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WORKING PAPER 23

WOMEN AND THE REPRODUCTION

OF LABOUR POWER IN THE

INDUSTRIAL CITY: A CASE STUDY

SUZANNE MACKENZIE

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Urban and Regional Studies,
Arts Building,
University of Sussex,
Falmer,
Brighton BN1 9QN

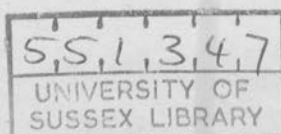
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ABSTRACT

This paper is concerned with understanding the relationship between women's social position and the processes of urban landscape transformation. The subject of investigation is the change in women's position which arose with industrialization, and the way in which women's response to this change influenced, and was articulated in the transformation of Toronto's landscape between 1880 and 1910.

The examination of this question is informed by an underlying methodological question: how do we approach the historical geography of an industrialising city from the perspective of women's social position. The characteristic distinguishing women's social position from that of men is defined as the primacy of their responsibility for reproductive work. Changes in the relationship of reproductive work to social production as a whole were then defined as the context of the historical development of women's social position. The paper thus examines the city of Toronto as an expression and reinforcement of the changes in the productive-reproductive relationship which arose with industrialization. These changes are assessed from the perspective of their influence on women's social position.

The pre-industrial relation between production and reproduction was partly 'self-regulating', although the expanding scale and growing specialization of productive activity led to a growing spatial and functional separation between the activities of producing value and reproducing the labour force. Industrial production accelerated this process of separation and created a 'problem of reproduction'. The response to this problem - expanded public services to the labour force - eroded women's traditional household work. Women's resistance to this erosion and the concomitant growth in female labour force participation constituted a threat to the family. The 'problem of reproduction' was both articulated and partially resolved in the transformation of the urban landscape into specialized 'reproductive complexes' in the suburbs and specialized 'productive complexes' in the city's core. Suburban reproductive complexes laid the basis for the modern 'housewife' role and for the hegemony of the dependency associated with this role in all aspects of women's lives.

The concluding section of the paper returns to the basic methodological questions, redefining the 'problem of reproduction' in light of the historical examination. It assesses the potential contribution of the paper's perspective to urban historical geography and makes suggestions for the further development of this perspective.

Nellie McClung, one of Canada's most outspoken female suffragists wrote, at the turn of the last century:

At the present time there are many people seriously alarmed at the discontent among women. They say women are no longer content with woman's work and woman's sphere. Women no longer find their highest joy in plain sewing... The wash board has lost its charm ... Many people view this condition with alarm and believe that women are deserting the sacred sphere of home-making and rearing of children; in short, women are losing their usefulness (McClung, n.d., p. 288).

McClung welcomed this 'discontent', this rejection of the narrow confines of "woman's sphere". She was one of the many who devoted her energies to furthering and channelling it. She observed, both with anger and often ill-disguised delight, the fears this discontent and its political articulation in the 'awful movement for the emancipation of women' raised among the politicians, churchmen and 'solid citizens' of her time. And she wrote, of the 'New Citizenship' demanded by women:

Ideas are contagious and epidemic. They break out unexpectedly and without warning. Thought without expression is dynamic and gathers volume by repression. Evolution when blocked and suppressed, becomes revolution (ibid.,).

McClung was not alone in seeing the woman question as a potentially revolutionary one. And despite the analogy with mysterious epidemic diseases, she and her cohorts recognised that the "discontent" was a response to the crisis in women's position engendered by the transition toward urban dominated, industrial capitalist society in Canada.

Chapters II, III and IV of this paper are from an unpublished M.A. dissertation written in 1978. The Introduction and Assessment have been rewritten for this working paper.

The process of industrialisation, restructuring both the content and context of the labour process, created a new social order in Canada. The development and expansion of the industrial labour process presupposed and reinforced an increasingly complex social division of labour. It also presupposed and reinforced a growing concentration of the process of production and therefore of the labour force.

Many aspects of production and labour force reproduction became increasingly socialised. Social institutions took on a share of responsibility for education and health care. The expansion of industry filled the home with manufactured substitutes for domestically produced goods. Many elements of family service and household manufacture were transferred from the home, family firm or sweatshop to the factory or state sector. Women entered the sectors of office work, the 'caring professions' and consumer goods manufacture in growing numbers. They came to numerically dominate these expanding, highly visible sectors, doing, in a new locale and in new conditions, what they had formerly done in the household (1). This adjustment in women's labour process did not substantially increase the number of women who worked to help maintain their families, but it did make women's work visible in transferring large sections of it to the wage sector.

Women's visibility was magnified by the fact that women were numerically dominant in the 'new' sectors which were displacing traditional craft manufacture and service, and therefore displacing male workers. Their labour force participation was seen by many as a cause rather than a symptom of the disruptions generated by the transition to an industrial society. The adjustments women made to new labour processes appeared to threaten the whole structure of the economy.

The nature of women's wage work also changed, and thereby appeared to threaten, the family. The sectors into which most women moved were those which were providing substitutes for household goods and services. The foundations of women's preindustrial household role were being eroded by the services and goods they produced in the 'public' work. While this relationship may not have been clear to contemporary observers, the fact that women spent less time and performed fewer activities in the household certainly was (2).

This, in conjunction with declining marriage and fertility rates raised the spectre of the decline of the family (3). Despite the erosion of its material functions, the family was still a basic social institution, one which was taking on new responsibilities and new meanings in industrial society. The development of the services and goods which replaced household manufacture and service and transferred women into the wage sector assumed the continued existence of the family. They were developed to support, not replace, the family, and in fact reinforced its new responsibilities and meaning.

The emerging patterns of increasingly socialised production and labour force reproduction at once eroded and depended on the family. Women were thus caught in the centre of this vicious conundrum, and their 'discontent' was a chafing against the opposing pulls of wage and family work, and against the conflicting ideological meanings of wage and family work.

This paper is concerned to understand the relationship between women's position and urban landscape transformation in the emergence and resolution of these conflicts.

This concern raises some methodological questions. Historical geography has produced many studies of the industrial transformation of urban pattern and process (4). Social historians have produced a large body of literature on the changes in women's role with industrialisation (5). But there have been few attempts to draw together these concerns in an understanding of women's role in landscape transformation and the articulation of new feminine roles in the landscape of the industrial city. We are thus faced with the question: how do we approach the historical geography of an industrialising city from the perspective of women's social position? This basic question immediately raises two others. First, what is specific about women's position in society? Second, how is this difference articulated and influenced by urban space and process? This introduction discusses the first question, outlining the methodological framework for exploring the second.

1. Women's Social Position

Our patterns of activity as men and women and constituents of our sexuality are historically constructed, reinforced and changed. Any serious attempt to understand women's position and activities in society must begin not with an historical and implicitly biologically determined category 'woman' but with the question - what relations define the specificity of women's position in society? It is these relations which form the conceptual tools with which we approach urban development.

Feminist analysis locates women's position "in terms of the relations of production and reproduction of (labour power) at various moments in history" (Kuhn and Wolpe, 1978, 7) (6).

The maintenance of any society requires two kinds of work; the work of producing the means of subsistence ... food, clothing, shelter and the tools requisite therefore, and the work of reproducing the labour force: bearing, educating and caring for the people who produce and consume the means of subsistence (Engels, ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, p. 449). These two kinds of work, production and reproduction, of labour power vary historically. Social development can be seen as the interrelated development of the mode of production and reproduction of labour power (7).

The process of producing the 'means of subsistence' is organised according to specific social relations. People's relationship to the tools and to the process of producing, and the relations through which the means of subsistence are distributed, all vary historically. The content of reproductive work, the mode of its organisation and the social institution within which it is performed have also varied historically, in interaction with the development of production.

Bridenthal suggests that "... the relationship between production and reproduction (of labour power) is a dialectic within the larger historical dialectic. That is, changes in the mode of production give rise to changes in the mode of reproduction such that a tension arises between them." (Bridenthal, 1976, 5) This conflict calls for adjustments in each sphere and in the relation between them. In such conflicts and adjustments, women change their patterns of social activity in specific ways (8).

Women have been consistently defined as central to reproductive work. It has been the relations between production and reproduction that have altered and thereby altered women's social position. The kind of activity necessary

to produce the goods and services in society, and the organisation of these activities will determine the content of women's work, just as for men. But the content of women's work also includes the activities of reproduction. These activities may make up the greatest proportion of her work, and will certainly mediate her participation in production. Similarly, the institutions in which production and reproduction go on, and most especially the extent of their integration, will determine women's social position, her social mobility and her status in the community. So, while women have consistently had primary responsibilities for reproduction of labour, the social meaning of this work, the social position attributed to it and attainable through it, have varied with the organisation of production and reproduction. The process of transition to new relations of production and reproduction of labour power thus creates specific conflicts for women. This paper is an attempt to outline one such period of transition.

2. Women's Position and the City

Understanding women's position in the city calls for a framework which examines urban spatial development from the perspective of the relation BETWEEN production and reproduction of labour power. This paper will focus on the process of change in this relationship in Toronto between 1880 and 1910, the period of transition to monopoly capitalist industrialisation. I will argue that as industrialisation changed social life in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Canadian cities, it created a crisis in women's social position. This crisis was both articulated and partially resolved in the transformation of urban social morphology. The responses of women to the crisis in their social position were one of several influential factors in the form of this resolution. The transformation of the city was partly a process of creating and reinforcing a new feminine activity pattern.

The general processes of change were in many respects common to other industrialising cities in North America and Western Europe. But Toronto was, from its beginnings, a colonial city in a colonial economy. Both its pre-industrial development and its industrialisation were marked by colonial dominance, initially by Great Britain and, by the mid nineteenth century, by the United States. The process of industrialisation, and the conflicts between productive and reproductive developments in the city thus took on a specific form. Discussion of Toronto's political economy and generalisation from experiences here must be seen in the context of these colonial ties.

The second chapter of the paper will discuss the relation of production and reproduction in pre-industrial Toronto. Chapter III will discuss change in this relationship brought on by the development of industrialisation, and women's responses to these changes. Chapter IV will examine the resolution of these conflicts in the 'spatial rationalisation' of the urban landscape into specialised industrial-commercial and suburban residential districts. The concluding chapter will evaluate the analysis in terms of its potential contribution to urban geographic history and to the history of women.

