer talked of himself as an "art-workman" and he no longer denied the fact that his younger son had become part of the Canadian art world. He was a remarkable man judged by any criteria and an important

figure in the growth of the graphic arts in Canada. In his own life, the art of commercial illustration had moved from the workshop of the wood-engraver, working in the tradition of Bewick and Linton, to the large mechanized plant where unionized workers practiced a wide variety of skills in an industry fast becoming one of the most important of the modern world.

Whether Frederick Brigden would have approved of modern mass communication is hard to tell. Certainly his place in the history of the Canadian graphic arts industry cannot be denied. Not only does his individual experience emphasize the importance of art and business to the industry's early growth, but it also demonstrates the manner in which a unique craft came to terms with the modern industrial forces of labour organization and technological change. The new inventions needed new skills, and the new skills were provided by workers who were not connected with "art" in the same way that the earlier engraver-craftsmen had been. However, the division of labour which resulted from mechanization, and which separated artist from photo-engraver, did not succeed in breaking down the interdependence necessary for the functioning of a successful graphic arts firm. From now on, labour was as essential a factor in the production of commercial illustrative material as were business and art.

# CHAPTER V: ART AND COMMERCE IN TORONTO, 1870-1914

The years which saw the adaptation of the graphic arts to the processes of industrialization, were also those which witnessed the creation of a Canadian art establishment and the emergence of the concept of a Canadian national art. Until very recently, most historical studies have interpreted the art of the period prior to the First World War as the prelude to an art which could be identified as truly Canadian. The assumption has generally been that a national art came about with the work of the members of the Group of Seven in the 1910s and 1920s. But this approach, because of its concentration on the innovative progress of "fine" art, has neglected other aspects of the historical situation. For instance, the advent of industrialization and its impact on those artists working in commercial environments has only been discussed in terms of background for later artistic development. The question of a perceived change in status attached to those artists working for commercial firms has not been investigated. It was during this same period, however, and in spite of the fact that many talented artists were closely connected with business, that a division came to be drawn between "fine" and so-called "commercial" art. As a result, new institutions such as the Royal Canadian Academy and the National Gallery of Canada came to be thought of as "elitist," while artists associated with commerce lost status.

As a means of exploring this development, the Brigdens, once again, provide a suitable focus. Where the artistic skills of Frederick Brigden had provided the initial impetus for the establishment of the

family firm, those of Fred Brigden, the younger son, extended beyond the confines of the Toronto Engraving Company. Fred Brigden became, in fact, an active participant in the development of Canadian painting and design. Indeed, because of his significant association with both art and business, his career demonstrated the difficulties and inconsistencies in the definition of "art" in a new and urban society such as Canada's. In Brigden's activities, both as businessman and artist, one can discern the growing separation between "commercial" and "fine" art. And in his dealings with such organizations as the Royal Canadian Academy one can determine the presence of a similar division between "commercial" artists and "artists" proper. Whether this was a valid distinction was questioned at the time and is still a subject of controversy among both artists and art historians. For Fred Brigden and other Canadian artists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, however, this dichotomy can be viewed as a further aspect of technological change in the graphic arts industry and as an important phase in the development of a Canadian popular culture.

In 1872, the year of the Brigden family's arrival in Canada, Toronto artists were in the process of creating institutions in emulation of their European counterparts. The Ontario Society of Artists, which was founded in that year, would lead on the one hand to the establishment of the Royal Canadian Academy and the National Gallery, and on the other to the Ontario School of Art and Design and subsequent educational developments culminating in the Ontario College of Art.[1] At no point in these early years can it be said that there was

a division between commerce and art. Even those artists who became successful as artists per se worked with or for commercial enterprises without any noticeable objection at the time. The relationship between photography and painting, for example, was a perfectly acceptable aspect of Canadian art and, as Ann Thomas has pointed out, quite in tune with the aesthetic preferences of the Canadian public.[2]

The foundations of Canadian art are generally conceded to have been established in the photographic studios of William Notman in Montreal and Toronto in the 1860s and 1870s.[3] Notman, who opened his Montreal studio in 1856, complete with a gallery for exhibitions of paintings as well as photographs, was one of the first photographers in North America to produce landscape photographs as well as photographic portraits.[4] He became famous for the high standard of his work, particularly for the hand colouring carried out by his employees. This was a process of tinting with oil paint, gouach or water-colour which remained an acknowledged and accepted art form until at least the end of the century.[5] It was in the practice of hand colouring photographs, retouching negatives, providing studio backdrops for formal portraiture and creating realistic backgrounds for composite pictures[6] that many of Canada's nineteenth-century artists received their first public exposure. Most of these painters were masters of their craft and most continued to work as painters while employed by Notman. That they were able to exhibit their paintings in his gallery was an obvious advantage to men such as Henry Sandham, Charles Way, Otto Jacobi and Robert Duncanson, all of whom worked for Notman in Montreal.[7]

Among a galaxy of talent, the "star" of the Montreal studio was

John Arthur Fraser. Fraser, who had trained at the Royal Academy Schools in London, emigrated to Canada in 1858. He joined Notman's firm almost immediately, becoming so admired as a colourist that by 1864 he was made "Art Director" and was the highest earning employee of the business.[8] He obviously had a gift for the new medium where, as William Colgate has described it, his dexterity with water-colours was such that when painting "over light prints on drawing paper, [he] succeeded so well that it was difficult for even artists to detect the photographic base."[9] He managed to unite the dual elements of art and photography in the manner prescribed by Notman and advocated in various photography manuals. Such instructions as "the photographer [should] be guided principally by the old masters in matters of the form and theory of art,"[10] and "the student should keep in mind a union of the true and beautiful" were common. There was also the additional reminder that while the camera might have attained the ability to represent the "true" it did not possess "the intelligence to discriminate and perfect" the beautiful.[11] Even Ruskin was included in the advice because of his suggestion that art students should "aspire to producing delicate gradations with brown and grey like those of the photographs." Ruskin's Elements of Drawing was, in fact, required reading for all students of photography and hand colouring.[12] The outcome of this concentration on form was that an artist like Fraser could hand-colour photographs and paint from photographs while at the same time maintain his status as a bona fide artist. There seems to have been little hesitation on the part of artists to use photographs in lieu of natural subjects. In fact, their major concern, as Thomas says, was "to obtain the realism of

the photograph in their portrait paintings ... in order to satisfy a public anxious for photographic verisimilitude."[13]

In 1867, Fraser went to Toronto to open a new studio, subsequently known as Notman and Fraser, and as successful as the one in Montreal. It became the centre for talented artists: "the country's leading art school," as J. Russell Harper has described it.[14] Robert Gagan, Homer Watson, Frederick Verner, George Reid and Lucius O'Brien are all recorded as having worked for Notman and Fraser at some time during their careers.[15] And as in Montreal where, under the auspices of the older Art Association of Montreal Fraser had been instrumental in founding the Canadian Society of Artists,[16] so in Toronto he was the moving force behind the organization of the Ontario Society of Artists in 1872. Most of Notman's Toronto artists were founding members and, while the Presidency was made an honorary position, John Fraser was the Vice-President.[17] According to Harper, the main premise behind the formation of the Society was that of "sales promotion." Of its first exhibition, held in 1873 in the Notman and Fraser galleries, a contemporary source reported that "everything bids fair, we understand, to make the effort a success financially," although the same source also hoped that "money was not the painters' only aim."[18] Rebecca Sisler says, however, that there were more formal concepts behind the creation of the Society: evident in the members' aims was "the fostering of original art, promoting the interests of [the Society's] members, and when the opportunity offered, the establishment of a School of Art and a Public Art Gallery."[19]

The Ontario Society of Artists would ultimately be successful in

its aims, but some of its early directives illustrated the contemporary confusion of ideas about "art." In 1873, for instance, the Society decided to prohibit "the exhibition of copies, 'of photographs or otherwise'."[20] In view of the fact that it was an organization established by artists who quite openly worked for a commercial photography firm, who used the firm's premises for their exhibitions and did not hesitate to utilize the mechanical aid of photography in their portraits and landscape paintings, such a prohibition was unusual to say the least. The new rule can be interpreted, however, as part of the growing trend to remove photography from "art." In 1870, photographic paintings had been excluded from the Art Association of Montreal's exhibition and in 1871, a Montreal critic said of a work by F. M. Bell-Smith, "It is usual to take photographs from pictures, but in no case for pictures to be taken from photographs, and to be claimed as artistic productions ...."[21] This was not an attitude shared by the public, however. And if artists were to sell their work or receive commissions, it was obviously necessary for them to please their public which definitely preferred photographic likenesses. The painter Robert Harris, writing in 1880, said that much as he resisted painting from photographs, he was unable "to please sitters who want portraits that look like photographs." It was, he felt, a problem of Canadian taste in general, "one which is common in all new countries."[22] As a technique, painted duplicates of photographs persisted to the end of the nineteenth-century and even into the twentieth. As late as 1915, Fred Challener converted Julia Margaret Cameron's photograph of Sir John Herschell into his painting "A Selkirk Pioneer."[23] But gradually, with

the development of a more formal art establishment, photography increasingly came to be thought of as a "mechanical" pursuit, while painting, a "hand made" process, was claimed as "art."[24]

Under the auspices of the Ontario Society of Artists the Ontario School of Art was opened in 1876, "in a hall sixty by thirty feet in area, situated over a store at 14 King Street West."[25] In 1882 the school moved to the Toronto Normal School, in 1890 it became the Ontario School of Art and Design and finally, the Ontario College of Art. Teaching at the School was undertaken by artists who would later be recognized as major figures in the development of Canadian art history. But for artists such as Robert Holmes, C. M. Manly, George Reid and William Cruikshank, teaching was a form of paid employment similar to the association artists had with the world of commerce.[26]

Parallel with the promotion of art education, the Ontario Society worked for the creation of a Canadian academy of art and a national gallery. It had provided space for exhibitions over the Princess Theatre on King Street,[27] but in 1879, under the Vice-Presidency of Lucius O'Brien, negotiations began with the Governor-General, Lord Lorne, for a more formal exposition of the country's art and artists. The Governor-General and his wife, Princess Louise, both of whom were amateur artists, supported the idea of a Royal Canadian Academy of Art modelled on the national academies of England and Europe.[28] Artists from the Ontario Society of Artists and the Art Association of Montreal were consulted concerning its formation. Not surprisingly, considerable discussion, disagreement and animosity was provoked by the prospect of establishing rules for membership, exhibitions and suitable types of

art.[29] At one stage of the proceedings, Lord Lorne apparently reported that "[t]here is a marvellous amount of bitterness and bad language. Half the artists are ready now to choke the other half with their paint brushes."[30] But eventually a constitution was formulated, twenty-five charter members were elected, provision was made to establish a National Gallery in Ottawa, to provide for exhibitions throughout the country and to establish local schools of art and design. And finally, with much pomp and ceremony, the Royal Canadian Academy opened in 1880 with an exhibition at the Clarendon Hotel in Ottawa.

Membership in the new Academy was limited to forty full members and an undetermined number of associate members. To be elected to membership artists presented a Diploma Work which, after approval by a selection jury, would then form part of the basic collection of the National Gallery. Initially, among the full members, allowance was made for ten architects, three engravers and six designers. From the beginning, however, the engravers and designers seem to have been neglected. William Bengough and John Ellis were listed as associate designer members in 1880 and 1884 respectively, and Alfred Howard as a full member in 1883, but no further full memberships were given to designers until Gustav Hahn in 1905.[31] Moreover, only one engraver, George Smith, was listed as an associate in 1881 and then no engravers seem to have been elected before W. J. Phillips was admitted in 1934. This may, of course, have been due to the manner in which artists classified themselves and not necessarily due to a connection with "trade" as was later thought to be the case.[32] Certainly, many artists who were given Academy membership had connections with commercial

concerns associated with design and engraving and, as has been noted, many of the charter members were involved with commercial photography. Whatever the reasons behind the exclusion of the designers and engravers in the first place, it is apparent that an attitude was slowly developing which would lead to the perceived division between the world of the "fine" arts and that of commerce.

The ambiguities and inconsistencies implicit in the changing situation for artists can be seen in their effects on men such as Frederick and Fred Brigden. Frederick Brigden found it difficult to relinquish his Ruskinian attitude that art should serve a purpose, while his son found himself caught between his obvious desire to extend his artistic talents and his obligation to remain within the family business. It was, as has been described, during this period of artistic consolidation that Frederick Brigden had been establishing his engraving firm. He knew and admired the work of many of the artists involved: they visited his workshop to draw or paint on the boxwood for engravings of their portraits or landscapes,[33] and they appreciated the results of his work. But Brigden eschewed membership in the new academic establishment. Lucius O'Brien is said to have offered him membership in the Academy as an engraver, but "Frederick Brigden declined the honour feeling that his business responsibilities would prevent him doing justice to the position."[34] There are notes in Brigden's early diaries concerning visits to the Royal Academy in London, comments on various artists whose work he admired and, of course, his opinions on the ideas of John Ruskin.[35] But there are no statements in his later diaries or note-books concerning his attitude towards art in Canada. Only in

connection with his son Fred's move into the world of art did he make his opinions known and these, at least at first, reiterated his belief in the life of the "art-workman."

The young Fred Brigden had a natural talent which was recognized early by his father. He was given daily drawing lessons from the age of seven, allowed to go on sketching trips from the age of twelve and at fourteen was enrolled at the Ontario School of Art.[36] And it was here that he had his first formal training under George Reid and William Cruikshank, both members of the new Academy, and met artists of future importance including C. W. Jefferys, Fred Challener and Robert Holmes.[37] But in 1888, at seventeen years of age, Fred Brigden had no choice but to enter his father's business as an engraver. It is obvious from his own and his biographer's accounts[38] that he was not overly enthusiastic at working as an engraver and that the senior Brigden, while recognizing his son's artistic capability, did not believe that the young man was sufficiently gifted to devote his life to art. According to J. E. Middleton, it was a shortage of "competent men" which determined Frederick Brigden's insistence on Fred joining the firm.[39] Apparently, in 1882, when offered the prestigious commission of providing the engravings for Picturesque Canada,[40] Brigden had declined because of a lack of skilled staff.[41] But it is also probable that it was his Victorian sensibilities which brooked no refusal on the part of his younger son. After all, George Brigden was already installed on the managerial side of the business and, as Middleton said, "in that household there was no appeal against father's judgement."

In his descriptions of his early work for his father, Fred Brigden

recalled the painstaking work and the monotony of reproductive wood-engraving for advertising: "I well remember my first job," he said, where he had to engrave "over a hundred brass pieces, taps, etc. for the James Morrison Brass Co." And he described another assignment for "Sylvester Bros. of Lindsay," where he sat for a week in the foundry "making drawings of all the parts which went into agricultural implements." The drawings, he said, would later be engraved "on wood and printed in catalogues."[42] The process would seem to have changed little since his father's apprentice days. But Fred Brigden's talents were not confined to machinery catalogues. He produced engravings and black and white illustrations for The Canadian Magazine and for various company magazines, including the drawing and engraving of cattle for The Farmer's Advocate.[43] He also, on occasion, worked as visual recorder for newspapers, where one of his first assignments was that of a murder trial. By the 1890s, with the expansion of the business, he had been promoted to Art Director and Production Manager with, according to Middleton, "a staff of forty or more."[44] He was responsible for the training of fashion artists for the Eaton catalogue and for bringing in specialists from Chicago and New York. He secured new contracts from advertisers and generally became involved in the whole process of change from wood to photo-engraving. It might appear, in consequence, as if his career as an artist would have been impossible. By dint of necessity he had become a businessman instead of a full-time artist. But the art climate of Toronto was such that his association with one of the leading graphic arts houses put him at the centre of contemporary artistic activity.

As William Notman and photography had been the background for the earlier group of Canadian artists, so the commercial engraving houses, "indirectly subsidized by organized industry," as Colgate says, were essential for the growth of the next generation of Canadian artists.[45] And as the earlier group had organized themselves into associations, so the younger artists, through the Toronto Art Students League did the same. Founded in 1886, primarily as a sketch club for those working in black and white illustration, the League gradually became an influential and important organization in which such artists as Manly, Holmes, Jeffreys and J. D. Kelly taught drawing, water-colour and illustration.[46] In 1892, the League published the first of its many calendars, an event which brought its artists to public attention[47] and had a long term influence on the development of Canadian illustration and design.[48] Fred Brigden joined the League in 1890, took lessons in oil painting from George Reid, drawing from C. W. Jefferys and was introduced to water-colour by C. M. Manly.[49] Jefferys and Manly had a profound effect on the development of Brigden's art, but it was Manly who became a close personal friend and who was associated with Fred Brigden throughout his artistic career.[50] Fred Brigden was a regular contributor to League calenders until their demise in 1904[51] and was increasingly recognized as a member of the Toronto art community. He was described in The Printer and Publisher of June, 1895, as "a young man and yet one of the best known of the Toronto illustrators,"[52] and certainly the published examples attest to his prowess. Brigden himself has recorded how he sketched and painted at the weekends, and other sources have described how, under the influence of Manly, he gradually

became an accomplished water-colour artist concentrating primarily on the painting of landscapes in Ontario and Quebec.[53]

During the years when he was establishing himself as an artist, as well as working full time in the family business, Fred's relationship with his father was at times extremely difficult. The older Brigden strongly disapproved of his son's association with the Art Students League because he believed that its members "might appeal to the weakest side of the nature that is in all of us." In 1894 he wrote to Fred saying, "You have been given a certain measure of ... ability which has been developed from your earliest years. I have never either over or under aided it." But he then said, "My ambition for you has been to see you an eminently skilled art workman. I have always felt confident that ... your talent rightly used is such as would secure you a good place in the front ranks of art workmen, a class that I have always honoured more than that of ... artists." His distrust of artists was further expressed in the same letter: "among all the artists whom I have known I could not find one whom I could honour or respect -- for strength of character -- high moral principle and a worthy aim in life -- e.g. to serve God and do some good in life."[54] These were opinions clearly couched in the ideals of his own background. Frederick Brigden was keenly aware of social position, of the importance of religion, and of Ruskin's admonition that art must express a high moral purpose. It is also likely that the senior Brigden was aware of the encroaching triumph of "art for art's sake," the aesthetic movement which had been gaining ground ever since 1877 when Ruskin took Whistler to court for "flinging a pot of paint in the public's face."[55]

Two years later, however, in 1896, apparently while on a trip to England, Frederick Brigden changed his attitude. Writing to his son in his usual ambiguous manner he said, "I have thought over your artwork and the course you have taken with it -- and in its outcome it has seemed to have been well ordered, in a large degree you have shaped it for yourself." He admitted that he had been mistaken in his judgements and that Fred's "instincts have been more true ... your associations ... have brought you into contact with a genuine art spirit, which if somewhat provincial and lacking in the broader element ... is yet a true discernment of facts existing in nature and in art and not the mere cultivation of an artificial faculty of mere dexterity and style." Whether his visit to England had exposed him to new approaches to art is not mentioned in the letter, but he concluded by saying, "[y]ou have gained the advantage of imbibing the latest form and spirit of art -- art as it is today. That is good ... as each age has its own more or less marked form of expression to be in true sympathy with it."[56] These were opinions which he had certainly not voiced before, preferring to stress the importance of "art-workmanship." It is possible, however, as he grew older and was taking time to practice the art of water-colour painting himself, that he had begun to understand and respect his son's artistic gifts. Indeed, he began joining Fred and Manly and other artists on their sketching and painting trips until, as Manly has recorded, "he made it the great, chief thing"[57] in his life. And Fred's success in both his artistic and business careers could quite obviously no longer be denied.

By the end of the century, in the words of Charles Comfort, Fred

Brigden had become "an accomplished artist in his own right."[58] He had paintings exhibited with the Ontario Society of Artists and the Royal Canadian Academy, and in 1898 was made a member of the Ontario Society.[59] But the Academy denied him associate membership until 1934 and full membership until 1939. His own view of this slight was that "the academicians were reluctant to elect an artist so close to the business world as I was."[60] It was an opinion supported by J. E. Middleton who has referred to "the Victorian notions" of "brother painters of professional status," who wondered if "a man 'in trade' could be a real artist and so hesitated to admit him to membership." Middleton has also described how Brigden's pictures were regularly "passed and hung by a severe jury," but when the question of membership was brought up, the answer was, "But he's a business man."[61] When one considers that this judgement was made by artists whose background was in the field of photographic painting, it seems a most unjust evaluation of an obviously respected painter, and suggests that there may have been other factors at work in the decision. Perhaps the fact that Fred Brigden, like his father, would never accept that there were divisions among the visual arts made him suspect in the eyes of the members of a relatively new and insecure art establishment.

The issue of the relationship between art and business bedevilled the Canadian cultural community for years. On the one hand artists exhibited regularly at the annual exhibitions of the Ontario Society of Artists or the Academy,[62] and on the other they taught or worked for commercial enterprises in order to make a living. Fred Challener, for example, worked for the lithography firm of Stone, Ltd.; C. W.

Jefferys, as well as teaching, worked as an illustrator for various newspapers including the New York Herald and J. W. Beatty worked as a cartoonist for the Canadian Magazine.[63] No one could deny that painters, illustrators, designers or engravers worked in the same general area, that of the visual arts: they undertook similar tasks and created similar products. Nor could it be denied that many of them were active in both areas and that such organizations as the Toronto Art Students League and its successor, the Graphic Arts Club, never disallowed membership on the grounds of an association with commerce.[64] But the implication that commercial work was only a step on the way to "real" art began to gain ground. With hindsight, art historians have accepted the fact that these early associations with commerce provided the seed-bed of a Canadian national art.[65] But they have invariably approached the connection in order to demonstrate its importance in the early development of the members of the Group of Seven and as a period in the evolution of a "real" Canadian art. Even Albert H. Robson, the art director of Grip Limited and employer of many of the Group of Seven, said, in 1932, "The commercial studios proved to be a fertile training ground that developed a number of landscape painters and represent a movement from commercial art to painting that was to a degree peculiar to Toronto."[66] It is doubtful if it was a situation unique to Toronto, but what is obvious is the perceived distinction between "art" and "commercial art." As early as 1903, in a memorial presented to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Ontario Society of Artists declared that "some of our ablest artists have been obliged to take up Commercial Art as a means of livelihood."[67] Subsequently, as Sybille Pantazzi has pointed

out in her study of Canadian illustrators and commercial designers, "the standard books on Canadian art refer only incidentally, if at all, to the artists as illustrators."[68]

The position of the Group of Seven in Canadian art history is currently undergoing revision. Until recently art historians have seen the beginning of a "true" Canadian art in the work of Tom Thomson and those artists who, in the 1920s, made up the initial Group: J. E. H. MacDonald, A. Y. Jackson, Arthur Lismer, Frederick Varley, Lawren Harris, Frank Johnston and Franklin Carmichael.[69] More recent historiography has suggested wider international contexts and has related their achievements and promotion to contemporary literary and nationalistic aims.[70] This has not, of course, detracted from or changed the aesthetic worth of their paintings. It has served, instead, to place the artists more closely within the context of Canada's development, the international artistic community and the world of business. It has to be recognized, however, that, as in the earlier period, it was commercial employment and a club association which provided the necessary support for this new generation of artists.

J. E. H. MacDonald, the oldest member of the Group, who worked as a designer, eventually head-designer, at Grip Limited from 1895 to 1911,[71] had initially worked as an engraver for the Toronto Lithographing Company and was a member of the Art Student's League. He was "a link between the League and the Group" as Pantazzi says,[72] and one who recognized that the idea of a "national art" had begun among the older group of artists. Of the earlier generation he said, "Men like Reid, Jefferys, and Fred Brigden ... and others had their place as

pioneers and encouragers. The Art League ... the Graphic Arts Club ... There was a real stirring of Canadian ideas."[73] MacDonald was an excellent illustrator and designer, spending two years in London with the Carlton Studios, a firm founded by four ex-Grip employees and said to be the first modern commercial art studio in England.[74] He designed for books, for magazines, for the League calenders and for the plays and festivals of the Arts and Letters Club.[75] Along with Jefferys and Brigden he did not hesitate to credit the value of his commercial training. It had taught him, he said, "a sense of discipline and dextral facility which would have been otherwise unobtainable."[76] With the exception of Lawren Harris, all the future members of the Group worked for commercial firms at some time during their careers: Jackson in Chicago and Montreal; Thomson at a photo-engravers in Seattle and at Grip in Toronto; Lismer, who had been persuaded to emigrate to Canada by the Brigdens, at Grip;[77] Varley and Carmichael at Grip, and Johnston at Brigden's and Grip. When, in 1912, Albert Robson moved from Grip to the firm of Rous and Mann as art director, Johnston, Lismer, Varley, Carmichael and Thomson moved with him. All, with the exception of Thomson who died in tragic circumstances in 1917,[78] gradually gave up their commercial employment for full time painting, but even so were not averse to providing book illustrations and designs, or to undertaking teaching assignments of considerable importance.[79]

If the commercial studios provided the future members of the Group with their early livelihood, it was the Arts and Letters Club which provided them with contacts in the wider artistic community. The Graphic Arts Club had been the successor to the Art Students League and

numbered among its founder members such artists as Jefferys, Beatty, Holmes, Manly, T. W. McLean and Fred Brigden. But it was primarily a social club for artists, with space for them to exhibit their work, so that although many members of the Group belonged, it was not so important for their future development as the Arts and Letters Club.[80] There they associated with established academic artists as well as with musicians, writers and future patrons and supporters.[81] Formed in 1908, the Club was the virtual "centre of cultural activity" in Toronto, a meeting place for men working in the arts or with an interest in them.[82] Members included musicians Ernest MacMillan, Healey Willan and Michael Hambourg, the film makers Robert Flaherty and Roy Mitchell, the scientist Edmund Walker, the historian and future diplomat Vincent Massey, and such artists as George Reid, Wylie Grier, Jefferys, Manly, Holmes, Challener and Brigden. Musical evenings and stage presentations were of such a calibre that they can be seen as the beginnings of the Toronto Symphony, the Toronto Mendelssohn Choir and the Hart House Theatre.[83] Guests included Mischa Elman, Mark Hambourg, Ysaye, Fritz Kreisler, Pablo Casals and Rachmaninoff, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and various members of the Royal Canadian Academy.[84] And included in all this variety of talent and established status were the commercial artists. Men such as Ivor Lewis and Gene Beaupré, who worked for Eaton's advertising staff,[85] and Tom Thomson, Tom MacLean, Albert Robson and all the future members of the Group who worked at Grip were members. It was at the Club, in fact, that Thomson and the others first met Lawren Harris, the artist who would later join them as a Group member, and James McCallum, a physician, who would become their first patron. It

was also at the Club that they met those members of the academic art community who would create difficulties for them as they became known as the Group of Seven and as their non-commercial work gained wider acceptance.[86]

In view of the social and cultural association afforded to a wide variety of artists by the Arts and Letters Club and the obvious acceptance of the fact that in order to earn a living artists were obliged to teach or work for a commercial firm, the attitude of the art establishment was confusing. Unlike the situation in Europe, where younger artists frequently dissociated themselves from academic traditions,[87] membership in the Academy was, for Canadian artists, a major symbol of artistic integrity. But the granting of membership followed no discernible pattern, thus leading, not infrequently, to bitterness.[88] Like Brigden, the members of the Group of Seven exhibited regularly with the Ontario Society of Artists and at the Academy, but their acceptance into the "official" art fraternity was uneven to say the least. It seems to have been quite arbitrarily based on their careers and to have had little to do with their commercial connections. MacDonald was made an associate in 1912, the year after he left Grip; Lismer in 1919 while he was still Principal of the Victoria College of Art in Halifax, and Jackson in 1914, after working commercially until 1911. But Harris, who had never worked for a business, or even taught, was not made an associate until 1943. Johnston, who worked for Brigden's and for Grip, was elected an associate in 1919. Varley in 1921 and Carmichael in 1935. The same indiscriminate selection also applied to the granting of full memberships. Jackson received his

membership in 1919, whereas MacDonald, who was, by 1927, head of the graphic and commercial art department at the Ontario College of Art, was not elected until 1931, the year before his death. Carmichael, who worked for Rous and Mann before following MacDonald at the College, was given membership in 1938.[89] With the exception of Lismer and Harris, all the members of the Group had been made either associates or members of the Academy before Fred Brigden. This would seem to imply that the style of art produced was not a factor in the choice. But also, because of the confusing nature of the selections, it is impossible to infer that election was denied on the grounds of commercial connections.

