

*

DECENT FURNITURE FOR DECENT PEOPLE:

THE PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION OF JACQUES & HAY

FURNITURE IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY CANADA



BY

DENISE JACQUES

Decent Furniture for Decent People:
The Production and Consumption of Jacques & Hay Furniture in Nineteenth-
Century Canada

by
Denise Jacques

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies in partial
fulfillment to the requirements for the PhD. degree in History.

University of Ottawa

© Denise Jacques, Ottawa, Canada, 2010

Abstract

Decent Furniture for Decent People:

The Production and Consumption of Jacques & Hay Furniture in Nineteenth-
Century Canada

Denise Jacques

Béatrice Craig

2010

The Canadian firm of Jacques & Hay was in business for fifty years, during which the company, if *The Globe* (Toronto) is to be believed, furnished the Province of Canada. This was a stunning and largely undocumented success. Jacques & Hay was one of the largest employers in the province and dominated the cabinet-making trade from 1835 to 1885. In 1871, Jacques & Hay employed 430 men and 50 women in a vertically-integrated operation that included a sawmill, two factories and a showroom. Jacques & Hay produced abundant furniture at reasonable prices. The availability of such household furnishings greatly enhanced domestic life in nineteenth-century Canada, providing scope for a more elaborate social life and allowing more people to achieve a greater sense of comfort and decency in their living arrangements. In addition, Jacques & Hay created the wood interiors for St. James' Cathedral, the Toronto Normal School, University College and Osgoode Hall. The company also supplied the majority of the furnishings for Rideau Hall, Ottawa and Government House, Toronto. While the story of the Jacques & Hay firm throws light

on the opportunities Victorian craftsmen had to become manufacturers, it also explains the company's role in making furniture more accessible and contributing to nineteenth-century notions of progress and civility.

Table of Contents

	Abstract	ii
Chapter 1	Introduction	1
	I. New men, new money, new social order	5
	II. Consumption and material history	25
Chapter 2	Jacques & Hay, Cabinet-Makers, 1835-1885	48
	I. Introduction	48
	II. The Partners	50
	III. From Commissioned Work to Mass Production	72
	A. The Carriage Trade	72
	B. Mass Production of “Cottage Furniture”	75
	IV. Public Contracts	79
Chapter 3	The Factories	89
	I. Introduction	89
	II. The Toronto Factories	90
	A. On Front Street	90
	B. Working Conditions: Tradition in the Midst of Modernity	101
	B.1. Introduction	101
	B.2 Apprentices	106
	B.3 The Use of Technology and the Persistence of Skills	109
	B.4 Upward Mobility	114
	B.5 Influence	121

III. The New Lowell Mills	123
A. Introduction	123
B. The New Lowell Factory	124
C. Paternalism	126
D. Relatives and Agents	131
Chapter 4 Schumpeterian Entrepreneurs?	138
Chapter 5 Decent Furniture for Decent People	167
I. Introduction	167
II. The Furniture	171
III. Furniture, Sociability and Respectability	182
Chapter 6 Ornamental Furniture for the Wealthy and Tasteful	195
I. Introduction	195
II. Jacques & Hay's Affluent Consumers	198
III. Spadina	211
IV. Fictional Consumers	224
V. A Canadian Mode of Consumption	226
Chapter 7 Building "the Pillars upon which Civilization and Order Rest"	236
I. Introduction	236
II. St. James Cathedral, 1849-1853	248
III. The Normal and Model School, 1851-1852	250
IV. University College, 1856-1859	252
V. Osgoode Hall, 1857-1860	255
VI. The Mechanics' Institute Building, 1854-1861	256

Chapter 8	Conclusion	259
	Bibliography	270
	Appendix: Illustrations	A-1

Chapter One

Introduction

The Toronto Reference Library has an impressive skyline portrait of the developing city painted by the artist Arthur Cox in the early 1870s.¹ While this is a deliberately sunny study, emphasizing the sweep of Toronto's growth, it is also reasonably accurate. Directly opposite the impressive bulk of the first Union Station, there is a confident-looking factory with a large and cheerful Red Ensign flag flapping over its cupola. This was the Robert Hay and Co. furniture factory, formerly Jacques & Hay, that was in business from 1835 to 1885. Through hard work and enterprise, cabinet-makers John Jacques and Robert Hay turned their original shop in colonial Toronto into a factory so successful that no home in Upper Canada, according to the *Globe*, seemed to have been without an article of their manufacture.² (Figures 1 and 2.) Just eleven years after the final closing of the Jacques & Hay furniture factory, a Toronto *Globe* editorialist in 1896 waxed nostalgically about the days when "a great furniture factory was running in this city," and "St. John's Ward was full of the comfortable homes of its workmen."³ Slightly later, by 1904, another leading Toronto paper,

¹ The library has been unable to identify the precise dates and offers either 1873 or 1875. The painting's reference number is JRR 4693.

² *The Globe* (Toronto), 15 February 1862.

³ *The Globe* (Toronto), 20 June 1896. St. John's was in the process of becoming a well-known slum, famous in local culture as the "The Ward" or sometimes the "Noble Ward."

the *Toronto Daily Star*, described the two founding partners as men of “sterling character,” and their business as “synonymous for honest goods and fair dealing.”⁴

Using the resources of the Canadian forest, Jacques & Hay remained in business for fifty years, while the company, if the *Globe* is to be somewhat credited, supplied large quantities of furniture to the Canadian consuming public. This was a stunning and largely undocumented success. What is known is that Jacques & Hay was one of the largest employers in Upper Canada and dominated the cabinet-making and interior decoration trade from 1835 to 1885. In 1871, Jacques & Hay employed 430 men and 50 women in a vertically-integrated operation, that included a sawmill, two factories and a showroom.⁵ In addition to being the largest Victorian furniture manufacturer in Canada, Jacques and Hay created the wood interiors for St. James’ Cathedral, the Toronto Normal School, University College, and Osgoode Hall.⁶ The company also supplied many of the furnishings for Rideau Hall, Ottawa and Government House, Toronto. The factory, located where Toronto’s Union Station is now situated, would ultimately occupy six acres of prime commercial real estate

⁴ W. B. Rogers, “The Furniture Trade and its Development in Canada,” *The Toronto Daily Star*, 2 July 1904.

⁵ Library and Archives Canada, Record Group 31, series 1, Manuscript Census 1871, schedule 6 [industrial establishments] microfilm, district no. 46, p. 7. Technically, the firm has become the Robert Hay and Co. by 1870, as Hay bought out Jacques upon his retirement and took two long-time employees as junior partners. By the mid-1870s, some records indicated that Hay employed in excess of 500 men and women.

⁶ When referring to individuals, Jacques and Hay will be used; when indicating the company, Jacques & Hay will be employed. Sometimes the distinction between the two is not always clear and the local press usually used “Jacques & Hay.”

(or ten acres, according to another source) with commanding access to the primary transportation routes by rail and water.⁷ (Figures 3 and 4.)

The men and women of Jacques & Hay produced abundant furniture at reasonable prices. The availability of such household furnishings greatly enhanced domestic life in the Canadian nineteenth century by improving levels of comfort and providing scope for more elaborate social rituals. The furniture sold well and was distributed widely, and this may have reflected a heightened attraction to domesticity, comfort, entertaining and respectability, made possible by permitting more people to achieve a greater sense of comfort and decency in their living arrangements.

As handsome houses full of Jacques & Hay's better furniture and modest frame houses furnished with inexpensive painted furniture sets were sign-posts of social change, the company's history then presents evidence about at least fifty years of nineteenth-century social life. On one hand the demand for consumer goods in general, and for furniture in particular, stimulated the growth of manufacturing. On the other hand, the purchase of the trimmings of middle class life did much to signify this group's rise in local society. Objects—such as those created in the Jacques & Hay factory—provide useful markers of social status and class identity and, consequently, the firm's history can shed light on the

⁷ J. Timperlake, *Toronto Past and Present* (Toronto: Peter A. Gross, 1877), p. 275. The property on the then Toronto waterfront appears to have been leased. Thomas Galbraith's *General Financial and Trade Review of the City of Toronto for 1880* (Toronto: Toronto Globe Printing Co., 1881) suggests that ten acres were "hardly sufficient" for the then R. Hay & Co.'s operations. [www.archive.org/stream/cihm_01460/cihm_01460_djvu.txt], consulted 18 March 2009.

changing social order of nineteenth-century Upper Canada (later Ontario). To do so, it will be important to fit the company's history within the larger contextual framework, to determine how this building block relates to the bigger structure. We need to know more about rising men and their new ideas of how society should be ordered, as this will throw light on the new opportunities for craftsmen turned manufacturers, such as Jacques and Hay, but this will also show how the availability of new furniture was deemed to contribute to the 'civilizing' process as Canadian Victorians conceived it.

Although the furniture market was not limited to a single province, and there was an active flow of furniture between what was, and later had been, Upper and Lower Canada. Upper Canada became Canada West in 1842, and Ontario in 1867. To simplify the narrative, the term "Upper Canada" will use for the entire period before Confederation, as well as for the period just after Confederation. Douglas McCalla in his work, *Planting the Province: The Economic History of Upper Canada, 1784-1870*, chose to use the term "Upper Canada" throughout his study to signify its "existence at the core of the new nation of a powerful if disjointed society."⁸ Following his example, the term "Upper Canada" will be used to convey that society until it truly became Ontario in the 1870s.

⁸ Douglas McCalla, *Planting the Province: The Economic History of Upper Canada, 1784-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), p. vii.

I. New men, new money, new social order

Jacques & Hay, and then Hay & Co., were in business for fifty years. The crucial period of the firm's development occurred in the 1830s and 1840s when economic and social transformations in Upper Canada created opportunities for rising manufacturers of consumer products. Those unfolded against the background of significant political changes that facilitated them. During the earliest phase of the company's existence, Upper Canadian economic and political life was dominated by the oligarchy known as the "Family Compact." While there is some disagreement over how to define this group, historian S. F. Wise calls them "Tories" and describes them as consisting of the province's small, bureaucratic elite attached to the colonial government, reinforced by regional economic elites and bound together by numerous alliances and clientage.⁹ This dominant oligarchy relied on patronage and the large-scale granting of land to preserve its position. Status was ascribed rather than achieved, and vertical ties based on personal relationships, religion, and geographic background linked individuals to each other. The humble, who had traditionally known their place, still were encouraged to accept the status quo. Conservative-minded Anglican Bishop John Strachan stressed in his sermons the necessity of a social hierarchy that clearly prescribed duties and obligations, and sustained a peaceful and orderly universe. Yet his vision was not static; himself the upwardly mobile son of a stonemason, he did leave open the possibility of social mobility and supported scholarships for talented but poor

⁹ S. F. Wise, "Upper Canada and the Conservative Tradition," in *Readings in Canadian History: Pre-Confederation*, eds. R. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1990), p. 287.

boys.¹⁰ John Beverley Robinson, another Compact leading light, also believed in a balanced order with a responsible elite on top and respectable yeomen and sober mechanics at the base. He did, however, stress the importance of individual merit and left open the possibility for individuals to rise by industry and ingenuity.¹¹ Jacques and Hay were the type of hard-working mechanics who practised the thrift, self-improvement, temperance and probity that both Strachan and Robinson wanted as the foundation of their fledging society; and both would patronize their business and prove to be able sponsors.

Political events of the 1830s and 1840s further opened the door of opportunity to those with skills and ambition. The Compact members shared a well-developed, if conservative, ideology, stressing loyalty and the primacy of British institutions—particularly the rights of British subjects and the idea of a balanced constitution.¹² The emphasis was on order and stability and they strongly opposed the republicanism of the United States. The supposed mob-rule of American demagogues such as Andrew Jackson was an anathema, and a possible spill-over of such republican views was a particular worry. The Compact members believed Upper Canada to be susceptible to American political beliefs, owing to its

¹⁰ Curtis Fahey, *In His Name: The Anglican Experience in Upper Canada, 1791-1854* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991), p. 117.

¹¹ Cook, Terry, “John Beverley Robinson and the Conservative Blueprint for Upper Canada,” *Ontario History* 64, vol. 2 (June, 1972), pp. 82-87.

¹² Martin Brook Taylor, *Promoters, Patriots, and Partisans: Historiography in Nineteenth-Century English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), p. 120. David Mills, *The Idea of Loyalty in Upper Canada, 1784-1850* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1988), p. 255.

geographical location.¹³ Its political philosophy, based on containment and control, permitted few avenues for social dissent. There was also a growing recognition that it would be impossible to maintain a balanced social order of contented citizens without a flourishing economy to underpin it.¹⁴ This awareness would provide more scope for those engaged in business, rather than agriculture, and for the urban, rather than the rural. Prominent conservative figures such as John Beverley Robinson, William Macaulay, H. J. Boulton, George Markland and Christopher Hagerman also were shocked when they toured Britain and sensed a shift in the political wind.¹⁵ They understood that London's political agenda did not include supporting small-time oligarchs attempting to build an Eden in a wilderness.¹⁶ Between 1846 and 1849, the British government had begun to dismantle the old imperial trading system and move to free trade; the Corn Laws were repealed, the protective tariff on timber was phased out and the Navigation Acts also were repealed. Most importantly, British officials accepted that there should be greater devolution of power to the colonial government.¹⁷ All of these developments suggested to British North Americans that the previous political and economic organization of their world was in the process of changing

¹³ Wise, "Upper Canada and the Conservative Tradition," pp. 292-293.

¹⁴ A.A. den Otter, *The Philosophy of Railways: The Transcontinental Railway Idea in British North America* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), p. 39. Suzanne Zeller, *Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), p. 30.

