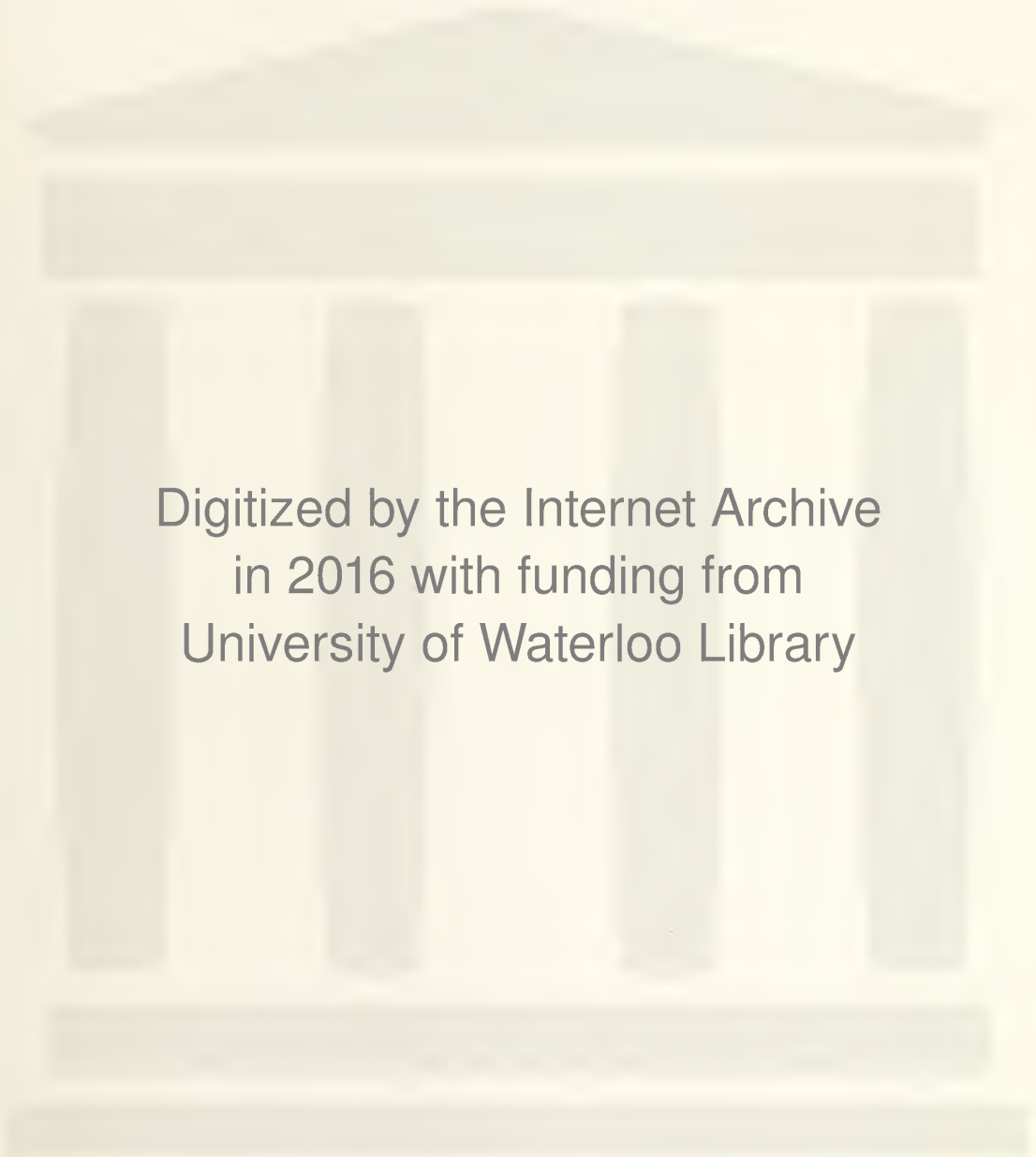

CANADIAN INDUSTRY IN 1871

Research Report 11

CANADIAN WOMEN IN WORKSHOPS, MILLS, AND FACTORIES: THE EVIDENCE OF THE 1871 CENSUS MANUSCRIPTS

Elizabeth Bloomfield and G.T. Bloomfield

Elizabeth Bloomfield, series editor

April 1991

UNIVERSITY of GUELPH

Cover Illustration (selected and described by G.T. Bloomfield)

The view of Whitevale, Township of Pickering, was chosen to illustrate Canadian industry in 1871. At this time, a high proportion of manufacturing activity was still located in small settlements, some of which were growing rapidly into towns. **Lovell's Directory** (1871) described Whitevale as:

> A thriving village...[with] extensive flouring and woollen mills... Montreal Telegraph Co has an office here. Distant from Whitby, the county town, and a station of the Grand Trunk Railway, 13 miles. Mail daily. Population about 250.

Truman P. White has acquired the water rights at Majorville on Duffin's Creek in 1845 and developed a grist mill, a saw mill and, later, a woollen mill. By 1871 the census enumerated six significant industrial establishments employing 66 workers and with a total value of production amounting to $125,000. The transition from waterwheels (70 horsepower) to steam engines (66 horsepower) was already apparent in the village by this date. In common with its counterparts across the country, Whitevale's basic industrial activities were closely associated with the local agricultural area. There was also considerable economic integration apparent in the ownership of several establishments by Truman P. White and in the making of staves in the sawmill for the cooper shop which in turn supplied the flour mill with basic containers for transporting the flour to market.

Unlike many of its contemporaries, Whitevale has remained about the same size ever since 1871. The 1971 census recorded a population of only 273 in the unincorporated settlement. Whitevale never achieved connection by railway, county road or provincial highway. Much of the surrounding land was acquired for the planned Pickering airport and new town in 1972/3 and today the settlement is threatened by the creation of a municipal solid waste dump for Metropolitan Toronto and the Durham Region.

The illustration was first published in the **Illustrated Historical Atlas of the County of Ontario** (Toronto: J.H. Bees and Co., 1877), reprinted Ross Cumming, 1972).

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Department of Geography
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CANADIAN INDUSTRY IN 1871 (CANIND71) PROJECT

Between 1982 and 1990, a project based in the Department of Geography, University of Guelph, has made machine-readable the full data for some 45,000 industrial firms that were enumerated in Canada's first national census in 1871. A uniquely valuable source has thus become accessible to scholars and researchers in several disciplines. The 1871 schedules contain a wealth of information which was not published at the time or later. Although similar details were collected in the censuses of 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1911, none of the manuscript schedules for those years have survived. The CANIND71 database has great significance in being a detailed "snapshot" of industrial activity just after Confederation, at a time of transition in industrial technology, business organization and work discipline. The records include examples of all kinds of industrial work environments from mills and artisanal craftshops in mainly rural settings to factories, manufactories and sweatshops in the growing towns and cities.

The CANIND71 project is important for its methodological experience in handling large quantities of historical data and making them accessible to users. Relevant aspects include the total coverage of all establishments and all variables recorded in the original source and our dedication to making the material available to others in a variety of software environments and with full explanation of the source and methodology. As well as the data for each establishment, we have added precise geographical references and Standard Industrial Classification codes (SIC) for all establishments, which permit both the retrieval of details for individual businesses and their systematic aggregation by industry type or geographical area.

Creation of the CANIND71 database has been assisted by several grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada between 1985 and 1989. The most substantial of these were Grants 482-87-0010 and 482-88-0010 to Elizabeth Bloomfield as principal investigator, in the Strategic Grants Program: Women and Work Theme. These grants, totalling $114,000, supported the most intensive phase of database creation in 1988 and 1989. Other SSHRC grants to Elizabeth Bloomfield (principal) in 1985 and to Kris Inwood (principal) in 1988 have also helped. In addition, smaller grants from the University of Guelph to Gerald Bloomfield and Kris Inwood have supported the project for short periods. Personal funds have also been necessary. Some preliminary activity on the Maritime data during 1986 was assisted by a grant from St Mary's University, Halifax, to Professor Inwood and Professor John Chamard. Systematic reconstruction and digitizing of the boundaries of 1871 census areas have been made possible through SSHRCC grant 410-89-0099 to Gerald Bloomfield.

The original 1871 Census of Canada was taken exactly 120 years before the week of publication of this report. Those responsible for planning and directing the 1871 census believed that the information they collected and collated was "as accurate as is humanly possible." In our turn, we devoted a good deal of time in 1989-1990 to rigorously checking and editing the SAS datasets for Ontario, the Maritimes and Quebec on the mainframe computer. The final version of the whole database was made available for use by other researchers from January 1991. Those interested in obtaining the whole database or partial datasets should contact Dr Gerald Bloomfield, C/- Department of Geography, University of Guelph, Guelph, Ontario, N1G 2W1.

CANADIAN INDUSTRY IN 1871 PROJECT (CANIND71) RESEARCH REPORTS

The reports describe the procedures used to make the 1871 manuscript census data for industrial establishments machine-readable as the CANIND71 database and present preliminary analyses and interpretations of selected topics or regions.

1. **Industry in Ontario Urban Centres, 1870: Accessing the Manuscript Census**, Elizabeth Bloomfield, G.T. Bloomfield, Janine Grant and Peter McCaskell (1986).

2. **Water Wheels and Steam Engines: Powered Establishments in Ontario**, G.T. Bloomfield and Elizabeth Bloomfield (1989).

3. **The Ontario Urban System at the Onset of the Industrial Era, 1871**, Elizabeth Bloomfield and G.T. Bloomfield (1989).

4. **Creating CANIND71: Procedures for Making the 1871 Industrial Census Machine-Readable**, Elizabeth Bloomfield and G.T. Bloomfield (1989).

5. **Glossary of Industrial Language**, Jane Turner, Janine Grant and Barbara Sibley (1989).

6. **French-English Dictionary of Industrial Language**, Jane Turner, Janine Grant and Barbara Sibley (1989).

7. **Standard Industrial Classifications Applied to Historical Data: the Case of the 1871 Industrial Census**, G.T. Bloomfield and Elizabeth Bloomfield (1989).

8. **Industrial Leaders: The Largest Manufacturing Firms in Ontario, 1871**, Elizabeth Bloomfield and G.T. Bloomfield (1989).

9. **The Hum of Industry: Millers, Manufacturers and Artisans of Wellington County**, Elizabeth Bloomfield and G.T. Bloomfield (1989).

10. **Boundaries of Canadian Census Units in 1871**, G.T. Bloomfield (1990).

11. **Canadian Women in Workshops, Mills, and Factories: The Evidence of the 1871 Census Manuscripts**, Elizabeth Bloomfield and G.T. Bloomfield (1991).

12. **Patterns of Canadian Industry in 1871: An Overview Based on the First Census of Canada**, Elizabeth Bloomfield and G.T. Bloomfield (1990).

13. **Ontario Central Places in 1871: A Gazetteer Compiled from Contemporary Sources**, G.T. Bloomfield and Elizabeth Bloomfield with Brian Van Nostrand (1990).

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The interest and support of all who have assisted with this project are gratefully acknowledged. Janine Grant, Barbara Sibley, Jane Turner, Jane Darch and Stephen Bellinger worked for the project for significant periods and the quality of the final database and documentation owes much to their careful and thorough work. Larry Laliberté has created the computer maps. Peter McCaskell, first as programmer-analyst in the Department of Geography and then from Computing Services, has helped substantially with database management and programming through all phases of the project. We appreciate the shelter provided to this project by the Department of Geography, University of Guelph throughout the 1980s. We are also grateful to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada: Strategic Grants Program and Research Grants Program for its generous financial assistance during 1988, 1989 and 1990 which has enabled us to complete the CANIND71 database.

CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

Women generally work in a few occupations labelled "female", earn less money than men and rarely reach the top. This has been the situation for so long that society takes it for granted.

This statement in the report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in 1970 prompted us to consider the evidence of women's work in the database our project has been creating from the manuscript schedules of the 1871 census of industrial establishments.

In 1970, nearly 3 million women worked for pay, representing over one-third of the total labour force and nearly two-fifths of the female population old enough to work. Published census statistics can be used to document only the broad trends of female participation in the paid labour force since 1891, when one in eight of Canada's paid workers was a woman or girl. What, we wondered, was known about women's paid work a century before the Royal Commission of 1870? What could analysis of the CANIND71 database reveal of the extent of women's participation in industrial work at the beginning of the industrial era in Canada? And what of the nature of that work? How segregated were female workers in 1871, employed in a few industrial occupations with gendered wage differentials? In what kinds of industrial workplaces were women and girls employed? How can the census evidence be interpreted to increase our understanding of all women's work?

The impact of feminist theory on the humanities and social sciences during the past twenty years has brought women's roles into prominence in historical research and interpretation.[1] Particular studies, many by women scholars and using new sources and methods, have examined Canadian women as workers in various roles and sectors, such as farming, teaching, nursing, domestic service, child care, offices, communications, social work, war-related production, as well as manufacturing.[2] Women's work has been seen in the context of

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[1] For examples: Elizabeth Pleck, "Women's History: Gender as a Category of Historical Analysis", in J.B. Gardner and G.R. Adams, eds, Ordinary People and Everyday Life: Perspectives on the New Social History (Nashville, 1983): 51-65; Leslie W. Tentler, Wage-Earning Women: Industrial Work and Family Life in the United States, 1900-1930 (New York, 1979); Louise Tilly and Joan W. Scott, Women, Work and Family (New York, 1978).

[2] Work in Canadian women's history is reviewed in the following: Bettina Bradbury, "Women's History and Working Class History", Labour/Le Travail 19 (1987): 23-44; Margaret Conrad, "The Rebirth of Canada's Past: A Decade of Women's History", Acadiensis 12, 2 (1983): 140-162; Carol Mazur and Sheila Pepper, Women in Canada: A Bibliography 1965 to 1982 (Toronto, 1984); Alison Prentice, "Writing Women into History: The History of Women's Work in Canada", Atlantis 3 (1978): 72-84; Elaine L. Silverman, "Writing Canadian Women's History: An Historiographical Analysis," Canadian Historical Review 63, 4 (1982): 513-533; Sylvia Van Kirk, ed. "Canadian Women's History:

their responsibilities in the home and especially in terms of family survival strategies.[3]

Partly reflecting the availability of source materials, most research on women's industrial work in Canada has focused on the period after 1900; its findings and concepts raise questions that may be asked for the earlier period.[4] However, with some notable exceptions, our knowledge of women's work in factories, mills and shops at the beginning of the industrial era is still fragmentary, based on the sketchy information of published census reports or a few detailed case studies without means of knowing how representative they were.[5]

In this report we begin to explore the nature of women's paid industrial work in the early 1870s. The CANIND71 database offers scope for examining the industrial work of women and girls in the four Canadian provinces that

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Teaching and Research," Resources for Feminist Research 7 (1979): 5-71.

[3] Bettina Bradbury's classic case study for Montreal that explores the ways women balanced their family and wage-earning roles is reported in: "The Family Economy in an Industrial City, Montreal in the 1870s", Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers (1979): 71-96; "The Fragmented Family: Family Strategies in the Face of Death, Illness and Poverty, Montreal, 1860-1885", in Joy Parr, ed., Childhood and Family in Canadian History (Toronto, 1982): 109-128; "Pigs, Cows, and Boarders: Non-Wage Forms of Survival Among Montreal Families, 1861-1891", Labour/Le Travailleur 14 (1984): 9-46; and "Women and Wage Labour in a Period of Transition: Montreal, 1861-1881", Histoire sociale/Social History 17 (1984): 115-132. The last of these also used 1871 manuscript census data for industrial establishments in the Montreal wards of Ste-Anne and St-Jacques. A similar study, by an economist and concerning Philadelphia, is Claudia Golden, "Household and Market Production of Families in a Later Nineteenth Century American City," Explorations in Economic History 16 (1979): 111-131.

[4] For examples, see: Gail Brandt, "'Weaving It Together': Life Cycle and the Industrial Experience of Female Cotton Workers in Quebec, 1910-1950", Labour/Le Travailleur 8 (1981): 113-126; Joy Parr, "The Skilled Emigrant and Her Kin: Gender, Culture and Labour Recruitment," Canadian Historical Review 68, 4 (1987): 529-551; Joy Parr, The Gender of Breadwinners: Men, Women and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950 (Toronto, 1990); Mercedes Steedman, "Skill and Gender in the Canadian Clothing Industry, 1890-1940", in Craig Heron and Robert Storey, On the Job: Confronting the Labour Process in Canada (Kingston and Montreal, 1986): 152-176.

[5] General overviews of Canadian women's work in the nineteenth century may be found in Pat Armstrong and Hugh Armstrong, The Double Ghetto: Canadian Women and their Segregated Work (Toronto, 1978); Le Collectif Clio, L'histoire des femmes au Québec depuis quatre siècles (Montréal, 1982); Paula Bourne, ed. Women's Paid and Unpaid Work: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives (Toronto, 1985); Alison Prentice et al. Canadian Women: A History (Toronto, 1988).

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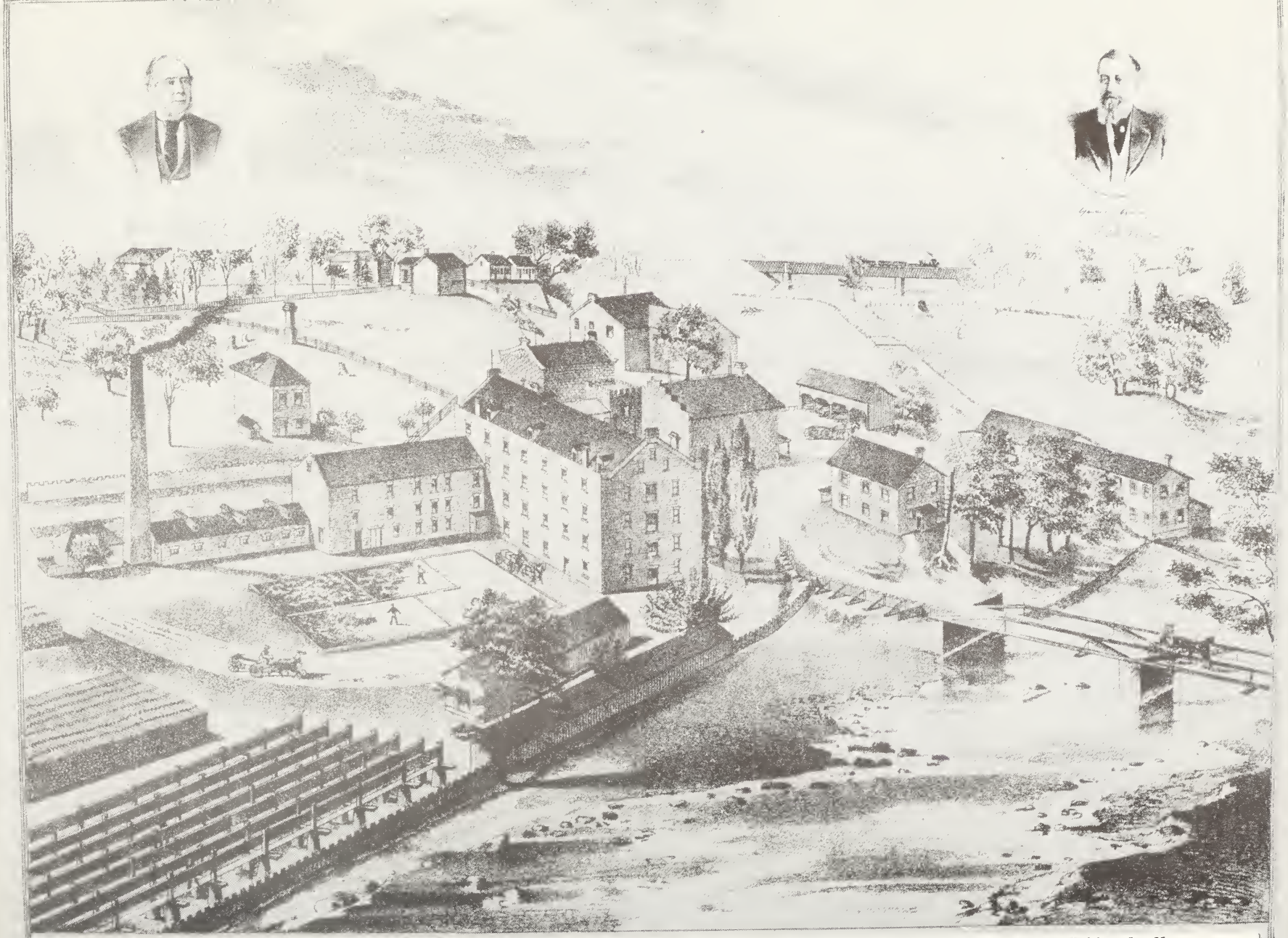
Sewing machines were made in 20 Canadian factories in 1871. Most of the machines were used by women and girls, some 13,000 of them employed in the Canadian clothing industries in 1871. They laboured in work environments that ranged from large manufactories to sweatshops and outwork in conditions much less elegant than idealized in this advertisement. Source: Lovell's Dominion of Canada Directory 1871.



The Barber Brothers' woollen mill at Streetsville, Ontario was a large integrated textile factory that combined all processes from scouring, carding, spinning, dyeing, weaving to the final finishing of the tweed cloth. Among the mill's 129 workers were 31 women and 19 girls. Across Canada in 1871, some 208 woollen mills employed 1,423 women and 328 girls; cotton mills employed 292 women and 170 girls. Source: Illustrated Historical Atlas of the County of Peel 1877 (Cumming reprint 1977), p. 37.

were counted in Canada's first census of 1871. Nearly 30,000 women and girls were caught in the net of the manuscript census as industrial employees or as female proprietors of industrial establishments. Common forms of industrial work for women and girls are illustrated in the two plates -- going out to work in a separate workplace such as an integrated woollen textile mill, and sewing at home which could be combined with domestic duties and child care.

Of course, this number is only a small minority of all female workers in Canada in 1871. A larger number (nearly 40,000) was counted as domestic servants, practically the only occupation for which gender was stated in 1871 census reports. The unpaid labour of women and girls in the home, on the farm, and in the family shop was not usually enumerated at all. Even their paid work was probably undercounted.[6] But, in the absence of much else for this period, the 1871 census manuscripts have considerable value. The way in which the information has been made machine-readable permits some systematic analysis by place and industry type that reveals finely textured patterns of the varied workplace and community settings in which women and girls laboured.

Women and girls in paid industrial work were a small minority in another sense -- they formed under 16 per cent of the total industrial workforce in 1871. Only one establishment in every six to seven reported any female labour. The remaining 38,415 establishments employed only men and boys. Establishments headed by women formed an even smaller minority of only one to every sixteen headed by male proprietors.

Like others in its series, this report introduces some patterns and interpretive themes that may be further elaborated by other researchers using the CANIND71 database. Its purposes are:

* To demonstrate and evaluate the potential of the CANIND71 database that has been derived from the 1871 manuscript census, as a systematic source for the study of the paid work of women and girls.

* To measure women's participation in the industrial labour force in 1871, as it varied from place to place and by industry and workplace environment, and to discuss factors that may explain such variations.

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[6] For these other forms of women's work, see: Rosemary Ball, "A Perfect Farmer's Wife: Women in 19th Century Rural Ontario", Canada an Historical Magazine 3, 2 (1975): 2-21; Marjorie Cohen, "The Decline of Women in Canadian Dairying", Histoire sociale/Social History 17 (1984): 307-334, and Women's Work: Markets and Economic Development in Nineteenth-Century Ontario (Toronto, 1988); Bonnie Fox, ed. Hidden in the Household: Women's Domestic Labour Under Capitalism (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1980); Claudette Lacelle, Urban Domestic Servants in 19th-Century Canada (Ottawa, 1987); Genevieve Leslie, "Domestic Service in Canada, 1880-1920", in Janice Acton, et al, Women at Work, Ontario, 1850-1930 (Toronto, 1974): 71-126; Meg Luxton, More Than a Labour of Love: Three Generations of Women's Work in the Home (Toronto, 1980).

* To develop a comprehensive typology of the varieties of women's workplaces and work roles that can serve as basis and systematic context for future case studies of women's industrial work experience.

In the next section, we explain and assess the quality of the evidence of female industrial work in 1871 that has become accessible with the CANIND71 database. The third part of the report presents measurements of female participation in the industrial workforce in 1871 and concludes with a summary of the changes in various measures of participation in paid industrial work and the formal labour force over the century from 1871 to 1971.

The focus of the fourth section is on the range of industry types in which women and girls were employed in 1871 with sample records of representative industrial establishments reproduced to illustrate the general patterns. The fifth part presents a typology of industrial workplaces or work environments, based on numbers of workers and whether inanimate power was used. Women and girls are found to have worked in distinctive combinations of workplaces, when compared with those of male workers.

The report is illustrated with some computer maps and tabulations that help to show the complexity and variation from place to place in industrial activity in 1871. A new phase of the project is developing computer methods of representing and interrelating the many variables in the CANIND71 database and associated datasets.

Throughout the report, questions are raised that might be addressed further, using the CANIND71 database and other contemporary sources.

2 THE QUALITY OF THE EVIDENCE

What information about women's work can we gain by way of the CANIND71 database from the manuscript industrial schedules that have survived from the first census of Canada in 1871? How reliable and consistent was the information collected by nearly 3,000 enumerators in all parts of the four provinces? Users of the CANIND71 data should understand the definitions and procedures used for the 1871 census, especially as they relate to women.[7]

Industrial businesses found by the census enumerators on their rounds in early April 1871 were included, and details were recorded of business operations during the preceding twelve months. An industrial establishment was defined as "a place where one or several people are employed in manufacturing, altering, making up or changing from one shape into another, materials for sale, use or consumption, quite irrespectively of the amount of capital employed or of the products turned out."[8] No minimum value of output was set, in contrast to the United States Census of 1870, in which only establishments with at least $500 worth were included. All repairs, mending or custom work were considered industrial in the 1871 census of Canada. Thus the definition of industrial activity was considerably broader than it would be in the twentieth century.

Numbers of workers or "employés" were recorded as the average number of persons actually working in the industrial establishment during the 12-month reporting period; they could consist entirely of members of the proprietor's family. The number of working months in the period April 1870 to March 1871 was to be stated, a statistic that permits some analysis of the seasonality of industrial work. The industrial workforce was subdivided by age and sex into men, women, boys (males under 16 years) and girls (females under 16 years), but the amount of wages paid to each age-sex group of worker was not separately stated. Thus in establishments with a mixture of workers it is not possible to identify separate wage rates for each age-sex group.

According to the census instructions, industrial establishments were to be recorded in the geographical units -- District, Sub-District or Division -- in which they were found "and nowhere else. The principle is essential in every case. The production is attached to the locality".[9] In practice, for some kinds of establishments that employed women, this instruction may not have been followed exactly. It is possible that some major manufacturers of clothing and

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[7] For more contemporary details, see "Manual Containing the Census Act and Instructions to Officers Employed in the Taking of the First Census of Canada, 1871" in the Canada Sessional Papers No. 64 (1871). This source is described and parts are reproduced in Chapter 2 of the CANIND71 Manual/Manuel (1991) that accompanies the release of the CANIND71 database to other researchers.

[8] "Manual", p. 138.

[9] "Manual", p. 139.

leather footwear may have included female outworkers among the employees of their own establishment when they actually laboured elsewhere.

In reporting custom work such as tailoring or work done on toll, such as by some grist mills or carding mills, enumerators were told to state the real value of raw materials, even if they did not pass through the accounts of the proprietor. Though enumerators were invited to specify the types, quantities and values of individual raw materials and products for each establishment, it was foreseen that in most cases only the aggregate dollar values of raw materials and products would be stated. Values of fixed capital and floating capital invested in the industrial business were stated separately.

Only a very limited amount of the information collected in Schedule 6 of the 1871 census was published in the official census volumes of the 1870s.[10] The published statistics were presented only as totals for the 206 Census Districts and organized by various industrial types that were defined informally rather than systematically and then listed in alphabetical order. Industry types might be as specialized as whip making or banknote engraving or as ubiquitous as blacksmithing or dressmaking. For each type, grouped in Census Districts, figures were published for numbers of establishments, average numbers of hands employed (distinguished into males over 16 years, females over 16 years, males under 16 years and females under 16 years), yearly wages, value of raw materials and value of products.

No industrial data at all were published at the time for smaller areal units such as the Census Sub-Districts, either as summaries of total industrial activity or for specific types of industry. Thus the only information about industrial activity in 1871 that was published for urban centres was for the six cities, the boundaries of which exactly coincided with those of one or more Census Districts. These were Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Ottawa, London and Kingston. None of the information collected on the industrial use of inanimate power was released. Furthermore, the published totals somewhat understated the real extent and value of industrial activity as these can now be reconstituted from the manuscript census schedules.

During the 1980s, the Canadian Industry in 1871 (CANIND71) project has made machine-readable the full data for all the industrial firms that were counted in Canada's first national census. For each establishment, there are up to 125 variables. The firms were located in 206 census districts and 1701 census sub-districts in Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. The project methodology was designed to make all this information accessible in systematic, standardized and readily retrievable format.[11] Our goal was to

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[10] Census of Canada 1870-71, volume III, Tables 28-55.

[11] For a more detailed explanation of the 1871 census procedures and a comparison of the published and manuscript data for industry in 1871, see Creating CANIND71: Procedures for Making the 1871 Census Machine-Readable (Research Report #4, 1989), Glossary of Industrial Language (Research Report #5, 1989), French-English Dictionary of Industrial Language (Research Report #6, 1989), Standard Industrial Classifications Applied to

make possible both the retrieval of information for individual firms and the orderly aggregation of data according to location, industry type, or measures of size and significance. We planned that the CANIND71 database should support research at all levels, from the particular enterprise in its context of place and industry type to the most generalized abstractions for whole provinces.

All details recorded by the enumerators on the manuscript census schedules have been transcribed and entered as basic variables in the CANIND71 database. These are: name of proprietor, kind of industrial business, geographical location, use of non-manual forms of power, numbers of workers (distinguished into men, women, boys and girls), number of working months in the year, and the dollar amounts of fixed and floating capital invested, wages, raw materials and products, as well as kinds, quantities, units of measurement and values of individual raw materials and products, and additional remarks or comments.

In addition, we systematized the codes and names of geographical units and assigned codes based on the 1970 Standard Industrial Classification to all establishments. These geographical and industry codes are essential for analyzing the data by place and industry type and for providing a context for individual firms. Further, the database contains several variables derived by calculation or inference from the basic variables. These include the total values of raw materials or of products (when details for only the component products or materials had been stated on the manuscript schedules), the value added in manufacturing, the total number of employees and the average monthly wage per employee.

Through the CANIND71 database, we have some information about 24,933 women and 4,104 girls recorded as employed in 6,655 of the 45,070 industrial establishments of Canada's four provinces in 1871. Because of our interest in women's work, we also included a special code in the database for the 2,779 establishments for which the proprietor had a woman's name. Many of such cases were checked against contemporary directories such as Lovell's Dominion Canadian Directory of 1871 and some were also related to the information in the manuscript personal schedules.

The 1871 census enumerators collected some other information about women's economic activity, though it may be of limited use. On the nominal or personal census schedules, enumerators were required to record the occupation, if any, of each household member, along with details of name, age, sex, ethnic origin, religion, and marital status. One might expect that the details of occupation on the nominal schedules would be more comprehensive, as these depended on questions asked about every person in every household, while the manufacturing statistics counted only the average numbers actually employed during the reporting period. But there are several problems in using these occupational data for any analysis of women's work in 1871.

Historical Data: the Case of the 1871 Census (Research Report #7, 1989), and Boundaries of Canadian Census Units in 1871 (Research Report #10, 1990) and the CANIND71 Manual/Manuel (1991).

To begin with, published information on the occupations of the people was presented only as totals for each of the 206 Census Districts and did not generally distinguish females from males.[12] Only for a handful of the 130 different occupations set out in this table, was sex stated or implied in the published tabulation. These were: dressmaker/milliners (of whom a Canada total of 8,374 was reported in 1871), laundresses (767), midwives (89), nuns (2,907), seamstresses (7,377), and female servants (39,499). Some of the workers in other categories must have been women and girls -- notably among the 3,735 weavers and the 5,493 workers grouped in "various industrial occupations" but the published tables provide no clues.

Secondly, one cannot rely on the evidence of women's occupations in the manuscript nominal schedules to supplement the published statistics for occupations. Those who designed the census procedures and those who implemented them had certain assumptions and biases about the work of women and children that affected the quality of the information gathered. The "Instructions to Enumerators on taking the First Census of Canada in 1871" tended to discourage recording much detail on women's occupations. It was assumed that men and their sons would have occupations that should be entered in full. But enumerators were warned that:

> *In the case of women, unless they have a definite occupation besides their share in the work of the family or household, the column is to be filled with the sign --; as also in the case of children. If they have a special occupation, such as seamstress, clerk, factory hand, &c., then it should be entered accordingly.*[13]

The introduction to the second volume of the published report on the 1871 census reiterated:

> *It must be borne in mind that, as regards the female part of the population, enumeration does not include women engaged in attendance on their own household or their own family, and having no other specific occupation.*[14]

The possibility of discrepancies between the occupational and the industrial figures was noted in the introduction to the published industrial tabulations.[15] But the author cited only the case of fisheries and offered as sole explanation the possibility that fewer people may have regarded themselves as belonging to a profession than actually contributed to that form of economic activity. He did not refer to the occupations and employment of women. General Walker, reporting on the contemporary 1870 United States census, was more explicit on the under-reporting of women's occupations:

> *The reasons why the occupations tables may be taken as substantially exact as they respect the adult male labor of the country, but not as they respect the employment of women and children, are plain and*

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[12] Census of Canada 1870-71, volume II, table XVII.

[13] "Manual", p. 134.

[14] Census of Canada 1870-71, volume II, p. vi.

[15] Census of Canada 1870-71, volume III, p. x.

simple. It is taken for granted that every man has an occupation, and ... only in rare cases ... have assistant marshals failed to ask and obtain the occupation of men, or boys old enough to work with effect. It is precisely the other way around with women and young children. The assumption is, as the fact generally is, that they are not engaged in remunerative employments. Those who are so engaged constitute the exception, and it follows from a plain principle of human nature, that assistant marshals will not infrequently forget or neglect to ask the question..... In respect to the number of women and children employed in manufacturing industry ... the return of occupations is ... decidedly deficient.[16]

It is scarcely surprising that enumerators differed in how thoroughly they recorded the occupations of women and children. How much they could differ is illustrated by a comparison of the manuscript census data from the nominal and industrial schedules for the mill villages of Hespeler and Almonte in Ontario. Both villages had at least one large woollen mill. In Almonte, 178 women and 25 girls were recorded as "employés" on the industrial census schedules; in Hespeler 68 women and 61 girls were reported. But the nominal census schedules for Hespeler specify occupations for only two women, the widow Tena Noble (56) and her daughter Maggie aged 24, whose millinery shop appears is also listed in the industrial schedules. Not one of the 120 or so women and girls who worked in the woollen mills of Randall, Farr & Co., Forbes & Schofield, or Farr, Long & Bisby is identified in the nominal schedules as a weaver, spinner or factory hand.

Almonte's enumerator, on the other hand, carefully recorded various kinds of households in which women had "definite occupations" and accounted for most of the women and girls employed in the woollen mills of B. & W. Rosamond & Co., Elliot Routh & Sheard, L.C. Northrup, and Gilbert Cannon. For example, Ann Turner, a widow aged 50, worked as a milliner and dressmaker as did her eldest daughter E. Ann (27), presumably as employees as they are not listed in the industrial schedules with their own establishment. Ann Turner's daughter Melinda (21) was a weaver and her daughter Susan (18) was a factory hand, while her son Iza (20) was a baker and another son Arthur (13) was still at school. Margot Turnbull, widow of 44, did not have a wage job as she still had young children aged 8 and 4; her daughter Ellen (18) was a carder, son Alexander (16) a spinner and daughter Elizabeth (14) a spooler. Ishmael Wilson (50) and his son Samuel (25) were cloth finishers, while his daughters Hannah (20) and Ellen (16) were weavers and his son Henry (14) was a carder.[17]

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[16] General Walker, Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, p. 375. On problems of enumerating women's work elsewhere, see also Edward Higgs, "Women, Occupations and Work in the Nineteenth-Century Census," History Workshop Journal 23 (1987(: 59-80.

[17] These data from the CANIND71 database and from the microfilmed nominal manuscript schedules for Hespeler in Census District 31, Census Sub-District G (microfilm reel C-9943) and for Almonte in Census District 80, Census Sub-District B (microfilm reels C-10018 and C-10019).

The omission of the occupations of so many women and girls that were employed in the Hespeler mills may be a blatant example of enumerator bias. But the general assumption that women and children did not work for pay probably also affected the recording of small-scale industrial activities for the industrial schedules. Some enumerators may have hesitated to record the very informal industrial activity of persons who did not devote all their working time to it.[18] Mindful of the warning that only "specific occupations" should be recorded for women on the nominal schedules, they may have been reluctant to list on the industrial schedules small domestic enterprises run by women.[19] Moreover, in recording "home-made fabrics" such as cloth, flannel, blankets and shawls "and all other such articles reckoned by the yard", enumerators were instructed to enter these on Schedule 5 and thus keep them distinct from goods made in cloth and linen factories. Schedule 5 did not distinguish the kind or value of home-made cloth or linen products, only the yardage; nor was the sex of the producers recorded.[20]

A few enumerators did record women's domestic workshops and part-time enterprises very thoroughly on the manuscript industrial schedules. One third of the 924 small-scale hand weaving shops headed by women in Ontario were recorded in just two of the 90 Census Districts, Hastings North and Leeds South; another third were found in 11 other Census Districts.[21] One Census Sub-District (Sunnidale Township in Simcoe North) accounted for 99 of all of Ontario's 107 hand knitters. Another Census Sub-District (Sherbrooke South in Lanark South) had 40 of Ontario's 46 hand spinners. In New Brunswick, women weavers were even more spatially concentrated, with two thirds of the 506 handloom weaving establishments of the province recorded as headed by women in just two Census Districts, Charlotte and Northumberland. The information provided for handloom weaving establishments was usually remarkably detailed as to quantities and values of individual raw materials and products.[22]

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[18] Undercounting of the smaller artisanal businesses has been noted for the U.S. manuscript census as well. See John B. Jentz, "A Note on Evaluating the Error in the Gilded Age Manufacturing Census: The Problem of the Hand Trades," Historical Methods Newsletter 15 (1982): 79-81.