The reasons behind Fred Brigden's exclusion from the Academy until the 1930s are, therefore, impossible to determine with any degree of certainty. It could not have been due to his style of painting: in view of the frequent controversies the work of the younger artists provoked, his style was probably closer to the academicians' preference.[90] Nor, it would seem, in light of the Academy selections, could it be related to commercial connections, although that is what Brigden himself believed. He was recognized by his fellow artists in Toronto, both in and out of the Academy, was Vice-President of the Ontario Society of Artists from 1913 to 1915 and President from 1927 to 1931, and was co-founder, with Carmichael and J. A. Casson, of the Canadian Society of Painters in Water-Colour, of which he was the first President from its opening in 1926 to 1930. He was, in fact, considered to be the "dean" of Canadian water-colour painting.[91] The only possible explanation for his neglect seems to be his persistent disregard for the consideration that there was a difference between "fine" art and that

produced within a commercial context.

In numerous lectures, in remarks quoted in the newspapers and in opinions given to friends, Fred Brigden made clear his belief that art should not be placed on a pedestal. He felt that it was unnecessary to separate "fine" from other forms of art, or to pretend that artists did not need to make a living. While it was accepted that the Group of Seven and others were involved in commercial work of some sort, either teaching or working for one of the graphic arts houses, this was usually interpreted as a means to an end: "from commercial art to painting," as Robson said. Brigden, on the other hand, pointed out that art had traditionally always been connected with practical pursuits, with artisanship and the production of designs for furniture, ceramics, tapestries and other articles of everyday use. In a talk, "Art in Relation to Business," given to the Toronto Rotary Club in 1920, he said: "For many centuries the line of demarcation between the painter and the craftsman working in applied art was not clearly defined ... and in our museums to-day we give as high a place to the beautiful products of past periods in applied art as to painted pictures and sculpture." Brigden recognized, however, that mechanization was changing the position of artists who were designing for industry. Echoing Ruskin or William Morris, or for that matter, Karl Marx, he noted that "No longer can each piece receive the individual touch of the creative workman."[92]

While aware of the difficulties facing the designer in applied arts, Brigden also recognized the fact that advertising was the most valuable element in the relationship between art and the public. In a talk given in 1928, "Art in Relation to Advertising," in which he

stressed the importance of good design, he made the point that it made little difference to artists whether they were commissioned by the Church or the nobility, as in earlier periods of history, or by businessmen and advertising agencies in the twentieth century. "We think of [the] great names in the history of art," he said, "as representing the highest attainment possible in the field of the fine arts and yet I believe it no exaggeration to say that the leading commercial artists today are just as well trained in the fundamentals of design and drawing as any of the painters of old." He added that in his opinion "in the best commercial work we have as much real art expression as can be found in the altar pieces and wall decorations of the old masters," and went on to say that "many of our most gifted men who might easily take rank with the great painters of any age, are devoting their time and energy to so-called commercial art." Many of these men, however, because they believed that their work possessed all the "art qualities," resented the term "commercial." Brigden refused to accept that commercial art was inferior or merely a means to an end. Rather, in the manner suggested by Thomas Munro, he defined it as one important aspect of art in general.[93]

It was not a unique idea, but it was one which went against the grain of an art establishment concerned with promoting "fine" art, and against the grain of an art history increasingly devoted to the concept of "art for art's sake" in place of art with a purpose. It was a practical view which interpreted art as part of everyday life and as an activity practiced by men and women working to make a living. John Berger and Teddy Brunius, as evidenced by their studies aimed at the

"demystification" of art, would agree with Brigden that art should be considered within the social and cultural context of its time and place.[94] What is eventually selected for retention in the art histories as definitive of its age[95] is not necessarily the art which was the most popular or the most accessible in its own period.

The Canadian artist C. W. Jefferys, definitely felt that it was the art of everyday life which would survive the test of time. He considered that "the advertising poster, the window and counter card" were the most representative aspects of his century's art. Certainly they received the widest circulation of all art objects among the general public and may, as has been suggested by those critical of its creation, have contributed to the rise of a new, popular, mass culture.[96] Jefferys admired the "sheer strength and attractiveness of their design and the beauty of their colouring," and predicted that "a hundred or two hundred years hence such work ... may be deemed more typical of the art of our time than some of the more pretentious paintings which hang in our public galleries and museums."[97] Whether his prediction comes to pass or not, it was certainly a valid judgement of the fact that the art most commonly seen was that of the "commercial" variety. It was the same type of evaluation made by Fred Brigden of the artwork produced in the 1910s by Lionel LeMoine FitzGerald and Charles Comfort. In 1919 he described a mural created by FitzGerald for Eaton's shop windows in Winnipeg as "both unusual and beautiful and acclaimed by all who saw it," and he recorded how Comfort, as a boy of seventeen working in the Winnipeg branch of Brigden's, had become the most valued member of the staff, winning prizes for his Eaton's catalogue covers.[98]

He saw nothing incongruous between the obvious talents of FitzGerald and Comfort and the commercial tasks they were performing. This does not mean that he denigrated those artists who gave up their commercial connections to paint full time. Instead, he felt that an artist was an artist whatever he or she may be doing in the creation of visual images.

The issues inherent in the division drawn between "fine" and "commercial" art were not, of course, confined to Canada. A parallel with the experience of American artists in the early years of the twentieth century is quite obvious. It can also be more fruitfully studied because the opinions of a number of artists have been recorded by Susan E. Meyer in her book, America's Great Illustrators. Meyer has noted how, as the "cleavage between fine art and illustration" widened over the years, some artists began to resent the inferior connotation of "commercial artist." N. C. Wyeth, Frederick Remington and Howard Chandler Christy, for example, all artists who had achieved fame as book and magazine illustrators, would have preferred to have been referred to as "fine" artists,[99] while James Flagg, equally well known during the 1910s and 1920s, saw the division as purely a "false set of values." He said that the only difference between "a fine artist and an illustrator" was one where "the latter can draw, eats three square meals a day and can afford to pay for them."[100] Norman Rockwell, emphasizing the same sort of obligations as those asserted by Fred Brigden, noted how a "fine arts painter has to satisfy only himself." There are "no outside restrictions placed on his work," whereas the situation is far more demanding for the commercial artist who "must satisfy his client as well as himself."[101] In the early years, as in Canada, there was little

distinction made between the two types of art. Howard Pyle, for instance, working as Art Editor at McLure's in 1905, felt that "fine art was simply a term designating quality and that the best illustration would certainly qualify as fine art." And Rockwell is recorded as saying that there was no distinction made at the New York Art Students League between illustration classes or landscape and portrait classes in the period from 1910 to 1912 when he was there. "To us," he said, "illustration was an enobling profession." It was something which was considered to be "in the main stream of the arts ... vitalized by contact with fine writing."[102]

Susan Meyer's argument concerning the division between the two branches of art is that as publishing became more oriented towards a mass audience, so the demand for good writing and good illustration decreased. She suggests that artists working for magazines or book publishers were constrained by the demands of their employers and subsequently suffered a decline in status after the 1920s.[103] Considering that it was the use of visual material which contributed to the success of the popular press, it is difficult to tell if this is a valid assessment. Indeed, in the Canadian context, the period between the 1920s and the 1940s is referred to as "the golden age of magazines," when "illustrators assumed an importance of unprecedented proportions."[104]

From 1948, with the advent of new technology and new media of communication, commercial artists, tired of being excluded from the world of "art,"[105] would take matters into their own hands. The new profession of graphic art was instituted, art directors clubs were

formed and training programmes were created which were attuned to contemporary conditions.[106] This separation is still a matter for debate, however. One contemporary designer says that "graphic design solves problems in visual communications ... it may well be inspired by the visual arts, but it is not an art,"[107] while another says that if a work "has integrity, it's a work of art, whether it's done for someone else or for yourself."[108] Robin Arkell reiterates the belief that "the difference between commercial art or illustration and fine art is simply a matter of patrons. Instead of working for a cardinal or king ... you are working for a corporation or a magazine," and emphasizes the fact by saying, "Michelangelo's art didn't suffer because he was told what to paint or what to sculpt."[109]

Thomas Munro, in his classified list of "Four Hundred Arts and Types of Art" included all varieties of commercial art under the heading "Types of Pictorial Art as to Nature of Product".[110] It is an approach which suggests that perhaps it was the concept of art as a "product" in the industrial or commercial sense which provoked the initial division in status. There was, in fact, a development among artists similar to the early evolution of the engraving industry. Bewick, it will be recalled, was, like other wood-engravers, considered to be an independent artist-craftsman, while those who later worked in the wood-engraving studios for newspapers and magazines were labelled "mechanical" engravers or "art-workmen." In the early twentieth century, with the mechanization of the graphic arts industry, a division of labour among artists working for the commercial firms created a situation not unlike that of the earlier period, where engravers worked

on their separate pieces of boxwood without seeing the end product.[111]

This situation in the commercial field was most apparent in the work done for catalogues. When the Brigden firm took on the production of the Eaton's catalogue, for example, the need for speed was as important an element as it had been with the English firms working for the popular journals. While the first catalogues consisted mainly of wood-engravings, by the 1910s the firm was incorporating photography and photo-engraving and was increasingly, as the process became mastered, using colour. Because of a new emphasis on coloured reproduction of clothing, artists were required on the workforce as well as engravers and photo-engravers. Fred Brigden was put in charge of fashion illustrations and took on the training of artists in the new field,[112] as well as bringing in specialists from New York and Chicago. The amount of work was such that artists were obliged to undergo a division of labour: some drew only "boots and shoes ... silverware or jewelry," or specialized in furniture or other hardware, while others devoted their skills to the design and decoration of the pages. A further specialist was responsible for the overall lay-out of the advertising material on the page, and even the fashion artists, whom Brigden described as the "aristocrats of the mail order catalogue," were subdivided. These artists had to be highly skilled draughtsmen or draughtswomen combining, as Brigden said, "a thorough knowledge of the figure with what might be called a fashion sense -- a feeling of style with the faculty of adapting the figure to the special vogue of the season." In spite of their skills, however, some were required to paint only faces or hands and feet, while others sketched in the garment over

the figure or washed in the light and shade. And finally, there were detail artists who drew in the buttons, stitching and ornaments on the garment being advertised.[113] It was a very different situation to that of the illustrators working for the magazines, who took a story or article to be illustrated and were able to complete the whole thing. Undoubtedly, many of the artists working for the commercial companies were able to work in a number of fields, for the catalogues and magazines as well as for themselves. But the similarity to an assembly line in the overall functioning of the industrialized graphic arts house may have served to give the impression that, like the wood-engravers and the photographers in earlier periods, commercial artists practiced a "mechanical" art and were thus subject to a loss of status merely because they were involved in such work.

It is possible, considering the monotony of the work involved, that the commercial artists themselves would have seen the "promotion" to fine art as a move out of an inferior occupation, and certainly many art historians have interpreted it that way: as a means to an end.[114] But many artists have credited their training in the commercial houses as having provided a discipline and technical skill which could be used as a base for whatever type of art they chose. When, for instance, Charles Comfort went from the Winnipeg branch of Brigden's to Toronto in 1925, he became, according to Paul Duval, "the star commercial designer of the century and his published work was an inspiration for a generation of art students who were not much younger than himself."[115] He subsequently became one of Canada's most respected artists: he taught at the Ontario College of Art and the University of Toronto, and was

Director of the National Gallery from 1960 to 1965. At no point in his career, however, did he deny the value of his commercial training. As he later said, Fred Brigden and the Brigden firm were "a very real factor" in his development as an artist.[116]

It is difficult, then, to determine why commercial and fine art were considered to be entities with different social and aesthetic status. Some critics have argued that money was, and still is, the determining factor: there is a "romantic mystique" that artists ought to be poor. As Heather Robertson has recently said, artists who make money at what they do "are dismissed contemptuously as 'commercial' and therefore 'bad'."[117] This attitude seems to have had the same effect on the art establishment in the early years of the twentieth century. Certainly a division was perceived to exist between commercial and fine artists, but whether, in view of the fact that most artists had commercial connections of one sort or another, it was a valid distinction is decidely a moot point.

Within the graphic arts industry itself, however, commercial artists were definitely a part of the workforce, along with the photographers and the photo-engravers. Indeed, by 1914, within the Canadian graphic arts industry the three components of business, art and labour had come together. Major companies providing illustrative material for the publishing industry were, by this time, well established in eastern Canada. Brigden's, Barber and Ellis, Rolph, Smith and Company, Copp, Clark and Company, and Grip Limited, were among the leading firms. They had absorbed their smaller rivals by 1900 and most of them, through mergers and amalgamations, would survive into the

1980s.[118] In their employment were members of the International Photo-engravers Union and other trade unions, and artists. The former, in spite of periods of economic and social insecurity, had a certain status due to their labour and union affiliations. The latter, because of the perception of the type of art assignments they performed, were denied status as "artists." They could no longer be classified as "art-workmen," in Frederick Brigden's or John Ruskin's sense of the word, because of the separation of their tasks from those of the photo-engravers, photographers or printers, and consequently had to settle for the term "commercial artists." This meant that they became subject to a form of professional differentiation which perceived them as inferior to "fine" artists or "artists" proper. But Brigden's, and no doubt other graphic arts firms, ignored the implications of inferior status bestowed upon its artists. The firm functioned as a provider of visual material for advertising and other commercial products and could, therefore, be considered part of the development of a "popular" as opposed to a "high" culture. At the same time, because Brigden's and Grip and similar graphic arts houses employed many extremely talented artists who went on to become influential figures in a Canadian art history no longer obsessed by nationalism, the graphic arts industry can be viewed as a bridge between commercial and fine art.

# CHAPTER VI: BUSINESS, LABOUR AND ART IN WINNIPEG, 1913-1940

The development of the graphic arts industry in western Canada followed much the same path as in the east. Individual printers and engravers moved west with settlement, increased in numbers in response to the growth of newspaper publishing and, as printing became a mechanized process, suffered the loss of artisanal skills and status associated with industrialization. Artists in the west were, at first, recorders and reporters: amateurs working with survey parties or exploration teams. A few, such as the painter Frank Lynn, settled in Winnipeg, but most moved on.[1] It was not until newspapers and magazines started to use visual advertising in the late nineteenth-century that artists and engravers stayed to work in the newly industrialized city. Individual engravers, lithographers and printers established businesses for the production of illustrations and, as in the east, expanded to a stage where they employed others. The period from 1913, when the Brigden firm expanded west, to the beginning of the second world war, saw, in Winnipeg, the acceptance of the graphic arts as an important industry. Not only did it provide employment for the photographers and photo-engravers in the city, but it also contributed to the means by which many talented young artists were able to earn a living at a time when to be an independent artist was not a practical proposition.

By 1913, Winnipeg was the metropolitan centre of western Canada. All the elements of a modern, urbanized society were in place, including transportation, industry, commerce, and financial and municipal

institutions. It was a city with street cars, street lighting, fine buildings, theatres, newspapers, printshops, engraving houses and trade unions. Since its incorporation as a city in 1873, Winnipeg had become the central point of the transcontinental railway system, of the western wholesale trade, and of industries supplying the needs of the vast hinterland of which it was the hub.[2] Even prior to the completion of the railway in 1885, it was the established centre of the grain trade, a factor which encouraged the entrance into the city of grain dealers, insurance companies, banks, real estate agents and the numerous other financial institutions necessary for the creation and distribution of capital.[3] Because of the needs of the farmers, on whom the whole enterprise of the grain trade depended, the distribution of everything from farm machinery to lumber, paint and flour, was centred in the wholesale firms of Winnipeg. Although dominated until the 1890s by branches of eastern firms,[4] the wholesale trade was largely in the hands of local businessmen by the beginning of the present century.[5] A Board of Trade had been established as early as 1879 and such entrepreneurs as J. H. Ashdown, W. F. Alloway, W. G. Fonseca and A. G. B. Bannatyne became the founders of a commercial elite devoted to the promotion and expansion of their city.[6] As a consequence, Winnipeg became a "city of trade,"[7] with a wholesale trade so prosperous and busy that it could hardly keep up with the demands made upon it. The Manitoba Free Press of November, 1901, said:

> Lights shining from the windows of wholesale warehouses and offices with rows of clerks bending over ledgers at 9 or 10 o'clock in the evening are indications of the immense business done by the wholesalers of Winnipeg ... Never in years has the wholesale trade been as heavy as it has been this

> fall ... Firms have sold out their lines completely. Clerks ... have been working overtime for the last two months and in some cases midnight finds the staff still at work.[8]

Along with the growth of the wholesale trade went a corresponding expansion in industry. Spurred on by the Winnipeg Development and Industrial Bureau, an institution founded in 1906 to boost local manufacturing,[9] numerous firms established themselves in the city. These included firms such as flour mills and packing plants involved in the processing of western produce, firms making such materials as paint, lumber and bricks for the construction industry,[10] and engineering and machine-shops providing steel bridges and lines for the railways. They were all part of a period of prosperity which reached its peak in 1912.[11] In 1913 the city entered a period of recession but one which has been described as "primarily a reduction in the rate of expansion, rather than an absolute decline."[12]

Expansion in the size of Winnipeg was due to immigration. The population grew from two hundred and forty one people in 1871 to 42,340 in 1901; by 1911, it had reached 136,035.[13] The immediate effect was to create a "flourishing construction activity"[14] and, in a manner similar to that of Toronto's development, build a city "full of contrasts." It was, as J. M. S. Careless has said, an "all-but-instant" city, where "humble little frame structures of village years stood by the heavy, brick and ornamental stone elegance of the 1890s; simple workaday brick stores and warehouses of the 1880s beside the new secular temples of banking that went up in the 1900s."[15]

As well as being the industrial and wholesale centre of the west, Winnipeg was also a cultural centre, with clubs, sporting events,

theatres, music,[16] and art. In 1892, a Women's Art Association was founded, in 1903, the Manitoba Society of Artists came into being,[17] and in 1912, an Art Gallery was established in the Industrial Bureau building on Water Street. At the same time, retail facilities had increased to serve the expanded population, a factor which made the city a shopping mecca, attracting customers not only from the city and suburbs, but from other areas of the province and further afield.[18] In spite of the fact that the wholesale houses and rural retailers were becoming increasingly affected by mail order firms working out of Toronto, many large and impressive buildings attested to the prosperity of local retailers. J. H. Ashdown's store, for example, rebuilt in 1904 after a fire, was considered to be the "finest hardware store in Canada."[19] It was Eaton's, however, which had the major impact on the retailing trade in Winnipeg. It opened its Winnipeg branch in 1905, in a "mammoth new department store ... which employed 800 persons and included five and a half acres of floor space."[20] Not only did its size impress, but it introduced its eastern approaches to marketing, leading to a situation where "thirty small retail stores went out of business in a single month."[21] This was, of course, disastrous for many businesses, but it was the Eaton's approach to advertising which was advantageous in terms of the graphic arts industry.

The opening of Eaton's in Winnipeg also included the transfer of its western mail order operation, with the new store initially being a combined retail and mail order establishment.[22] Customers' mail orders were, at first, filled from the store, but in 1907 separate stocks were kept, additions were made to the original building, and eventually, in

1916, a separate mail order building was constructed.[23] According to the Eaton's "Scribe," all the facilities for the publishing of the western mail order catalogue were also housed in the same building, but this, at least for many years, was not the case. Eaton's had its own printshop,[24] but it was precisely for the production of the illustrative material for the catalogue that the Brigden firm opened a branch in Winnipeg in 1914. This means that, as before, Brigden's can serve as the "window" through which the historical progress of the graphic arts industry in Canada can be examined.

As in the older cities of eastern Canada and elsewhere, printing and engraving were part of the urbanization processes which had changed Winnipeg from its status as a village on the Red River, "outside the confines of the august Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Garry,"[25] to an important metropolitan centre and a provincial capital. In fact, it was the political activities of early printers and their publications which had had a marked influence on government policies. These had resulted in the eventual transfer of the Red River Settlement from the jurisdiction of the Hudson's Bay Company to its position as an autonomous province within the Confederation of Canada in 1870.[26] The earliest examples of printing in the Red River Settlement date from 1859 when the Reverend Griffith Owen Corbett published a political broadside under the imprint "Headingly Press," and William Buckingham and William Coldwell began publication of The Nor'Wester.[27]

The Reverend Corbett used a primitive press and was obviously an amateur, but Buckingham and Coldwell were professional printers and journalists who had worked for The Globe and The Leader in Toronto and

who brought their press with them. It was a Hoe's Washington hand-printing press which they had purchased in St. Paul's, Minnesota, and which was, according to George Winship, who used it in the late 1860s, already an antique.[28] The Nor'Wester was primarily an organ for political views advocating the end of the Hudson's Bay Company rule and the annexation of Red River by Canada.[29] It lasted for ten years and consisted of news, editorials and articles, "usually of a sensational nature," excerpted for other sources.[30] In 1860, Buckingham returned to Upper Canada, his share being taken over by James Ross until 1863.[31] In 1864, John Christian Schultz bought a share in the press and after a disastrous fire in 1865 bought out Coldwell who also returned to Canada. Schultz remained sole owner until 1868 when he sold the press to Walter R. Bown. The press itself has been described by Winship, who joined the staff in that year, as being in a neglected and dirty condition. Nevertheless, it continued to be used to print the paper until it was confiscated by Louis Riel the following year.[32]

In 1869, Coldwell returned to Red River with a new press and the aim of establishing a new paper, The Pioneer. But The Pioneer, along with The Nor'Wester, was prevented from publishing by Riel and neither newspaper reappeared in its original form. The Nor'Wester was, however, resuscitated after the settlement with Riel which created the new province of Manitoba.[33] Coldwell and Schultz were the major figures in the early printing ventures, but a number of other printers were also working in the area. Patrick Laurie, an American named Walker and George Winship are mentioned by Bruce Peel in his study of the political involvement of printers in the Riel Rebellion of 1869 to 1870.[34] During

the next ten years Winnipeg was, in D. M. Loveridge's words, "a hotbed of partisan, polemical and short-lived newspapers." From the newspapers' beginnings in 1859 to 1884, there had been as many as ten dailies and twenty-two weeklies or semi-monthlies started at various times. By 1885, after the rise and fall of numerous printing and publishing ventures, one daily and four weeklies survived.[35] Among them The Times and The Sun combined to form The Manitoban which, in turn, would join with The Free Press in 1889.[36]

During all these publishing experiments, the number of printers kept pace with the growth of the city.[37] But because of the nature of the mergers and combinations which took place, printers working for the various newspapers, not surprisingly, lacked job security. Unlike the early printers, who had worked for themselves in an artisanal situation, frequently acting as editors as well as publishers and printers of their own material, the printers in the rapidly expanding urban situation increasingly worked for others. They were, consequently, at the whim of the market and of entrepreneurial ventures. In 1885, when several of their number were "left out in the cold" due to the demise of The Times, the printers attempted to take matters into their own hands by publishing their own newspaper, The Evening News. But this only lasted a few months.[38] The printers, caught in the need to adapt to a new industrial system, turned for support to their Union and in the process, proceeded to become an important element in western Canadian labour organization.

The Winnipeg Typographical Union #191 was chartered in 1881 with ten working printers as founding members.[39] Its constitution stated

that:

> Any printer, compositor, pressman, stereotyper, electrotyper, bookbinder or member of kindred trades, who shall have attained the age of twenty years, worked five years at his respective business and is a competent workman in like branch of the business which he follows, may become a member of this union ....[40]

It also allowed for honorary membership to be accorded to those who became foremen or employers on condition that they continued to "respect the principles of trade unions."[41] At first, the composition of the Union varied as members found themselves in the position of employees or employers. Many of them were still practicing in the independent artisanal manner of individual printers working for themselves, or with one or two apprentices, but others had taken to the role of entrepreneur.

Among the names in the roster of members could be found those of many men later to be prominent as owners of important Winnipeg printing and engraving businesses. For instance, John Stovel, who with his brothers founded the Stovel Company in 1889, is listed as early as 1882, George Saults, of Saults and Pollard, is listed as a member in 1887, George Stovel in 1887, Chester Stovel in 1890 and O. H. Pollard in 1892.[42] In 1887, John Stovel was President of the organization committee for the "Second Annual Dinner of the Winnipeg Typographical Union #191,"[43] but by 1899 the Union was having difficulties with the Stovel firm concerning the wage scale for apprentices working the new Mergenthaler printing machines.[44] An organization which included both employers and employees was, obviously, impractical once the craft of printing became mechanized. At the Tribune printshop, for example, the

owners broke the union agreement to pay the apprentice scale of $12 per week for a minimum period of eight weeks. Instead they brought in a trained printer from Ottawa. The Union was successful in having him dismissed and in establishing the fact that there were enough local operators capable of running the new machines.[45]

According to The Winnipeg Typographer of 1894, the union had successfully defended its members as early as 1882 when they had been threatened by a wage reduction on the part of the city's "two leading newspapers." By 1894, the union occupied an important position in the printing life of the city. It had 110 members, including job printers, newspaper compositors, pressmen, book-binders and stereotypers; it was affiliated with the International Typographical Union, and it had as its aims the procurement of employment, the security of financial assistance for illness, and "provision for the general well-being of its members as far as in it lies." This included promotion of the "interests of organized labour" throughout the region "between the Lake of the Woods and the Rocky Mountains."[46] In short, by the end of the century, Winnipeg printers were part of union activity in North America, paralleling in their progress that of their fellow union members in Toronto.

The Winnipeg Typographical Union kept abreast of all the changes taking place across the continent. In 1900 it was in communication with both the Allied Printing Crafts Union of Illinois and the Chicago Photo-engravers. In 1901 it started to agitate for the 48 hour week, in 1904 it agreed to the formation of the Photo-engravers Union, and in 1908, along with the by now separate unions of the book-binders,

stereotypers, printing pressmen and photo-engravers, became a member of the newly formed Allied Printing Trades Council.[47] By 1913, then, when Brigden's decided to open a western branch, all the familiar problems of industrial change in the printing and engraving trades were present in Winnipeg. But whereas Stovel's, Bulman's and other engraving and printing businesses were still coming to terms with the new situation, Brigden's had already faced it in Toronto. The firm had accepted the fact of employing members of the International Photo-engravers Union and thus had a distinct advantage in the field of labour relations in its new location.

In their accounts of the family business, both Fred Brigden and his nephew, Edward Nicholson, record that the decision to open a branch in Winnipeg was the result of a request on the part of the T. Eaton Company. Eaton's had found it too difficult to run the western mail order business from Winnipeg with a catalogue produced in Toronto. For one thing, customers demanded different merchandise, especially clothes and equipment more suited to the prairie climate and western rural needs. The manager of the Winnipeg store, a Mr. Gilroy, had apparently approached John Stovel first to see if his firm would take on the work. Stovel, however, when he heard that Brigden's paid its artists $75 a week compared to his $35, refused.[48] Whether this high salary applied to more than the leading art specialists is doubtful. Certainly, those artists who remember working at Winnipeg Brigden's do not mention such figures.[49] Whatever the situation, Fred Brigden, in consultation with Eaton's representative Charles Band, was dispatched by his father in 1913 to find suitable premises for the new branch. As Nicholson has

recorded, although by this time Frederick Brigden officially left the running of the firm to his sons, his entrepreneurial instincts, only four years before his death, "had not been dulled." His belief was still that "if a major customer offered you an opportunity you should grasp it no matter what the difficulties."[50] Considering that it was only the year before that Brigden's had opened its new graphic arts house in Toronto, it was indeed a major investment to expand the business to Winnipeg. From the point of view of an examination of the graphic arts industry, however, the Winnipeg branch of Brigden's demonstrated even more clearly than its Toronto parent the essential harmony needed between business, art and labour for the functioning of a successful graphic arts firm.