¹⁵ Wise, pp. 293-294.

¹⁶ R. L. Fraser, "Like Eden in Her Summer Dress: Gentry, Economy, and Society: Upper Canada, 1812-1840" (Ph.D diss. University of Toronto, 1979); Brook Taylor, *Promoters, Patriots, and Partisans*, p. 145.

¹⁷ McCalla, *Planting the Province*, p. 194.

significantly and was being shaped by forces beyond their control. The introduction of Responsible Government in 1848 was a major step in the political development of the now united province of Canada. There was a general understanding that building a better future would require increased economic progress and local ingenuity.

The decade during which Jacques and Hay founded their firm was characterized by extensive immigration into Upper Canada. Hierarchical societies relying on extensive webs of interdependence are shaken by the movement of people, as new people potentially threaten the status quo. Maurice Careless, describing the waves of British immigrants settling in such urban centres as Toronto after 1825, postulated that this immigration provided more recruits to an already expanding “middle class” situated between the labouring and the ruling classes. Careless believed that this group was less interested in traditional patronage and more in pursuing commercial or professional ventures. These newcomers stimulated consumer demand as they furnished new houses in growing urban centres; they also could provide valuable capital for expansion. Influenced by the Reform movement in Britain, or by American examples, new residents were increasingly critical of the local hierarchy.¹⁸ Careless speculated that this middling group’s strong entrepreneurial drive overwhelmed the old elite with its energy and encouraged speculative and capitalistic activity. It is logical to believe that the British colonies attracted people who were striving

¹⁸ J.M.S. Careless, *Toronto to 1918: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1984), p. 39.

for individual success.¹⁹ The growing population of individuals who had crossed an ocean with the intention of improving themselves increased demands for progressive government and better services such as policing, fire-fighting and sewers.²⁰ Even with a limited franchise, the existence of a new elected city government in Toronto, established by the act incorporating the city in 1834, was also evidence that the earlier political model was passing. The growing commercial community, equipped with an expanding franchise, was no longer subordinated to colonial officials and local power brokers.²¹ Binding relationships were often now horizontal, and based on kinship, religion, ethnicity, and membership in voluntary associations.

By the 1850s, commercial agriculture, canals, railways, telegraphy and steam energy were all increasingly integrated into the British North American economy.²² Greater urbanization also created a growing demand for domestic goods and an increasing number of services. When Charles Dickens visited Toronto in May 1842, he described a bustling city

¹⁹ Carl N. Degler, *Out of Our Past: The Forces that Shaped Modern America* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959). The specific reference is quoted from an anonymous introduction in *Major Problems in American Business History*, eds. Regina Lee Blaszczyk and Philip Scranton (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2006), p. 36.

²⁰ Graeme Wynn, "Notes on Society and Environment in Old Ontario," *Journal of Social History* 13, no. 1 (Autumn, 1979), p. 49; Careless, *Toronto to 1918*, pp. 53-54.

²¹ At this time all adult male resident house or lot holders, being British subjects, were granted the civic vote. See Careless, p. 54. By 1898, white manhood suffrage was achieved in the federal sphere in all provinces other than Quebec and Nova Scotia, which still retained a property qualification. See R. Kenneth Carty and W. Peter Ward, *National Politics and Community in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), p. 72. Careless, *Toronto to 1918*, pp. 54, 56.

²² H. Clare Pentland, *Labour and Capital in Canada, 1650-1860* (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1981), p. 176.

where “[t]he streets are well-paved, and lighted with gas; the houses are large and good, the shops excellent.”²³ Urban growth and development was replicated in numerous smaller centres throughout Upper Canada—including Hamilton, Kingston, Bytown and London. This growing urbanization also reflected attitudinal changes captured by civil engineer T. C. Keefer in an 1850 essay. He explained that rail and steam had revealed “the value of time” and had ushered in a “new epoch of speed, economy, regularity, safety and convenience.”²⁴ These are the characteristics of a well-run factory and suggest that the older agricultural timetable, marked by sunrise and sunset, was now displaced by clocks, watches, schedules and workplace whistles. Newspaper editors and public speakers lauded the accompanying concepts of progress and self-improvement. There was support for the general provision of free schooling in 1852; increasing numbers of Upper Canadians promoted temperance, constructed Mechanics’ Institutes, and applied for scientific patents.²⁵ In an economy dominated less by merchants and more by promoters and businessmen, power would also be re-distributed and the lucky beneficiaries would be rising men in a new economic structure. Such socially and economically mobile individuals wanted to move up the social ladder and help those resembling themselves—such as skilled and respectable artisans—do the same. They also had the money to spend on houses and furnishings that symbolized their newly acquired status.

²³ Charles Dickens, *American Notes for General Circulation* (1842; repr., New York: D. Appleton Co., 1868), p. 85.

²⁴T. C. Keefer, “Philosophy of Railroads,” in *Readings in Canadian History: Pre-Confederation*, eds. R. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1990), p. 368.

²⁵ Clare Pentland, *Labour and Capital in Canada*, pp. 181, 184.

In December 1849, architect and engineer Fred Cumberland gave a speech to the Mechanics' Institute of Hamilton; the message was both optimistic and bombastic. He believed that both the application of knowledge and ambition could greatly enhance the material nature of the world and lead to the development of a superior society.²⁶ The members of the Mechanics' Institute included many engineers, surveyors and skilled craftsmen who thought that scientific and technical information was necessary for social betterment and the pursuit of individual ambitions.²⁷ Steamships from Britain and railways increased the dissemination of information, newspapers, books and reading.²⁸ This considerably enlarged the colonial mentality by creating more informed individuals who were more demanding of public institutions and had greater expectations for the future. New rising men hoped to recreate a society in their own knowledge-seeking image; they looked to develop modern institutions, building on further political and moral reform and creating economic prosperity. There was now pressure for public buildings, hospitals, schools and universities that would directly benefit the men planning and constructing them; these

²⁶ Geoffrey Simmins, *Fred Cumberland: Building the Victorian Dream* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), pp. 17-20.

²⁷ Suzanne Zeller, *Inventing Canada, Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), pp. 5-7.

²⁸ Upper Canadians were well provided with newspapers and imported magazines and have been described by historian Andrew Holman as "voracious readers." Stationer S. Hewson of Hamilton supplied his local clientele with a selection of important American and British periodicals, at their list price and delivered free of charge. See Andrew C. Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty: Middle-Class Formation in Victorian Ontario Towns* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University, 2000), pp. 127-128, citing *The Reformer* (Galt) 20 January 1869 and *The Signal* (Goderich), 23 September 1887.

included Cumberland, as architect, and Jacques and Hay who carved the wooden interiors and provided the necessary furniture or hospital beds.

The passing of the old guard and the rise to power of new men were relatively complete in Ontario by the 1860s and 1870s. Indeed, many of the successful Toronto business leaders from the early period of immigration, before the city was incorporated, met in 1869 to found a nostalgic society called The York Pioneers and Historical Society.²⁹ Both Jacques and Hay were members of this organization, whose mandate was to preserve memories of the city's early development. The businessmen and prominent citizens who planned this group sensed that they had played a unique role in the city's early history and they wanted to preserve its memory. John Jacques' obituary, for instance, emphasized his status as a pioneer who had demonstrated "pluck and perseverance" in the building of his business and his city.³⁰

Social changes occurred at numerous levels. Examining the development of the professions in nineteenth-century Canada, historians R. D. Gidney and M. P. J. Millar concluded that by the 1870s the category of "gentleman" was robbed of its political and social meaning and merely conveyed an impression of education and good manners.³¹ By this time, Ontarians realized that the earlier pioneering society rich with opportunity for

²⁹ *The Mail* (Toronto), 15 February 1886, York Pioneer and Historical Society website [<http://www.yorkpioneers.org/aboutus.html>], consulted 9 March 2010.

³⁰ *The Mail* (Toronto), 15 February 1886.

³¹ R. D. Gidney and W. P. J. Millar, *Professional Gentlemen: The Professions in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), p. 379.

hard-working families had passed, and that the economic and social scene no longer offered the same scope for advancement. The onus was now on the individual to succeed in a more competitive society with a sharper distinction between manual and non-manual work.³²

The City of Toronto had boomed through most of the 1850s and some businesses such as Jacques & Hay—cushioned by public works and school furniture contracts—had successfully survived the recession beginning in 1857. As the economy improved, Torontonians gained new confidence and looked with eagerness for a suitable public spectacle to demonstrate their positive self-awareness. The 1860 visit of the Prince of Wales highlighted the city's growing maturity and the new players in the social and economic life of the city. The Prince's tour was a coming of age for the colony, a legitimization of the colonial experience in Canada so far and a celebration of what had been achieved politically and economically. The city had only recently constructed or expanded important institutions, such as the Normal School, University College, Osgoode Hall, and the Crystal Palace. His Royal Highness visited all these establishments and in many ways his presence put a seal of approval on the ambitious individuals who had created these buildings. This historic episode, providing a series of well-documented tableaux in Canadian life, is also a useful test-case for examining local civic figures and the connecting relationships between them.

Architect Fred Cumberland and his partner William Storm designed several of the decorative arches that greeted the Prince on his arrival to Toronto, and these, and the general

³² Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty*, pp. 22, 26, 28, 173.

level of public decoration, were “far better than any where else (sic).”³³ Cumberland escorted the young man on his trip on the Northern Railway to Collingwood, Upper Canada. The railway’s chief engineer, Sandford Fleming, also came along for the ride.³⁴ John and James Worthington, local building-contractors, assisted the Prince in dedicating the plinth of a statue of Queen Victoria to inaugurate Queen’s Park. The firm of Jacques & Hay, local cabinet-makers, designed and manufactured the ceremonial trowel, level and mallet used at the official setting of the statue’s base.³⁵ They also designed and manufactured most of the bedroom furniture used by the Prince in his visit to Canada, along with the interior of at least one railway car. The firm had produced the wood interiors and cabinetry for the Normal School, University College, Osgoode Hall—all designed by Cumberland and his partners—and the Crystal Palace—designed by Fleming. As the Prince toured all of these buildings, it is likely that the city officials considered them worthy of royal attention and obvious milestones in the city’s development.³⁶

³³ Robert Cellem, *Visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales* (Toronto: Henry Rowsell, 1861), pp. 218-223. Storm designed the arch greeting the Prince, Cumberland the gas-illuminated arches at Osgoode Hall. In addition to the primary documents recording the Prince’s visit, the historian Ian Radforth has produced a study of the Prince’s tour called *Royal Spectacle: The Visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada and the United States* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

³⁴ Henry James Morgan, *The Tour of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales Through British America and the United States, by a British Canadian* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1860), pp. 174-175.

³⁵ Cellem, *Visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales*, p. 268.

³⁶ George P. Ure in his *Hand-Book of Toronto* states that Sandford Fleming designed Toronto’s Crystal Palace with Collingwood Schreiber. See George P. Ure, *The Hand-book of Toronto* (Toronto: Lovell and Gibson, 1858), p. 82.

Cumberland, Storm, Fleming, the Worthingtons, Jacques, and Hay were all interconnected through a variety of linkages and associations; they were hard working, self-made men who had come from modest backgrounds; and the ties between them were instrumental to their success. Members of the old elite might preside over festivities, as did John Beverley Robinson at the formal ball at Osgoode Hall, and gentry daughters might dance with the Prince. However, it was often the upwardly mobile, working men who were the Prince's guides to, and interpreters of, the local scene, and accompanied him on his rail excursion to Collingwood.³⁷ Consistent with the thrust of the mid-century Victorianism, the emphasis throughout the tour had been on innovation, energy and achievement.³⁸ The great public buildings that now graced the city personified this group of achievers, their accomplishments so far and their expectation of further opportunities and status.

Historians have not ignored industrial development in Canada, or the emergence and growth of the middle classes. However, they have paid scant attention to those topics in the context of the first half of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, twentieth-century scholars have been unduly influenced by the staple theory, which leaves little room for indigenous

³⁷ Cellem, *Visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales*, pp. 233, 251.

³⁸ In 1860, the year of the royal visit, the Canadian Institute's publication *Canadian Journal of Industry, Science and Art*, vol. 5, 1860, p. 111 asserted: "That in this essentially practical age a race so thoroughly energetic and progressive as that from which the colonist of Canada have sprung, should clear the forest, drain the swamp, pave the roads, and rear costly marts and dwellings where so recently the rude birch-bark wigwam stood, is no slight triumph."

industrial development.³⁹ For instance, in his major study, *Northern Enterprise: Five Centuries of Canadian Business* (1987), a largely descriptive survey, Michael Bliss makes passing reference to both bakers and furniture-makers when investigating the early nineteenth century. His remarks on Jacques & Hay are largely descriptive, although he notes the company's backward linkages, such as investments in sawmills to guarantee supplies of the required timber for school furniture and high-volume items, such as chairs and beds.⁴⁰

Traditional studies of Canadian nineteenth-century business history have often showed scant interest in the pre-confederation roots of capitalism and have neglected the particular story of the craftsman turned successful manufacturer. Historians have mostly overlooked such early experiments in entrepreneurship in Upper Canada as Jacques & Hay. Economic historian John McCallum's quantitative macro-analysis may explain why manufacturing grew in Upper Canada, but does not shed light on who became a successful manufacturer and it sidelines the role of the consumers in shaping economic development. McCallum has identified numerous factors that greatly benefited those founding businesses in Toronto's early period of expansion, including the trebling of population between 1834 to and 1851 and a great demand for goods from both immigrants and prosperous farm families. In addition, money was circulating through Toronto's economy by virtue of the savings of

³⁹ Jaydeep Balakrishnan, Janice B. Eliasson, and Timothy R.C. Sweet, "Factors Affecting the Evolution of Manufacturing in Canada: An Historical Perspective," *Journal of Operations Management* 25, no. 2 (March, 2007), p. 261. This article references Michael Bliss, *Northern Enterprise: Five Centuries of Canadian Business* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987) and L. S. McNally, "Montreal Engine Foundries and their Contribution to Central Canadian Technical Development, 1820–1870," (master's thesis, Carleton University, 1991).