NOTES CHAPTER I

1. See Chapter 3 of this paper, especially Tables 7 to 9.
2. See Chapter 3, Section 4 of this paper.
3. On declining marriage and birth rates see Tables 11 to 14 in this paper.
4. Both the theoretical literature on industrialisation and studies of individual cities are vast. Items to which this paper makes reference include both geographic and social historical works. See for example: Carter, 1972; Copp, 1974; Engels, *THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN ENGLAND*; Park et al., 1967; Sennet, 1974; Stedman Jones, 1976; Stelter and Artibisie, eds. 1977: *THE CANADIAN CITY* (McClelland and Stewart, Toronto); Vance, 1971; Warner, 1962 and 1968; Weber, 1899; Woodsworth, 1911.
5. Works in this field which I have found most useful include: Beard, 1962; Clark, 1919; Cook and Mitchinson, 1976; Griffiths, 1976; Hynes, n.d.; Johnson, 1974; Klein and Roberts, 1974; Oakley, 1976; Pinchbeck, 1930; Tilly & Scott, 1978; Zaretsky, 1974.
6. Reproduction of labour must be differentiated from reproduction of the social formation as a whole. The former forms a component of the latter, which is used to denote the process of renewing and maintaining the whole socio-economic system.

I will use the term reproduction of labour power to indicate the former and 'social reproduction' to indicate the latter except where the context makes this unnecessary.
7. Labour power is defined as the capacity to work, "... the aggregate of those mental and physical capabilities existing in a human being which he (she) exercises whenever he (she) produces a use value of any description" (Marx, *CAPITAL*, VOLUME I, p. 164). Labour power is thus not specific to capitalism. What is specific to capitalist society is the relations through which labour power is realised in production, that is - its selling and buying as a commodity. The capitalist relation between production and reproduction of labour power is (at the most abstract level of analysis) one of reproducing and purchasing - utilizing a commodity, labour power.
8. I am not suggesting here that all women experience and create these changes in the same way. Their class position provides vastly different contexts and resources from which to act, and this is evidenced in the historical section of the paper. However, on an 'abstract' level, these relations do influence women as a gender defined social group, and are, in fact, the constituents of that definition.
9. The historical background on Canada and Toronto is largely from secondary sources or collections of primary sources. As far as possible, the material on women is primary Canadian documents, much of it written by contemporary Torontonians. Contemporary quotations refer to Toronto, or to Canada, unless otherwise indicated.

CHAPTER II WOMEN IN PRE-INDUSTRIAL TORONTO

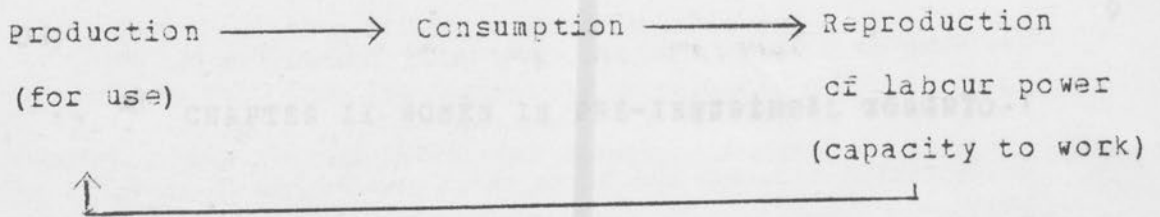
This chapter attempts to outline the pre-industrial political economy of women in Toronto [1]. It will describe major changes in economy and society which affected the reproduction of labour and thereby the position of women. Although there was craft based manufacture in Toronto from the early nineteenth century (Armstrong, 1977; Goheen, 1970, p. 51), it was not until the 1880s that large scale industry established a dominant influence on social life and the urban landscape. This chapter is thus concerned with the development of women's roles leading up to the 1880s.

The forms of production and their social relationships to reproduction in pre-industrial Toronto went through two stages. From the period of establishment of white settlement until the mid nineteenth century Ontario was a 'toiler' society (Johnson, 1974, p. 14). This was the period of direct colonial political control over a relatively non-specialized agrarian dominated society. Between the 1850s and the 1880s, there was an expansion of the capitalist market in Ontario. In the cities, craft production of goods became increasingly important. This period was dominated by a commercial elite and by small scale, independent commodity production; ties to the metropole were primarily economic.

1. Toiler Society

From the beginning of white settlement in Ontario until the mid nineteenth century, The British economy was a mercantile-dominated one. The colonies acted as sources of raw materials, as outlets for 'excess' population and as limited markets for British products (Naylor, 1972, p. 6). Ontario was an agriculturally dominated society, composed largely of "independent small landowners living in isolated settlements" (Johnson, 1974, p. 15). The basic unit of production was the family, engaged in relatively autonomous production. Both on farms, and in workshops in towns, every family worked to contribute to the survival of the family productive unit. Such units were structurally similar to pre-capitalist feudal family units of production. They were characterised firstly by a unity of labour and capital - the family owned the land and tools and contributed the labour, and secondly, by the location of the workplace in or near the home.

In the agricultural sector, the family produced some surplus and engaged in exchange for manufactured items. However, the farm family produced most of what it consumed. The activities of production and reproduction were thus to some extent integrated and mutually reinforcing. The household produced many of its consumer goods, was the centre of the children's education through their productive work, and was also the centre of family life.



There was a sexual division of labour within this unit. Women and children were primarily responsible for the tasks of providing family food and many household goods. They cared for the kitchen gardens, orchards and household animals, and manufactured goods such as soap, candles and clothing. (Johnson, 1974, p. 16). Adult males were primarily responsible for heavy farm work, for producing surplus for exchange [2]. But despite this sexual division of labour, woman's roles as producers and reproducers were integrated. In their household work they both produced family necessities and educated their daughters. The children they gave birth to were members of the family productive units. Women were fully integrated into production and economic organization, necessary to the maintenance of the family and the economy.

The distinctive characteristic of this form of economic organization was the integration of all family members into a mutually dependent unit of production and family maintenance. Production and reproduction were thus integrated and self-regulating. In other words, the mutual interdependence of productive and reproductive activities in the family, allowed, and in fact necessitated co-ordination and carrying out of these activities with reference to each other. For example, if

education consisted of 'learning by doing' in the home, farm or workshop, parents exerted (within cultural and economic limits) some control over skill and value development in the child, regulating such development to family productive needs. Because of this control, they were also able to predict and control, to some extent, what skills would be 'appropriate' for their child's future. Alternatively, the scale and intensity of production - for family consumption and exchange - was in part constrained by family size and by family resources.

The productive activities of the family thus influenced its social and skill organization, and the size and skills of the family set the limits of the resources available for production. In other words, in a 'self-regulating' family, decisions as to productive and reproductive activities could, and in fact had, to be made with reference to one another. This allowed some degree of internal control and predictability [3].

The basic family unit worked and lived in a spatial setting which reflected and reinforced the unity of production and reproduction. Spatial organization was largely regulated by the needs of family survival and by local community needs. Both the farms and their communities were small scale. Social and productive life was oriented first toward the family and secondly toward a relatively self-sufficient and 'areally

self-contained' local community (Glazerbrook, 1968, p. 161; Harris, 1975 and 1977; Teeple, 1972).

The cities were the centres of the imperial linkage in Ontario. Through the cities the requirements of the metropolis were filtered, and from the cities the structure of the hinterland economy was regulated. The cities were the centres of trade, of finance, export-import activities and of manufacture. They were also the seat of the dominant administrative class and of the growing commercial classes.

Toronto was a particularly accurate reflection of this relationship. It was established as a military outpost of the empire. In addition to its original military and administrative roles, it took on commercial and manufacturing functions in response to metropolitan demand and local needs. (Armstrong, 1977; Goheen, 1960, Chapter III; Kerr and Spelt, 1965).

The dominant class in Toronto in the early nineteenth century was aristocratic and bureaucratic, appointed through English connections. It controlled large sections of land, engaged in trade, and administered the colony according to metropolitan demands. The loyalties of this class were to England (Goheen, 1960, Chapter III).

In this aristocratic class, kinship was an essential aspect of social position. The family was the major institution in transmission of colonial patronage and land. (Guillet, 1934; Johnson, 1974, p. 17). This kinship relation retained vestiges of the feudal pattern, but the family's role was changing rapidly in mercantile capitalist society. The production of wealth itself was increasingly separate, geographically and economically, from the family. While the kinship relations remained paramount in maintenance and transmission of power, the activities of resource extraction, finance, shipping, trade and distribution became more specialized and grew in scale. The family became increasingly separate from the daily business of productive life, an annex and complement to economic organization. Internally the family became an increasingly self-centred, child-centred institution. It became an institution responsible for reproducing the personnel of economic life, for ensuring the continuity of class power relationships, but it was no longer the central unit of production.

Women's position within these aristocratic families was a reflection of changes in the social status of the family. Aristocratic women were defined as primarily responsible for providing 'a secure link between generations of inheriting males.' (Johnson, 1974, p. 19). Women were socially responsible for helping to maintain their husband's social and economic positions. They were hostesses, household directors,

mothers of heirs; they were also responsible for welfare work, an extension of their 'mothering' role (Aberdeen, 1894; Klein and Roberts, 1974, p. 214). Aristocratic women were thus confined and socially defined in terms of the aristocratic family. But despite its narrowing range, the continued centrality of the family to property and patronage transmission in this period gave these women an important social role and a relatively wide scope for action.

The growing class of merchants and bureaucrats in Toronto were also indirectly dependent on British ties (Gcheen, 1970, p. 52; Johnson, 1974, p. 20). Commerce was primarily export-oriented, and thus dependent on British markets and capital, mediated through the patronage of the colonial aristocracy. Small producers were also dependent, both on British capital and on aristocratic patronage. For this sector also the family was important as a means of property and patronage transmission.

The social behaviour and family patterns of this class conformed to those of the aristocracy as far as was economically possible. The more well-to-do families were centred around a full-time housewife, perhaps with a few servants. In the artisanal and craft sectors, the family retained an important role in the transmission of skills. In these families, the wife worked alone in the household or assisted in the family business. In the families of labourers,

the wife might herself engage in wage work, as a 'char' or seamstress, to supplement the family income (Johnson, 1974, p. 21).

Toronto in the early nineteenth century was thus a colonially dominated city, economically centred on the extraction of wealth through commercial activities. The family was central to patronage, and the transmission of property and skills. It was becoming, in contrast to the farm family, an institution concerned primarily with reproduction of personnel and class relationships rather than a productive unit. Women's scope for action, defined in terms of the family, varied with class position.