The Reed-Thompson Engraving Company was purchased in 1913, the top three floors of The Farmer's Advocate building on the corner of Notre Dame and Langside Streets were taken over, and early in 1914 Brigden's opened for business. It was a time of economic recession and, with the outbreak of war in August, a period when, according to Ruben Bellan, the process of expansion, so rapid prior to 1913, would slow down and then "stop altogether."[51] The construction trade virtually came to a halt, economic activity was curtailed, the population decreased and the retail trade, on which one might assume that advertising and, consequently, engraving businesses depended, also suffered a decline.[52] But, as in Toronto earlier, none of this seems to have affected the Brigden firm. In spite of the inauspicious circumstances, the new branch was established and, over the course of the next twenty years, proceeded to fulfill in the west a role which, as Russell Harper has said, paralleled

that of Notman in Montreal and Grip in Toronto.[53]

Brigden's did not, of course, come to a city devoid of competition. There were a number of large and important firms already well established in Winnipeg. Among them Stovel's, Bulman's and Ransom's were the most prestigious. John Stovel, one of the earliest printers noted in the Typographical Union records, had established his own business in 1889. He and his brothers formed a graphic arts firm which was so successful that in 1892 they moved from their original premises in the rear of an office, with only a small hand press, to a new three storey building on the corner of McDermot and Arthur Streets.[54] As Frederick Brigden had done in Toronto, so John Stovel improved his business with new machinery. He added the first linotype machine to be used in western Canada, connected electricity to mechanize the presses and in 1893, purchased from other members of the family, an engraving and lithographing firm.[55] According to Bellan, it was claimed that "no other firm in Canada and only six firms in North America, had the facilities" of the Stovel Company by 1905.[56] Even if this was an exaggerated description, Stovel's nevertheless considered itself to be "a pioneering engraving plant in western Canada." It bought special plates for its photo-engraving and electroplating from France, and was one of the first firms to introduce the three colour process to the west.[57] Stovel's employed a "large staff of black and white and full colour artists," as well as photo-engravers, wood-engravers, lithographers, stereotypers, electrotypers, bookbinders and printing pressmen.[58] The firm was obviously capable of providing any type of graphic work needed. It also published a number of books on Winnipeg's

early history and at least ten popular magazines and trade journals.[59]

With a similar entrepreneurial spirit, John Bulman, a young lithographer from Toronto, came to Winnipeg in 1892 to start a photo-engraving and lithography business with his brother Thomas. Bulman Brothers, like the Stovel Company and the Toronto Engraving Company, started in primitive circumstances. But the original "small two storey frame structure" soon gave way to a two storey block on the corner of Bannatyne and Albert Streets, where a five storey addition was built in 1905.[60] Both Bulman's and Stovel's suffered from the devastating effects of fires, in 1904 and 1916 respectively. Bulman's rebuilt as a lithography and printing firm,[61] but Stovel's continued into the early 1940s before deciding to concentrate solely on printing.[62] Besides Stovel's and Bulman's there were firms such as Buckbee Mears, Campbells, and Commercial Engravers.[63] And there was also the Ransom Engraving Company, whose owner, E. J. Ransom, was an "internationally known" artist-engraver and one of the founders of the Manitoba Society of Artists.[64] His firm advertised itself as "designers, artists, engravers," and in its promotional material directed to advertising companies and potential advertisers, said:

> the combined arts of the engraver, the ink maker, the paper maker and machine designer have thus placed in the hands of the printer for the use of merchants and publishers a mighty lever which has proved itself to be the true fulcrum in the advancement of the world.[65]

There were, in fact, so many firms active in the printing and engraving field that one might assume an extra company would be bound to fail. But such was not the case. There seems to have been so much work that firms frequently helped each other out with overflow work, or combined

in the production of illustrations for publishers.[66] Brigden's, with the Eaton's contract, also had a number of other advantages. It was practiced in catalogue production, it had experience in the field of organized labour and it already had a reputation for the quality of its art work. Its acceptance of the International Photo-engravers Union has been credited with being one of the reasons for the firm's stability and success,[67] while the employment of Arnold O. Brigden as manager can only, in retrospect, be described as inspired. It was Arnold Brigden who proceeded to hire highly trained art directors, to employ gifted apprentices who would later be among some of Canada's most respected artists, to become personally involved in all aspects of Winnipeg's artistic community and, in the process, lead the firm into its position of importance in the development of the graphic arts industry in western Canada.

Arnold O. Brigden was the nephew of Frederick Brigden. His family, his education and his training in management had, however, given him an attitude towards business which was quite different to that of his Toronto relatives. He had no concern for artisanal connections, for the values of "art workmen" or the ideas of John Ruskin as had his uncle. Nor did he have the artistic skills of his cousin, Fred Brigden. What he had, instead, was an astute, American style, business sense and the gift of recognizing talent when he saw it. Unlike his cousins, George and Fred, who had come to Canada as infants in 1872 with their craftsman father, Arnold had grown up in England. His father, Frederick Brigden's youngest brother, was a Methodist minister and Wesleyan scholar. In the tradition of the English Methodist Church, he and his family moved to a

new parish every three years.[68] Arnold Brigden was educated at Kingswood, the boys' school founded by Wesley at Bath in 1748, and retained the connection all his life; indeed, he eventually founded an Old Boys' Association in Canada and sent, with much correspondence, a donation to the school on the occasion of its bicentenary celebration.[69] In 1904, Arnold, aged seventeen, came to Canada to join his uncle's Toronto firm as an apprentice engraver. He made his home with his Toronto relatives, the Canadian and English sides of the family having retained close ties. He found, however, that his skills were not really in the field of engraving. He stayed for the period of his apprenticeship, but returned to England on its completion.[70]

In 1910, Arnold Brigden accepted a position in New York with the engraving firm of Gills, and by 1912 was in a supervisory position.[71] He apparently excelled in his job and was, according to a fellow employee, a "real glutton for work."[72] According to family letters, it was generally accepted that he would join the family firm; on the occasion of the building of the new Brigden premises in Toronto, his mother wrote, "I expect [Fred] won't be content until he gets you into their firm."[73] But it was not until the opening of the Winnipeg branch that he was persuaded to return to Canada. The decision may have been made easier by the fact that his elder sister, Kathleen, was in Winnipeg at the time as an exchange teacher under the auspices of the Colonial Intelligence League.[74] Writing to him later she said, "I am more than ever thankful that my time in Winnipeg coincided with yours and Fred's ... the whole Winnipeg engraving business might not have started when it did at all -- it meant a great deal of interest for me ...."[75]

Once Arnold Brigden was installed as manager, Fred Brigden divided his time between Winnipeg and Toronto. With Arnold, "a practical photo-engraver who has made a close study of engraving methods and has set a new standard of quality," and W. J. Faulkner, "a specialist in all phases of applied engravings," the company advertised itself as having experts" in all branches of the profession."[76] There was adequate staff, the firm had modern equipment and was progressive in its attitude towards unionism. But there was, in the early correspondence relating to the beginning of the Winnipeg branch, an extraordinary amount of family discussion which seems vague and tentative to say the least. The cousins wrote back and forth discussing the difficulties of finding good designers, of having their electrotyping done satisfactorily, of obtaining other customers besides Eaton's, and of comparing their work with that of other companies.

The Brigdens did not seem to have been afflicted with the "dyspepsia of the mind" described by Michael Bliss as the state of the business community in the early years of the twentieth century. The perception of working in "a hostile environment," in opposition to governmental, political and professional forces,[77] did not worry them. Rather, their anxieties concerned their ability to compete with other firms already in the city. For instance, in letters to his cousin in Toronto, Arnold Brigden discussed the design situation: "I saw the Ransom cover colour sketches this noon ... They are quite original in that there has been no cover like them before." Of Schenlau, a new designer engaged by Faulkner, he said that he was insufficiently "original in treatment ... [He] is up against [Victor] Long with Buckbee

Mears, Gordon with Bruce Campbell and Sherris with Ransom ... we cannot offer anything so original as any of these men give in Winnipeg."[78] But later, with the art department running satisfactorily under the first of a long line of talented art directors, the unfavourable comparisons declined in number. The complaints changed to a concern for the amount of work coming in and the lack of skilled men to undertake it. Arnold was supervising the "mechanical" department himself and noted that "with the amount of Eaton business when it comes we have no one here to tackle the job; there may be a time when a trained superintendent can be afforded as Ransom and Stovel run, but you [Fred] may consider with me, that the time we spend next to the work is of paramount importance just now."[79]

It is difficult to tell how many photo-engravers there were in the city at the time, of if they were trained men or apprentices. The few mentioned in the Allied Printing Trades Council records were not restricted to working for one company. They seem, in fact, to have worked for all the engraving companies at one time or another. They rarely attended union meetings and seemed to have solved any grievances with their employers without Council help; this situation leads one to assume that their services were in constant demand. As late as 1927 only twenty-five were listed as being permanently in the city, and it was not until 1931 that serious conflicts with employers were mentioned.[80] Even then there was no record of conflict with Brigden's, whose photo-engravers had a closed union shop from the beginning and whose financial security is remembered with some envy by other Brigden employees.[81] Unlike the Toronto firm, Winnipeg Brigden's did not have

its own printshop, so there were no printers on the workforce.

If it is difficult to equate the somewhat frantic messages between the cousins with the writings and memories of Brigden employees, it is equally difficult to ascertain the Brigdens' reactions to the local economic situation. By 1915 the business climate was different to that in existence when the firm arrived. The recession was over, retail sales were booming and there was a bumper harvest; the autumn of 1915 was, according to Bellan, the most profitable Winnipeg businessmen had ever known.[82] The unemployment of the preceding years had been replaced by a marked improvement as war orders arrived for the machine shops and the flour mills began to supply the British and Canadian governments.[83] Troops were stationed in the city thus contributing to consumer demand and to a general prosperity which lasted to the end of the war; albeit a prosperity which hid the true situation of the cost of living and real incomes, ignored social conditions and paid no attention to a labour situation which would collapse once the veterans returned.[84] Of these external problems, however, there is little mention in the Brigden correspondence.

During the war, Arnold and Fred Brigden adopted the policy of "business as usual," and certainly, in Winnipeg, the firm did not suffer. But in Toronto the business had a harder time. Fred frequently returned to help his brother, George, in the running of a firm in difficulties. In a letter to Arnold he recorded that the clerical staff "has been cut in two and everybody in the works except one or two artists is on half time." He implied, however, that it was not necessarily the war which was affecting the business and emphasized that

it was essential to keep things going "not only for our own benefit but as much for the many depending upon us." He also had no doubts about Arnold's ability to cope alone: "It will be a great relief to me if you are able to pull through in Winnipeg without my having to come out. George never needed my backing more than at this time."[85] In letters from England there was occasional mention of the war, but in 1915 most of the correspondence concerned Arnold's adjustment to life in Winnipeg and his organization of the business. His cousin Bertha wrote: "the news of your doings in Winnipeg never fails to entertain us and we think you are doing finely both in and out of business hours -- it all sounds virile and full of accomplishment,"[86] and his mother added, "we rejoice that business is brisk -- and profits good -- you will soon be coming to the end of your financial year."[87] His mother was worried that his church duties were being neglected and that his health might suffer through over-work. She felt that he was doing too much in order "to prevent the necessity" of Fred having to return to Winnipeg.[88] At the same time it cannot have been all work; his sister Kathleen noted that he had "already scoured more of Winnipeg's outlying districts" than she had in her two years in the city.[89]

In 1916, Arnold must have discussed with his family in England the possibility of enlisting. His mother responded by saying: "We think you do well to wait and see how things go on -- <u>all</u> cannot be spared from business even tho it be for such a good cause -- and you are doing genuine work for the Brigden firm ..."[90] As it transpired this was sound advice: in 1917, Frederick Brigden died. This meant that there was a general reorganization of the firm's management. George Brigden

became President and Fred Brigden was made General Manager of both the Toronto and Winnipeg branches. In 1919, Fred returned to Toronto to live and in 1920, the Winnipeg branch was incorporated as a company in its own right, Brigden's of Winnipeg Limited. Fred Brigden was made President of the new company, while Arnold continued in his position of Manager[91] and had virtual freedom to run the Winnipeg firm in his own manner. It was from this time on that Arnold Brigden proceeded to place the business on a sound footing even if, as he grew older, his relationship with his employees and his community, his methods of business, his interest in art, and his hobbies made him appear somewhat eccentric to his peers.

From Arnold Brigden's early letters to his cousin, expressing his worries over the designer Schenlau, it might be thought that artistic talent was lacking in Winnipeg when he arrived. Such, of course, was not the case. Artists had come and gone in Winnipeg from the Red River days,[92] but western art and artists of the early twentieth century have generally been ignored by Canadian art historians, possibly because most of them were connected with commerce of one sort or another.[93] The Winnipeg artists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were teachers, cartoonists for the newspapers and artists or engravers working for the graphic arts firms.[94] Victor Long, who worked for Buckbee Mears, had arrived in 1887,[95] Frank Armington came from Paris in 1900 and started his teaching studio, Hay Stead was a cartoonist with the Free Press and E. J. Ransom, an engraver of considerable repute, founded his own company early in the century.[96] In 1903, Armington, Stead and Ransom were instrumental in forming the first Manitoba Society

of Artists, various art exhibitions were held at industrial and agricultural fairs and in private homes,[97] and in 1911, Lionel LeMoine FitzGerald began exhibiting.[98] In 1912, an Art Gallery was opened in the Industrial Bureau building and in September of 1913, the Winnipeg School of Art, also in the Industrial Bureau building, opened its doors to students.[99] As in Toronto, art and commerce were closely linked. E. J. Ransom, for example, argued that "better designed products would help Canadian industry compete more efficiently abroad and that commercial art was itself an industry sorely in need of development, particularly in Western Canada."[100] And the new School of Art was, from the beginning, a school of art and design, founded to further not only the development of "Canadian art," but also "the training of commercial artists."[101]

Besides the number of competent artists resident and working in Winnipeg, there were trained artists and talented apprentices working for Arnold Brigden from the beginning. Although he had written to Fred complaining of the lack of a trained superintendent for the "mechanical" department, which presumably meant the photo-engraving and photography departments, and worried about the firm's ability to compete with other firms, these anxieties can only be construed as the impatience of a far-sighted and ambitious young man. The art directors who worked for him were all men of superior talent and experience. For example, Tom MacLean, the first head of Winnipeg Brigden's art department, had worked at Grip Limited in Toronto with A. H. Robson, Tom Thompson, J. E. H. MacDonald and the other Group of Seven members since 1896.[102] He was followed by men such as Jack Schaflein, an American artist who was in

charge of the commercial art department in the 1920s and 1930s,[103] and Percy Edgar who started with the firm in 1915 and became head of the fashion art department in 1920.[104] They were all highly accomplished artists, remembered by their subordinates as their first teachers and the major influences on their own careers.[105]

Apprentices entered Brigden's employment in the early years without any previous training. Their talent may have been recognized by a parent or school teacher, but generally speaking, they were trained on the job. They entered one of two specialities: "commercial" art or "fashion" art. The former included the making of illustrations for machinery, appliances, furniture and other hard goods advertising, while the latter centred on art work for clothing, linen and soft goods. Both categories would, of course, come under the more general consideration of "commercial art" as opposed to "fine art."

The size of the Brigden workplace was such that photo-engravers, wood-engravers and photographers worked on the top floor, fashion artists on the middle and commercial artists on the lower. At the same time, The Farmer's Advocate continued to publish on the ground floor.[106] The Brigden advertising stated that the firm was equipped "to supply illustrations and designs for books, catalogues, magazines and general advertising of all kinds.[107] The whole enterprise paralleled the Toronto firm, both in its advertising and its technological progress, although it never included a printing department as was the case in the east. Wood-engraving continued for some time, until gradually replaced by photo-engraving altogether in the 1920s; the half-tone process and the three and four colour processes were also

introduced during the same period. Customers were advertising agencies or, more commonly in the early days, retail and wholesale firms contacted through the intermediary of Brigden's sales staff. They included Hudson's Bay House, the Army and Navy Store in Regina, the Great West Garment Company in Edmonton, and Gaults, Birks and the Christie Company in Winnipeg. But it was the Eaton's mail order catalogue which provided the largest amount of work for the Brigden engravers and artists. In fact, the whole organization of production, in Winnipeg as in Toronto, centred around the two annual catalogues; from February to May and from September to December,[108] specialists were brought in from the United States, extra staff was hired for the "busy" season, and low pay was supplemented by overtime.

Among the reasons given for John Stovel's refusal of the Eaton's contract was his inability to pay artists the high salary of $75 per week they were thought to earn. This figure was obviously exaggerated, although the American artists are recorded as having earned "good money." The average starting wage for a Brigden artist was closer to $9 per week for an eight hour day, with overtime payments of twenty five cents an hour extra.[109] However, at catalogue time, employees worked as one has said, "from morning until night, each day much like the other,"[110] with the result that they considered the two periods of catalogue production as their major source of income. The photo-engravers earned union wages and, according to oral sources, had their own pension scheme, but the wood-engravers and artists, whether apprentices or fully trained professionals, relied, for the major portion of their income, on the vagaries of the catalogue seasons.

Ex-employees all talk of the low pay, the poor lighting, the lack of paid holidays, pension schemes and sick leave pay. The artists were somewhat envious of the photo-engravers' security, but at the same tme did not consider unionizing themselves. Certainly, in the United States, the Lithographic Artists, Engravers and Designers League and the Poster Artists Association were organizations with considerable power.[111] In Winnipeg, however, the artists seem to have been grateful for any type of work connected with art and refer instead to the camaraderie they experienced: "It was fun at Brigden's," one of them recalled, "in spite of the heavy work schedule."[112]

The staff numbered from a hundred to a hundred and twenty-five employees, including up to sixty-five artists, twenty-five engravers and five photo-engravers as well as office and sales personnel. In the early years there were as many as seventeen wood-engraving apprentices, but as photo-engraving and photography took over, so the numbers declined. Some were always needed for the commercial side of the catalogue, but others transferred to marketing or to photo-engraving.[113] Among them were Frank Ferguson, who eventually bought the Winnipeg business in 1963, Sid Vale, who became the firm's liaison with Eaton's, and Eric Bergman, who worked for Brigden's all his life and became one of western Canada's most respected artists. Whichever area they worked in, ex-employees talk of the number of "characters" who worked for Brigden's, people from a wide variety of backgrounds who went on to use their skills in many different milieus. Pete Hall, who had been a Canadian Olympic gymnastics champion, and Arthur Sidwell, who was a professional swimming coach, worked in the

photo-engraving department;[114] Harold Foster illustrated the first Tarzan books and created the comic book character, Prince Valient;[115] Emile Laliberté and Jim Petrie painted covers for Harlequin Books; Charles Thorsen was considered to be the creator of Bugs Bunny and sued Walt Disney for the copyright, and Angus Shortt went on to become a noted painter of Canadian wildlife.[116]

Artists and engravers came from different countries and at different stages in their careers. Ralph Garbutt and Arthur Sidwell, for example, were both trained photo-engravers who had come from England.[117] Artists whose reputations have not been given their due, individuals appreciated locally but not nationally such as Cyril Ashmore and Alison Newton, also came from England.[118] Newton Brett had trained in New York and Chicago before joining the firm in 1914,[119] while Pauline and Christine LeGoff who worked for Brigden's from 1918 to 1940 were from France. The former, under her married name of Boutal, became famous for her theatrical sets and costumes and her own paintings, while the latter has been described by all who knew her as "the best fashion artist in Canada."[120] At times, however, the artists who worked for Brigden's resembled a "Who's Who" of Canadian art. Charles Comfort and Eric Bergman were with the firm from the start, while Victor Friesen, Nicholas Grandmaison, Caven Atkins, Fritz Brandtner, Philip Surrey, William Maltman, Gordon Smith and William Winter were among those working there for various periods during the 1920s and 1930s. The work they did for the catalogue never changed, but as William Winter has said, "all of us, talented or not, had to go into commercial art, there was no chance of earning a living at anything else."[121]

By the time of the economic crisis of the 1930s, Arnold Brigden was accepted as a noteworthy, if somewhat eccentric, personality in Winnipeg. His business opinions were quoted in The Free Press, he was a member of the Art Committee of the Industrial Bureau which supported the Art Gallery and the Art School, and his camping trips and "alpine" hobbies, which included an Alpine Club hut in his backyard,[122] were well known. He may not have been a member of the local "elite," but among artists, art teachers and collectors he was an important figure. Not only did he purchase the private work of many of his employees,[123] at a time when few Canadians supported their own artists, but he also assisted them, during the depression, to take classes at the Winnipeg School of Art. Many of the artists had attended the school in the evenings or during the slack periods between the twice yearly catalogue rush, but in the 1930s the situation was somewhat different. Although the firm survived the depression years, ex-employees describe the period as one where they would be arbitrarily "laid off," have their fees paid to attend the school and then be re-hired as the situation improved: as one artist has said, "it was a sort of retainer."[124]

In spite of the fact that Brigden artists were obviously working under difficult conditions, were poorly paid and were still obliged to fulfill the monotonous assembly line production of the catalogue, they nevertheless recall their years with the firm as rewarding. They were at least semi-employed and were able to work in an atmosphere which was congenial to their special interests. Winter says, "it was stimulating to acquire the skills, the materials of painting, the brushes, the colours, and the enthusiasm of others." He has described what he calls

"a tradition of water colour painting at the commercial houses," when he and Philip Surrey and other young artists would spend their lunch breaks sketching and painting in the cold Winnipeg winters, "mixing glycerine with our paints to keep them from freezing."[125] Caven Atkins has also mentioned the stimulation of contact with other artists while at Winnipeg Brigden's: he has recorded, for example, how Fritz Brandtner introduced him to the ideas of the German Expressionists and the Bauhaus movement.[126] And Brandtner himself, already an accomplished artist when he came to Winnipeg from Danzig in 1926, was able, because of the livelihood provided by his work with Brigden's, to experiment with his version of "Canadian modernism" in his spare hours.[127] For these artists, then, Brigden's was a place where they were able to work and exchange ideas, and could, at the same time, hone their skills in the hope of a different future. But for some, like Eric Bergman and Charles Comfort, it was the major impetus in their careers. They owed their start to Fred and Arnold Brigden.

Eric Bergman was to become an internationally known graphic artist who remained with Brigden's all his life, but Comfort followed a different path. This began when Fred Brigden was in Winnipeg in 1913 establishing the new branch of the firm. He was asked to judge a water colour competition at the Winnipeg Y.M.C.A. and awarded the first prize to the thirteen year old Charles Comfort. He subsequently offered him an apprenticeship at the firm for $3 per week.[128] After some difficulty with his parents who had "something more respectable in mind," Comfort joined the Winnipeg firm in November of 1914. He carried out the usual mundane chores of drawing furniture, kitchen-ware and machinery for the

catalogue during the day, and in the evenings attended the classes given by Alex Musgrave at the Winnipeg School of Art.[129] In 1918 and 1919 he won the Eaton's catalogue cover competition and was able to go to Toronto on the proceeds. There he started working at the Toronto Brigden's becoming, as he said, "a kind of mobile employee, moving back and forth between Toronto and Winnipeg as required."[130] He settled in Toronto permanently in 1926 where, according to Paul Duval, he was "the star commercial designer of the country."[131] He continued working for Brigden's and other graphic arts firms, including his own, until in 1938 he began teaching at the University of Toronto. As with Fred Brigden, however, his recognition by the Royal Canadian Academy did not come until 1942, by which time he had been a working artist for over twenty-five years. Later he was to be President of the Academy from 1957 to 1960 and was then appointed Director of the National Gallery, a post he held for the next five years.[132] He became, in fact, an important figure in the history of Canadian art but one who never forgot the debt he owed to the world of commerce. Although he said that he could separate his commercial from what he called his "expressive" work, he is also recorded as saying that the blend between the two had "been a great advantage." It kept him, he said, in touch "with life and men and matters," thus avoiding the isolation from "the facts of life" which can be "one of the greatest weaknesses of painters."[133] Like Winter, he respected the discipline and skills the commercial work had given him.

Also like William Winter, Comfort emphasized the stimulation of association with other artists in Winnipeg, including those not working at Brigden's. Among those who endeavoured to earn a living either

commercially or by teaching, were Lionel LeMoine FitzGerald and Walter J. Phillips, artists who would eventually become well known both in Canada and abroad. And it is with these two that the name of Eric Bergman is most closely associated: the "Manitoba Three" they have been called.[134] FitzGerald, who was Winnipeg born, had already had a painting accepted by the Royal Canadian Academy in 1913,[135] and Phillips had arrived in the city from England in the same year.[136] Both concentrated their skills on water-colour painting and wood-engraving and both spent most of their lives teaching in order to have an income.[137] When, therefore, Eric Bergman arrived in Winnipeg in 1914 from Toronto, he found artists with compatible interests. Originally from Dresden, he was already trained as a wood-engraver and photo-engraver and was employed by Brigden's straight away. Initially, like everyone else at the firm, he was caught up in the routine of commercial work, but in the 1920s he was encouraged by Fred Brigden and Walter Phillips to extend his creative talents outside his working hours. The result was the creation of water colours and engravings which led him to international renown.[138] Unlike Comfort, however, he chose to remain in Winnipeg, working at Brigden's and going on painting trips with his friends. But for both of them, Bergman and Comfort, it seems more than likely that without the support and encouragement of the Brigdens, their art and their careers could not have developed in the way they did in the years between the two world wars. Fred Brigden was a painting companion to them, while Arnold Brigden bought their work and promoted its further exposure.[139]

For Winnipeg artists in the years prior to the second world war,

connections with commerce were obviously essential. Without them, they would have been unable to work. While the School of Art and the Art Gallery gave a formal recognition to the arts,[140] it was in the commercial art houses that artists were able to earn a living and thus keep their skills alive. It is interesting to speculate on the historical influence of the Brigden artists on the artistic community of Winnipeg. Certainly, water colour painting, engraving and printing have remained important aspects of prairie art.[141] But as most of the artists who worked at the firm in the 1920s and 1930s ultimately left Winnipeg, their influence has obviously been felt elsewhere. Of further interest is the fact that it was the production of the Eaton's catalogue which prompted Brigden's to open its Winnipeg branch and which provided work for so many artists of future importance. This clearly demonstrates how a seemingly mundane commercial venture could have effects beyond its immediate aims.

In 1914, Eaton's, which gave no recognition in its records of Brigden's, began withdrawing some of its work from the Toronto branch. There are comments in the Brigden correspondence which lead one to assume that the Eaton contract was not always reliable, in spite of Fred Brigden's public pronouncements on the privilege of working for Eaton's. There is no record showing that the Brigdens were conscious of the unfair practices carried on by Eaton's during the 1930s,[142] but ex-Brigden employees mention how, with the gradual development of its own advertising and art department, Eaton's tried to lure artists away from the Brigden firm.[143] In the 1940s, Winnipeg Brigden's was producing more work for Eaton's than the Toronto branch, but in 1948 the

whole catalogue production was returned to Toronto. The impression given in the Eaton literature would lead one to suppose that all work was subsequently carried out in its own departments: as one ex-employee has said, "large companies play down buying from others."[144] In fact, according to The Globe and Mail, Toronto Brigden's was still doing art work for Eaton's in 1970.[145]

During the 1920s, the graphic arts industry was not seriously affected by external events. The Winnipeg Strike, the changes in the wheat economy which affected wholesale and retail trade, and the rivalry for business between western Canadian cities which was part of the post-war situation,[146] were offset by improvements in technology and marketing.[147] There was, in fact, considerable business activity in Winnipeg, including the addition of two new mail order warehouses.[148] Brigden's, for example, was not obliged to rely entirely on work for the Eaton's catalogue. But starting in 1929, with the crash of the Wall Street stock market and the nation wide slump,[149] Brigden's, along with many other firms, suffered a period of economic difficulty. As a business it weathered the depression years, but for its artists and other employees the decade was obviously a time of great insecurity. The artists, as already mentioned, have described it as a period of erratic employment interspersed with sessions at the Winnipeg School of Art, but there are no records of how the situation affected the photo-engravers. They are not mentioned in the Allied Printing Trades records of the depression years, although there was considerable unemployment among the typographers and pressmen.[150] The photo-engravers are, in fact, only referred to in the records when, in

1933, they had contract problems with Stovel's and were involved in an employment dispute with The Tribune.[151]

For the Brigden firm itself, in spite of the economic situation, the 1930s were years of consolidation and retrenchment. The two branches worked in close co-operation throughout the period, but by the 1940s the Winnipeg branch was in better financial health than its parent company and Arnold Brigden was being urged to move to Toronto to take over as general manager of both companies. Arnold Brigden, however, like his uncle Frederick Brigden, the founder of the company, was well aware that in order to survive, businesses need to keep pace with changing concepts in both technology and management. His refusal, in 1942, to accept the combined position, included the comment that "the time of the old family-pact is going. Others can equally well master the role, with some embellishments which can be acquired."[152] It was a response indicative of the next phase in the growth of the Canadian graphic arts industry when family owned and run business would gradually give way to non-family, or corporate systems of management.

By 1940, then, following the expansion of the graphic arts industry into western Canada, the commercial reproduction of visual images by mechanical means had become universally accepted. Industrialization had followed the railway across the country, resulting in the mechanization of printing presses, divisions of labour and a new commercial atmosphere which affected all who worked in the production of illustrations for newspapers, books, advertisements and mail order catalogues. As in the east earlier, printers and engravers who had previously worked independently in an artisanal situation, were now employed by either

printing firms or commercial graphic arts houses, with separate unions to protect their interests. Artists were also obliged to work for commercial companies in a difficult economic climate and, like their Toronto counterparts, suffered from the perceived inferiority of being "commercial" artists.[153] The period between the two world wars was, finally, one which saw graphic arts firms consolidate the business, labour and art aspects of their production into unified institutions and one which extended the concept of modern mass communication across the country.