⁴⁰ Bliss, *Northern Enterprise*, pp. 232-233.

immigrants, the disposal of crown lands, the successful activities of a rising merchant class and the crops and timber provided by a good agricultural hinterland and forestry.⁴¹ While McCallum demonstrated the Family Compact's commercial eclipse, he neglects the expanding consumer sector, such as the Worthington Brothers constructing important buildings and making brick, or those engaged in early manufacturing, such as Jacques & Hay.⁴²

The early days of manufacturers are occasionally discussed by scholars other than historians. As Jacques & Hay's history is closely tied to Toronto's development, and as the large factory is difficult to ignore, geographers have been interested in this early manufacturer. In an effort to trace the growth of cities and patterns of land use, geographer Gunter Gad has established the importance of consumer industries and services in the city's development in his detailed study of Victorian Toronto. By the 1880s there were five factories with more than 300 workers in town: the Crompton Corset factory, the Massey agricultural implements company, the Lailey's clothing factory, the Cooper footwear factory

⁴¹ John McCallum, *Unequal Beginnings: Agriculture and Economic Development in Quebec and Ontario until 1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), pp. 55-61. The population figures were derived from Edith G. Firth, ed., *The Town of York, 1793-1815* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), p. xxvi.

⁴² McCallum, *Unequal Beginnings*, p. 59. In direct partnership with Fred Cumberland, the Worthingtons founded the Toronto Patent Pressed Brick Company of Yorkville. See "An Act to Incorporate the Toronto Press Brick Company," *Statutes of the Province of Canada*, 22 May 1857, p. 820; Eric Arthur, *Toronto No Mean City* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 137, 144; *Daily Colonist*, 20 June 1855.

and finally, and the largest, the then Hay furniture company with 575 employees in 1885 and a 120 horse-power steam engine.⁴³

Early cabinet makers, including Jacques & Hay, have attracted some limited attention. Business historians Ben Forster and Kris Inwood have documented how small hand-powered cabinet-makers remained competitive throughout most of the Victorian period.⁴⁴ They note that larger cabinet makers often used networks of sub-agents, often small town cabinet-makers, to distribute their mass-produced items such as chairs and spool beds. Others have corroborated these findings, commenting on the very uneven experience of Canadian industrialization as small firms—often servicing the growing staples economy, or supplying the niche markets generated by the many linkages created by the staple economy—existed throughout the nineteenth century alongside larger enterprises.⁴⁵

The only systematic study of Jacques & Hay based on the firm's records, by Ian Radforth, focussed on the company's failures, and his conclusions have coloured subsequent investigations. Radforth concentrates on the company's difficulties in managing a business

⁴³ Joseph Spelt, *Urban Development in South-Central Ontario* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1972); James Gilmour, *Spatial Evolution of Manufacturing, Southern Ontario, 1851-1891* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972); Gunter Gad, "Location Patterns of Manufacturing: Toronto in the early 1880s," *Urban History Review* 22 (June, 1994), pp. 113-138. The total of 575 employees at the Hay & Co. factory was recorded in 1885.

⁴⁴ Ben Forster and Kris Inwood, "The Diversity of Industrial Experience: Cabinet and Furniture Manufacture in Late Nineteenth-Century Ontario," *Enterprise and Society* 4, no. 2 (2003), pp. 326-371.

⁴⁵ Robert Kristofferson, *Craft Capitalism: Craftworkers and Early Industrialization in Hamilton, Ontario: 1840-1872* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), p. 11.

operation, in this instance a sawmill in New Lowell, Ontario, from a distance.⁴⁶ He argues that Robert Hay failed to shift from traditional business practice to impersonal forms of management. His analysis is skilful, but it ignores how complex social structures were in the nineteenth century and how they operated, focussing instead on a business problem defined only in modern terms and out of context. Other historians such as Graham D. Taylor and Peter A Baskerville have taken Radforth's conclusions about Jacques & Hay at face value and have further reinforced Radforth's contention that the firm's management was inefficient, citing calculations that established that in 1870 the value-added per worker at Jacques & Hay was \$349, about one-third less than the industry average of \$506.⁴⁷ Nonetheless, the figures, even if accurate, do not explain the longevity of the firm, nor why it loomed so large in the eyes of its contemporaries.

The craftsman turned manufacturer has also been overlooked. The Canadian labour history that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s largely dealt with labour de-skilling and proletarianization as a result of industrialization, with emphasis on the underlying class struggle. Its tendency has been to overrate the importance of industrialization, lamenting the transition from the hand-made to the machine-made, from the lone craftsmen completing a

⁴⁶ Ian Radforth, "Confronting Distance: Managing Jacques and Hay's New Lowell Operations, 1853-1873," *Canadian Papers in Business History* I (1989), pp. 75-100.

⁴⁷ Both Radford and Taylor and Baskerville rightly observe that, in an era before cost accounting, Hay had no notion what family members employed by the firm might cost the company. Radforth, "Confronting Distance," pp. 94-95. In *A Concise History of Business in Canada*, eds. Graham D. Taylor and Peter A. Baskerville (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 182-183. Taylor and Baskerville, using material in the table provided by the Bloomfields in Elizabeth and Gerald T. Bloomfield, "Industrial Leaders," *Canadian Industry in 1871, Research Report*, no. 8 (1989), p. 12, Table 3; p. 18, Table 12.

task in its entirety to the piece-work of mechanization, and from the harmonious workshop to the noisy factory. Capital is usually treated as a homogenous static category against which the vibrant working class had to struggle. Prominent Canadian labour Bryan Palmer, Craig Heron, and Gregory Kealey have all been heavily influenced by British historian, E. P. Thompson, and their strongest interest has been in exploring how class shaped the development of Canadian political and social life, and in delineating how industrialization created a waged proletariat.⁴⁸ They have paid little attention to the period before the 1850s and they describe this era as pre-industrial, as a period of “primitive accumulation.”⁴⁹ This approach gives short shrift to the crafts and focuses on the craft groups most threatened by mechanization—such as the shoemakers—or on the printers and their early involvement in unionism.⁵⁰

Michael Katz’s *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City* is a broad sociological analysis which tangentially touches on this issue.⁵¹ Katz and his team of researchers examined manuscript census material, tax rolls, city

⁴⁸ E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963; Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1984). Thompson’s stated goal was to rescue the working class from “enormous condescension of posterity,” p. 12.

⁴⁹ Gregory S. Kealey, *Workers and Canadian History* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), p. 106.

⁵⁰ For a representative example see Gregory S. Kealey’s essay “Shoemakers, Shoe factories, and the Knights of St. Crispin,” or “Printers and Mechanization,” *Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism: 1867-1892* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), pp. 37–52, 83-97.

⁵¹ Michael B. Katz, *People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975).

directories and newspapers; and his treatment of the entrepreneurial class of Hamilton makes wide use of R. G. Dun & Company's extensive records.⁵² From this research and an extensive reading of local newspapers, Katz concluded that the Hamilton business elite had close, interlocking social and credit relationships. Businessmen were often of humble origin and included many former tradesmen, employing other artisan-employees. There was great geographical mobility in this population and lasting success was difficult to achieve owing to volatile business cycles, poor credit opportunities and bad speculations. Katz was concerned with capturing the big sociological picture and therefore the story of the individual craftsmen turned manufacturer was covered only in very broad strokes.

So far historians have provided limited detail on the artisanal roots of the province's more prominent manufacturing companies. They have shown more interest in development theory or the interplay of strategic groups, rather than in the investigation of individual leading businessmen.⁵³ Much of what exists is anecdotal and it is difficult to make all the players fit into a comprehensive analytical framework, with the exception of T. W. Acheson's work. Acheson has compared the birthplace, ethnicity, religion, family background, education, career patterns, political and social activities, and economic mobility of 168 British North American, later Canadian, business leaders who were successful in the

⁵² See also Michael B. Katz, Michael J. Doucet, and Mark J. Stern, *The Social Organization of Early Industrial Capitalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982) and Michael B. Katz, "The Entrepreneurial Class in a Canadian City: The Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Social History* 8, no. 2 (1975), p. 14.

⁵³ Baskerville, *Concise History of Business*, p. 69; Kristofferson says that earlier studies of Canadian industrialization have only hinted at the craftsman roots of some of the province's manufacturers. See Kristofferson, *Craft Capitalism*, p. 69.

brief window of opportunity between roughly 1850 and 1885 that allowed some businesses to progress from small family firms and modest partnership.⁵⁴ Acheson shows that early Canadian manufacturers emerged from the ranks of skilled labour, but the generation that followed this cohort lacked the strong crafts background of their predecessors.⁵⁵ Acheson concluded that the most characteristic Canadian success stories often involved younger sons of Scottish farmers, driven from home by either the consolidation of agriculture or the mechanization of industry, and arriving in Canada in the 1840s and 1850s. By industry, luck, and frugal living, many individuals from this group rose in middle age to the proprietorships of substantial manufacturing establishments.⁵⁶ In fact, the personal histories of Jacques and Hay corroborate Acheson's conclusions.

In his book on the crafts and industrialization in nineteenth-century Hamilton Ontario, Robert Kristofferson takes issue with those historians who have emphasized the dispossession of the skilled worker during industrialization.⁵⁷ In contrast, he believes that on

⁵⁴ T. W. Acheson, "The Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880–1885," in *Canadian Business History*, ed. David Macmillan (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1972), pp. 144-177.

⁵⁵ T. W. Acheson, "Changing Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-1910," *Business History Review* 47, no. 2 (Summer, 1973), pp. 189-217.

⁵⁶ Acheson, "The Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite," p. 152. Charlotte Erickson, the American historian, who has exhaustively studied immigration to the United States, suggests that many trained workers probably left Britain with the intention of farming. Whether this tendency relates only to those pursuing the American dream, and is not valid for British North America, is unclear. Charlotte Erickson, *Leaving England: Essays on British Emigration in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994), p. 56 and p. 66.

⁵⁷ Kristofferson, *Craft Capitalism*, p. 3.

the whole the history of artisan-entrepreneurs is poorly understood and has yet to find a place in current Canadian historiography. The historians he has surveyed include Douglas McCalla, who noted the craft origins of significant industrial sectors in Canada, but did not investigate it further, and Graham Taylor and Peter Baskerville, who remarked on the role of entrepreneurs in fostering industrial development, but only recommended more study of these individuals. Even labour historians such as Gregory Kealey have commented on the dearth of scholars who have investigated early Canadian manufacturing and observed that the existing analysis is heavily reliant on published census returns rather than on data drawn from manuscript sources.⁵⁸ For his part, Kristofferson proposes a nuanced model of industrialization led by artisanal producers. He sees strong continuities between the early craft-based industry led by artisanal small producers and the “first industrial revolution in Hamilton” and similar cities throughout North America.⁵⁹ He believes that a “transmodal” artisan work-world existed in Hamilton for the majority of the nineteenth century, allowing many craftsmen to retain control of artisan production, successfully maintaining one boot in the capitalist sphere, and the other in the world of the traditional crafts.

In the nineteenth century, self-employment was often equated with self-respect and it was the dream of many immigrants to Canada to be their own masters. David Burley in his study, *A Particular Condition in Life*, explores this theme. Using R. G. Dun & Company records as well as local newspapers, he follows the business life of 1,100 self-employed

⁵⁸ Kealey, *Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism*, p. 3.

⁵⁹ Kristofferson, *Craft Capitalism*, p. 20.

individuals from 1830 to 1881 in Brantford, Ontario.⁶⁰ Burley determined that the period roughly between 1835 and 1870 was particularly prosperous and provided a window of opportunity for the self-employed craftsman. In contrast, by the 1870s and 1880s, easy railway access for larger manufacturers and the expansion of retail networks assisted factory growth and led to a forty per cent decline in self-employment.⁶¹ The rise of wage work created greater confrontation in the workplace, as paternalistic management gave way to impersonal working relations and profit maximization, followed by unionization, agitation for the nine-hour day and other modest benefits.⁶² Thus industrialization brought about a decline in self-employment and the inevitable restructuring of mutually-supportive social and credit networks within nineteenth-century business life.

T. W. Acheson and David Burley identify former craftsmen who made the transition to factory ownership, but then shift to other topics. Burley's detailed research provides great detail on the artisanal origins of Brantford's manufacturers, but he does not place his work within a broader economic or social context. While Burley's conclusions are compelling, they do not address the possibility that they apply only to Brantford. For instance, it was common practice during the business life of Jacques & Hay for men to leave the company to begin their own shops and either sub-contract to their old employers or return to the firm if

⁶⁰ This New York agency provided subscribers on a regular basis with information as to the financial standing, overall performance and credit rating of various companies.

⁶¹ David G. Burley, *A Particular Condition of Life: Self-Employment and Social Mobility in Mid-Victorian Brantford* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), pp. 19-21.

⁶² Burley, *A Particular Condition*, pp. 51-61.

their businesses failed. The existence of an apparent network of these quasi-independent craftsmen blurs the thesis that industrialization almost destroyed self-employment and promoted de-skilling.