[19] Some enumerators placed little trust in information obtained from women, as in the following comment about a cheese factory in Ernestown, Lennox: "Got from a woman who was not very intelligent about the facts" (Census District 63: Census Sub-District G, microfilm reel C-9996).

[20] "Manual", p. 138.

[21] Leeds South Census District had the highest concentration of domestic female weavers of any Ontario district, with 216 female-headed and 39 male-headed weaving establishments comprising 45 per cent of all the industrial businesses recorded in the manuscript schedules for that Census District.

[22] See, for example, the sample record for Laticia Trickey, #12 in the fourth part of this report.

Computer maps of the locations of the 2,375 women handloom weavers (Figure 1) and the 877 men handloom weavers (Figure 2) illustrate the concentration of women in Hastings North and Leeds South in Ontario and in Charlotte and Northumberland in New Brunswick. Most male and female weavers were recorded in Ontario, hardly any men being counted in the other three provinces. How should these clear geographical concentrations be explained? Particular types of small-scale industrial activities may have been somewhat localized in particular regions because of ethnocultural traditions or the nature of the rural economy. But it is more likely that the different interpretations by enumerators of how they should record women's industrial activity were mainly responsible. Most enumerators did not record the domestic and small-scale activities of women and girls as weavers, spinners and knitters on the manuscript industrial schedules.

Such differences among enumerators may have been noted at the time, though few records survive to explain how the problems were handled. The official census reports do not comment but a handful of enumerators left some evidence in their remarks on the manuscript schedules. In Lobo Township, Middlesex County, three enumerators remarked that they had omitted handloom weavers on farms from the industrial schedules and had reported the yardage of cloth produced on Schedule 5 with other agricultural products. "Common handlooms are omitted not being considered industrial establishments for merely weaving a web or two once a year for family use or for a neighbouring woman....The little handlooms in farmers' houses... are not lawful establishments [as] they did not carry on any business but their own."[23] Presumably most other enumerators also recorded the output of domestic and farm handlooms on Schedule 5 rather than the industrial schedule.

In the process of compiling the manuscript data for publication, some editing changes were apparently made by the tabulating clerks in Ottawa. Information for almost all domestic weavers, spinners and knitters was dropped; there are no categories for these activities in the published tables for industrial activity in the 206 Census Districts of 1871.[24] Exclusion of these industry types accounts for part of the variance between the published census tables and the manuscript schedules captured in the CANIND71 database (Table 1). In Canada as a whole, 10 per cent more women and nearly 9 per cent more girls have been found through the manuscript schedules than were reported in the published tables. The exclusion of hand weaving, spinning and knitting had the most marked effect on the statistics for Ontario, where 1,796 women and 132 girls were engaged in these activities, according to the manuscript industrial schedules. There may have been similar inconsistencies in recording the

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[23] These data from the CANIND71 database for Lobo Township in Census District 8, Census Sub-District F; record numbers 2112, 2128 and 2146.

[24] Census of Canada 1871, volume III, Tables 28-55. Those who excluded the information for hand weaving, spinning and knitting from the published census tables for industrial activity do not appear to have transferred the details to the published tables for Various Products and Furs by Census Districts, Table 14.

Figure 1 LOCATION OF FEMALE HAND WEAVERS IN 1871
one dot per observation

Figure 2 LOCATION OF MALE HAND WEAVERS IN 1871
one dot per observation

activities of women and girls who sewed in their own homes for wholesale clothiers or dry goods merchants.

Ottawa's census clerks probably omitted from the published tables such categories as domestic weaving, spinning and knitting establishments that happened to be mainly women's work, because they observed or sensed that the information had not been collected on the same basis in every Census District. But the census authorities did not apply such strict criteria to industry types in which men were active. Industrial activities that men carried on part-time or seasonally, as adjuncts to their main occupation, were not excluded from the published tables.

Many farmers, for example, produced lime, potash, sawn timber or shingles on a very small scale and for only a few months of the year. In Ontario in 1871, half the potasheries, 60 per cent of the shingle-making establishments, 68 per cent of the brick-making operations, and 70 per cent of the lime kilns worked for less than half the twelve months reported in the census. One of hundreds of examples was Ambrose Ballard's small cooperage business in Reach Township, Ontario County, that apparently operated for two months to produce output worth $30. The enumerator remarked: "Kept in a labourer's house. Works wet and leasure days."[25] When we look in the nominal or agricultural schedules or in contemporary directories for evidence of the male proprietors identified for such establishments in the industrial schedules, we find that many of them were farmers or had some other principal occupation. Yet men's part-time or seasonal industrial activities were clearly included in the published tables while the equivalent activities of women were excluded.

In summary, what information about women's work is provided by the manuscript census schedules that have been captured in the CANIND71 database? For the first time, we have some information about some 29,000 women and girls recorded as employed in 6,655 of the 45,070 industrial establishments of Canada's four provinces in 1871. Because of the way the CANIND71 database has been designed, it is possible to describe and analyze these female industrial workers in their context of type of workplace, industry type, and geographical location. Unfortunately, the industrial activity of women and girls is probably understated because of the gender bias of the census staff. Similarly, it is hard to relate information from the industrial schedules to the occupational and other personal data on the nominal schedules in specific communities. Small-scale, domestic industry is specially understated. But even such unevenly collected information is valuable evidence of a range of industrial activities involving women and girls that may have been more widespread and common in the period around 1870 than would appear from the census records.

The CANIND71 database also provides information on enterprises headed by women, at least to the extent that this may be judged by the given names of proprietors. The 2,779 records in which the proprietors had women's names were tagged with a special code in the database. Two thirds of these were apparently cases of domestic industry with women working on their own, but there are also some very interesting cases of women directing enterprises of

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[25] Census District 49, Census Sub-District B, microfilm reel C-9975.

non-traditional kinds that employed only men and boys. Such establishments seem to be better identified in the manuscript census than in other contemporary sources. In many districts, we found that the compilers of directories and R.G. Dun credit ledgers must have been more biased than the census enumerators. Enterprises said to be headed by women in the census source were often either omitted or listed in the directories by the names of their sons or deceased husbands.

Table 1
Percentage variance between manuscript and published census totals, 1871
percentages by which manuscript data exceeded/fell short of published totals for each variable

Variable	Ontario	Quebec	New Brunswick	Nova Scotia	CANADA
Establishments	+ 11.4	+ 4.3	+ 15.3	- 0.7	+ 9.0
Men employed	+ 6.5	+ 3.8	- 6.3	+ 1.6	+ 3.9
Women employed	+ 20.1	+ 3.9	+ 5.0	- 12.1	+ 10.3
Boys employed	+ 6.7	+ 3.8	- 4.2	+ 3.8	+ 4.1
Girls employed	+ 12.5	+ 7.8	+ 8.2	- 3.4	+ 8.8
Total employed	+ 9.2	+ 4.1	- 5.2	+ 0.8	+ 5.3
Wages	+ 5.5	+ 4.2	- 11.5	+ 4.6	+ 3.5
Raw materials	+ 2.3	+ 5.4	- 11.3	- 0.1	+ 2.2
Production	+ 4.5	+ 3.7	- 12.9	+ 4.6	+ 2.9

Source: Manuscript census data have been compiled from CANIND71 database. Published 1871 Census Volume III (Table 54) for fixed capital in dollars, total employed, wages in dollars, raw materials in dollars, and products in dollars. Numbers of establishments and of men, women, boys and girls employed are derived from our machine-readable version of the published data for individual industrial types in 1871 (Tables 28 to 53). The negative values in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, indicating that totals from the published tables exceed those derived from the manuscript schedules, reflect the loss of schedules for some Census Sub-Districts in those provinces, most notably for King's Ward in St John. For more on this problem, see Creating CANIND71 pp. 43-52.

3 PATTERNS OF FEMALE PARTICIPATION IN INDUSTRY, 1871

To what extent were women and girls participating in paid industrial work in the market economy by 1871? How did their numbers compare with those of male workers? How and why did rates and proportions of their activity vary from place to place within Canada, and how does Canada compare with other countries at this time?

Fewer than 30,000 women and girls were recorded in the 1871 manuscript schedules as workers in industrial establishments. This small population comprised, on average, only one of every 40 women and girls aged between 11 and 70 years at the time. However, there were wide variations from place to place. Using the CANIND71 data of industrial employment, we can now calculate quite sensitive **indices of participation in paid industrial work** for each age-sex group and for places ranging in size from a single village up to a whole province. We can relate the numbers of women or girls (or of men or boys) who were reported as employed in industrial establishments to the demographic data for their age-sex groups of the total population, or for geographical units of any size. Numbers of boys or girls employed in industry were calculated in relation to census totals for the 11-15 year age-group. Numbers of men or women were related to the totals of all age-groups between 16 and 70 years.

Table 2
Participation rates in paid industrial work
industrial workers % total population by age/sex groups, 1871

	men (16 yrs +)	women (16 yrs +)	boys (under 16)	girls (under 16)
CANADA	16.3	2.6	6.2	2.2
ONTARIO	16.9	2.5	5.9	1.4
QUEBEC	16.2	3.2	6.7	4.1
NEW BRUNSWICK	17.6	2.2	8.8	0.9
NOVA SCOTIA	12.8	0.8	4.1	0.8
Montreal	45.8	16.7	28.0	20.5
Toronto	44.4	12.7	25.1	10.8
Hamilton	58.9	9.5	33.3	7.2
Ottawa	45.7	7.3	9.2	1.9
Kingston	30.8	5.1	11.7	2.8
London	38.2	6.6	17.1	2.7

Source: compiled from CANIND71 database and the published tables of age-groups of the population, Census of Canada, 1871, Volume 2, Table VII.

Mean participation rates of men, women, boys and girls in Canada, the four provinces, and the six cities whose boundaries coincided with Census Districts are summarized in Table 2. Clearly, participation rates were higher for women and girls in the largest urban centres than generally in other areas. Female participation rates were highest of all in Montreal, where over 37 per cent of all the women and girls aged between 11 and 70 years were reported employed in industrial establishments. Participation rates also varied seasonally, as suggested in Table 3, in which overall participation rates are distinguished from adjusted rates based on the returns from industrial establishments that operated through the full 12 month-period preceding the taking of the census. By comparing the overall and adjusted rates, we may note that at least one in three of all industrial jobs was not full-time during the census year. The jobs of men and boys were more seasonal than those of women and girls, particularly in the two Maritime provinces.

Table 3
Participation rates in industrial work, 1871, adjusted for seasonality
% total population in each age/sex group

	CANADA	Ontario	Quebec	NB	NS
Men in all firms	16.3	16.9	16.2	17.6	12.8
Men in 12-month firms	10.3	11.8	10.5	7.0	6.2
Women in all firms	2.6	2.5	3.2	2.2	0.8
Women in 12-month firms	2.0	2.0	2.7	1.3	0.7
Boys in all firms	6.2	5.9	6.7	8.8	4.1
Boys in 12-month firms	3.9	3.9	4.5	3.0	2.2
Girls in all firms	2.2	1.4	4.1	0.9	0.8
Girls in 12-month firms	1.8	1.0	3.7	0.5	0.5

Source: compiled from CANIND71 database and the published tables of age-groups of the population, Census of Canada, 1871, Volume 2, Table VII. Numbers of boys and girls employed in industry were calculated in relation to census demographic data for the 11-15 year age-group. Numbers of men and women were related to the sum of all age-groups between 16 and 70 years.

Participation rates also varied from place to place. Figure 3 shows how the indices of women's participation in the industrial labour force may be mapped for Census Sub-Districts in the core axis of central Canada and in the Maritime core region. In this map, classes of values have been grouped around the Canada mean rate of women's participation in paid industrial work (2.6 per cent of the total population aged between 16 and 70 years). Places with the lightest shading pattern had less than half the mean participation rate while places with solid shading have at least twice the mean rate for Canada. Areas left

Figure 3: PARTICIPATION BY WOMEN IN INDUSTRIAL WORKFORCE, 1871
percent of all women aged 16+ years by Census Sub-districts
Central Canada and Maritime core regions

Classes of values have been calculated around the Canada mean. Places with the lightest shading have less than half the Canada mean value. Places with solid shading have at least twice the Canada mean value. Unshaded areas have no women employed.

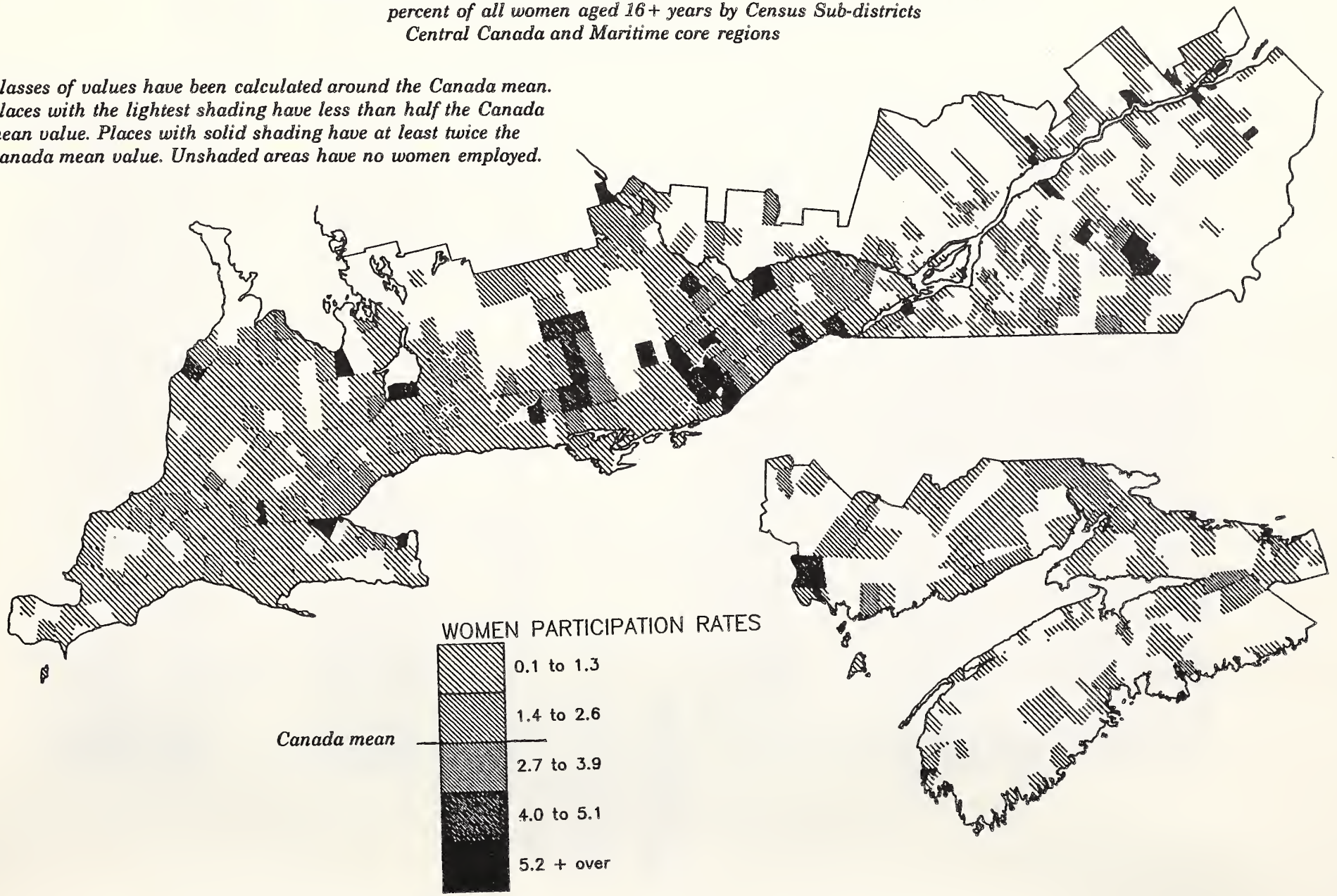
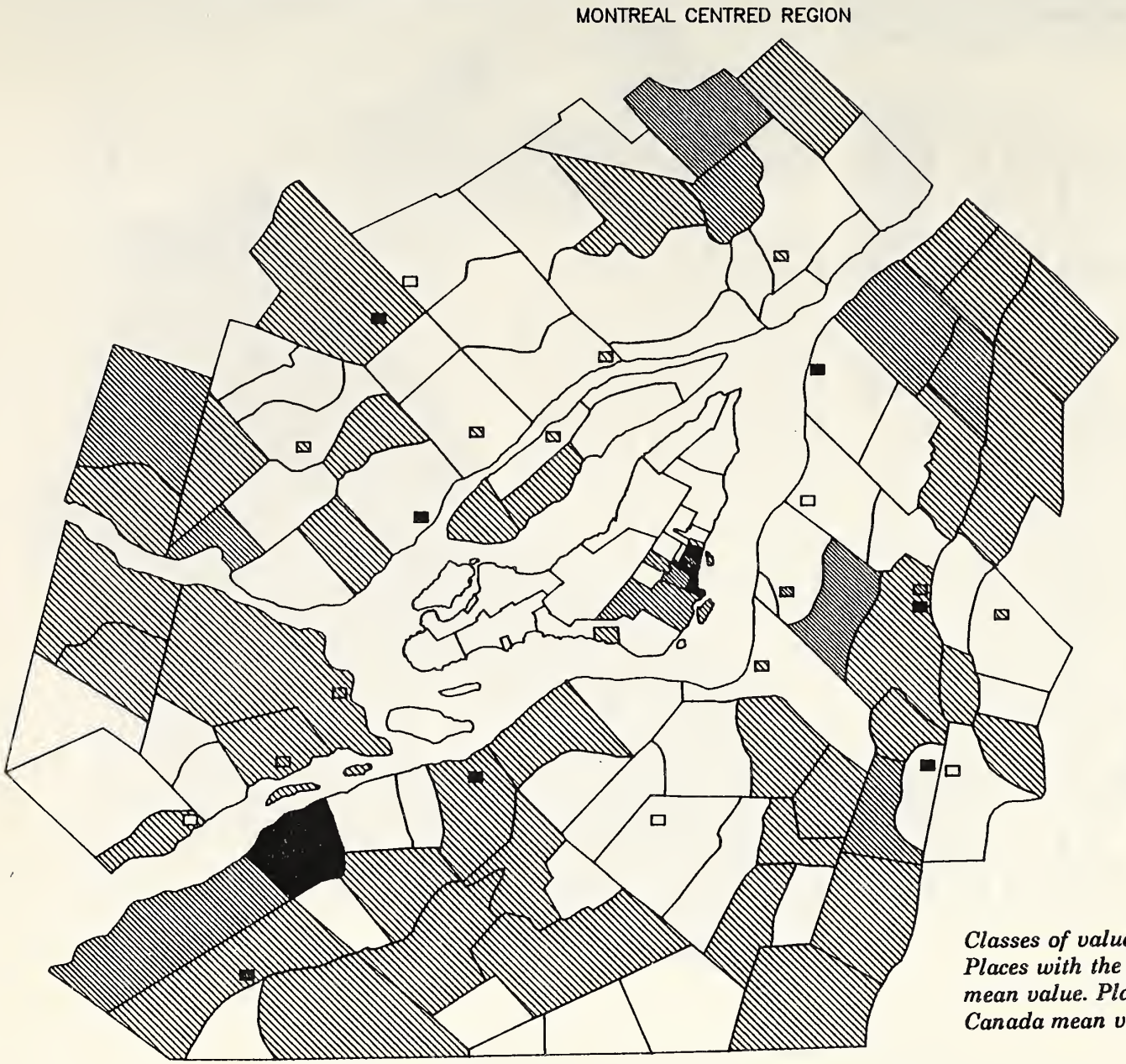
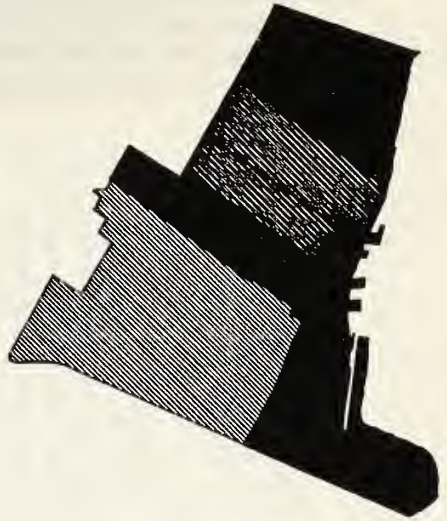


Figure 4: PARTICIPATION BY WOMEN IN INDUSTRIAL WORKFORCE, 1871
percent of all women aged 16+ years by Census Sub-districts





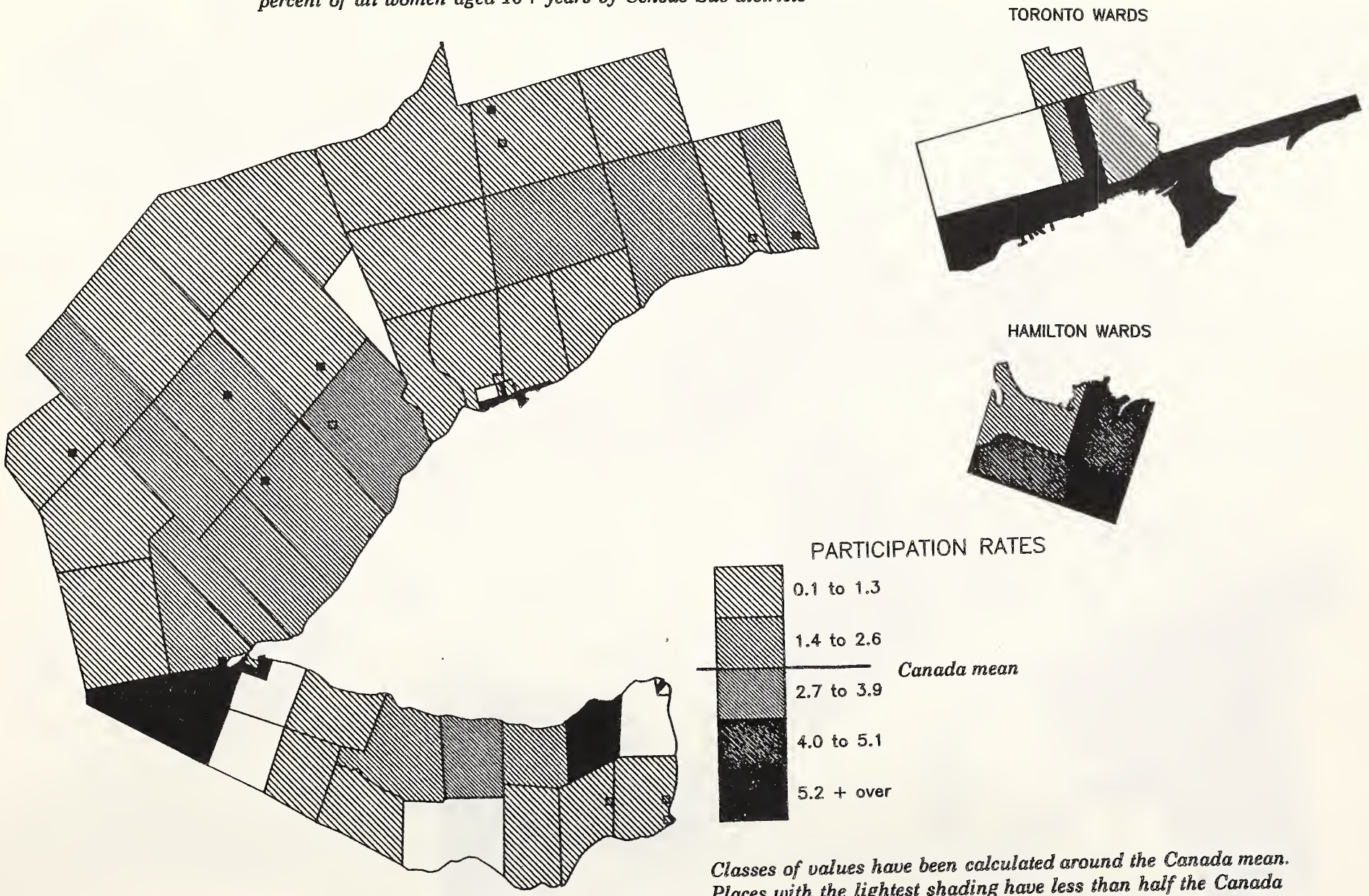
MONTREAL WARDS

PARTICIPATION RATES

0.1 to 1.3
1.4 to 2.6
Canada mean
2.7 to 3.9
4.0 to 5.1
5.2 + over

Classes of values have been calculated around the Canada mean. Places with the lightest shading have less than half the Canada mean value. Places with solid shading have at least twice the Canada mean value. Unshaded areas have no women employed.

Figure 5: PARTICIPATION BY WOMEN IN INDUSTRIAL WORKFORCE, 1871
percent of all women aged 16+ years by Census Sub-districts



Classes of values have been calculated around the Canada mean. Places with the lightest shading have less than half the Canada mean value. Places with solid shading have at least twice the Canada mean value. Unshaded areas have no women employed.

blank had no women recorded as industrial workers. This map tends to show mainly the rural patterns, as the small points for urban centres are not clearly visible at this map scale.

The most conspicuous areas with high participation rates on the map can be identified as the blocks of Ontario townships in Hastings North and Leeds South, where exceptional numbers of female handloom weavers were recorded. Elsewhere in Ontario, isolated pockets of very high rates reflect the group of nearly 100 hand knitters in Sunnidale Township, Simcoe North and the 47 hand spinners in Sherbrooke South Township, Lanark South. High rates are also registered for townships in which woollen, cotton or paper mills were located.

More detailed patterns of women's participation may be shown at larger map scales. Figure 4 shows rates in all the CSDs of the Montreal-centred region with an inset for wards of the City of Montreal, using the same conventions as in Figure 3. The map's larger scale allows the rates for small urban CSDs to be seen. All Montreal wards register high participation rates, above the national mean, six wards -- West, Centre, East, Ste-Marie, St-Laurent and Ste-Anne -- having rates more than twice the national mean. The rates for Montreal are based on large numbers of industrial establishments of all sizes that altogether employed 5,930 women and 1,258 girls.

In the larger region around Montreal, high rates of at least twice the national mean can be identified for small incorporated towns and villages such as Beauharnois, St-Jérome, Varennes and Chambly. In most of these cases, the presence of a textile mill employing women and girls was enough to produce a high participation rate. In the village of Chambly, with a total population of 600, Samuel Willetts' flannel mill employed 24 women and 2 girls among its 54 workers. In some towns and villages, small clothing and dressmaking shops also employed women and girls in sufficient numbers to be reflected in quite high participation rates. The rural CSD with a high participation rate located southwest of Montreal is Ste-Cécile, where Alexandre Bautin's paper mill employed 56 women and 6 girls among its workforce of 130, and Anderson & Haltie's cloth mill reported 19 women and 13 girls on its payroll.

Women's participation in industrial work in the Toronto-Hamilton region, illustrated in Figure 5, shows a less obvious rural-urban contrast. Rates of female industrial work were somewhat lower in the city wards of Toronto and Hamilton than in Montreal. At least some women were counted in most rural areas in Ontario, in contrast to the pattern in the other provinces. The highest rural rates reflect textile and paper mills. In Ancaster Township, west of Hamilton, several textile mills reported female workers. The largest of these, the Ancaster Knitting Company, employed 79 women and 6 girls among its total workforce of 116. In Merritton, an unincorporated village in Grantham Township south of St Catharines, totals of 123 women and 65 girls were reported by several textile and paper mills. The largest of these, Gordon & Mackay's Lybster Cotton Mills, reported 73 women and 43 girls on its total payroll of 200. The maps of rates of industrial participation by girls show similar patterns to those of women, but with lower values (Appendix maps A-2, A-3 and A-4).

The significance of women and girls as industrial workers may be measured also in terms of the **female share of the total industrial workforce.** Clearly women and girls were outnumbered by men and boys in Canada's industrial establishments in 1871, as together they comprised under 15 per cent of the total industrial workforce. The female share of the industrial workforce could range as high as 32.4 per cent in the City of Montreal, 27.4 per cent in Quebec City, or 24.3 per cent in the City of Toronto. Proportions of women and girls in the industrial workforce of rural and frontier districts were usually well below 10 per cent.

Table 4
Concentrations of female industrial workers by census sub-districts, 1871
where women formed at least twice the national proportion of women in the industrial labour force and with at least 100 female workers and ranked by number of female industrial workers

Census Sub-District	# Female Workers	percent total industrial workforce women	girls
Quebec			
Montreal: West Ward	3,114	40.73	8.97
Montreal: Centre Ward	887	40.20	3.28
Montreal: Ste-Marie Ward	601	25.70	5.07
Montreal: East Ward	529	34.78	12.04
Montreal: St-Jacques Ward	504	20.48	15.49
Rivière-du-Loup	417	45.77	-
Quebec: Montcalm Ward	365	37.28	6.33
Sherbrooke Town	326	31.40	9.71
Montreal: St-Louis Ward	256	24.72	4.18
Trois-Rivières: St-Louis	251	49.79	2.28
St-Jean Town, Que.	189	35.23	3.72
Quebec: Palais Ward	171	38.48	4.81
Quebec: St-Louis Ward	143	26.68	0.77
Ste-Cecile, Que.	100	25.81	6.45
Ontario			
Toronto: St Lawrence Ward	1,101	26.10	4.54
Toronto: St James Ward	441	25.63	4.27
Hamilton: St Patrick Ward	418	27.40	4.15
Ottawa: By Ward	228	35.93	1.82
Almonte Village, Ont.	203	32.78	4.60
Ottawa: Wellington Ward	179	30.76	1.44
Hope Township, Ont.	155	25.26	1.93
Ancaster Township, Ont.	145	31.91	2.36
Kingston: St Lawrence Ward	139	38.87	2.37
Hespeler Village, Ont.	129	25.47	22.85
St Marys Town, Ont.	122	28.54	1.74
New Brunswick			
Saint John: Queen's Ward	630	37.56	2.82

Source: compiled from CANIND71 database. Rural districts with high proportions of women and girls engaged in domestic weaving or other handicrafts, as discussed in the previous section -- have not been included here.

Some Census Sub-Districts such as townships, towns, villages and city wards registered quite high female proportions among their industrial workers. Table 4 lists CSDs with at least twice the national mean share of women in the industrial workforce and at least 100 female industrial workers. In some inner-city wards, women and girls made up at least 40 per cent of the total industrial workforce -- most notably in the West, Centre and East Wards of Old Montreal, in the Palais and Montcalm Wards of Quebec City and in the St-Louis Ward of Trois-Rivieres. Some mill villages in otherwise rural areas also had high concentrations of women and girls working in industry. This was especially true of Hespeler in Waterloo South, where women and girls made up over 48 per cent of the village's industrial workers. Women and girls formed more than one third of the local industrial workforce in several other Ontario CSDs -- in Almonte in Lanark North, Ancaster Township in Wentworth South, and Hope Township (Campbellford) in Durham East.

Though the manuscript industrial schedules usefully distinguish women and girls in the industrial workforce, they do not by themselves tell all we should like to know of the age and marital and family status of female workers. Married women with children are assumed to have been rare in paid industrial work outside the home, in contrast to Britain and France at the same time.[26] The Commission that reported in 1882 on industrial labour in Canada visited 465 of the larger mills and factories that were then reported to employ 12,735 women (aged 15 and over) and nearly 892 girls. Only 324 "married women having domestic cares" were noted and only 52 of these were reported "actually engaged at the factories reported, the rest take the work home to their houses."[27] By analysis of samples of the nominal census schedules for two Montreal wards, Bettina Bradbury found that only one to five per cent of women resident with their husbands worked for wages.[28]

For the period before 1891, published census statistics cannot be used for any study of female occupations or paid work in Canada. How can access to the manuscript industrial data for 1871 help us to fill this gap, at least for paid industrial work?

Table 5 summarizes changes in four measures of female participation in the Canadian workforce between 1891 and 1971. Female participation rates in the paid workforce (Column 1) are calculated as the percentage formed by females in the paid workforce of the total female population of working age. These have

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[26] Tilly and Scott, Women, Work and Family (1978) reported that at least 25 per cent of married women in England and France in the 1860s worked for wages (p. 124).

[27] "Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the working of the Mills and Factories of the Dominion, and the labor employed therein", Canada Sessional Papers No. 12 (1882), pp.4,10.

[28] Bradbury, "Women and Wage Labour", p. 125. As Bradbury notes, the validity of such calculations and of comparisons with other countries depends on the consistency of census enumeration definitions and practices.

steadily increased from only 11 per cent in 1891 to nearly 40 per cent in 1971. Industrial work has occupied only a small minority of all women and girls of working age, but the female industrial participation rate (Column 2) has also increased steadily, except for a setback in the interwar years. Female industrial workers were more significant in the total female paid workforce before 1914 than later (Column 3). From nearly one third in 1891, the proportion of all paid female workers employed in industry fell steadily to 26 per cent in 1911 and 15 per cent in 1931 before rising to about 17 per cent between 1941 and 1961. The female share of all industrial workers (Column 4) has fluctuated over the past century, averaging about 23 per cent between 1891 and 1971.

We are now able to calculate 1871 values for two of the measures in Table 5. Both suggest that there must have been steady growth in the participation of women and girls in industrial work in the 1880s and 1890s. The low levels of the female industrial participation rate (2.5 per cent) in 1871 suggests that numbers of women and girls employed in industry must have increased steadily to reach the rate of 3.5 per cent by 1891. Similarly, from under 15 per cent in 1871, the female share of the total industrial workforce grew quite substantially to reach 26 per cent in 1891.

Table 5
Canada: measures of female participation in the workforce, 1891-1971

Year	1 *females in paid workforce as % total females (participation rate)*	2 *female industrial workforce as % total female pop.*	3 *female industrial workforce as % total female paid workforce*	4 *female industrial workforce as % total industrial workforce*
1971	38.7	5.3	13.7	23.7
1961	29.3	5.1	17.3	21.7
1951	24.4	4.2	17.3	20.6
1941	22.9	3.7	17.8	20.9
1931	19.4	2.6	15.0	24.8
1921	17.7	2.8	18.3	22.0
1911	16.6	4.4	26.4	26.0
1901	14.4	3.5	29.5	23.5
1891	11.0	3.5	31.7	26.1
1871	*na*	*2.6*	*na*	*14.7*

Notes:
1. For 1911-1971, calculated from data presented in Historical Statistics of Canada, Second Edition, eds. F.H. Leacy, M.C. Urquhart and K.A.H. Buckley (Statistics Canada and Social Science Federation of Canada, 1983): population data from Series A78-93; workforce data from Series D8-85.
2. For 1891-1901, calculated from data in Historical Statistics of Canada, eds. M.C. Urquhart and K.A.H. Buckley (Macmillan, 1965): population data from Series A28-43; labour force data from Series C8-35.
3. To 1931, data include female workers aged 10 and over; from 1941, data include only those aged 15 and over.
4. Figures for 1871 calculated from CANIND71 database,adjusted to include only those establishments coded in the range of manufacturing industry according to the Standard Industrial Classification (1970). For specific details see Appendix A-5.

4 TYPES OF INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY FOR WOMEN AND GIRLS

How closely were the paid industrial occupations of women and girls related to the skills they learned and used in the home without payment? Some writers have noted the concentration of women workers in industrial and service activities related to their traditional domestic skills, though others have pointed out important exceptions to such generalizations. More finely textured analysis of women's industrial activity, by sector and industrial type as these varied spatially, can be used to address such questions.

All the establishments recorded in the 1871 census were coded according to the Standard Industrial Classification of 1970 (as elaborated for the CANIND71 project). So we may easily measure the range of types of industry in which women and girls were employed.[29] We may do this by major industry groups, using the SEC variable in the database, or we may consider more specific industry types, using the SIC variable. The significance of female workers may be measured in terms of their absolute numbers or as the female proportions of labour force in specific industries. The classification of specific SIC types within major SEC industry groups is set out in Appendix A-5 and the full data for establishments employing women or girls are summarized by major industry groups in Appendix A-6 and by SIC types in Appendix A-7.

Women and girls were most active in the making of clothing of all kinds. Clothing industries reported by far the largest number of female workers in 1871, with a total of 12,725 in Major Industry Group 5.07 (Table 6). Three of every four employees in this sector were women or girls, and clothing industries generally accounted for 43 per cent of all female industrial workers in Canada. Next largest were the textile and leather-working industry groups, each employing over 5,000 women and girls in 1871. In these sectors, however, female workers were less dominant than in clothing, making up slightly under half of all textile workers and only one-quarter of all leather workers.

Though the food and drink industries reported nearly one thousand women and girls, there was only one female for every twelve male workers. Three other industry groups employed at least 500 female workers in 1871 -- tobacco, printing and wood-working. In none of these did women and girls form a majority, though they made up nearly two-fifths of the workforce in tobacco. The smaller numbers of women and girls in rubber factories or in knitting and paper mills formed higher proportions of the total workforce.