# CHAPTER VII: MANAGEMENT, UNIONS AND ART, 1914-1950

While it is possible to consider the expansion of commercial reproductive processes into the west as a major contribution to the growth of the Canadian graphic arts industry, there were a number of other developments in the history of the industry in the interwar years which should also be taken into consideration. These included the change in business structure as founder-owners of firms retired or died; the impact of new technology on both management and labour; and the changing status of artists in relation to "commercial" and "fine" art. Business firms had to accomplish the difficult transfer of leadership to either second generation members of the founding family, non-family members, or a combination of both in a new managerial situation. At the same time they had to accommodate their organization to include the latest in technical equipment, a factor which also affected their labour force.

Workers in the industry who were unionized (generally photo-engravers, but also printers and lithographers in some firms), not only participated in such union activity as the campaign for the shorter work week, but were involved for the whole period in disputes concerning the introduction of off-set lithography. This process, which became the dominant technique for the reproduction of visual images, prompted a debate over union jurisdiction which was not settled until 1964. Business and labour were, therefore, both affected by new technology. Artists, on the other hand, were not affected until the end of the period. Their mode of work within the industry continued much as before. However, their reactions to the depression, the new forms of

prevailing attitudes concering "fine" and "commercial" art, were also representative of a period of transition. By the late 1940s, there would be changes in the perception of commercial artists which would lead to their work being recognized as having a distinctive value of its own. Fortunately, it is again possible to use the Brigden records to trace the evolution of the Canadian graphic arts industry during this period of managerial, technological and artistic change. It is also possible to suggest that it was the response to these changes which led to new attitudes towards the reproduction of visual images within the context of modern mass communication.

In a study of the rise and decline of small firms, Jonathan Boswell has described certain situations in the life of small businesses which seem to parallel the experience of Brigden's and other similar firms during the 1920s to 1940s. He has defined "small firms" as private companies with fewer than five hundred employees and less than fifty shareholders. The firms in his study were usually owner-managed and more often than not, family firms.[1] They were also firms which, because they did not invite the general public to buy shares, were "removed from the capital market: a factor of great significance in terms of their frequent financial problems." Printing and publishing firms and, by extension, graphic arts firms were included by Boswell under the definition of "small firms."[2] They were invariably established by an entrepreneur-owner, who may or may not have also been a craftsman, and were then enlarged into a family business with the inclusion of sons and

brothers and nephews.[3] The small firm pattern, as Irene Tichenor has also noted, was one where there was "participation of the owner in management, dependence on local markets, absence of stockmarket financing, and personal relationships between proprietor and customer."[4] Certainly, Canadian graphic arts firms followed this development: they progressed from artisan-ownership to family business within a local and personal environment. Boswell's study concerned the problems which occurred when firms were inherited by second or third generation family members.

The successor or inheritor of a firm had usually received his training within it, working in all areas of activity, following a "grass roots training" as Boswell has called it. But while some successors were enthusiastic about entering the family firm, others would sooner have followed different professions and a further group were indifferent, merely conforming to what was expected of them.[5] The successor usually made faily rapid progress through the various levels and departments of the business. Actual responsibility was, however, often given reluctantly and even if the successor was nominally in charge, the founder-owner still retained power of decision making. As a result, the successor, usually a son, only became chief executive on the death of his father by which time he was no longer young himself. He had, therefore, "less chance to develop along fresh and distinctive lines,"[6] continuing instead in the tradition created by his father. Moreover, the long period of association with the firm meant that the successor had, more often than not, no training or experience outside the firm and had been subject to the inevitable pressures of family

rivalries.

In order to establish some sort of niche for himself, the successor would turn to more public aspects of business life. Rather than concentrating on the entrepreneurial interests of the founder,[7] he would emphasize his memberships in such organizations as the local Chamber of Commerce or Manufacturing Association. Boswell does not agree with the theory that second generation owners lacked energy or imagination. He argues, instead, that their abilities became blunted because of environmental and psychological restraints. This limiting factor thus hastened a business decline which, when it occurred, was invariably attributed to the circumstances associated with the inheritance. Once the problems were recognized, however, and a need for change accepted, then the possibility of the firm's revival could be assessed. The introduction of new, or non-family, managerial staff into the firm could remove the need to rely on the loyalty of family members. And at the same time "tinkering" with short term financial measures, usually the borrowing of family money, could be replaced by large scale capital investment in new machinery and equipment, and by adaptation to new marketing techniques.[8]

Boswell's investigation was of sixty-four English firms and was carried out in the 1950s and 1960s,[9] but, as he has noted, the processes of change which occurred in small family businesses were present in the nineteenth-century and continued into the twentieth. The same theme can be found in all periods: the problems of inheritance coupled with the economic situation within which the transfer of ownership took place, created a period of non-growth or actual decline which could only be

alleviated, if at all, by the introduction of new blood and new techniques. In the context of Canadian graphic arts firms, the two world wars, the depression years of the 1930s, and the introduction of photo-mechanics and off-set lithography were the major external elements forcing businesses to recognize the need for change. As an individual firm undergoing transference of ownership within a difficult period of political and economic security, Brigden's experience closely followed the model established by Boswell, both in the problems it encountered and in the policies taken to alleviate them.

On the death of Frederick Brigden in 1917, the firm was inherited by his sons George and Fred, now forty-seven and forty-five years of age respectively. Although nominally General Manager of the Toronto branch since 1908, George had been second fiddle to his father for years; at times of crisis or decision making he had relied on his father's ideas. He was active in local business affairs but quite obviously, when it came to running the family firm, he did not have the entrepreneurial skills of his father and his cousin Arnold, or the personality traits of his brother Fred. George Brigden had entered his father's firm in 1886, when he was seventeen years old. He worked in the office, looking after sales and orders.[10] There is no record of him working as a wood engraver or of even being interested in the art side of the firm. But in 1890 he was sent by his father to Dayton, Ohio, to learn the new technique of photo-engraving: "the mysteries of negative making and the etching of both line and half-tone plates,"[11] as it says in the Brigden account. Edward Nicholson records that George was made Manager of the business in 1893 when the firm was incorporated,[12] but this is not

confirmed by the Toronto Directory. The Directory lists him as Manager in 1900, a statement then confused by the listings in the Toronto Assessment Rolls. The only name mentioned from 1880 until 1908 was that of Frederick Brigden, as "proprietor" or "owner" of the Toronto Engraving Company. In 1912, however, following the name change to Brigden's Limited, Frederick Brigden was listed as "President" and George as "Manager." This form of presentation continued until after Frederick Brigden's death: George was not in fact listed as President of the company until 1921, although he had been occupying the position since 1917.[13]

Despite the absence of letters or diaries written by George Brigden in the family records, there were many references to him and his family in the correspondence between Fred and Arnold Brigden. George's interests were of a more conservative nature than those of his father or brother. He was a founding member of the Rotary Club of Toronto, a member of the Canadian Manufacturing Association and a director of the Canadian National Exhibition. He served as President of all these organizations at different periods of time,[14] and in 1940, a year before his death, was President of the Toronto Graphic Arts Association. He would appear to have been the epitome of the business executive, active in the life of his community, where he continued his father's work with the deaf,[15] and his trade, where he was involved in its managerial organization, the Graphic Arts Association. His pattern of activity was, in fact, closely related to Boswell's description of a second generation successor kept waiting too long for actual responsibility.[16]

It is difficult to know what George Brigden's feelings were when,

in 1913, with the new building in Toronto only just opened, his father decided to extend the family business to Winnipeg. Although, as recorded by Nicholson, George and Fred Brigden had been in "active management" of the company since 1908,[17] the Winnipeg decision seems to have been entirely their father's. The subsequent difficulties which occurred cannot, therefore, be laid entirely at George's feet, in spite of the fact that family members referred to him as "erratic and impulsive" in business matters.[18] It would seem to be far more likely that the problems inherited by George Brigden in 1917 had started with the expansion of the business to Winnipeg in 1914.

The impact of war on eastern business affairs had caused considerable confusion. In spite of protestations of "business as usual" in such publications as the Monetary Times, it is obvious that Canadian business and financial circles were uncertain about the situation. While some firms were already receiving orders for military supplies, others were being forced to close because of curtailment of their overseas orders.[19] As R. C. Brown and Ramsay Cook have noted, "Neither business nor government ... was prepared for the demand of a war economy."[20] The banks, in particular, were affected by wartime policies,[21] a factor emphasized in a speech given by J. W. Flavelle to the Montreal Canadian Club in November of 1914. He told his audience that they should not criticize the banks for refusing loans. This was not being done "from a desire to be nasty." The banks were, instead, obliged "to so conserve matters that confidence in Canadian finances would remain unshaken." He noted that business problems would be financial rather than commercial, and that because no borrowed money was

coming into Canada, it could mean "very anxious times for bankers as well as merchants and manufacturers."[22] It is difficult to tell, then, given the circumstances, whether it was the onset of a war economy, an unwise move on the part of Frederick Brigden to extend his business into Winnipeg, or the possible ineptitude of George Brigden which prompted the firm's financial crisis.

At the end of 1914, Fred Brigden was hurriedly recalled from Winnipeg to Toronto where, as he said, he found himself "plunged into a turmoil of troubles, mostly financial." Apparently the firm's bank (which bank is not mentioned in the correspondence), was loath, "in this time of war," as Fred Brigden explained in his letters to Arnold, to continue the firm's line of credit. The bank objected to the fact that so much of the firm's "liquid assets" had "disappeared during the last year without any reduction in their loan." The fact that the money had been used to complete the Toronto building, to install new printing equipment and to open the Winnipeg business was not looked upon kindly by the bank.[23] Although the Brigden's accountant felt that the buildings were sufficient security for continuation of the loan, the bank required "a number of personal securities" from Frederick Brigden himself. Obviously in the eyes of the loan manager of the bank, the firm was still in the hands of the founder. It was also a situation which supports Boswell's description of family money being used to tide a firm over during periods of financial difficulty.[24]

Fred Brigden restored order to the Toronto branch but for the next five years he moved back and forth between Winnipeg and Toronto. He placed great faith in the Winnipeg business and in his cousin Arnold's

management of it, although profits were certainly not remarkable. He reported to Arnold that the bank statement of August 1st to December 1st, 1914, showed a profit of $4000 "between Toronto and Winnipeg," of which Winnipeg was responsible for $1700. He concluded that the Winnipeg branch, in spite of its newness, would be able "to save the whole business during the rather dark days ahead," and expressed the hope that it would "make a little real money for us."[25] In spite of this optimism there were still difficulties in Toronto. Eaton's had begun to remove work from the firm and another major client, the Bon Ton Company, had "failed," leaving a debt of $7000. In 1915, financial considerations were forcing cutbacks in staff,[26] and in 1916 there were problems in obtaining certain types of papers and inks, and in finding sufficient trained employees.

William Brigden, Frederick Brigden's brother, had been running the printing department since 1908. In 1916, he wrote to his nephew Fred concerning the scarcity of "help." It was, apparently, a worker's market. The employment situation was such that employers were offering apprentices and trained workers wages much above the accepted norm. William Brigden complained that his platen-feeder apprentice whose normal wage was $6 per week, and who was already earning $8.50, was being lured away by an offer of $12.50.[27] The presses were being run by one or two feeders instead of four, requests were continually made to "lend out" the skilled men, and wounded veterans were re-employed where possible. All in all, the firm was not in the best of circumstances when Frederick Brigden died in 1917 and George Brigden had to take over. As Boswell has said, either external market factors or "defects of

inheritance" could be sufficient to cause business decline; together they might compound one another and would invariably lead to the loss of a firm's stability.[28] Clearly George Brigden's uncertain leadership and the financial and organizational problems created by the war placed the Brigden firm within Boswell's model of a small firm in danger of decline.

It is possible, moreover, to take the pattern further and demonstrate that the Brigdens fell into the three categories of inheritors suggested by Boswell's study. George Brigden was obviously the conforming successor, following in his father's footsteps without enthusiasm, while Fred Brigden would sooner have been following an independent profession in art. Arnold, in Winnipeg, would, of course, have come under the "enthusiastic" category;[29] but he was not a true inheritor and could, instead, be classified as an example of the "new blood" needed in order to inject new business approaches. It was, then, left to Fred Brigden to prevent the Toronto business from falling into further decline. He had always had to juggle his artistic career and his loyalty to the family firm, so did not seem unduly disturbed when, in 1919, he was made General Manager of the Toronto branch. From then on he left Winnipeg in the hands of his cousin, returned to Toronto for good and virtually ran the Toronto firm himself. He was not an entrepreneur like his father or his cousin Arnold; he managed to maintain the business on a more or less even keel through dint of his personality and his ability to understand his employees.

In his biography of Fred Brigden, J. E. Middleton has described the difficulties of keeping the plant in full production during a period

when "competition was sharp and getting sharper."[30] The period of adjustment after the war had, following an initial economic crisis,[31] by 1925 returned to a position referred to by W. A. Mackintosh as one where "commercial policy had been normalized."[32] There was a rapid and widespread" economic expansion over the next five years[33] which, no doubt, affected the graphic arts industry as much as any other. Brigden's customers, "in the excitement of the times," as Middleton recorded, "expected miracles both in the quality of the product and in speed." In fulfilling their requirements and in managing "a growing staff of temperamental artists and photo-engravers," Middleton concluded that Fred Brigden performed "an executive task of the first magnitude."[34] Charles Comfort, however, offered a different interpretation of Fred Brigden's capabilities. He recognized that Fred was an artist and not, by nature or inclination, a businessman.[35] But he suggested that it was precisely because Fred Brigden was an artist that he was able to manage the firm as well as he did. Comfort said: "the Brigden business was concerned with art and artists and Mr. Brigden employed artists, befriended artists, and was a benefactor to artists. It was the rare combination of orderly thinking, a cultivated taste, incomparable honesty, and humanitarian motives, that made him a success as an employer of artists and an artist in business."[36]

Fred Brigden did not give up his outside interests in order to run the family business, but they were of a different cast to those of his brother. He was not interested in the Canadian Manufacturing Association or similar business organizations. Instead, he retained his connections with the YMCA, the Saturday Club and his art associations.

He was one of the founders, and first president, of the Canadian Society of Painters in Water Colour in 1926, and president of the Ontario Society of Artists from 1927 to 1931.[37] He began to travel further afield on his painting trips, wrote numerous articles and gave many talks on art, frequently mentioning his lack of understanding of "modern art."[38] It is interesting to note, however, that when a group of conservative artists organized a boycott of the National Gallery in 1923, allegedly because of its too liberal support of "modern" artists, Fred Brigden was among those who had defended the Gallery's policies.[39] In 1927 he bought his summer home at Newtonbrook, Ontario, and there he created a studio and a meeting place for the members of the various organizations in which he was interested.[40] In all his areas of activity, Fred Brigden is recalled as having fulfilled them with loyalty and generosity. Unfortunately, these were traits which, while sufficient to keep the firm from slipping into decline, were not enough to encourage its growth. As Ronald Edwards and Harry Townsend have pointed out, "a business cannot afford to stand still ... it needs the same quality of leadership at all stages."[41]

The situation remained much the same during the 1930s. The economic crisis which engulfed Canada from 1929 to 1933 and which continued intermittently until the second world war,[42] obviously affected the graphic arts industry as much as other industries. The subsequent lack of initiative or ability to invest in new equipment after 1933, as described by Michiel Horn in his study of the depression years in Canada,[43] was certainly true in the case of Toronto Brigden's. The firm suffered "severe capital losses," was not able to renew its

machinery or install new processes, and did not make any progress towards alleviating its financial position until the early 1940s. According to an independent progress report, it only "just got by" during the depression period.[44]

There is little material relating to the 1930s in the Brigden records. It would appear, however, as if employees, as suggested by Horn for workers in other service industries, managed to retain their jobs,[45] even if their hours of work were somewhat curtailed. In Winnipeg, as previously noted, artists worked intermittently and attended the Winnipeg School of Art when not employed. The photo-engravers also seem to have been fairly regularly employed. In Toronto it is difficult to tell. While the Assessment Rolls recorded employees from 1906, the numbers were so variable that it is impossible to trust their validity. The numbers ranged from eleven employees in 1914 to fifty-four in 1924 and ten in 1932. From 1940 employees were not recorded at all.[46] Considering the size of Brigden's building in Toronto, one could assume that the normal workforce would consist of at least sixty-five to a hundred employees as in Winnipeg, but the total may have been considerably lower during the depression years. Whatever the numbers employed it must have been an extremely difficult situation for both management and workers. The photo-engravers could not have been unaware of the availability of new machinery, the plant itself was, apparently, "dirty and in bad repair,"[47] and money was still being found on the strength of private securities. If the firm was to recover and grow it was essential to introduce new or non-family members into the managerial structure of the firm. As Boswell has described, this would

remove the need to rely on family loyalties for managerial appointments or family money for "tinkering" with short term financial measures. Newcomers, preferably professional managers with outside experience, would be capable of bringing a "fresh approach" to management; something subsequently seen in investment in new machinery and in improved marketing strategies.[48]

This development in the Brigden firm's response to the residual effects of the depression began to take effect in the early 1940s. George Brigden died in 1941, and in 1942 Fred Brigden retired from the dual position of President and General Manager. He realized, as Nicholson has said, that the joint position was "too onerous for a seventy-year old and that it needed a more youthful vigour to guide the company through the difficult war years."[49] He remained as President but, as the progress report recorded, "new young men took hold and with aggressive selling methods and new internal policies and labour relations, completely reorganized the company, taking advantage of the war boom."[50]

The new executive of the company was created through promotion of various members of the managerial staff: L. G. Janes became General Manager, R. Yeomans Comptroller and George Brigden's son Geldard was appointed Vice-President with duties in the field of sales and business promotion.[51] The Board of Directors was enlarged to include such men as F. H. England, the Plant Superintendent; T. A. Hagarty, the Sales Manager, and Edward Nicholson, the Production Manager and grandson of the founder, Frederick Brigden. Throughout all these managerial changes, however, Arnold Brigden, in Winnipeg, was called upon for

advice and support in decision making. It was noted in the progress report, written in 1947, that there had been a great deal of difference between the manner in which the inheritors of the Toronto business had managed affairs and the development of the firm in Winnipeg. There, Arnold Brigden, "through intense study, application and [by] devoting his life to the job ha[d] himself made possible the success attained."[52] The fact was, of course, that Arnold possessed the entrepreneurial flair of his uncle and had been in the fortunate position of running the Winnipeg firm by choice and not through loyalty as had his cousins in Toronto.

Considerable pressure was initially put on Arnold Brigden to take over as General Manager of both companies. Once again war was making financial arrangements difficult and the Brigden bank, besides pointing out the need for new management, also suggested that Arnold was "the man to plan the retrenchment campaign and see that it is carried out." As Fred Brigden said in one of his appeals to his cousin, "you are called on to make a wartime contribution of major importance."[53] Fred Brigden further emphasized the bank's suggestion by saying that the bank "looks on you as the best solution, not only because of your proved ability in administration, but also because your relieving me would look like a reasonable move and less likely to arouse suspicion as to our financial standing."[54] Arnold not only had no desire to move to Toronto but was also an astute enough businessman to realize that it was time for major changes. He wrote, "are we not wishing conventional adoption of 'name' and connection - following the line of a 'family' affair too readily - without now - at this time - resorting to a new connection of

responsibility - outside the family tree?"[55] After acceptance of his decision there was much correspondence between the cousins as to the most suitable appointees for the new managerial positions. Arnold then asked Janes and Yeomans to visit him in Winnipeg, outlined plans of management for them and visited Toronto to help put them into practice.[56] He noted later that his actions were necessitated by the fact that "Fred seemed to have lost the grip somehow and did not know what to do."[57] In spite of these initial difficulties and of occasional disapproving opinions on the part of Fred Brigden,[58] the new management took hold. It succeeded in reviving the company in the manner described by Boswell: money was invested in improving the physical plant and in introducing new technical processes, while marketing techniques were modernized. The result was a great improvement in "sales and profits," and a return to the original premise of Frederick Brigden that a firm had to keep abreast of new technology if it wished to remain competitive.

A firm the size of Brigden's does not fit the model established by Alfred Chandler in his analysis of the "managerial revolution:" it cannot be included in the hierarchy of businesses which allowed entrepreneurs to become "robber barons" or industrial statesmen."[59] Nonetheless, the firm was, as has been described, affected by what Chandler has called the "technological revolution,"[60] and did, in response to the new technology, introduce changes in its managerial structure. There was, on a limited scale, the stratification of a managerial hierarchy as described by Chandler.[61] The Brigden firm, using the management plan drawn up by Arnold Brigden, divided its sales

and operational strategies between the Vice-President and the General Manager, its financial and budgetry organization under the Comptroller and its production and plant requirements under assistants to the General Manager.[62] However, because of the difference in size of the firms described by Chandler and the recognition he himself gives of the impossibility of certain industries, by the nature of their product, to develop larger firms, Boswell's model is far more suitable for a study of graphic arts firms. The graphic arts was an industry within which, as Chandler noted, "the small, single-function firm continued to prosper and compete vigorously."[63]

If new technology ultimately provided the impetus needed to jolt a static business out of its lethargy, it was also responsible for a great deal of confusion within the graphic arts labour force. Throughout the period under discussion workers in the printing trades were involved in a continuing struggle with employers for improved working conditions. Hours of work and rates of pay remained bones of contention until the 1940s. But at the same time, printing pressmen, lithographers and photo-engravers were further involved in union disputes over the jurisdiction of new off-set printing and photography processes, a difficulty which was not settled satisfactorily until the 1960s.

While the forty-eight hour week had been achieved prior to the first world war, this had been gained, in most part, at the expense of a cut in wages.[64] The first aim following the war was to work towards implementation of a forty-hour work week without reduction in rates of pay. This had apparently been "amicably agreed to" in 1919 by employers and members of the Toronto local of the International Typographical

Union, the largest of the printing trades unions.[65] But in 1921, the newly formed employers association, the Toronto Typothetae,[66] refused to recognize the commitments made earlier. Arguing that the 1919 agreements had been made with its predecessor, the Master Printers Association, the Toronto Typothetae was adamant in its refusal to negotiate with the union over hours and wages.[67] As described by H. A. Logan in his study of Canadian printing unions, the employers' position "amounted in fact to saying the union could have the 44-hour week only by accepting a wage reduction equivalent to the reduction in hours." Whereas the union demanded $44 for a forty-four hour week with an "implied recognition of the closed shop," the Typothetae offered $33 for a forty-four hour week and "the elimination of the name of the union from the agreement."[68] This deadlock led, in 1922, to the Toronto printers strike. Organized, in spite of internal friction, by Local 91,[69] the strike was to last for four years, though dogged by lack of support and financial difficulties. The numbers of men on strike varied throughout the whole period and confusion reigned over strike pay and interference from the International Typographical Union executive in the United States.[70] At the conclusion of the strike in 1925 it could hardly rate as a success. Logan has recorded that "[h]alf the shops conceded the union conditions," but this was, in fact, the "44-hour week at the same weekly pay as had previously been given for 48 hours." While "gradually thereafter the 44 hour condition became general,"[71] this had no immediate effect on the wage scale. Moreover, as Sally Zerker has pointed out, the costs of the strike counteracted the gains. Membership in the union declined, while printing firms went

out of business or else relocated outside Toronto,[72] thus limiting the actual amount of work available.

There is little information indicating how much support was given to the typographers by the other printing trades. The pressmen and the book-binders initially came out on strike with the typographers, but due to limited strike defence funds and to resentment at the lack of recognition given to their support by the typographers,[73] they gradually returned to work. The photo-engravers are not mentioned in the Typographical Union records at all, a factor which supports Zerker's contention that "the printers' indifference to both the commitment and the plight of their allied craftsmen" contributed to the ultimate failure of the strike.[74] Although the photo-engravers made up the major portion of the graphic arts industry's unionized workforce, it is impossible, because of the lack of documentation, to determine how the individual graphic arts firms responded to the printers' strike. Similarly, in the 1930s, when the typographers started agitating for the forty hour week,[75] the amount of support given by the photo-engravers is not recorded.

There were, however, firms which in spite of the financial exigencies of the depression, remained unionized, kept to the agreed forty-four hour week and ran a closed shop. In 1933, employers from this group met with representatives of the printing trades unions in order to work out a system which would "stabilize working conditions on a union basis."[76] The result was the Fair Shops Employers Association, an organization which included members of twenty-two businesses but which only survived for four years. At the same time, other employers formed the Graphic Arts Council, a body which was committed to

advocating non-union or open shop policies.[77] In the case of the Brigden firm, it is known that it ran a closed shop in both Toronto and Winnipeg[78] and there is no record of it changing its policy during the 1930s. George Brigden was, it is true, a member of the Graphic Arts Association in the 1940s,[79] but if one bears in mind the paternalistic views of Frederick and Fred Brigden, it can only be deduced that the firm's attitude towards its employees was in keeping with the aims of the Fair Shops Employers Association. Moreover, the photo-engravers belonged to a small and self-sufficient union. There are few records of friction with employers and in the long union debate over jurisdiction of the off-set process, the photo-engravers were obviously capable of holding their own against much larger fellow unions.

Starting before the first world war, the off-set lithography debate occupied the printing unions for over fifty years. The lithographic off-set press had been in existence from 1906[80] and had, from the beginning, created problems between the lithographers, the printing pressmen and the photo-engravers. The issue did not come to a head, however, until in 1909 it was suggested that the pressmen's union should establish a trade school. This was to teach its members how to operate the new presses and utilize the new photographic processes before the lithographers acquired the skills. The pressmen's union journal quite openly encouraged its readers to have first claim on the new technology: "Don't wait for your half-brother, the lithographer, to carry off the honors. Cinch the first place ...."[81]

Off-set lithography, also known as photographic off-set or photo-lithography, is a "planographic" process.[82] Unlike

photo-engraving or wood engraving, where the design to be printed is raised above the surface, or like photo-gravure, where the design is below, the parts to be printed in the off-set method are on the same level, or plane, as the parts not to be printed. The design is transferred from a plate to a rubber blanket and then "off-set" to the paper on an impression cylinder. The whole process was found to be speedier and more accurate, and it increased production because more copies could be made from a single plate.[83] Problems arose from the fact that the chemical processes involved were more familiar to the lithographers who, perhaps not surprisingly, claimed jurisdiction over the new situation.[84] The printing pressmen, on the other hand, claimed that the off-set technique was "a further advancement of the art of printing ... and not of writing or drawing on stone."[85] And because photo-engraving was a printing related process, the printing pressmen assumed that the photo-engravers would support them in their establishment of the trade school and in their opposition to the lithographers. This did not, in fact, occur. The photo-engravers, whose union was considerably smaller than either the Amalgamated Lithographers of America or the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union,[86] supported the recommendations made by an Adjustment Committee to the American Federation of Labour in 1916. This was that "the Lithographic Pressmen and Lithographic Press Feeders and all printing press room workers in printing press rooms and in lithographic press rooms ... shall be members of the International Pressmen and Assistants Union," while all "lithographic artists, transferrers, and those engaged in the process of providing plates from which printing is

done shall be members of the Photo-Engravers Union."[87] The lithographers turned down this suggestion, retained only superficial links with the American Federation of Labour and remained independent until 1964 when they eventually united with the photo-engravers.[88]

In the 1920s, agreements were drawn up which made it possible for local photo-engravers' and local lithographers' unions "to enter into cooperative relations and understandings based upon local conditions."[89] The pressmen, according to Fred C. Munson, historian of the lithographers' union, "did not much care for the local cooperation plan" and continued throughout the 1930s to press for jurisdiction.[90] In 1933 they suggested that it was lack of control over the off-set press which was putting pressmen and photo-engravers out of work,[91] but the photo-engravers themselves did not appear eager to enter into further dispute with the lithographers.[92] In 1936 there was another attempt to clarify the situation where, at an Executive Council meeting of the American Federation of Labour, the photo-engravers probably defined the true cause of the interminable debate. As the president of the International Photo-engravers Union pointed out, there was little difference in the processes of off-set lithography and photo-engraving: "A camera is used in both processes, a similar screen is used in both processes, and a person who can make a negative for the one ... can equally well make a negative for the other." He added, however, that the only difference between the lithographers and the photo-engravers was that the former "produced negatives and plates for a lower wage under inferior conditions" than the latter, thus creating a situation which "injured all the printing trades."[93] It seems, therefore, that

there was more at stake than jurisdiction over new photographic processes.