II. Consumption and material history

The memories of former gentry living in Upper Canada frequently record dissatisfaction that some members of the formerly humble classes were able to afford elegant houses with elaborate furniture.⁶³ The furniture factory at Lake Ontario's edge could readily produce elegant sideboards and towering beds to make the newly affluent look like old money. In Britain, furniture was often passed from one generation to another, adding patina to both itself and the family history. The steam-powered furniture factory could manufacture good replicas of the real thing, or "good enough" facsimiles for individuals purchasing them, but not everyone approved. In 1860 Toronto the seventy-six year old well-connected Susan Sibbald realized that her social world composed of superannuated gentry and people she referred to as the "respectables" was being replaced by an emerging class boasting big houses, sumptuous furniture and fast horses.⁶⁴ It is interesting that Sibbald's displeasure with the "vulgar" new players targeted their consumption of material goods and a letter of

⁶³ Susanna Moodie, *Roughing It in the Bush; or, Life in Canada* (London, 1852; repr., Toronto: McClelland & Steward, 1989), pp. 203-204.

⁶⁴ Library and Archives Canada, R 7548-0-7-E (MG 29-C69), Susan Sibbald, letter 22 April 1860; York University Archives, J. David Wood fonds, F0215, 2001-024/002, Sibbald, letter 11 February 1859 .

February 1859 expressed satisfaction that the sharp economic recession had reduced the conspicuous consumption of the newly rich of Toronto.

Nonetheless while a well-furnished house of gleaming wood was considered inappropriate by some for those of modest background, the working family's ownership of beds, tables and chairs was deemed a mark of civilization.⁶⁵ Illustrations of this attitude can be found in the local press of the period. The July, 1864 issue of the *Journal of the Board of Arts and Manufactures for Upper Canada* advised that "all our household gods should conform to the true principles of the beautiful and the pure"; the American architect Andrew Jackson Downing claimed "an unfailing barrier against vice, immorality, and bad habits, are those tastes which lead us to embellish a home." Those attempting to control the more anarchic aspects of nineteenth-century life made a connection between enhanced domesticity and social order.⁶⁶ The first witness before the Royal Commission on the Subject of Labor (sic) and its Relation to Capital was John Falconer, a former Jacques & Hay employee, who was interviewed in Toronto in 1887. While Falconer may have been hand-picked to comment favourably on his experience with his three Toronto employers and cast a rosy light on local working conditions, he also described his professional values and his standard of living. Falconer basically believed that he lived a good life owing to his skills, sobriety

⁶⁵ "Jacques & Hay's Cabinet Factory," *The Journal of the Board of Arts and Manufactures for Upper Canada*, vol. 4 (July, 1864), p. 195; Andrew Jackson Downing, *Victorian Cottage Residences* (1842; 1873; repr. of 1873 edition, New York: Dover Publications, 1981), p. ix. Citations are to the Dover edition.

⁶⁶ This anxiety about controlling the feckless elements of the city has been described for a slightly latter period in Keith Walden's book *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), pp. 32-79.

and industriousness. Like other “careful men” and “good mechanics” he stressed that he owned his own home and that it was well furnished.⁶⁷

Jacques & Hay appeared to control the entire furniture market in Upper Canada. The company produced a wide range of furniture at reasonable prices. Besides elaborate cabinetry, appropriate for the most elegant of drawing rooms, it manufactured almost all things “in the furniture line” and mass-produced chairs and beds for the pioneer home and “cottage furniture” sets for customers of modest means. Jacques & Hay made it possible for industrious people to live decently, and their contemporaries were aware of this and thus of the firm’s contribution to the “civilizing” process. Upper Canadian publications’ editors urged the working man to become a better craftsman and citizen by joining mechanics’ unions and there was an expressed public desire for the artisan to transform himself into an individual imbued with progress, industry and civilization.⁶⁸ The editor of the *Journal of the Board of Arts and Manufactures for Upper Canada*, wrote an admiring account of Jacques & Hay’s success and its positive social value to the community, referring to the uplifting effects of better house furnishings, writing “[I]f legislators understood how much these things [articles of furniture for the “lower orders”] have to do with the formation of character, national as well as individual, something would be done for the encouragement of

⁶⁷ “Testimony of John Falconer, Carpenter,” *Royal Commission on the Subject of Labor (sic) and its Relation to Capital: “Evidence, Ontario”* Vol. 2 (Ottawa: A. Senecal, 1889), pp. 2-8.

⁶⁸ Darren Ferry, *Uniting in Measures of Common Good: The Construction of Liberal Identities in Central Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2008), p. 54.

art in this country.”⁶⁹ The company carefully developed a capacity to meet the needs of a varied clientele; their furniture sold well and was distributed widely through an excellent distribution system. In keeping with the *Journal of the Board of Arts and Manufactures*’ comments, the furniture’s popularity suggests an appreciation and enjoyment of a better standard of living. Access to inexpensive household furnishings greatly improved levels of comfort and provided scope for more elaborate social customs within a domestic space. For others, fashionable consumption was a means of cultural reproduction and symbolic remaking.⁷⁰

The history of consumption is of recent vintage and the field is still underdeveloped in Canada. The publication of Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb’s volume, *The Birth of the Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* and the compendium of essays entitled, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, edited by John Brewer and Roy Porter, inaugurated the study of consumption by historians and shifted attention away from the producers.⁷¹ They posited that historians could understand a culture

⁶⁹ The *Journal of the Board of Arts and Manufactures for Upper Canada* 4 (July, 1864), p. 196.

⁷⁰ Joy Parr, *Domestic Goods: The Material, the Moral, and the Economic in the Postwar Years* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), p. 9.

⁷¹ Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of the Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982); John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London: Routledge, 1993); Craig Clunas, “Modernity Global and Local: Consumption and the Rise of the West,” *The American Historical Review* 104, no 5 (December, 1999), p.1497.

through its material goods and its patterns of consumption and that choice in acquiring material goods defines the ethos and cultural orientation of the consuming group.⁷²

Earlier work on consumption was penned by social commentators or sociologists such as Thorstein Verblen, Vance Packard and John Kenneth Galbraith and was usually very critical. These authors argued that people consumed to display personal power and to discourage potential rivals.⁷³ This “emulation theory” has been used to explain rising levels of consumption. Others have described consumers as victims of “hidden persuaders.” Packard for instance argued against human volition in the act of consumption and saw the consumer as the dupe of local elites, salesmen or advertisers. He believed that the advertising “depth manipulators,” aided by advances in the social sciences, had successfully invaded the privacy of the human mind to manipulate purchasing decisions.⁷⁴

Some anthropologists—on the other hand—have viewed consumption as a cultural practice and have argued from the 1970s onward that consumption, and the material objects consumed, act as an information system. They stress the symbolic nature of material goods. This line of investigation puts the onus on the side of demand rather than supply, implying

⁷² Lisa Tiersten, “Beyond Consumerism: New Historical Perspectives on Consumption,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 39, no. 3 (2004), p. 118. Tiersten further footnotes McKendrick, Brewer and Plumb, *The Birth of the Consumer Society*, pp. 316-334.

⁷³ Thorstein Verblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1967), pp. 17-26; Vance Packard, *The Hidden Persuaders* (1957; repr., Montreal: Pocket Books of Canada, 1962); John Kenneth Galbraith, *The Affluent Society* (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1970).

⁷⁴ Vance Packard, *The Hidden Persuaders*, pp.1, 18-37, 229.

that the consumer has choices and can actually be empowered by consumption.⁷⁵ Mary Douglas and Baron C. Isherwood's classic anthropological work, *The World of Goods*, offers several possible interpretations of the role of material goods in human culture, but equates the act of consumption with social communications.⁷⁶ Reviewing the relevant academic literature, Douglas and Isherwood suggest that most scholars believe that people buy goods for the purposes of material welfare, psychic welfare and display.⁷⁷ Douglas and Isherwood assume that the world of goods constitutes a living information system and that the buying and displaying of goods by individuals draws on a visual vocabulary to communicate symbolically with other members of their society.⁷⁸ They tend to minimize comfort and the aesthetic enjoyment of one's home. For his part the sociologist Colin Campbell believes that consumption is strongly tied to romanticism and a capacity for feeling, if not hedonism.⁷⁹ Involving longing and fantasy, consumption stimulates the imagination in a search for

⁷⁵ Lisa Tiersten, "Refining Consumer Culture: Recent Literature on Consumption and the Bourgeoisie in Western Europe," *Radical History Review* 57 (1993), p. 136.

⁷⁶ Mary Douglas and Baron C. Isherwood, *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption* (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1979).

⁷⁷ Douglas and Isherwood, *The World of Goods*, p. 4. On the theme of consumption and display, Douglas and Isherwood cite the breakthrough work of Thorstein Veblen. However, they suggest he overplays his theme, moralistically co-relating consumption with waste and excess.

⁷⁸ Douglas and Isherwood, p. 4, drawing on Norman Dennis, Fernando Henriques and Clifford Slaughter, *Coal is Our Life: An Analysis of a Yorkshire Coal Mining Community* (London: Tavistock, 1969). There have been similar findings in examining the saloon culture of both Ireland and the United States: Thomas J. Schlereth, *Victorian America: Transformations in Everyday Life. 1876-1915* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1992), p. 228.

⁷⁹ Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and The Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1987).

novelty or new experience. Other historians have adopted variations of the emulation theory. McKendrick's work on Josiah Wedgwood, for instance, argues that consumer spending is driven by the pursuit of status and class competition, and may accelerate during periods of upward social mobility.⁸⁰ People's consumer choices reflect their admiration of the class above them and their desire to be seen as part of it.⁸¹

Lorna Weatherill, however, challenged the emulation theory in her thoroughly documented book based on probate inventories. Her research indicates that it was not the gentry who were the most important buyers of consumer goods in eighteenth-century Britain. The largest group of consumers were professional people and higher-status tradesmen who acquired a greater array of domestic goods. Weatherill found that the new consumer goods were likely to be found in the front portion of the home, where visitors were entertained and objects displayed.⁸² She implies, but does not explore completely, the notion that these groups of consumers were more worldly, curious and more receptive to change than rusticated gentry. She explains, however, that this behaviour was common among those individuals interested in "innovation in varied domestic goods," and that these individuals were often the forerunners of the middle classes, who would be "noted in later periods for

⁸⁰ McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb, *The Birth of the Consumer Society*, p. 116 quoting N. Forster, *An Enquiry into the Present High Prices of Provisions* (1767), p. 41.

⁸¹ McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb, pp. 9-33.

⁸² Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760* (London: Routledge, 1988), p. 197.

their materialism and their elaborate domestic interiors.”⁸³ Looking glasses were three times more common in the inventories of merchants and traders than in those of yeomen, and the mercantile classes generally has more books and decorative goods.⁸⁴

Stana Nenadic investigated the same questions as Weatherill, but for the nineteenth century, and reached similar conclusions: consumption was not emulative. She also uncovered other dimensions to consumption and discussed how large purchases coincided with major events in the life cycle, such as marriage. She noted that people inherited goods, to which they could attach sentimental value, and that they did not hesitate to purchase articles second-hand in second half of the eighteenth century. With time, the Scottish middle-class would abandon this latter practice and Nenadic tells us that “[b]y the second decade of the nineteenth century, it was much less likely that middle-rank men and women would own either furniture or clothing that had previously belonged outside their family, and it was much more likely that working people would be able to purchase second-hand goods that had once belonged to the relatively wealthy.”⁸⁵ Taking into account the close cultural linkages with Canada for most of the nineteenth century, these observations have application when assessing Canadian consumption patterns; this will be particularly true when considering auction purchases.

⁸³ Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760*, pp. 171, 180, 185, 189.

⁸⁴ Weatherill, p. 189.

⁸⁵ Stana Nenadic, “Middle-rank Consumers and Domestic Culture in Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1720–1840,” *Past and Present* 145 (November, 1994), pp. 129-134.

American scholars have offered explanations for changes in consumer behaviour. Richard L. Bushman's *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* outlines how an appreciation for better manners, etiquette and cleanliness spread through American life from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the onset of the Civil War. The connection between knowing how to behave—and having the rooms, tables and chairs to demonstrate such social charm—was significant. Manners and material goods are intertwined and the development of social codes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was also closely related to consumption. Concepts such as courtesy, refinement, sensibility, self-control and gentility found expression in the goods required for appropriate social entertainment and acknowledged rules for effectively mixing with others allowed for the orchestration of a more complex social life.⁸⁶ Understanding the social rule books operating in the nineteenth century is pertinent for understanding the place of furniture in a more intricate domestic life. Many residents of Upper Canada, however, appeared more focussed on decency and respectability than refinement, and were happier with the more mundane products of mechanization, rather than aspiring to levels of aristocratic deportment.

As mentioned, the systematic study of consumption is comparatively new and so far there has been limited interest among Canadian historians. In 1992, Cynthia Wright noted that “[r]emarkably little Canadian work has been done, whether by labour, social, or feminist

⁸⁶ Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Vintage Press, 1993).

historians, to document and to theorize on the impact of consumer culture.”⁸⁷ Donica Belisle’s historiographical article discusses recent writing in the area of consumption that she believes is indicative of a heightened interest in this topic. However, the books she refers to, such as David Monod’s *Store Wars: Shopkeepers and the Culture of Mass Marketing, 1890-1939*, Carolyn Strange’s *Toronto’s Girl Problem: The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880-1930*, and Keith Walden’s *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture* are really works of social history rather than history of consumption per se.⁸⁸ Belisle views consumption very broadly, rather than focusing on why people buy things. The extent of her interests is indicated by her remark that “...expanding the field of Canadian consumer history will create new perspectives on Canadian wage and salary earners’ experiences.”⁸⁹ For her, the study of consumption is a tool to understand the history of the lower middle and working class.