2. Independent Commodity Production in Toronto: 1850-1880

In the period between the 1850s and 1880s, changes in the metropolises of Britain and the United States altered the political economy of Ontario and Toronto in several significant ways. First of all, this was the period of the ascendancy of the industrial bourgeoisie to dominance in Britain. The repeal of the Corn Laws was a defeat of the mercantile and landed interests and a "victory of export oriented industrial capital in Britain" (Naylor, 1972, p. 8). The imperial linkage shifted from a direct political tie to a predominantly economic one. Canada was seen as a field for British portfolio investment and as a market for manufactures as well as a raw materials source.

At the same time, industrial capitalism was establishing dominance in the United States. Economic links with America became increasingly important. The growing importance of economic connections led to the growing importance of the commercial and small capitalist classes over the colonial aristocracy.

Secondly, the Canadian political economy as a whole became increasingly integrated and financially centralized. The railway and construction boom, in conjunction with trade reciprocity between Canada and United States in the 1850s, allowed the expansion of an integrated home market.

(Glazerbrook, 1968, p. 186; Johnson, 1974, p. 23; Myers, 1914, pp. 150-337; Naylor, 1972, p. 11).

Thirdly, the urban component of Ontario's population and Toronto's population grew rapidly (Tables A and B, Statistical Appendix, p. 160). This was influenced by the policy of 'systematic colonization' which had been in effect since the 1820s. Systematic colonization attempted to "transplant to the colonies a cross section of English society." (Burrough, 1969, p. 45). It also emphasized the export of British 'surplus population', which would at once alleviate unemployment in Britain and provide a basis for an industrial proletariat in Canada. Encouragement of immigration, especially the Irish famine immigrants in the 1840s, coupled with the growing scarcity of cheap land, meant that there were significant pools

of unskilled labour in the cities by the 1850s [4] (Johnson, 1974, p. 23; Myers, 1914, p. 91; Teeple, 1972, p. 59).

All sectors of the Ontario economy reflected these changes. The agricultural sector was increasingly integrated into a cash based market. Farming became more market oriented, more capital intensive and more specialized (Glazerbrook, 1968, Harris, 1975, p. 8; Johnson, 1974, p. 24). The productive unit extended beyond the family, resulting in a breakdown of the integration of production and reproduction similar to that evident in urban families of the earlier period. Market-oriented productive work became more and more the responsibility of adult males. Children spent longer periods of time in the school system rather than being educated through work in the family. Women's work, with the increasing availability of manufactured household goods and the erosion of their productive role, became a service, restricted to maintaining the household as a reproductive annex to productive life.

In Toronto, this was a period of tremendous expansion of commerce, finance and industry. Railways centred on Toronto were both a source of capital accumulation and a means of extending the city's commercial hinterland (Glazerbrook, 1968, p. 131; Kerr and Spelt, 1965, pp. 65-72; Mulvany, 1884, p. 59). There was a growth of building and loan societies, of local banks and of real estate and insurance companies, all acting to

mobilize capital (Masters, 1947, pp. 67-72). More and more, Toronto was becoming the commercial centre of Ontario (Goheen, 1970, Chapter V; Masters, 1947, p. 70). The emerging commercial bourgeoisie took on a role of social and economic leadership. The kinship structure of property transmission remained important. But the type of property, gained through circulation of value in export trade and infrastructure investment depended less and less on direct family based patronage and social networks. The growing scale and the social relations of economic life removed it further and further from the household and family. The bourgeois family thus became increasingly separate from market production, both physically and functionally. It became a family with a provider husband and dependent wife and children. Its concerns were now almost entirely reproductive, the bearing and socialization of heirs, and the maintenance of class relationships. The family became a sanctuary from economic life, the negative image of economic life; child centred and governed by non-economic qualities of emotion (Griffiths, 1976, Chapter 6; Johnson, 1974, pp. 17-18; Katz, 1975, pp. 306-310).

The constricting sphere and growing separation of the family was reflected in women's position. As the family sphere became smaller and smaller and more internally directed, so did women's activities, social status and socially defined 'nature'.

To ensure continuity and security of property and power transmission, bourgeois women were required to be not only faithful to their husbands, but virtually asexual. In Canada

By the middle of the 19th, century the pattern was clear. The ideal of family, of home, was linked to the idea of the proper and sole occupation of women as homemakers, wives and mothers. In this context sexual appetite was looked upon as something that could destroy the one safe refuge ... in being regulated it became the moral foundation of social life. What evolved out of this attitude was a vision of sexual appetite as a male need and something to be endured by the female. (Griffiths, 1976, p. 158).

This 'pure' feminine nature not only ensured family stability, but also became the cornerstone of social morality, a morality which drew strictly defined class boundaries on all aspects of social and individual behaviour. The moral superiority of their women was, in social Darwinian terms, evidence of the higher evolutionary state of the bourgeoisie and therefore a justification of their 'natural right' to leadership (Conway, 1972, p. 142; Fee, 1974, p. 88; Sedgewick, 1856; Taylor, 1959, p. 5).

Around these bourgeois women grew up a 'feminine ideal', an emotional and asexual wife and mother circumscribing her person and her concerns to the home. As the separation between the family and the economy grew, women became increasingly isolated from productive life. Their continued exclusion and continued performance of their family role was justified in terms of their feminine nature. The feminine ideal both

celebrated and degraded women, and assured her she was unsuited to 'outside' work. Bliss Carmen's THE LIBERATION OF WOMEN exemplifies these qualities when he says:

In this vast struggle which our race seems to be making toward a fuller realization of its ideas of justice and its dreams of happiness, the part played by women must be incalculable. It is preeminently her concern. She has been from time out of mind the treasurer of all the spiritual wealth of the race.... It is largely on her genius we must depend in readjusting the balance of humanity, in saving civilization from the extremes of rationalism and materialism.... Protectress of the immortal seed, guardian and transmitter of racial wisdom and inherited good, restricted to the cradle and the hearth, she had no opportunity for that detachment and comparative irresponsibility which developed men's wits.... She is content to worship without reason and enjoy without question... [and] she acts from impulse rather than principle. She is a born pragmatist and lives to make her own desires come true.... She skips the valley of reason. In the realms of thought, of investigation and invention and discovery and the creative arts, her genius is sterile. She is more essentially conservative than man (Carmen, n.d., p. 79).

Women were, by nature, emotional, somewhat mindless and conservative. Economic life, with its 'rational' and competitive nature, was essentially masculine. After the separation of the family had removed women from economic life, this ideal helped to keep them out. Bourgeois women, like their aristocratic predecessors, were responsible for welfare work as well as household direction and child socialization. They thus helped maintain and reproduce the system of class power relations, and also cared for its victims. Women's philanthropic role, organized in bourgeois terms and aimed at promoting class unity was a force for social stability.

(Aberdeen, 1900; Klein and Roberts, 1974, p. 214).

Just as the importance of economic over political ties had shifted leadership from the colonial aristocracy to the commercial bourgeoisie so the integration and expansion of the home market led to a realignment of other urban classes [5]. Along with the expansion of commerce, Toronto developed a growing manufacturing sector. Commodity production in the early part of the century had been craft based, organised in small workshops under the guidance of a master artisan who employed journeymen and apprentices (Johnson, 1974, p. 25; Kealey, p. 1976). In the thirty years preceding the 1800's, this sector expanded in scale and many larger establishments appeared (Johnson, 1974, p. 25; Masters, 1947, p. 15). Despite this growth, the process of production was still craft based. Skilled artisans organised into the guild-based unions still retained a monopoly over the process of production, hiring semi-skilled and unskilled workers for menial jobs. (Kealey, 1976). However by the 1850s, there were signs of the undermining of craft production by machine-based production employing unskilled labour, often female. This development was met with growing resistance by craft unionists (Kealey, 1976; Masters, 1947, p. 64).

The division into skilled artisans and a growing body of unskilled labour was reflected in the social lives and family organization as well as the work processes of these two

sectors. The 'mechanics' or artisans tended to earn relatively high wages. Although traditionally the wife and children had been part of a household based workshop, the growth in scale of production resulted in a gradual separation of household work from productive work. Although home and workplace remained spatially close (Goheen, 1970, p. 118), their functions were increasingly separated. The artisan's wife gradually took on a full time household role. Her activities were restricted as the family sphere contracted with the growth of public education for her children (Graham, 1974) and the increasing scale and specialization of productive work for her husband.

For that growing class of unskilled labour in Toronto, one wage was insufficient to maintain family life [6] (Cross, 1977, pp. 129-13; Kealey, 1974, p. 18; Woodsworth, 1911, Chapter 4). In these families, everyone worked to bring in wages. This was a carry-over of the pre-capitalist family work process, translated into a new urban necessity. But it was a family unit in a radically different environment than that of the pre-capitalist farm or workshop. The unity of labour and capital and the spatial localization of production and reproduction had been broken. Family members now worked not as a unit, but as individuals competing in a job market external to the family structure. Working relations were thus parallel, or even antagonistic, rather than mutually reinforcing.

The problems confronting all unskilled labour were especially acute for women in this sector. Women in labouring families had dual roles. They were responsible for reproducing the family and for wage earning work in the productive sphere. [7]. These dual roles conflicted not only in time and space but also in their social relations. Because of this conflicting duality, these women occupied the most disadvantaged positions in both the family and work force. Their responsibility for household maintenance meant that they acted as a buffer between the economy and the main family breadwinner, the husband. British evidence documents that women in working-class families enjoyed a lower standard of living and used fewer family resources than other family members. Women consumed a disproportionately small share of health care and had little leisure time. They ate less, worked longer hours and made numerous small sacrifices to ensure family survival (Oren, 1974). These patterns are also evident in Toronto (Klein and Roberts, 1974; Rotenberg, 1974). In their wage work, married women of this class were also a disadvantaged sector. They worked in the least desirable jobs; in laundries and rag mills, or at part time cleaning or piece work, the latter in sweat shops or at home (Thomas, 1889, p. 25). Women were the main labour force in the sweated and contract systems (Kealey, 1974). In addition, women's wages were from one third to one half those of adult men (Kealey, 1974, p. 11).

The conflicts of this dual role were exacerbated by 'flying in the face' of the feminine ideal. Women who worked for wages were universally condemned by bourgeois reformers and male craft unionists (Hynes, n.d., p. 3; Kealey, 1974, p. 29; Roberts, 1976, p. 39). The Reverend Sedgewick announced to a Toronto audience in 1856 that

the public factory is not the proper sphere of women.... the din and whirl, the rumble and the roll, of the machinery acting on their mental and moral nature so as to destroy, or all but destroy, that fineness of feeling and gentleness of behaviour which seem natural to woman from the very fact of their sex.... It is impossible ... that women engaged in factories can be ... expert in household duties ... In public factories there is ... the promiscuous mingling of the sexes ... [leading] to early, imprudent and improvident marriages (Sedgewick, 1856, p. 17).