Whether the true state of affairs was a concern for the historical continuity of the art of printing, or fear of the loss of economic advantage, union cooperation effectively functioned at the local level and improvements continued to be made in working conditions. In Canada, the photo-engravers gained the forty hour week by 1930 and paid holidays by 1940.[94] They were also, obviously, part of the satisfactory introduction of the new technology into the graphic arts firms. The first firm to utilize photo-mechanics in Toronto was Rolph and Clark, the original Toronto Lithographing Company.[96] It installed a photo-composing machine in 1912. Brigden's apparently invested in an off-set press at roughly the same time.[96] But, as with other machines in the firm's plant, upkeep and improvements were not maintained or initiated until the 1940s. According to Elizabeth Baker, in the ten years between 1937 and 1947, "the dollar volume of off-set lithography expanded two and a half times as compared to one and a half times for letterpress and gravure."[97] Such financial advantage led to a number of firms, including Brigden's, converting themselves into "combination plants."[98] At the end of the 1940s, Toronto Brigden's added a "complete lithography department [with] camera, plate and press."[99] It therefore, with its engraving and printing departments, and under its new management, had developed into a complete graphic arts house.

Unlike management or the unionized workers in the thirty years under discussion, artists working in the graphic arts industry were not subject to noticeable changes. At Brigden's they were still employed as

apprentices at nine or ten dollars a week and they still spent many hours carrying out the mundane assembly-line art work for the Eaton's catalogue and other advertising contracts. As previously discussed, Eric Bergman, William Winter, Phillip Surrey, Caven Atkins and Fritz Brandtner were all in Winnipeg, while Charles Comfort, by 1926 the "star" of the company, was in Toronto. The 1920s and 1930s were, however, a period during which Canadian art was searching for a new identity, and one in which many of the artists working for the commercial art firms began to formulate their own ideas and philosophies.

During the 1920s the Canadian art world was dominated by the ideas of the Group of Seven. The Group had become, as Charles Hill has said, "Canada's 'National School'."[100] Its members were recognized in art journals and exhibitions outside Canada as representing Canadian art to the extent that no other Canadian artists might be thought to exist. Opposition to and resentment of this dominance naturally grew among younger artists. This new generation, in their search for new directions and new ideas, felt that the Groups' emphasis on landscape painting limited their own creativity. The 1930s, in spite of the desperate economic climate for artists, was in fact the period in which Canadian art moved from a concentration on nationalism to an awareness of international developments and involvement in wider asthetic issues.

The conflicting theories of "art for art's sake" and "art with a purpose," debated by Ruskin and Whistler in the nineteenth century and returned to public consciousness by Roger Fry and Clive Bell in the 1920s,[101] were hotly debated by artists and critics in Canada in the

1930s. On the one hand artists such as Bertram Brooker, echoing Fry and Bell, claimed that an artist has "no obligation to society, but only to an abstract, indefinable 'beauty' and to himself." He said, "Art is not - and should not be - useful to society, in any sense whatever!"[102] Art was, in his view, something which should appeal "purely to the spirit."[103] This support of "art for art's sake" was countered by the alternative argument that "abstraction" or "modernism" as artistic styles only served to separate artists from a "vaster [and] more appreciative, audience."[104] As William Morris had argued in the late nineteenth-century, "art for art's sake" can lead only to an elite form of art, one appreciated by a limited few.[105] In the context of the depression years in Canada an art which removed itself from its social milieu was obviously unacceptable to many artists. Not only were they personally aware of the economic situation but they were aesthetically influenced by the emergence of "social art" elsewhere.[106]

In the search for new formulae, younger artists began to consider the Royal Canadian Academy and the Ontario Society of Artists as organizations representative of a Canadian art establishment unconcerned with social issues or aesthetic innovations. This was, obviously, a narrow interpretation, especially as it coincided with a period of reform in the Academy's policies.[107] Unfortunately, it was one which has been perpetuated by later art historians. Although the Canadian Society for Painters in Water Colour has been recorded as being "one of the leading exponents of progressive Canadian art,"[108] the Ontario Society of Artists which, ironically, included many of the same members, has been described as having been "more and more dominated by commercial

artists, repeating in slick and superficial work the 'Canadian' themes of the Group of Seven."[109] The use of the term "commercial artists" is noticeably derisive. There was, however, renewed interest on the part of independent artists in the graphic arts, that is, drawing, wood-engraving and lithography, as art forms.[110] Indeed, one could argue that the graphic arts were returning to the status they had enjoyed before industrialization. But whether this was due to changing aesthetic values or to practical necessity is a moot point. Water-colour, black and white drawing and wood-engraving were certainly the most economical media for the times;[111] they were, also, the media favoured by many of the artists working as commercial artists.

To distinguish between "commercial" and "fine" artists during the 1930s is both tautological and ahistorical. Most artists who continued to function as artists worked in both fields. As William Winter has said, there was no other choice.[112] Any attempt to work independently was, for the majority, futile. For example, the Ontario Society of Artists, after an exhibition in 1929 which had made $923 worth of sales, sold no paintings at all in 1932 and sold no more than two at any exhibition until 1940;[113] the Academy sold no works at its 1932 exhibition and only "two small landscapes" in 1933;[114] and, as an individual example, the painter, Carl Schaefer, earned $12 from his independent work in 1930 and nothing in 1931. This improved in 1934 when he earned $145.[115] It is small wonder that artists, if they were not to give up altogether, had to have some sort of alternative employment; in most cases either teaching or working for commercial firms. Besides those on the staff of such firms as Rous and Mann or

Brigden's, others worked as free-lance commercial artists or as window and display artists for the department stores. At Eaton's, René Cera, the head of the design department, is remembered with gratitude as having provided "work and much needed money" for many artists.[116] It is, therefore, ignoring the historical facts if one interprets artists' association with commerce as demeaning or as denoting inferior skills.

Unlike the United States in the years of the depression, where the Works Progress Administration scheme provided government sponsored projects for American artists,[117] the Canadian government ignored Canada's artists. Also unlike the situation in America, where artists had developed an aesthetic directly related to prevailing social conditions, Canadian artists were at odds among themselves concerning the nature of art.[118] Some of them were, it is true, influenced by American "social realism"[119] but, mainly because of lack of support, this did not reach the status of a "school" as it did in the United States. The financial position of Canadian artists was always precarious, even when working for the commercial companies, and they were too scattered across the country to be united by the various art societies in any sort of cooperative venture. The only attempt at a cooperative political activity related to the interests of artists was the brief existence of an artists' union. This is described in the magazine, New Frontier, of April 1937,[120] in an article by A. T. Vivash, the "President, Local 71, Artists' Union, Toronto." Vivash has recorded that a number of artists, most of them "commercial," had applied for and received a charter from the Trades and Labour Congress in July 1936. Starting with fifty-five members, less than a year later there were two

hundred and fifty in Toronto, "with applications still coming in." In Hamilton, Vivash added, artists "are about 75% unionized." He emphasized the fact that "[m]embership in the union is not limited to employed artists nor to commercial artists." The union, he said, "[has] something to offer to every artist who has to depend on his art for his daily bread." At the same time, the major concern of the union was "to establish a minimum price schedule and service charge for all forms of art work," similar to one already prepared by the Artists' Union in the United States and "working successfully in St. Louis."[121]

Barry Lord has said that the artists' union only recruited "commercial artists who were concerned to stop price cutting on their jobs."[122] But Vivash seemed to have been well aware that all artists needed help: "We know that the majority of those artists who do not do commercial work or illustration can no longer support themselves by the sale of paintings." He pointed out that "it is the artist who makes an exhibition possible, the public pays and the exhibitor collects." The union proposed that there should be an agreement whereby artists would "collect at least a dollar a week for each painting loaned to an exhibition." Vivash noted, however, that many artists were unwilling to join a "trade union," in spite of the fact that they considered themselves to be "moderns," and "talk[ed] freely of social improvement and 'class consciousness'."[123] This would seem to imply that those artists who followed the "art for art's sake" school of thought would agree with Bertram Brooker that "[t]he job of economic stabilization is not the artist's business."[124] While there is no further mention of the union in the New Frontier, Lord says that its efforts resulted in no

lasting contractual changes and it gradually went into decline.[125] Unfortunately, there is no information on the union in any of the accounts of artists working in the 1930s, although it is clearly apparent from their work that many of them were socially and politically aware.[126]

In his discussion of the artists' union, Barry Lord has argued that it was the failure of the union which destroyed any possibility of a unity between "fine" and "commercial" art in Canada. He considered that this unity had existed in the early days of the Group of Seven, but had disappeared in the 1930s. In his opinion, "[t]oo many 'fine artists' disdained 'commercialism' while some of the commercial artists looked upon painters as potential price-cutters who might do free-lance commercial work in the studios."[127] However, if one considers the true state of affairs, that it was the same people working in both fields because of financial necessity, then it is impossible to agree with his assertion. Instead, the perceived separation of "fine" and "commercial" art had started, as has been described, when engravers, illustrators and artists began to be employed by the commercial engraving or graphic arts firms. On the other hand, the actual separation, into two areas with their own specialized professional training, did not begin until the 1940s.

Attitudes towards art and artists changed as the result of new policies on the part of government and commerce. On the one hand, in the 1940s, the Canadian government became aware of the value of art for propaganda and other purposes, while on the other, it was finally recognized by advertising agencies and by "commercial" artists

themselves, that the skills needed by an artist working for a contemporary graphic arts firm were not necessarily the same as those needed by an artist concerned solely with independently produced "fine" art. The government sponsorship of public works of art was influenced by the American WPA Murals exhibition which toured Canada in 1940[128] and by a conference held in Kingston the following year. The conference was attended by artists from across the country and had, as its aim, the defining of the role of the artist in Canadian society. Because of the interest it generated, it resulted in the government supported Federation of Canadian Artists. It was ironical, as Charles Hill has noted, that "a government that had done nothing for artists during ten years of economic crisis was able to support an artists' organization in the forties, primarily because it enhanced the war effort, a politically popular struggle."[129] Such projects as the Official War Artists programme, which commissioned artists to record the impact of war both at home and abroad,[130] and the Victory Bonds poster campaign organized by the National War Finance Board[131] did, however, result from government involvement and thus contributed to providing a considerable amount of work for artists.

Also in the 1940s, the professionalization of graphic artists gradually began to take place. It was recognized by artists and art directors alike that commercial art, whether used for government poster campaigns or commercial advertising, was essentially concerned with the communication of information.[132] Unlike the "fine" artist, whose personal interpretations could determine stylistic outcome, the graphic designer was required to provide the immediate communication of ideas

through visual means. These ideas might be political or commercial: for example, they might include the propaganda of wartime in the form of recruitment posters, or the advertisements directed at potential consumers by retail stores, travel agents or film companies. Whatever the employer's field of promotion, as the 1940s progressed and as new technology such as television came to rival the printed image, so a new status for those working in the graphic arts industry began to emerge. Art Directors Clubs, first formed in Toronto in 1949, extended to Montreal, Vancouver and Winnipeg, exhibitions of graphic design began to be held annually and the need for professional training aimed at the incorporation of new techniques, was seriously addressed.[133] In short, those working in the field came to have an appreciation of their work which had nothing to do with their position as a "commercial" or "fine" artist.

The years from 1914 to the end of the 1940s were, obviously, crucial ones for the Canadian graphic arts industry. Not only was it the period which saw expansion across the country, but it was also a major period of change in all areas. It saw the changeover in managerial control from family members to non-family corporate organization, as witnessed in the Brigden firm, the development of union activity which addressed problems in the workplace as well as problems of jurisdiction over new processes, and the growth of a new awareness on the part of commercial artists that, while critics and others might impute a lesser sensitivity to their work, this was not necessarily the case. The work they did had a different purpose to that of "fine" art and had, therefore, a value of its own. Many artists continued to work

in both fields, and many of them, as Charles Comfort has noted, found this a distinct advantage.[134] In the three areas which constitute the graphic arts industry, business, art and labour, the impact of war, economic crisis and new technology had profound effects. Business firms such as Brigden's were forced to adapt to new managerial ideas and new technical processes in order to stay competitive; artists learned that they could no longer vacillate between the demands of an increasingly technical communications industry and the luxury of an independent art style; and unions slowly moved towards the notion that all the trades involved in modern mass communication should work together. Although they did not achieve complete unification for another thirty years, they nevertheless began the slow progress towards that end. By the beginning of the 1950s, then, the various elements of the contemporary system of mass communication through visual media were in place and the modernization of the graphic arts industry could be said to have been completed.

# CHAPTER VIII: CONCLUSION

The Canadian graphic arts industry began in the 1870s with the establishment of a number of small, artisanal, engraving and lithography firms in eastern Canada. These firms relied on the mechanization of printing and the creation of a popular press, developments which had taken place in the previous decades. The history of the industry can, therefore, be deemed to have its foundation in the 1850s, by which time industrialization had improved transportation, mechanized the printing presses and increased newspaper and magazine production. Increased literacy, the result of changes in the education system, created a new reading public, while retail entrepreneurs began to develop new forms of commercial advertising. The engraving firms were then able to respond to the demand for visual images from newspapers, magazines, book publishers and advertisers in a new social and industrial milieu. As these firms prospered and enlarged, they lost their original artisanal status. Progressing from their small workshops within which an individual craftsman worked alone, or with one or two partners, they came to occupy large, specially designed buildings, to use the latest in mechanical technology and to employ skilled assistants. In these graphic arts houses, there emerged a division of labour not dissimilar to that in other industries and, on the death or retirement of their craftsmen-founders, the firms were passed on to men with new ideas of business organization. Expansion across the country, war-time exigencies and changing technology necessitated adaptation and led to an industry which would be, by the 1950s, one of the most important in contemporary society.

The graphic arts industry was unique, however, in Canada as elsewhere, in that its organizational structure included not only businessmen and skilled workers, but also artists. Its product, the reproduced visual image, was always ultimately dependent on the creativity of certain members of its workforce. Even when some processes of the original art-work became mechanized, when wood engraving was replaced by photo-engraving for example, the human element was never completely replaced by machines; the end product was, and still is, dependent on creative skills. As the industry moved from the workshops of its craftsmen-founders in the nineteenth-century to its industrialized position in the twentieth, the inter-relationship between the three elements of business, art and labour was, therefore, integral to the growth and success of the industry as a whole. Its history has thus required consideration of the route by which these three elements, in spite of following different paths of development, have remained together. That they were united in the creation of a commercial product which inevitably contributed to Canadian popular culture means that the industry's history has overlapped into areas not customarily associated with industrial or business activity.

In the first place business, art and labour were unified in the persons of individual craftsmen. Men like John Ellis, John and Joseph Rolph, George, John and Thomas Bengough, Charles and Henry Beale and Frederick Brigden provided all the necessary requirements for their commercial enterprises. They rented or bought their premises, owned their own tools, balanced their own accounts, advertised their own

products and used their own skills to provide them. Indeed, it was their skills as artist-craftsmen, or "art-workmen," as Frederick Brigden would have said, which enabled them to supply work for the leading entrepreneurs in the newspaper and retailing world of their day. George Brown of The Globe and John Ross Robertson of The Telegram had recognized the value of illustrations in increasing sales in the 1870s, and Timothy Eaton started using illustrations for his catalogue in the 1880s. Expansion for these small, often one or two man, engraving firms followed the route of other small businesses. They either took over firms smaller than themselves, as did Frederick Brigden with the photo-engraving firm of Roger Cunningham in 1889, or went into partnership with another craftsman, as did Joseph Rolph with David Smith as early as 1873. They moved to larger premises and hired additional employees. In many instances this simply meant employing members of the founder-craftsman's family. As has been noted in connection with the Brigden firm, Frederick Brigden employed his sons as soon as they were seventeen, persuaded his master-printer brother to join him in Toronto, and employed his nephew as manager of the Winnipeg branch. But it also meant employing others and at first, in the nineteenth-century, this meant employing men with the same skills as the owners themselves. The question then arises as to why some craftsmen-engravers became business entrepreneurs while others remained engravers and became employees.

An approach to this issue is to be found in the argument presented by Jonathan Boswell, as well as Ronald Edwards and Harry Townsend, that there is a specific "psychology of founders;" that some individuals are naturally capable of sizing up the market place and perceiving a demand.

An alternative could, perhaps, rest on a more prosaic level. Frederick Brigden, for example, through following his strict religious belief in thrift and judicious expenditure, had savings of £100 when he came to Canada. In 1872, while not great wealth, this was a considerable sum. Thus, when he put his "life savings" into the embryo firm of the Toronto Engraving Company, his entrepreneurship had a practical, economic base as well as a psychological one. Certainly, Brigden recognized, as has been described, what was needed to put the ailing Beale Brothers firm on a sound footing, but without some investment he would have been unable to put his ideas into practice.

Of further relevance to the development of the business side of the Canadian graphic arts industry and to the separation of engraver-craftsmen into employers and employees was the impact of new technology. The inventions of photography and photo-engraving necessitated the employment of workers with these technical skills and the enlargement of premises to house them. In the late nineteenth-century, this did not necessarily mean employment of large numbers of people because, as Frank Shaw described in his account of the printing trades in 1916,[1] many of those first employed performed a variety of tasks. But by the end of the 1910s, photography and photo-engraving were accepted graphic arts techniques, and a successful manager like Arnold Brigden was skilled in both. The introduction of colour processes into printing also involved further expansion for graphic arts firms which did their own printing, as did Brigden's in Toronto and Stovel's in Winnipeg. By the end of the First World War, it had become apparent that new technology demanded changes in management.

New forms of business organization were obviously necessary to run firms which included artists, photo-engravers, photographers and, in some cases, printers, as well as office and sales personnel. But the tradition of inheritance through family members, the impact of war and the depression of the 1930s delayed serious consideration of managerial change until the 1940s.

Graphic arts firms were not affected by the "managerial revolution" to the same extent as firms included in Alfred Chandler's analysis of big business. Nor do they seem to have been overly influenced by ideas of "scientific management" and the extreme separation of labour described by Harry Braverman.[2] As Ralph Yeomans, the secretary-treasurer of Brigden's board, said in a letter to Arnold Brigden, "in photo-engraving, [management] is a personal thing, not merely a textbook theory."[3] Non-family members were introduced into positions of managerial importance and a limited form of hierarchial structure was put into place. But family members frequently remained involved in the older firms. Edward Nicholson, for example, Frederick Brigden's grandson, was President of Brigden's from 1956 to 1969,[4] F. M. Rolph, a direct descendent of John Rolph's, is currently President of Ronald's Federated, the contemporary version of the Toronto Lithographing Company,[5] and in Winnipeg there is a John Bulman still at the head of Bulman's Limited. As businesses, graphic arts firms became important components in the development of modern mass communication, but their owners, at least for the period under discussion in this study, never became industrial tycoons in the same sense as the railway or retail store magnates.

It can be argued that it was the nature of the industry's product itself which bridged the customary gulf between management and workers. One could suggest that products did not have a similar role in other industrialized fields. The loss of craft skills described by Braverman[6] was never really a serious issue in the graphic arts industry, although management certainly concentrated on organization as firms grew in size and as technology changed, and many managers had the same skills as their employees. But the divisions of labour in the graphic arts which came about as the result of new technology were craft oriented and not determined by managerial instructions.[7] Even in such situations as the production of the Eaton's catalogue, for example, which certainly had an assembly line format, the skills of the artists themselves determined the eventual outcome. The divisions of labour were basically drawn between artists and those who used mechanical processes; that is, between artists on the one hand, and photo-engravers and, in some firms, printers, on the other. And yet, the divisions could not be clearly delimited. Eric Bergman, for example, was a water colour artist, a wood engraver and a photo-engraver and Sid Vale, who was a photo-engraver at Winnipeg Brigden's for many years before entering the sales division, and who declared that he was a technical worker and not an artist, produced wood engravings which prove this not to be the case.[8] The reproduction of visual images, with its unique relationship to the world of "art," could not be carried out through managerial directives any more than it could be produced entirely by machine. The founder-owners of graphic arts firms had come out of an English tradition which had emphasized the connections between

art and craft, and had frequently, like Frederick Brigden, felt that what they produced as "art workmen" was of equal, if not greater value to society than the work of "fine" artists who were detached from everyday life and whose work had no "purpose." As Charles Comfort has said, he needed his commercial connections to keep him in touch with "life and men and matters." It was a point of view which, unfortunately, was not always accepted by those members of society who formed the Canadian art establishment and whose opinions have defined artistic classification.

Artists working for the graphic arts firms, once the founder was no longer the sole producer and once the new technological and advertising demands required skilled illustrators and designers, found themselves in an ambiguous position. They were "artists," with the training and traditional talents of artists, but they were perceived by critics and connoisseurs of art as "commercial artists" and therefore inferior. This was frequently a false assumption, both historically and critically. Historically, it has been shown that many bona fide artists worked easily in both fields. Canada's nineteenth-century artists, for example, worked with photography firms such as Notman's, and those artists who became famous as the Group of Seven worked for Grip and other engraving companies in the early years of the twentieth century. And, as has been described, many important Canadian artists worked for Brigden's in Winnipeg in the years between the two world wars. Critically, it is obvious that working for an employer, who in earlier times would have been called a "patron," had no adverse effect on an artist's creativity. Gowan argues that it was critics and so-called

"fine" artists themselves who created a false division between "fine" and other forms of art: the elite artists and their supporters presented and popularized the concept of "art for art's sake" as opposed to "art with a purpose."[9] Whatever the reasons behind the perception of commercial artists as inferior, what is undeniable true is that the art produced by these artists established an audience among the general public in a manner only rarely achieved by "fine" artists. Unlike the work of the latter, which is often created in protest against the society in which it is made, or which is frequently too personal or too symbolic to be understood by the general mass of people, the work created by commercial designers for advertising and other everyday concerns, is aimed directly at the "person in the street" and is, therefore, expected to communicate.

Today, the division between "fine" and "commercial" art may be narrower. The return to popularity of representational art may have something to do with this, commercial art always having been representational in order to impart its message. There is also the suggestion that artists are tired of being separated from what Raymond Williams has called the "common life of society." Bruno Munari, in Design as Art, argues that artists have a desire "to get back into society, to re-establish contact with their neighbours, to create an art for everyone and not just the chosen few ..."[10] Munari agrees with John Berger and Alan Gowans, two contemporary critics, and reasserts the perspective established by Ruskin and Morris in the nineteeth-century: "it has become necessary to demolish the myth of the 'star' artist who only produces masterpieces for a small group of people." And, Munari

adds, it is the commercial designer who "re-establishes the long-lost contact between art and the public, between living people and art as a living thing."[11] It can, of course, be argued that commercial artists and engravers had never lost contact with the public or that it is only since artists like Roy Lichtenstein and Andy Warhol demonstrated the more obvious power of popular, commercial images,[12] that commercial artists have become respectable. In any event, it seems possible that those artists who produce work on commission for magazines, for advertising agencies, or for promotional purposes may no longer have to suffer the derogatory judgements that used to be applied to their work. Even so, as Daniel Mothersill has recounted, Canadian illustrators are "far from well known."[13] In reference to James Hill, one of Canada's leading illustrators, and an exhibition of his art at the United States Consulate in Toronto, Harold Town has said, "I find it remarkable that his work is on display at the consulate, while artists who aren't good enough to carry Jimmy Hill's shoes have exhibits at museums and art galleries."[14] This attitude may not disturb commercial designers today as much as it would have done their predecessors in the period prior to the Second World War. Since the professionalization of graphic design in the 1950s, the field has become one of international importance. Those working in any area of commercial illustration are trained in schools of design and technology in preference to art schools and belong to a large family of similar artists connected by international exhibitions, competitions and professional journals.[15]

The traditional media of graphic design, the arts of wood engraving, black and white illustration and drawing, have also regained

respect. The art of Thomas Bewick, having started the graphic arts industry on its commercial course in England, Canada and other parts of the world, has re-emerged as an art form in its own right. Certainly, such Canadian artists as Eric Bergman and W. J. Phillips had always worked in these areas, as had the many English and European artists with whom they were in contact.[16] But it is only in recent years that wood engraving, silk screen printing and other printing processes have returned to popularity as art forms.[17] The technical skills and creative imagination needed to produce these reproductive images, or "prints" as they are more generally known, are now recognized by critics and collectors; ironically when they were used in a commercial environment they were ignored or treated as merely "mechanical."

Artistic creativity has been, then, from the beginning, the back-bone of the graphic arts industry. The founder-owners of the early firms in Canada were artist-craftsmen capable of creating reproductive images by their own efforts. But with expansion and the employment of others, a workforce emerged which owed as much to industrialized labour movements as it did to its continuing craft foundation. Although many of the first technically skilled employees were photo-engravers who still worked within the craft tradition -- they often combined the skills of wood engraving, photography and photo-engraving -- the actual processes of photography and photo-engraving were more complicated and involved more people than wood engraving. As in the example of the Brigden firm, however, the number of artists employed was always larger than the number of photographers, photo-engravers or printers. The photo-engravers were closely associated with the typographers in the

formation of the first printing trades unions in the United States. By 1904, the first Canadian local of the International Photo-engravers Union was established in Toronto and Brigden's became the first Canadian graphic arts firm to accept unionized employees. It might be thought that a division of labour in the graphic arts firms would have caused status difference between artists and other workers. Such does not, however, seem to have been the case. The workers, whether unionized or not (very few artists seem to have joined the short lived Artists' Union), were always skilled and therefore, even at times of economic crisis, or when involved in the ongoing disputes among the various printing trades unions, did not fear that their work would be undertaken by unskilled hands. The International Photo-engravers Union remained independent until 1964 when it merged with the Amalgamated Lithographers of America to form the Lithographers and Photo-engravers International Union. In 1972 this body united with the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders to become the Graphic Arts International Union, an institution which has been of major importance in promoting graphic arts schools in Canada and America. As outlined in its promotional material, it was dedicated to keeping up with technological change through training and retraining programmes. At the same time it described its individual members as: "The Graphic Arts Union Member: Dignity, Pride, Craftsmanship."[18] It was a declaration of a philosophical outlook still related to its foundations in the world of John Ruskin, Frederick Brigden and "art-workmen." The final merger of the printing trades unions under the one banner of the Graphic Communications International Union in 1983 does not seem to have diminished this long standing

attitude.

During the period under discussion it seems to have been accepted that the skills of the photo-engravers were equally as valuable as those of the artists. At the same time, a management without knowledge of either new technology or artistic credibility would have had difficulty producing a worth-while product. Arnold Brigden, it will be remembered, was as concerned about his technical staff as he was about his artists. Business, art and labour were, indeed, inseparable, although the graphic arts firm dominated by a single craftsman-founder underwent a series of transformations. The "producers" of commercial graphic art followed different paths as they specialized in particular tasks, whether as business managers, commercial designers or unionized photo-engravers. But at all times they retained a relationship that was essential to the product of their industry, the reproduced visual image.

The historical narrative of the Canadian graphic arts industry for the years 1870 to 1950 has traced the development of one business and one means of communication. From its artisanal beginnings to its place as a major contemporary institution, the industry had paralleled the growth of other industries and the experience of the nation. The history of the graphic arts firms, represented by that of Brigden's in particular, encompasses the history of emigration and entrepreneurship, employment and economic crisis, and the necessary adaptations to technological change. It can thus contribute a further chapter to Canadian social history. The issues raised by the industry's product, however, are somewhat more complicated. The impact of the type of art produced in the context of modern mass communication is the subject of

considerable critical discussion. That commercial art is part of contemporary popular culture is not denied; what is debated is its value as an art form and its influence on the taste of a "consuming" public. Leo Lowenthal, in his discussion of literature and popular culture, has noted that most critical commentary is directed not so much at the product but "against the system on which the product depends."[19] While it is generally agreed that a popular culture can include novels, newspapers, magazines, music and films, it is when the art forms of these cultural fields are commercially produced for a mass audience that extreme attitudes appear among its' critics. According to Ernest van den Haag, "All mass media in the end alienate people from personal experience ... [they] impair the capacity for meaningful experience."[20] For van den Haag popular art, like popular culture in general, is a "substitute gratification" for the real thing.[21] Dwight MacDonald goes so far as to say that mass culture "is not and never can be any good."[22] He bases his argument on the assertion that mass audiences are "passive consumers" who are exploited to make a profit. He considers that traditional "High" culture has been debased and that "Mass" culture is a "revolutionary force" which has broken down "the old barriers of class, tradition and taste."[23] It is the loss of "taste" which appears to distress these critics, although as Lowenthal has pointed out, there is "no consensus on the taste of the populace." He has also noted that some critics respect "the people's instinct for what is good," but adds that "the prevailing view seems to be that only the bad and the vulgar are the yardsticks of their aesthetic pleasure."[24]

There are, of course, a number of critics who see the strengths of

popular culture and question the elite attitudes towards mass production. David Manning White, for example, has suggested that it is the mass media which provides the "average" man with "a cultural richness no previous age could give him ...."[25] Through paperback books, television and, he might have added, reproductions of works of art, the public is offered the opportunity to decide for itself which is "bad" or "good" and which it prefers. As Raymond Williams has pointed out, "it is much too early to conclude that a majority is necessarily low in taste."[26] Williams has also noted that any assessment of the culture of the past, whether "high" or "low" has to respect the selectivity process which has taken place over time.[27] Therefore what critics consider to be the "bad taste" of a contemporary mass audience may not necessarily be viewed in the same way in the future.