Keith Walden’s work is perhaps the most pertinent in a consideration of Jacques & Hay. Walden uses both Antonio Gramsci’s model of class hegemony and discourse theory to

⁸⁷ Cynthia Wright, “‘Feminine Trifles of Vast Importance’: Writing Gender into the History of Consumption,” in *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women’s History*, ed. Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), p. 230 quoted by Donica Belisle, “Toward a Canadian Consumer History,” *Labour/Le Travail*, 52 (Fall, 2003), pp. 181-206.

⁸⁸ David Monod, *Store Wars: Shopkeepers and the Culture of Mass Marketing, 1890-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1996); Carolyn Strange, *Toronto’s Girl Problem: The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture*.

⁸⁹ Belisle, “Toward a Canadian Consumer History,” p. 205.

analyse the organization of the Toronto Industrial Exhibition.⁹⁰ He argues that local Toronto elites and manufacturers used the exhibition as a form of discourse to inculcate the social values of stability and respectability to the attending public in a city undergoing rapid urbanization. He uses Gramsci's model to explain that it is more effective to modify the value system of the group to be dominated than to try to subjugate it by force. Once the values of the dominant class are fully internalized by the other group, then elite norms become community norms and the elite's leadership is legitimized. Vehicles such as exhibitions conveyed the message that industrial capitalism and private property were efficient means of achieving progress. The range of goods exhibited was intended to represent the advantages of class co-operation and to indicate the availability of manufactured items.⁹¹

Joy Parr is probably the pre-eminent Canadian historian of consumption. In addition to having strong interests in furniture, Parr has made an important contribution to our understanding of twentieth-century patterns of consumption.⁹² She argues that post-1945 women were very creative in finding frugal ways of furnishing their houses. They improvised, recycled and did not mind mixing styles. They seemed completely oblivious to advertisers and to their neighbours, and ignored the possibility of turning to a professional

⁹⁰ Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto*, p. 15.

⁹¹ Walden, p. 22.

⁹² Joy Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880–1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990). One of the companies that Parr focuses on is the Knechtel Furniture Co. in Hanover, Ontario; Parr, *Domestic Goods*, pp. 165-198.

for decorating advice.⁹³ As will be shown in chapter seven, her conclusions about post-1945 consumption can easily be applied to the Victorian era, suggesting that in both periods Canadian consumers were shrewd purchasers, who did not mind mixing styles to minimize dated looking interiors.

Can consumption then be used to consolidate class identity? If one discounts social emulation as a stimulating force for consumption, one can discern how consumption can be used to underline class identity and respectability. For instance, good furniture and silver teapots did much to create a sense of belonging among Canadian middling classes. Several material historians have built a reasonable case that many nineteenth-century mass-produced consumer items enabled different groups to develop their own distinct cultural life, to parallel, but not necessarily imitate, aristocratic notions of gracious living. Victorians regarded pressed glass, plated silver and manufactured furniture as having virtues in their own right and as being highly suitable for the rituals of the middling classes. Miles Orvell and Whitney Walton, who have investigated the appearance on the market of electroplated silver, such as that manufactured by Christofle of Paris, have postulated that such technical breakthroughs in manufacturing may have provided the middle classes with desirable products that were moderately priced and well designed.⁹⁴

⁹³ Joy Parr, "Household Choices as Politics and Pleasure in 1950s Canada," *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 55 (Spring, 1999), p.114. Parr says that in contrast to a professional approach to decorating that might even be sampled in department stores, Canadian women expressed own their needs and their families' needs when furnishing their homes.

⁹⁴ Miles Orvell, *The Real Thing: Imitation and Authority in American Culture, 1880-1940* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina, 1989) p. xv; Whitney Walton in her volume, *Crystal Palace: Bourgeois Taste and Artisan Manufacture in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), pp. 167, 223.

The evidence suggests that there was more emphasis on the consumption of articles that offered comfort, or freedom from discomfort or pain, in early nineteenth-century North America.⁹⁵ It is possible that Victorian Canadians may have interpreted physical well-being differently from their Georgian predecessors. Instead of ignoring cold and damp, nineteenth-century people found a variety of solutions to these problems. This strategy was probably driven by the desire to ease discomfort rather than to accept it stoically.⁹⁶ While it appears self-evident that people would choose comfort over suffering there is evidence that the tolerance of discomfort and denial of pain are, to a point, culturally based.⁹⁷ There is some speculation that in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century there was a new respect for the body and its needs. John E. Crowley observed that usage of the word

⁹⁵ John Ibson, "Virgin Land and Virgin Mary," *American Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (1981), pp. 284-308, explains pain as a cultural experience; Mark M. Smith in his volume *Sensing the Past: Seeing, Hearing, Smelling, Tasting, and Touching in History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), p. 104 believes that a new interpretation of pain — that appeared to evolve at the eighteenth century's close — incorporated new humanitarian feelings for the pain of the poor and the dispossessed.

⁹⁶ The drive for greater comfort, or at least freedom from discomfort, can be compared to the increased consumption of products such as coffee, tea, and tobacco; these went from being considered occasional medicines to daily necessities. See Sidney W. Mintz, "The Changing Role of Food in the Study of Consumption," in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. John Brewer and Roy Porter (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 261-273.

⁹⁷ See Carl Benn, "British Officer Housing in Upper Canada, 1784-1841," *Material History Review* 44 (Fall, 1996), pp. 79-96; John E. Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities and Design in Early Modern Britain and Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), pp. 290-292; Roy Porter, "Consumption: Disease of the Consumer Society?" in Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, p. 69.

“comfort” greatly increased during the eighteenth century.⁹⁸ Instead of enduring cold or pain, nineteenth-century people preferred to seek a greater measure of physical well-being. There also was a much greater choice of practical solutions to being cold or wet. The cost of a mattress fell from about fifty dollars to five dollars in the United States and we have evidence that Jacques & Hay could sell such goods for even less.⁹⁹

Does the consumption of Jacques & Hay furniture provide insight into the habits, sentiments and beliefs of nineteenth-century Canadians? The large volume of sales revealed colonial society’s desire for a more comfortable existence characterized by greater cleanliness, order and ease, as well as a greater measure of civility. As a consequence, the study of Jacques & Hay furniture contributes to our understanding of Victorian interest in family life and its new emphasis on the home. Material goods come in handy as markers of the past. Beds and tables have long been associated with such socially important events as shared meals and such personal rites of passage as marriage, birth and death. Personal dwellings and their contents were often the dramatic stages for such important social events as weddings, christenings and funerals.

America has a long tradition of celebrating its decorative arts. Since the success of the 1876 World’s Fair in Philadelphia, commemorating the hundredth anniversary of the

⁹⁸ John E. Crowley, “The Sensibility of Comfort,” *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 3 (June, 1999), p. 750.

⁹⁹ Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 217. By 1870, Jacques & Hay were selling straw mattresses for a modest \$ 2.61. Invoice addressed to “Mr. Mongtomery,” Archives of Ontario, reference document F142-1-0-17, B287274, Box 1, 7 October 1870.

republic, Americans fostered greater enthusiasm for their history. Museums often situated in important historic houses were created and colonial furniture became popular as an expression of nostalgia for the values of the American past.¹⁰⁰ To staff these historic sites and the new American wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Art in New York there was strong interest in creating a cadre of material culture scholars for both academic and museum curatorial duties. Following on these earlier traditions, material history emerged as a scholarly field in the mid-twentieth century and attempted to develop new methods of analysis; it relied on the frameworks and methods of art history, anthropology, and American studies to understand the decorative arts.¹⁰¹ The rise of “New History” in the 1970s further generated interest in the family, demography, women, blacks, native people, labour and the working classes.¹⁰² It was a logical progression to move from the examination of new types of documentary sources to the examination of objects. Artefacts were now regarded as important indicators of the past, providing information as valid as that contained in documents and manuscripts. Many historians became interested in analysing the physical objects through which a given society expresses itself, believing such evidence is highly indicative of societal change.

¹⁰⁰ Stuart D. Hobbs, “Exhibiting Antimodernism: History, Memory, and the Aestheticized Past in Mid-Twentieth-Century America,” *The Public Historian* 23, no. 3. (Summer, 2001), pp. 39-61.

¹⁰¹ “Editorial Statement” *Winterthur Portfolio* 17, no.1 (Spring, 1982), page unnumbered; “About the Journal,” *Winterthur Portfolio: A Journal of American Material Culture*, [<http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/WP/home>], consulted 26 October 2007.

¹⁰² Edith Mayo, “Introduction: Focus on Material Culture,” *Journal of American Culture* 3, no. 4. (1980), p. 595.

James Deetz, and his early volume *In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life* had a great impact on the development of material history. He employs three classes of material goods, ceramics, tombstones and building architecture, to illustrate how early American material culture reflected currents of cultural change. While later material historians developed complex charts and matrices for the investigation of artefacts, Deetz's recommendations were very simple. He believed that the material object can provide valuable information about historic events and posited that artefacts are highly effective in allowing us to track cultural shifts, permitting the historian to see patterns in human experience.¹⁰³

Historians of material history and consumption provide useful guidelines to assess both traditional documentary and non-documentary sources such as physical objects.¹⁰⁴ Many such scholars have taken advantage of an interdisciplinary approach to analyse the cultural context and significance of household goods and therefore shed light on important changes in social assumptions, attitudes and values. The noted American material cultural historian Kenneth Ames has observed that “a significant portion of our being is constructed

¹⁰³ James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life* (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1977) pp. 7-8, 158-161. In this volume Deetz often refers to his scholarship as “historical archaeology,” but he appears to use this expression almost interchangeably with “material culture,” or what he called “the study of American material culture in historical perspective.” See p. 25.

¹⁰⁴ Jules David Prown, “The Truth of Material Culture: History or Fiction?” in *History from Things: Essays in Material Culture*, ed. Steven Lublin and W. David Kingery (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1993), pp. 1-19.

of non-verbal interaction with things.”¹⁰⁵ The interiors of our homes yield valuable social and cultural clues, as interior design and cabinetry are reflective of changes in hierarchy, dominance and technical progress, and can provide unique insight into vernacular culture.

British historian Asa Briggs, who has written much about the British nineteenth century, has attempted to use material history or, as he prefers to call it, the study of things, to reconstruct the intelligible universe of the Victorians. Briggs’ approach offers a ready definition of material history and a practical demonstration of how it might be used.¹⁰⁶ Briggs’ *Victorian Things* looks at the material goods produced by that age as messages from earlier societies. While he reviews succinctly the prominent practitioners in this field such as Marc Bloc, Fernand Braudel, Sigfried Giedion, Mary Douglas and Augustus Pitt-Rivers, Briggs is more content to put theory aside, and simply investigate the material object, exploring how it was used, why it was used, and what it meant to the people using it. Briggs’ posits that studying such items—as diverse as spectacles, popular prints, bonnets, matches and stamps—will disclose important aspects of their consumers’ world-view. Briggs uses Victorian things in the same fashion as he analysed Victorian people and cities to decode the

¹⁰⁵ Kenneth L. Ames, “Furniture Study: Moving into the Mainstream,” in *Victorian Furniture: Essays from a Victorian Society, Autumn Symposium* (Philadelphia: Victorian Society in America, 1983), pp. 10-15.

¹⁰⁶ Asa Briggs, *Victorian Things* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1988), pp. 30-31. In contrast to Briggs’ basic definition of material history, consider that of Thomas Schlereth. Schlereth called material culture “that segment of humankind’s biosocial environment which has been purposely shaped by people according to culturally dictated plans.” See Thomas Schlereth, “Material Culture Research and Historical Explanation,” *The Public Historian* 7, no. 4 (Fall, 1985), p. 22.

earlier century.¹⁰⁷ He explores the world of objects to explain how the nineteenth century was altered by the rapid availability of these goods. Victorian society may have transformed the production of objects, but the resulting cornucopia in turn transformed it. This two-way interaction included the enjoying, displaying, insuring, coveting, pawning, or stealing of things. Victorians might have possessed things, but things could also have possessed them. This inclination may explain the clutter of physical objects habitually found in Victorian rooms and the heavy decoration, often with historically eclectic detail, that can be seen on cabinetry, silver and porcelain of the period.

Briggs' two-way transformative process appears to have Canadian relevance. The sheer volume of objects owned by many nineteenth-century people as revealed in the auction catalogues and other documents of the period provides evidence of vigorous consumption. We can assume Canadians benefited from the greater availability of many household furnishings, but the Jacques & Hay furniture factory, however efficient its technology and organization, would not have survived without being sustained by greater prosperity in the community and the Canadian shopper.

The writing of Canadian material history provides a unique challenge and opportunity. Many Canadian material historians, as indicated in the pages of *Material History Review*, display an obsessive desire to locate an authentic Canadian character in

¹⁰⁷ Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968); Asa Briggs *Victorian People: A Reassessment of Persons and Themes, 1851-67*, rev. ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1970).

objects.¹⁰⁸ Hooked rugs, birch-bark canoes, and carnival sashes are all minutely analyzed for recurring cultural motifs or metaphors.¹⁰⁹ This search is quixotic, as the Canadian artefact can have many cultural fathers. For instance Jane Cook's work on the furniture of the St. John River Valley demonstrates how difficult it is to trace decorative stylistic changes. Cook set out to investigate the various design traditions of the Mi'kmaq, Acadians, Quebecois, Americans, English, Scots, and Irish to determine how these aesthetic currents influenced the development of local furniture. Unfortunately, by the Victorian period the styles had become a smorgasbord of possibilities and in the final analysis the bureaux, tables and chairs produced in the St. John's Valley appeared to be a hybrid of many traditions. While this finding is consistent with the nature of Canadian culture in general, it is still difficult to follow from a design vantage point. The material historian is then faced with trying to interpret layer upon layer of cultural influence. The most lasting conclusion is that such multiple decorative sources create a rich patina and this fact in itself provides some insight into the national character.