The prevailing attitude was that these families were underdeveloped in an evolutionary sense, and that women's wage work was "condemned by the general verdict of society and confined to the uneducated and vicious" (Fee, 1974, p. 101).

The basic separation of production and reproduction and its variable expression over classes was both reflected in and reinforced by Toronto's pre-industrial landscape. It was in aristocratic and later in bourgeois families that the separation of family life from economic activity had first emerged as a dominant form. Despite the continued importance of the family as a transmitter of property and class position, the bourgeois family as an exclusively reproductive institution

was a well-established social ideal by mid century. In this separation, the reproduction of the bourgeoisie was rationalized in an internally regulated series of specialized institutions: schools, the university, prestigious churches, etc., which complemented the family (Graham, 1974, p. 166; Johnson, 1974, p. 21; Masters, 1947, p. 43). This reproductive complex paralleled the proliferation of integrated commercial services (Masters, 1947, pp. 60-70; Mulvany, 1884, pp. 219-221).

In the city this parallel rationalization was reflected in the emergence of the warehouse financial district and the elite residential districts as the first segregated and specialized areas of Toronto (Goheen, 1970, p. 121 and 143; Mulvany, 1884; Masters, 1947, p. 169). Goheen's map of "income property" in 1860 reveals a concentration of "commercially valuable land" with "income earning activities" concentrated near Yonge and King streets, and another such district "in the west, close to the railway lines along the lakeshore." (Goheen, 1970, p. 119; Map 1.) The map of "economic status" (Map 2,) shows a high status area centred just north of the commercial core, Goheen says this "was the only large area of the city which appears to be developed exclusively for residential purposes, unaccompanied by a characteristic mix of industrial and commercial activities" (ibid.) [8]. Journeys to work for bank directors and clerical workers (Goheen, 1970, 130-1) (Map 3) show a pattern of commuting from the high status

residential areas north and west of the core to the commercial core. These commuters were thus moving between specialized residential areas and specialized commercial areas. This spatial separation was a result of the changes in productive life which had led to the functional separation of reproduction from economic activity. It also reinforced this separation, and women's exclusion from economic activity. The reproductive complex of elite homes and institutions reinforced the primacy of woman's reproductive role, while the specialized commercial districts reinforced the primacy of her husband's economic role.

For artisanal families, this separation developed more slowly. Craft workshops continued to be family operations until mid-century, integrating household and manufacturing work. Children were educated largely through apprenticeship in the craft or in household work. The family, although increasingly separated from productive work, was important for the transmission of skills. The closer integration of artisanal production and reproduction is reflected in their spatial proximity in Toronto, where, "craftsmen resided very close to their workshops" while "skilled labour tended to be localized in those districts in which industrial establishments were found." (Goheen, 1970, p. 118). For some craftspeople, home and workshop were identical. For example, bakers and confectioners "laboured in small shops at home." (ibid., p. 131.)

While it foreshadowed the mutual

exclusion characteristic of bourgeois life and work, this proximity allowed some continued integration of education and productive work, and provided a common geographic milieu for family members.

For both the bourgeois and artisanal sectors, therefore, production and reproduction retained vestiges of 'self-regulation'. The bourgeoisie developed separate districts in the city to rationalize production and reproduction. Artisanal families maintained some spatial and functional integration of family life and work. For unskilled labourers, however, those who possessed neither property nor skills, there were few mechanisms for co-ordinating their productive and reproductive lives. They had no base for integration of production and reproduction; they had neither the resources to build specialized institutions nor the skills to transmit through family based apprenticeship. Unskilled labourers, whose home lives were most radically different from their working lives, were also those whose homes were most distant from their work. Labouring families tended to be located on the periphery of the city, in the least accessible locations, on the eastern and northwestern periphery of the city (Goheen, 1970, pp. 121-122; Map 2,). Most employment opportunities were concentrated in the core of the city (Goheen, 1970, 129). Unskilled workers thus had long journeys

to work. For example, in 1860 workers in three woodworking shops were scattered throughout the city, but avoided the core and high prestige areas. Journeys to work were "in many cases over a mile and a half." (ibid., p. 131.) (Map 4).

This spatial separation of home and workplace in a family with several wage earners fragmented family life and resulted in multiple journeys to work. The problems of caring for a family with long and irregular working hours and perhaps of engaging in 'casual' work herself, fell on the woman. For unskilled labouring families the social landscape thus reflected and exacerbated both the problems arising from the separation of production and reproduction, and the conflicts of the dual roles of women in these families [9].

The development of pre-industrial Toronto was thus characterized by a growing separation between production and reproduction. As soon as this spatial and functional separation arose, there also developed a need for co-ordinating the demands of the productive sphere with those of the labour force. In this pre-industrial period, there were no market mechanisms for such co-ordination, but given the vestiges of productive-reproductive integration and the small scale of Toronto's economy, this was not yet a pressing social issue.

Women, however, were trapped in the centre of the emerging conflicts arising out of this separation. They were trapped

between the market norms of the productive sphere for which they worked and/or reproduced children and husbands, and the non-market norms of the family, be it the bourgeois 'ideal family' or the labourer's 'unit of survival.'

This separation and lack of co-ordination, with the development of industrialism, became a wider problem. In the pre-industrial period, the bourgeoisie had expedited its economic and social control and its personal comfort and security through the ideal family which was separate from the economy and built around an emotional and morally unimpeachable ideal woman. The artisanal classes, while tending toward this model, retained vestiges of home workplace integration. The labouring family had survived the crisis of losing, or never having, a base for self-regulation of production and reproduction by re-establishing its tradition of mutual aid in an urban context, built around a hardworking woman, often with a dual role. None of these family types, nor the roles of women within them, were, as we shall see, fully able to meet the demands of industrial production. Reproduction was about to become a 'social problem.'

NOTES CHAPTER II

1. The most extensive treatments of the pre-industrial productive-reproductive relation and the transition to industrialization are found in Clark, 1919; Oakley, 1976, and Pinchbeck, 1930. All are concerned with the process of change in women's roles in Britain. See also Tilly and Scott, 1978
2. This same division of labour is evident in the pre-industrial and early industrial British countryside. See references in Note 1.
3. 'Self-regulation' thus contrasts with the separate yet interdependent relationship between production and reproduction which arises with industrial capitalism (See Bridenthal, 1976)

It is essential to note that self-regulation is RELATIVE. The organization of production and reproduction always exists within the context of political, ideological and economic controls.
4. Labouring and artisanal families, before the 1850s were largely immigrants (Pentland, 1959, Teeple, 1972). After the 1860s a greater percentage were Canadian born, including migrants from rural areas. Peter Goheen's figures for the population of Toronto by nativity (Goheen, 1970, p. 76) show a steady increase in the 1890s of Canadian born (1860 - 43%; 1870, 50.7%; 1890, 65%).
5. We can get some rough idea of the pre-industrial occupational structure of Toronto and its changes through examining Goheen's figures on 'Occupations of the Population of York, 1883 and 1851.'

Percentage of York Population in Various Occupations

	1833	1851
Category I		
Bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie		
Merchants and shopkeepers	15	7
Government and military officials	8	1
Professionals	7	5
Taverns and lodging housekeepers	7	2
Clerks	2	5.5
Total Category I	39%	20.5%

Category II Artisans

Building Trades	18	12
Clothing Trades	12	10.5
Food	6	4
Metal trades	2.5	4
Miscellaneous trades	4	7
Transport Trades	4	4.5
Total	46.5%	41.5%

Category III Unskilled

Service	11	3
Labourers	5	37
Total Category III	16%	40%

(Adapted from Goheen, 1970, p. 51; Categories are my own).

6. This was universally true in this period, in which, Marx says; "machinery, by throwing every member of the family on to the labour market, spreads the value of the man's labour power over his whole family.... In order that the family may live, four people must now ... expend surplus labour for the capitalist." (Marx, CAPITAL, Volume I, p. 373). Engels documents this for England in the 1840s (Engels, THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN ENGLAND), Stedman Jones for London in the 1880s (Stedman Jones, 1970). Oakley documents the persistence of this pattern in Britain at the turn of the century (Oakley, 1976). Suzanne Cross (Cross, 1977) and Terry Copp (Copp, 1974) examine the situation in Montreal, and Michael Katz finds it in mid century Hamilton (Katz, 1975, p. 108).
7. The evidence for wage work by these women in Toronto is largely negative, except in the areas of domestic service, teaching, nursing and prostitution (Coburn, 1974; Graham, 1974; Leslie, 1974; Rotenberg, 1974). That is, we know they worked in sweated industries and mills because there were protests against their working. See for example, Glazerbrook, 1968, Chapter 10; Kealey, 1974; Sedgewick, 1856 and many items in Cock and Mitchinson, 1976, especially Sections 1 and 4, and in Cross, 1974, Section 2.
8. Another high status residential district is centred "just west of the central commercial core." (Goheen, 1970, p. 121; Map 2, p. 164), indicating that bourgeois residential segregation was only partial in 1860 and that "the centre of the city was still an area of high prestige" (ibid., p. 122).
9. The women who did work for wages often had 'casual' jobs, did irregular piece work, were peddlers or were on call for irregular work (Cross, 1974, pp. 118-136; Kealey, 1974). A peripheral location was thus an added burden, especially since transit in Toronto did not become "a route of access for labouring people" until the 1890s (Goheen, 1970, p. 73).

CHAPTER III THE PROBLEM OF REPRODUCTION IN INDUSTRIALIZING TORONTO

By the 1880s, industrial forms of production were emerging as dominant influences on the social life and landscape of Toronto. This resulted in the major 'urban problem' of co-ordinating the needs of new industrial establishments with the needs of the spatially concentrated industrial labour force. Attempts at co-ordination changed the relationship between production and reproduction and led to a crisis in women's position. Women's response to this crisis contributed to the basic problem.

This chapter outlines the problems in co-ordinating production and reproduction in industrializing Toronto. A brief introduction to the nature of the problem is followed by an examination of the process of industrialization in Ontario and Toronto. The specific manifestation of the problem of reproduction in Toronto, and the nature of women's response are then discussed.

1. The Industrial Relationship of Production and Reproduction

The late nineteenth century saw the emergence of monopoly industrial capitalism in North America and Western Europe. In the antecedent period of independent commodity production and of early industrial capitalism, there was generally a unity between the individual owner of capital and the firm. There

were a large number of competing firms (Braverman, 1974, p. 251). Productive units were generally simple and relatively small scale. Although simple machinery was employed, production was generally labour intensive, with limited use of specialized labour in integrated processes (Poulantzas, 1975, p. 134). Monopoly industrial capitalism, in contrast, was characterized by increasing concentration and centralization of capital and of the productive process.