Yet even in industry groups that were and overwhelmingly male, some women and girls were employed. The sample records presented later in this section illustrate something of the range of establishments that reported female workers in 1871. Firms engaged in processing and fabricating wood, metals, non-metallic minerals and chemicals had some female workers.

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[29] For a full explanation of the Standard Industrial Classification (1970) system as adapted for the CANIND71 project and of all the individual codes, see Standard Industrial Classifications Applied to Historical Data (#7 in this series) or the CANIND71 Manual/Manuel (1991).

Table 6
Canada: significance of female workers by major industry group (SEC), 1871

Major Industry Group (SEC)	women and girls employed in each SEC % of total	total number
1.00 Agrc services	2.0	4
2.00 Forestry	..	
4.00 Mines/Quarries	0.6	8
5.01 Food, drink	7.0	966
5.02 Tobacco	37.7	885
5.03 Rubber	62.7	315
5.04 Leather	23.0	5,168
5.05 Textiles	48.4	5,305
5.06 Knitting	78.8	442
5.07 Clothing	74.7	12,725
5.08 Wood	1.3	657
5.09 Furniture	4.8	237
5.10 Paper	45.6	486
5.11 Printing	16.0	704
5.12 Primary metals	1.2	36
5.13 Metal fabricating	1.6	123
5.14 Machinery	0.5	43
5.15 Transport equipment	0.6	108
5.17 Non-metallic minerals	1.3	104
5.18 Oil refineries	1.0	4
5.19 Chemicals	14.8	345
5.20 Miscellaneous manufacturing	13.1	262
6.00 Construction	..	
7.00 Gas/water utilities	..	
8.00 Repairs/miscell	1.5	3
10.00 Services/blacksmiths	1.2	105
All sectors	**14.7 per cent**	**29,037**

Source: compiled from CANIND71 database

Female employment by major industry group varied from place to place. Table 7 shows the variations at the provincial level and illustrates the greater variety of female industrial work in Ontario and especially Quebec. Women and girls made up over one quarter of the Ontario industrial labour force only in clothing (70 per cent), knitwear (80 per cent), textiles (48 per cent), and paper (32 per cent). These four sectors accounted for over four of every five women employed in industry in Ontario. Quebec women and girls formed similar proportions of the textile, clothing and paper sectors but also made up at least one quarter of the provincial labour force reported in the manufacture of rubber, tobacco, chemical and leather products. Though the total numbers of women and girls employed for pay in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were much smaller, their proportions of all industrial workers could be quite high in some sectors. In New Brunswick particularly, female workers made up over one third of the workforce in tobacco, paper and miscellaneous manufactures as well as textiles and clothing.

Table 7
Provinces: significance of female workers by SEC, 1871

Major Industry Group (SEC)	Women and girls % total employment in sector in province			
	Ontario	Quebec	NB	NS
1.00 Agrc services	-	-	..	0.9
2.00 Forestry	-	-	-	-
4.00 Mines/Quarries	-	1.0	-	0.9
5.01 Food, drink	7.1	7.4	4.5	12.0
5.02 Tobacco	24.8	44.5	50.0	38.2
5.03 Rubber	-	63.2	-	-
5.04 Leather	8.1	31.7	9.0	8.3
5.05 Textiles	47.7	45.6	75.2	23.8
5.06 Knitting	79.6	-	-	-
5.07 Clothing	70.3	81.2	83.1	64.1
5.08 Wood	0.7	2.5	0.9	0.5
5.09 Furniture	4.6	5.4	1.2	5.8
5.10 Paper	31.7	55.1	55.0	25.0
5.11 Printing	17.4	17.1	7.5	3.4
5.12 Primary metals	0.1	2.1	-	-
5.13 Metal fabricatg	1.0	2.3	0.9	0.4
5.14 Machinery	0.6	0.3	-	-
5.15 Transport equpmt	0.3	1.0	0.3	0.4
5.17 Non-metal.mins	1.1	0.9	-	-
5.18 Oil refineries	1.0	-	-	-
5.19 Chemicals	4.3	25.4	23.4	5.8
5.20 Miscell. mfg	8.0	19.5	34.0	8.5
6.00 Construction	-	..	-	-
7.00 Gas/water utilities	-	-	-	-
8.00 Repair. miscell	2.0	-	-	-
10.00 Services/blacksmiths	0.8	0.2	1.1	0.3
Women and girls % workforce in all sectors	**13.9**	**18.7**	**10.6**	**7.1**

Source: compiled from CANIND71 database.

Within the broad industry groups or sectors there were more subtle variations, with women workers active in a wide variety of particular industrial processes and products. Tables 8 and 9 list all individual industry types (SIC types) in which at least 40 workers were reported in the 1871 census manuscripts, and in which women and girls made up at least one quarter of the total workforce. Industry types range from those with many establishments throughout Canada, such as dressmaking and millinery, to very specialized industrial processes such as banknote engraving or the making of buttons, tobacco pipes and india rubber goods, in each of which fewer than five firms were active. In Table 8, these industry types are arranged in order of the number of women and girls employed; they are ranked by the female percentage of the total labour force in Table 9. The 34 SIC types listed in these tables account for over 90 per cent of the women reported in industrial establishments in 1871 and for 83 per cent of all the girls. (Appendix A-7 presents full data for all the basic SIC types in which women or girls were employed).

Table 8
Industry types with at least 40 total employees and at least 25 per cent female, 1871 listed by number of female employees

Industry type (SIC)	# Firms	# Women	# Girls	% Female
Boots and shoes (174)	427	4,010	659	25.4
Tailoring (men's clothing - 243)	542	3,785	365	73.6
General clothing (242)	676	3,384	342	64.3
Weaving (handloom - 182-W)	2,225	2,375	202	73.7
Woollen mills (182)	208	1,423	328	42.8
Dressmaking (244)	447	1,576	179	95.7
Millinery (249-M)	322	1,197	133	97.6
Fur goods (246)	86	874	99	70.0
Tobacco products (153)	36	483	402	37.7
Hat making (not fur/millinery - 249-H)	37	655	60	78.8
Cotton mills (181)	6	292	170	66.5
Cheese factories (104)	260	366	32	38.7
India rubber goods (162)	3	315	-	62.7
Knitting mills (239)	7	251	15	71.3
Printing (286)	12	180	53	26.0
Matches (379-M)	20	96	129	67.2
Book binding (287-B)	32	161	61	47.9
Leather goods, misc. (179)	12	103	88	64.3
Hand knitting (239-K)	108	173	3	93.6
Paper bags/boxes (273)	15	122	52	80.6
Paper mills (271)	16	185	26	30.2
Paper collars/wallpaper (274)	4	87	14	70.6
Leather gloves (175)	17	58	9	67.0
Drugs and medicines (374)	18	49	7	25.9
Tobacco pipes (399-T)	3	37	11	49.0
Spinning (182-S)	45	45	-	97.0
Children's clothing (245)	9	38	6	95.6
Miscellaneous manufactures (399)	13	41	3	40.7
Bank-note engraving (286-B)	1	34	4	48.8
Laundry/clothes dyeing (874)	4	35	2	86.0
Carpets (186)	4	35	-	92.0
Buttons (399-A)	2	14	10	64.9
Whip making (179-W)	3	20	-	50.0
Wig making (399-W)	8	17	3	43.5

Source: compiled from CANIND71 database.

In addition, several industry types employed at least 100 women and girls, but in somewhat smaller proportions of the total labour force. In flax scutching mills the female share of the workforce was 19 per cent; in carding and fulling mills it was 17 per cent. Women and girls formed 16 per cent of the workforce in confectionery shops and 12 per cent in fish processing establishments. Flour milling, bakeries, sawmills, furniture factories and newspaper printing and publishing each also employed at least 100 women and girls throughout Canada but the female share of the total workforce in each type was below 5 per cent.

Table 9
Industry types with at least 40 total employees and at least 25 per cent female, 1871 listed in order of percentage female

Industry type (SIC)	# Firms	# Women	# Girls	% Female
Millinery (249-M)	322	1,197	133	97.6
Spinning (182-S)	45	45	-	97.0
Dressmaking (244)	447	1,576	179	95.7
Children's clothing (245)	9	38	6	95.6
Hand knitting (239-K)	108	173	3	93.6
Carpets (186)	4	35	-	92.0
Laundry/clothes dyeing (874)	4	35	2	86.0
Paper bags/boxes (273)	15	122	52	80.6
Hat making (not fur/millinery - 249-H)	37	655	60	78.8
Weaving (handloom - 182-W)	2,225	2,375	202	73.7
Tailoring (men's clothing - 243)	542	3,785	365	73.6
Knitting mills (239)	7	251	15	71.3
Paper collars/wallpaper (274)	4	87	14	70.6
Fur goods (246)	86	874	99	70.0
Matches (379-M)	20	96	129	67.2
Leather gloves (175)	17	58	9	67.0
Cotton mills (181)	6	292	170	66.5
Buttons (399-A)	2	14	10	64.9
General clothing (242)	676	3,384	342	64.3
Leather goods, misc. (179)	12	103	88	64.3
India rubber goods (162)	3	315	-	62.7
Whip making (179-W)	3	20	-	50.0
Tobacco pipes (399-T)	3	37	11	49.0
Bank-note engraving (286-B)	1	34	4	48.8
Book binding (287-B)	32	161	61	47.9
Wig making (399-W)	8	17	3	43.5
Woollen mills (182)	208	1,423	328	42.8
Miscellaneous manufactures (399)	13	41	3	40.7
Cheese factories (104)	260	366	32	38.7
Tobacco products (153)	36	483	402	37.7
Paper mills (271)	16	185	26	30.2
Printing (286)	12	180	53	26.0
Drugs and medicines (374)	18	49	7	25.9
Boots and shoes (174)	427	4,010	659	25.4

Source: compiled from CANIND71 database.

Women and girls were reported in a wider range of industry types than one might have expected in Canada in 1871. Altogether, women or girls were employed in 132 of the 196 basic SIC types identified in the whole CANIND71 database. In only ten industry types that each had at least 250 employees in 1871 were no female workers at all reported -- gold mining, peat cutting, sugar refineries, distilleries, gypsum mills, house builders, carpenters, bricklayers, stonemasons, and gas works. To give impressions of the range of industries in which women and girls worked for pay in 1871 we have reproduced the records of 48 establishments from the CANIND71 database in the pages that follow.[30]

[30] For an explanation of the variable code names, see Appendix A-1; and for the reference number of each sample record in the CANIND71 database, see Appendix A-8.

CANIND71 SAMPLE RECORDS: FOOD AND DRINK INDUSTRIES

1 proprior: **PORTLAND PACKING CO** typeest: **LOBSTER FACTORY**
cdid: **NS195** ced: **L-2** cdistric: **LUNENBURG** csd: **CHESTER**
sic: **102** sec: **5.01** month: **12** prop:
fixcap: **1200** flocap: **5000** typepow: force:
empmen: **28** empwom: **12** empboy: empgirl:
totemp: **40** wages: **5000** avwage: **10.42** per worker/month
sumrawc: **9910** sumproc: **20500** vadd: **10590**
rawmat1: **LOBSTER** runit1: rquant1: **300000** rvalue1: **9000**
rawmat2: **FISH, MACKEREL** runit2: rquant2: **25000** rvalue2: **4000**
rawmat3: **WOOD** runit3: **CD** rquant3: **60** rvalue3: **150**
rawmat4: **CANS,TIN** runit4: rquant4: **180000** rvalue4: **360**
prod1: **LOBSTER** punit1: **TIN** pquant1: **150000** pvalue1: **18000**
prod2: **MACKEREL** punit2: pquant1: **30000** pvalue2: **2500**
comments: **US company; proprietor absent, so take statements as near as think right**

2 proprior: **JAMES ZAVITZ** typeest: **CHEESE FACTORY (JOINT STOCK)**
cdid: **0008** ced: **D-3** cdistric: **MIDDLESEX** csd: **LOBO**
sic: **104** sec: **5.01** month: **6** prop:
fixcap: **700** flocap: typepow: force:
empmen: **1** empwom: **2** empboy: empgirl:
totemp: **3** wages: **280** avwage: **15.56** per worker/month
sumrawc: **2487** sumproc: **3075** vadd: **588**
rawmat1: **MILK** runit1: **LB** rquant1: **286658** rvalue1: **2487**
prod1: **CHEESE** punit1: **LB** pquant1: **28881** pvalue1: **3075**

3 proprior: **THOMAS MCCORMICK** typeest: **BISCUIT/CANDY MANUFACTORY**
cdid: **0010** ced: **D** cdistric: **LONDON** csd: **WARD NO 4**
sic: **108-C/107** sec: **5.01** month: **12** prop:
fixcap: **16000** flocap: **7000** typepow: force:
empmen: **22** empwom: **2** empboy: **6** empgirl: **3**
totemp: **33** wages: **10000** avwage: **25.25** per worker/month
sumrawc: **299750** sumproc: **339875** vadd: **40125**
rawmat1: **SUGAR** runit1: rquant1: **250000** rvalue1: **287500**
rawmat2: **ESSENCE/COLOUR** runit2: rquant2: rvalue2: **1000**
rawmat3: **FLOUR** runit3: rquant3: **25000** rvalue3: **7500**
rawmat4: **BUTTER/LARD** runit4: rquant4: rvalue4: **3750**
prod1: **BISCUITS** punit1: **LB** pquant1: **25000** pvalue1: **12375**
prod2: **CANDY** punit2: pquant1: pvalue2: **327500**
comments: **HAND AND MACHINE**

CANIND71 SAMPLE RECORDS: TOBACCO

4 *proprior: W C MCDONALD* *typeest: TOBACCO WORKS*
cdid: Q105 *ced: B-1* *cdistric: MONTREAL EST csd: ST-JACQUES*
sic: 153 *sec: 5.02* *month: 12* *prop:*
fixcap: 50000 *flocap: 200000* *typepow: STEAM* *force: 25*
empmen: 130 *empwom: 148* *empboy: 114* *empgirl: 158*
totemp: 550 *wages: 82000* *avwage: 12.42 per worker/month*
sumrawc: 363000 *sumproc: 520000* *vadd: 257000*
rawmat1: TOBACCO LEAF runit1: LB *rquant1: 3146000* *rvalue1: 263000*
prod1: TOBACCO,CAVENDISH punit1: LB pquant1: 2955000 *pvalue1: 520000*

5 *proprior: PENISTON T & CO* *typeest: TOBACCO MANUFACTORY*
cdid: O046 *ced: A-2* *cdistric: TORONTO WEST csd: ST GEORGE*
sic: 153 *sec: 5.02* *month: 12* *prop:*
fixcap: 2700 *flocap: 20000* *typepow: STEAM* *force: 8*
empmen: 12 *empwom: 9* *empboy: 15* *empgirl: 12*
totemp: 48 *wages: 4500* *avwage: 7.81 per worker/month*
sumrawc: 36820 *sumproc: 42000* *vadd: 5180*
rawmat1: TOBACCO, LEAF runit1: LB *rquant1: 275000* *rvalue1:*
rawmat2: LICORICE PASTE runit2: LB *rquant2: 40000* *rvalue2:*
rawmat3: SUGAR runit3: LB *rquant3: 22000* *rvalue3:*
rawmat4: GUM runit4: LB *rquant4: 6000* *rvalue4:*
prod1: TOBACCO punit1: TIN *pquant1: 230000* *pvalue1: 42000*
prod2: *punit2:* *pquant1:* *pvalue2:*

CANIND71 SAMPLE RECORD: RUBBER

6 *proprior: INDIA RUBBER CO* *typeest: RUBBER COMPANY*
cdid: Q145 *ced: A-1* *cdistric: QUEBEC OUEST csd: ST-PIERRE*
sic: 162 *sec: 5.03* *month: 10* *prop:*
fixcap: 50000 *flocap: 25000* *typepow: STEAM* *force: 75*
empmen: 57 *empwom: 64* *empboy: 3* *empgirl:*
totemp: 124 *wages: 11089* *avwage: 8.94 per worker/month*
sumrawc: 43789 *sumproc: 59200* *vadd: 15411*
rawmat1: INDIA RUBBER runit1: LB *rquant1: 70256* *rvalue1:*
rawmat2: SULPHUR runit2: CWT *rquant2: 45* *rvalue2:*
rawmat3: LINING runit3: *rquant3:* *rvalue3:*
prod1: SHOES, INDIA RUBBER punit1: PR pquant1: 142084 pvalue1: 59200
comments: INCORPORATED UNDER ACT OF PARLIAMENT; IN OPERATION ONLY SINCE JUNE 1870; IS WORKING SUCCESSFULLY.

7 *proprior:* **GUILLAUME BRESSE** *typeest:* **SHOE FACTORY**
cdid: **Q145** *ced:* **A-1** *cdistric:* **QUEBEC OUEST** *csd:* **ST-PIERRE**
sic: **174** *sec:* **5.04** *month:* **12** *prop:*
fixcap: **10000** *flocap:* **30000** *typepow:* **STEAM** *force:* **14**
empmen: **75** *empwom:* **63** *empboy:* **33** *empgirl:* **35**
totemp: **206** *wages:* **40000** *avwage:* **16.18** *per worker/month*
sumrawc: **100000** *sumproc:* **165000** *vadd:* **65000**
rawmat1: **LEATHER,SOLE** *runit1:* **LB** *rquant1:* **100000** *rvalue1:*
rawmat2: **LEATHER,UPPER** *runit2:* **LB** *rquant2:* **150000** *rvalue2:*
rawmat3: **PRUNELLA/LINING** *runit3:* **FT** *rquant3:* **75000** *rvalue3:*
rawmat4: *runit4:* *rquant4:* *rvalue4:*
prod1: **SHOE WORK,ASSORTED** *punit1:* *pquant1:* *pvalue1:* **165000**
prod2: *punit2:* *pquant1:* *pvalue2:*
comments: **Mens, womens and childrens work of all descriptions; unable to state quantities, no account kept.**

8 *proprior:* **SYDNEY BOOT & SHOE CO** *typeest:* **BOOT/SHOE COMPANY**
cdid: **NS205** *ced:* **G-1** *cdistric:* **CAPE BRETON** *csd:* **SYDNEY**
sic: **174** *sec:* **5.04** *month:* **12** *prop:*
fixcap: **10000** *flocap:* **12000** *typepow:* *force:*
empmen: **23** *empwom:* **10** *empboy:* **4** *empgirl:*
totemp: **37** *wages:* **7872** *avwage:* **17.73** *per worker/month*
sumrawc: **15000** *sumproc:* **24000** *vadd:* **9000**
rawmat1: **LEATHER,GRAIN** *runit1:* *rquant1:* **1252** *rvalue1:*
rawmat2: **LEATHER,SPLIT** *runit2:* *rquant2:* **1432** *rvalue2:*
rawmat3: **SKINS,CALF** *runit3:* *rquant3:* **2500** *rvalue3:*
rawmat4: **SKINS,SHEEP** *runit4:* **DOZ** *rquant4:* **7** *rvalue4:*
rawmat5: **LEATHER,SOLE** *runit5:* *rquant5:* **16406** *rvalue5:*
prod1: **BOOTS/SHOES** *punit1:* **PR** *pquant1:* **12520** *pvalue1:* **24000**

8a *proprior:* **DAME A CARON** *typeest:* **BRODERIE, ATELIER**
cdid: **Q128** *ced:* **B-3** *cdistric:* **MASKINONGE** *csd:* **RIVIERE DU LOUP**
sic: **174-F** *sec:* **5.04** *month:* *prop:* **F**
fixcap: *flocap:* *typepow:* *force:*
empmen: *empwom:* **100** *empboy:* *empgirl:*
totemp: **100** *wages:* **1400** *avwage:* *per worker/month*
sumrawc: **280** *sumproc:* **2400** *vadd:* **2120**
rawmat1: **FEUTRE** *runit1:* *rquant1:* *rvalue1:* **280**
prod1: **SOULIERS BRODES** *punit1:* **PR** *pquant1:* **18000** *pvalue1:* **2400**

CANIND71 SAMPLE RECORDS: TEXTILES

9 proprior: PETER W WOOD typeest: COTTON MILL
cdid: Q106 ced: A-9 cdistric: MONTREAL WEST csd: STE-ANNE
sic: 181 sec: 5.05 month: 11 prop:
fixcap: 50000 flocap: 25000 typepow: WATER force: 75
empmen: empwom: 69 empboy: 9 empgirl: 16
totemp: 94 wages: 19500 avwage: 18.86 per worker/month
sumrawc: 77000 sumproc: 129000 vadd: 52000
rawmat1: COTTONrunit1: LB rquant1: 330000 rvalue1: 60000
rawmat2: COTTON WASTE runit2: LB rquant2: 132000 rvalue2: 17000
prod1: SHEETING,HEAVY punit1: YD pquant1: 320000 pvalue1: 40000
prod2: BAGS,GRAIN punit2: pquant1: 80000 pvalue2: 32000
prod3: YARN,COTTON punit3: YD pquant3: 100000 pvalue3: 30000
prod4: WADDING/BATTING punit4: BALE pquant4: 4520 pvalue4: 27000

10 proprior: PATON MANUFACTURING CO typeest: WOOLEN FACTORY
cdid: Q105 ced: A-1 cdistric: SHERBROOKE csd: SHERBROOKE T
sic: 182 sec: 5.05 month: 12 prop:
fixcap: 133000 flocap: 120000 typepow: WATER force: 150
empmen: 71 empwom: 73 empboy: 17 empgirl: 33
totemp: 194 wages: 45000 avwage: 19.33 per worker/month
sumrawc: 156250 sumproc: 250000 vadd: 93750
rawmat1: WOOL runit1: LB rquant1: 625000 rvalue1: 156250
prod1: CLOTH,TWEED punit1: pquant1: 250000 pvalue1: 250000

11 proprior: SLINGSBY & KITCHEN typeest: WOOLEN MANUFACTORY
cdid: O014 ced: G-1 cdistric: OXFORD NORTH csd: BLENHEIM
sic: 182 sec: 5.05 month: 12 prop:
fixcap: 6000 flocap: 6000 typepow: WATER force: 15
empmen: 6 empwom: 3 empboy: 1 empgirl: 1
totemp: 11 wages: 1200 avwage: 9.09 per worker/month
sumrawc: 12200 sumproc: 17400 vadd: 5200
rawmat1: WOOL runit1: LB rquant1: 35000 rvalue1: 11200
rawmat2: DYE STUFF runit2: rquant2: rvalue2: 300
rawmat3: OIL/SOAP runit3: rquant3: rvalue3: 700
prod1: CLOTH punit1: YD pquant1: 7500 pvalue1:
prod2: CLOTH,FLANNEL punit2: YD pquant1: 7000 pvalue2:
prod3: BLANKETSpunit3: LB pquant3: 15500 pvalue3:

CANIND71 SAMPLE RECORDS: TEXTILES/KNITGOODS

12 *proprior: LATICIA A TRICKEY* *typeest: WEAVING LOOM*
cdid: O067 *ced: D* *cdistric: LEEDS SOUTH* *csd: ESCOTT FRONT*
sic: 182-W *sec: 5.05* *month: 12* *prop: F*
fixcap: 25 *flocap: 1* *typepow:* *force:*
empmen: *empwom: 1* *empboy:* *empgirl:*
totemp: 1 *wages: 61* *avwage: 5.08 per worker/month*
sumrawc: 205 *sumproc: 399* *vadd: 194*
rawmat1: YARN,WOOL,COTTON runit1: LB rquant1: 162 *rvalue1: 68*
rawmat2: YARN/RAGS,COTTON runit2: LB rquant2: 117 *rvalue2: 19*
rawmat3: YARN,WOOLEN runit3: LB *rquant3: 248* *rvalue3: 112*
rawmat4: YARN,COTTON runit4: LB *rquant4: 12* *rvalue4: 6*
prod1: CLOTH,FLANNEL punit1: YD *pquant1: 265* *pvalue1: 133*
prod2: CARPETS punit2: YD *pquant1: 78* *pvalue2: 39*
prod3: CLOTH,FLANNEL punit3: YD *pquant3: 310* *pvalue3: 217*
prod4: COVERLIDS punit4: YD *pquant4: 10* *pvalue4: 10*

13 *proprior: BELLIVEAU & GODATT* *typeest: CARDING MILL*
cdid: NS191 *ced: I* *cdistric: DIGBY* *csd: WEYMOUTH*
sic: 189-W *sec: 5.05* *month: 4* *prop:*
fixcap: 820 *flocap: 100* *typepow: WATER* *force: 4*
empmen: 2 *empwom: 2* *empboy:* *empgirl:*
totemp: 4 *wages: 100* *avwage: 6.25 per worker/month*
sumrawc: 1600 *sumproc: 1800* *vadd: 200*
rawmat1: WOOL *runit1: LB* *rquant1: 8000* *rvalue1: 1600*
prod1: ROLLS,SPINNING punit1: *pquant1:* *pvalue1: 1800*
comments: WOOL BROUGHT IN BY THE CLIENTS

14 *proprior: EDWIN TURNER* *typeest: KNITTING FACTORY*
cdid: O039 *ced: A-1* *cdistric: PEEL* *csd: TORONTO TP*
sic: 239 *sec: 5.06* *month: 12* *prop:*
fixcap: 11000 *flocap: 15000* *typepow: WATER* *force: 20*
empmen: 10 *empwom: 20* *empboy: 5* *empgirl: 2*
totemp: 37 *wages: 5400* *avwage: 12.16 per worker/month*
sumrawc: 14000 *sumproc: 25000* *vadd: 11000*
rawmat1: WOOL *runit1: LB* *rquant1: 50000* *rvalue1: 14000*
prod1: SHIRTS/DRAWERS punit1: *pquant1: 2000* *pvalue1:*
prod2: STOCKINGS punit2: DOZ *pquant1: 500* *pvalue2:*
prod3: COATS,KNITTED punit3: *pquant3: 400* *pvalue3:*

CANIND71 SAMPLE RECORDS: CLOTHING

15 proprior: O'BRIEN & CO typeest: CLOTHIER
cdid: Q106 ced: A-1 cdistric: MONTREAL WEST csd: STE-ANNE
sic: 243 sec: 5.07 month: 12 prop:
fixcap: 14000 flocap: 75000 typepow: force:
empmen: 8 empwom: 150 empboy: empgirl:
totemp: 158 wages: 26000 avwage: 13.71 per worker/month
sumrawc: 100000 sumproc: 180000 vadd: 80000
rawmat1: CLOTH runit1: YD rquant1: 200000 rvalue1: 100000
prod1: COATS punit1: pquant1: 26000 pvalue1:
prod2: PANTS punit2: pquant1: 25000 pvalue2:
prod3: VESTS punit3: pquant3: 20000 pvalue3:
comments: 207 MCGILL STREET

16 proprior: MARGARET STEWART typeest: DRESS & MANTLE MAKING EST
cdid: NB174 ced: D-1 cdistric: ST JOHN csd: QUEEN'S WARD
sic: 244/245 sec: 5.07 month: 12 prop: F
fixcap: 50 flocap: typepow: force:
empmen: 1 empwom: 12 empboy: empgirl: 2
totemp: 15 wages: 625 avwage: 3.47 per worker/month
sumrawc: 8000 sumproc: 10000 vadd: 2000
rawmat1: DRESS MATERIALS runit1: rquant1: rvalue1: 8000
prod1: DRESSES/MANTLES,LADIES,GIRLS punit1: pquant1: pvalue1: 10000
comments: DRESS MATERIAL BROUGHT TO BE MADE UP

17 proprior: ADELAIDE VERVAIS typeest: COUTURIER
cdid: Q118 ced: C-2 cdistric: CHAMBLY csd: LONGUEUIL V
sic: 243 sec: 5.07 month: 12 prop: F
fixcap: 150 flocap: 50 typepow: force:
empmen: 3 empwom: 2 empboy: empgirl:
totemp: 5 wages: 1070 avwage: 17.83 per worker/month
sumrawc: 790 sumproc: 1040 vadd: 250
rawmat1: DRAP runit1: VERGE rquant1: 120 rvalue1: 360
rawmat2: CASSIMERE runit2: VERGE rquant2: 140 rvalue2: 280
rawmat3: TWEED runit3: VERGE rquant3: 150 rvalue3: 150
prod1: HABITS punit1: pquant1: 40 pvalue1: 450
prod2: PANTALONS punit2: pquant1: 40 pvalue2: 340
prod3: VESTE punit3: pquant3: 40 pvalue3: 250
prod4: REPARATIONS punit4: pquant4: pvalue4:
comments: MOULIN A COUDRE

CANIND71 SAMPLE RECORDS: CLOTHING

18 *proprior:* ***BETSY & GEORGIANA ST PIERRE*** *typeest:* ***MODISTE, BOUTIQUE***

cdid: ***Q153*** *ced:* ***B*** *cdistric:* ***LEVIS VILLE*** *csd:* ***LAUZON***

sic: ***242/249-M*** *sec:* ***5.07*** *month:* ***12*** *prop:* ***F***

fixcap: ***150*** *flocap:* ***110*** *typepow:* *force:*

empmen: *empwom:* ***2*** *empboy:* *empgirl:*

totemp: ***2*** *wages:* ***300*** *avwage:* ***12.50*** *per worker/month*

sumrawc: ***1315*** *sumproc:* ***1730*** *vadd:* ***415***

rawmat1: ***DRAPS/CASSIMERES*** *runit1:* ***VERGE*** *rquant1:* ***415*** *rvalue1:*

rawmat2: ***INDIENNES/COTONAGES/SOIERIES*** *runit2:* ***VERGE*** *rquant2:* ***1300*** *rvalue2:*

rawmat3: ***VELOURS/FLEUR/DENTELLES*** *runit3:* *rquant3:* *rvalue3:*

prod1: ***HABITS DIVERS*** *punit1:* *pquant1:* ***190*** *pvalue1:*

prod2: ***ROBES DE DAMES*** *punit2:* *pquant2:* ***110*** *pvalue2:*

prod3: ***CHAPEAUX DE DAMES*** *punit3:* *pquant3:* ***36*** *pvalue3:*

prod4: ***AUTRES ARTICLES DE TOILETTE*** *punit4:* *pquant4:* *pvalue4:*

19 *proprior:* ***PENITENTIARY*** *typeest:* ***FEMALE DEPARTMENT***

cdid: ***O065*** *ced:* ***B-2*** *cdistric:* ***FRONTENAC*** *csd:* ***PENITENTIARY***

sic: ***244/239-K*** *sec:* ***5.07*** *month:* ***12*** *prop:* ***F***

fixcap: *flocap:* *typepow:* *force:*

empmen: *empwom:* ***43*** *empboy:* *empgirl:* ***2***

totemp: ***45*** *wages:* ***2412*** *avwage:* ***4.47*** *per worker/month*

sumrawc: ***1320*** *sumproc:* ***3400*** *vadd:* ***2080***

rawmat1: ***YARN,WOOL*** *runit1:* ***LB*** *rquant1:* ***570*** *rvalue1:*

rawmat2: ***CLOTH,FLANNEL*** *runit2:* ***YD*** *rquant2:* ***1324*** *rvalue2:*

rawmat3: ***CLOTH, FACTORY COTTON,SHIRTING/TRIM*** *runit3:* ***YD*** *rquant3:* ***1000***

prod1: ***SOCKS/MITTS*** *punit1:* ***PR*** *pquant1:* ***1650*** *pvalue1:*

prod2: ***SHORTS/DRAWERS*** *pquant2:* ***899*** *pvalue2:*

prod3: ***CLOTHING,FEMALE PRISONER*** *pquant3:* ***899*** *pvalue3:*

comments: ***MARY LEAHY - MATRON***

CANIND71 SAMPLE RECORDS: CLOTHING - HATTERS & FURRIERS

20 *proprior: R W COWAN* *typeest: HATTER/FURRIER*
cdid: Q104 *ced: A-1* *cdistric: MONTREAL CENTRE* *csd: WEST*
sic: 246 *sec: 5.07* *month: 12* *prop:*
fixcap: 12000 *flocap: 20000* *typepow:* *force:*
empmen: 15 *empwom: 22* *empboy:* *empgirl:*
totemp: 37 *wages: 17000* *avwage: 38.29 per worker/month*
sumrawc: 43000 *sumproc: 65000* *vadd: 22000*
rawmat1: SKINS,MINK runit1: *rquant1: 2000* *rvalue1: 9000*
rawmat2: SKINS,SEAL runit2: *rquant2: 250* *rvalue2: 5800*
rawmat3: SKINS,PERSIAN LAMB runit3: *rquant3: 2000* *rvalue3: 8000*
rawmat4: SKINS,OTHER runit4: *rquant4: 300* *rvalue4: 3000*
rawmat5: SKINS,BEAR,WOLF,COON runit5: *rquant5: 1300* *rvalue5: 2200*
rawmat6: HATS *runit6:* *rquant6:* *rvalue6: 15000*
prod1: HATS/CAPS/FURS punit1: *pquant1:* *pvalue1: 65000*
comments: 416 NOTRE DAME ST

21 *proprior: GEORGE BARKER* *typeest: STRAW HAT FACTORY*
cdid: O047 *ced: A-1* *cdistric: TORONTO EAST csd: ST LAWRENCE*
sic: 249-H *sec: 5.07* *month: 12* *prop:*
fixcap: 10000 *flocap: 2000* *typepow: STEAM* *force: 8*
empmen: 15 *empwom: 80* *empboy: 5* *empgirl: 30*
totemp: 130 *wages: 20000* *avwage: 12.82 per worker/month*
sumrawc: 30000 *sumproc: 62000* *vadd: 32000*
rawmat1: STRAW PLAIT runit1: YD *rquant1: 1560000* *rvalue1:*
rawmat2: CLOTH,VELVET runit2: YD *rquant2: 4000* *rvalue2:*
rawmat3: CLOTH,COTTON runit3: YD *rquant3: 10000* *rvalue3:*
prod1: HATS/BONNETS punit1: *pquant1: 31200* *pvalue1: 62000*

CANIND71 SAMPLE RECORD: WOOD-PROCESSING

22 *proprior:* ***EZRA BUTLER EDDY*** *typeest:* ***SAW MILL/MATCH/PAIL FCY***

cdid: ***Q093*** *ced:* ***B-4*** *cdistric:* ***OTTAWA WEST*** *csd:* ***HULL***

sic: ***251/254*** *sec:* ***5.08*** *month:* ***12*** *prop:*

fixcap: ***250000*** *flocap:* ***331000*** *typepow:* ***WATER*** *force:* ***600***

empmen: ***500*** *empwom:* ***100*** *empboy:* ***20*** *empgirl:* ***140***

totemp: ***760*** *wages:* ***144000*** *avwage:* ***15.79*** *per worker/month*

sumrawc: ***400000*** *sumproc:* ***661000*** *vadd:* ***261000***

rawmat1: ***LOGS/LUMBER*** *rquant1:* *rvalue1:* ***300000***

rawmat2: ***SULPHUR/PHOSPHORUS/LUMBER*** *rquant2:* *rvalue2:* ***40000***

rawmat3: ***LUMBER/NAILS/ZINC*** *rquant3:* *rvalue3:* ***50000***

rawmat4: ***N/G*** *rquant4:* *rvalue4:* ***10000***

prod1: ***LUMBER***	*punit1:* ***FT BM***	*pquant1:* ***30000000***	*pvalue1:* ***370000***
prod2: ***WASHBOARDS***	*punit2:*	*pquant2:* ***7200***	*pvalue2:*
prod3: ***MATCHES***	*punit3:* ***GROSS***	*pquant3:* ***270000***	*pvalue3:*
prod4: ***DOORS/BLINDS***	*punit4:*	*pquant4:* ***5000***	*pquant4:*
prod5: ***PAILS***	*punit5:*	*pquant5:* ***600000***	*pvalue5:*
prod6: ***TUBS***	*punit6:*	*pquant6:* ***45000***	*pvalue6:* ***1700***

comments: ***WASHBOARDS & MATCHES $125000; DOORS/BLINDS/PAILS $149000.***

CANIND71 SAMPLE RECORD: FURNITURE

23 *proprior:* ***WILLIAM DRUM*** *typeest:* ***CABINET/CHAIR FACTORY***

cdid: ***Q145*** *ced:* ***A-1*** *cdistric:* ***QUEBEC OUEST*** *csd:* ***ST-PIERRE***

sic: ***261*** *sec:* ***5.09*** *month:* ***12*** *prop:*

fixcap: ***150000*** *flocap:* ***50000*** *typepow:* ***STEAM*** *force:* ***100***

empmen: ***100*** *empwom:* ***12*** *empboy:* ***8*** *empgirl:*

totemp: ***120*** *wages:* ***32000*** *avwage:* ***22.22*** *per worker/month*

sumrawc: ***100000*** *sumproc:* ***160000*** *vadd:* ***60000***

rawmat1: ***WOOD,MAHOGANY*** *runit1:* ***FT BM*** *rquant1:* ***1000*** *rvalue1:*

rawmat2: ***WOOD,BLACK WALNUT*** *runit2:* ***FT BM*** *rquant2:* ***30000*** *rvalue2:*

rawmat3: ***WOOD,BIRCH*** *runit3:* ***FT BM*** *rquant3:* ***250000*** *rvalue3:*

rawmat4: ***WOOD,ROSE,BUTTERNUT*** *runit4:* *rquant4:* *rvalue4:*

prod1: ***FURNITURE,ASSORTED*** *punit1:* *pquant1:* *pvalue1:*

CANIND71 SAMPLE RECORDS: PAPER, ENGRAVING, PRINTING

24 proprior: **ALEXANDRE BAUTIN** typeest: **PAPIER/ENVELOPPE, MANUFACTURE**
cdid: **Q111** ced: **F** cdistric: **BEAUHARNOIS** csd: **STE-CECILE**
sic: **271** sec: **5.10** month: **12** prop:
fixcap: **12500** flocap: **70000** typepow: **WATER** force: **350**
empmen: **63** empwom: **56** empboy: **5** empgirl: **6**
totemp: **130** wages: **30000** avwage: **19.23** per worker/month
sumrawc: **106400** sumproc: **211860** vadd: **105460**
rawmat1: **GUENILLES/SABLE** runit1: rquant1: **800** rvalue1: **71680**
rawmat2: **BOIS** runit2: **CD** rquant2: **400** rvalue2: **1000**
rawmat3: **ESPARTO GRASS** runit3: **TONNE** rquant3: **600** rvalue3: **27000**
rawmat4: **AUTRES MATIERES FIBREUSES** runit4: rquant4: rvalue4: **6720**
prod1: **PAPIER BLANC, COLORIE/ENVELOPPES/PAPIER POUR ENVELOPPES**
punit1: **TONNE** pquant1: **1050** pvalue1: **211860**

25 proprior: **SMILLIE BOURNE & CO** typeest: **BANK NOTE ENGRAVING**
cdid: **O077** ced: **A-2** cdistric: **OTTAWA** csd: **WELLINGTON**
sic: **286-B** sec: **5.11** month: **12** prop:
fixcap: **100000** flocap: **50000** typepow: force:
empmen: **41** empwom: **34** empboy: **4** empgirl: **4**
totemp: **82** wages: **35000** avwage: **35.57** per worker/month
sumrawc: **20000** sumproc: **60000** vadd: **40000**
rawmat1: **INK,PRINTERS/PAPER/STEEL/OIL/COLOURS** rvalue1: **40000**
prod1: **BANK NOTES/BANK POSTAGE STAMPS/BILL HEADS** pvalue1: **60000**

26 proprior: **JAMES CAMPBELL & SONS** typeest: **PUBLISHER/BINDERY**
cdid: **O046** ced: **A-1** cdistric: **TORONTO WEST** csd: **ST GEORGE**
sic: **289/287-B** sec: **5.11** month: **12** prop:
fixcap: **25000** flocap: **20000** typepow: **STEAM** force: **15**
empmen: **35** empwom: **90** empboy: **1** empgirl:
totemp: **126** wages: **25000** avwage: **16.53** per worker/month
sumrawc: **60000** sumproc: **100000** vadd: **40000**
rawmat1: **PAPER** runit1: **TON** rquant1: **150** rvalue1: **40000**
rawmat2: **MILLBOARD** runit2: **TON** rquant2: **100** rvalue2: **10000**
rawmat3: **CLOTH/LEATHER** runit3: rquant3: rvalue3: **10000**
prod1: **BOOKS** punit1: pquant1: **1000000** pvalue1: **100000**

CANIND71 SAMPLE RECORDS: METAL-WORKING

27 *proprior: CHARLES PALSGRAVE* *typeest: MONTREAL TYPE FOUNDRY*
cdid: Q104 *ced: A-1* *cdistric: MONTREAL CENTRE csd: WEST*
sic: 298-P *sec: 5.12* *month: 12* *prop:*
fixcap: 26000 *flocap: 18000* *typepow:* *force: 14*
empmen: 33 *empwom: 15* *empboy: 14* *empgirl: 10*
totemp: 72 *wages: 20000* *avwage: 23.15 per worker/month*
sumrawc: 13785 *sumproc: 45000* *vadd: 31125*
rawmat1: ANTIMONY runit1: TON *rquant1: 16* *rvalue1: 4800*
rawmat2: COPPER runit2: TON *rquant2: 1* *rvalue2: 520*
rawmat3: TIN *runit3: TON* *rquant3: 3.5* *rvalue3: 2200*
rawmat4: LEAD *runit4: TON* *rquant4: 50* *rvalue4: 4000*
rawmat5: SULPHURIC ACID runit5: TON rquant5: 2 *rvalue5: 240*
rawmat6: SPELTER runit6: TON *rquant6: 2* *rvalue6: 240*
rawmat7: BRASS runit7: TON *rquant7: 2.5* *rvalue7: 1875*
prod1: TYPE/STEREOTYPE/PRINTING MATERIAL
punit1: *pquant1:* *pvalue1: 45000*
comments: 1 ST HELEN ST; WILLIAM G STETHAM; ALSO USED 85 TONS COAL VALUED AT $350.