¹⁰⁸ Material historians who contributed actively to the *Material History Review* and also participated in an influential 1979 forum on the new theme of material history included the following: Lilly Koltun on "Seeing is Believing? - A Critique of Archival Visual Sources"; Gerald L. Pocius on "Oral History and the Study of Material Culture"; and an active furniture historian, W. John McIntyre, who delivered a paper, "Artifacts as Sources for Material History Research." These articles were subsequently published in *Material History Review* 9 (Fall 1979).

¹⁰⁹ Representative articles include: Francois Simard and Louis-Pascal Rousseau, "La ceinture fléchée au carrefour des convoitises des communautés canadiennes-françaises amérindiennes et métisses du Canada," *Material History Review* no. 59 (Spring 2004), pp. 20-34; Paula Flynn, "Making and Metaphor: Hooked Rug Development in Newfoundland, 1973-2003," *Material History Review*, no. 60 (Fall 2004) pp. 8-19; Hallie E. Bond, "The Featherweight and the Backwoods and the Evolution of the Pack Canoe," *Material History Review*, no 48 (Fall, 1998), pp. 26-37.

Jacques & Hay furniture is such a dominating presence in the decorative arts that it has not been completely undocumented. Ruth Cathcart, a specialist in Ontario antiques and architecture, published in 1986 the only book about Jacques & Hay furniture currently in existence. While it offers an excellent explanation of the structure and elements comprising a Jacques & Hay chair, this volume was primarily designed to serve the antiques trade, in particular the collector of Victorian Canadian furniture.¹¹⁰ Sheila M. Smith, working under the supervision of Donald Webster, a senior curator at the Royal Ontario Museum, produced a masters' thesis with valuable research on the early history of the Jacques & Hay firm.¹¹¹ The emphasis in both works is on its legacy in terms of the furniture's visual appeal and less on social history.

It may be useful to look at just one piece of furniture to test the concept that objects are important in assessing social change. In the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum there is a prie-dieu chair covered in needlework. Unfortunately the Museum appears to have no background records on the origins of this chair, although it was grouped in the museum's identifying photo with a Robert Hay sideboard, which suggests the chair might have come from the same donor. It is likely that this chair, or a very similar one, was the chair produced by Jacques & Hay that won a prize in an early provincial exhibition. The Widder family of

¹¹⁰ Ruth Cathcart, *Jacques & Hay: Nineteenth-Century Toronto Furniture Makers* (Erin, Ontario: Boston Mills Press, 1986)

¹¹¹ Sheila M. Smith, "Jacques and Hay, Cabinet-Makers: 1835-1885" (master's thesis, University of Toronto, 1968).

Toronto later bought the prizing-winning chair and used it to display a daughter's needlework.¹¹²

The Widders were exactly the type of people that letter-writer Susan Sibbald dismissed as *nouveau riche*. In fact she commented sarcastically on one of the family marrying with a total of ten (underlined in the original) bridesmaids.¹¹³ The Widders used their large house, renovated by Fred Cumberland, as an engine for self-advancement. Considering that Cumberland was their contractor, and he invariably favoured Jacques & Hay, and the origin of the needlepoint chair purchased at the exhibition, the house was probably furnished with cabinetry by Jacques & Hay. The memoir of Isabella Strange Trotter of her visit to Toronto in 1858 provides an ample description of dinner in the Widders' home just after the Cumberland renovation. While she apparently disliked the formal furniture of the drawing and dining room, she greatly admired Mrs. Widder's bedroom, which she describes as "beautifully furnished."¹¹⁴ The Widder household furniture

¹¹² *Canadian Agriculturist* 51 (1852), p. 291. Miss Widder submitted to an international exhibition another needlework-covered chair, which we might surmise was also manufactured by Jacques & Hay. "Paris Exhibition," Appendix No. 6," *Journals of the Legislative Council of the Province of Canada*, 3rd session of the fifteenth Parliament, 1857, page A6-230. The energetic Miss Widder also presented the Prince of Wales with one of her needlepoint chairs. N. A. Woods, *The Prince of Wales in the United States and Canada* (London: Bradbury & Evans, 1861), p. 224.

¹¹³ Library and Archives Canada, R-7548-0-7-E, Susan Sibbald fonds, Susan Sibbald letter, 25 April 1860.

¹¹⁴ Isabella Strange Trotter, *First Impressions of the New World: On Two Travellers from the Old in the Autumn of 1858* (London: Biblobazaar, 2007), p. 50. Trotter referred to her hosts as Mr. And Mrs. W., but the description of the W's house, the date of its renovation and Mrs. W's musical talent allow for no other identification for a Mr. And Mrs. W. in Toronto of 1858.

was a key marker of their place in the larger social structure and underscored their connections to the contemporary social and political hierarchy. Frederick Widder and his wife, Elizabeth, were undoubted members of Toronto's elite and entertaining may have been particularly important for Widder as he tried to build support for an ambitious scheme to have the Canada Company take over significant crown lands, and a large portion of clergy reserves.¹¹⁵ His implacable enemy in this effort was the influential John Strachan, the Church of England Bishop of Toronto, so that Widder needed broad community backing in Toronto to succeed. The importance of cutting a fine figure in society with an elegant home and an accomplished wife was probably central to his ambitions.¹¹⁶ Widder was a conspicuous public individual, and Mrs. Sibbald—a close friend of the bishop—chose to attack his taste rather than the man himself. George Brown, another public figure, wanted to buy Widder's dining room table and chairs second-hand.¹¹⁷

The Widder home and décor were engines for social consolidation and their significance is as profound as a newspaper editorial. While their consumption of Jacques & Hay furniture appears only relevant when considering the lives of the affluent, we also have documentation that a butcher's wife, Mary Armstrong, invited to the Widder's home for an

¹¹⁵ The Canada Company was created by John Galt, established in late 1824, and incorporated by the British Parliament in July, 1825. See Roger Hall and Nick Whistler, "John Galt," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online* [<http://www.biographi.ca>], consulted 12 May 2010.

¹¹⁶ Kristina Marie Guiguet, *The Ideal World of Mrs. Widder's Soirée Musicale: Social Identity and Musical Life in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2004).

¹¹⁷ Library and Archives Canada, George Brown fonds, R2634-0-9-E, reels C-1601 to C-1605, George Brown to Anne Brown, 28 July 1864.

evening party, made a detailed visual study of their furnishings as a guide to her own future decorating plans.¹¹⁸ It appears that Mr. Widder and his furniture and décor held strong interest in nineteenth-century Toronto and were closely followed by people at various social levels.

Jacques & Hay's existence from 1835 to 1885 bridged a period of distinct social change. Toronto advanced from a colonial outpost to an important commercial and urban centre; the firm's employees moved from working in traditional small workshops to a steam-powered factory; the company's partners transformed themselves from artisans into manufacturers. Better housing and abundant furniture gave polish to social life and offered a greater sense of comfort and progress in the domestic lives of Upper Canadians.

¹¹⁸ Jackson W. Armstrong, ed. *Seven Eggs Today: The Diaries of Mary Armstrong, 1859 and 1869* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2004), pp. 41, 108.

Chapter Two

Jacques & Hay, Cabinet-Makers, 1835- 1885

I. Introduction

In the 1850s Toronto newspapers conveyed a sense of tremendous excitement, reflecting the wide-spread belief that the city and its citizens were on the edge of an economic and social breakthrough. When the stone-laying ceremony for the Toronto Mechanics' Institute took place, it was reported to even the out-of- town Barrie readers of the *Northern Advance* that "Artizans [sic] and Mechanics" expressed satisfaction and rejoiced at "the proud position in which they stood in the scale of civilized society."¹ Both John Jacques and Robert Hay were active in the Mechanics' Institute and, considering the numerous employees from Jacques & Hay that joined the organization, they may have encouraged them to become members. Such actions possibly allied the firm in the public's mind with progress and helped to promote the furniture. The creation of the Jacques & Hay factory at the edge of Toronto's waterfront in the late 1840s marked the beginnings of factory production in Upper Canada and was a clear break with the craft workshops of the past. The building of the factory, using then-modern organizational techniques and steam energy, was consistent with the city's developing

¹ *Northern Advance* (Barrie), 19 April 1854.

energy and purpose. The residents of Toronto expressed admiration that the firm, burnt out three times, could repeatedly rise “phoenix-like ... from the smouldering ashes.”²

In the public mind Jacques & Hay’s success seemed to be equated with the general prosperity of Toronto. Located at the heart of a developing transportation network, the company was associated with modernity. Growing out of the tightly inter-related Toronto construction industry engaged in building a city, it was sustained by its community’s willingness to bail it out in time of crisis and supply it with numerous individual orders and larger public contracts. The firm’s importance is illustrated by the fact that the important future collector of Canadiana, Sigmund Samuel, who grew up in Toronto in the 1870s, once described Jacques & Hay as being the only significant manufacturer in the city in its day.³ This is untrue, and while there were at least two other large firms, the assertion shows the symbolic importance of the company in the public’s mind. Patriotism was also tied to the success of Jacques & Hay, as the company represented a counterweight to aggressive American competition that exported significant quantities of chairs and chair parts.⁴

² George P. Ure, *The Hand-Book of Toronto* (Toronto: Lovell and Gibson, 1858), p. 271.

³ “[T]here was only one important factory in the city. That was the furniture plant of Jacques & Hay.” Sigmund Samuel, *In Return: The Autobiography of Sigmund Samuel* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), p. 16. The other significant factories of the period were Gooderham & Worts, and Gzowski & Co.

⁴ As late as 1858, Robert Hay worried in letters to New Lowell that chairs and chair parts could be made more cheaply in the United States, largely in upper state New York. There was not the same anxiety after a tariff was passed in 1858 and 1859 to exclude this competition. W. John McIntyre, “Chairs and Chairmaking in Upper Canada” (master’s thesis, University of Delaware, 1975), pp. 87, 90, and Simcoe County Archives,

II. The Partners

Jacques & Hay was a partnership, started in Toronto in 1835 by cabinet-makers John Jacques (1804-1886) and Robert Hay (1808-1890). The nineteenth century was a great age for business partnerships as they were an effective means of pooling resources in an era of limited financial capital.⁵ Within this context, it is not surprising that two young men should meet on a street corner to discuss going into business. Both John Jacques and Robert Hay were skilled tradesmen who had also grown dissatisfied with working for others. With \$900, the two craftsmen decided to open shop together. John Jacques approached his then-employer, William Maxwell, and succeeded in negotiating the purchase of Maxwell's cabinet-making business on King Street in Toronto.⁶ The two new partners set to work there with two apprentices, in a building that combined a workshop with office space.⁷

Jacques & Hay Archives, [hereafter referred to as JHA], letters of 1 December 1857 and 1 February 1858.

⁵ David G. Burley, *A Particular Condition in Life: Self-Employment and Social Mobility in Mid-Victorian Brantford, Ontario* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), p. 34. A recent American study estimates that between 20% to 30% of all nineteenth-century firms in every industry were partnerships; only 35% of these involved family members. See Duol Kim, "The Popularity of Partnership in United States Manufacturing During the Nineteenth Century," (unpublished manuscript, University of California, 2003), Econ.ucdavis.edu, consulted 7 May 2008, pp. 1, 25.

⁶ George Maclean Rose, ed., *A Cyclopaedia of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: Rose Publishing Co. 1886), p. 293.

⁷ The building was rented from chair-maker Richard French. Judging from an early city directory, *Toronto and Home District Directory of 1837*, it is likely that Jacques lived over the workshop.

Both Jacques and Hay were immigrants to Canada and we have limited information on their early background. John Jacques was born in Cumbria, in England and was apparently trained locally there and in London as a cabinetmaker. The three years that Jacques spent in the capital completing his training would have acquainted him with the latest British furniture styling.⁸ He may have come from a relatively middle class background. Both he and his brother Thomas immigrated to Canada, where Thomas became a successful farmer.⁹ Although having a French name, possibly of Huguenot origin, Jacques chose to emphasize his English and Protestant origin by pronouncing it “Jakes.” His brother went even further, naming his sons after such English heroes as Edmund, Henry, Alfred and George. Even less is known about Robert Hay’s origins. He came from Perth in Scotland, where he had apprenticed and gained training as a cabinet-maker before embarking with his parents and several siblings to Canada in 1831. The family’s early experience in Canada was tragic as the cholera epidemic of 1832 killed

⁸ *The Toronto Mail*, 17 February 1886.