There were concomitant developments in the PROCESS of production. Simple productive units were consolidated. Relatively more sophisticated and expensive machinery was employed, necessitating the development of extensive integration in the productive process.

Large scale factory production was a new kind of labour process. In contrast to craft based production, where a skilled worker controlled the process of producing an article through its various stages, industrial labour was machine-regulated detail labour. Tasks were broken down into their component parts and workers performed one specialized aspect of producing an article, regulating their activities to a machine. These many specialized tasks were co-ordinated, and regulated to the speed and capacity of machinery in the factory as a whole.

As capital intensity increased, the general productivity of labour rose and there was a "new occupational distribution of the employed population and thus a changed working class."

(Braverman, 1974, p. 253). The old artisan divisions, based on craft skills, broke down. A new elite of machinists arose, while most industrial labourers became unskilled or semi-skilled machine operators (Braverman, 1974, part II; Johnson, 1972; Kealey, 1976; Marx, CAPITAL, Volume I, Chapters 14 and 15).

At the same time as the industrial labour process was being restructured, it was also being spatially concentrated. The use of machine technology and economies of scale meant that industrial enterprises, themselves growing in scale, became concentrated in urban areas. There were growing demands on urban space and resources, demands by the industries themselves and by their work forces. This concentration in turn required expansion of infrastructure. Both the infrastructure of social circulation: the financial and commercial sectors, and the infrastructure of material circulation: transportation and storage, were expanded and concentrated. Services to the labour force also grew. Thus, the detailed division of labour in large scale factories presupposed and encouraged a widening social division of labour, and a constantly growing concentration in the city as a whole. This led to historically unprecedented urban growth rates and demands on urban space and resources.

The major urban problem of the period was that of co-ordinating the demand for space and resources by industrial enterprises and their associated services with the demands of the growing labour force, in such a way that the latter were reproduced 'adequately'. The problems of scale and the rapidity of development were exacerbated by the nature of capitalist organization itself. While the needs of large-scale industrial firms demanded concentration, the character of the capitalist labour market and the necessity for inter-firm competition precluded the rational social planning of the agglomeration thus produced. The capitalist labour market depends on short term contracts between 'free' parties. Responsibility of the firm for the worker stops at the door of the plant. So although these firms require a healthy, well educated and contented labour force, direct provisions for the welfare of this labour force are outside their province [2]. Firms are thus unable to co-ordinate reproduction of their own labour force. Further, firms must compete, for urban space and resources and for markets. This precludes their co-operating to co-ordinate overall provision of reproductive services to labour needs. Because land is allocated by exchange criteria, and industrial-commercial users can generally outbid residential users, competition for urban land often results in a pattern which exacerbates the problems of co-ordination. (Caloren, 1976; Harvey, 1973, Chapter 4; Lojkin, 1972; Vance, 1971). There is no automatic market mechanism, to co-ordinate the needs of the industrial commercial sector for labour with

the ability of the reproductive sector to produce it.

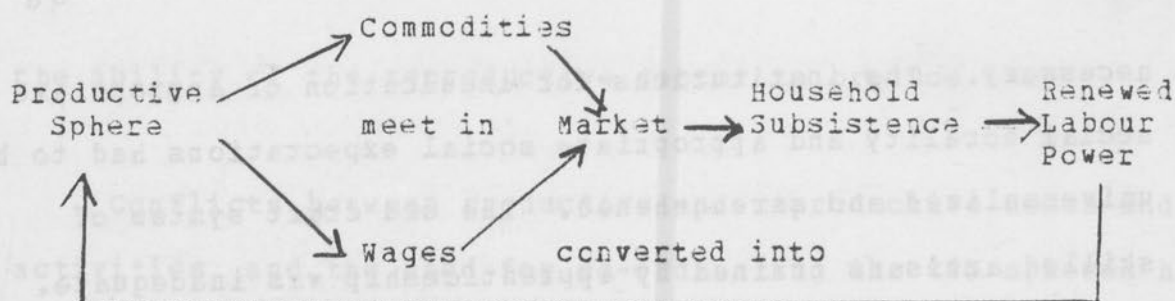
Conflicts between productive and reproductive needs and activities, and the need for co-ordinating the two spheres had arisen with their initial separation in pre-industrial capitalism. However, only with the industrial transformation of the work process and of the social division of labour, and the massive expansion of urban scale, did this conflict become a major social and urban problem. A new relationship between production and reproduction was essential. New mechanisms for co-ordination needed to be found.

Detail, machine-regulated factory labour required a new kind of worker, able to conform to discipline and co-operate in the factory and in the wider social division of labour. This worker needed new and flexible skills, restraint and punctuality. Industrial work discipline "required steady, methodical application, inner motivations of sobriety, forethought and punctilious observation of contracts." (Thompson, 1966, p. 432). It was necessary to reproduce masses of unskilled and semi-skilled disciplined detail workers, all with appropriate internal discipline, and all in requisite subdivisions and categories.

This required direct control over the education and socialization of the labour force, on a large scale. Mass education appropriate to the new social division of labour was

necessary. The institutions for inculcation of appropriate social morality and appropriate social expectations had to be universalized and strengthened. The old craft system of skilled artisans trained by apprenticeship was inadequate. The unaided family was unequal to the task. Neither the bourgeois sanctuary from economic life, nor the working class unit of survival had the resources to reproduce industrial labour on a mass scale.

Industrial development led to a wider separation of the functions of home and workplace. As in the pre-industrial period the increasing scale and complexity of the labour process had progressively removed productive activities from the household, so the massive expansion of production with industrialization effectively broke remaining ties. The family lost its value as a centre of artisanal work and education, and became a purely reproductive institution. It became increasingly dependent upon and subordinate to the needs of production. The household reproduced labour to meet the demands of an industrial commercial system over which it had no control and with which it sustained few direct relations. The household became an increasingly isolated sphere, separated from production by a commodity market and linked by the wage and labour power.



But despite this growing separation and dependency, the family, built around woman's unwaged domestic labour, was still a necessary institution. It had important economic functions. The elimination of women's unwaged household labour would have greatly increased the costs of reproduction. The burden on the state would have increased if women demanded full social service benefits as individuals, minimal as these were in this period. The family was essential in maintaining women's role as a cheap, flexible reserve labour force. The household also provided an essential and expanding market for consumer goods and real estate, and continued to perform its role in transmission of property and class relations. Further, with the breakdown of the final vestiges of its productive role, and the industrial separation of the work process from family life, the family took on new importance as the arena of personal life.

[3]. The family became the primary place for emotional expression, for love, trust and mutual support. While the housewife lost her manufacturing role, she took on an increasingly important role in psychological support.

But this velvet glove concealed an iron hand. The increase in productivity of labour resulting from industrial

work processes meant that fewer people could produce more value in less time. This created the possibility of higher real wages. The growing labour organizations demanded the realization of this possibility, demanding a wage high enough to 'support a family'. Increased productivity thus created the potential for the diffusion of the bourgeois type of 'ideal' family: a provider husband and dependent wife and children, to more and more sectors of the labour force (Oakley, 1976, Chapter 3; Zaretsky, 1974). But while this family was able to devote more time to caring for its members, its dependency became a means of political and economic control, tying workers to their jobs and discouraging unconventional behaviour which might threaten the security of wife and children.

The reproduction of the industrial labour force thus required both new direct public services to the labour force and a restructured 'ideal' family. As we shall see, these needs were contradictory. The erosion of the household through direct services and the expansion of secondary and tertiary job opportunities led women to challenge their family role. Their response constituted a threat to the continued existence of the family. The manifestation of this problem in Toronto will be examined following a brief discussion of the process of industrialization in Ontario and Toronto.

2. The Process of Industrialization in Ontario and Toronto: 1880-1910

The characteristics of monopoly industrialism: dominance of concentrated, capital-intensive production and a complex division of labour, became evident in Toronto by the 1880s. By 1910, industrialization had established its hegemony over the social lives and landscape of Toronto's citizens. But because of the colonial nature of the economy of the city, and that of Ontario, the process of industrialization took a specific form.

Toronto's industrialization was relatively late, externally imposed and sudden, a result of the internationalization of British and American capital. It was, as we shall see, also plagued by specific problems.

By the 1880s, finance capital was dominant in Britain, and the monopoly form of industrial production firmly established in both Britain and the United States (Naylor, 1972, p. 12). The revitalization of the finance capital sector in Britain resulted in massive flows of portfolio investment to Canada. British portfolio investment in Canada grew by 440% between 1867 and 1900, and by over 150% in the next thirteen years. (Table 1). American industrial capital was also searching for new markets for investment and industrial commodities. American direct investment, which had grown by 1067% between 1867 and 1900, nearly doubled by 1913. Direct investment was a growing proportion of total foreign investment [4] (Table 1).

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was an attempt, through protective tariffs, to attract foreign capital and thereby expand the scale of the Canadian economy. This would provide jobs to stem the flow of emigration, which, from the 1860s, had exceeded the flow of immigrants to Canada. (Naylor, 1972, p. 19; See Table D, Statistical Appendix, p.

). As such, it provided state protection to the long term British portfolioc investment in infrastructure and land, and also encouraged the development of American direct investment in the form of branch plants (Table 1: Bliss, 1970; Naylor, 1972, pp. 23-25). F. N. Nicols, Secretary of the Canadian Manufacturers Association, stated in 1889 that

so many American firms are establishing branch factories over here ... They find that, owing to the high protection that we now enjoy, it is more profitable to start a branch here than to continue to try and ship from their works on the other side.... There is hardly a town in this province of any importance but has a branch of an American concern that has been started in it (Testimony of F. Nicols, Secretary of Canadian Manufacturers Association, Ontario Evidence in Kealey, 1973, p. 69).

The industrial sector in Canada and Ontario grew tremendously under the aegis of foreign capital. The labour process and factory scale, as well as the size of the industrial sector, changed. Factories were characterised by growing capital intensity and value added (Tables 2 and 3). This was a period of industrial mergers and cartelization, the consolidation of small, locally oriented firms into industrial monopolies (Table 4).