28 *proprior: CANADA SCREW CO* *typeest: IRON SCREWS*
cdid: O023 *ced: C-2* *cdistric: WENTWORTH NORTH csd: DUNDAS T*
sic: 305-N *sec: 5.13* *month: 12* *prop:*
fixcap: 100000 *flocap: 16000* *typepow: STEAM* *force: 35*
empmen: 17 *empwom: 7* *empboy: 9* *empgirl: 4*
totemp: 37 *wages: 6030* *avwage: 13.58 per worker/month*
sumrawc: 7640 *sumproc: 20210* *vadd: 12570*
rawmat1: WIRE,IRON runit1: TON *rquant1: 88* *rvalue1: 7170*
rawmat2: PAPER,WRAPPING runit2: TON rquant2: 2 *rvalue2: 370*
rawmat3: TWINE runit3: LB *rquant3: 300* *rvalue3: 100*
prod1: SCREWS,IRON punit1: GROSS *pquant1: 125530* *pvalue1: 20210*
comments: JOINT STOCK CO; DOMICILED ELSEWHERE

29 *proprior:* **EASTWOOD & CO** *typeest:* **AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT MANUFACTURER**

cdid: **O013** *ced:* **F-2** *cdistric:* **OXFORD SOUTH** *csd:* **INGERSOLL T**

sic: **311/315** *sec:* **5.14** *month:* **12** *prop:*

fixcap: **30000** *flocap:* **30000** *typepow:* **STEAM** *force:* **16**

empmen: **60** *empwom:* **10** *empboy:* *empgirl:*

totemp: **70** *wages:* **28000** *avwage:* **33.33** *per worker/month*

sumrawc: **51860** *sumproc:* **101000** *vadd:* **49140**

rawmat1: **LUMBER** *runit1:* **FT BM** *rquant1:* **600000** *rvalue1:* **9000**

rawmat2: **IRON,BAR,PIG/STEEL** *runit2:* **TON** *rquant2:* **360** *rvalue2:* **29160**

rawmat3: **PAINT/OIL** *runit3:* **TON** *rquant3:* **6** *rvalue3:* **4800**

rawmat4: **COAL** *runit4:* **TON** *rquant4:* **200** *rvalue4:* **1900**

rawmat5: **HARDWARE** *runit5:* *rquant5:* *rvalue5:* **7000**

prod1: **MOWERS/REAPERS** *punit1:* *pquant1:* **400** *pvalue1:*

prod2: **THRESHING MACHINES** *punit2:* *pquant2:* **50** *pvalue2:*

prod3: **SAWING MACHINES** *punit3:* *pquant3:* **150** *pvalue3:*

prod4: **CULTIVATORS/PLOUGHS** *punit4:* *pquant4:* **400** *pquant4:*

prod5: **REPAIRS** *punit5:* *pquant5:* *pvalue5:*

comments:

30 *proprior:* **LOCKMAN WILSON BOWMAN & CO** *typeest:* **SEWING MACHINES**

cdid: **O034** *ced:* **D** *cdistric:* **WELLINGTON CENTRE** *csd:* **FERGUS V**

sic: **315-S** *sec:* **5.14** *month:* **6** *prop:*

fixcap: **15000** *flocap:* **5000** *typepow:* **STEAM** *force:* **25**

empmen: **60** *empwom:* **15** *empboy:* *empgirl:*

totemp: **75** *wages:* **22000** *avwage:* **48.89** *per worker/month*

sumrawc: **20000** *sumproc:* **75000** *vadd:* **55000**

rawmat1: **WIRE,STEEL/STEELPLATE/IRON,MALLEABLE,WROUGHT/BRASS CASTS** *rvalue1:***20000**

prod1: **SEWING MACHINES** *pquant1:* *pvalue1:* **75000**

comments: **THIS MANUFACTORY COMMENCED IN JANUARY LAST AND THE PARTIES CANNOT GIVE A VERY SURE ACCOUNT**

CANIND71 SAMPLE RECORDS: CHEMICALS

31 *proprior: HUGH MILLER & CO* *typeest: DRUG/MEDICAL HALL*
cdid: O047 *ced: A-2* *cdistric: TORONTO EAST csd: ST LAWRENCE*
sic: 374/379-C *sec: 5.19* *month: 12* *prop:*
fixcap: 20000 *flocap: 40000* *typepow:* *force:*
empmen: 3 *empwom: 2* *empboy: 2* *empgirl: 2*
totemp: 9 *wages: 1900* *avwage: 17.59 per worker/month*
sumrawc: 6000 *sumproc: 13000* *vadd: 7000*
rawmat1: DRUGS/CHEMICALS runit1: *rquant1:* *rvalue1: 6000*
prod1: BURNING FLUID punit1: GAL *pquant1: 3200* *pvalue1:*
prod2: TICK DESTROYER punit2: GAL *pquant2: 28000* *pvalue2:*
prod3: GLYCERINE,PREPARED punit3: GROSS pquant3: 75 *pvalue3:*
prod4: GARDEN POWDER punit4: GROSS pquant4: 40 *pvalue4:*
comments: MILLER'S MEDICAL HALL

32 *proprior: JAMES J FELLOWS* *typeest: CITY OF ST JOHN CHEMICAL WORKS*
cdid: NB174 *ced: L* *cdistric: ST JOHN* *csd: SIMONDS*
sic: 379-C *sec: 5.19* *month: 12* *prop:*
fixcap: 5000 *flocap: 25000* *typepow:* *force:*
empmen: 4 *empwom: 3* *empboy:* *empgirl:*
totemp: 7 *wages: 1700* *avwage: 20.24 per worker/month*
sumrawc: 10000 *sumproc: 60000* *vadd: 50000*
rawmat1: GLASSWARE/DRUGS runit1: *rquant1:* *rvalue1: 10000*
prod1: HYPOPHOSPHATES punit1: *pquant1:* *pvalue1: 60000*
comments: SPENT $12000 ON ADVERTISING IN 1870

33 *proprior: JOSEPH BELANGER* *typeest: ALLUMETTES, MANUFACTURE*
cdid: Q144 *ced: F-2* *cdistric: QUEBEC COMTE csd: BEAUPORT*
sic: 379-M *sec: 5.19* *month: 12* *prop:*
fixcap: 200 *flocap: 400* *typepow:* *force:*
empmen: 3 *empwom:* *empboy:* *empgirl: 19*
totemp: 22 *wages: 910* *avwage: 3.45 per worker/month*
sumrawc: 500 *sumproc: 1600* *vadd: 1100*
rawmat1: ALLUMETTES runit1: GROSSE rquant1: 15600 *rvalue1:*
rawmat2: SOUFRE runit2: LIVRE *rquant2: 7800* *rvalue2:*
rawmat3: PHOSPHORE runit3: LIVRE *rquant3: 200* *rvalue3:*
prod1: ALLUMETTES SOUFREES punit1: GROSSE pquant1: 15600 pvalue1: 1600

34 *proprior:* **EMIL VOGELSANG & CO** *typeest:* **BUTTON FACTORY**
cdid: **O032** *ced:* **D-1** *cdistric:* **WATERLOO NORTH** *csd:* **BERLIN T**
sic: **399-A** *sec:* **5.20** *month:* **12** *prop:*
fixcap: **8000** *flocap:* **7000** *typepow:* **STEAM** *force:* **8**
empmen: **5** *empwom:* **6** *empboy:* **6** *empgirl:* **10**
totemp: **27** *wages:* **3000** *avwage:* **9.26** *per worker/month*
sumrawc: **3500** *sumproc:* **8000** *vadd:* **4500**
rawmat1: **VEGETABLE IVORY** *runit1:* **TON** *rquant1:* **35** *rvalue1:* **3500**
prod1: **BUTTONS,ASSORTED** *punit1:* **GROSS** *pquant1:* **9000** *pvalue1:* **8000**

35 *proprior:* **FORTUNAT MARTINEAU** *typeest:* **TOILE CIREE, FABRIQUE**
cdid: **Q154** *ced:* **D-2** *cdistric:* **LEVIS COMTE** *csd:* **ST-NICHOLAS**
sic: **399-O** *sec:* **5.20** *month:* **8** *prop:*
fixcap: **800** *flocap:* **200** *typepow:* *force:*
empmen: **1** *empwom:* **1** *empboy:* *empgirl:*
totemp: **2** *wages:* **100** *avwage:* **6.25** *per worker/month*
sumrawc: **1650** *sumproc:* **2460** *vadd:* **810**
rawmat1: **COTON JAUNE** *runit1:* **VERGE** *rquant1:* **9000** *rvalue1:*
rawmat2: **HUILE DE LIN** *runit2:* **GAL** *rquant2:* **400** *rvalue2:*
rawmat3: **OCRE JAUNE** *runit3:* *rquant3:* *rvalue3:*
prod1: **CAPOTS/PANTALONS** *punit1:* *pquant1:* **1200** *pvalue1:*
prod2: **TOILES CIREES** *punit2:* **VERGE** *pquant2:* **4200** *pvalue2:*
comments: **VENDU A QUEBEC**

36 *proprior:* **GUTMAN & CO** *typeest:* **HOOPSKIRT/HAIR WORKS**
cdid: **Q104** *ced:* **A-2** *cdistric:* **MONTREAL CENTRE** *csd:* **WEST**
sic: **244/399-W** *sec:* **5.07** *month:* **12** *prop:*
fixcap: **15000** *flocap:* **30000** *typepow:* *force:*
empmen: **4** *empwom:* **50** *empboy:* **2** *empgirl:* **10**
totemp: **66** *wages:* **5000** *avwage:* **6.31** *per worker/month*
sumrawc: **35000** *sumproc:* **45000** *vadd:* **10000**
rawmat1: **WIRE,CRINOLINE/THREAD/TAPE/JUTE**
runit1: **LB** *rquant1:* **175000** *rvalue1:* **35000**
prod1: **CRINOLINES/FALSE HAIR** *punit1:* *pquant1:* *pvalue1:* **45000**

CANIND71 SAMPLE RECORDS: MISCELLANEOUS

37 proprior: **JOHN MURPHY** typeest: **BRUSH MANUFACTORY**
cdid: **NB174** ced: **D-1** cdistric: **ST JOHN** csd: **QUEEN'S WARD**
sic: **399-B** sec: **5.20** month: **12** prop:
fixcap: **2000** flocap: **30000** typepow: **STEAM** force: **8**
empmen: **8** empwom: **25** empboy: **10** empgirl:
totemp: **43** wages: **6240** avwage: **12.09** per worker/month
sumrawc: **30000** sumproc: **40000** vadd: **10000**
rawmat1: **HAIR/GRASS/WOOD/GLUE/LEATHER/VARNISH/TACKS**
runit1: rquant1: rvalue1: **30000**
prod1: **BRUSHES,WHITEWASH,SHOE,PAINT,SCRUB,OTHER**
punit1: pquant1: pvalue1: **40000**

38 proprior: **CHARLES LEDOUX** typeest: **BROSSES, MANUFACTURE**
cdid: **Q121** ced: **D-2** cdistric: **ST-HYACINTHE** csd: **ST-DENIS**
sic: **399-B** sec: **5.20** month: **4** prop:
fixcap: **250** flocap: **50** typepow: force:
empmen: **2** empwom: empboy: empgirl: **2**
totemp: **4** wages: **120** avwage: **7.50** per worker/month
sumrawc: **50** sumproc: **250** vadd: **200**
rawmat1: **CRINS/SOIES/POILS/BOIS/RACINE DE MER**
runit1: rquant1: rvalue1: **50**
prod1: **BROSSES ASSORTIS** punit1:**DOZ** pquant1: **160** pvalue1: **250**

39 proprior: **MONTREAL STEAM LAUNDRY** typeest: **LAUNDRY**
cdid: **Q106** ced: **C-3** cdistric: **MONTREAL WEST** csd: **ST-LAURENT**
sic: **874** sec: **10** month: **12** prop:
fixcap: **9600** flocap: **500** typepow: **STEAM** force: **6**
empmen: **2** empwom: **26** empboy: empgirl:
totemp: **28** wages: **386** avwage: **1.15** per worker/month
sumrawc: **2900** sumproc: **9000** vadd: **6100**
rawmat1: **SOAP/STARCH** runit1: rquant1: rvalue1: **2900**
prod1: **CLEANLINESS** punit1: pquant1: pvalue1: **9000**

CANIND71 SAMPLE RECORDS: MISCELLANEOUS

40 proprior: **HELENE FORTIN** typeest: **PHOTOGRAPHIE**
cdid: **Q147** ced: **B-3** cdistric: **QUEBEC EST** csd: **JACQUES-CARTIER**
sic: **893** sec: **10** month: **12** prop: **F**
fixcap: **900** flocap: **100** typepow: force:
empmen: empwom: **2** empboy: empgirl:
totemp: **2** wages: **300** avwage: **12.50** per worker/month
sumrawc: **400** sumproc: **800** vadd: **400**
rawmat1: **ZINC/VITRE/CARTON/MATIERE CHIMIQUE** runit1: rquant1: rvalue1: **400**
prod1: **PORTRAITS** punit1: pquant1: pvalue1: **800**

41 proprior: **NOTMAN & BARTON** typeest: **PHOTOGRAPHIC ESTABLISHMENT**
cdid: **Q106** ced: **C-2** cdistric: **MONTREAL WEST** csd: **ST-LAURENT**
sic: **893** sec: **10** month: **12** prop:
fixcap: **20000** flocap: **20000** typepow: force:
empmen: **45** empwom: **5** empboy: empgirl: **1**
totemp: **51** wages: **19200** avwage: **31.37** per worker/month
sumrawc: **16500** sumproc: **70000** vadd: **53500**
rawmat1: **CHEMICALS** runit1: rquant1: rvalue1: **15000**
rawmat2: **PAPER,ASSORTED** runit2: rquant2: rvalue2: **1500**
prod1: **PHOTOGRAPHS** punit1: pquant1: pvalue1: **70000**
comments: **BLEURY ST**

42 proprior: **GEORGE E DESBARATS** typeest: **PRINTER/PUBLISHER**
cdid: **Q106** ced: **B-6** cdistric: **MONTREAL WEST** csd: **ST-ANTOINE**
sic: **289** sec: **5.11** month: **12** prop:
fixcap: **100000** flocap: **30000** typepow: **STEAM** force: **10**
empmen: **59** empwom: **10** empboy: **12** empgirl: **2**
totemp: **83** wages: **38400** avwage: **38.55** per worker/month
sumrawc: **20000** sumproc: **75000** vadd: **55000**
rawmat1: **INTELLIGENCE/ART/ENERGY/PRINTING MATERIAL/INK/PAPER**
runit1: rquant1: rvalue1: **20000**
prod1: **ILLUSTRATED JOURNAL** punit1: pquant1: pvalue1: **75000**
comments: **Canadian Illustrated News; 19 St Antoine St: leggotyping/lithographing**

CANIND71 SAMPLE RECORDS: FEMALE PROPRIETORS

43 *proprior: MARY ANN PLATT* *typeest: TECUMSETH SALT WORKS*
cdid: O025 *ced: G-3* *cdistric: HURON SOUTH csd: GODERICH T*
sic: 079 *sec: 4* *month: 12* *prop: F*
fixcap: 21500 *flocap: 10000* *typepow: STEAM* *force: 225*
empmen: 19 *empwom:* *empboy:* *empgirl:*
totemp: 19 *wages: 7500* *avwage: 32.89 per worker/month*
sumrawc: 25000 *sumproc: 40000* *vadd: 15000*
rawmat1: BRINE *runit1: GAL* *rquant1: 5000000* *rvalue1: 25000*
prod1: SALT *punit1: BBL* *pquant1: 50000* *pvalue1: 40000*

44 *proprior: VEUVE JOSEPH BEAUREGARD typeest: MOULIN A FARINE*
cdid: Q102 *ced: A* *cdistric: JOLIETTE* *csd: ST-PAUL*
sic: 105 *sec: 5.01* *month: 12* *prop: F*
fixcap: 6000 *flocap: 200* *typepow: WATER* *force: 10*
empmen: 2 *empwom:* *empboy:* *empgirl:*
totemp: 2 *wages: 400* *avwage: 16.67 per worker/month*
sumrawc: 17500 *sumproc: 30000* *vadd: 12500*
rawmat1: GRAIN ASSORTIS runit1: MINOT rquant1: 28000 *rvalue1: 17500*
prod1: FARINE *punit1: QUINTAL* *pquant1: 12000* *pvalue1: 30000*

45 *proprior: SIBYL RYAN* *typeest: SAW MILL*
cdid: NB176 *ced: L-1* *cdistric: KING'S* *csd: STUDHOLM*
sic: 251 *sec: 5.08* *month: 5* *prop: F*
fixcap: 2500 *flocap: 1000* *typepow: WATER* *force: 15*
empmen: 3 *empwom:* *empboy:* *empgirl:*
totemp: 3 *wages: 450* *avwage: 30.00 per worker/month*
sumrawc: 1600 *sumproc: 2800* *vadd: 1200*
rawmat1: LOGS *runit1:* *rquant1: 4000* *rvalue1: 1600*
prod1: DEALS/BOARD/LATH punit1: BM pquant1: 400000 *pvalue1: 2800*

CANIND71 SAMPLE RECORDS: FEMALE PROPRIETORS

46 *proprior: JANE DARCH* *typeest: HARNESS FACTORY*

cdid: O010 *ced: A* *cdistric: LONDON* *csd: WARD NO 1*

sic: 179-S *sec: 5.04* *month: 12* *prop: F*

fixcap: 1000 *flocap: 1000* *typepow:* *force:*

empmen: 6 *empwom:* *empboy:* *empgirl:*

totemp: 6 *wages: 1800* *avwage: 25.00 per worker/month*

sumrawc: 2400 *sumproc: 9000* *vadd: 6600*

rawmat1: LEATHER runit1: LB *rquant1: 8000* *rvalue1: 2400*

prod1: HARNESSES/SADDLES punit1: pquant1: *pvalue1: 9000*

47 *proprior: WIDOW CHARLES TERREAU* *typeest: FONDERIE DE LA CANOTTERIE*

cdid: Q145 *ced: A-1* *cdistric: QUEBEC OUEST csd: ST-PIERRE*

sic: 307-S *sec: 5.13* *month: 12* *prop: F*

fixcap: 10000 *flocap: 6000* *typepow: STEAM* *force: 9*

empmen: 10 *empwom:* *empboy:* *empgirl:*

totemp: 10 *wages: 3200* *avwage: 26.67 per worker/month*

sumrawc: 6000 *sumproc: 13700* *vadd: 7700*

rawmat1: IRON,PIG runit1: TON *rquant1: 250* *rvalue1:*

rawmat2: COKE *runit2: CLDN* *rquant2: 50* *rvalue2:*

rawmat3: COAL *runit3: CLDN* *rquant3: 12* *rvalue3:*

prod1: STOVES *punit1:* *pquant1: 1250* *pvalue1:*

prod2: KETTLES *punit2:* *pquant2: 100* *pvalue2:*

48 *proprior: WIDOW RICHARDSON* *typeest: BRICK YARD*

cdid: Q105 *ced: C-5* *cdistric: MONTREAL EST csd: STE-MARIE*

sic: 351-B *sec: 5.17* *month: 6* *prop: F*

fixcap: 1500 *flocap: 500* *typepow: HORSE* *force: 2*

empmen: 6 *empwom:* *empboy:* *empgirl:*

totemp: 6 *wages: 1500* *avwage: 41.67 per worker/month*

sumrawc: 400 *sumproc: 3300* *vadd: 2900*

rawmat1: CLAY *runit1: LOAD* *rquant1: 1800* *rvalue1:*

rawmat2: SAND *runit2: LOAD* *rquant2: 600* *rvalue2:*

prod1: BRICK *punit1:* *pquant1: 600000* *pvalue1: 3300*

comments: Information by Widow Richardson herself; has the clay and sand on her own premises; 3 loads of clay and 1 load of sand for 1000 bricks

The sample records constitute under one per cent of all the establishments that reported female labour. They represent most of the main industry types in which women and girls were employed and are arranged in Standard Industrial Classification order. Establishments of all sizes are included in this selection. There are eleven of the 177 largest industrial employers of female labour in 1871, that reported at least 25 females and are listed in Appendix A-9. But only one of the 2,365 establishments in which only one female employee worked is included here. Ontario establishments are also somewhat under-represented, to make up for the emphasis already given to that province in earlier reports in this series.[31]

Though women and girls were responsible for food preparation in the home, they were not prominent in **food and beverage industries** generally in 1871. Grist and flour mills, breweries and distilleries, all very significant in 1871, employed virtually no female workers. In fish-processing, the Portland Packing Co of Lunenburg, Nova Scotia (Sample Record #1) represents 27 establishments that employed 132 women and 30 girls but about 160 other fish-processing units reported no female labour. The cheese factory of James Zavitz in Middlesex County, Ontario (#2) was one of 260 such establishments that reported female labour; another hundred cheese factories reported no women or girls. There were 43 other bakery and confectionery businesses in the same industry type as McCormick's biscuit and candy manufactory in London, Ontario (#3) that also employed women or girls, but 80 confectioner-bakers in Canada employed only men and boys.[32]

The **tobacco industry** used female labour intensively. McDonald's factory in Montreal (#4), with 148 women and 158 girls the largest employer in the industry, and Peniston's of Toronto (#5) were among 37 tobacco works that employed females, while 40 others used male labour only. Enterprises that used new industrial processes to fabricate "india rubber" into footwear, hoses and belting also depended on female labour. The Canadian Rubber Company in Ste-Marie Ward, Montreal, employed 250 women and 120 men while the new and smaller India Rubber Company (#6) of St-Pierre Ward, Quebec City, reported 64 women among its total workforce of 124.

Leather-working industries present a distinctive pattern of sex composition of the workforce. Men and boys remained dominant in tanning, saddlery and harness-making and the artisanal craft of boot- and shoe-making that were ubiquitous throughout the settled districts of Canada. Women and girls were employed in large numbers to operate stitching machines in the new shoe

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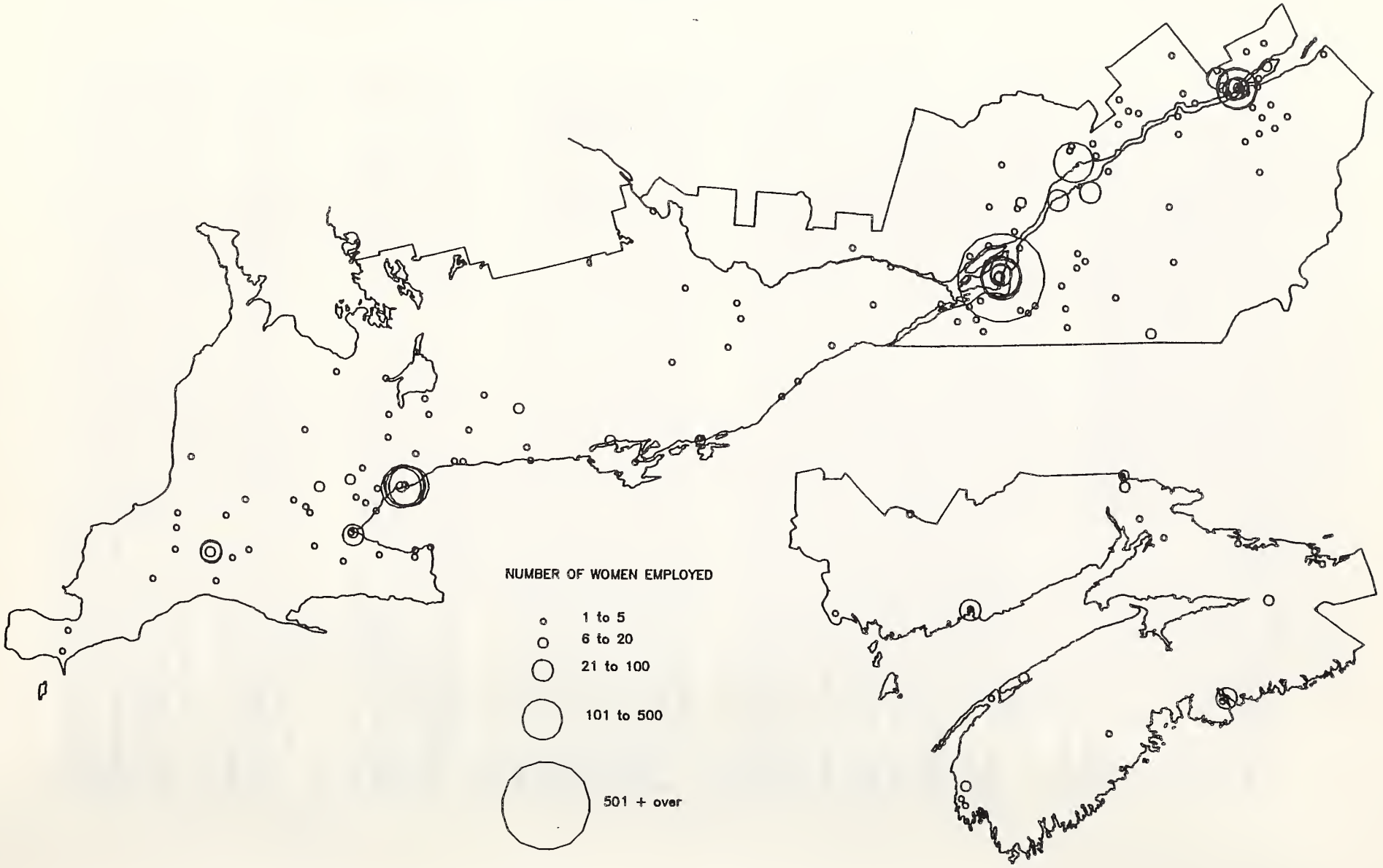
[31] For example, in Industrial Leaders: The Largest Manufacturing Firms in Ontario, 1871, #8 in the series, and The Hum of Industry: Millers, Manufacturers and Artisans of Wellington County, #9 in the series.

[32] Ian McKay found that the Halifax bakeries were "the bastion of the adult journeyman" in 1871 while men and women were more evenly balanced in confectionery (p.68). "Capital and Labour in the Halifax Baking and Confectionery Industry During the Last Half of the Nineteenth Century" in Essays in Canadian Business History, edited by Tom Traves (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1984).

Figure 6 NUMBERS OF WOMEN EMPLOYED IN LEATHER FOOTWEAR INDUSTRY, 1871, BY CSD
Central Canada and Maritime core regions



factories that used machinery for mass production of footwear, mainly in the largest cities (Figure 6).[33] Much smaller numbers of female workers were also engaged in the manufacture of gloves and other miscellaneous leather goods. Guillaume Bresse's shoe factory in Quebec City (#7), with 98 females among its total workforce of 206, ranked 14th among the 22 firms in this industry that employed at least 50 women and girls each. Montreal had fifteen of these large establishments, Toronto and Quebec City each had three and St John one. Middle-sized shoe manufacturers, like the Sydney Boot & Shoe Co (#8) with ten women among its total 37 workers, were more widespread in centres such as Hamilton, London, Halifax and in smaller centres such as St-Hyacinthe, Sorel, Trois-Rivières, Guelph, Belleville, Peterborough, Truro and Moncton.

The making of footwear in materials other than leather is grouped in the Standard Industrial Classification with leather industries. A group of twelve enterprises that employed women embroidering felt slippers was recorded by the census enumerator of Rivière du Loup in the Maskinongé district of Quebec. The "atelier de broderie" of Dame A. Caron (#8a) reproduced here was one of 12 such "establishments" that in all reported employing 409 women in making 77,135 pairs of embroidered slippers valued at $16,445. The number of months worked was not stated but it is probable that the women named as proprietors were acting as agents and organizers of other women who sewed in their homes.

Textile and knitting industries, like leather, comprised both small-scale handicrafts and large-scale factory production in 1871 and women and girls were active in both forms. The production of cotton goods was almost all concentrated in factories, in which women and girls formed a majority of the workforce. Peter Wood's cotton mill (#9) in Ste-Anne's Ward, Montreal was one of six that employed women and girls in Canada and females made up two-thirds of the total workforce in this type of industry. Other significant cotton mills were at Merritton and Dundas in Ontario and in St John, New Brunswick.

Woollen mills that used powered machinery to make cloth were far more numerous than cotton mills and ranged from very large to quite small operations. Four of every five such mills captured in the CANIND71 database reported female workers. The Paton Manufacturing Company (#10) of Sherbrooke, Quebec ranked among the top five woollen mills in 1871 in terms

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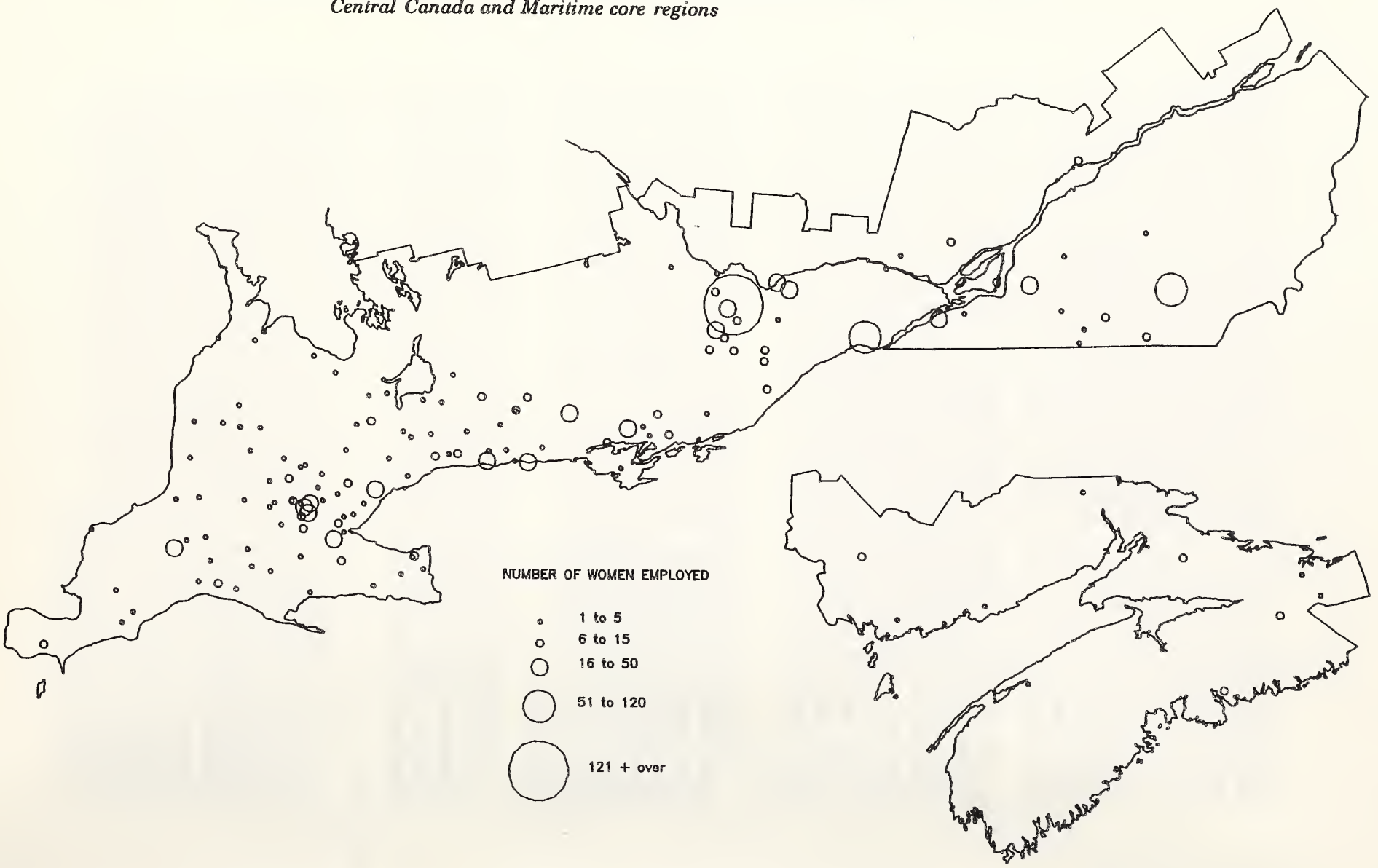
[33] The transition from craft to machine methods in the Montreal footwear industry has been surveyed by Joanne Burgess in "L'industrie de la chaussure, 1840-1870 - le passage de l'artisanat a la fabrique", Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française 31 (1977): 187-210 and that in Toronto by G.S. Kealey in Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism, 1867-1892 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), chapter 3. The sex ratios of employees of footwear factories in the province of Quebec are considered in the context of changes in production processes in Jacques Ferland, "Les Chevaliers de Saint-Crépin du Québec, 1869-71: une étude en trois tableaux," Canadian Historical Review 72, 1 (1991): 36-38. The appendix to Ferland's article lists 30 of the 42 Quebec footwear establishments recorded in the 1871 manuscript census as employing at least 33 workers.