⁹ By 1853, Jacques was an early property owner of four rented houses in Toronto. His brother, Thomas owned a substantial farm in Scarborough, consisting of three lots of improved farmland. See Toronto Tax Assessment rolls for 1853, www.ontarioroots.com/ogs, consulted 13 January 2009. An advertisement in the *Markham Economist*, 21 March 1861 also reveals that both brothers were co-owners of a valuable farm offered for sale. While it is unknown where the original funds originated, Jacques’ four rented houses may have become a helpful source of capital for the company as central property values in Toronto’s core soared. William H. Smith, *Smith’s Canadian Gazetteer* (Toronto: H.H. Rowsell, 1846), p. 194. This reference is taken from Ann M. Carlos and Patricia Fulton, “Chance or Destiny? The Dominance of Toronto over the Urban Landscape, 1797-1850,” *Social Science History* 15, no.1 (Spring, 1991), p. 54.

both parents and at least one sister almost immediately after their arrival.¹⁰ The early years of the Jacques & Hay company must have been precarious as it coped with the depression starting in 1835 and the rebellion of 1837.¹¹ The partners appear to have been talented both as artisans and businessmen and most recorders of their early history, from Bishop John Strachan to the local Toronto newspapers, have commented on their great capacity for hard work.¹²

Jacques likely had better connections than Hay. Bishop Strachan stated that Jacques had worked for him when he first came to this country.¹³ He also was possibly related through his mother, Sarah Hoodless, to the successful furniture-making family of Joseph Hoodless in Hamilton. While Joseph came to Canada somewhat later, a Hoodless had been present at Jacques' wedding in London and perhaps there was a multi-

¹⁰ Stanley Pollin, "Robert Hay" and "John Jacques," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, www.biographi.ca/EN/ShowBio, consulted 19 February 2008. The records of the Necropolis Cemetery, Toronto, indicate that the remains of Hay relatives were transferred from the epidemic pits of the Bloor Street Cemetery to the newly opened Necropolis. Sheila M. Smith, "Jacques and Hay, Cabinet-Makers: 1835-85" (master's thesis, University of Toronto, 1968), p. 3.

¹¹ Harold A. Innes, "Introduction to Economic History of Ontario," *Ontario History Society, Papers and Records* 30 (1934), pp. 117-118. In addition, a financial panic in the spring of 1837 caused a severe contraction of provincial bank notes. Douglas McCalla, *Planting the Province: the Economic History of Upper Canada: 1784-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), pp. 187-193.

¹² *The Daily Leader* (Toronto), 17 July 1856.

¹³ *The Daily Leader* (Toronto), 17 July 1856. Strachan may have had some link with the Jacques family, as two of John Jacques' siblings had him preside at their respective marriages in St. James' Cathedral and Jacques' father had studied for ordination in the Church of England.

generation connection with cabinet-making through the Hoodless family.¹⁴ The extensive work of historian Bruce Elliott in uncovering the importance of kinship groups through both paternal and maternal lines, and their relation to chain immigration to Canada, appears to have been borne out in Jacques' case.¹⁵ These links continued well into the nineteenth century as Jacques' grandson married a Hoodless cousin.¹⁶ In contrast, Robert Hay seems to have relied on his immediate siblings and employed his sister's family members. The exact relationship between the two partners is unclear. Over one thousand letters, almost all written by Robert Hay, are among the records of their sawmill and factories at New Lowell. Hay always refers to his partner as "Mr. Jacques" and with some courtesy. In an age when partnership could end quickly, the R. G. Dun reporter referred to the partners as being "perfectly one" in a communication dated 28 August 1857 to his head office.¹⁷ Jacques was the more withdrawn of the pair, even to a point that suggests depression. However, he seems the more thorough craftsman and a more aggressive investor in commercial property. It was Jacques who spent his working life within sight of the factory and it was Jacques who was sometimes reported as having been burnt in the repeated factory fires.¹⁸

¹⁴ Adelaide Hoodless, founder of the Women's Institutes of Canada, was Joseph Hoodless' daughter-in-law.

¹⁵ Bruce S. Elliott, *Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach*, 2nd ed. (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004).

¹⁶ Communication from Mary Angus, direct descendent of John Jacques, to Denise Jacques, August 2008.

¹⁷ Library and Archives, Canada, "R. G. Dun," M-7760/R3845-0-2-E (Vol. 26, York County), p. 211.

¹⁸ Michael Katz notes that it was common for one partner to live at the place of

The timing of the company's foundation was fortunate as Toronto's position as the commercial centre of Upper Canada consolidated during the same period. Historians have offered a variety of explanations for the city's development and eventual economic dominance over other centres. First, Toronto had a commodious bay suitable for the mooring of sailing ships and then steamers.¹⁹ (Figure 5.) It was situated further from the United States than Niagara-on-the-Lake, the first seat of the Upper Canadian government; and its lakefront situation was more accessible than that of London, Ontario, the "Forest City."²⁰ Furthermore, Toronto was surrounded by a flat fertile hinterland, while another rival, Kingston, backed onto the rocky Canadian Shield.²¹ With the completion of the Erie Canal in 1826 and Oswego Canal in 1828, Toronto gained direct access to New York State via steamer, crossing Lake Ontario to the lake port cities of Rochester and Oswego. This access enabled the city to challenge the dominance and control of Montreal without falling under the influence of New York City.²² The completion of the Welland

business and the other to be housed in a more residential area. Michael Katz, "The People of a Canadian City, 1851-1852," in *Readings in Canadian History: Pre-Confederation*, ed. R. Douglas Francis and Donald B Smith (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Ltd., 1982), p. 407.

¹⁹ George Parkin de Twenebroker Glazebrook, *The Story of Toronto* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), pp. 99-102.

²⁰ Michael Baker, ed., *Downtown London: Layers of Time* (London, Ontario: The London Regional Art and Historical Museums, 2000).

²¹ Carlos and Fulton, "Chance or Destiny?," pp. 41, 43, 44.

²² Joseph Spelt, "The Building of the Railways," in *Readings in Canadian History: Pre-Confederation*, ed. R. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1990), p. 372.

Canal in 1831 further enhanced the position of the western cities of Lake Ontario, such as Hamilton and Toronto, while diminishing that of Kingston.²³ The repeal of the British Navigation Acts in 1849 allowed Canadian goods to be transported in American vessels, while the U. S., by means of the Drawback Acts of 1845-46, permitted Canadian goods to travel under bond to New York. This transportation route had the added advantage of terminating in New York, whose port was ice-free in the winter.²⁴ From the 1850s, advancing rail lines supplemented the existing waterways and facilitated greater commercial traffic and Toronto, after it had established rail connections with the ports of Montreal and New York in 1853, became a minor Chicago, a pivot on which trade in the central portion of British North America would turn.²⁵ The completion of the Northern Railway to Collingwood further reinforced Toronto's role as a transportation hub, as the city was now linked by lake steamer to the developing Canadian west.²⁶ This fortunate connection of the city by rail and water further consolidated its hold as the principal centre for Upper Canadian marketing and distribution.

The Jacques & Hay partners took their first significant steps after the 1844 fire that largely destroyed their workshops. On 4 August 1845, the City of Toronto's Standing

²³ Carlos and Fulton, pp 50-51.

²⁴ J.M.S. Careless, *Toronto to 1918: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1984), p. 69.

²⁵ David John Tippin, "The Legitimation of Social Change: Ontario Railways and the Idea of Progress, 1841-1884" (PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 1985), p. 193.

²⁶ The Canadian west was finally wrested from the control of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1870.

Committee on Fire and Water visited the premise and “engine” of Messrs. Jacques & Hay and in their report described the refuse from the carpenters’ shops as “dangerous.” Owing to the risks of fire in the city’s core, officials urged Jacques & Hay to move their factory from the centre of the growing city. Consequently, the company’s showroom, upholstery shop and warehouse space were re-built on the corner of King and Bay Streets, and Jacques & Hay also leased additional property on Front Street at Bay Street, where they began to construct a larger factory.²⁷ This was equipped with the latest and most advanced technology. Jacques & Hay had employed steam in the old workshop, as indicated by a newspaper account that the 1844 fire had started in the flue of the steam engine.²⁸ This practice would have put them at the forefront of technical innovation in North America, as most American furniture factories did not adopt steam technology until ten years later, but continued using mostly water power to run their mills and workshops.²⁹ The new Front Street factory relied on technology even more heavily, as

²⁷ City of Toronto Archives, “Toronto City Council Minutes,” 4 August 1845; Sheila M. Smith, “Jacques and Hay, Cabinet-Makers: 1835-85,” also gives 1847 as the date of the new factory construction, p. 7. J. R. Robertson, *Landmarks of Toronto: a Collection of Historical Sketches of the Old Town of York from 1792 until 1833, and of Toronto from 1834 to 1898*, Vol 3. (Toronto: J. Ross Robertson, 1898), p. 50. Robertson records that Jacques & Hay also occupied a 40 foot by 100 foot building at King and Bay Streets. This is the first of two structures. The second Jacques & Hay building was constructed in 1867 at the corner of King and Jordan Streets.

²⁸ *The British Colonist* (Toronto), 13 February 1844.

²⁹ Richard Kurzhals, “Initial Advantage and Technological Change in Industry Location: The Furniture Industry of Grand Rapids” (PhD dissertation, Michigan State University, 1973), p. 9. Kurzhals claims that “Steam power was inefficient and costly...” Polly Anne Earl. “Craftsmen and Machines: The Nineteenth-Century Furniture Industry,” in *Technological Innovation and the Decorative Arts*, ed. Ian M. G. Quimby and Polly Anne Earl (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1974), p. 315. Earl observes that in Hamilton County, Ohio, where Cincinnati is located, 27.8% of the area’s sixty-one furniture firms employed steam, water or horse-power in 1850. Judging from this

records show that Jacques & Hay purchased a powerful new 15-horsepower steam engine from Gartshore and Co. of Dundas, Ontario.³⁰ By 1851, the Jacques & Hay “manufactory” was the largest cabinet-making business in Upper Canada, employing 100 men and meeting an annual payroll of £6,000 to £7,000 (Halifax pounds in use in British North America).³¹

The new Jacques & Hay factory received its official blessing with the visit of Lord Elgin, the Governor-General. The *Globe* newspaper reported on 13 October 1849 that Elgin was greeted enthusiastically by both the Toronto St. Andrew’s Society and the

evidence, Jacques & Hay’s early use of steam power would put them at the forefront of North American technological innovation.

³⁰ Stanley Pollin, “The Jacques & Hay Furniture Company and Cultural Constraints on the Development of Nineteenth-Century Industrialization,” (research paper, York University, 1974), p. 20. Pollin says the engine was worth £1,700 (Halifax currency) and references the *Daily Leader* (Toronto), 30 December 1854. By the mid-1850s, the firm was upgrading and attempted to sell their old 20-hp engine. It took constant advertising between September 1854 and March 1855 for the firm to find a buyer, or at least a use, for the old machine. See *The Globe* (Toronto) 25 September 1854 to 26 March 1855.

³¹ Stanley Pollin, “Robert Hay” and “John Jacques,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, pp. 390-391, 448-449. In his text *Planting the Province: The Economic History of Upper Canada, 1784-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), Douglas McCalla pegs the Halifax pound at four dollars. The Province of Canada adopted the decimal system in the 1850s. See McCalla, Appendix A. In the history of early Canadian manufacturing, the development of the Jacques & Hay factory was exceptional. Tom Naylor states that in 1850 “manufacturing”(original quotation marks) accounted for 18% of the total Canadian GNP, and over half of this was considered to be saw and grist mills activity. He goes on to say, “[T]he factory system proper was virtually absent: production was overwhelmingly undertaken in small shops...” R. T. Naylor, *The History of Canadian Business: 1867-1914* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1975), p. 4. By the mid-1850s, the factory was employing between 300 to 400 men, although this figure may include workers sub-contracted to the company. See the *Daily Leader* (Toronto), 17 July 1856.

men of Jacques & Hay. He needed this support, as after signing the Rebellion Losses Bill six months earlier, he had been stoned by a mob in Montreal and burnt in effigy in Toronto.³² At a time when the disgruntled merchant community of Montreal was publicly endorsing annexation to the United States, it would appear that the employees of Jacques & Hay were signalling that they belonged to a new world of modern manufacturing no longer tied to the Montreal and St. Lawrence merchant class. It also helped Elgin that Hay and many of the employees were Scots, and shared a cultural background emphasizing progress.

It is not clear how the partners financed the continued expansion of their manufacturing activities, as loans were often made on a personal basis and frequently there were no records of the transactions. A commercial reporter for R. G. Dun, the American service that provided subscribers with commercial information, made favourable comments on Jacques & Hay's application and character in an entry of August 1848, but also noted that they were undercapitalized. The Dun reporter offered such remarks as: "no capital to begin with," "slow pay," "have gone beyond their depth in building so much," and "advise some caution."³³ The historian Ian Radforth, citing Barrie Dyster's doctoral thesis on early Toronto, posited that the partners raised the needed

³² Barrie Dyster, "Toronto 1840-1860: Making it in a British Protestant Town" (PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 1970), p. 21.

³³ Library and Archives, Canada, "R. G. Dun," M-7760/R3845-0-2-E (Vol. 26, York County), p. 211. Jacques & Hay was important enough for the *New York Times* and several British publications, such as the *Liverpool Mercury*, the *Manchester Times* and the *Newcastle Courant*, to report on their fires. The 1855 fire was even covered in the 1 June 1856 edition of *The Courier*, Hobart, Tasmania.

capital from their fellow parishioners at St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church.³⁴ We also have indications that prosperous individuals invested funds in manufacturing. A Mr. H. Mackenzie of Sarnia, anxiously wrote to George Brown in 1859 to ask if he thought his \$2000 investment in Jacques & Hay was safe.³⁵ John Jacques' will, naming his fellow parishioner and King Street businessmen, James Michie, one of three trustees of his daughter's inheritance, suggests that the two may have had a prior business association and Michie may have advanced money to the firm when it was expanding.³⁶ A slower and more traditional society, with its defined cultural and social norms, had advantages as the partners discovered after two devastating fires within the space of eighteen months threatened to destroy their business. They were able to capitalize on their reputation to remain in business. They were not alone in receiving such support, which they themselves had extended to others in need as the mechanics of Toronto often expressed strong group solidarity in the face of such disasters as fire—a frequent nineteenth-century occurrence. Funds were often set up to purchase tools lost in local blazes, and Jacques & Hay contributed to such funds for other craftsmen and made use of such a

³⁴ Jacques had started life as an Anglican, but had become a Presbyterian. Ian Radforth, "Confronting Distance: Managing Jacques and Hay's New Lowell Operations, 1853-1873," *Canadian Papers in Business History* 1 (1989), p. 78. Radforth refers to Dyster, "Toronto 1840-1860," but his page reference (p. 328) is incorrect.