Table 1

Foreign Capital Investment in Canada: 1867-1900-1913
(millions of dollars Canadian)

	1867	1900	% rate of increase 1867-1900	1913	% rate of increase 1900-1913
U.K. direct	---	65		200	-
portfolio	185	1000	440%	2618	162%
total	185	1065	475%	2818	164%
U.S. direct	15	175	1067%	520	197%
portfolio	0	30		315	950%
total	15	205	1267%	835	307%
Other direct	---	---		50	
portfolio	---	35		147	320%
total	---	35		197	463%
Direct Total:	15	240	+1500%	770	+221%
Portfolio Total:	185	1065	+476%	3080	+189%
Grand Total	200	1305	+553%	3850	+195%
Direct as % of total	7.5	18.5		20.0%	
U.S. as % of total	7.5	15.5		21.5	

Source: Levitt, K., 1966: SILENT SURRENDER: MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS IN CANADA, p. 70.

This industrial development was largely externally controlled. British investors controlled much of the infrastructure, influencing its location and thereby the space economy of Ontario. Many of the industrial firms which made up this expansion were American dominated or owned. The pattern of Canada as a resource extracting and finance dominated economy with indirect foreign control of infrastructure and direct American control of industry was thus established. Such a pattern of domination had specific effects on the labour process in the primary and secondary sectors.

Table 2

General Statistics Manufacturing Industries: Canada
Selected Years 1870-1910

Year	No. of Establishments	Employed	Gross Value of product 000s	Value added 000s
1870	38,898	181,679	217,176	93,904
1880	47,079	248,042	304,663	126,982
1890	69,716	351,139	449,982	203,989
1900	---	422,824	555,876	245,388
1905	15,197	382,702	698,594	---
1910	---	509,977	1,151,722	550,075

Historical Statistics in Canada, p. 463

Table 3

General Statistics Manufacturing: Ontario 1900 - 1905 - 1910

	1900	1905	1910
Number of Establishments	6,543	7,996	8,001
Employees	161,757	189,370	238,817
Capital	214,972,275	397,484,705	595,394,608
Salaries & Wages	56,548,286	82,415,520	117,645,784
Value of Product	241,533,486	367,850,002	579,810,225
Average no of employees per establishment	24.7	23.7	20.9
Capital per employee	1,329	2,099	2,493
Value produced per employed	1,493	1,943	2,428
Average Wage	349.6	435	493

Source: adapted from Census of Canada, 1911, Volume 3, p. ix

Table 4

Industrial Mergers: Canada: 1900-1911

Year	Number of Mergers	Firms Merged
1900-08	8	57
1909	11	160
1910	22	112
1911	14	44

Source: Naylor, 1975, p. 190

Table 5

Industrial Development in Toronto: 1870-1901

	1870 No.	1880 No.	% increase	1890 No.	% increase	1901 No.	% increase
No. of Establishments	497	932	88	2109	126	847	-60
Employees	9,400	12,708	35	24,480	93	42,515	+74
Value Produced (in \$)	13,686,093	19,100,116	40	42,489,352	122	58,415,498	38
Employees per Establishment	19	14		12		50	

Source: Goheen, 1970, p. 66.

Table 6

Value of Products: Toronto, 1890-1900-1910

Year	Value of Products	%Increase
1890	44,963,922	---
1900	58,415,498	29.92
1910	154,306,948	164.15

Census of Canada, 1911, Volume 3, xii

By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the international division of labour that has continued to prevail until the present was well established. The branch plant secondary sector prompted by the tariff with free entry of many parts was strongly biased toward assembly operations. The close control exercised by the American parent over its Canadian subsidiary assured the perpetuation of this division of function. In the primary sector not covered by the tariff, the typical pattern was the extraction of resources and the export of raw materials for processing in the United States. (Naylor, 1972, p. 23).

These developments radically altered the structure of the labour market. While portfolio investment seeks areas of capital shortage, direct investors seek the highest rate of return, locating in areas which already have infrastructure and a labour force (Naylor, 1972, p. 21). The concentration of the spatial economy of Canada into the large cities of the St. Lawrence and Southern Ontario regions, which had begun in the previous period, was reinforced. There was a growing concentration of the processes of production, of services, and of the labour force in the cities (Table A, Statistical Appendix,

Toronto was one of the main beneficiaries of this concentration. The employment, the value of products and the capitalization in the Ontario industrial economy was reflected in Toronto (Tables 5 and 6). The process of production was concentrated in large scale factories. The average number of employees per establishment grew from 12 to 50 between 1890 and 1901 (Table 5). By 1900, Toronto was an industrially based

city (Goheen, 1970, p. 67). This concentration of production was reflected in the growth in population and in the geographic size of the city (Tables E and C, Statistical Appendix).

However the process of growth in Toronto, which conformed in its outlines to that of other cities, was plagued with specific problems due to the city's colonial status. As mentioned above, 'branch plant industrialization' concentrated on detail assembly of American produced parts, rather than vertically integrated industrial processes. This had specific effects on the labour force. The Freed Report to the 1889 Commission on Labour and Capital states that

The divisions and sub-divisions, caused by the general practice of working by the piece, reduces the position of a workman to that of a simple machine, and of a useless machine when some new invention improves the machinery of which he is only the component (Freed Report, Kealey, 1973, p. 29).

The predominance of unskilled, detail labour by interchangeable workers led to an endemic insecurity in the work force. This insecurity was compounded by the suddenness of industrial development, also a result of 'branch plant industrialization'. The Armstrong Report to the 1889 Commission stated that:

Factories of various kinds have been in existence for many years, but it was not until the impetus given by the protective tariff of 1879 had been fully felt that they became an important feature of the wealth and prosperity of the Dominion. With us, the factory system has not grown slowly; it sprang into existence

almost at one bound, and was the creature of the legislation adopted ten years ago (Armstrong Report, Kealey, 1973, p. 40).

Toronto suffered the problems of lack of social co-ordination which plagued all cities in this period. In addition, the concentration on assembly line component production and the suddenness of industrial development may have rendered the basic difficulties of urban social planning more difficult.

3. The Problem of Reproduction in Toronto

A major problem facing industrializing cities was, as noted above, co-ordinating the needs of the new productive enterprises with those of the concentrated industrial labour force, and ensuring that the labour force demanded by industry was 'adequately' reproduced.

The 1880s were a period of growing recognition of the 'social problem' of the working class. Unemployed labour and slum conditions had existed in Toronto since before the 1850s. (Guillet, 1934, p. 50; Myers, 1914, p. 91; Teeple, 1972, p. 59). The response to these problems in mid-century Toronto was to ignore them as far as possible, or to deal with them in terms of paternalistic Tory charity; giving gifts to 'unfortunates' and condemning 'lazy' individuals. The remnants of self-regulation of class reproduction and the commercially oriented economic structure, which required limited unskilled labour, precluded any other response.

By the 1870s, however, the scale of the problem forced some social recognition. The 1877 Annual Report of the Toronto House of Industry stated

Poor houses, prisons and penitentiaries seem to be indispensable concomitants of modern civilization; our prisons and penitentiaries cannot be surpassed by those of any country; our poor houses are yet to be developed.... Other countries make legal provision for the poor, and it really seems that we too will, from sheer necessity, soon be driven to adopt similar measures (House of Industry, Annual Report, 1877, quoted in Cross, 1974, p. 203).

Thus changes in the scale of the problem led to some recognition of its social roots, a recognition that the poor, in some mysterious way, were 'produced by society'. But these poor were still 'unfortunate individuals', not a social group. The problem was still defined in paternalistic terms and viewed as amenable to traditional philanthropic measures.

It was not until the 1880s that the emerging need for an adequate industrial labour force, combined with the growing social pathology in the city, forced the bourgeoisie to recognize the conditions of labour force reproduction as a social question. At the same time, the needs of the working-class were being brought to the attention of the 'public' by the growing resistance of craft unionists to the erosion of their control over production, and by the expansion of socialist organizations among workers (Johnson, 1972; Kealey, 1976; Masters, 1947, pp. 106-109). By the 1880s, the

poor had become a potential industrial labour force. The social and economic importance of their health, their skills, their willing co-operation in the new system was evident. While in a commercial society, the production of wealth depended on the circulation of commodities, industrial wealth depended on production of value, and such production depended on an adequate labour force. The problem of urban social pathology grew. There were frequent reports on crowded unsanitary living conditions and their injurious effects on the workers (Clark, 1898, pp. 2-3; Cross, 1974, pp. 151-154; Kealey, 1974, pp. 18-24; Mulvany, 1884). "Through the 1870s and 1880s, increasing numbers of children were reported to be growing up virtually uncared for and with little prospect of becoming useful members of the community." (Splane, 1965, p. 258). These became problems that threatened the profit margins of industrial firms. It was evident that the pre-industrial patterns of working-class reproduction: the artisanal family workshop and the labouring family unit of survival, were not adequate to the task of reproducing a new industrial labour force. The need for direct intervention into production was becoming increasingly evident.

At first this intervention was handled by private charities, which were virtually the only existing welfare institutions. There were a growing number of privately run state assisted, charitable institutions in Toronto in the 1880s and 1890s (Table E, Statistical Appendix) For 1884,

Mulvany lists institutions that includes hospitals, Houses of Providence, asylums, girls and boys homes, infants homes, homes for delinquent boys and girls, corrective institutions for fallen women, and dental clinics (Mulvany, 1884, pp. 60-69).

In 1887, the Humane Society of Toronto was formed to protect (or at least express concern over) neglected or abused children and animals. It gave rise to the Children's Aid Society in 1891, which attempted to protect "children of drunken, cruel and dissolute parents and guardians" through finding foster homes (Splane, 1968, pp. 265-275). By the turn of the century, the work of the Children's Aid Society had grown tremendously (National Council of Women, 1900, Chapter XI)

But the problem was beyond the scope of private philanthropy. Private charity was based on a semi-feudal community. The giving of gifts to the 'deserving' worked effectively in a society where such gifts were accompanied by direct social control, where reception of the gift also implied receiving the moral leadership of the giver. In late nineteenth century Toronto, the spatial and social separation of the giver and receiver had become too wide. The effectiveness of this form of charity collapsed as a means of social control with the increase in scale and in class division which accompanied urban industrial growth (Cook and Mitchinson, 1976, p. 199; Rutherford, 1977, p. 371). This form of charity was becoming, in fact, dysfunctional. The new industrial order

needed to convince workers that their interests were one with, not antagonistic to, the interests of capital. The obvious roles of socially ordained giver and receiver, and the assumption of a hierarchy in Tory charity were counter productive of this goal. Even more important, private charity was set up to give aid to 'deserving unfortunates' in an ideologically semi-feudal mercantile society. It was hardly appropriate as a mass means of ensuring the adequate reproduction of members of an industrial working class. At the same time, there was a need to reproduce the requisite divisions in the working class, to train people with skills and expectations appropriate to specific jobs. The problems arising with the sudden development of an industrial society and the increasingly complex division of labour were summarized in Mayr Howland's statement to the 1889 Commission on Labour and Capital:

I think our public schools are terribly imperfect at present. They are turning out book keepers and shopmen; training men into labour of that kind where they are not needed and not productive to themselves or the community. They are destroying good workmen by destroying an interest in the very things they should take an interest in. Boys should be given manual training ... which shall make them more facile, take away his objections to manual labour and give him an interest in it (Howard, quoted in Cross, 1974, p. 112).