Figure 7 NUMBERS OF WOMEN EMPLOYED IN WOOLLEN MILLS, 1871, BY CSD
Central Canada and Maritime core regions



of output as well as female employment. The other four woollen mills that each employed over a hundred women or girls were all in Ontario -- the Rosamonds of Almonte, Randall Farr of Hespeler, the Cornwall Manufacturing Company, and the Barber Brothers of Streetsville (see Plate 2). Slingsby & Kitchen's more modest woollen mill (#11) in Ontario's Oxford County, with three women and one girl among its workforce of eleven, was more typical of most in this industry type in 1871. The concentration of most woollen mills in Ontario is illustrated in Figure 7, which also suggests how they were scattered through more rural districts and absent from the larger cities.[34]

The woollen textile industry included much smaller operations as well. Over 2,270 women were the **handloom weavers** that, as we have noted in Part 2, were generally excluded from the published tabulations of the 1871 Census. Some 1,290 of these were the businesses of self-employed women who worked on their own, such as Laticia Trickey (#12) in Ontario's Leeds County.[35] Another 170 weaving establishments that were headed by women employed at least one other woman or girl. In addition, there were 764 establishments for which a man was named as proprietor, that employed at least one woman or girl (120 of these had at least two female workers). In addition, the manuscript census also includes details of 45 women who worked alone as hand spinners and of 101 female hand knitters. Domestic weavers and spinners depended on the services of local **carding and fulling mills**, represented here by the mill of Belliveau & Godatt of Weymouth, Nova Scotia (#13). Female and male workers were employed in these mills in almost equal numbers.

Edwin Turner's **knitting mill** (#14) in Toronto Township, Peel County was the smallest of the five Ontario enterprises that used power-driven machinery. The others were the Ancaster Knitting Mill, James Simpson's mill in Toronto and the two Paris enterprises of John Penman and Adams & Hackland.[36]

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[34] Several of the largest textile mills identified in 1871 have been described in Felicity Leung, Catalogue of Significant Extant Textile Mills Built in Canada Before 1940 (Report to the Historic Sites and Monuments Board, 1986). Some details on the employment of women and girls are provided incidentally for the 24 woollen, cotton or knitting mills that are described in detail.

[35] For an analysis of domestic weaving in Leeds South, see Janine Roelens and Kris Inwood, "Labouring at the Loom: A Case Study of Rural Manufacturing in Leeds County, Ontario, 1870," in Canadian Papers in Rural History, Volume VII, edited by Donald H. Akenson (Gananoque: Langdale Press, 1990) pp. 215-236. A more general discussion of domestic weaving in this period is presented in Janine Grant and Kris Inwood, "Gender and Organization in the Canadian Cloth Industry, 1870," in Canadian Papers in Business History, Volume I, edited by Peter Baskerville (Victoria: The Public History Group, University of Victoria, 1989): 17-31.

[36] The social relationships of female and male workers in the Penmans mills in Paris have been studied in depth, mainly for the first half of the twentieth century in Joy Parr, The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950 and "Rethinking Work and Kinship in a Canadian Hosiery Town, 1910-1950," Feminist Studies 13 (1987): 137-162.

Clothing industries spanned a wide range of specific types that included hoop skirts and corsets, fur goods, hats and millinery as well as general clothing for men, women and children. Women and girls made up the greater part of the workforce in almost all types of clothing establishments except for some 400 all-male tailor shops and a few other specialized establishments making hats and fur goods. The distribution of women employed in the clothing industries (Figure 8) reflects both the large clothing manufactories in the major cities and the small dressmaking and tailor shops in every town and village. Girls (Figure 9) tended to be more concentrated in the larger centres.

Dressmaking and millinery gave women more opportunities than most other industry types to run their own businesses and employ other workers. Over 900 clothing establishments were headed by female proprietors in 1871. One in three of these was one-woman shop but one in nine had at least six female employees. Betsy and Georgiana St Pierre's dressmaking and millinery shop in Levis (#18) represents the 245 such establishments in Canada in 1871 in which two women worked together, often as sisters or in mother-daughter partnerships. Some 24 female proprietors of clothing shops also employed men, as Margaret Stewart (#16) did in St John and Adelaide Vervais (#17) did in Longueuil.

However, for every female worker in a clothing shop headed by a woman, there were four employed in clothing establishments run by men. Altogether, the 1,212 clothing businesses headed by male proprietors accounted for over 10,100 women and girls. Ten of these reported employing at least one hundred women or girls each, and another 62 clothing firms reported between 25 and 99 female workers each. The ten largest businesses included six in Montreal, three in Toronto and one in Hamilton. Three of the ten large enterprises made straw hats and two made fur hats, mitts etc; the other five produced mainly men's coats, pants and vests. O'Brien & Co (#15) ranked 8th among the clothing businesses that employed women in 1871, George Barker (#21) ranked 9th (see Appendix A-9).

Proprietors of substantial businesses making clothing were often called **"wholesale clothiers"** or **"merchant tailors"**. Because of the way in which such an entrepreneur organized his business, we cannot be absolutely sure that all the employees and the value of output he may have reported are true for the specific location. From other contemporary sources, we know that various aspects and stages of clothing manufacture were put out by entrepreneurs. Hollis Shorey, clothing manufacturer of Montreal, replied to the question by members of an 1874 parliamentary Select Committee as to the number he employed in that year:

> *I hardly know. I had a foreman some time ago who said that I employed 600 or 700 hands. I did not believe it then but at the present time I daresay I employ 700 hands or upwards. Between 700 and 1000. A greater part do the work outside. I employ 70 to 100 hands inside who prepare the work to go out, fixing canvas, etc, to be taken out and made.*

Figure 8 NUMBERS OF WOMEN EMPLOYED IN CLOTHING INDUSTRY, 1871, BY CSD
Central Canada and Maritime core regions

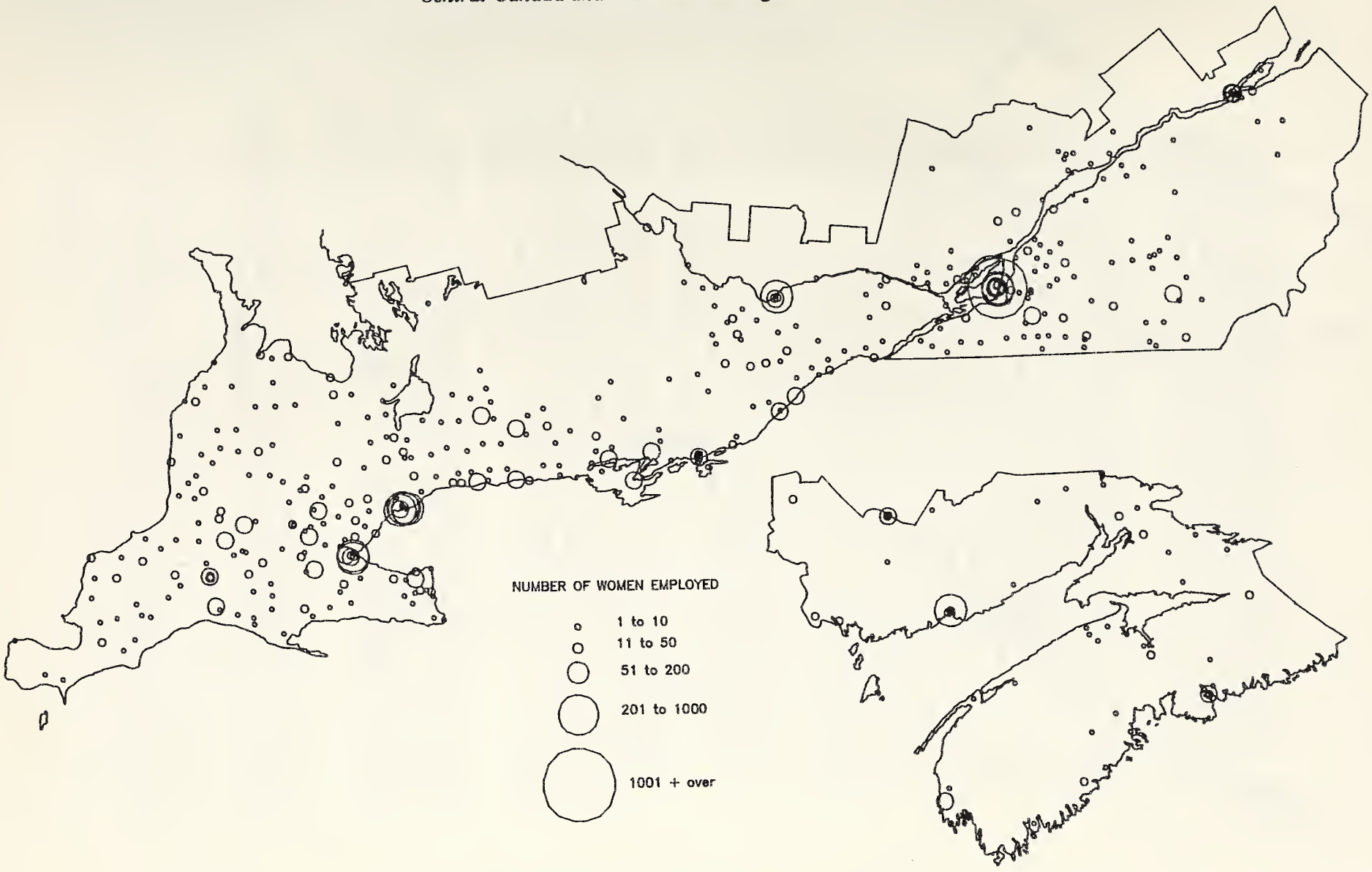
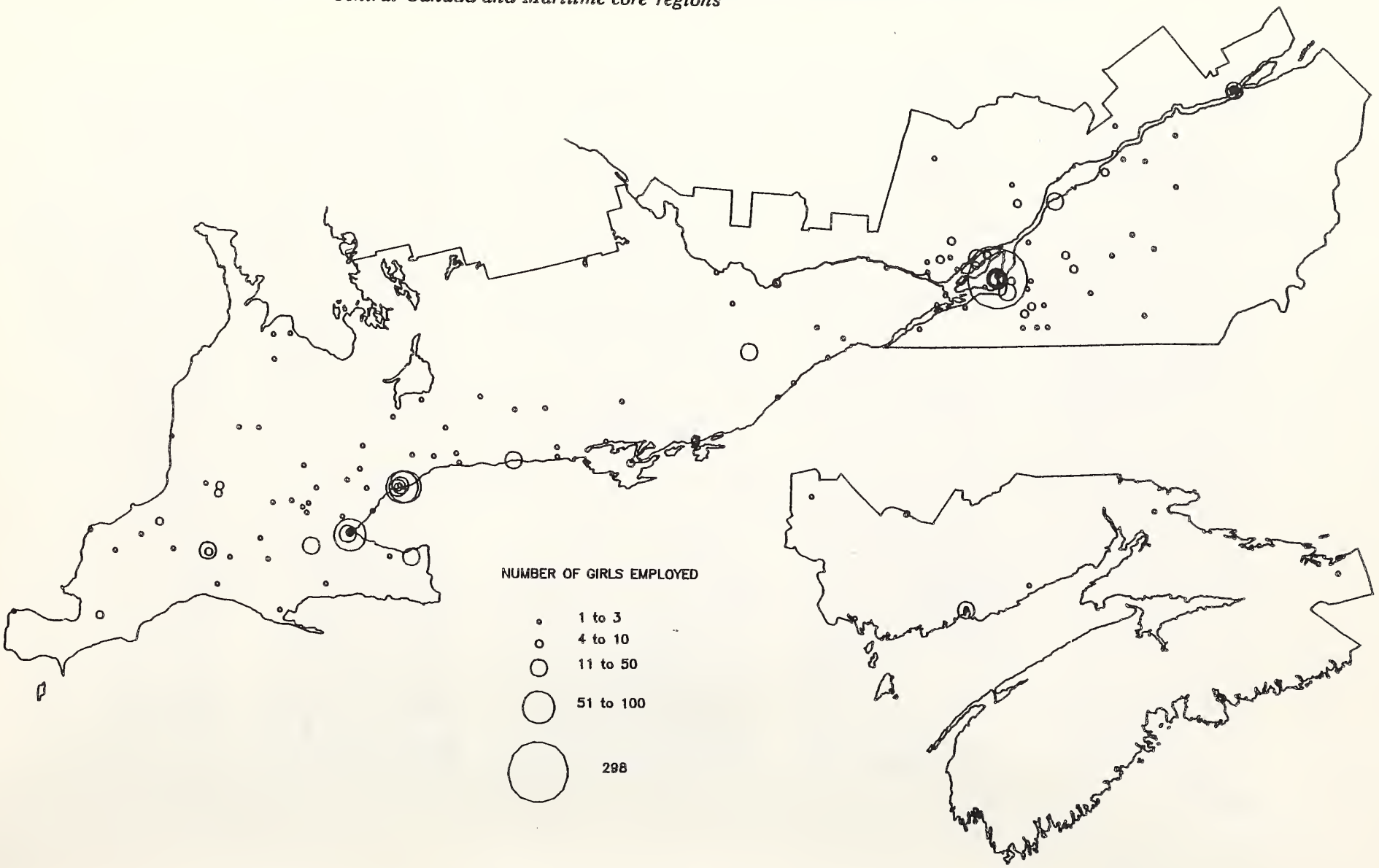


Figure 9 NUMBERS OF GIRLS EMPLOYED IN CLOTHING INDUSTRY, 1871, BY CSD
Central Canada and Maritime core regions



It is made outside. We don't know how many hands work at it. In one place they make from 100 to 150 pants a week. We only know one woman but don't know how many she employs... She employs ... generally women. We have men generally employed on black coats and the like. They work for retail tailors and work for us in the slack season.[37]

In the 1871 manuscript census, Shorey's establishment was reported to employ 20 men, 205 women and 75 girls making costs, pants and vests. It is hard to tell whether the census figures include women and girls who worked at other locations, in sweatshops or at home. According to the census instructions, only the industrial activity actually carried on there should have been reported at each place visited by an enumerator. Middlemen responsible for sweatshops employing groups of sewing women and women sewing at home in ones and two should each have reported separately. W.E. Sanford of Hamilton, head of Ontario's largest clothing business that reported 350 females and 105 males in the 1871 census, told the 1874 select committee that 75 per cent of one thousand employees were women, most working "at their own homes". William Muir of Montreal, identified in the Select Committee report as a "wholesale dealer in clothing" and in the R.G. Dun handbook for 1871 as "wholesale clothier" reported that 700 to 1,000 were employed "in [his] establishment" and then explained:

Our class of labor is peculiar. We employ a large number of women who live in their own homes. These women sit down when their breakfast, dinner and supper is over, and make a garment, but are not exclusively employed at this work all day.[38]

R.W. Cowan's hatter-furrier business in Montreal (#22) represents a substantial group of middle-sized clothing establishments that were headed by men and employed women. Women who worked involuntarily in prison and workhouse settings were also counted in the census and are represented here by the Female Department of the Kingston Penitentiary (#19). In another example, the Montreal Protestant House of Refuge, 62 "poor widows" were employed in sewing clothes.

Industries processing and fabricating wood, metals, non-metallic minerals and chemicals and making machinery generally employed large numbers of men and boys in 1871 and very few women or girls. The sample records in these industry groups are not intended to be representative of female industry activity so much as to suggest the range of settings in which some women and girls found work.

E.B. Eddy's saw mill and match and pail factory at Hull, Quebec (#22) reported the largest number of female employees in any wood-processing enterprise, with the 140 girls mainly occupied in the match production division

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[37] Canada. House of Commons. "Report of Select Committee appointed to enquire into and report to the House on the extent and condition of the Manufacturing Interests of the Dominion" Journal (1874) Appendix 3, p.23.

[38] ibid. p. 36.

of the business. But there were 199 other establishments in this sector that employed at least one woman or girl. Robert Hay employed 50 women in his Toronto **furniture** factory, by far the largest in any Canadian furniture factory. But there were 50 other furniture establishments that reported female workers, such as William Drum's factory in Quebec City (#23).

The manufacture of **paper products** was a small sector in 1871 that used female labour. Thirty-five paper producers reported female employees. At Alexandre Bautin's Beauharnois mill (#24), the second largest paper producer in Canada, nearly half the workers were female, a somewhat higher proportion than at Riordan's larger mills at Merritton, Ontario. Women and girls tended to outnumber male workers in the small number of urban businesses that made products such as envelopes, wallpaper, and paper bags, boxes and collars.

Printing establishments generally used female labour for only 17 per cent of their workforce. Newspaper and job printing establishments that were located in most towns and villages depended on male workers. But the female proportion was higher in specialized processes such as bookbinding, usually concentrated in the larger cities. James Campbell's Toronto publishing business (#26) reported 90 women among its total workforce of 126; other large enterprises in this line such as Hunter Rose and A. Dredge & Co of Toronto and John Lovell of Montreal had similar female proportions. Women and girls made up nearly half the labour in Canada's only bank note engraving establishment, Smillie Bourne & Co of Ottawa (#25).

Throughout the range of **metals and machinery industries**, female employees were few. The examples reproduced here are included more to illustrate the variety of industries in which women and girls worked in 1871 rather than because they were typical. Charles Palsgrave's Montreal Type Foundry (#27), with 15 women and 10 girls making printer's type materials, was among only six firms in the whole primary metals sector that reported female workers. Women and girls in metal fabricating or machinery businesses such as the Canada Screw Company in Dundas (#28) or Eastwood & Co's agricultural implement factory (#29) were rare, but 30 other such businesses in these sectors reported female workers. Lockman Wilson Bowman's sewing machine factory (#30) newly established in Fergus, Ontario, was the only enterprise in this line to employ more than one female worker.

Women workers were scarce in the **transportation equipment** sector as well, being employed in only 47 of the total 3,760 establishments. The largest number of 40 women was reported by the Grand Trunk Railway shops at Point St-Charles in Montreal.

Few women or girls laboured in brick or lime kilns, but 47 establishments in the **non-metallic minerals** sector reported some female labour, especially in Quebec. A notable example was the Flint glassware works of St Lawrence Glass Co in Hochelaga where six women worked. Four women and three girls were employed by W. & D. Bell in making drainage tiles and pipes just outside Quebec City.

Over 60 firms in the **chemical industries** group had female employees. Most manufacturers of patent medicines such as Miller's Medical Hall (#31) in

Toronto or the City of St John Chemical Works (#32) reported up to six women workers each. Quite large numbers of young girls were employed in match factories, such as Joseph Belanger's small business (#33) at Beauport, Quebec.

Various other industrial activities and related services reported small numbers of female employees. Some 73 enterprises classified as **miscellaneous manufacturing** reported women and girls. Their products ranged from scientific and professional equipment, jewellery, toys and sports equipment to such goods as buttons, brushes and brooms, tobacco pipes, oil cloth, false hair, umbrellas and musical instruments. Examples here include Emil Vogelsang's button factory (#34) in Berlin, Ontario, the brush factories of John Murphy in St John (#37) and Charles Ledoux in St-Hyacinthe (#38), the oil cloth works of Fortunat Martineau at Levis (#35), and the making of crinolines and false hair by Gutman & Co in Montreal (#36).

Forty **photographic** establishments were recorded in the 1871 Census as employing both women and girls. They ranged in scale from the large enterprises of Notman & Fraser (#41) in Montreal (with branches in Toronto and Ottawa) and of James Inglis of Montreal (with a branch in Hamilton) to small studios such as Helene Fortin's in Quebec City (#40). The Montreal Steam Laundry (#39) was the largest recorded in its line of business; "cleanliness" was the stated product of its 26 women workers. In another touch of whimsy that lightens the usual catalogue of commodities, the raw materials reported by Georges Desbarats, publisher of the Canadian Illustrated News (#42), included the "intelligence, art, energy" of the ten women and two girls employed there.

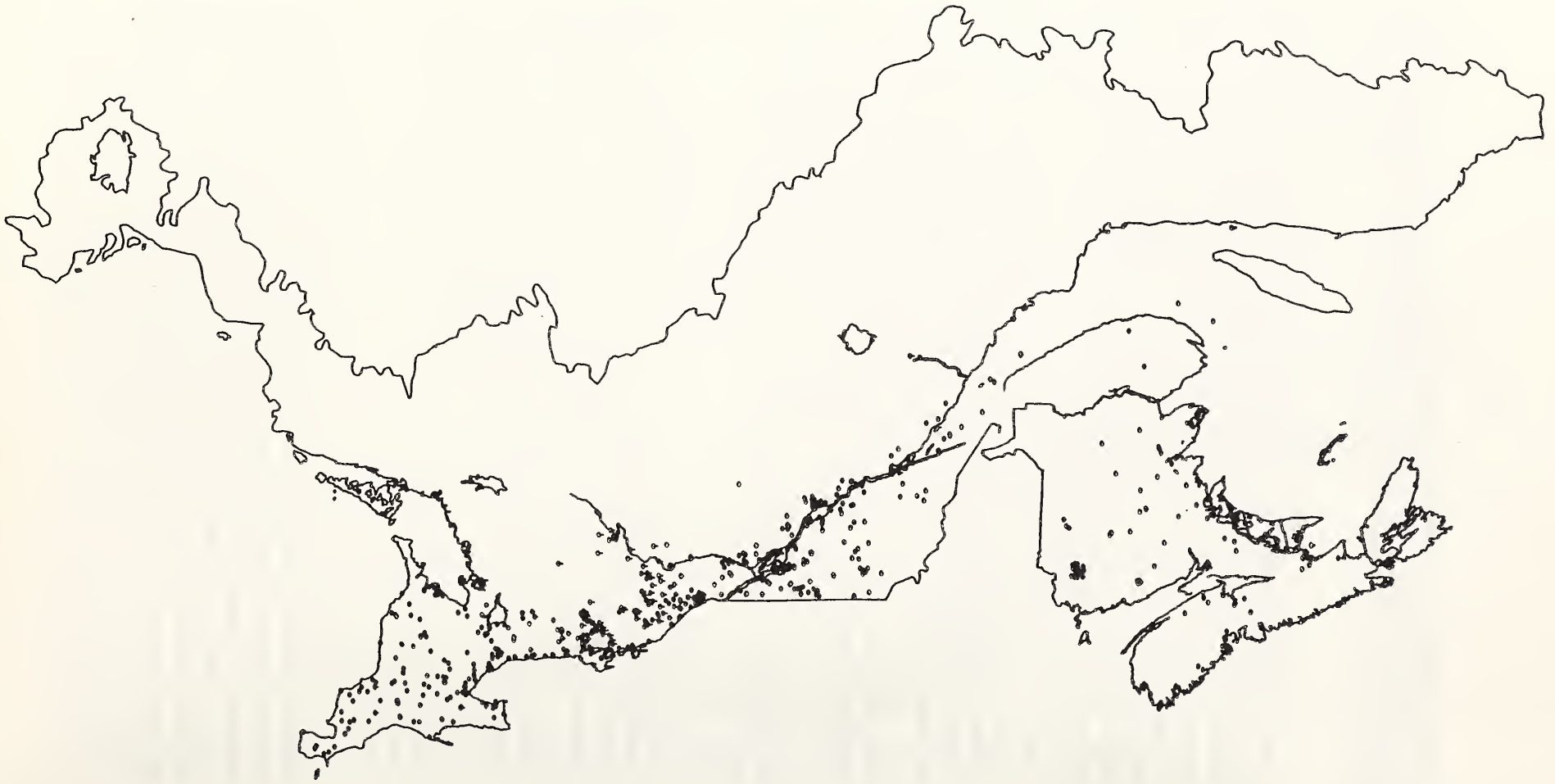
Female Proprietors

Appendix Table A-10 presents a summary of women and girls, men and boys employed in industrial establishments in 1871, classified according to the sex of the proprietor and the sex of the co-workers. Clearly, a large majority of women and girls worked in establishments headed by men, and staffed by mixed workforces. Nearly three in every four women workers and more than four in every five girls were reported in such industrial settings. Only a minority of women were counted in workplaces that were segregated by sex, in the sense that only female workers were employed there. Ten per cent of girls and 8.5 per cent of women counted in industrial employment were in all-female establishments headed by men, while 17 per cent of women and 11 per cent of girls were in female-headed workplaces.

Two in five of all the establishments that reported female workers in 1871 had a proprietor with a female name. As we have noted, most of these were either small clothing concerns that might employ two or three other women and girls, or hand weavers, spinners or knitters working on their own. About one hundred female proprietors employed at least six female workers, most of them in the clothing industries. Samples of these female-headed businesses have been included here, in the records of Laticia Trickey, Margaret Stewart, Adelaide Vervais, the St Pierres and Helene Fortin. The spatial distribution of female proprietors that employed at least two workers is shown in Figure 10.

Figure 10 LOCATION OF FEMALE PROPRIETORS EMPLOYING AT LEAST TWO WORKERS IN 1871

one dot per observation



But an interesting group of establishments headed by female proprietors in 1871 had only male employees and were in industry types that were clearly exceptional and non-traditional for women.[39] Some of these establishments were larger than the average in 1871, one in eight of them employing at least six male workers. In none of these cases was the named female proprietor included as an employee. In value of output, the largest enterprise headed by a woman in 1871 was Marianne Supple's saw mill in the village of Pembroke, Renfrew County, Ontario, in which 20 men and two boys were employed producing lumber valued at $150,000. Some women headed more than one industrial establishment. Esther Ennis of the hamlet of Ennisville, Drummond Township in Ontario's Lanark County, was named as proprietor of three establishments; the flour mill, saw mill, and oatmeal mill together employed 24 men and reported products worth $46,670.

Examples of enterprises headed by women but employing only men and boys are reproduced here in the final six sample records. Mary Ann Platt (#43) of Goderich, Ontario, named as proprietor of the Tecumseth Salt Works that employed 19 men to produce 50,000 barrels of salt in 1871, was the only female proprietor in this industry group. The widow of Joseph Beauregard (#44) in the Joliette district of Quebec was one of 39 women listed as proprietors of flour mills or other businesses in the food and drink sector. Sibyl Ryan's saw mill (#45) in King's County, New Brunswick, was one of 37 female-headed businesses in the wood products sector. Jane Darch of London, Ontario (#46) was one of 14 women running a leather goods business.[40] The widow of Charles Terreau in Quebec City (#47) was one of ten women named as proprietor of a metal products business, while the Widow Richardson's brick yard in Montreal (#48) was one of 15 establishments processing non-metallic minerals.

What these enterprises have in common is that they were apparently headed by widows or by wives acting for husbands who were absent or incapacitated.[41] Sometimes the census manuscripts tell us that a woman is a widow by using the title "widow" or "veuve" with the proprietor's name or by a poignant note in the Remarks column, such as "Mrs Troyer's husband you

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[39] The ability of women to run their own businesses, especially those of any size, depended in part on their legal rights. For an exploratory study of this topic, see Brian Young, "Getting Around Legal Incapacity: The Legal Status of Married Women in Trade in Mid-Nineteenth Century Lower Canada," in Canadian Papers in Business History, Volume I, edited by Peter Baskerville (Victoria: The Public History Group, University of Victoria, 1989): 1-16.

[40] Unlike some women named as proprietors in the census, Jane Darch of London remained active. The business was listed in her name in directories and the Dun reference books, and the corporate name Jane Darch & Sons was still visible atop a 6-storey building on London's Talbot Street in the 1980s.

[41] On the survival strategies of Montreal widows in the period, see Bettina Bradbury, "Surviving as a Widow in 19th-Century Montreal," Urban History Review 17, 3 (1989): 148-160; the author considers that, by 1870, widows less commonly continued their husband's craft than in earlier periods.

will observe was killed and no accurate account could be got."[42] In other cases, it is possible to ascertain this by examining the nominal schedules. Indeed, using both manuscript schedules as well as other contemporary primary sources, one may build up a composite vignette of any industrial establishment and its proprietor's family as in the following sketch of Jane Wissler.

After her husband Sem died in 1865, Jane Robertson Wissler of Salem in Nichol Township, Ontario, continued to run the tannery and saw mill that he had established, as well as a general store and various other business ventures. In 1871, Jane Wissler was enumerated as head of a household consisting of two daughters and three sons, the youngest aged 6 having been born after Sem's death. The two eldest sons, John and Ezra, were married with their own households by 1871; by this time they were also able to take responsibility for some of the family enterprises. John and Ezra were described in the nominal census manuscripts as "merchants" and in a contemporary directory as also "dealers in dry goods, groceries, provisions and hardware". Jane Wissler was given no occupation in the nominal census schedule but was clearly stated to be the proprietor of the Salem Tannery and Salem Saw Mills on the industrial schedule. The saw mill employed two men for seven months of the year and reported output worth $5,000; the tannery employed seven men for the full year and produced leather valued at $9,000.[43]

To what extent were women and girls employed in industrial occupations that used the skills they learned and practised in domestic work? Certainly, many female industrial jobs in 1871 were in various aspects of clothing and in hand weaving, spinning and knitting. A significant part of such work was actually done at home or managed part-time in association with domestic responsibilities. In other sectors, such as baking and the manufacture of footwear, there were there were definite exceptions. Traditionally, women had baked bread and prepared other food in the home, but they did not predominate in the commercial forms of these activities. The converse was true for the making of boots and shoes. men had traditionally been the artisans that made and mended boots and shoes, but women and girls constituted an essential part, and sometimes the majority, of the workforce in the footwear factories established in the larger cities by 1871.

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[42] Record for Mrs Troyer's sawmill in Vaughan Township, York County, Ontario -- Census District 44, CED B-3; #12224 in CANIND71 database (microfilm reel C-9967).

[43] Information about Jane Wissler's household and industrial establishments has been derived from the 1871 census manuscripts (Census District 34: Census Sub-District C, microfilm C-9946) schedules 1 and 6; A.O. Loomis and Company, Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Wellington, 1871-2 (reprinted Wellington County Museum 1976); and a scrapbook entitled "History of the Wisslers of Salem" held by the Wellington County Archives (MU 103). Sem Wissler's estate was not settled until 1887, when the youngest of his children came of age. The manuscript census also lists Jane's son, Henry Wissler, as proprietor of a steam-powered cloth factory which was "not in operation" when the census was taken in April 1871.

More research, sector by sector and using other primary sources as well, could address the questions of female employment in particular kinds of industrial jobs in this period. Explaining the industrial work of women and children in terms of cheap labour is an attractive hypothesis. It is supported in contemporary primary sources such as the evidence before the House of Commons Select Committee on the Manufacturing Interests of the Dominion (1874) or that collected by the Royal Commission on the Relations between Labor and Capital (1886-9). It is also consistent with the ideas expressed by Samuel, in relation to England, and by Laurie and Schmitz for Philadelphia that, at an early stage of industrialization, women and children might have been substituted for investment in machine technology and perhaps as an alternative to more expensive male labour. The typology of industrial workplaces presented in the next section provides a context for exploring such concepts.

The CANIND71 database can be used to calculate average wages for establishments that used only men or only women. This is necessary as the wage bill was not differentiated for each age-sex group in the census record for each establishment; there are, however, relatively few segregated workplaces. A clear wage differential is evident in those industry groups where calculations are possible. For example, in leather-working, the average monthly wage of a man in a small shop employing one to five men was $19.56 while a woman would earn an average $8.85. In somewhat larger establishments, the differential was greater: men in leather-working establishments employing 6-25 workers each received an average $21.81, while a woman in an equivalent shop received only $7.49 per month. In clothing establishments, a similar pattern is evident. A man in a tailoring shop with one to five men employed received $21.37; a woman in a dressmaker's shop with one to five women employed earned only an average $9.07. A man in a clothing shop with 6-25 men employed was paid an average $28.56 while a woman in the same size of female shop received an average $9.15. Similar calculations might be used to compare wage levels in different regions and cities.

5 INDUSTRIAL WORK ENVIRONMENTS OF WOMEN AND GIRLS

In what sorts of industrial work environments or workplace settings were Canadian women and girls employed in 1871? It is easy generally to describe Canadian industrial establishments in 1871 as small and dependent on hand power. The average establishment had 4.4 workers and, while the largest employed nearly one thousand, more than 45 per cent of all establishments reported only one worker. Only one in four establishments used inanimate forms of power such as water wheels or steam engines.[44]

However, detailed analysis of the CANIND71 database reveals a much more complex pattern of various sizes and types of establishments, from artisanal craftshops using hand power only to factories with machinery powered by water or steam and integrated work processes. This finding generally supports Raphael Samuel's concept of "concurrent phases of capitalist growth" in which workplaces of all sizes and degrees of sophistication co-existed.[45] Earlier interpretations of the industrialization process, that postulated the traditional craftsman confronted and abruptly displaced by the modern factory, have been modulated by an awareness of the variable paths of development followed by different industrial sectors.[46]

The typology of **work environments** or **workplaces** that we have developed for use with the CANIND71 database combines measures of the scale of operation with the extent to which non-manual power was used in the industrial process.[47] A basic distinction is drawn between workplaces with no inanimate power (represented on the left side of Figure 11 and other diagrams

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[44] See also Water Wheels and Steam Engines: Powered Establishments of Ontario, #2 in this series, and Patterns of Canadian Industry in 1871: An Overview Based on the First Census of Canada, #12 in the series, pp. 31-37.

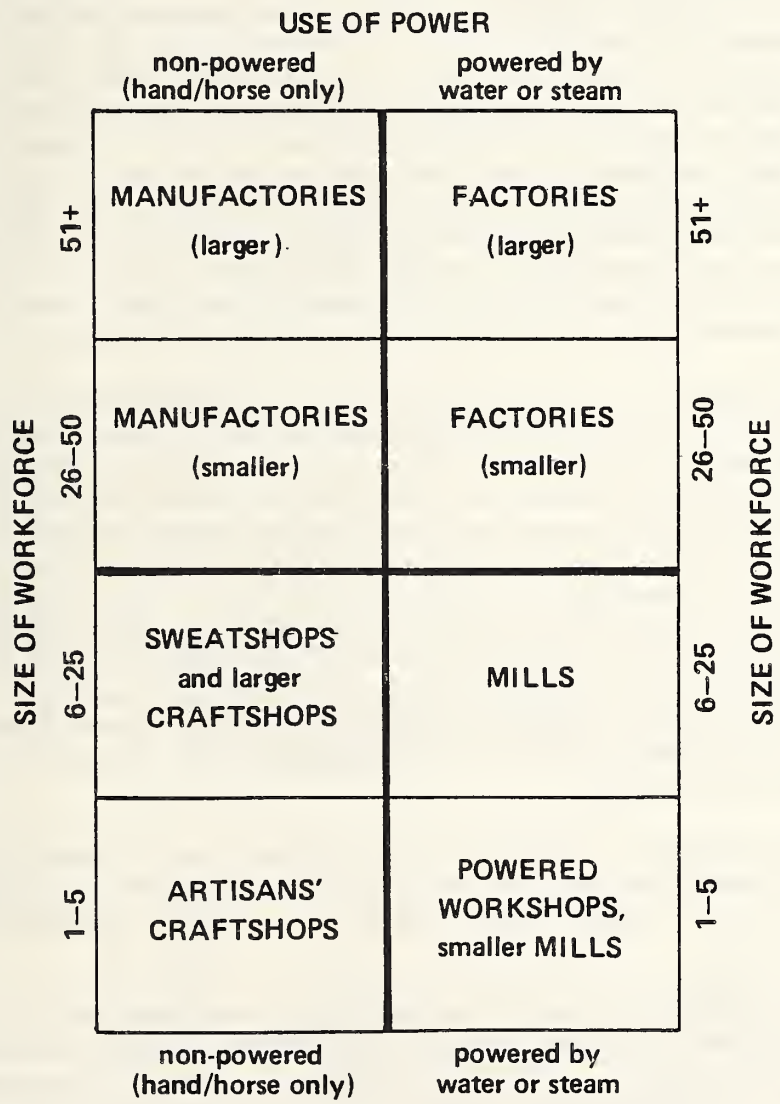
[45] Raphael Samuel, "The Workshop of the World: Steam Power and Hand Technology in Mid-Victorian Britain", History Workshop Journal 3 (1977): 6-72.

[46] For general discussion of this theme, see Bloomfield and Bloomfield, The Ontario Urban System at the Onset of the Industrial Era, #3 in this series (1989): 27-35.

[47] The typology was inspired by the essay by Bruce Laurie and Mark Schmitz, "Manufacture and Productivity: The Making of an Industrial Base, Philadelphia, 1850-1880," in T. Hershberg, ed. Philadelphia: Work, Space, Family and Group Experience in the Nineteenth Century (New York, 1981): 43-92. Ian McKay used size of output in classifying workplaces in "Capital and Labour in the Halifax Baking and Confectionery Industry During the Last Half of the Nineteenth Century," Labour/Le Travailleur 3 (1978): 63-70. For applications of the typology of work environments to Canada in 1871, see Bloomfield and Bloomfield, The Hum of Industry: Millers, Manufacturers and Artisans of Wellington County, #9 in this series, and Patterns of Canadian Industry in 1871: An Overview Based on the First Census of Canada, #12 in the series.

in this section) and workplaces powered by water or steam (right side). Work environments are further categorized as to the size of their workforces, producing four size classes: 1-5 workers, 6-25 workers, 26-50 workers, and 51 or more workers. Powered establishments with at least 26 workers are called **factories**, while **manufactories** are non-powered workplaces with at least 26 workers. Smaller powered establishments are called **mills** if they had from six to 25 workers, **powered craftshops** if they had five or fewer workers.

Figure 11: Typology of work environments, 1871



Workplaces using only hand or horse power are called **artisans' craftshops** if they employed 5 or fewer. Slightly larger **craftshops** employed between 6 and 25 workers using hand power only; these were called **sweatshops** by Laurie and Schmitz in the Philadelphia context though they acknowledged that the term presented some definitional problems. **Outworkers**, who toiled at home under the putting-out system, would be included in this typology with the artisans' craftshops, from which it is hard to distinguish them on census manuscript evidence alone. We should remember, however, that the terms used here to describe the eight types of workplace do not necessarily match contemporary usage when factories, manufactories and shops were generic terms that could be used interchangeably for all sizes and types of establishment.[48]

This typology of work environments has been used in compiling Tables 10 to 13 and in the workplace diagrams that can illustrate more graphically the contrasts between male and female or urban and rural workplaces, as they also varied regionally (Figures 12 to 18). The combination of workplace environments for a given province, city, or ward or for a specific group of workers is represented as a "wheel" graph according to the following rationale. Small workplaces symbolized in the lower half of each wheel are distinguished from the larger workplaces in the upper half, in the four size classes: 1-5 workers, 6-25, 26-50, and 51 and over. Powered workplaces on the right of each graph are distinguished from those using no inanimate power on the left. Eight types of work environments are thus distinguished. Percentages of all industrial workers in a region or city are calculated for each type of workplace and then represented by arcs with radii drawn proportional in length.