Another approach is provided by Alan Swingewood who argues that the concept of a mass culture rests on a "myth." To claim that mass culture exists, in his view, is to assert the existence "of superior groups who take the important decisions on behalf of the others, an elite, or elites, who work for the people over the people."[28] To accept such an implication, he says, is to ignore the democratic potential in a popular culture which gives people a choice. His argument also demystifies art; as Swingewood says, "The decay of the aura and the mass reproduction of high culture and the trend towards the artistic depiction of reality in everyday terms are elements of a potentially democratic culture and not the symptoms of cultural stagnation or decline."[29]

There are obvious problems in translating this discussion into Canadian terms. There is, to start with, little in the way of

historical or critical debate on the issue. Also, one might question whether the subject need arise at all. If, as MacDonald argues, mass culture is "a corruption of High Culture,"[30] then in a country without an art tradition to provide art historians and critics with a canon of "classical" or "national" form, there is nothing to be "corrupted." But Canadian art historians and art critics have generally written of their country's art and culture as if it were part of a longer tradition. The fact that Canadian "high" and "popular" culture arose at the same time and were created by the same people has more often than not been ignored. If the purpose of art is more clearly defined, however, and if the product itself is made more prominent in the discussion, then it seems possible to suggest that in Canada, at least in the historical period before the Second World War, commercially produced art work contributed as much to the development of Canadian "fine" art as it did to popular culture.

Prior to the emergence of the concept of "art for art's sake" in the nineteenth-century, art was always assumed to have a purpose. Alan Gowans has described how art served four major functions: recording through "substitute imagery," illustrating in order to disseminate information, publicizing ideas or convictions "intended to persuade people to new or different beliefs," and beautifying.[31] Art was part of everyday life; it was "enjoyed as an element of life itself," as Gowans writes, adopting the views of Johan Huizinga.[32] Within this tradition, the reproduction of the visual image, from its first appearance in the fifteenth-century, was a far-reaching extension of cultural expression. Like the reproduction of the written word, reproduced visual images

fulfilled the four functions described by Gowans. Moreover, as William Ivens has emphasized in Prints and Visual Communication, the history of the reproduced art work, or the "print," is not "as many people seem to think" the history "of a minor art form but that of a most powerful method of communication between men ..."[33] When, therefore, the mechanization of printing and the adaptation of Thomas Bewick's white-line engraving allowed the mass production of visual images in the new popular press of the mid-nineteenth-century, it continued the function of communication or the dissemination of knowledge, but made it available to a public previously denied such information. As David Sander has said, the new graphic art and its artists, "illuminated an entire century,"[34] The visual images produced through commercial reproduction provided the necessary communications for a public living in a period of rapid and confusing change.

It is this function of art as communication which can be adapted to the Canadian situation and which can be applied, at least until Canadian artists became part of international art movements, to both "fine" and "popular" art. Because most of the art concerned was produced by artists classified as illustrators or commercial artists, it is evident that the graphic arts industry played an important role in the development of a popular culture. It is interesting to note that it is the older Canadian art histories which recognized the importance of the illustrators and engravers in this context, in the recording of the Canadian scene and the dissemination of knowledge about Canadian life. Newton MacTavish, writing in 1925, discussed the skills of etchers and illustrators and lamented the fact that they were largely

unappreciated.[35] He noted the value of the Toronto Art Students' League Calendars in the years 1893 to 1904 with their depictions of "Canadian waterways, everyday life of the past, country life, the 19th century in Canada, village life, sports, cities, and landscapes from coast to coast."[36] And he discussed the importance of C. W. Jefferys' black and white illustrations for the Chronicles of Canada.[37]

William Colgate, in his Canadian Art published in 1943, developed the discussion further. He recognized the connections with photography of the early Canadian painters,[38] the value of newspapers and magazines for Canadian artists and illustrators,[39] and the importance of the engraving houses.[40] But in his account of the publication of Picturesque Canada in 1882, he says that the artists and engravers involved "did more to kindle an interest and pride in Canadian scenery and Canadian pictorial art than any single agency up to that time."[41] This publication was a perfect example of a commercial undertaking disseminating information in a visual form. In a country the size of Canada, the images it presented of landscapes and everyday life offered a vision of their nation to people who, in all probability, had no conception of its variety. It gave, in Swingewood's words, a "depiction of reality in everyday terms." Colgate also emphasized the importance of the Art Students' League Calendars and Jefferys' historical art work. Although neither MacTavish nor Colgate discuss the point, these publications must have had an impact on creating the concept of an artistic national identity long before the work of the Group of Seven was given that distinction. The point to be stressed, however, in the context of this study, is the fact that it was artists working in

commercial companies who drew or engraved the art work and the graphic arts firms who produced it. The style used was representational and could, in no sense, be said to be separated from the general public. As Edward Hamilton has said in regards to contemporary popular art, "it is responsible popular communication that, more than ever, binds together the fabric of our society,"[42] Certainly, in Canada, visual communication fulfilled this function and, in the process, created both its art and its popular culture.

For those artists who provided illustrations for magazines and newspapers, it was, as Colgate has said, "but a brief transition" to contributing to the "advertising pages of these publications."[43] Most discussion of advertising is concerned with the powers of its persuasion and manipulation and, as in the debate on mass culture itself, fails to consider the product. But, bearing in mind Williams's ideas concerning the selectivity of the art of the past, it is possible that, as C. W. Jefferys said, advertising art may, in the future, "be deemed more typical of our art" than many of the works currently "in our public galleries and museums."[44] It is a point of view supported by Marshall McLuhan who says, "The historians and archeologists will one day discover that the ads of our times are the richest and most faithful daily reflections that any society ever made in its entire range of activities."[45] And certainly, when one looks at the art of advertising, one can see how, by virtue of its style and its need to communicate, its practitioners retained contact with society in a manner not always possible for "fine" artists. As has been described, there were many artists who did not feel it demeaning to work in the commercial arena of

advertising. Obviously they avoided the problems faced by those artists discussed by Munari who have felt cut off from the rest of society. In Canada, there were times when advertising art had implications equally as unifying as Picturesque Canada. The Eaton's catalogue, for example, had an importance for rural families which can only be interpreted in terms of a popular culture.[46] It allowed people to feel part of a much larger whole and to know that they were "keeping up" with the rest of Canadian society. The advertising material in the catalogue did not denote "substitute gratification," it was not "corrupting" but edifying, and it made no attempt to "mystify" art. It presented, instead, a practical and useful application of the skills of commercial artists.

Whether the historical process of mass communication across Canada as briefly mentioned here has had an effect on Canadian aesthetic judgement is a subject for another discussion. But when one considers that the same artists who contributed to Picturesque Canada also worked for Notman's photography studio, that those who contributed to the Art Students' Calendars worked for Grip and Brigden's and Rous and Mann, and that those who worked on the Eaton's catalogue for Brigden's included Eric Bergman and Charles Comfort, then it has to be concluded that, in Canada, the development of a popular artistic expression ran parallel to the development of "Canadian art." The graphic arts industry has indeed occupied a central position in Canadian social and cultural history. Through the "window" provided by the Brigden firm, it has been possible to trace the industry's growth and to observe the necessary inter-relationships between its business, artistic and technical elements. It has also been possible to consider the cultural

implications of its product. A clear demonstration has thus been afforded of how widely divergent aspects of history can be united in a single entity.

# FOOTNOTES

## Chapter I: Introduction

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[7]E. J. Hobsbawm, "From Social History to the History of Society," in M. W. Flinn and T. C. Smout, Essays in Social History. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 1.

[8]J. M. S. Careless, "The Development of the Winnipeg Business Community, 1870-1890," Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada. 4th series. VIII(1970)240.

[9]Hobsbawm, p. 5.

[10]Sally F. Zerker, The Rise and Fall of the Toronto Typographical Union 1832-1922: A Case Study of Foreign Domination. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), p. 92.

[11]Traves, p. 5.

[12]Ibid., p. 11.

[13]Christian Norman, "Business Archives and Business History," The History and Social Science Teacher. 18, 2(December, 1982)92. John H. Archer, "Records: The Canadian Scene," in MacMillan, Canadian Business History, p. 288.

[14]Douglas McCalla, "The Relevance of Canadian Business History: Some Nineteenth Century Examples," HSST, 18, 2(December, 1982)83. See, for example, the instructions given in Manuel Gordon, Researching Canadian Corporations. (Toronto: Hogtown Press, 1977), p. 14: researchers sometimes "need information about their common enemy, the business corporation."

[15]Bliss, quoted in Ann Silversides, "Corporate histories can be costly vanity," The Globe and Mail (January 22, 1983)B1.

[16]Norman, pp. 92, 95.

[17]Correspondence with Frank M. Rolph, President of Ronald's Federated, and with Tom Smart. See Smart, "John Ellis to Rolph, Clark, Stone Ltd: the development of an international printing company in Toronto 1842-1917," unpublished ms. (University of Toronto, 1984). Ronald's Federated is, however, very helpful in allowing researchers access to its collection.

[18]Correspondence with Bomac Batten Ltd., the descendents of Grip Printing, has elicited no response and Rous, Mann and Brigden's, while helpful concerning Brigden's, will not respond to enquiries concerning Rous and Mann itself or to the merger which took place in 1972. Bulman's of Winnipeg has also failed to respond.

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[25]Raymond Williams, Culture and Society 1780-1950. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968), p. 16.

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[30]Hall, p. 234.

[31]Williams, p. 298. See also Alan Swingewood, The Myth of Mass Culture. (London: The MacMillan Press Ltd., 1977), pp. 109-115.

[32]Geoffrey Best, Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-70. (Fontana Books. Glascow: Collins and Sons, 1982), pp. 246-249; Louis James, Fiction for the Working Man 1830-50: a study of the literature produced for the working classes in early Victorian England. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1974), pp. 39-40; Alan J. Lee, Origins of the Popular Press in England. (London: Croom Helm, 1976), p. 226. See also Raymond Williams, "Advertising: the Magic System," Problems in Materialism and Culture. (London: Verso editions, 1982), pp. 170-195 and Wolff, p. 37. For the Canadian context, see Paul Rutherford, A Victorian Authority: the Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), pp. 232-3.

[33]See, for example, Storch, "Introduction," in Popular Culture, pp. 15-18; Peter Bailey, Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational recreation and the contest for control. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), pp. 178-180; Tony Bennett, "Popular Culture: Divided Territory," and John Golby, "Bourgeois Hegemony? The Popular Culture of mid-19th Century Britain," in Social History Society Newsletter. 6, 2(Autumn, 1981)5-8. Also Rutherford, pp. 22-23.

[34]Wolff, pp. 62-63.

[35]Williams, Culture and Society, p. 286.

[36]E. P. Thompson, William Morris: Romantic to Revolutionary. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976), pp. 641-2; Williams, Culture and Society, pp. 142-150, 157-161. See also Bruno Munari, Design as Art. (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1971), passim.

[37]Briggs, p. 16.

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[41]Gowans, pp. 12-20.

[42]Williams, Culture and Society, p. 290; James, pp. 175-6; Lee, p. 129.

[43]Meyer, p. 8. See also Gowans, pp. 34, 41.

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Chapter II: The English Tradition

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[14]Thomas Bewick, A Memoir of Thomas Bewick written by himself ed. Montague Weekley. (London: The Cresset Press, 1961), p. 47.

[15]Fawcett, p. 24. See Davidoff, p. 93.

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[18]Bland, p. 250.

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[32]David M. Sander, Wood Engraving: An Adventure in Printmaking. (A Studio Book. New York: The Viking Press, 1978), pp. 14, 17.

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[37]Bland, p. 245; Lindley, p. 40.

[38]Sander, p. 17; Lindley, p. 15.

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[46]Moran, p. 133.

[47]Ibid., p. 137.

[48]Ibid., pp. 197-9.

[49]Steinberg, p. 278.

[50]Ibid., pp. 281-2, 285-9.

[51]Moran, pp. 143, 150.

[52]Ibid., pp. 159, 219.

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[64]Wolff and Fox, pp. 562-3.

[65]Lindley, pp. 90-102.

[66]Wolff and Fox, pp. 564, 578(f.n. 26); Bland, p. 267; Twyman, p. 98.

[67]Sander, p. 17.

[68]Bewick, ed. Bain, p. 188.

[69]Smith, p. 4.

[70]Lindley, p. 47. See Edward J. Nicholson, The First One Hundred Years 1871-1971. (Toronto: Brigden's Limited, 1970), p. 11 for an example.

[71]Sander, p. 18; Twyman, p. 97; Wolff and Fox, p. 564.

[72]Twyman, p. 98.

[73]Lindley, p. 47; Bland, pp. 256-7, 263.

[74]Lindley, pp. 97-9.

[75]Linton, p. 56.

[76]Smith, p. 3. See also Fred G. Kitton, "William James Linton, engraver, poet and political writer," English Illustrated Magazine. 8, 91(April, 1891)491-500.

[77]Linton, p. 8.

[78]Ibid., p. 227.

[79]Ibid., p. 55.

[80]Bain, pp. 247-250 for biographies of Bewick's papers.

[81]Linton, p. 226.

[82]Smith, p. 6.

[83]Ibid., p. 35.

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[85]Smith, pp. 81, 144.

[86]Forrest Reid, Illustrators of the Eighteen Sixties: An Illustrated Survey of the Work of 58 British Artists. (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1975. Reprint of 1928 edition published by Faber and Gwyer Ltd., London), pp. 1-2. Also Bland, pp. 256-268.

[87]Bland, p. 258.

[88]Linton, pp. 128-9.

[89]Bland, pp. 257-8; Twyman, p. 111.

[90]See Smith, pp. 156-215 concerning Linton's years in America.

[91]Smith, p. 146.

[92]Walter Crane, An Artist's Reminiscences. (Detroit: Singing Tree Press, 1968. Reissue of 1907 edition published by Methuen and Co., London), p. 52.

[93]Frederick Brigden, "My Acquaintance with Ruskin," unpublished ms. (Toronto, 1915), p. 6. National Gallery of Canada Library (NGL).

[94]Crane, p. 45; Nicholson, p. 10.

[95]Frederick Brigden to William Sleight, March 1860. Brigden papers, Winnipeg Art Gallery Archives. (WAG).

[96]Crane, pp. 48-9.

[97]Frederick Brigden to William Sleight, March 1860 (WAG).

[98]Crane, p. 48. Brigden, in letter, March 1860, refers to there being eight apprentices.

[99]Crane, p. 49.

[100]Brigden, notebook, 1861. Brigden papers, Metropolitan Toronto Library (MTL).

[101]Brigden, diary, 1862(WAG); Crane, p. 50.

[102]Crane, p. 59.

[103]Brigden, "My Acquaintance with Ruskin," p. 3. See copy of Apprentice Indenture paper, April 23, 1860 re payment of 10 shillings per week (WAG).

[104]Quoted in Smith, p. 146.

[105]Brigden in "My Acquaintance with Ruskin" always refers to himself as a "little art workman" and to his colleagues at Ruksin's lectures as serious workmen similar to the "old art workmen" who "came and went in their labours on the ancient cathedrals." Brigden finished his apprenticeship in 1864 and joined the staff of The Illustrated London News soon afterwards, Nicholson, p. 10. Also Apprentice Indenture paper.

[106]Smith, p. 146.

[107]Crane, p. 57; Brigden, "My Acquaintance with Ruskin,"

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[116]Ibid., pp. 158, 286.

[117]Twyman, pp. 86, 94, 102; Sander, p. 20.

[118]Furst, p. 36.

[119]Williams, Culture and Society, p. 49-50.

[120]See Twyman, pp. 104-110 for a discussion of new advertising practices and styles.

[121]The change can be summarized by Williams, Culture, p. 116. He says, "Every kind of cultural and productive worker, within the highly capitalized systems of these advanced technologies, becomes an employee of owners or managers who need not be directly concerned with cultural production at all."

[122]Ibid., p. 125.

[123]Meyer, p. 8.

Chapter III: Transference of the Tradition

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[3]Checkland, p. 229.

[4]Ibid., p. 237.

[5]Ibid., p. 219. For studies on the "labour aristocracy" see, for example, Geoffrey Crossick, An Artisan Elite in Victorian Society. (London: Croom Helm, 1978) and Trygvie Tholfsen, Working-Class Radicalism in Mid-Victorian England. (London: Croom Helm, 1976).

[6]Checkland, pp. 231-2. Best, p. 118 gives a later date to the decline of skilled jobs available.

[7]Smith, p. 35.

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[9]Middleton, pp. 29-21; Nicholson, pp. 9-12.

[10]Frederick Brigden, diary, 1858. Brigden papers (MTL).

[11]Henry Brigden, ."A Brother's Recollections," The Gospel Light: Organ of the Toronto Mission to the Deaf. 10, 113(June, 1917)4.

[12]See Miriam Beard, A History of Business. Vol. II. From the Monopolists to the Organization Man. (Ann Arbor Paperbacks. Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1965), p. 238. Also Boswell, pp. 46-49.

[13]Charles Wilson, The History of Unilever: a study in economic growth and social change. (London: Cassell and Co., Ltd., 1954), pp. 22-33.

[14]See Ronald S. Edwards and Harry Townsend, Business Enterprise: Its Growth and Organization. (London: MacMillan and Co., Ltd., 1961), p. 30 and Wilson, "Economy and Society in Late Victorian Britain," p. 194.

[15]Careless, Brown of "The Globe." Vol. I, p. 23.

[16]Ibid., pp. 44-45. Also see Rutherford, p. 40.

[17]Bliss, A Canadian Millionaire, p. x.

[18]Rutherford, p. 23. See George G. Nasmith, Timothy Eaton. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1923) and William Stephenson, The Store that Timothy Built. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1969).

[19]Frederick Brigden, diary, June 4, 1904. Brigden papers (MTL), concerning labour disputes. Letter to Frederick H. Brigden, no date, 1894, Brigden papers (MTL), in which he says "your talent rightly used is such as would secure you a good place in the front ranks of art-workmen, a class that I have always honoured more than that of the artist."

[20]Alan Wilson, John Northway, pp. 174-8.

[21]Ibid., pp. 10-12.

[22]Ibid., p. 12.

[23]Carrothers, p. 212; Thomas, p. 96.

[24]Alan Wilson, John Northway, p. 19.

[25]Frederick Brigden, diary, December 18, 1871. Brigden papers (MTL).

[26]Frederick Brigden, notebook, October 4, 1872. Brigden papers (MTL).

[27]Although some records state that the Brigdens arrived in Toronto in June 1871 (see The Monetary Times, January 1946, "The Brigden Family," for example), in Brigden's diary of November 24, 1872, he says "we have been six weeks in Toronto." Brigden papers (MTL).

[28]Wilbur S. Shepperson, British Emigration to North America. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957), p. 108.

[29]Checkland, p. 62.

[30]G. Kitson Clark, An Expanding Society: Britain 1830-1900. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), p. 6.

[31]Shepperson, p. 253.

[32]Frederick Brigden, Poem, "The Sea: on my first voyage to Canada." Brigden papers (WAG).

[33]According to Nicholson the firm was in "dire straits." See The First Hundred Years, p. 19.

[34]Peter G. Goheen, Victorian Toronto 1850 to 1900: Pattern and Process of Growth. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 62.

[35]Goheen, p. 70.

[36]See G. P. de T. Glazebrook, The Story of Toronto. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), p. 141; Rutherford, pp. 15, 23.

[37]J. M. S. Careless, "The Rise of Cities in Canada before 1914," Canadian Historical Association Booklet #32 (1978), p. 16; Glazebrook, p. 105.

[38]George A. Nader, Cities of Canada: Vol. II: Profiles of Fifteen Metropolitan Centres. (Toronto: MacMillan Co. of Canada, 1976), p. 199.

[39]Glazebrook, p. 107; Rutherford, p. 15.

[40]Careless, "The Rise of Cities," p. 17; Glazebrook, p. 109-10.

[41]Glazebrook, p. 119.

[42]Ibid., pp. 113.

[43]D. C. Masters, The Rise of Toronto: 1850-1890. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947), p. 97.

[44]Rutherford, p. 9.

[45]See, for example, the treatment of Samuel Tazewell in H. Pearson Gundy, "Samuel Oliver Tazewell: First Lithographer of Upper Canada," The Humanities Association Review, 27, 4(Fall, 1976)466-483.

[46]Alison Prentice, The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Century Upper Canada. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978), p. 16; Rutherford, p. 34.

[47]Glazebrook, 96-7; Rutherford, 34.

[48]W. H. Kesterton, A History of Journalism in Canada. (Carelton Library. #36. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1967), p. 24; Careless, Brown of "The Globe", Vol. I, p. 176.

[49]Lee, p. 225.

[50]Careless, Brown of "The Globe." Vol. I, p. 176; Kesterton, p. 23.

[51]L. C. A. Knowles, The Economic Development of the British Overseas Empire. Vol. II: Comparative View of Dominion Problems. Canada. (London: George Rutledge and Sons, Ltd., 1930), p. 563. Also Steinberg, p. 283.

[52]Patricia Lockhart Fleming, "The Printing Trade in Toronto: 1798-1841," Sticks and Stones: some aspects of Canadian printing history, eds. John Gibson and Laurie Lewis. (Toronto: Toronto Typographical Association, 1980), p. 57; Hulse, p. xii.

[53]Hulse, xvi; Fleming, pp. 59-60; Kesterton, p. 24. Canadian Book of Printing: how printing came to Canada and the story of the graphic arts, told mainly in pictures. (Toronto: Toronto Public Libraries, 1940) is a limited history of printing in Canada, but has interesting pictures of early printers, presses and examples of printing.

[54]Rutherford, p. 40.

[55]Careless, Brown of "The Globe." Vol. I, p. 176; Rutherford, p. 40. See also Moran, pp. 139-140. It is interesting to note the international exchange of ideas and expertise in the development of printing technology.

[56]Careless, Brown of "The Globe." Vol. I, p. 176.

[57]Careless, Brown of "The Globe." Vol. II, p. 5.

[58]Ibid., p. 269.

[59]Rutherford, p. 40; Careless, Brown of "The Globe." Vol. I, p. 176.

[60]Rutherford, p. 41; Hulse, p. xvi.

[61]Rutherford, pp. 59, 93; Knowles, p. 563.

[62]Careless, Brown of "The Globe." Vol. II, p. 5.

[63]Hulse, p. xi.

[64]Ibid., pp. xi, 93.

[65]Ibid., p. 220.

[66]See Smart, "John Ellis to Rolph, Clark and Stone Ltd.," passim. Concerning Tazewell it is unclear whether he was also an engraver; see Gundy, p. 470. It seems more likely that the terms "engraving" and "lithography" were confused at the time (1833).

[67]Hulse, pp. 56, 70.

[68]Ibid., p. xiv.

[69]Rutherford, p. 121. See also H. E. Stephenson and Carlton McNaught, The Story of Advertising in Canada: A Chronicle of Fifty Years. (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1940), p. 14.

[70]Rutherford, p. 121; Stephenson and McNaught, p. 16.

[71]Stephenson and McNaught, p. 19.

[72]Ibid., pp. 24-35; Rutherford, p. 112.

[73]Golden Jubilee 1869-1919: a book to commemorate the Fiftieth Anniversary of the T. Eaton Co., Ltd. (Toronto and Winnipeg: T. Eaton Co., Ltd., 1919), pp. 30-1.

[74]Stephenson and McNaught, p. 44; Presbrey, p. 324.

[75]Masters, p. 104; Presbery, 325.

[76]Stephenson and McNaught, pp. 42-44.

[77]Masters, p. 104.

[78]Rutherford, p. 123.

[79]Nicholson, p. 19.

[80]Frederick Brigden, diary, April 1873. Brigden papers (MTL). See Alan Wilson, John Northway, concerning the problems of "ambitious skilled immigrants," p. 25.

[81]Note in diary for letter to William Sleight, April(?), 1873. Brigden papers (MTL).

[82]Brigden, diary, June 1873. Brigden papers (MTL).

[83]Nicholson, p. 19; Middleton, p. 28.

[84]Hulse, p. 30.

[85]Beard, p. 238; Boswell, p. 48.

[86]Boswell, pp. 15-19.

[87]Ibid., pp. 18, 42.

[88]Boswell, p. 51. See Payne, p. 25, for an alternative view.

[89]Boswell, pp. 53-4.

[90]Edwards and Townsend, p. 42.

[91]Boswell, p. 49.

[92]Rutherford, pp. 23, 36.

[93]Hulse, p. xiv.

[94]Middleton, p. 30; Nicholson, p. 19. Also Frederick H. Brigden, "Art in Relation to Advertising." unpublished ms. Brigden papers (MTL), c. 1928, re Walter Massey.

[95]Rutherford, p. 130.

Chapter IV: Business and Labour in Toronto, 1870-1914

[1]Zerker, p. 128.

[2]Goheen, p. 154.

[3]Ibid., p. 84.

[4]See Eric Arthur, Toronto: No Mean City. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964) for a photographic record of nineteenth-century Toronto.

[5]Goheen, p. 84.

[6]Records are confusing concerning the early addresses of the first Toronto Engraving Company. Nicholson, p. 14, has them at the workshop on the corner of King and Bay Streets from 1871 to 1893. This, however, does not agree with the Toronto Directory or the Assessment Rolls of the City of Toronto. The former has the Beales living in Beech Street and working at 48 King Street East from 1872 to 1875, then the Beales and Frederick Brigden living at 491½ Sherbourne Street and working at 91 Bay Street until 1877. Both the Directory and the Assessment Rolls have the Toronto Engraving Company established at "17 King Street West on the corner of Jordan and King St." in an "upper flat rented from Barber and Ellis, Stationers," from 1878 to 1889 when they moved to the corner of King and Bay. For the purposes of this study it will be presumed that the Directory and the Rolls have the correct addresses listed.

[7]Frederick Brigden, diary, 1873, Summary of 1872. Brigden papers (MTL).

[8]Brigden, diary, October 25, 1873 and Summary of 1872. Bridgen papers (MTL).

[9]Brigden, diary, March 22, 1874. Brigden papers (MTL).

[10]Brigden, diary, March 29, 1874. Brigden papers (MTL). This "bitter temper" was not obvious to others, however. R. C. Slater, writing in the Gospel Light, p. 6, in 1917, says that when he first met Brigden in 1877 he and Henry Beale "lived in the same house on Sherbourne Street for some time, where I was a frequent caller, and some of my pleasantest evenings were spent in their company, they both being men of high literary talents, their equals few anywhere."

[11]Brigden, diary, April 10, 1893. Brigden papers (MTL).

[12]Nicholson, p. 19. Toronto Directory 1876, 1877, 1878.

[13]Goheen, p. 164.

[14]Piva, p. 14. See also Careless, Brown of "The Globe." Vol. II, p. 161.

[15]Toronto Directory, Advertising Department, 1878, p. 14.

[16]Hulse, p. 20.

[17]Hulse, p. 21; Smart, p. 23. Also see Rolph, Smith and Co. papers (private collection of Rolph-Stone-Clark Ltd. at Ronald's Federated Ltd., Toronto).

[18]Hulse, p. 75, notes Roger Cunningham as being active in 1887 and 1880, but R. Cunningham and Co., in 1880. The Monetary Times, January 1946, records the firm as being the "first commercial photo-engraving shop in Toronto" and a survey of Hulse would seem to indicate that this was so.

[19]Toronto Directory, 1889.

[20]Ibid., 1890, 1893, 1896, 1897, 1899.

[21]Toronto Engraving Company engraving collection. Brigden papers (MTL). The collection includes proof engravings made for periodicals, books, newspapers, trade catalogues, trade cards, etc., and shows the wide variety of subjects engraved by Frederick Brigden as well as his skills. See also Nicholson, p. 19 and Saturday Night, May 1917, for references to his work for George Brown and William Weld.

[22]Gregory S. Kealey, "Toronto's Industrial Revolution, 1850-1892," Canada's Age of Industry: 1849-1896. eds. Michael S. Cross and Gregory S. Kealey. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), p. 48. Also see Bliss, A Living Profit, p. 11 and P. B. Waite, Arduous Destiny: Canada 1874-1896. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), pp. 75, 77.

[23]See Edward J. Chambers, "Late Nineteenth Century Business Cycles in Canada," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science. XXX, 3(August, 1964), pp. 391-412, with special reference to the chart on p. 395, and Willard Long Thorp, "The Annals of Canada," Business Annals. (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc., 1926), pp. 296-307.