The same sentiments were reflected in the Armstrong Report of the Commission:

We must see that the education that children are receiving is one adapted to our industrial condition.... An effort should be made to instill in the minds of the young a preference for industrial avocations rather than overstocking professional and commercial callings.... The moral effects of such training are good. Improving a working man's position will make him more contented and happy (Armstrong Report, Kealey, 1973, pp. 57-8).

It became increasingly evident that the State, at its federal, provincial and municipal levels, was the only social institution capable of ensuring that the industrial labour force as a whole would be educated and kept healthy, and would be reproduced in its requisite divisions (Sinclair, 1891, p. 12). Woodsworth speaks for many contemporary reformers when he advocates a far-reaching program of legislation which would

institute all necessary educational and recreational institutions to replace the social and educational losses of the home and domestic workshop; they would perfect, as far as possible, legislation and institutions to make industry pay the necessary and legitimate cost of producing and maintaining efficient labourers.... They would ... charge up the full costs of labour to the beneficiary, instead of compelling the worker at certain times to enforce his demand for maintenance through the tax rate and by becoming a pauper (Woodsworth, 1911, p. 57).

Only the state had the power, the resources and the social franchise to do this. Only the state could reconcile the different sectors of capital in Canada, in such a way that the labour force as a whole was ensured adequate reproduction. Individual capitalists, necessarily in competition and constrained by profit considerations, were unable to provide or co-ordinate such services as education, housing, infrastructure

and the civic services necessary to reproduce the labour force they required. The basic division between production and reproduction with the advent of capitalism had placed such concerns outside their province.

The idea of state intervention on any level was, of course, resisted by speakers for a borrowed and outmoded laissez-faire individualism. Failing to recognize the necessity of intervention to assure industrial accumulation, such liberal bastions as the GLOBE argued with regard to workplace legislation on women:

It is of course desirable that women should not overwork themselves, but the less the state interferes between the employers of labour and those of the work people who have attained full growth and intelligence the better. The subject of the employment of women would be best regulated by leaving it to the factory owners (THE GLOBE, 6 January 1881 editorial in response to M.P. Bergin's bill on limiting hours of employment for women and children, quoted in Cross, 1974, p. 75).

But despite continued lip service to a moribund liberalism, many bourgeois opinion makers accepted the practical necessity of the interventionist state.

The state had, since the advent of capitalism, functioned to meet the needs of social production as a whole. The interventionist state was not a new creation, therefore, merely a qualitative change of the institution in response to changing needs. The definition of state responsibility came to include

assisting the reproduction of labour. Welfare expenditure grew (Table G, Statistical Appendix). With the recognition of its necessity, responsibility for extended reproduction of labour, for the provision of schools and family support services, became a 'natural' state function (Kelso, n.d., Rutherford, 1977, p. 376). The spirit of this intervention was epitomized when J. J. Kelso, an activist in the Toronto Children's Aid Society, wrote in 1894:

The governing power must come to regard the child as a future citizen and must see that it has opportunities for education and for development along the lines of industry and morality. A child's education begins from its earliest infancy, and the State has a right to insist that its training shall be such as to fit it ultimately for the proper discharge of its duties and responsibilities.... In providing such an education it may and often will, be necessary to remove the child from its natural parents. In this enlightened age, it is a recognized principle that no man or woman has a right to train a child in vice, or debar it from opportunities for acquiring pure and honest habits; and if parents are not doing justly by their children, they forfeit the right to continued guardianship (Kelso, J. J., "Neglected and Friendless Children", quoted in Cross, 1974, pp. 212-213).

4. Women's Responses to the Problem

The provision of direct services to the labour force eroded the household sphere of activity. As Kelso's statement implies, activities of education and of some aspects of health care were no longer the province of the household. The socialization of the former family functions was extended by the expansion of industrial production into an increasing range

of household goods. Prepared foods, ready made clothing and 'labour saving' devices were mass produced and marketed to the household. This process restructured the bourgeois household, replacing domestic servants with convenience goods and household machinery (Leslie, 1974, p. 115). Domestic labour as a whole changed from manufacture to service. Women thus lost control over significant areas of their former reproductive work. In 1914, Toronto feminist, Sylvia Leathes protested this erosion, saying:

"Let women attend to the work which still remains within their home sphere" says the opponent (of equal rights) and leaves thereby entirely out of account that the remaining home industries of cooking and cleaning and washing are already in the significant transition stage between individual, or private, and collective, or social enterprise. "Laundry interests", "baking interests", "canning interests", "jam and preserving interests" have invaded the individual housewife's immemorial "sphere", and have wrenched from her hands her exclusive control and responsibility for the health and for the well-being of the household. (Leathes, 1914, p. 74).

The corollary of this erosion was the expansion of tertiary and light manufacturing jobs for women. The proportion of women in the labour force in Canada and Ontario rose (Tables 7 and 8).

The last quarter of the nineteenth century saw the opening of a wider variety of jobs to women, partly as the result of increasing invasion of capitalist production into what had traditionally been home industries and partly as a result of the multiplication of occupational categories with the development of large scale industrial capitalism. The 1892

Report of the Ontario Inspector of Factories noted:

I observe that the number of occupations in which females are employed is gradually being enlarged, and it is not at all uncommon to find them doing work that fifteen or even ten years ago would have been considered as out of harmony with public opinion ... such work at that time being considered proper for males only (Annual Report of the Inspector of Factories, Ontario, 1892: in Cross, 1972, p. 122).

Minnie Phelps, writing in Montreal on 'Women as Wage Earners', claimed that, while in the 1840s in the United States, there were 7 occupations open to women, in 1890 there are 227 (Phelps, 1850, p. 51). Similarly, in Toronto, whereas in 1891, 87 occupations employed more than one woman, by 1898 this had risen to 120 (Roberts, 1976, p. 7).

Table 7

Total Labour Force: Percentage of Male & Female:
Canada & Ontario, 1891 - 1910 - 1911

	1891		1901		1911	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
Canada	12.2	87.8	13.35	86.65	13.39	86.61
Ontario	12.94	87.06	14.41	85.59	15.63	84.37

Source: Census of Canada, 1911, Volume 6

Table 8

Percentage of Male and Female Population (10 years and over).
Employed in Wage Work: Canada and Ontario 1891, 1901, 1911

	1891		1901		1911	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
Canada	11.07	76.61	12.01	74.19	14.31	79.53
Ontario	11.72	77.30	12.6	74.50	15.89	80.15

Source: Census of Canada, 1911, Volume 6

In some sectors, (eg., sales and office work), women were directly replacing men. In others, (eg., tailoring), machine based female labour was destroying formerly male dominated crafts (Roberts, 1976, pp. 25-41; Thomas, 1889). However, most of these expanded employment opportunities were in sectors created by the socialization of household work - public corollaries of formerly domestic tasks, sectors which became low paid, often low status 'women's occupations'.

Quite often, women emigrated from the traditionally more self-sufficient household economy only to encounter occupational ghettos designed to maximize the abilities of their domestic inheritance in a factory setting (Roberts, 1976, p. 9).

Women's new employment opportunities were largely in the areas of health care, education and light industry (Table 9). The professionals were largely nurses and teachers, an extension of women's traditional roles. Within manufacture, women were still concentrated in industries which produced what had formerly been produced in the home; clothing, food and light household goods (Table 10). In addition to this occupational concentration, women's entry into the labour force was largely in subordinate positions (Coburn, 1974; Graham, 1974; Ramkhalawansingh, 1974; Roberts, 1976, pp. 7-9). Thus, when women did for wages what they had done in the home, they did not regain control over these processes, but reinforced their loss of control.

Table 9

Percentage of Female Labour Force in Major Occupational Groups:
Canada: 1891 - 1901 - 1911

	1891	1901	1911
Agriculture	6.2	3.8	4.4
Clerical	---	22.1	32.6
Domestic Service	51.9	71.7	66.8
Manufacture	26.7	24.8	25.5
Professional	10.2	16.1	15.9
Trade and Merchandising	4.0	7.2	11.6
Transport & Communications	.5	.5	1.9

Source: Census of Canada, 1911, Volume 6

Table 10

Some Female Intensive Industries: Toronto 1871 - 1881 - 1891

	1871		1881		1891	
	total No. of workers	% F.	total No. of workers	% F.	total No. of workers	% F.
Clothing						
Boot & Shoe	1,139	25.9	1,107	24.3	728	20.9
Corsets			251	90.4	412	90.3
Dressmaking	164	100	400	98.3	1577	98.1
Furriers	156	73.1	282	69.9	752	54.8
Hosiery	71	84.5	75	65.3	85	75.3
Shirts					588	91
Tailors	1230	62.1	1464	63.3	2609	60.4
Food						
Bakeries	151	12.6	324	13.3	708	29.4
Tobacco	240	25.0	317	25.2	129	17.1
Printing						
Bookbinding	220	63.6	325	58.5	479	53
Printing	431	23.2	978	11.9	2231	19.8
Miscellaneous						
Paper bags			122	67.2	257	63.4
Straw	282	90.4	48	60.4		
Total	2037	47	2625	46.1	5745	54.4

Source: Adapted from Kealey, 1974, p. 3.

Women's growing labour force participation posed a threat to the ideal family, to ideological and political functions of the household. This was a double edged threat, as the erosion of traditional household functions was a concomitant of this labour force participation. The changing status of the household in a large scale industrial economy, also influenced bourgeois women. Sylvia Leathes's protest was symptomatic of a growing recognition by all women, that the 'unquestioned' status of 'women's sphere' was questionable. The very keepers of the feminine ideal, the centres of the ideal family, were beginning to threaten these ideals.