In interpreting all these tables and diagrams, we note that "female" includes both women and girls, "male" includes both men and boys. When females are counted as employed in workplaces of various sizes, they did not necessarily constitute the whole workforce in each case. Thus an artisanal establishment may have employed one man and one woman, perhaps husband and wife. One woman and one girl working in a powered shop that also employed ten men and boys would be classified as in a powered workshop in the 6-25 size-class. Woollen mills usually employed men, women, boys and girls in slightly different processes; thirty women and six girls in a textile mill employing a total of 80 would be classified as working in a large factory of at least 51 employees. So would the lone woman employed in a very large engineering concern such as the Great Western Railway's shops in Hamilton where there were also nearly one thousand male workers.

Artisanal craftshops, manufactories and factories can be identified in virtually all industry groups in 1871, when one considers the overall structure of Canadian industry without regard to the sex of the workers. In textiles and

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[48] The CANIND71 database preserves the natural language used by the census enumerators to describe the types of industrial establishments that they found on their rounds in April 1871 (in the TYPEEST variable). The rationale is explained in CANIND71 Manual/Manuel (1991). For guides to the natural language used in the census, see Glossary of Industrial Language (Research Report #5, 1989) and French-English Dictionary of Industrial Language (Research Report #6, 1989).

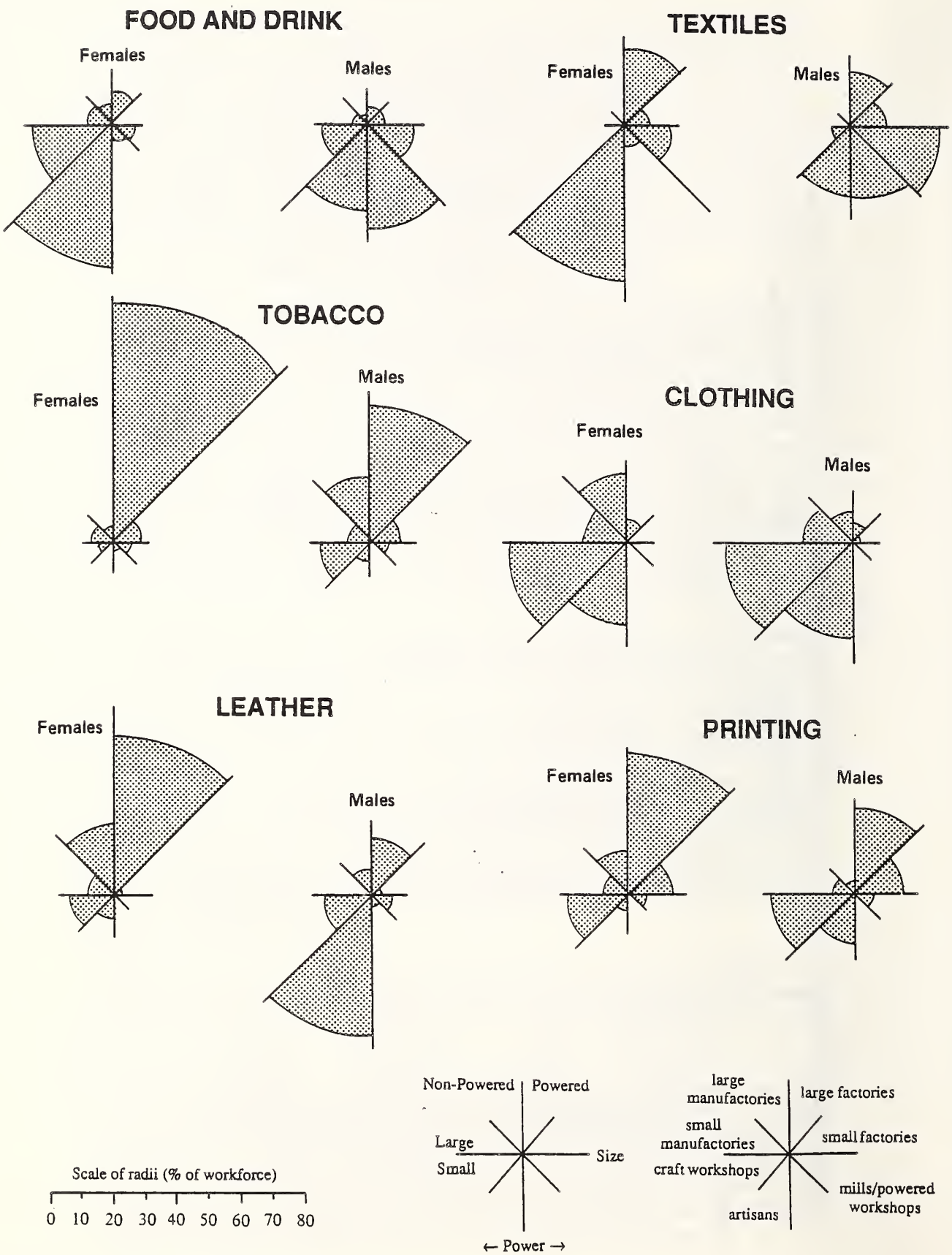
Table 10

DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS BY WORK ENVIRONMENTS AND MAJOR INDUSTRY GROUPS, 1871: (percentages)

		hand-powered				subtot	powered by water/steam				subtot
FIRM SIZE		1-5	6-25	26-50	51+		1-5	6-25	26-50	51+	
SECTOR											
1	Agrc services						100				100
2	Forestry	100				100					
4	Mines, salt wells							100			100
5.01	Foods/beverages	43.2	25.1	5.6	4.1	78.2	4.1	5.9	1.4	10.4	21.8
5.02	Tobacco	0.6	1.7	5.8	3.6	11.7	0.1	4.2	9.0	75.0	88.3
5.03	Rubber						0.3			99.7	100
5.04	Leather	5.4	12.3	8.0	21.2	46.9		0.8	1.3	51.0	53.1
5.05	Textiles	49.5	1.2	1.0		51.7	4.1	13.4	7.9	22.9	48.3
5.06	Knit/hosiery	24.9	5.9	10.2		41.0		0.7	5.0	53.4	59.0
5.07	Clothing	24.3	35.5	13.4	20.6	93.8			0.2	6.0	6.2
5.08	Wood	18.3	9.4			27.7	3.7	13.4	6.4	48.9	72.3
5.09	Furniture	7.2	11.4	9.3		27.9	2.1	2.5	13.1	54.4	72.1
5.10	Paper	3.5	3.3			6.8		16.3	22.8	54.1	93.2
5.11	Printing	2.7	18.5	7.2	12.5	40.9		2.0	12.2	44.9	59.1
5.12	Primary metal	2.8			69.4	72.2		16.7	2.8	8.3	27.8
5.13	Metal fabricatg	7.3	27.6			34.9		7.3	20.3	37.4	65.0
5.14	Machinery	14.0				14.0	7.0	11.6	7.0	60.5	86.1
5.15	Transport.equpmt	19.4	26.9	8.3		54.6	0.9	1.9	1.9	40.7	45.4
5.17	Non-metal.mins	17.3	67.3			84.6		2.9	6.7	5.8	15.4
5.18	Fuels								100		100
5.19	Chemicals	14.2	34.8	3.5		52.5	0.6	10.1	4.3	32.5	47.5
5.20	Miscell.mfg	28.6	18.3	18.3		65.2		4.2	29.4	1.1	34.8
6.00	Construction	100				100					
7.00	Utilities										
8.00	Trade/repair	100									
10.00	Services	50.5	19.0		5.7	75.2			24.8		24.8
ALL INDUSTRIES		24.0	20.9	8.5	13.4	66.8	1.0	3.9	3.6	24.7	33.2

Source: Compiled from CANIND71 database.

Figure 12 *INDUSTRIAL WORK ENVIRONMENTS BY INDUSTRY GROUP*



paper, as in primary metals and machinery, over 90 per cent of the employees were in powered establishments, and at least 60 per cent in factories of over 26 workers. Wood-processing (mainly saw and shingle mills) had proportions which were nearly as high. The dominance of large, powered establishments in these sectors may be contrasted with the mix of non-powered workplaces in some other industry groups. Manufactories, not powered but with at least 26 workers, were significant workplaces in the making of clothing (31 per cent), tobacco products (25 per cent), and boots and shoes (19 per cent). Artisanal shops, without power and with five or fewer workers, were most common in food and beverages (28 per cent), clothing (25 per cent), leather working including boots and shoes (38 per cent), metal fabricating (28 per cent), and predominated in services such as blacksmiths (95 per cent). Non-powered workplaces with between 6 and 25 workers, defined by Laurie and Schmitz as sweatshops, may in some cases have been rather large artisanal craftshops. These workplaces were most common in clothing (36 per cent), but were also found in the tobacco, leather, printing, transportation equipment and miscellaneous sectors.[49]

When female workers are distinguished from males, we can see that they were more associated with certain kinds of workplaces. Table 10 summarizes the distribution of all employed women and girls through the various types of workplace in each major industry group. In the rubber, tobacco, knitgoods, paper, leather and printing sectors, large factories powered by water or steam were by far the most common workplaces for women and girls. Nearly half the female textile workers were hand weavers or spinners in domestic or very small workplaces, while about one in four worked in large, powered woollen or cotton mills with at least 50 other employees. The clothing sector, in which three of every four workers were female, was distributed through the four sizes of hand-powered workplace -- with one third in shops employing 6-25 workers, one quarter employing 5 or fewer, and one-fifth in the larger manufactories with at least 51 workers. Two of every three of the women employed in processing food and drink were in hand-powered shops with 25 or fewer workers. Large powered workplaces were the most common workplace for the small numbers of women and girls in the metal and machinery industries.

For six of the major industry groups, wheel graphs have been drawn to illustrate the similarities and differences in the workplaces of female and male workers (Figure 12). In the **food and drink** industries, small-scale workplaces were dominant for both males and females. Most female employees, however, worked in small establishments that used only hand power such as bakeries, confectionery shops and cheese factories, while nearly half the male workers in this sector were in powered workplaces such as flour and grist mills, breweries and distilleries.

Three of every four women and girls in the **tobacco** industry were in large, powered factories, like W.C. McDonald's in Montreal (#4 in the sample records) with a further 9 per cent in smaller factories such as Peniston's in Toronto

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[49] For analysis of the workplaces of the total industrial workforce in 1871, see Patterns of Canadian Industry in 1871: An Overview Based on the First Census of Canada (Research Report #12, 1990), pp. 37-46.

(#5). While large factories were the most important type of workplace for men and boys in the tobacco industry, male workers were also counted (and females were largely absent) in other kinds of work environments such as hand-powered workshops that made cigars.

In the **leather** industry, female and male employees were in contrasting types of workplaces. Over half of the women and girls in this industry worked in large powered footwear factories of Montreal, Toronto and Quebec City, like that of Guillaume Bresse (#7). Another fifth were in large manufactories using only hand power. Nearly half of the men and boys in the leather-working sector were in small hand-powered artisanal establishments, typically one-man boot and shoe shops and also small tanneries using horse power.

The **textile** industry comprised a distinctive combination of workplaces. There were all sizes of powered mills ranging from quite small carding and fulling mills, in which male employees predominated, up to the large, integrated mills producing woollen or cotton cloth in which women and girls were more common. Hand-weaving and hand-spinning in domestic settings or very small shops occupied half the females and one fifth of the males in the textile sector.

Clothing industries depended overwhelmingly on hand power and most were organized on a small scale. Male and female workers had more similar patterns of workplaces than in any other industry group. Seven of every ten males and six of every ten females in this sector worked in small tailor shops or dressmaking establishments with under 25 employees. Manufactories with larger numbers of workers employed one in three women and girls, one in four men and boys. (In some of these larger clothing establishments, a proportion of the stated employees may actually have been outworkers, as noted in the previous section).

In the **printing** industry, the workplaces of girls and women were larger and more commonly powered than those of boys and men. Men and boys staffed the small newspaper and job printing establishments found in very village and town while women and girls were employed mainly in book binding by a few major publishers in the larger cities.

In Table 11 the proportions of male and female workers in the eight basic types of workplace are summarized for Canada as a whole and then distinguished for **rural Canada** and **urban Canada** (see also Figure 13). Women and girls tended to work in smaller and non-powered workplaces than men and boys, and this difference was more marked in rural districts than in urban centres. For Canada as a whole, powered factories with at least 51 employees and artisanal shops with five or fewer workers each accounted for nearly one quarter of all women and girls in paid industrial work. But the breakdown into rural and urban shows that over half the women and girls in rural industry were in small artisanal shops with five or fewer workers.

In contrast, the most common type of industrial workplace for urban women and girls was the large factory with a workforce of at least 51, followed by the craft workshop or sweatshop employing 6-25. Women and girls in urban centres were more than twice as likely as their country cousins to be employed in large factories powered by water or steam and with at least 50 fellow

Table 11
Distribution of workers by sex in rural and urban work environments, 1871

	Canada Total		Rural Canada		Urban Canada	
	female %	male %	female %	male %	female %	male %
Work Environment						
Non-Powered						
Artisans (1-5 emp)	24.0	27.8	52.6	36.4	11.9	17.2
Craftshops (6-25 emp)	20.9	12.2	11.8	6.9	24.7	18.7
Manufactories (26-50 emp)	8.5	3.3	2.3	2.1	11.1	4.7
Manufactories (>51 emp)	13.4	3.7	4.0	2.2	17.4	5.7
Sub-Total	66.8	47.0	70.7	47.6	65.1	46.3
Powered						
Mills/workshops (1-5 emp)	1.0	10.2	3.2	16.6	0.1	2.4
Mills/workshops (6-25 emp)	3.9	13.1	7.8	14.4	2.2	11.5
Factories (26-50 emp)	3.6	7.3	4.2	5.9	3.4	8.9
Factories (>51 emp)	24.7	22.5	14.1	15.6	29.2	30.9
Sub-Total	33.2	53.0	29.3	52.5	34.9	53.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

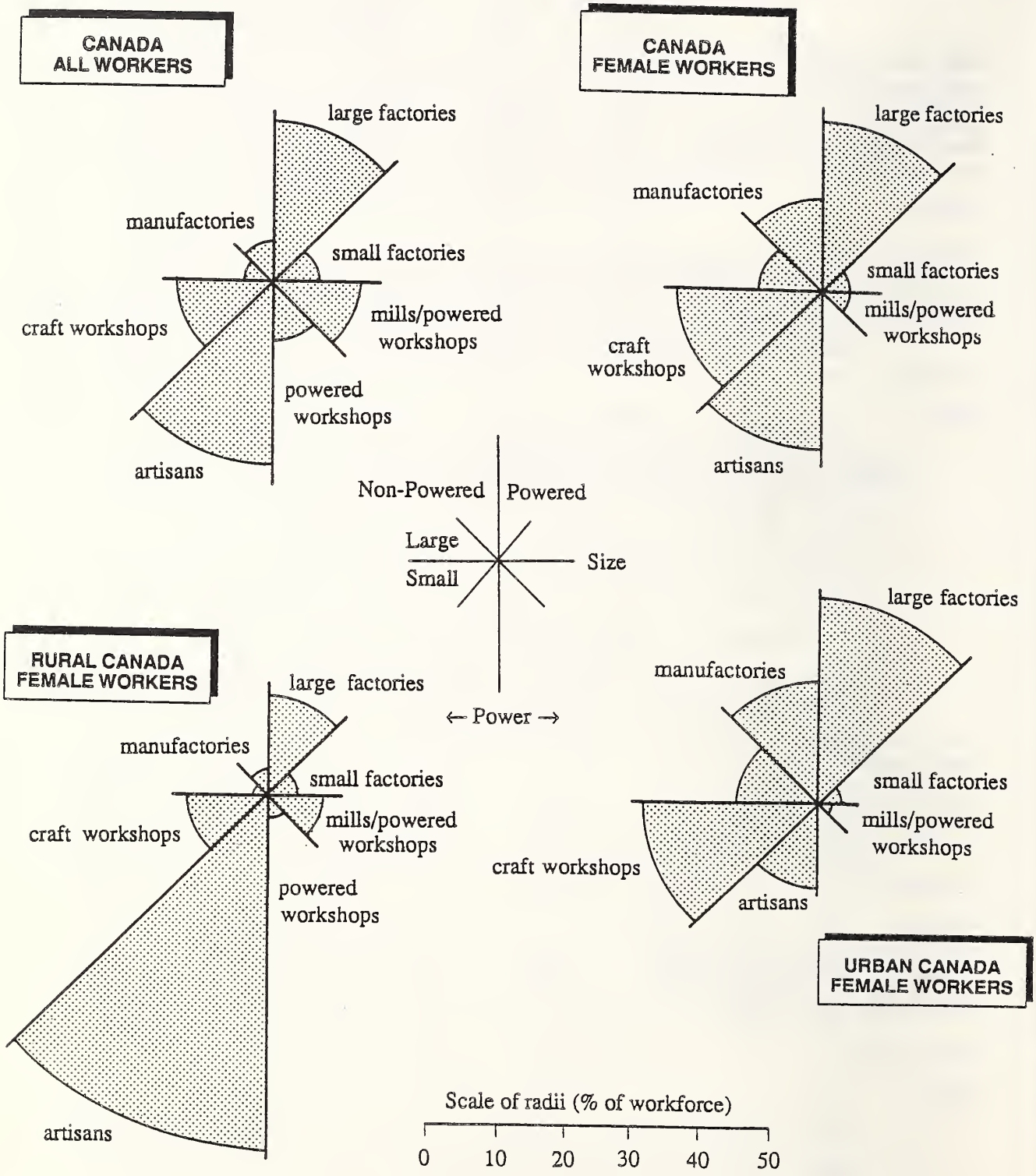
Source: compiled from CANIND71 database

Table 12
Distribution of female workers in work environments Canada and provinces, 1871

	Canada %	Ontario %	Quebec %	NBrunswick %	NScotia %
Work Environment					
Non-Powered					
Artisans (1-5 emp)	24.0	31.3	14.3	41.5	19.9
Craftshops (6-25 emp)	20.9	23.4	17.3	21.9	30.7
Manufactories (26-50 emp)	8.5	9.1	7.1	12.9	10.4
Manufactories (>51 emp)	13.4	9.3	18.9	7.2	9.4
Sub-Total	66.8	73.0	57.5	83.4	70.4
Powered					
Mills/workshops (1-5 emp)	1.0	0.8	0.9	2.1	4.9
Mills/workshops (6-25 emp)	3.9	5.9	1.9	2.3	5.6
Factories (26-50 emp)	3.6	4.3	2.8	3.7	4.8
Factories (>51 emp)	24.7	16.0	36.9	8.5	14.3
Sub-Total	33.2	27.0	42.5	16.6	29.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: compiled from CANIND71 database

Figure 13 *INDUSTRIAL WORK ENVIRONMENTS*



employees. Urban women and girls were more than four times as likely as rural women to be employed in non-powered manufactories with at least 26 employees. Urban women and girls were also more commonly employed in manufactories of any size than were urban men and boys.

The workplaces of women and girls in the **four provinces** compared with Canada as a whole are summarized in Table 12 and Figure 14. In all cases, non-powered workplaces accounted for well over half the female workforce, with New Brunswick remarkable for its very high percentage especially in the smallest artisanal shops and its low proportion in any powered workplaces, especially in large factories. Quebec's female workers were the most likely to be employed in larger workplaces that used inanimate power. Well over half (56 per cent) of Quebec's female workers were recorded in the larger factories and manufactories that employed at least 51 workers each. Quebec's smaller workplaces, whether powered by water and steam or only by hand power, were correspondingly less significant for female industrial workers.

As Canada's largest industrial centres employing women and girls, **Montreal** and **Toronto** both exhibit the distinctive characteristics of female workplaces we have noted in urban Canada generally but even more clearly (Table 13 and Figure 15). Women and girls formed nearly one third of the industrial workforce in Montreal and nearly one quarter in Toronto. Two of every three female industrial workers in Montreal were reported in large factories or manufactories where they had at least 50 fellow workers, and Toronto's proportion was nearly as high. For both males and females in Montreal and Toronto, large factories were clearly the most common type of industrial workplace. The large manufactory with over 50 workers was much more distinctively a female workplace in both Montreal and Toronto, especially in establishments making footwear or clothing. Montreal had 18 employers in 1871 that each reported at least one hundred female workers; nine of these were manufacturers of leather footwear. Toronto had ten establishments with 50 or more female workers, five of them had at least 100; clothing businesses were relatively more important in Toronto.[50]

Quebec City, with about the same number of people as Toronto, had some distinctive features in its industrial workplaces. A smaller proportion of Quebec City's population were employed in industry, but women and girls made up the higher proportion of over 27 per cent of the workforce. An higher proportion of all the women and girls in Quebec City (53 per cent) worked in large factories and a smaller proportion in large manufactories. Craft workshops with 6-25 workers were more important for both males and females in Quebec City than in the other large Canadian cities of the day. Quebec City was also different, too, in that powered workplaces were more common for women than for men. The three largest factories employing women and girls in Quebec City were footwear establishments owned by Samuel Woodley (two plants) and

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[50] The proportion of Toronto workers employed in large establishments in 1871 was almost exactly the same as reported for Philadelphia (Laurie and Schmitz, "Manufacture and Productivity", p. 52). On the size of industrial workplaces, see also Kealey, Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism, pp. 28-30, 299-306.

Figure 14 *INDUSTRIAL WORK ENVIRONMENTS OF WOMEN AND GIRLS*

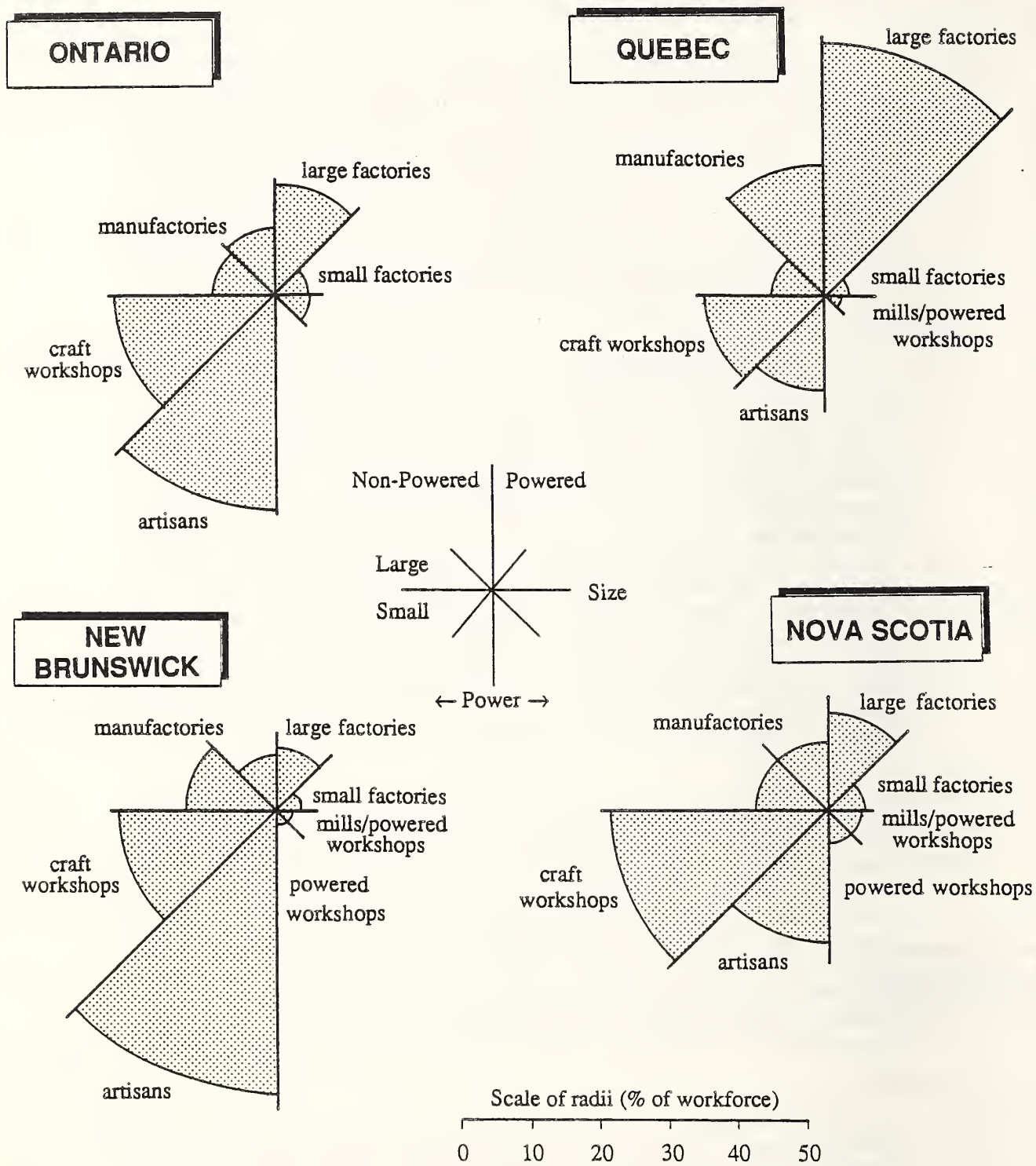

Figure 15 *INDUSTRIAL WORK ENVIRONMENTS*

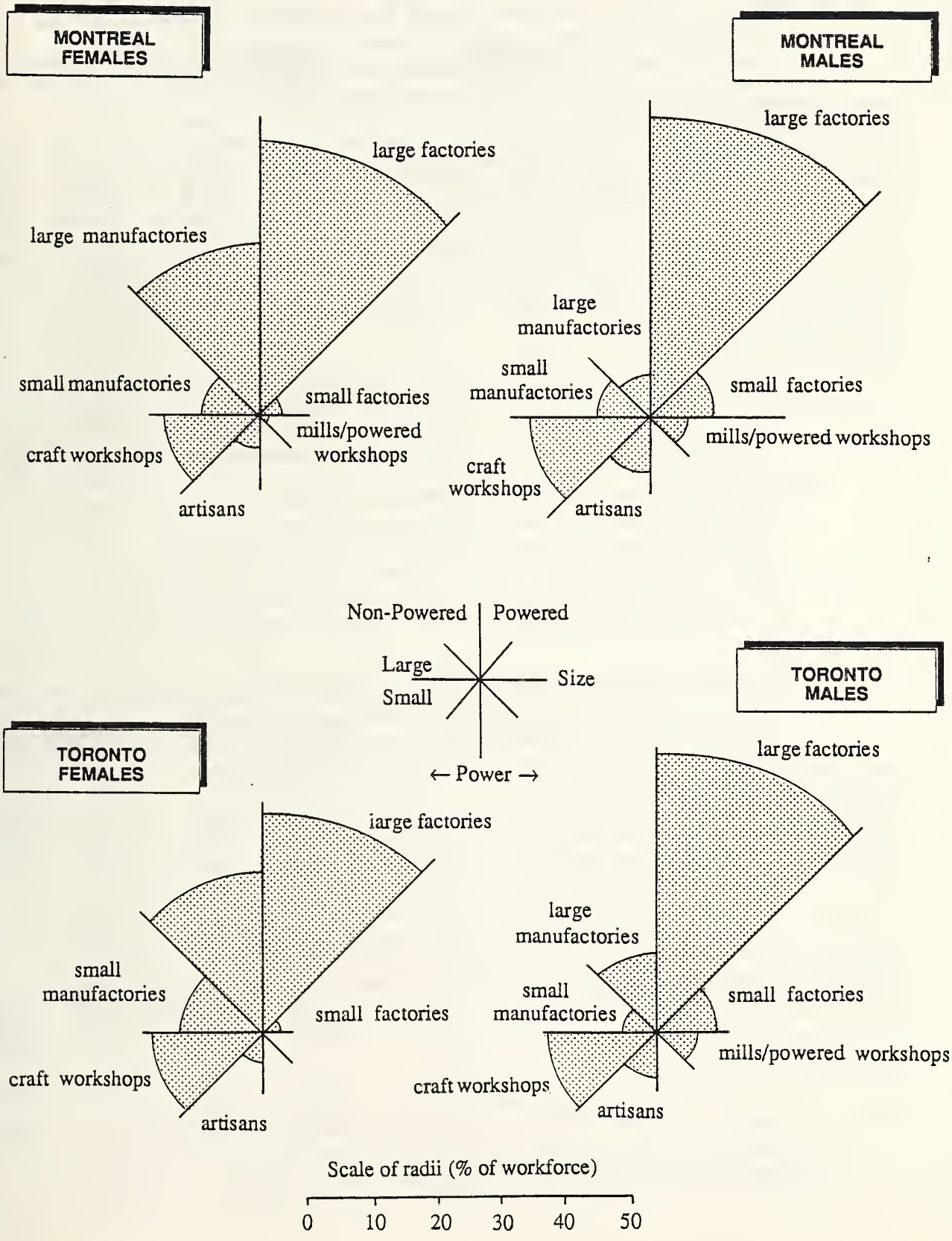

Table 13
Distribution of workers by sex in work environments of largest cities, 1871

	Montreal		Toronto		Quebec City	
	female %	male %	female %	male %	female %	male %
Work Environment						
Non-Powered						
Artisans (1-5 emp)	5.1	8.2	3.4	6.9	9.8	15.4
Craftshops (6-25 emp)	14.6	18.0	17.0	15 9	22.7	23.3
Manufactories (26-50 emp)	8.4	7.2	12.7	4.6	2.8	7.3
Manufactories (>51 emp)	26.0	5.5	29.3	10.8	10.4	19.8
Sub-Total	54.1	38.9	62.4	38.2	45.7	65.8
Powered						
Mills/workshops (1-5 emp)	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.6		0.2
Mills/workshops (6-25 emp)	0.9	5.0	1.2	6.7	0.6	4.6
Factories (26-50 emp)	2.6	9.0	2.1	8.9	0.7	5.7
Factories (>51 emp)	42.3	46.8	34.1	45.6	52.9	23.7
Sub-Total	45.9	61.1	37.6	61.8	54.2	34.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: compiled from CANIND71 database

Table 14
Distribution of workers by sex in work environments in Ontario regions, 1871

	Hamilton City		Waterloo County		Simcoe County	
	female %	male %	female %	male %	female %	male %
Work Environment						
Non-Powered						
Artisans (1-5 emp)	8.3	7.5	14.2	31.6	77.8	27.9
Craftshops (6-25 emp)	25.8	17.3	9.7	10 2	8.6	6.5
Manufactories (26-50 emp)	11.1	5.1	7.4	0.9		
Manufactories (>51 emp)	39.6	2.1				
Sub-Total	84.8	32.0	31.3	42.7	86.4	34.4
Powered						
Mills/workshops (1-5 emp)		0.6		9.5	1.0	10.5
Mills/workshops (6-25 emp)	1.8	6.9	19.6	23.8	7.9	20.5
Factories (26-50 emp)	4.2	7.0	19.4	10.5	1.7	14.3
Factories (>51 emp)	9.2	53.5	29.7	13.4	3.0	20.2
Sub-Total	15.2	68.0	68.7	57.2	13.6	65.4
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: compiled from CANIND71 database

Guillaume Bresse which between them reported 768 of the total 1,632 female workers in the city.

The pattern was quite the reverse in **Hamilton**, already a city in which metal-working and engineering industries employed a significant number of men and boys. Women and girls formed a smaller part of the whole industrial workforce in Hamilton than in larger cities -- only 15 per cent, compared with 24 per cent in Toronto, 27 per cent in Quebec City and 32 per cent in Montreal.[51] While two in three male workers were in powered establishments, notably large factories, 85 per cent of female workers were in workplace that used no inanimate power. Three of every four women and girls were in clothing establishments. The only employer with more than 50 female employees was Sanford McInnes, manufacturer of ready-made clothing, who reported 350 or 40 per cent of all Hamilton's female workers in 1871. Most other women and girls were employed in craft workshops with between 6 and 25 workers.

The workplace graphs for **Waterloo County** and **Simcoe County** in Ontario (Figure 17) illustrate the patterns for regions that combined smaller urban centres and rural hinterlands. Waterloo County had been settled since the very beginning of the nineteenth century; by 1871 most of its land surface was cleared farmland and its towns and villages from Galt (population 3,827) to Hespeler (797) had developed varied types of industry. Simcoe County, generally settled more recently, supported both forest- and farm-based forms of industry. With its large areal extent and milling industries, Simcoe County had an industrial workforce that was twice the size of Waterloo's in 1871, but its 302 female workers formed only 7.2 of the total industrial labour force while the 443 women and girls in Waterloo County comprised nearly 23 per cent of all its industrial workers.

The graphs illustrate quite contrasting combinations of industrial workplaces for men and women in both counties. Three of every five female workers in Waterloo County were in workplaces powered by water or steam and employing at least six. This high proportion reflects the strength of woollen textile mills in this county. The Randall Farr mill in Hespeler was by far the largest with its 44 women and 57 girls, but nine other woollen mills each employed at least six female workers. Ten other establishments reported at least six female workers each, making clothing, tobacco, buttons and rope, and scutching flax. Male workers in Waterloo County, in contrast, were concentrated in workplaces that were significantly smaller and relied less on water and steam power. Three of every four males in Waterloo County industries were in establishments employing under 25 workers each. The most common type of workplace for men and boys in Waterloo County was the small artisanal shop with five or fewer workers.

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[51] The industrial activity of women in Hamilton between 1851 and 1861, based mainly on the occupational data in the manuscript census, is discussed in Michael B. Katz, Michael J. Doucet and Mark J. Stern, The Social Organization of EArly Industrial Capitalism (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1982): 97-101.