[24]Kealey, "Toronto's Industrial Revolution," pp. 47-49.

[25]Ibid., pp. 37-38.

[26]Ibid., pp. 45-46.

[27]Ibid., p. 49.

[28]Ibid., p. 51.

[29]Zerker, p. 92.

[30]See also Charles Wilson, "Economy and Society in Late Victorian Britain," pp. 183-189. His account of changes in retailing and mass manufacture would seem to apply equally well to the Canadian scene.

[31]Kealey, "Toronto's Industrial Revolution,", p. 52.

[32]Assessment Rolls of the City of Toronto, 1884. It is difficult to know how significant these figures were in view of the fact that in the same year Frederick Brigden bought his own house.

[33]Both the Toronto Directory and the Assessment Rolls list the move as taking place in 1889, but the numbers on Bay Street vary during 1889 to 1898 between 89, 91 and 93. They both say "over 53 King Street" or at the "corner of King and Bay," so presumably the references are to the same place.

[34]Arthur, p. 109.

[35]Ibid., p. 173.

[36]According to the photograph in Nicholson, p. 14, this is the King and Day Streets corner workshop. Even though the dates are wrong, (see f.n.6), it would not seem to be the King and Jordan location. The street level businesses, however, do not correspond to those listed in the Assessment Rolls. It also would seem to be the N.W. corner, not the S.E. as stated by Nicholson. See Old Toronto. ed. E. C. Kyle. (Toronto: MacMillan and Co., 1954), p. 74, for an account of the early numbering system.

[37]See Waite, pp. 2-4.

[38]Thomas Kempner, Keith Macmillan and Kevin Hawkins, Business and Society: Tradition and Change. (London: Allen Lane, 1974), p. 7.

[39]Middleton, p. 29; Nicholson, p. 40.

[40]Middleton, p. 37. See also A. W. Mason, Gospel Light, p. 6 and Bob Rumball, Signs of the Century: The Ontario Mission of the Deaf: 1872-1972 Centennial. (Toronto: Ontario Mission of the Deaf, 1972).

[41]Middleton, p. 37. There are a number of letters in the Brigden collection (MTL) relating to the 400th anniversary of the Saturday Club. According to Hunter Bishop, archivist of the Toronto Arts and Letters Club, "members of the firm met at Brigden's home on Saturday evenings, and after donning judge's wigs, listened to some paper or other which was given by well known members of their." (private correspondence, January 27, 1983). The Club met alternate weeks. See Carl Printz to Frederick Brigden, February 10, 1916 (MTL).

[42]Edwards and Townsend, p. 33.

[43]Boswell, p. 40.

[44]Ibid., p. 25.

[45]Edwards and Townsend, p. 4.

[46]Nicholson, p. 20.

[47]Ibid., pp. 21, 23.

[48]Middleton, p. 51.

[49]Crane, p. 48.

[50]Floor plan, 1891. Brigden papers (WAG).

[51]Nicholson, p. 23.

[52]Ibid., p. 22.

[53]Elizabeth Faulkner Baker, Printers and Technology: A History of the International Printing Pressman and Assistants Union. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957), p. 12. See also Arthur T. Turnbull and Russell N. Baird, The Graphics of Communication: Typography - Layout - Design. 2nd ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968), pp. 20-22 and Steinberg, op. cit., p. 288.

[54]Turnbull and Baird, pp. 18-19.

[55]The Art of Photo-engraving. (Toronto: Brigden's Limited, 1929), p. 2.

[56]James Moran, Printing in the 20th Century: A Penrose Anthology. (London: Northwood Publications Ltd., 1974), p. 35.

[57]Southward, p. 78.

[58]William Gamble, "Process in Magazine and Book Illustration," in Moran, Penrose Annual, p. 38.

[59]William M. Ivins, How Prints Look. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1958), p. 145.

[60]For a condensed history of the development of photography, see Charles Swedlund, Photography: A Handbook of History, Materials and Processes. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1974), pp. 2-34.

[61]Turnbull and Baird, p. 23; Moran, Penrose Annual, p. 35.

[62]Moran, Penrose Annual, p. 36.

[63]Ibid., p. 35.

[64]John Petrina, Art Work: How Produced How Reproduced. (New York: Pitman Publishing Co., n.d.), pp. 91-98; Southward, pp. 74-78; Turnbull and Baird, pp. 121-124. These all give good descriptions of the process.

[65]Ibid., and Turnbull and Baird, pp. 124-128.

[66]Southward, pp. 55-56.

[67]Moran, Penrose Annual, p. 35, Petrina, p. 91.

[68]Southward, p. 56; Baker, pp. 24-25.

[69]Nicholson puts the date of change at 1893, but both the Toronto Directory and the Assessment Rolls list the move at 1898.

[70]See photographs in Nicholson, pp. 24, 28, of various departments. There are again differences in the dates of the purchase of the Graphic Press. Nicholson says 1908 (p. 47) but the Toronto Directory has 1910 listed.

[71]Middleton, p. 78.

[72]Brigden, diary, December 1898. Brigden papers (MTL).

[73]Brigden, diary, August 1901. Brigden papers (MTL).

[74]Thorp, pp. 300-303.

[75]Nicholson, p. 29. (Nicholson's dates are not, however, always reliable). The major collections of Brigden engravings are to be found in the Metropolitan Toronto Library and in the Sigmund Samuel Gallery, Toronto.

[76]Nasmith, op. cit., p. 183. See also A Shoppers View of Canada's Past: Pages from Eaton's Catalogues: 1886-1930, eds. G. de T. Glazebrook, Katherine B. Brett and Judith McErval. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), p. iv.

[77]Shoppers View, p. vi; Golden Jubliee, pp. 154, 209. See also The Story of a Store: A History of the T. Eaton Co., Ltd.: From 1869 to the Present Day. (n. p., 1934).

[78]Zerker, p. 147.

[79]The Globe and Mail, Wednesday, January 28, 1970.

[80]Frederick H. Brigden, copy of a letter to a grandson of Timothy Eaton, date c. 1955. Brigden papers (MTL).

[81]Middleton, p. 78.

[82]Frederick Brigden, diary, April 1904. Brigden papers (MTL).

[83]Frederick Brigden, diary, June 4, 1904. Brigden papers (MTL).

[84]Zerker, p. 30. See also Eugene Forsey, Trade Unions in Canada 1812-1902. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), p. 21.

[85]Ibid., p. 31. Toronto's journeyman printers received a wage of $7 for a 60 hour week which was higher than the wage in other Ontario cities. Forsey, p. 22.

[86]Sally Zerker, "George Brown and the Printers' Union," Journal of Canadian Studies (February 1975)47. Forsey, p. 97. See H. A. Logan, Trade Unions in Canada: their development and functioning. (Toronto: MacMillan, 1948), p. 42 for a differing point of view.

[87]George Brown, quoted in Zerker, The Rise and Fall, p. 34. "I have no objection to give you Seven dollars a week, if you will leave the Society, but I will not be dictated to by the Society as to what wages I must give men belonging to it." See also Forsey, p. 22.

[88]George Brown, quoted in Carless, Brown of "The Globe." Vol. II, p. 289. See Bliss, A Living Profit, p. 77 for the contemporary attitude towards the laws of supply and demand.

[89]Careless, Brown of "The Globe". Vol. II, p. 292. See Glazebrook, The Story of Toronto, p. 145, for a different view of the actions of George Brown.

[90]Zerker, The Rise and Fall, p. 86.

[91]Ibid., p. 84.

[92]Ibid., p. 90. Stuart Jamieson, Industrial Relations in Canada. 2nd ed. (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1974), pp. 14-15.

[93]Forsey, pp. 201-205.

[94]Zerker, The Rise and Fall, p. 128. Baker, p. 14.

[95]Baker, pp. 8-10. See Moran, Printing Presses, for a full description of the progress of machine printing.

[96]Baker, pp. 27-8; Steinberg, p. 288; Zerker, The Rise and Fall, p. 128. See Turnbull and Baird, pp. 19-22 for an account of the new developments in typesetting. Also see Harry Kelber and Carl Schlesinger, Union Printers and Controlled Automation. (New York: The Free Press, 1967), pp. 1-29 for a study of the impact of the linotype machine on hand printers.

[97]Baker, pp. 61-62. Baker records that pressmen in some locals "found themselves no more welcome than women." For an alternative view of the situation, see Wayne Roberts, "The last Artisans: Toronto Printers, 1896-1914," Essays in Canadian Working Class History. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979), pp. 125-142.

[98]Lloyd G. Reynolds and Charles C. Killingsworth, Trade Union Publications: The Official Journals, Convention Proceedings, and Constitutions of International Unions and Federations, 1805-1941. Vol. I. (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1944), pp. 254-255.

[99]Baker, pp. 74-77; Zerker, The Rise and Fall, p. 131. Also see Jacob Loft, The Printing Trades. (New York: Farrar and Rinehart Inc., 1944), pp. 188-189.

[100]Loft, p. 189; Reynolds and Killingsworth, p. 236; Baker, p. 81. According to an historical survey in Graphic, (July 1983)8. "Eighteen plate makers of seven cities in New York" formed their own union.

[101]Loft, pp. 189-190; Reynolds and Killingsworth, p. 236.

[102]Loft, p. 191; Zerker, The Rise and Fall, pp. 140-142.

[103]Baker, pp. 136-138; Loft, pp. 191-192.

[104]Forsey, p. 512.

[105]Frank L. Shaw, The Printing Trades. (Cleveland, Ohio: The Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation, 1916), p. 56.

[106]Prior to 1906 no employees are listed in the Assessment Rolls.

[107]Piva, p. 52. He gives an average annual wage of $455.28 for 1906.

[108]Ibid., pp. 52-53.

[109]Ibid., p. 54.

[110]Forsey, p. 205.

[111]This is mentioned frequently in the Frederick H. Brigden papers and in later interviews with ex-Brigden employees in Winnipeg.

[112]Frederick Brigden, diary, June 4, 1904. Brigden papers (MTL).

[113]Zerker, The Rise and Fall, pp. 147-149. See also Roberts, p. 138. There is, of course, no mention of the strike in the Eaton literature.

[114]Zerker, The Rise and Fall, p. 147.

[115]Frederick H. Brigden to Eaton grandson, c. 1955. Brigden papers (MTL).

[116]Glazebrook, pp. 211-222.

[117]Frederick Brigden, diary, April 20, 1904. Brigden papers (MTL).

[118]Frederick Brigden, diary, June 4, 1904. Brigden papers (MTL). See Bliss, A Living Profit, pp. 74-5 concerning the reactions of some traditional artisan style employers. It is also interesting to note that on June 1, 1904, the agreement between the Typographers, Pressmen, Bookbinders and their Employers was due for re-negotiation. See Forsey, p. 205.

[119]Robert H. Wiebe, The Search for Order: 1877-1920. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), p. 20.

[120]Nicholson, p. 47.

[121]Frederick Brigden, diary, 1908, no month given. Brigden papers (MTL).

[122]Ibid., May 1909.

[123]William H. Brigden to Arnold Brigden, c. 1910. Brigden papers (WAG).

[124]Frederick H. Brigden to Arnold Brigden, January 30, 1909. Brigden papers (WAG).

[125]Frederick Brigden, diary, January 11, 1910. Brigden papers (MTL).

[126]Quoted in the Brigdens Limited Annual Picnic Programme, July 19, 1913. Brigden papers (MTL). See a full description of the building in the architectural journal Construction (1912)94-96. Brigden clipping file (WAG).

[127]The Monetary Times, (January 1946)112. Brigden clipping file (WAG).

Chapter V: Arts and Commerce in Toronto, 1870-1914

[1]Colgate, pp. 25-26; Harper, Painting in Canada, pp. 185-186. Also Rebecca Sisler, Passionate Spirits: A History of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts: 1880-1980. (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Co., Ltd., 1980), p. 22.

[2]Ann Thomas, Canadian Painting and Photography, 1860-1900. (Montreal: McCord Museum, 1979), p. 49.

[3]Colgate, p. 20; Harper, Painting in Canada, pp. 180-181, 183. Also see Dennis Reid, "Our Own Country Canada." Being an Account of the National Aspirations of the Principal Landscape Artists in Manitoba and Toronto 1860-1890. (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1979), pp. 28-66.

[4]Reid, p. 30; Thomas, p. 23.

[5]Thomas, pp. 29, 33, 55.

[6]Ibid., pp. 73-75. For composite pictures, subjects, usually figures, were photographed, the image was cut, coloured, pasted onto a painted background and re-photographed all together. Large numbers of people would then appear to have been photographed together.

[7]Thomas, p. 25; Colgate, p. 20.

[8]Reid, p. 46.

[9]Colgate, p. 20.

[10]Thomas, p. 24.

[11]Ibid., p. 38.

[12]Thomas, p. 56; Reid, p. 64.

[13]Thomas, p. 49; Reid, p. 47.

[14]Harper, Painting in Canada, p. 183.

[15]Thomas, p. 26.

[16]Harper, Painting in Canada, p. 179; Sisler, p. 21.

[17]Thomas, p. 26; Colgate, p. 24; Harper, Painting in Canada, p. 182.

[18]Harper, Painting in Canada, p. 181.

[19]Sisler, p. 22.

[20]Reid, p. 65.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Thomas, p. 50.

[23]Ibid., p. 63.

[24]Reid, p. 65.

[25]Colgate, pp. 25-26.

[26]Harper, Painting in Canada, p. 186; Colgate, p. 26; Sisler, p. 22.

[27]Colgate, p. 25.

[28]Sisler, pp. 14, 25-26, 29. See also Kay Kritzwiser, "To Found a National Gallery: The Royal Canadian Academy of Arts 1880-1913," Artmagazine, 11, 48/49 (May/June, 1980)20. And see Pevsner, Academies of Art Past and Present, for a history of European Academies.

[29]Sisler, pp. 27-29.

[30]Ibid., p. 28; Kritzwiser, p. 21.

[31]For dates of memberships see Sisler, "List of Presidents and Members 1880-1979," pp. 279-289. Members are listed alphabetically.

[32]Sisler, p. 167.

[33]See Frederick H. Brigden, "The Ontario Society of Artists: 75th Anniversary; 1872-1947," unpublished ms., 1947, p. 5 and "Address to Rotarians," unpublished ms., 1952(?), p. 5 Brigden papers (MTL), concerning the artists who brought their work to his father's workshops.

[34]National Gallery of Canada Information Form on Frederick Brigden, n.d. Brigden papers (WAG).

[35]Frederick Brigden, diary, May 8, July 25, 1867. Brigden papers (MTL). See also Frederick Brigden, "My Acquaintance with Ruskin."

[36]Middleton, p. 51. Also F. H. Brigden, "Address to Rotarians," p. 6.

[37]Middleton, p. 51. Also Charles Comfort, "Frederick Henry Brigden (1871-1956): Tribute to a Distinguished Canadian Painter," unpublished ms., (Art Gallery of Ontario, 1957), p. 14.

[38]Middleton, pp. 44, 45; Comfort, pp. 13-14; F. H. Brigden, "Art in Relation to Advertising," unpublished ms., (MTL), p. 3.

[39]Middleton, p. 45; F. H. Brigden, "Address to Rotarians," p. 7.

[40]See Sybille Pantazzi, "Book Illustration and Design by Canadian Artists 1890-1940," National Gallery of Canada Bulletin, 7(1966)6; Colgate, pp. 39-40 and Picturesque Canada, ed. Charles M. Nelles. (Edmonton: Pandora, 1975) concerning the production of the book and its art work.

[41]Harper, Early Painters and Engravers, pp. 44-45.

[42]F. H. Brigden, "Address to Rotarians," p. 7. See also Nicholson, p. 23.

[43]Middleton, p. 60. Also F. H. Brigden, "Address to Rotarians," p. 7.

[44]Middleton, p. 78.

[45]Colgate, p. 39.

[46]Colgate, pp. 41-42; Pantazzi, p. 6.

[47]"Canadian Illustrators," The Printer and Publishser, (June 1985)12. See also Harper, Painting in Canada, p. 264 and Colgate, p. 49.

[48]Pantazzi, p. 6.

[49]F. H. Brigden, "Address to Rotarians," p. 6.

[50]Middleton, p. 54. See also Albert H. Robson, Canadian Landscape Painters. (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1932), pp. 120-128 and Pantazzi, p. 6 concerning members of the Art Students League.

[51]Colgate, p. 52.

[52]"Canadian Illustrators," p. 13.

[53]Comfort, p. 18. See also "Frederick Henry Brigden, R.C.A., O.S.A (1871-1956)," Memorial Exhibition Catalogue. 85th Annual Exhibition of the Ontario Society of Artists. (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1957) re the landscape paintings of F. H. Brigden.

[54]Frederick Brigden to F. H. Brigden, August 1894. Brigden papers (MTL).

[55]See Comfort, p. 12 concerning the influence of Ruskin on Frederick Brigden. See William Gaunt, The Aesthetic Adventure. (London: Sphere Books, Ltd., 1975), pp. 84-96 for an account of the controversy between Ruskin and Whistler. The real issue, as Gaunt points out, was between "art with a purpose" or art for art's sake."

[56]Frederick Brigden to F. H. Brigden, August 1896. Brigden papers (MTL).

[57]C. M. Manly, "Memories: An Appreciation." Unpublished ms. 1918. Brigden papers (WAG), p. 5.

[58]Comfort, p. 16.

[59]F. H. Brigden, "Address to Rotarians," p. 8. Also Memorial Exhibition Catalogue re first painting which was exhibited in 1894 when he was twenty-three years of age.

[60]F. H. Brigden, "Address to Rotarians," p. 8.

[61]Middleton, p. 84.

[62]Robson, p. 130.

[63]Colgate, p. 49; Robson, pp. 122, 126. See also Dorothy M. Farr, W. J. Beatty 1869-1941. (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1981), p. 19.

[64]Peter Mellen, The Group of Seven. (Toronto: McClellend and Stewart Ltd., 1970), p. 17. Also see Mellen, p. 17, re the Mahlstick Club which lasted from 1899 to 1903 and whose members included Brigden, Jefferys, Beatty and J. E. H. MacDonald, and The Society of Canadian Painters-Etchers and Engravers in Retrospect. (Hamilton: Art Gallery of Hamilton, 1981).

[65]Colgate, p. 39; Harper, Painting in Canada, p. 264; Mellen, p. 19. See Lord, pp. 115-138 for an interpretation which relates the rise of a Canadian national art to the rise of a Canadian bourgeosie.

[66]Robson, p. 130.

[67]Farr, p. 43.

[68]Pantazzi, p. 6. See also McLanathan, p. 7, concerning a similar attitude towards American illustrators.

[69]See Roald Nasgaard, The Mystic North: Symbolist Landscape in Northern Europe and North America 1890-1940. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), pp. 158-159 re the "mythology" of the Group of Seven. An example of the traditional view is found in the Report of the Royal Commission on National Developments in the Arts, Letters and Sciences: 1949-1951. (Ottawa: Edmund Cloutier, 1951), p. 204 where it is stated that "The first truly Canadian school of painting was the Group of Seven; it was in the work of this group that Canadian painters began to find their own style."

[70]See Nasgaard, pp. 158-202 for a discussion of the Scandinavian influences on the Group of Seven and Mellen, pp. 200-201 concerning nineteenth-century ideas of nature and landscape painting. See also Douglas Cole, "Artists, Patrons and Public: An Enquiry into the Success of the Group of Seven," Journal of Canadian Studies. 13, 2(Summer, 1978) 69-78; Margaret F. R. Davidson, "A New Approach to the Group of

Seven," Journal of Canadian Studies. IV, 4(November 1969)9-16 and Mary Vipond, "National Consciousness in English-Speaking Canada in the 1920s: Seven Studies," PhD. thesis. (Toronto, 1974).

[71]Harper, Painting in Canada, p. 266; Mellen, p. 20.

[72]Pantazzi, p. 7.

[73]Quoted in Harper, Painting in Canada, p. 264.

[74]Robert Stacey, The Canadian Poster Book: 100 Years of the Poster in Canada. (Toronto: Methuen, 1982), p. xi.

[75]Augustus Bridle, The Story of the Club. (Toronto: The Arts and Letters Club, 1945), p. 59.

[76]Quoted in Stacey, p. x.

[77]Mellen, pp. 14, 20-21; F. H. Brigden, "Address to Rotarians," p. 8. See also O. J. Firestone, The Other A. Y. Jackson. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1979), pp. 20-21; John A. B. McLeish, September Gale: A Study of Arthur Lismer of the Group of Seven. (Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons). P. Silcox, Tom Thomson: the Silence and the Storm. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1977), pp. 51-53, 55.

[78]Town and Silcox, pp. 58-59.

[79]Pantazzi, p. 24; Mellen, pp. 204-215 for chronology of events and employment in the lives of the Group members.

[80]Colgate, pp. 68-70.

[81]Davidson, passim.

[82]Harper, Painting in Canada, p. 269; Macleish, p. 26. See also Bridle, passim.

[83]Mellen, p. 18; Macleish, pp. 26, 27; Bridle, p. 16.

[84]Bridle, p. 21.

[85]Ibid., p. 67.

[86]See Mellen, pp. 99-109 and Macleish, pp. 88-95.

[87]See John Canaday, Mainstreams of Modern Art. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1959), pp. 156-158 and Arnold Hauser, The Social History of Art. Vol. IV. Naturalism, Impressionism, The Film Age. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977), pp. 162-163.

[88]Sisler, pp. 161-162.

[89]See Sisler, pp. 279-289 for membership charts.

[90]Sisler, pp. 101-110, 151-160.

[91]Katherine A. Jordan, Fifty Years: The Canadian Society of Painters in Water Colour: 1925-1975. (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1976), p. 7. Also Middleton, p. 84.

[92]F. H. Brigden, "Art in Relation to Business," unpublished ms., 1920. Brigden papers (MTL).

[93]F. H. Brigden, "Art in Relation to Advertising," p. 2. See also reports of Brigden's ideas in the Toronto Globe and Mail, December 23, 1944 and May 19, 1945. See also Munro, "Four Hundred Arts and Types of Art," passim and Gowans, The Unchanging Arts, passim.

[94]See Berger, Ways of Seeing, passim and Brunius, Theory and Taste, passim.

[95]See Raymond Wiliams, The Long Revolution. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1980), pp. 70-88 for a discussion of selectivity and Linda Nochlin, Realism. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1971), pp. 108-109 concerning art "of one's times."

[96]See Leo Lowenthal, Literature, Popular Culture, and Society. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961), pp. 10-11 for a summary of critical views of popular culture.

[97]Stacey, p. vii.

[98]F. H. Brigden, "Art in Relation to Business," pp. 5, 13.

[99]Meyer, p. 28.

[100]Ibid., p. 30.

[101]Ibid.

[102]Ibid., p. 27.

[103]Ibid., pp. 27, 28.

[104]Daniel Mothersill, "The Fine Art of Illustration," The Review, 65, 6(1981)11.

[105]Sisler, p. 167.

[106]Burton Kramer, "Editorial," Graphic Design in Canada: IDEA Special Issue. (September 30, 1975)110. See Sisler, p. 84. She says that it was not, in fact, until the late 1960s that attitudes began to change towards "modern design professions."

[107]Carl Brett, quoted in Graphic Design in Canada, p. 116.

[108]Heather Cooper, quoted in Mothersill, p. 12. See also Thoreau MacDonald, quoted in Margaret E. Edison, Thoreau MacDonald: A Catalogue of Design and Illustration. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 23.

[109]Robin Arkell, quoted in Mothersill, p. 14. See also Gideon Chagy, The New Patrons of the Arts. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1972), p. 27 and Arnold Rockman, "The Artist in the Market-place," Canadian Art. XXII, 2, 96(March/April, 1965)44.

[110]Munro, "Four Hundred Arts and Types of Art," p. 48. Also see Munro, The Arts and their interrelations. (New York: The Liberal Arts Press, 1949), p. 127.

[111]Sander, p. 18; Twyman, p. 97.

[112]Middleton, pp. 77-78; F. H. Brigden, "Address to Rotarians," p. 7.

[113]F. H. Bridgen, "Art in Relation to Busioness," pp. 9-10.

[114]See, for example, Farr, p. 19; Jordan, p. 9; McLanathan, p. 7.

[115]Paul Duval, Four Decades: The Canadian Group of Painters and their Contemporaries - 1930-1970. (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Co., Ltd., 1972), p. 58.

[116]Comfort, p. 19.

[117]Robertson, p. 96. See Stephen Godfrey, "The Onley Way To Go," The Globe and Mail, (March 1, 1986)C1 concerning the artist Tony Onley.

[118]See Hulse for a record of these companies.

Chapter VI: Business, Labor and Art in Winnipeg, 1913-1940

[1]See Virginia G. Berry, A Boundless Horizon: Visual Records of Exploration and Settlement in the Manitoba Region 1624-1874. (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1983) for a survey. Also Berry, "Washington Frank Lynn: Artist and Journalist," The Beaver. (Spring, 1978)24-31.

[2]Alan Artibise, Winnipeg: a social history of urban growth 1874-1914. (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1975), p. 18. Also Ruben Bellan, Winnipeg: The Development of a Metropolitan Centre. (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1976), pp. 214-215, Gerald Friesen, The Canadian Prairies: A History. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 275-278 and Careless, "The Development of the Winnipeg Business Community, 1870-1890," p. 239.

[3]Alan Artibise, Winnipeg: An Illustrated History. (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1977), pp. 32, 58. Also Donald Kerr, "Wholesale Trade on the Canadian Plains in the Late Nineteenth Century: Winnipeg and its Competition," in The Settlement of the West. ed. Howard Palmer. (Calgary: University of Calgary, 1977), p. 144.

[4]Bellan, p. 149; Kerr, p. 140.

[5]Artibise, Winnipeg: An Illustrated History, p. 32.

[6]Careless, "Development of the Winnipeg Business Community," pp. 246-247.

[7]Kerr, p. 151.

[8]Quoted in Bellan, p. 150.

[9]Artibise, Winnipeg: An Illustrated History, p. 36.

[10]Bellan, p. 152.

[11]Ibid., p. 226; Artibise, Winnipeg An Illustrated History, p. 66. See also W. L. Morton, Manitoba: A History. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), p. 304.

[12]Bellan, p. 250.

[13]Alan Artibise, "Divided City: The Immigrant in Winnipeg Society: 1874-1921," in The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History. eds. Gilbert Stelter and Alan Artibise. (Toronto: MacMillan, 1979), p. 304 and Artibise, Winnipeg: a social history, pp. 129-147 concerning population growth.

[14]Joseph H. Sutcliffe, "Economic Background to the Winnipeg General Strike," M.A. Thesis (University of Manitoba, 1972), p. 10.

[15]J. M. S. Careless, "Aspects of Urban Life in the West, 1870-1914," Prairie Perspectives 2. eds. A. W. Rasporick and H. C. Klassen. (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada Ltd., 1973), p. 35.

[16]Bellan, p. 205; Morton, p. 323; Artibise, Winnipeg: An Illustrated History, p. 88.

[17]Angela E. Davis, "Laying the Ground: the establishment of an artistic milieu in Winnipeg: 1890-1913;" Manitoba History. 4(Autumn, 1982)12-13.

[18]Bellan, p. 205. See also Paul Voisey, "The Urbanization of the Canadian Prairies, 1871-1916," Histoire Sociale - Social History, VIII, 15(May, 1975)87 and J. E. Toten, The Service Industries. Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects. (The Bank of Montreal, March 1956), p. 49.

[19]Bellan, p. 157.

[20]Ibid.; Artibise, Winnipeg: An Illustrated History, p. 138; Golden Jubilee, p. 173. See Joy L. Santink, "Timothy Eaton: Expansion into the West," unpublished m.s. (University of Toronto, 1986), pp. 18-20.

[21]Bellan, p. 157.

[22]Golden Jubilee, pp. 173, 182.

[23]Bellan, pp. 157, 205; Golden Jubilee, p. 182.

[24]See Golden Jubilee, p. 182 re printing, pp. 203-211 re advertising art.

[25]Careless, "Winnipeg Business Community," p. 240; Morton, p. 103.

[26]See Morton, pp. 94-150 passim.

[27]Morton, p. 101. See also Bruce Peel, Early Printing in the Red River Settlement, 1859-1870 and its effects on the Riel Rebellion. (Winnipeg: Peguis Publishers Ltd., 1974), p. 3 and The Nor'Wester. (Winnipeg: Historic Resources Pamphlet, Department of Cultural Affairs and Historic Resources, 1981), p. 1.

[28]Peel, pp. 3, 17.

[29]Morton, p. 102; The Nor'Wester, p. 7.