The late nineteenth century saw a growing agitation on the part of bourgeois women for recognition of their 'humanness', a growing resistance to the family ideal. This protest took on a concrete form of struggles for higher education for women and female suffrage [5]. The two struggles were integrally connected, as evidenced in Henrietta Edward's moderate statement in support of suffrage in Canada in 1900:

The higher education of women, their organised efforts to ameliorate the conditions of the poor, or benefit the community, their position in the labour market necessitating laws to protect their interest and welfare, have taught women that on this account it would be well to have direct influence upon those who govern. Personal influence, of which we hear so much and which, in its place, is powerful, is very slow in action.... The woman is queen in her home and reigns there, but unfortunately, the laws she makes reach no further than her domain. If her laws ... are to be enforced outside, she must come into the political

world as well - and she has come. (Edwards, 1900, p. 51).

Although limited in itself, the suffrage movement acted as a mobilizer of the discontent and wide ranging concerns of bourgeois women. On one level, suffrage reinforced the feminine ideal by arguing that women's superior moral qualities would be a force for good in political life, and that political participation would allow women to be better wives and mothers. (Anonymous, 1897; Griffiths, 1976, p. 179). Dr. Parker, in a 1890 speech supporting female suffrage said

The qualities of womanhood which revere purity and chastity, embodied in the national laws, would rid us of evils under which we groan and snap the fetters these evils are now forging, with which we bind the yet unborn. That quality of womanhood which shrinks from the spilling of blood, woven into national law will make for that triumph of conscience; intellect and humanity ... to the mind of women, the presence of an evil demands a wherefore. It demands also a removal ... "ah", said that school janitor, "they have put women on our school board, and for the first time in my life, I'm ordered to clean and air the cellar (Parker, 1890, p. 464).

But the concerns of suffragists went beyond airy cellars. These women protested their restricted 'sphere'; erosion of control over this sphere, often with great social insight. Sylvia Leathes argued that it is on account of the changing role of the family

that women today say to the governments of all the world: You have usurped what used to be our authority, what used to be our responsibility. It is you who

determine today the nature of the air we breathe, of the food which we eat, of the clothing which we wear. It's you who determine when, and how long, and what our children are taught and what their prospects as future wage earners are to be. It is you who can condone or stamp out the white slave traffic and the starvation wage. It is you who by granting or refusing pensions to the mothers of young children can preserve or destroy the fatherless home. It is you who decide what action shall be considered a crime and how the offender, man, women, or child, shall be dealt with. It is you who decide whether cannons and torpedoes are to blow to pieces the bodies of the sons which we bore. And since all these matters of all nations, we shall not rest until we have secured the power vested in the ballot: to give or withhold our consent to encourage or to forbid any policy or course of action which concerns the people - our children - everyone. (Leathes, 1914, p. 78).

An anonymous article on the 'Woman question' in 1914 argued that industrialization has broken down the traditional division of labour, the basis for confining women to the household (Anonymous, 1914). Despite an often faulty historical analysis, the message of such protests was clear and threatening. Nellie McClung spoke for many when she ridiculed 'women's sphere' and stated that "the average woman refused to be deceived when she is praised like an angel and treated like an idiot." (McClung, n.d., p. 291).

These protests crystallized and articulated a general dissatisfaction with the feminine ideal on the part of many bourgeois women. Despite the ideological sanctity of the ideal, the family came under scrutiny. It was seen as a less attractive, less necessary alternative for women. There were

general protests against the bourgeois family, expressions of frustration, confusion and disillusionment, seeing marriage as inflexible, restrictive (Stearnes, 1972). A CHRISTIAN GUARDIAN article in 1876 laments the growing number of Canadian women who "obstinately refuse to wed." (Cook and Mitchinson, 1976, p. 169). An anonymous 'Girl of the Period' rebels against the confines of marriage and the taboos of wage-work for women (Anonymous, 1880).

E. Binmore, a Montreal teacher, expressed the growing optimism and independence of single women when she wrote in 1893:

This is essentially a century of change. Women are gradually declaring and proving their ability and willingness to bear the burden of their own support. It is no longer absolutely necessary that every woman in the family should be dependent upon the men - to be reduced to unknown straits and intolerable suffering on the death of the latter. Almost every day sees some new employment thrown upon women (Binmore, 1893, p. 70).

And the ultimate threat emerged, personified in a 1900 letter to the TORONTO STAR in which a 'working-girl' wrote: "Nowadays we don't sit around and wait for offers of marriage as our grandparents did. Marriage isn't all that attractive to the average girl." (Klein & Roberts, 1974, p. 227).

The threat to the ideal family, and to the system it supported was obvious. Nellie McClung at once ridiculed and summarized the fears of those threatened when she wrote

Politicians tell us it would never do to give women equal pay with men or let them take up homesteads, for that would make women even more independent of marriage than they are at the present time, and it is not independent women we want - it is population (McClung, n.d., p. 292).

Support for suffrage and equal working conditions was evident in the more progressive unions. In 1890, THE LABOUR ADVOCATE said that the cause of woman suffrage is ultimately allied with that of labour reform" and, in 1891:

Women must recognize the dignity of labour and must go at it as a life affair. They should organize as extensively and as compactly as men do (quoted in Hynes, n.d. p. 4).

Support for women's rights from the labour movement exacerbated the threat. The organization of working women would undermine the most valuable qualities of female labour, its cheapness and docility. And a potential coalition of feminists and militant trade unionists posed a real threat to the whole ideological and economic structure of property relations.

There was thus a severe weakening of the family, both as an instrument of reproduction and as a base from which women

worked and from which they related to society. The threat was not only ideological, it was demographic. Fertility levels declined in North America in the late nineteenth century, the birth rate stabilized at a lower rate (Calwell, 1976, p. 323; Smith, 1974, p. 119; Table 11). Family size became smaller, especially in urban areas (Stearns, 1972, p. 101; Table 12). Although this may have been due partly to decreasing numbers of boarders and non-nuclear relatives living with urban families, it was also partly due to a decreasing number of children under 15 in households (Table 13). Marriage rates were also declining until the turn of the century (Table 14).

The new woman, resisting or delaying marriage, working in the labour force, bearing fewer children and demanding economic and political equality, was seen as a threat to the paternalistic family built around the feminine ideal and unwaged housework. And -- she was.

Despite the extended socialization of reproduction, the family, and women's unwaged labour in it, were, as pointed out above, still necessary to industrial production. And the family was taking on new importance as the sphere of psychological development and emotional support. There was no institution to replace the family. It needed to be supported, restructured and 'improved'.

Table 11

General Fertility Rates: Canada & Ontario: 1851-1911
(Annual Births per 1000 women).

Year	Canada	Ontario
1851	203	212
1861	193	204
1871	189	191
1881	160	149
1891	144	121
1901	145	108
1911	144	112

Source: Henripin, 1972, p. 21.

Table 12

Average Number of Persons Per Household; Rural and Urban
Ontario 1861-1911

Persons Per Household

Year	Total	Rural	Urban
1861	6.36	6.43	5.57
1871	5.55	5.63	5.28
1881	5.26	5.39	4.98
1891	5.10	5.15	5.01
1901	4.79	4.83	4.75
1911	4.64	4.66	4.61

Source: Census of Canada, 1931, Volume 12.

Table 13

Number of Children under 15 years of Age Per Household,
Canada 1851-1911

Year	Children Per Household
1851	2.77
1861	2.66
1871	2.33
1881	2.06
1891	1.91
1901	1.73
1911	1.59

Source: Census of Canada, 1931, Volume 12.

Table 14

Percentage of the Population in the Married State (Corrected
for Age). By Sex, Canada: 1871-1911.

Year	Percentage Married	
	Males	Females
1871	29.86	30.63
1881	29.82	30.42
1891	28.58	29.90
1901	27.16	29.72
1911	27.23	31.20

Source: Census of Canada, 1931, Volume 12

The problem of reproduction, as manifest in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Toronto, was thus a double edged one. The old mechanisms of reproduction were inadequate. The state had intervened to provide mass services to reproduce the labour force, to directly control reproduction. But these services, in conjunction with a growing range of manufactured household commodities, eroded the traditional household activities. Women's response to this erosion threatened the family. The problem thus resolved itself into one of finding mechanisms which allowed direct control over reproduction while at the same time strengthening and restructuring the family. The nature of their response to this problem, and the articulation of its resolution in the city are the subject of the next chapter.

Year	Urban	Rural	Total
1871	17.7	18.8	18.2
1881	17.7	18.8	18.2
1891	17.7	18.8	18.2
1901	17.7	18.8	18.2
1911	17.7	18.8	18.2
1921	17.7	18.8	18.2
1931	17.7	18.8	18.2
1941	17.7	18.8	18.2
1951	17.7	18.8	18.2
1961	17.7	18.8	18.2
1971	17.7	18.8	18.2
1981	17.7	18.8	18.2
1991	17.7	18.8	18.2
2001	17.7	18.8	18.2

Source: Census of Canada, 1991, Volume 12.

NOTES CHAPTER III

1. The concept of 'adequate reproduction' must be carefully defined. Chris Pickvance argues that "adequacy of reproduction of labour power is relative to particular classes, the State and the historical expectations arising from class conflict" and further, that "while cases of inadequate reproduction of labour power may be identified, [at the level of a whole industry or a whole city] degrees of adequacy of reproduction are probably impossible to determine." (Pickvance, 1978, p. 21). This paper's evidence confirms this. The problem of 'reproduction' emerged as a problem of inadequacy and was manifest on an urban scale and was defined as an urban problem.
2. There are exceptions to this. Engels and Thompson document early 'company towns' in Britain (Engels, *THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN ENGLAND*; Thompson, 1966). Examples of company towns still persist, largely in resource frontier situations.
3. This development is fully discussed in Zaretsky, 1974. The role of the family as a 'personal space' is also discussed in Morton, 1970 and Vogel, 1973.
4. Portfolio investment is largely in the form of bonds and loans and does not involve legal control of assets. "Surplus is extracted through a return flow of interest payments." (Naylor, 1973, p. 51). Direct investment "represents capital investment in a branch plant or subsidiary corporation abroad where the investor has voting control of the concern ... carrying ownership rights of no fixed duration." (Safarin, A. E. 1973: *FOREIGN OWNERSHIP OF CANADIAN INDUSTRY*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, p. 2). In other words, direct investment, foreign ownership of assets located in Canada, involved the "take-over of the actual production process." (Naylor, 1973, p. 31). American direct investment in Canada was primarily in the form of branch plants, the 'licensing system' and joint ventures (Naylor, p. 52).
5. For an examination of the ideas of the suffragists in Canada, and of their context, see Griffiths, 1976, Chapter 8; McClung, 1915. For an annotated bibliography on general sources see Altbach, 1970 and Rowbotham, 1973.