Figure 16 INDUSTRIAL WORK ENVIRONMENTS OF QUEBEC CITY AND HALIFAX

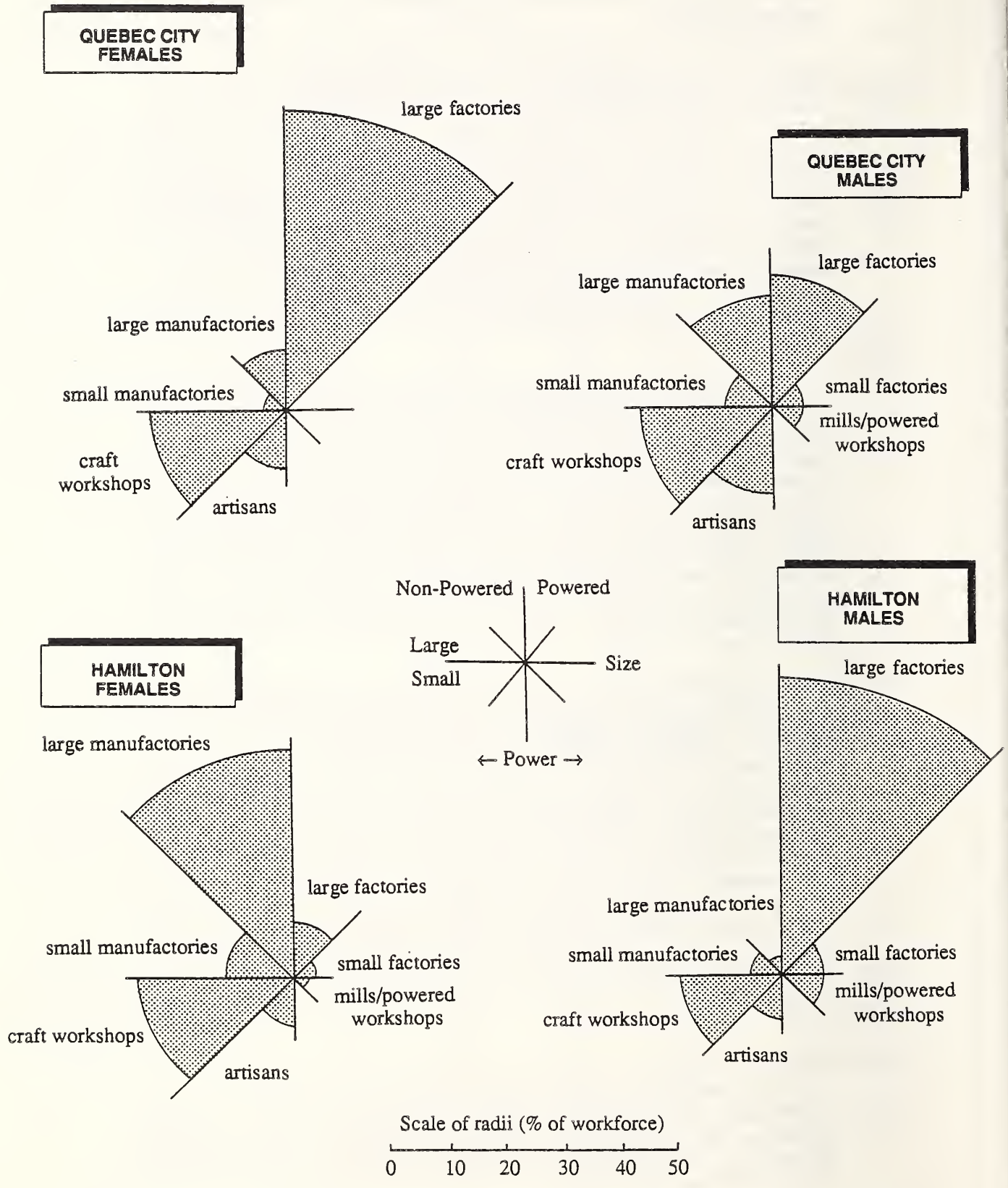
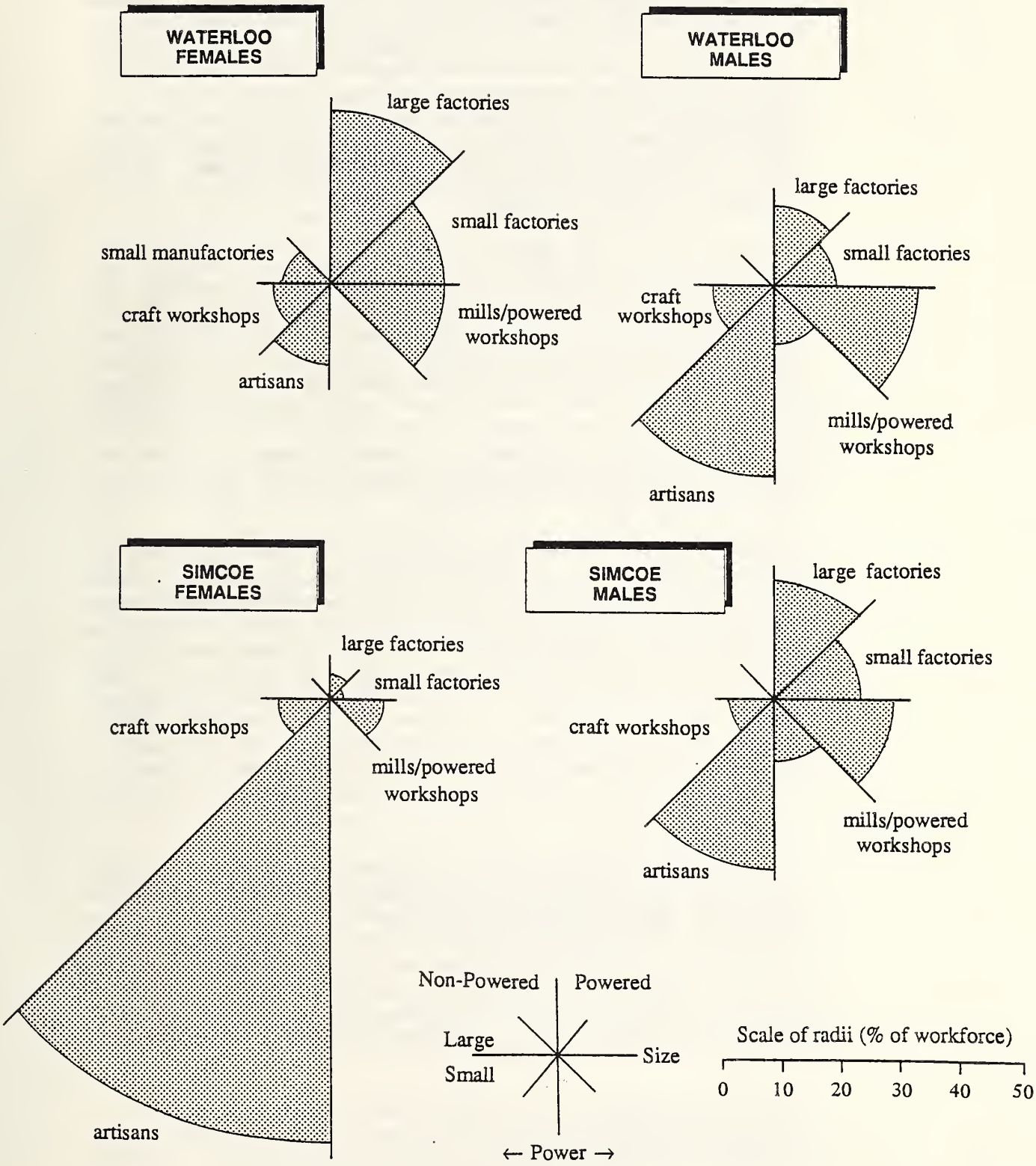


Figure 17 INDUSTRIAL WORK ENVIRONMENTS OF WATERLOO COUNTY AND SIMCOE COUNTY



Workplaces of men and boys in Simcoe County were somewhat similar to those in Waterloo, but a little larger and more dependent on inanimate power, reflecting the dominance of wood-processing industries. Hand-powered artisan and craft shops employed most women and girls in Simcoe County industries. The very high proportion in the smallest non-powered workplaces reflects the enumeration of over 100 hand knitters in Sunnidale Township, as well as the usual numbers of women dressmakers and milliners in most small centres. As in most rural areas, a few women worked in ones and twos in various powered establishments -- saw mills, carding and fulling mills, grist mills and a shingle factory -- with male co-workers. Only two establishments in Simcoe County employed at least six female workers; both were dressmaking shops, in the town of Barrie and the village of Bradford.

As the largest city and industrial centre of Canada in 1871, **Montreal** was also the place where the largest numbers of female industrial workers were concentrated.[52] In the whole city, nearly 6,000 women and over 1,250 girls made up more than 32 per cent of the total industrial workforce. Two of every three female workers throughout Montreal were employed in large factories or manufactories and most of the others were in smaller hand-powered workplaces (Figure 13). But the concentrations of female workers and the nature of their industrial work experience varied from place to place within the large city. Some 114 of Montreal's establishments were headed by female proprietors and 20 of these employed at least six workers. Figure 18 presents workplace graphs for each of Montreal's nine wards in 1871.

The West Ward of Montreal had the largest cluster of female industrial jobs and the 2,552 women and 562 girls in 118 establishments formed almost half of the total industrial workforce there. Large manufactories and factories were by far the most common workplaces, followed by smaller manufactories, and sweatshops and craftshops with 6-25 employees. The largest employers of female labour, with at least 50 women and girls each, were either manufacturers of clothing that called themselves "wholesale clothiers" or "merchant tailors" or proprietors of footwear factories. Among the clothing manufacturers, the Moss firm employed 260 women and 140 girls and the Shorey company 205 women and 75 girls.[53] Four footwear manufacturers had over 100 female workers each -- the Smith Cochrane company with 150 women

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[52] The urban-industrial evolution of Montreal in the half-century before 1871 is analyzed in Jean-Claude Robert, "Montréal 1821-1871: Aspects de l'urbanisation," (Thèse du troisième cycle, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, 1977), and the development of industrial businesses in part of the period in G.J.J. Tulchinsky, The River Barons: Montreal Businessmen and the Growth of Industry and Transportation, 1837-1853 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977). For a study of Montreal's major industry groups in 1871, based on the manuscript census, see E. Martel in "L'industrie à Montréal en 1871" (Thèse de maîtrise, Université du Québec à Montréal, 1978).

[53] The development of the Moss firm, traced with the help of R.G. Dun credit reports, is discussed in Gerald Tulchinsky, "'Said to be a very honest Jew': The R.G. Dun Credit Reports and Jewish Business Activity in Mid-19th Century Montreal," Urban History Review 18, 3 (1990): 206.

and 25 girls, the Ames Millard company with 127 women and 5 girls, Michael Mullarky with 120 women and Brown & Childs with 100 women. But the West Ward also the most varied industrial structure in Montreal, with women and girls employed also in over one hundred somewhat smaller workplaces in printing, tobacco, furs and confectionery.

The Centre and East Wards of Montreal, with considerably less industrial activity than the West, also had high proportions of women and girls in their industrial establishments. In the Centre Ward, several factories making footwear, straw hats and paper products accounted for nearly two of every three female industrial workers. The largest employers of female labour were A.T. Carpenter's Victoria Straw Works, the footwear factories of G.S. Rolland and George James & Co, the Canada Paper Box works and the Rice Bros paper collar factory. The remaining women and girls of the East Ward were employed in somewhat smaller hand-powered establishments making clothing and fur goods. In the East Ward, almost all proprietors had French names and 44 per cent were headed by female proprietors. The two large shoe factories of A. Valois & Co and Z. Lapierre together employed over 200 females but most women and girls worked in some 60 hand-powered shops, making mainly clothing but also leather goods.

In Ste-Marie and St-Jacques Wards to the north of the central city, some 1,100 women and girls formed just one-third of the total industrial workforce in 1871. Three in four of these female workers were employed in a few very large factories, most notably W.C. McDonald's tobacco works (148 women and 158 girls) in St-Jacques, and the Canadian Rubber Co (250 women), McMullen and Adams tobacco factory (100 women and 75 girls) and Charles Talardeau's footwear factory (82 women) in Ste-Marie. St-Louis Ward was somewhat less industrialized than other Montreal wards mentioned so far. Over half its female workers were reported by the footwear factory of Fogarty Bros (115 women and 15 girls); the rest worked in small artisanal and craft shops in clothing, food and leather goods.

St-Antoine and St-Laurent Wards, west of the central city, were both less industrialized than other Montreal wards and had lower proportions of female industrial workers.[54] Nine in ten of the women and girls worked in establishments that depended on hand power; craft workshops with 6 to 25 workers each were the most common workplaces in both wards. Two in three female workers made various kinds of clothing. St-Laurent's patterns of workplaces is influenced by the location there of two exceptional establishments that reported female workers -- the House of Refuge (62 women) and Montreal Steam Laundry (26 women). More than half of St-Laurent's establishments were headed by women.

By 1871, Ste-Anne's Ward to the south of the old central city was becoming an important zone of heavy industry that employed mainly male workers. The

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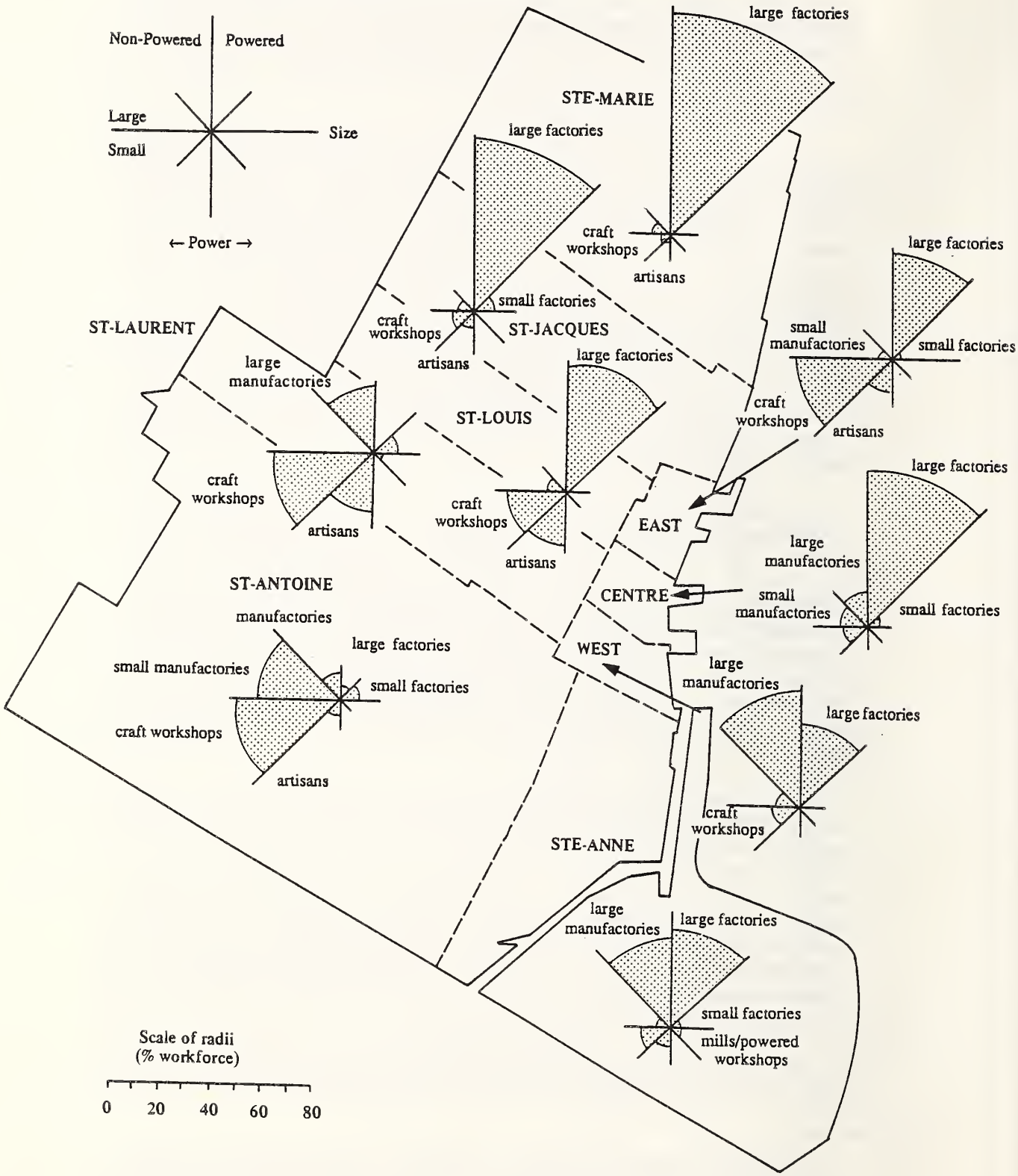
[54] Bettina Bradbury's research on women's work in Montreal in the later nineteenth century was based in part on a 10 per cent sample of households in the wards of St-Jacques and Ste-Anne in the manuscript census schedules for 1861, 1871 and 1881. See footnotes #3 and #41 above.

Figure 18 INDUSTRIAL WORK ENVIRONMENTS OF MONTREAL WARDS



646 women and 66 girls counted in the industrial establishments of this ward formed only 13 per cent of the total industrial workforce, the lowest proportion of any Montreal ward and below the national mean. Women and girls here were employed mainly in large factories or manufactories but also in a variety of industry and workplace types including some that were unusual for female workers. Factories with mainly female employees were the McLaren footwear factory (125 women and 6 girls), Peter Wood's cotton mill (69 women and 16 girls). But factories with mainly male workforces also employed some female workers, such as the Grand Trunk Railway shops (40 women), Cullum and Maltby's pin factory (20 women), and Pillow Hersey's nail factory (13 women). Manufactories employed one in three of the women and girls in this ward, making clothing in the establishments of O'Brien & Co (150 women) and McMillan Bros (41 females) and footwear in the businesses of M. Ronayne & Co (50 women) and George Forbes (20 women and 3 girls).

* * * * * * *

The CANIND71 database offers enormous scope for more research on the work of women and girls in particular enterprises, industry types and regions in Canada around 1870. This report has surveyed the range of variables in the database, stressing those that were not previously available, and introducing some of the themes and concepts that might be developed in more depth. The structure of the database, especially its systems of coding each establishment for its exact geographical location and industry type, allows the researcher to reconstruct the patterns of industrial activity in great detail at various levels. It is now possible to see the individual enterprise and its workers in the context of its industry type and its community and region.

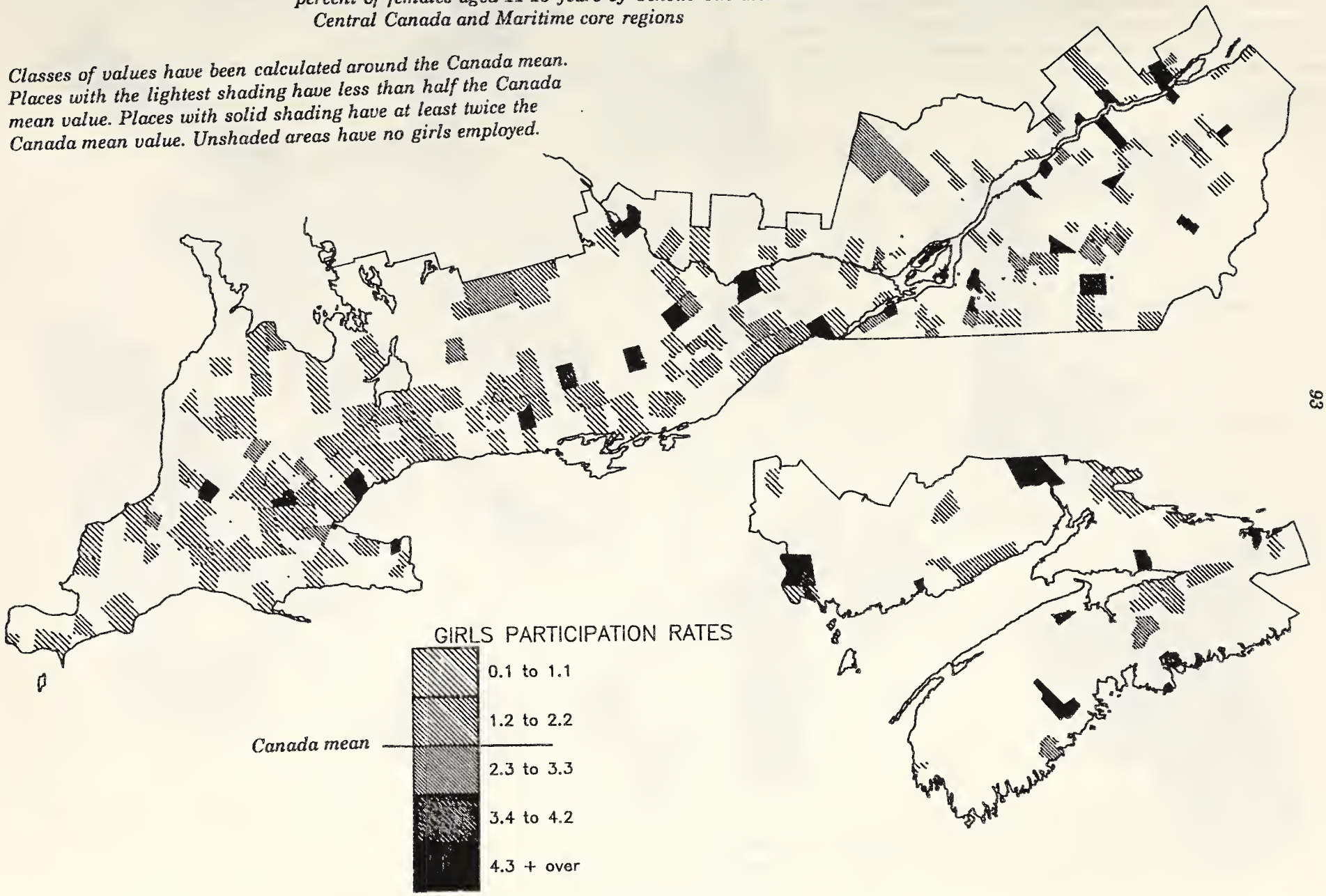
APPENDICES

Appendix A-1: Abbreviated code names for variables in the CANIND71 database are used in various tables in this report. A brief explanation of each code name follows:

AVWAGE:	Average monthly wage per worker in a firm, place or type of industry.
CDID:	Census district number used in 1871 census.
CDISTRIC:	Census district name used in 1871 census.
CED:	Census enumerator's division, a small part of a census district.
COMMENTS:	Additional remarks or comments for a firm entered in manuscript schedule.
EMPBOY:	Boys (males under 16 years) employed in industrial activity.
EMPGIRL:	Girls employed (females under 16 years) in industrial activity.
EMPMEN:	Men (males over 16 years) employed in industrial activity.
EMPWOM:	Women (females over 16 years) employed in industrial activity.
FIXCAP:	Value of fixed capital reported by proprietors.
FLOCAP:	Value of floating or working capital reported by proprietors.
FORCE:	Units (in "horse power" equivalents) of non-manual power reported by proprietors.
MONTH:	Number of working months in year.
OBSERV:	Observation, unit or record in a database; in the case of CANIND71 means individual industrial establishment.
PROD1:	Named type of product, first to Nth, as numbered.
PROPRIOR:	Name of proprietor as stated in census schedules.
PQUANT1:	Quantity of named product, first to Nth, as numbered.
PUNIT1:	Unit of measurement of named product, first to Nth, as numbered.
PVALUE1:	Value of named product, first to Nth, as numbered
RAWMAT1:	Named type of raw material, first to Nth, as numbered.
RQUANT1:	Quantity of named raw material, first to Nth, as numbered.
RUNIT1:	Unit of measurement of named raw material, first to Nth, as numbered.
RVALUE1:	Value of named raw material, first to Nth, as numbered.
SEC:	Major industry group, derived from combinations of SIC codes.
SIC:	Standard Industrial Classification.
SUMPROC:	Value of industrial production ($).
SUMRAWC:	Value of raw materials used in industry ($).
TOTEMP:	Total number of employees, the sum of EMPMEN, EMPWOM, EMPBOY and EMPGIRL.
TYPEEST:	Type of establishment as stated by enumerator in census schedules.
TYPEPOW:	Type of power reported: steam, water, horse, W/S (water/steam).
VADD:	Value added in manufacturing ($) = production $ - raw materials $.
WAGES:	Wages paid to industrial workers ($).

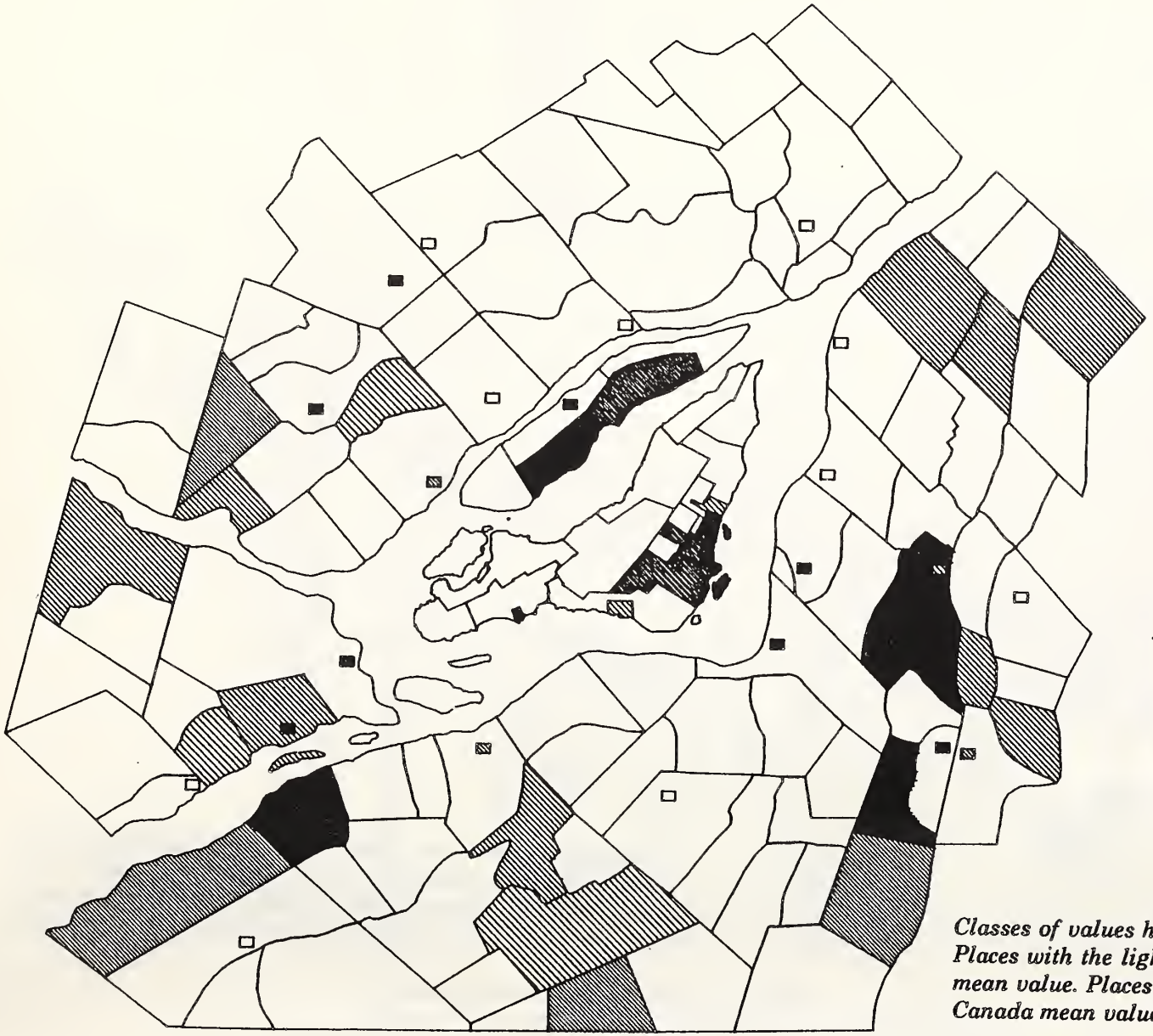
Appendix A-3: PARTICIPATION BY GIRLS IN INDUSTRIAL WORKFORCE, 1871
percent of females aged 11-15 years by Census Sub-districts
Central Canada and Maritime core regions

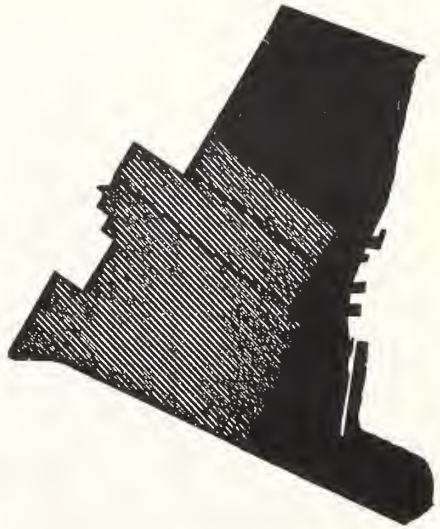
Classes of values have been calculated around the Canada mean. Places with the lightest shading have less than half the Canada mean value. Places with solid shading have at least twice the Canada mean value. Unshaded areas have no girls employed.



Appendix A-4: PARTICIPATION BY GIRLS IN INDUSTRIAL WORKFORCE, 1871
percent of females aged 11-15 years by Census Sub-districts

MONTREAL CENTRED REGION





MONTREAL WARDS

RATES OF PARTICIPATION

0.1 to 1.1

1.2 to 2.2

Canada mean

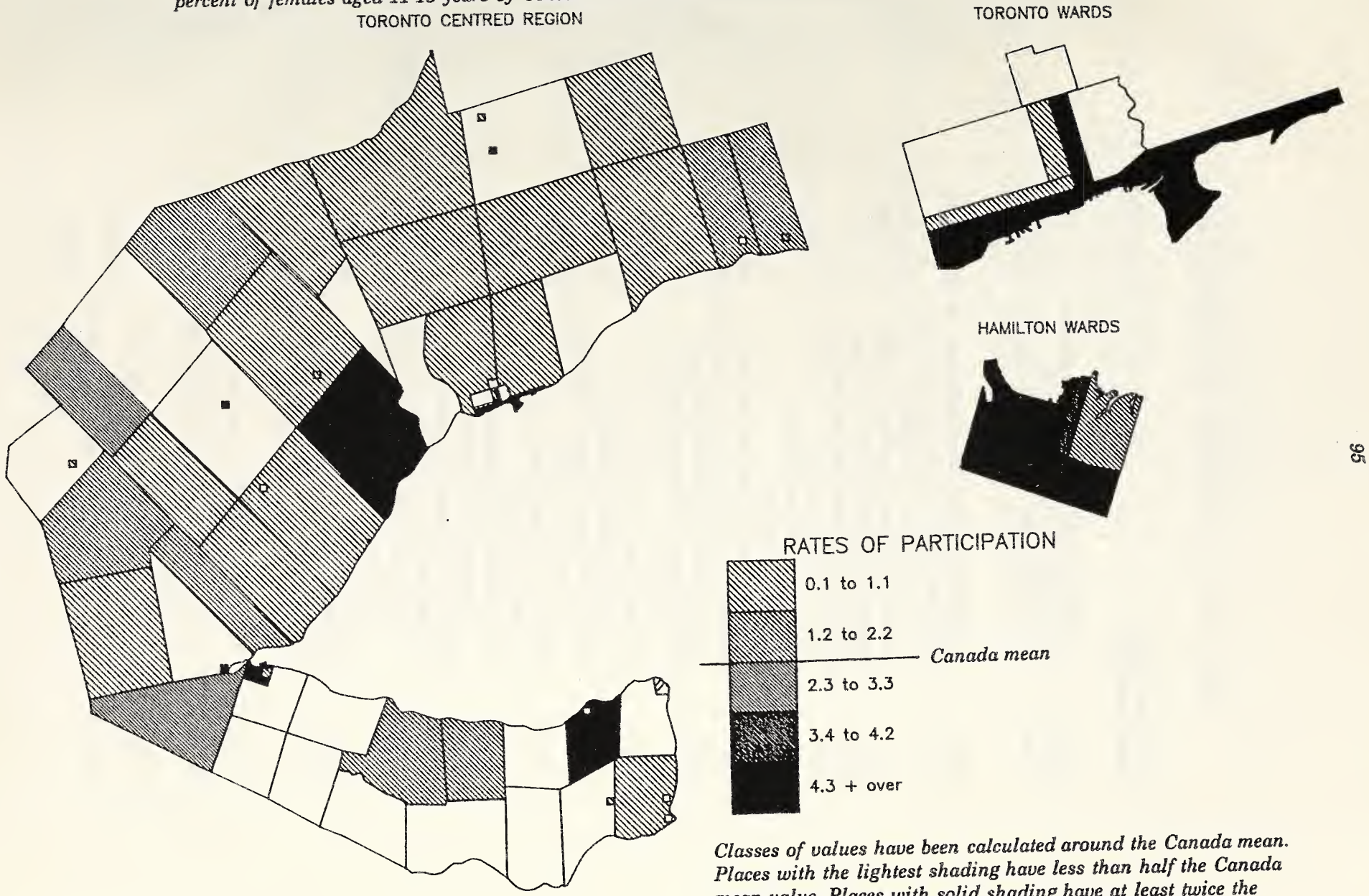
2.3 to 3.3

3.4 to 4.2

4.3 + over

Classes of values have been calculated around the Canada mean. Places with the lightest shading have less than half the Canada mean value. Places with solid shading have at least twice the Canada mean value. Unshaded areas have no girls employed.

Appendix A-5: PARTICIPATION BY GIRLS IN INDUSTRIAL WORKFORCE, 1871
percent of females aged 11-15 years by Census Sub-districts



Classes of values have been calculated around the Canada mean. Places with the lightest shading have less than half the Canada mean value. Places with solid shading have at least twice the Canada mean value. Unshaded areas have no girls employed.

Appendix A-5
Major Industry Groups/Grands groupes de l'industrie (SECs)

Major Group SEC Grand groupe SEC		SIC codes
Division 1	Agricultural Services/Services agricoles	021-029
Division 2	Forestry/L'exploitation forestière	031-039
Division 4	Mines, Quarries, Oil and Salt Wells/ Industries des mines	051-099
Division 5	**Manufacturing Industries/Industries Manufacturières**	
5.01	Food and Beverage Industries/Industries des aliments et boissons	101-109
5.02	Tobacco Products/Industries du tabac	151-159
5.04	Leather Industries/Industries du cuir	171-179
5.05	Textile Industries/Industries textiles	181-189
5.06	Knitting Mills/Bonneterie	231-239
5.07	Clothing Industries/Industries de l'habillement	241-249
5.08	Wood Industries/Industries du bois	251-259
5.09	Furniture Industries/Industries du meuble	261-269
5.10	Paper Industries/Industries du papier	271-279
5.11	Printing and Publishing/Imprimerie et édition	281-289
5.12	Primary Metal Industries/Première transformation des métaux	291-299
5.13	Metal Fabricating Industries/Fabrication de produits en métal	301-309
5.14	Machinery Industries/Industries de la machinerie	311-319
5.15	Transportation Equipment/Industries du matériel de transport	321-329
5.17	Non-metallic Mineral Products/Industries des produits minéraux non métall.	351-359
5.18	Petroleum and Coal Products/Industries des produits raffinés du pétrole et du charbon	361-369
5.19	Chemical Industries/Industries chimiques	371-379
5.20	Miscellaneous Manufacturing/Autres industries manufacturières	391-399
Division 6	Construction Industry/Industries de la construction	401-499
Division 7	Gas and Water Utilities/Industries de services publics	572-579
Division 8	Trade (incl repair)/Commerce de gros (incl réparations)	602-699
Division 10	Personal and business services/Industries des services	801-899

Appendix A-6

INDUSTRIAL STRUCTURE (SEC) OF FIRMS EMPLOYING FEMALES

SEC	OBSERV	FORCE	FIXCAP	FLOCAP	EMPMEN	EMPWOM	EMPBOY	EMPGIRL	TOTEMP	WAGES	SUMRAWC	SUMPROC	VADD
1.00	2	.	600	680	3	4	.	.	7	260	440	1250	810
2.00	1	.	.	75	4	.	.	1	5	200	.	450	.
4.00	2	30	8500	3500	10	7	3	1	21	2800	5850	20500	14650
5.01	501	1287	1531251	1394351	1586	847	235	119	2787	465941	3979841	5516700	1520108
5.02	36	297	434350	614039	673	483	381	402	1939	327886	1003732	2051194	1047462
5.03	3	310	454000	176000	180	315	3	.	498	82198	346202	495615	149413
5.04	502	826	2544137	4336037	6896	4393	756	775	12820	2891297	6249721	12270591	5903280
5.05	2674	7421	3668460	2702072	2607	4507	716	798	8628	1238102	4593055	7962329	3146830
5.06	115	198	94878	153172	95	424	23	18	560	71665	196029	378259	182221
5.07	2124	127	3436684	4042483	3273	11541	255	1184	16253	2473572	8141324	14073826	5808526
5.08	200	4345	1362551	1462754	2317	430	232	227	3206	547363	1335343	2298070	957366
5.09	52	548	1186030	1050940	1469	216	107	21	1813	514463	905205	1835545	930340
5.10	35	1813	671350	493722	490	394	50	92	1026	229437	651575	1323676	672101
5.11	73	182	1016125	626268	1024	561	264	143	1992	552260	703340	1705331	1003791
5.12	6	270	326300	198250	445	22	85	14	566	157468	257975	591200	333225
5.13	28	290	333214	269834	429	94	62	29	614	149320	332694	623120	290426
5.14	15	164	103440	153760	294	38	41	5	378	141190	223346	546070	322724
5.15	47	402	7398750	124365	3040	101	40	7	3188	1240089	724927	1353206	662812
5.17	47	144	103845	34005	344	47	49	57	497	75811	86515	264900	178385
5.18	1	35	25000	50000	25	4	5	.	34	10000	7000	20000	13000
5.19	62	138	372870	332820	208	190	72	155	625	97766	404323	873726	429403
5.20	73	160	183831	171412	300	221	89	41	651	147265	183205	500950	302845
6.00	1	.	30	10	1	.	.	1	2	50	100	108	8
8.00	3	.	2250	150	2	3	.	.	5	1084	75	1650	425
10.00	52	6	138404	55490	133	91	18	14	256	63961	53360	224030	169670
	6655	18993	25396850	18446189	25848	24933	3486	4104	58371	11481448	30385177	54932296	24039821

Appendix A-7

INDUSTRY TYPES (SIC) OF ESTABLISHMENTS EMPLOYING FEMALES, 1871

SIC	OBSERV	FORCE	FIXCAP	FLOCAP	EMPMEN	EMPWOM	EMPBOY	EMPGIRL	TOTEMP	WAGES	SUMRAWC	SUMPROC	VADD
021	2	.	600	680	3	4	0	.	7	260	440	1250	810
031	1	.	.	75	4	0	0	1	5	200	.	450	.
079	2	30	8500	3500	10	7	3	1	21	2800	5850	20500	14650
101-P	29	12	90910	184140	118	47	7	4	176	21217	298303	405750	107447
102	27	.	52913	124812	269	132	49	30	480	55054	104915	206299	101384
103	1	.	2500	2500	7	12	2	3	24	1000	1500	3500	2000
104	260	76	317838	231362	372	366	46	32	816	89052	1134619	1416009	269389
105	26	973	234500	245255	146	29	5	6	186	42115	874775	986862	108337
107	83	51	196730	121490	263	115	44	17	439	97479	843645	1165443	321798
108	4	26	48800	22000	19	10	2	1	32	13130	95700	131000	35300
108-B	1	.	6000	8000	6	4	0	.	10	1800	7670	16200	8530
108-C	44	63	165360	117092	171	89	47	12	319	66662	348975	602169	252194
108-S	1	40	100000	75000	28	1	9	.	38	19500	43900	76184	32284
109-B	10	32	209000	237200	121	18	3	3	145	41462	196760	408744	211984
109-S	11	6	51600	18500	51	18	7	8	84	12980	26329	80680	54351
109-W	4	8	55100	7000	15	6	14	3	38	4490	2750	17860	15110
153	36	297	434350	614039	673	483	381	402	1939	327886	1003732	2051194	1047462
162	3	310	454000	176000	180	315	3	.	498	82198	346202	495615	149413
172	17	168	141540	64165	250	81	35	14	380	91270	307865	530276	222411
174	415	528	2311667	4163176	6409	3691	691	659	11450	2698163	5743805	11317212	5457097
174-F	13	1	1200	4200	6	411	0	.	417	10450	5442	22036	16594
175	17	.	8620	20794	24	58	4	9	95	13755	21779	51755	29976
179	12	115	21330	12872	37	103	2	88	230	22284	34400	96730	61550
179-L	1	6	2000	2000	4	1	1	.	6	1860	700	3662	2962
179-S	19	.	23830	20430	87	17	12	5	121	21890	30190	74220	43530
179-T	5	.	25800	33300	62	11	11	.	84	23300	86400	142500	56100
179-W	3	8	8150	15100	17	20	0	.	37	8325	19140	32200	13060
181	6	645	600000	195000	126	292	100	170	688	125000	437000	744000	307000
182	208	5352	2564186	2198181	1761	1423	447	328	3959	840884	2844155	5067893	2057908
182-S	45	.	262	265	0	45	0	.	45	344	549	1119	479
182-W	2225	.	58712	11755	238	2375	30	202	2845	122781	373754	697391	284994
184	7	276	145230	168800	129	42	60	22	253	44930	420890	557362	136472
185	1	.	70	70	4	4	0	.	8	150	150	300	150
186	4	.	2810	3500	2	35	0	.	37	1790	4690	7510	2820
187	4	.	11650	8150	16	19	1	.	36	6400	11800	25510	13710
189	8	.	44550	9525	3	23	1	5	32	4836	9600	19880	10280
189-D	8	22	15880	6330	24	16	4	4	48	12334	13730	42080	28350
189-F	11	139	36300	68152	120	69	48	34	271	38094	62267	244007	161540
189-S	1	1	1000	1000	2	2	0	.	4	1000	1000	3000	2000
189-W	146	986	187810	31344	182	162	25	33	402	39559	413470	552277	141127
239	7	198	88800	147800	85	251	22	15	373	65300	189380	363400	174020
239-K	108	.	6078	5372	10	173	1	3	187	6365	6649	14859	8201
242	676	.	735016	1204149	1538	3384	107	342	5371	937688	2538055	4370455	1774360
243	542	8	891507	1317075	1126	3785	67	365	5343	783764	2511721	4238377	1703336
244	447	.	177372	273011	43	1576	10	179	1808	185300	748580	1194268	419671
245	9	.	6124	1880	0	38	1	6	45	3400	24425	34400	9975
246	86	14	993918	741660	382	874	34	99	1389	283931	1369170	2490682	1118512
248	3	.	500	750	0	9	0	.	9	1010	1300	4900	1700
249	2	.	4000	20	1	23	0	.	24	450	5460	14200	8740
249-H	37	105	373948	202586	161	655	26	60	902	139763	382674	778249	395388
249-M	322	.	254299	301352	22	1197	10	133	1362	138266	559939	948295	376844