[30]Peel, p. 4.

[31]Ibid., p. 7.

[32]Peel, pp. 15-17; The Nor'Wester, p. 11.

[33]The Nor'Wester, p. 11. See also The Winnipeg Typographer, (September 3, 1894)1. Winnipeg Typographical Union (WTU) Records, Provincial Archives of Manitoba (PAM).

[34]Peel, pp. 17-19.

[35]D. M. Loveridge, A Historical Directory of Manitoba Newspapers 1859-1978. (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1981), p. 5.

[36]Morton, p. 170; Winnipeg Typographer, p. 1.

[37]Careless, "Winnipeg Business Community," p. 242.

[38]Winnipeg Typographer, p. 1.

[39]Constitution and By-Laws and Scale of Prices of the Winnipeg Typographical Union #191. W.T.U. records (PAM). Booklet published 1889.

[40]Ibid., Article III, Section 1.

[41]Ibid., Article III, Section 2. See also Bryan T. Dewalt, "Arthur W. Puttee: Labourism and Working-Class Politics in Winnipeg 1894-1918," M.A. Thesis (University of Manitoba, 1985), pp. 29-36.

[42]WTU records (PAM). Correspondence concerning the Diamond Jubilee of the Union gives a list of charter and early members.

[43]WTU records (PAM). Invitation to the "Second Annual Dinner" of the Union, January 15, 1887, lists the officers of the organizing committee.

[44]WTU minutes, April 1, 1899. WTU records (PAM).

[45]WTU minutes, July 2, 1898. WTU records (PAM).

[46]Winnipeg Typographer, p. 4.

[47]WTU minutes, April 7, August 4, 1900; November 2, 1901; April 2, May 7, 1904; December 27, 1907. WTU records (PAM). Also minutes of the Winnipeg Allied Printing Trades Council, December 27, 1907; January 15, January 22, 1908. WTU records (PAM).

[48]Nicholson, p. 52. Also Fred Brigden to Eaton grandson, 1955. Brigden papers (MTL).

[49]Interviews with ex-employees of Winnipeg's Brigden's. Starting wages for apprentices varied from $9 to $12, although some were as low as $3. Once trained, weekly wages for skilled artists were quoted as being from $25 to $60 per week.

[50]Nicholson, p. 52.

[51]Bellan, p. 251.

[52]Ibid., pp. 262-264.

[53]Harper, Painting in Canada, p. 315.

[54]Historical Outline of the House of Stovel: A Short Historical Sketch Together with Illustrations and Descriptions of the Growth of the Company. (Winnipeg: Stovel Company Ltd., 1931), pp. 9-10.

[55]Ibid., p. 11. It is not clear from the Historical Outline if the owners of the engraving company were cousins or brothers.

[56]Bellan, p. 153.

[57]Historical Outline, p. 11.

[58]Ibid., pp. 19-25.

[59]Ibid., p. 37; Bellan, p. 153.

[60]F. C. Pickwell, "Craftsmen for Fifty Years," Manitoba Industrial Topics. (February 1942). p. 2. Bulman papers. Ethel M. McKnight Collection (PAM).

[61]F. H. Schofield, The Story of Manitoba. Vol. III. (Winnipeg: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1913), p. 15.

[62]Correspondence with R. C. Stovel, November 1982.

[63]Arnold Brigden to Fred Bridgen, September 25, 1914 and July 13, 1915. Brigden papers. Department of Archives and Special Collections, University of Manitoba (UM).

[64]Davis, p. 13.

[65]"Ransom Engraving Company, Samples of their Work," Advertising booklet. Ransom papers (PAM).

[66]R. C. Stovel correspondence. See, for example, the colour reproductions in Margaret McWilliams, Manitoba Milestones. (Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1928). The colour reproduction of the photograph of Lower Fort Garry is by Brigden's and the reproduction of "Upper Fort Garry as Paul Kane saw it" is by Stovel's.

[67]R. C. Stovel correspondence.

[68]Middleton, p. 78. Articles by the Rev. Thomas Brigden are to be found in the Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society. (September 1930 and December 1930). Thomas Brigden was joint editor of the Proceedings, had a large collection of Wesleyana and was the author of Notes on Some Warwick Worthies. (Warwick: Henry T. Cooke and Son, n.d.). Brigden papers (WAG).

[69]Correspondence from Kingswood School to Arnold Brigden, July 16, 1919 and June 15, 1938. Of interest is "Two Hundred Years of Kingswood," an account of the school which demonstrates the Methodist Public School ethos, (WAG).

[70]Nicholson, p. 36. Also Bertha Brigden to Arnold Brigden, June 9, 1908, (UM).

[71]Nicholson, p. 36. Also Owen Brigden to Arnold Brigden, November 12, 1911, (UM).

[72]Mary Reid to Bertha Brigden, June 13, 1915(?), (UM).

[73]Susie Brigden to Arnold Brigden, December 27, 1912, (UM).

[74]Susie Brigden to Arnold Brigden, September 20, 1912, re Kathleen's departure for Winnipeg; Owen Brigden to Arnold Brigden, July 5, 1914, re her return to England, (UM).

[75]Kathleen Brigden to Arnold Brigden, April 27, 1915, (UM).

[76]The Farmer's Advocate and Home Journal, Winnipeg. (December 1, 1915)1487. Brigden clipping file (WAG).

[77]Michael Bliss, "'Dyspepsia of the Mind': The Canadian Businessman and his Enemies," Canadian Business History: Selected Studies, 1497-1971. ed. David S. MacMillan. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1972), p. 175 and passim.

[78]Arnold Brigden to Fred Brigden, September 25, 1914, (UM).

[79]Arnold Brigden to Fred Brigden, July 13, 1915, (UM).

[80]Winnipeg Allied Printing Trade Council minutes, 1907-1937, (PAM). See June 27, 1927 for list of members; June 26, 1931, re strike at Rapid-Grip-Batten Ltd.; April 28, 1933, re resignation of the photo-engravers from the WAPTC.

[81]According to the accounts given by ex-employees, there was no strike at the Winnipeg Brigden's until 1951. There is no record in the WAPTC minutes of the photo-engravers actions at the time of the 1919 general strike. It can only be assumed that the photo-engravers would have followed the printers in their decision to strike. According to R. C. Stovel and Brigden ex-employees, Brigden's had a closed shop.

[82]Bellàn, p. 267.

[83]Ibid., p. 268.

[84]Ibid., p. 275; Artibise, Winnipeg: An Illustrated History, p. 110.

[85]Fred Brigden to Arnold Brigden, September 6, 1915, (UM).

[86]Bertha Brigden to Arnold Brigden, March 1, 1915, (UM).

[87]Susie Brigden to Arnold Brigden, June 25, 1915, (UM).

[88]Susie Brigden to Arnold Brigden, October 23, 1915(?), (UM).

[89]Kathleen Brigden to Arnold Brigden, November 12, 1914(?), (UM).

[90]Susie Brigden to Arnold Brigden, April 7, 1916, (UM).

[91]The Manitoba Gazette, 49, 11(March 13, 1920)242-244. Copy in Brigden papers (WAG).

[92]See Berry, A Boundless Horizon. Also Harper, Paul Kane's Frontier. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971) and Painting in Canada, pp. 118-130.

[93]See, for example, the limited account given by Harper, Painting in Canada, pp. 314-320.

[94]Davis, p. 14.

[95]Colin S. MacDonald, A Dictionary of Canadian Artists. 3rd ed. (Ottawa: Canadian Paperbacks Publishing Ltd., 1979), p. 892.

[96]Davis, p. 13.

[97]Marilyn Baker, The Winnipeg School of Art: The Early Years. (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1984), p. 21.

[98]See Patricia E. Bovey, "Lionel LeMoine FitzGerald: The Man," in Bovey and Ann Davis, Lionel LeMoine FitzGerald (1890-1956): The Development of an Artist. (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1978), p. 12.

[99]Marilyn Baker, p. 31.

[100]Ibid., p. 26.

[101]Ibid., p. 28.

[102]MacDonald, Dictionary, p. 1062. See also Nancy E. Dillow, Transformation of Vision: The Works of H. Eric Bergman. (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1983), p. 7.

[103]Marilyn Baker, p. 109. See also Dorothy Garbutt, "Old House Stirs Old Memories," Seniors Today. (May 18, 1983)16. (I am indebted to Vi Murray for this reference. Vi Murray worked for the Stovel Company and its successors for 60 years.).

[104]Marilyn Baker, p. 94.

[105]Interviews with Agnes Riehl, Frank Ferguson, Sid Vale, Kevin Best and other ex-employees of Winnipeg Brigden's, December 1982.

[106]Garbutt, p. 16. Sid Vale interview.

[107]See advertisement in The Farmer's Advocate and Home Journal, Winnipeg. (December 1, 1915)1487.

[108]Frank Ferguson interview.

[109]Kevin Best, Agnes Riehl and Sid Vale interviews.

[110]Quoted in Dillow, p. 6.

[111]Fred C. Munson, History of the Lithographers Union. (Cambridge, Mass: Amalgamated Lithographers of America, 1963), pp. 57, 108-113. The Lithographic Artists, Engravers and Designers League amalgamated with the Lithographers in 1915, but the Poster Artists Association, consisting of people who "still considered themselves artists rather than workmen," did not join the Union until 1942.

[112]Garbutt, p. 16.

[113]Frank Ferguson and Sid Vale interviews.

[114]Garbutt, p. 16; Sid Vale interview.

[115]Marily Baker, p. 98.

[116]Frank Ferguson and Sid Vale interviews. Also for Charles Thorsen, see Gene Walz, "Animation Central: The History of Animation in Winnipeg," Arts Manitoba. 4, 4(Fall, 1985)18.

[117]Dorothy Garbutt interview, June 1983.

[118]Marilyn Baker, pp. 86-87, 106. See also Patricia E. Bovey, The Brigden Collection: A Winnipeg Centennial Exhibition. (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1974), p. 2.

[119]Marilyn Baker, p. 91. In Brigden's annual record of past employees, Newton Brett is recorded as having started with Brigden's in 1914, Percy Edgar in 1915 and Eric Bergman in 1918. The latter is inaccurate according to all other sources concerning Bergman. See Ferdinand Eckhardt, H. Eric Bergman: Memorial Exhibition. (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1961), in which Bergman himself is quoted as saying he started with Brigden's in 1914.

[120]Frank Ferguson and Sid Vale interviews.

[121]Correspondence with William Winter, November 1984. See also Marilyn Baker, pp. 98, 99, 105, 113. There is also a letter from John Phillips to Mrs. James at the Winnipeg Art Gallery, December 6, 1969, which gives a list of artists employed by Brigden's, (WAG).

[122]Bovey, Brigden Collection, p. 1. There are a large number of letters and photographs of camping trips in the Rockies, descriptions of plants and wildlife, etc. in the Winnipeg Art Gallery. Arnold Brigden was a member of the Alpine Club of Canada, see obituary in The Gazette, 81(May, 1973)11. (The existence of the Alpine Club hut was brought to my attention by Pat Jasen).

[123]Bovey, The Brigden Collection, passim. See also Gary Essar, "British Prints and Drawings from the Brigden Collection," (Winnipeg Art Gallery, pamphlet, 1983).

[124]Kevin Best and John Phillips interviews, January 1983.

[125]William Winter correspondence.

[126]Joan Murray, "Caven Atkins: Fifty Years," Artmagazine, (May/June, 1930)41.

[127]Helen Duffy, "The Brave New World of Fritz Brandtner," Artmagazine, 18(Spring, 1983)19.

[128]Comfort, p. 19.

[129]Marilyn Baker, p. 31; Dillow, p. 8. See Nancy E. Dillow, The Forgotten Innovator: Alexander Musgrave. (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1986) for a discussion on Musgrave, the first principal of the Winnipeg School of Art. Musgrave "strongly endorsed the relationship between art and commerce," p. 11.

[130]Margaret Gray, Margaret Rand and Lois Steen, Charles Comfort. (Toronto: Gage Publishing, 1976), p. 6.

[131]Duval, p. 58.

[132]Gray et al, p. 40; Marilyn Baker, pp. 93-94.

[133]H. M. Jackson, "Charles Comfort: the man and the artist," (Toronto: By the author, 1935), p. 4.

[134]Nancy E. Dillow, "The Manitoba Three," The WAG Magazine, (May 1981)16-17.

[135]Bovey and Ann Davis, Fitzgerald, p. 28.

[136]Carlyle Allison, "W. J. Phillips: Artist and Teacher," The Beaver. (Winter, 1969)6.

[137]Bovey and Ann Davis, FitzGerald, pp. 16-17. Also Maria Tippett and Douglas Cole, Phillips in Print: The Selected Writings of Walter J. Phillips on Canadian Nature and Art. (Winnipeg: Manitoba Records Society, 1982), pp. xv-xix.

[138]Dillow, Transformation of Vision, p. 24, f.n.20.

[139]Bovey, Brigden Collection, passim.

[140]Marilyn Baker, p. 84.

[141]See Arthur Adamson, "The Grand Western Canadian Screen Shop." Arts Manitoba, 3, 2(Spring, 1984)14-16 and Bente Roed Cochran, "Winnipeg Printmakers," Artswest, 7, 8(September 1982)18-20 concerning the graphic arts in Winnipeg. Also see Ronald Rees, Land of Earth and Sky: Landscape Painting of Western Canada. (Saskatoon: Western Producers Prairie Books, 1984) for a survey of western art forms.

[142]See, for example, Michiel Horn (ed), The Dirty Thirties: Canadians in the Great Depression. (Toronto: Copp, Clarke Publishing, 1972), pp. 122-135 and Gregory S. Kealey, "Hogtown: Working Class Toronto at the Turn of the Century," Readings in Canadian History: Post Confederation. (eds) R. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith. (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart of Canada, Ltd., 1982), p. 183.

[143]Kevin Best and Sid Vale interviews.

[144]Kevin Best interview.

[145]The Globe and Mail, (January 28, 1970)B5.

[146]Bellan, pp. 313-314, 483.

[147]Ibid., p. 328.

[148]Ibid., p. 352.

[149]Friesen, p. 384; Morton, p. 421. See also Michiel Horn, "The Great Depression of the 1930s in Canada," Canadian Historical Association Booklet #39.

[150]WTU records, Sick Benefit Fund and Unemployment Relief Records for 1930-1933 (PAM). In 1931, the records list mostly printing pressmen as being in need of relief. Numbers of those receiving aid range from ten in January 1931 to twenty in June 1931 and thirty-seven in 1933, (the last entry in the records). See Morton, p. 423 re lack of efficient systems of government relief.

[151]WAPTC minutes, July 7, 1933.

[152]Arnold Brigden to The Directors, Brigden's Limited, Toronto, May 20, 1942. Also Arnold Brigden to Owen Brigden(?), June 20, 1942 (WAG).

[153]Keven Best and other ex-employees who attended the Winnipeg School of Art part-time in 1926, recall that commercial art was considered "demeaning."

Chapter VII: Management, Unions and Art, 1914-1950

[1]Boswell, p. 15. See also Stuart Bruchey, "Introduction: A Summary View of Small Business and American Life," Small Business and American Life. ed. Stuart Bruchey. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), p. 4.

[2]Boswell, p. 17.

[3]Ibid., p. 123.

[4]Irene Tichenor, "Master Printers Organize the Typothetae of the City of New York," Small Business and American Life, p. 169; Boswell, p. 25.

[5]Boswell, p. 125.

[6]Ibid., p. 127.

[7]Ibid., p. 128-130.

[8]Ibid., p. 161.

[9]Ibid., p. 27.

[10]Nicholson, p. 21.

[11]Ibid., p. 22.

[12]Ibid., p. 29.

[13]Ibid., p. 58. See also Toronto Directory, 1900 and Assessment Rolls of the City of Toronto, 1880-1921.

[14]Nicholson, p. 58.

[15]Ibid., p. 61.

[16]Boswell, pp. 128-130.

[17]Ibid., p. 52.

[18]William Brigden to Arnold Brigden, September 1, 1914. Brigden papers (UM).

[19]The Monetary Times, 58, 8(August 21, 1914)6.

[20]Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978), p. 234.

[21]Ibid., p. 229.

[22]J. W. Flavelle, quoted in The Monetary Times, 53, 19(November 6, 1914)7.

[23]Fred Bridgen to Arnold Bridgen, n.d., 1914. Bridgen papers (UM).

[24]See Boswell, p. 163 concerning the use of external resources to aid declining firms.

[25]Fred Brigden to Arnold Brigden, n.d., 1914. Brigden papers (UM).

[26]Fred Brigden to Arnold Brigden, September 6, 1915. Brigden papers (UM).

[27]William Brigden to Fred Brigden, April 30, 1916. Brigden papers (UM).

[28]Boswell, p. 136.

[29]Ibid., pp. 124-125.

[30]Middleton, p. 93.

[31]W. A. Mackintosh, The Economic Background of Dominion-Provincial Relations. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1964), p. 71.

[32]Ibid., p. 75.

[33]Ibid., p. 79. See also John Herd Thompson with Allen Seager, Canada 1922-1939: Decades of Discord. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1985), p. 77.

[34]Middleton, p. 93.

[35]Comfort, p. 6.

[36]Ibid., p. 19.

[37]Middleton, pp. 91-92, 105, 110.

[38]See, for example, "Some phases in Modern Painting." Draft copy of a talk given to Rotarians, 1930. Brigden papers (MTL). Also see an interview with Fred Brigden in the Windsor Daily Star, (August 24, 1940) in which he gives his opinion that "modern" art of the French and American schools is "not likely to have any permanent place in Canadian art." Brigden clipping file (NGL).

[39]Sisler, p. 107.

[40]Middleton, p. 105.

[41]Edwards and Townsend, p. 34.

[42]Horn, "The Great Depression," p. 3.

[43]Ibid., p. 6.

[44]Copy of an independent progress report to Arnold Brigden, November 21, 1947. Brigden papers (WAG).

[45]Horn, "The Great Depression," p. 9.

[46]Assessment Rolls of the City of Toronto, 1906-1940.

[47]Independent progress report.

[48]Boswell, p. 168.

[49]Nicholson, p. 69.

[50]Independent progress report.

[51]Nicholson, p. 69. Also see "Management Plan" drawn up by Arnold Brigden for Fred Brigden, May 20, 1942. Brigden papers (WAG).

[52]Independent progress report.

[53]Fred Brigden to Arnold Brigden, April 15, 1942. Brigden papers (WAG).

[54]Fred Brigden to Arnold Brigden, April 20, 1942. Brigden papers (WAG).

[55]Arnold Brigden to Fred Brigden, April 18, 1942. Brigden papers (WAG).

[56]"Management Plan."

[57]Arnold Brigden, Memorandum, June 20, 1942. Brigden papers (WAG).

[58]Fred Brigden to Arnold Brigden, July 10, 1942. Brigden papers (WAG). He critized Janes' plan to introduce photographic equipment into the printer area and sell off the printing presses.

[59]Alfred Chandler, "Comparative Business History," Enterprise and History: Essays in Honour of Charles Wilson. eds. D. C. Coleman and Peter Mathias. (London: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 7.

[60]Chandler, "The Emergence of Managerial Capitalism," Business History Review, 58, 4(Winter, 1984)474.

[61]Ibid., p. 473.

[62]See the Brigden "Management Plan.".

[63]Chandler, "The Emergence of Managerial Capitalism," p. 491.

[64]Logan, p. 107; Zerker, The Rise and Fall, p. 177.

[65]Logan, p. 106; Zerker, The Rise and Fall, p. 182.

[66]Zerker, The Rise and Fall, p. 186. See Tichenor for an account of the organization of the New York Typothetae and the United Typothetae of America. According to Zerker, the Toronto branch affiliated with the United Typothetae in 1920.

[67]Zerker, The Rise and Fall, pp. 186-187.

[68]Logan, p. 109.

[69]Zerker, The Rise and Fall, pp. 178-179; Logan, pp. 108-109.

[70]Zerker, The Rise and Fall, pp. 188-196 passim.

[71]Logan, p. 110.

[72]Zerker, The Rise and Fall, p. 194.

[73]Ibid., pp. 197-198. Also Logan, p. 110.

[74]Zerker, pp. 198-199; Logan, p. 110.

[75]Logan, p. 111.

[76]Quoted in Zerker, The Rise and Fall, p. 207.

[77]Ibid.

[78]Correspondence with Richard Stovel, November 1982. Also Frederick Brigden diary entries, June 1904. Brigden papers (MTL).

[79]Nicholson, p. 61.

[80]Elizabeth Baker, p. 320.

[81]Ibid. See also Munson, pp. 131-132.

[82]See Turnbull and Baird, pp. 32-33 for a description of the process.

[83]Ibid. See also Elizabeth Baker, p. 322 and Munson, p. 82.

[84]Elizabeth Baker, p. 322.

[85]Ibid., p. 417.

[86]Munson, p. 236; Elizabeth Baker, p. 326, 418. Baker notes that the Pressmen's Union had 29,000 members in 1913 as compared to the Lithographers Association which had 3,000 members. As is obvious from her discussion on p. 434, the Photo-engravers Union was even smaller.

[87]Munson, pp. 135-136.

[88]Ibid., p. 137. See also "... a bit of GCIU history," Graphic, (July 1983)8.

[89]Munson, p. 237; Elizabeth Baker, pp. 421-422.

[90]Munson, p. 238.

[91]Ibid., p. 239.

[92]Ibid., p. 240.

[93]Elizabeth Baker, pp. 426-427.

[94]"... a bit of GCIU history," p. 8.

[95]Munson, p. 84. See Smart, pp. 32-33 concerning the mergers of the Toronto Lithographic Company. Rolph-Clark-Stone is now Ronald's Federated Ltd. Its current President is, however, Frank M. Rolph, a sixth generation member of the original founder. (Ronald's Federated Archives, Toronto).

[96]Nicholson, p. 71.

[97]Elizabeth Baker, p. 424.

[98]Ibid. for a description of "combination plants."

[99]Nicholson, p. 82.

[100]Charles C. Hill, Canadian Painting in the Thirties. (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1975), p. 21.

[101]Ibid., pp. 11-12. See Clive Bell, Art. (New York: G. P. Putman's Sons, 1958) and Roger Fry, Vision and Design. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1961) for examples of the "art for art's sake" point of view. See also Dennis Reid, Bertram Brooker 1880-1955. (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1973).

[102]Quoted in Leonard Bullen, "Hope for Us," New Frontier, 1, 10(January, 1937)16. (Brooker's emphases).

[103]Hill, p. 15-16.

[104]Bullen, p. 19.

[105]See Raymond Williams, Culture and Society, p. 157.

[106]Hill, pp. 12, 15-16. See also Milton W. Brown, American Painting: from the Armory Show to the Depression. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), p. 169 and John W. McCoubrey (ed), "The Social Realists," Modern American Painting (Alexandria, Va: Time-Life Books, 1977), pp. 93-115.

[107]Sisler, pp. 161-164.

[108]Hill, p. 12.

[109]Hill, p. 13.

[110]Hill, p. 12.

[111]Jordan, pp. 8-9.

[112]Correspondence with William Winter, November 1984.

[113]Hill, p. 13.

[114]Sisler, p. 162.

[115]Hill, p. 89. See also Andrew J. Oko, "The Prints of Carl Schaefer," RACAR, X, 2(1983)174.

[116]Hill, pp. 89, 95; Oko, p. 174.

[117]Hill, p. 11; Milton Brown, p. 190; McCoubrey, pp. 94-95.

[118]Hill, pp. 15-17.

[119]Duval, pp. 69-73.

[120]A. T. Vivash, "Trade Unions for Artists," New Frontier, 2, 1(April, 1937)22, 23. See Thompson and Seager, p. 169 for a brief account of the radical literature of the 1930s.

[121]Vivash, p. 22. See also articles in the 1937 and 1938 issues of Art Digest concerning the various artists' unions in the United States.

[122]Lord, p. 182.

[123]Vivash, p. 23.

[124]Bullen, p. 16.

[125]Lord, p. 182. See also Hill, p. 17.

[126]Duval, pp. 69-75; Hill, pp. 112-113; Lord, 183-184. See also Robert Ayre, "Expressionist in Montreal," New Frontier, 1, 2(May, 1936)29-30 concerning the art of Fritz Brandtner.

[127]Lord, p. 182.

[128]Hill, p. 17.

[129]Ibid.; Lord, p. 192.

[130]Mellen, pp. 75-81.

[131]Stacey, pp. 21-24.

[132]Kramer, p. 110.

[133]*Ibid*.; Stacey, p. 69.

[134]Jackson, p. 4.

Chapter VIII: Conclusion

[1]Shaw, p. 56.

[2]Harry Braverman, Labour and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974), pp. 124-137.

[3]Ralph Yeomans to Arnold Brigden, January 1957. Brigden papers (WAG).

[4]Nicholson, pp. 86-87.

[5]Ronald's Federated Archives. Also correspondence with Tom Smart.

[6]Braverman, pp. 136-137.

[7]Ibid., pp. 111-112.

[8]Interview with Sid Vale. Mr. Vale has many examples of his art work in his home.

[9]Gowans, pp. 20-54.

[10]Munari, p. 12.

[11]Ibid., p. 25.

[12]See Rainer Crone, Andy Warhol. (New York: Praeger, 1970) and Carter Ratcliff, Warhol. (New York: Abbeville Press, 1983). Ratcliff says that Warhol's paintings do not "simply provide a transition from consumer culture to high art. They call into question the uses to which we put all our images," p. 56. Also see Lucy Lippard, Pop Art. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), pp. 69-100.

[13]Mothersill, p. 10.

[14]Harold Town, quoted in Mothersill, p. 10.

[15]See, for example, Graphic Designers in Europe. (New York: Universe Books, 1971); Graphic Design Canada. (Toronto: Methuen, 1970). Also Vision Magazine: Show Issue 86, catalogue of the 1986 exhibition of The Canadian Association of Photographers and Illustrators in Communications.

[16]See, for example, The Woodcut of Today at Home and Abroad. ed. Geoffrey Holme. (London: The Studio Ltd., 1927). Phillips and Bergman are included in this selection. Also see Roger Boulet, The Tranquility and the Turbulence (Markham, Ontario: M. B. Loates Publishing Ltd., 1981), p. 71 and Dillow, Transformation, pp. 12-13.

[17]See Oko, p. 171, concerning "the lack of study generally given the history of printmaking in Canada."

[18]"The Sign of the Times in Printing," in the Graphic Arts International promotional pamphlet, p. 8.

[19]Lowenthal, p. 10.

[20]Ernest van den Haag, "Of Happiness and of Despair We Have no Measure," in Casty, Mass Media, p. 5.

[21]Ibid., p. 8.

[22]MacDonald, "A Theory of Mass Culture," in Casty, p. 23.

[23]Ibid., pp. 12-15.

[24]Lowenthal, p. 11.

[25]White, "Mass Culture in America: Another Point of View," in Casty, p. 28.

[26]Williams, Culture and Society, p. 298.

[27]Williams, The Long Revolution, pp. 68-69.

[28]Swingewood, pp. xi-xii.

[29]Swingewood, pp. 122-123.

[30]MacDonald, p. 17.

[31]Gowans, pp. 12-13.

[32]Ibid., p. 4.

[33]William M. Ivins, Prints and Visual Communication. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1953), p. 158.

[34]Sander, p. 17.

[35]Newton MacTavish, The Fine Arts in Canada. Coles Facsimile Edition. (Toronto: Coles Publishing Co., 1973), p. 61.

[36]Ibid., p. 44.

[37]Ibid., pp. 61-62.

[38]Colgate, p. 20.

[39]Ibid., p. 220.

[40]Ibid., p. 39.

[41]Ibid., p. 40. See also Picturesque Canada.

[42]Edward Hamilton, Graphic Design for the Computer Age. (New York: Van Nostread Reinhold, 1970), p. 22. See also Garth S. Jowett, "Extended Images," Contact: Human Communication and its History. ed. Raymond Williams. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981), p. 198.

[43]Colgate, p. 63.

[44]Jefferys, quoted in Stacey, p. vii.

[45]Marshall McLuhan, Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man. (New York: New American Library Signet Books, 1964), p. 206.

[46]J.W.C. Cherwinski, "Session comments", given at the T. Eaton Company session, Canadian Historical Association meeting, Winnipeg, 1986. Professor Cherwinski suggests that while the catalogue undoubtedly had an influence on the development of a popular culture, this may, however, have been determined by central Canadian interests rather than by western needs.

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Toronto. Ronald's Federated Archives. Rolph-Clark-Stone collection.

Toronto. Sigmund Samuel Gallery. Toronto Engraving Company engravings collection.

Winnipeg. Provincial Archives of Manitoba. Bulman papers. Ethel M. McKnight collection.

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