INDUSTRY TYPES (SIC) OF ESTABLISHMENTS EMPLOYING FEMALES, 1871

SIC	OBSERV	FORCE	FIXCAP	FLOCAP	EMPMEN	EMPWOM	EMPBOY	EMPGIRL	TOTEMP	WAGES	SUMRAWC	SUMPROC	VADD
251	63	4030	1201550	1397720	2035	243	179	179	2636	484005	1216842	2063499	846657
251-S	36	226	28016	8038	101	39	26	30	196	11994	16896	44316	24720
254	6	35	25000	16800	51	16	6	2	75	21810	58625	96750	38125
256	78	2	13415	2602	78	108	6	13	205	12702	5974	30980	23266
258	3	.	5800	950	8	4	3	.	15	2728	7066	11800	3934
259	2	30	1050	3010	8	4	4	.	16	3824	825	5649	4824
259-C	8	14	690	634	11	7	1	3	22	980	225	1646	1300
259-G	1	.	4000	2000	8	1	1	.	10	2100	1880	6000	4120
259-K	2	8	83000	31000	16	7	6	.	29	7200	27000	37400	10400
259-W	1	.	30	.	1	1	0	.	2	20	10	30	20
261	43	548	1151760	993500	1422	204	95	18	1739	493801	852633	1736095	883462
266	9	.	34270	57440	47	12	12	3	74	20662	52572	99450	46878
271	16	1644	564900	342500	437	185	24	26	672	162127	434349	928456	494107
273	15	108	29450	38222	32	122	10	52	216	26510	83726	165220	81494
274	4	61	77000	113000	21	87	16	14	138	40800	133500	230000	96500
286	12	60	265850	190200	260	180	90	53	583	147920	174000	451370	277370
286-B	1	.	100000	50000	40	34	4	4	82	35000	20000	60000	40000
287-B	32	2	118575	144721	162	161	38	61	422	84116	183580	355376	173596
287-E	3	20	102500	31500	70	15	4	.	89	35000	25750	91000	65250
289	25	100	429200	209847	492	171	128	25	816	250224	300010	747585	447575
291-R	1	200	200000	120000	200	0	60	2	262	65000	200000	400000	200000
294	1	10	25000	15000	6	4	4	2	16	4000	11000	20000	9000
297	3	60	75300	45250	206	3	7	.	216	68468	33100	126200	93100
298-P	1	.	26000	18000	33	15	14	10	72	20000	13875	45000	31125
304	1	4	23500	4200	13	5	1	.	19	5200	10000	20900	10900
304-T	15	5	47814	52434	106	49	19	14	188	35380	59156	137110	77954
305-N	2	135	175000	91000	147	20	21	4	192	51030	152240	245210	92970
306	5	81	21500	10000	62	15	8	6	91	16900	21000	70000	49000
306-S	1	40	10000	30000	25	0	4	3	32	7000	25000	40000	15000
306-T	1	.	400	200	2	0	0	1	3	910	598	2000	1402
307-S	1	25	50000	75000	65	2	6	.	73	30000	60000	100000	40000
308	1	.	1000	2000	3	1	1	.	5	400	1200	2400	1200
309	1	.	4000	5000	6	2	2	1	11	2500	3500	5500	2000
311	5	56	43500	49150	83	14	0	.	97	36400	56111	123300	67189
315	4	12	27440	24200	11	4	0	2	17	5510	92895	108750	15855
315-E	1	30	4000	25000	36	0	0	3	39	12000	2500	25000	22500
315-H	2	1	500	410	2	2	1	.	5	280	90	520	430
315-P	1	25	5000	10000	12	2	0	.	14	5000	1750	13500	11750
315-S	2	40	23000	45000	150	16	40	.	206	82000	70000	275000	205000
326	4	354	7273000	14000	2591	44	15	.	2650	1147808	616533	1076000	494000
327	8	.	22100	26380	191	12	3	2	208	37600	41710	100840	59130
327-M	2	.	2400	2800	10	2	3	.	15	2100	2396	8500	6104
328	1	.	600	600	2	1	1	.	4	700	350	1500	1150
329	31	48	99250	79585	231	40	16	5	292	48681	62324	152366	90042
329-P	1	.	1400	1000	15	2	2	.	19	3200	1614	14000	12386
351-B	33	78	37470	15980	180	22	33	44	279	22477	6670	70950	64280
351-C	1	.	2500	10000	5	3	0	8	16	4500	7970	18000	10030
351-P	2	1	330	220	2	2	0	.	4	640	158	1100	942
353	2	.	5400	4600	11	3	3	.	17	3860	3600	13890	10290
356	2	20	54120	1000	116	9	11	.	136	38560	52000	135800	83800
357	1	.	800	80	20	2	0	.	22	3000	900	4500	3600

INDUSTRY TYPES (SIC) OF ESTABLISHMENTS EMPLOYING FEMALES, 1871

SIC	OBSERV	FORCE	FIXCAP	FLOCAP	EMPMEN	EMPWOM	EMPBOY	EMPGIRL	TOTEMP	WAGES	SUMRAWC	SUMPROC	VADD
358-L	6	45	3225	2125	10	6	2	5	23	2774	15217	20660	5443
365	1	35	25000	50000	25	4	5	.	34	10000	7000	20000	13000
372	1	12	10000	5000	4	0	0	2	6	1500	5400	8000	2600
374	18	.	207250	179450	57	49	9	7	122	32326	212383	442050	229667
375	1	12	7000	15000	4	4	0	.	8	2500	30000	39000	9000
376	6	.	49460	41425	33	18	2	4	57	10950	62532	82888	20356
377	2	.	2000	6000	4	4	0	.	8	1250	5500	9000	3500
378-P	4	.	1520	1300	9	4	1	1	15	1165	864	3991	3127
379-B	1	.	2000	2000	3	0	1	5	9	364	3700	6000	2300
379-C	5	.	20100	29650	11	7	4	7	29	5220	22785	122800	60015
379-F	1	8	3000	1000	3	3	0	.	6	1000	100	1200	1100
379-G	3	20	42000	11500	27	5	6	.	38	8800	23050	55600	32550
379-M	20	86	28540	40495	53	96	49	129	327	32691	38009	103197	65188
391	2	.	550	550	3	2	1	.	6	700	600	1800	1200
391-S	1	.	8000	1000	6	3	2	2	13	2753	3730	10000	6270
392	5	.	5800	2380	8	4	2	4	18	3540	8350	25000	16650
393	2	4	3500	3500	8	3	4	.	15	4350	3330	13300	9970
393-S	1	60	45000	55000	45	3	25	.	73	30000	35000	90000	55000
399	13	15	33861	11657	21	41	5	3	70	9285	33911	55264	21353
399-A	2	12	9000	7200	7	14	6	10	37	5000	4500	11500	7000
399-B	23	46	37940	55995	99	75	37	8	219	42286	61149	146379	70330
399-O	9	.	2030	2230	6	18	0	.	24	1633	4945	9729	4784
399-P	4	23	22600	14100	47	4	0	.	51	24300	15900	79860	63960
399-T	3	.	7200	9050	39	37	6	11	93	17600	5140	38260	33120
399-W	8	.	8350	8750	11	17	1	3	32	5818	6650	19858	13208
421-D	1	.	30	10	1	0	0	1	2	50	100	108	8
695	3	.	2250	150	2	3	0	.	5	1084	75	1650	425
874	4	6	23100	850	4	35	1	2	42	2686	3280	16140	12860
893	40	.	113504	54015	122	50	16	10	198	59484	48118	201480	153562
896	8	.	1800	625	7	6	1	2	16	1791	1962	6410	3248
	6655	18993	25396850	18446189	25848	24933	3486	4104	58371	11481448	30385177	54932296	24039821

Appendix A-8: Records reproduced in Part 4 of this report are numbered in the CANIND71 database as follows:
1. the Portland Packing Co is #50870;
2. James Zavitz is #2141;
3. Thomas McCormick is #2713;
4. W.C. McDonald is #32698;
5. T. Peniston & Co is #12698;
6. India Rubber Co is #39748;
7. Guillaume Bresse is #39721;
8. Sydney Boot & Shoe is #53745;
8a. Dame A. Caron is #36705;
9. Peter W. Wood is #33032;
10. Paton Manufacturing Co is #38565;
11. Slingsby & Kitchen is #3693;
12. Laticia Trickey is #17926;
13. Belliveau & Godatt is #49997;
14. Edwin Turner is #10390;
15. O'Brien & Co is #32927;
16. Margaret Stewart is #45117;
17. Adelaide Vervais is #34746;
18. Betsy & Georgiana St Pierre is #41021;
19. Penitentiary Female Department is #17511;
20. R.W. Cowan is #32328;
21. George Barker is #12866;
22. E.B. Eddy is #30264;
23. William Drum is #39744;
24. Alexandre Bautin is #33975;
25. Smillie Bourne & Co is #20246;
26. James Campbell & Sons is #12645;
27. Charles Palsgrave is #32230;
28. Canada Screw Co is #5629;
29. Eastwood & Co is #3442;
30. Lockman Wilson Bowman is #8777;
31. Hugh Miller & Co is #12960;
32. City of St John Chemical Works is #45407;
33. Joseph Belanger is #39638;
34. Emil Vogelsang is #8405;
35. Fortunat Martineau is #41236;
36. Gutman & Co is #32382;
37. John Murphy is #45157;
38. Charles Ledoux is #35295;
39. Montreal Steam Laundry is #33255;
40. Helene Fortin is #40092;
41. Notman & Barton is #33226;
42. George Desbarats' Canadian Illustrated News is #33188.

In the small group of records with female proprietors of non-traditional industry types:
43. Mary Ann Platt is #3761;
44. Veuve Joseph Beauregard is #31709;
45. Sibyl Ryan is #46139;
46. Jane Darch is #2530;
47. Widow Terreau is #39746;
48. Widow Richardson is #32856.

Appendix A-9 CANADA: LARGEST EMPLOYERS OF WOMEN AND GIRLS, 1871

CDID	CED	PROPRIOR	TYPEEST	SIC	FIXCAP	TYPEPOW	FORCE	FEMALE	WAGES	SUMRAWC	SUMPROC	VADD
Q104	A-1	MOSS S H & J	WHOLESALE CLOTHI	243	26000		.	400	6500	100000	250000	150000
O024	E-2	SANFORD & MCINNES	CLOTHING MF	242	40000		.	350	60000	250000	350000	100000
Q146	D-1	WOODLEY SAMUEL	CHAUSSURES, MF	174	50000	STEAM	20	350	104000	440000	600000	160000
Q147	A-1	WOODLEY S	CHAUSSURES, MF	174	50000	STEAM	12	320	165000	200000	600000	400000
Q105	B-1	MCDONALD W C	TOBACCO WORKS	153	50000	STEAM	25	306	82000	263000	520000	257000
Q104	A-1	SHOREY & CO	CLOTHING MF	243	30000		.	280	24000	112500	153800	41300
Q105	C-5	CANADIAN RUBBER C	RUBBER COMPANY	162	400000	STEAM	210	250	70245	301513	431415	129902
Q093	B-4	EDDY EZRA BUTLER	SAW M/MATCH/PAIL	251/254	250000	WATER	600	240	144000	400000	661000	261000
Q104	A-2	CORISTINE JAMES &	HAT/MITT/MOCCASI	246/175	200000	STEAM	14	220	26000	125000	350000	225000
O046	A-1	HENDERSON & BOSTW	HAT/BONNET MF	249-H	50000	STEAM	15	175	14400	24700	80000	55300
Q104	A-1	SMITH COCHRANE &	BOOT/SHOE MF	174	50000	STEAM	12	175	90000	225000	410000	185000
Q105	C-6	MCMULLEN & ADAMS	TABAC, MF	153	150000	STEAM	100	175	75000	160000	500000	340000
Q104	A-2	GREEN & SONS	FURRIER/HATTER	246	250000		.	150	60000	300000	450000	150000
Q104	B	CARPENTER A T	VICTORIA STRAW W	249-H	200000	STEAM	20	150	42500	200000	360000	160000
Q104	B	ROLLAND G S	BOOT/SHOE MF	174	80000	STEAM	10	150	60000	125000	250000	125000
Q106	A-1	O'BRIEN & CO	CLOTHIER	243	14000		.	150	26000	100000	180000	80000
Q104	A-2	AMES MILLARD & CO	BOOT/SHOEMAKER	174	290000	STEAM	10	132	84000	225000	470000	245000
Q106	A-1	MCLAREN & CO	BOOT/SHOE FACTOR	174	27000	STEAM	200	131	50000	150000	250000	100000
O046	A-1	SESSIONS/TURNER/C	BOOTS/SHOE MF	174	30000	STEAM	15	130	100000	180000	300000	120000
Q105	A-1	FOGARTY & BROS	CHAUSSURES, MF	174	10000	STEAM	6	130	50000	110000	280000	170000
Q104	C-2	VALOIS A & CO	CHAUSSURES, MF	174	40000	STEAM	10	125	54000	215000	295000	80000
Q104	A-1	MULLARKY MICHAEL	BOOT/SHOEMAKER	174	31000		.	120	67000	160000	312000	152000
O080	B	ROSAMOND B & W &	WOOLEN FACTORY	182	200000	WATER	160	118	48600	270000	350000	80000
O021	A-3	GORDON & MACKAY	LYBSTER COTTON M	181	150000	WATER	250	116	36000	66000	150000	84000
Q140	A-2	BECKETT CHARLES &	MATCH FACTORY	379-M	10000	WATER	30	112	12000	20000	51000	31000
O047	A-1	BARKER GEORGE	STRAW HAT FACTOR	249-H	10000	STEAM	8	110	20000	30000	62000	32000
Q140	A-1	PATON MF CO	WOOLEN FACTORY	182	133000	WATER	150	106	45000	156250	250000	93750
Q104	B	JAMES GEORGE & CO	BOOT/SHOE FACTOR	174	10000	STEAM	10	105	78000	200000	300000	100000
O047	A-1	LIVINGSTON/JOHNST	CLOTHING FACTORY	242	2000		.	102	26000	60000	110000	50000
O031	G	RANDALL & FARR &	WORSTED/WOOLEN M	182/239	77000	WATER	100	101	35000	140000	200000	60000
O046	B-1	HUNTER ROSE & CO	PRINTER/BINDERY	286/287-B	40000	STEAM	25	100	48000	50000	160000	110000
Q104	A-1	BROWN & CHILDS	BOOT/SHOE MF	174	28500	STEAM	10	100	90000	130000	350000	220000
Q128	B-3	CARON DAME A	BRODERIE, A	174-F	.		.	100	1400	280	2400	2120
Q145	A-1	BRESSE GUILLAUME	SHOE FACTORY	174	10000	STEAM	14	98	40000	100000	165000	65000
O023	C-2	YOUNG & LAW & CO	COTTON FACTORY	181	250000	W/S	90	97	29500	110000	200000	90000
O046	A-1	CAMPBELL J & SONS	PUBLISHER/BINDER	289/287-B	25000	STEAM	15	90	25000	60000	100000	40000
Q104	B	JELLYMAN R	CANADA PAPER BOX	273	4000	STEAM	15	90	10000	18000	30000	12000
O022	E-3	ANCASTER KNITTING	WOOLEN MILL	239	24000	W/S	52	85	20000	70000	110000	40000
O047	A-1	DAMER KING & CO	BOOT/SHOE FACTOR	174	20000	STEAM	15	85	52000	150000	250000	100000
Q106	A-9	WOOD PETER W	COTTON MILL	181	50000	WATER	75	85	19500	77000	129000	52000
Q105	C-4	TALARDEAU CHARLES	CHAUSSURES, MF	174	15000	STEAM	15	82	50000	120000	300000	180000
O073	D-1	WARWICK JOHN	WOOLEN FACTORY	182	100000	WATER	100	80	18000	110000	200000	90000
Q104	C-2	LAPIERRE Z	CHAUSSURES, MF	174	21000	STEAM	6	80	41000	65000	190000	125000
O047	A-1		CLOTHING/MANTLE	242/244	1000		.	75	15000	60000	90000	30000
Q104	A-1	PATTON THOS & BRO	MERCHANT TAILOR	243	10500		.	75	15600	30000	50000	20000
NB174	K-1	PARKS W & SON	COTTON FACTORY	181	100000	STEAM	80	74	19000	84000	130000	46000
Q104	A-2	LINTON & COOPER	BOOT/SHOEMAKER	174	100000	STEAM	18	72	32000	90000	160000	70000
Q128	B-3	AUGER MME E L	BRODERIE, A	174-F	.		.	72	1400	300	3000	2700
Q104	A-1	EWAN JAMES & CO	WHOLESALE CLOTHI	243	33500	STEAM	8	71	19047	119000	145000	26000
Q104	A-2	POPHAM JAMES & CO	BOOT/SHOE FACTOR	174	65000	STEAM	12	71	30000	70000	135000	65000
O046	A-1	TAILUP THOS & CO	CLOTHING MF	243	21600		.	70	17000	58000	83000	25000

CANADA: LARGEST EMPLOYERS OF WOMEN AND GIRLS, 1871

CDID	CED	PROPRIOR	TYPEEST	SIC	FIXCAP	TYPEPOW	FORCE	FEMALE	WAGES	SUMRAWC	SUMPROC	VADD
Q131	B	ROCHELEAU EDMOND	TAILLEUR, B	243	100		.	70	7000	5500	8000	2500
Q145	A-1	INDIA RUBBER CO	RUBBER COMPANY	162	50000	STEAM	75	64	11089	43789	59200	15411
O046	D-3	SIMPSON JAMES	KNITTING FACTORY	239	10000	STEAM	20	63	14000	21000	50000	29000
NS196	F-1	CAMPBELL J B & CO	TOBACCO FACTORY	153	25000	STEAM	20	62	8000	38000	80000	42000
O047	A-1	WALKER R & SONS	CLOTHING/DRY GOO	242	20000		.	62	20000	60000	100000	40000
Q104	B	RICE BROS	PAPER COLLAR MF	274	50000	STEAM	12	62	10000	50000	80000	30000
Q106	C-5	HOUSE OF REFUGE	CLOTHING	242	3000		.	62	3601	2500	4008	1508
Q111	F	BAUTIN ALEXANDRE	PAPIER/ENVELOPPE	271	12500	WATER	350	62	30000	106400	211860	105460
Q104	A-2	LOVELL JOHN	PRINTING/BINDERY	286/287-B	80000	STEAM	6	61	40900	30000	100000	70000
NS196	E-1	TREMAIN STEWART	TOBACCO FACTORY	153	10000	STEAM	8	60	10000	10000	30000	20000
O047	B-1	HUGHES P & B B	TAILOR/MILLINERY	243/249-M	24000		.	60	18000	18000	60000	42000
Q104	A-1	GALLAGHER JOHN	SHOE FITTER	174	6800		.	60	7200	.	16800	.
Q104	A-1	RAFTER JOHN A & C	MERCHANT CLOTHIE	243	12500		.	60	10200	40000	70000	30000
Q104	A-2	GUTMAN M & CO	HOOPSKIRT/HAIR W	244/399-W	15000		.	60	5000	35000	45000	10000
Q104	A-2	SMITH & LEISHMAN	SHIRT COLLAR MF	243	25000		.	60	15000	25000	75000	50000
Q128	B-3	BAZIN DELLE	BRODERIE, A	174-F	.		.	60	2500	300	3125	2825
Q128	B-3	DUGUAY DAME C	BRODERIE, A	174-F	.		.	60	1200	360	1800	1440
Q104	A-1	AITKEN JOHN & CO	UNDERCLOTHES MF	242	5000		.	58	6032	20000	36000	16000
Q147	C-1	ROCHETTE JOHN	SEMELLE, F	179	2000	STEAM	10	58	6500	6000	16250	10250
O047	A-1	KAY JOHN	MILLINERY/MANTLE	249-M/244	200		.	56	5000	20000	40000	20000
Q104	B	MCKERNESS & REID	STRAW WORKS/HAT	249-H	5000		.	56	4500	13000	24000	11000
O016	C-2	PENMAN JOHN	KNITTING FACTORY	239	23000	WATER	40	55	13000	40000	85000	45000
O047	B-1	FINCH W S	CLOTHING STORE	243/245	20000		.	55	10000	30000	45000	15000
NB174	D-1	JONES THOMAS R	MERCHANT TAILOR	243	1000		.	50	11000	35000	50600	15600
NB174	D-1	VALPY JOSEPH	BOOT/SHOE MF	174	30000	STEAM	5	50	32000	90000	150000	60000
O039	A-3	BARBER & BROS	CLOTH FACTORY	182	150000	WATER	150	50	28000	90000	175000	85000
O046	A-1	HAY R & CO	CABINETS/UPHOLST	261	400000	STEAM	40	50	120000	350000	500000	150000
O047	A-1	DREDGE A & CO	BOOKBINDING	287-B	.		.	50	10000	80000	125000	45000
O047	B-1	PATERSON JOHN & C	BOOT/SHOE MF	174	17000		.	50	31200	100000	160000	60000
O055	F-3	WHITEHEAD W J	COTTON MILLS	181	20000	WATER	30	50	10000	45000	60000	15000
Q104	A-2	YOUNG/MCNAUGHTON/	HOOPSKIRT/COLLAR	243/244	6000		.	50	9000	8000	20000	12000
Q106	A-1	RONAYNE M & CO	BOOT/SHOEMAKER	174	29000		.	50	60000	50000	180000	130000
Q146	C-2	RENFREW & MARCOU	FURRIER MANUFACT	246	100000		.	50	13000	200000	300000	100000
O015	D-2	BRETHOUR H W & C	CLOTHING/MILLINE	242/249-M	30000		.	45	18000	30000	55000	25000
O024	E-2	MCPHERSON JOHN &	BOOT/SHOE MF	174	70000	STEAM	25	45	50000	120000	200000	80000
O047	A-1	CHILDS & HAMILTO	BOOT/SHOE FACTOR	174	40000		.	45	65000	85000	160000	75000
O047	A-2	SCALES J & CO	TOBACCO WORKS	153	25000	STEAM	16	45	13500	85000	105000	20000
O054	B-3	FRASER & CO	WOOLEN MILL	182	60000	W/S	80	45	25000	72000	120000	48000
O065	B-2	PENITENTIARY	FEMALE DEPARTMEN	239-K/244	.		.	45	2412	1320	3400	2080
NS196	K	BAKER F H	LOBSTER FACTORY	102	25000		.	44	20000	10000	40000	30000
Q147	A-3	MIGNER O	CHAUSSURES, MF	174	1300		.	44	8600	46000	62500	16500
NB174	D-1	FRANCIS M & SONS	BOOT/SHOE MF	174	30000		.	43	29000	78500	120000	41500
O047	A-1	MURRAY W A	TAILOR/MILLINERY	242/249-M	500		.	41	10000	34000	60000	26000
Q106	A-1	MCMILLAN BROS	CLOTHIER	242	12000		.	41	8000	39500	60000	20500
NB174	D-1	MAY JAMES S	MERCHANT TAILORI	243	750		.	40	7000	30000	45000	15000
NB174	D-1	MAGEE BROS	DRESS/MANTLE MAK	244	300		.	40	6240	20000	30000	10000
O021	A-3	WAIT WILLIAM	COTTON MILLS	181	30000	WATER	120	40	11000	55000	75000	20000
O047	B-1	THOMPSON THOMAS	CLOTHES/BOOT/SHO	243/174	12000		.	40	18000	25000	70000	45000
O051	B-2	BUDGE EDWARD	TAILOR SHOP	243	2000		.	40	3700	8000	14000	6000
O077	A-1	O'MEARA & CO ?	TAILORING EST	243	500		.	40	2400	12000	20000	8000
Q106	A-11	GRAND TRUNK RAILW	RLWY CARS/ENGINE	326	270000	STEAM	185	40	250000	500000	750000	250000

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CDID	CED	PROPRIOR	TYPEEST	SIC	FIXCAP	TYPEPOW	FORCE	FEMALE	WAGES	SUMRAWC	SUMPROC	VADD
Q117	E-1	MOLLEUR J E ?	READY-MADE CLOTH	243	2000		.	40	1500	7500	15000	7500
O077	A-2	SMILLIE BOURNE &	BANK NOTE COMPAN	286-B	100000		.	38	35000	20000	60000	40000
O080	B	ELLIOTT/ROUTH/SHE	WOOLEN MANUFACTU	182	45000	WATER	50	36	14988	42149	75000	32851
Q105	B-10	BLANCHARD ANASTHA	SEMELLES/TALONS,	179	1000	STEAM	15	36	3120	10400	31200	20800
O047	A-1	JANES & BROGLEY &	DRESSES/MILLINER	244/249-M	400		.	35	3500	15000	21000	6000
Q104	A-2	THURSTON E H & CO	BOOT/SHOE MF	174	20000	STEAM	14	35	15600	8500	45000	36500
Q104	B	BELL JOSEPH	BOOT/SHOE FACTOR	174	20000		.	35	17500	65000	100000	35000
Q106	B-1	DELSIEL RYIS ?	TAILOR	242	16000		.	35	3400	20000	28500	8500
O015	D-2	MCLEAN THOMAS	CLOTHING EST	243/249-M	10000		.	34	4000	34000	50000	16000
O024	A-1	FURNER G H & C	HAT FACTORY	249-H	300		.	34	3000	8000	12000	4000
O024	D-2	GALBRAITH & GREEN	FELT HAT WORKS	249-H	50000	STEAM	30	34	21025	17500	60000	42500
O077	D-1	LATREMOUILLE OCTA	TAILLEUR, B	243	200		.	34	4800	10000	18000	8000
O010	D	MCMECHAN & CO	BOOT/SHOE FACTOR	174	25000		.	33	26000	29000	65000	36000
O016	C-1	ADAMS & HACKLAN	WOOLEN MANUFACTU	239	15000	WATER	16	33	10800	38880	81000	42120
O046	B-1	GALE J W	SHIRT FACTORY	243	5000		.	33	5000	12000	24000	12000
O047	A-1	COBLEY HENRY & CO	BOOT/SHOE FACTOR	174	3000		.	33	7800	20000	35000	15000
O076	F	BLACKBURN & MCLAR	WOOLEN FACTORY	182	35000	WATER	200	33	14400	60000	80000	20000
Q105	C-5	BANNERMAN ROBERT	TOBACCO PIPE FAC	399-T	3000		.	33	5200	1600	13260	11660
NS196	C-2	TAYLOR ROBERT	BOOT/SHOE FACTOR	174	10000		.	32	33600	45000	117000	72000
O023	C-2	GRAFTON J B & J	TAILOR ESTABLISH	242	400		.	32	6000	17000	25000	8000
Q111	F	ANDERSON & HALTIE	DRAP, MF	182	28000	WATER	40	32	10000	37500	78000	40500
O047	A-1	HOLMES JOHN	BOOT/SHOE FACTOR	174	4000		.	31	26000	60000	100000	40000
Q104	A-1	COX JAMES	SHOE FITTER	174	3400		.	31	3158	1600	5200	3600
Q107	A-2	DAVIDSON THOMAS &	TIN/IRON STAMPIN	304-T	25000	STEAM	4	31	10000	20000	41000	21000
NB174	D-1	MCDONOUGH MICHAEL	MERCHANT TAILORI	243	100		.	30	4160	8000	15000	7000
NB177	J-2	BERRY & PORTER &	SAW MILL	251/251-S	15000	STEAM	80	30	6300	20000	34800	14800
NB186	F-3	MONCTON TOBACCO F	TOBACCO FACTORY	153	15000		.	30	5200	11500	20000	8500
NS196	D-1	BROWN WALTER & CO	CLOTHING/TAILOR	243	16000		.	30	6000	16000	24000	8000
O010	A	WALLACE ROBERT	TAILORING EST	242	300		.	30	10000	8000	15000	7000
O010	D	BURNS GEORGE	READY-MADE CLOTH	242	8000		.	30	12000	30000	40000	10000
O021	B-1	TAIT JAMES D	FUR/MANTLE MF	246	500		.	30	5500	9260	20000	10740
O031	F	CROMBIE JAMES	WOOLEN FACTORY	182	60000	WATER	6	30	12000	75000	120000	45000
O046	A-1	CANADA CLOTH	CAP MANUFACTORY	249-H/175	1500		.	30	3000	3800	10000	6200
O050	B-1	MCARTHUR F F	FURNITURE MF CO	261	50000	STEAM	40	30	58000	50000	135000	85000
O051	B-3	PITTS T N	MERCHANT TAILOR	243	15000		.	30	9000	30000	50000	20000
O077	D-2	CALDWELL FRANCIS	TAILLEUR	242	2000		.	30	5800	14000	21000	7000
O077	D-2	CALDWELL FRANCIS	TAILLEUR, B	242	2000		.	30	5800	14000	21000	7000
Q104	A-1	BROWN & CLAGGETT	MANTLE/DRESSMAKE	244	2000		.	30	2000	12370	20000	7630
Q104	A-1	CASSILS & CAMERON	HOOPSKIRT FACTOR	244	4100		.	30	5184	15000	17670	2670
Q104	B	LAVENDER HENRY	TAILOR/CLOTHIER	243	20000		.	30	3000	12000	21000	9000
Q106	B-1	HEDGE HENRY	TAILOR	242	4000		.	30	1560	4000	10000	6000
Q106	B-1	DENNIE CATHERINE	DRESSMAKER	244	12000		.	30	3500	32000	40000	8000
Q128	B-3	ROY DAME CHAS	BRODERIE, A	174-F	.		.	30	250	100	500	400
Q146	B-4	BOIVIN FRANCOIS	SHOE FACTORY	179	1000		.	30	250	1500	5000	3500
Q147	B-4	BINET & LAROCHE	CHAUSSURES, MF	174	7000	HORSE	1	30	15600	32000	50000	18000
Q147	C-1	HOPITAL-GENERAL	TAPIS, MF	186	200		.	30	130	460	1000	540
NS196	E-2	YATES GEORGE S	SHOE FACTORY	174	20000		.	28	48000	19000	130000	111000
NS197	A-1	WATT JOHN & CO	TOBACCO FACTORY	153	10000	STEAM	5	28	8000	30000	120000	90000
O021	B-1	BOLES WILLIAM	TAILOR/CLOTHING	242/243	800		.	28	14000	20000	37500	17500
O030	C-2	WILLIAMSON & FOST	MILLINER/TAILOR	249-M/244	10000		.	28	11000	30000	65000	35000
O033	C-4	SHAW & MURTON	CLOTHING	242	150		.	28	2000	12000	14000	2000

CANADA: LARGEST EMPLOYERS OF WOMEN AND GIRLS, 1871

CDID	CED	PROPRIOR	TYPEEST	SIC	FIXCAP	TYPEPOW	FORCE	FEMALE	WAGES	SUMRAWC	SUMPROC	VADD
O050	E	BRODIE ROBERT	WOOLEN MF CO	182	11000	STEAM	35	28	11500	40000	90000	50000
Q104	A-1	GOLTMAN SAMUEL	MERCHANT TAILOR	243	16350		.	28	3500	8000	15000	7000
Q104	A-1	HAUSGEN & GNARDIN	HATTER/FURRIER	246	38500		.	28	12000	85000	220000	135000
Q106	B-10	RENAUD FABIEN	BOOT/SHOE FACTOR	174	6000		.	28	10000	11000	28000	17000
Q146	B-3	RICHARD J BTE	CHAUSSURE, F	174	12000	HORSE	1	28	10400	36000	52000	16000
NB179	B	HOWIE JAMES R	TAILORING EST	243	1400		.	27	5040	10840	18720	7880
Q143	E	BISSET JAMES	PAPIER, ML	271	40000	WATER	100	27	3000	17000	26400	9400
NB174	D-1	WILLIS EDWARD & C	PAPER COLLAR/BOX	274/273	8000	STEAM	.	26	2600	25400	35000	9600
O033	C-4	HEFFERNAN BROS	CLOTHING	242	.		.	26	8000	10000	20000	10000
Q106	C-3	MONTREAL LAUNDRY	LAUNDRY	874	9600	STEAM	6	26	386	2900	9000	6100
Q118	F	WILLETT SAMUEL	FLANELLES, MF	182	50000	WATER	60	26	12000	49000	95000	46000
Q153	F	FITCH EDSON & CO	MATCH SPLINTS/BO	251/256	12000	WATER	50	26	13500	5400	24000	18600
NB174	D-1	MURPHY JOHN	BRUSH MANUFACTOR	399-B	2000	STEAM	8	25	6240	30000	40000	10000
NB174	D-1	KEARNEY ABRAHAM	MERCHANT TAILORI	243	400		.	25	3224	12000	16000	4000
NB174	I	TAYLOR JOHN K	TAILOR EST	243	200		.	25	3000	10000	14000	4000
O068	B	JAMIESON P B	CLOTHING EST	243	450		.	25	7800	25000	40000	15000
O080	E	CALDWELL & WATCHO	WOOLEN MILLS	182	50000	STEAM	40	25	11000	45000	76000	31000
Q104	A-1	PALSGRAVE CHARLES	TYPE FOUNDRY	298-P	26000		.	25	20000	13875	45000	31125
Q104	A-1	MORGAN HENRY & CO	CLOTHING/MILLINE	244/249-M	10000		.	25	8000	60000	100000	40000
Q104	A-2	MOSELEY E V & CO	BOOT/SHOEMAKER	174	6000		.	25	3000	30000	60000	30000
Q104	C-2	LASSE G DAME	MODE, E	249-M/244	2050		.	25	500	6000	9500	3500
Q117	E-1	BLACK J & H	READY-MADE CLOTH	243	8000		.	25	2000	5000	6500	1500
Q121	H-1	ST MICHEL SOEUR	TISSERAND, O	182-W	150		.	25	600	200	1039	839
Q131	B	BALCER HENRY	MANCHONNIER, A	246	100		.	25	15000	50000	75000	25000
					6599100		4530	12117	4194381	11492946	20813947	9304201

Appendix A-10

Canada: Distribution of female and male workers by sex of proprietor and co-workers, 1871

		numbers of employees				
		men	women	boys	girls	total
I: Female proprietors						
a) all-female workforce						
1 employee only	(1,765)		1,755		10	1,765
2 employees	(414)		713		115	828
3-5 employees	(299)		912		169	1,081
6-25 employees	(93)		658		145	803
26-50 employees	(3)		103		2	105
51 + employees	(4)		292			292
b) mixed workforce						
(1 man + 1 woman)		(11)	(11)			
2-5 employees	(30)	29	40	13	4	86
6-25 employees	(12)	21	94	4	18	137
25-50 employees	(1)	1	10	3	15	29
c) all-male workforce						
1 employee only	(58)	56		2		58
2-5 employees	(77)	181		25		206
6-25 employees	(21)	208		18		226
sub-totals *(in female-headed establishments)*		496	4,577	65	478	5,616
II: Male proprietors						
a) all-female workforce						
1 employee only	(600)		594		6	600
2-5 employees	(237)		541		90	631
6-25 employees	(78)		704		100	804
26-50 employees	(2)		50		10	56
51 + employees	(4)		230		6	236
b) mixed workforce						
(1 man + 1 woman)		(611)		(611)		
2-5 employees	(1628)	2,364	2,065	236	283	4,948
6-25 employees	(1100)	6,260	4,816	893	679	12,648
26-50 employees	(212)	3,634	2,865	636	450	7,585
51+ employees	(173)	13,539	8,491	1,701	2,002	25,733
sub-totals *(in male-headed establishments with female or mixed workforces)*		25,797	20,356	3,466	3,626	53,245
c) all-male workforce *(all sizes of establishments with only men and/or boys employed)*						
	(37972)	128,134		10,191		

Source: compiled from CANIND71 database. Brackets after each size-class in the lefthand column enclose the number of establishments in each category.

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