³⁵ Archives and Library Canada, George Brown fonds, R2634-0-9-E, reels C-1601 to C-1605, letter from H. Mackenzie to George Brown, 26 October 1859.

³⁶ Angus Family Records, Vancouver, "The Last Will and Testament of John Jacques of the City of Toronto, Esquire," 15 December 1871. James Michie was also a founder of the Bank of Toronto, so this would have been an excellent contact for the firm. Glazebrook, *Life in Ontario: A Social History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 108.

subscription, after the factory burnt in 1856.³⁷ In an act of solidarity, even a Rochester boiler-making company, in correspondence offered to replace the Jacques & Hay boiler, lost in the flames, with an open credit.³⁸

Jacques & Hay's importance in Toronto is best revealed by the reaction of local citizens to the consuming fires that swept the factory in December 1854 and July 1856. Fire was a constant hazard for the Jacques & Hay manufacturing plant, which was surrounded by large stacks of drying timber. Lumber had to be cured before being used for furniture construction and, if this process was not done correctly, the resulting furniture could warp. The proper drying of freshly-cut green timber required careful stacking to allow good air circulation through the boards; this provided optimum conditions for the spreading of fire through the combustible material. It was no accident that insurance companies were reluctant to cover furniture-makers. The area around the factory occupied by lumber stacks was considerable. As much of the lumber had to stand for three or four years before being dry enough to be used in cabinetry, several years' worth of the wood required for manufacturing would normally be on hand at all times. As furniture factories everywhere in North America increased in size and output, the process of natural drying became too dangerous and too slow. It was not, however, until 1880, that the faster process of kiln-drying wood in ovens was developed in Grand Rapids,

³⁷ See *The Globe* (Toronto) 21 June 1859 on the burning of the Smith and Burket lumber yard and the loss of carpenters' tools.

³⁸ JHA, letter, 24 December 1856

Michigan, too late for adoption by Jacques & Hay in the declining years of the company.³⁹

Despite the precautions taken in the rebuilding of the factory, including the provision of new fire hoses on every floor, a second larger fire in 1856 was disastrous, killing nine men, and leaving the firm in ruins. Again, as was the case after the first fire in December 1854, the public rallied to the firm's cause and to support the families who had lost husbands and fathers. In an 1856 vote, the City of Toronto considered granting the partners a £25,000 loan. When questions arose of whether such a loan would be legal, the partners declined it to save the City from embarrassment, and instead raised a private subscription fund described in the *Globe* of 23 July 1856 as being worth £10,000 over four years at six per cent interest. The City was able to add to this by granting a request for the remission of taxes in October 1856.⁴⁰ An earlier column in the *Globe* had already equated support for Jacques & Hay with support for Canadian manufacturing in general: the only alternative to not having the "honor (sic) to the community" of a firm producing furniture on this grand scale was to return to the importation of American furniture.⁴¹

³⁹ James Standford Bradshaw, "Grand Rapids, 1870-1880: Furniture City Emerges," *Michigan History* LV, 4 (1971), p. 328.

⁴⁰ *The Globe*, 23 July 1856; City of Toronto Archives, *Toronto City Council Minutes*, "Report of the Finance and Assessment Committee of the City of Toronto," 21 July 1856. The tax relief was granted in a meeting on 3 November 1856, also contained in the *Toronto City Council Minutes*. Robertson's *Landmarks of Toronto* Vol. 2 (1896) reported the subscription in support of Jacques & Hay was worth \$50,000 and that this sum was realized in "short time." See p. 627.

⁴¹ *The Globe* (Toronto), 3 January 1855.

Press accounts of the strong public support for the rebuilding of the Jacques & Hay factory also suggest that the partners were highly regarded. In the *Globe* account of a public meeting held at St. Lawrence Hall on 16 July 1856 after the second and more dramatic fire, we find a compelling portrait of how the firm was viewed by its contemporaries.⁴² It was noted that the meeting was well attended and by all classes. In an extremely rare personal appearance on a public platform, the aged Bishop Strachan, the redoubtable Anglican bishop of Toronto, used his opening remarks to emphasize the humble origin of the senior partner John Jacques and his familiar struggles as a new immigrant to 1831 York.⁴³ The motion to offer public funds to raise the factory again was met by tumultuous applause.

It is not entirely clear why business leaders in Toronto were prepared to contribute to the large subscription fund that kept Jacques & Hay in business after the 1854 and 1856 fires. One answer may be that such vehicles were a ready means to assemble capital before local banks were willing to make such loans. The building of the

⁴² *The Globe* (Toronto), 17 July 1856. In this early stage of manufacturing, fires were common, as were persistent press rumours that such fires in both Toronto and Hamilton had been caused by arson. Arson was relatively common in Upper Canada and appears to have been a violent means to settle scores. George Brown would experience arson at his farm in Bothwell, Ontario on two different occasions. In May 1850, the cabinet workshop of Elisha Gilbert, Jacques' former employer was destroyed by fire. It was the reported general opinion that the blaze had been caused by an "incendiary." See Joan MacKinnon, *A Checklist of Toronto Cabinet and Chair Makers, 1800-1865* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), p. 57. However, there were no similar rumours mentioned in the contemporary press reports concerning fires at Jacques & Hay, and this fact in itself is significant.

⁴³ *The Daily Leader* (Toronto), 17 July 1856.

Rossin House Hotel in Toronto was financed in this way. On 10 November 1856 a notice appeared in the *Globe* advising the businessmen of Toronto that the subscription to build the hotel was still open. Apparently a group of citizens had realized that if the city were to expand, more and better hotel accommodation was required and had volunteered their services to serve as trustees to the subscription fund. The *Globe* urged other possible investors to join, and “to do their share”⁴⁴ The Rossin House Hotel occupied an important location in Toronto at the corner of King and York Streets. It was considered one the most luxurious hotels in the city and the Prince of Wales stayed there in 1860.⁴⁵ It was a common nineteenth-century practice for local newspapers to boost support for local amenities, and journalists such as Brown liked to promote reputable businesses in his publication. In addition to equipping the *Globe*'s offices with the necessary business furniture, Brown himself would purchase household articles from Jacques & Hay for new houses in the 1860s and 1870s.⁴⁶ As a newspaper publisher, he was happy to write press accounts making reference to the firm. This was the beginning of a long relationship as the wives of both partners would be active with Brown's mother and two sisters in the

⁴⁴ By the 1880s, tourism to Toronto was recognized as an important service industry. See C. Pelham Mulvany, *Toronto: Past and Present Until 1882* (Toronto: W. E. Caiger, 1884), pp. 105-115.

⁴⁵ Charles Pelham Muvany Graeme Mercer Adam and C. Blackett Robinson, *History of Toronto and the County of York* (Toronto: C. Blackett Robinson, 1885), p. 332; Ian Radforth, *The Royal Spectacle: The 1860 Visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), p. 31.

⁴⁶ *The Globe* (Toronto), 1 December 1864.

anti-slavery movement.⁴⁷ A brother, Gordon Brown, was a pallbearer at the funeral of both Jacques and Hay.

It was understood throughout the firm's existence that John Jacques would be responsible for the day-to-day running of the factory, to such an extent that he lived next door until his retirement in 1870. Jacques would have been the natural choice to take charge of the factory, as evidence suggests that he had a scientific bent. We know that he was a reader of the *Scientific American*, and a member of the Canadian Institute who was present at the sod-turning for the Institute's first dedicated building. Jacques' attendance may imply a significant contribution to that institution.⁴⁸ In contrast to Jacques, Hay was much more garrulous and prominent as the firm's public face. His role was cultivating the essential business and political acquaintances who were potential sources of working capital and conduits for the all-important patronage in the form of public contracts. Both partners must have realized the value of close social and community ties as there are clear records from both the Toronto Mechanics' Institute and St. Andrew's Church of their involvement. Together, Jacques and Hay ran for the executive of the Mechanics' Institute

⁴⁷ Karen Leroux, "Making a Claim on the Public Sphere: Toronto Women's Anti-Slavery Activism, 1851-1854" (master's thesis, University of British Columbia, July 1996). Leroux's "Appendix A" lists the small number of the women involved and these included, Mary Jacques, Mary Hay, and Mrs. Dunlop—Mary Hay's mother.

⁴⁸ *The Globe* (Toronto) 23 July 1856. The Institute's purpose was the "encouragement and general advancement of the Physical Sciences, the Arts and Manufactures...and more particularly for promoting...Surveying, Engineering and Architecture...," www.yorku.ca/rci/Site/History.html, consulted 7 April 2010; *The Globe* (Toronto) 12 August 1876. In the newspaper article, Jacques' name was misspelled as "Jacks."

in February 1847 and Robert Hay was elected.⁴⁹ He must have been competent and popular, as he doubled the number of votes he received in his first election, matching the number gained by the leading candidate. Jacques was not so adept in public life, in keeping with a more reticent character. He appears to have preferred the atmosphere of the workshop, while his more social partner took the public role in local city life.⁵⁰ Hay went on to extend his social networking to the St. Andrew's Society, becoming a very early member in 1837 and serving for several years on the executive. He also had an active executive role at St. Andrew's Church.⁵¹ Through the 1840s and early 1850s both partners and their wives took part in various forms of public service, establishing the relationships that would serve them for a lifetime.⁵²

Hay's letters describe his constant travels, not only extensively around Ontario, but also to Montreal, Quebec City and New York. He centred his work in the offices and showrooms of the Jacques & Hay store on King Street, rather than in the factory, as there

⁴⁹ Toronto Reference Library, "Minutes of the Mechanics Institute of Toronto," [hereafter referred to as Minutes MIT], 16 February 1847. Manuscripts including minutes and inventories are contained in Toronto Reference Library file number E1 (for years 1833-1848), E2 (1855-1865), E3 (1857-1860), E4 (1860-1883), E5 (1861-1867).

⁵⁰ Minutes MIT, 1 November 1847.

⁵¹ Toronto Archives, St. Andrew's fonds, 1238, Series 1329, File 4; *Fiftieth Annual Report of the St. Andrew's Society of Toronto, from November 30 1835 to November 30 1886* (Toronto: Jas. Murray & Co., 1887), pp. 11, 21; *St. Andrew's Church Book: One Hundred and Thirty-four Calendar Years*, 1964, p. 14.

⁵² Hay's mother-in-law, and housekeeper after his wife's death, Mrs. Dunlop, made an extraordinary contribution both to the anti-slavery movement and other civic charitable projects. See Karen Leroux, "Making a Claim on the Public Sphere." Along with Mrs. Dunlop, Mary Jacques was also active in support of the Toronto Laying-in Hospital. See the *British Colonist* (Toronto), 20 September 1850.

are many references in the letters and diaries of prominent people about consulting him there in person. (Figure 6.) A zealous micro-manager and dedicated cost-cutter, Hay was the usual public face of the company. While both craftsmen were interested in the application of technology, Hay was more eager to share notes on sawmilling and improving production runs with his business colleagues. In the early decades of the firm's existence, the partners attended almost all public events in each other's company and are always referred to as Jacques & Hay, as a unit. The only sign of disharmony was over the evaluation of the company's worth on Jacques' retirement. Even then, they found a solution: *Globe* editor, George Brown, and two other businessmen were asked to value the business and Hay bought out Jacques.⁵³ There seems to have been no ill feeling, and Hay had a similar, but in this case unresolved dispute with his later partners in 1885.⁵⁴ Hay was a central figure at Jacques' funeral and served as one of his pall-bearers.

After John Jacques' retirement in 1870, the firm was reorganized as R. Hay & Co., with Hay taking on as partners Charles Rogers, the former chief designer, and George Craig, the factory manager. The new partners faced tough challenges from the combined effect of a depression and sustained American competition.⁵⁵ Testifying before

⁵³ Ruth Cathcart, *Jacques and Hay: Nineteenth-Century Toronto Furniture Makers* (Toronto: Boston Mills Press, 1986), p. 29.

⁵⁴ Phil Ives, "The Charm of Old Walnut," *Canadian Magazine* 37 (May-October 1911), p. 571.

⁵⁵ The American furniture manufacturing industry in Michigan, Ohio and Illinois consolidated rapidly after the Civil War. Its manufacturing capacities were large and based on high-speed mass production. The furniture could also be shipped by an improved rail system. Ben Forster, "Finding the Right Size: Markets and Competition in

a House of Commons committee investigating the financial downturn of the mid 1870s, Hay reported that American competitors were dumping furniture into the Canadian market to undercut Canadian competitors, create a “slaughter market” and “crush out our manufactures.”⁵⁶ Hay was probably not exaggerating the threat to his market from the United States. The cheerful comments made by furniture manufacturers in Grand Rapids regarding their well-paying Canadian customers verify the importance of this market to American mass manufacturers.⁵⁷ Robert Hay had to reduce working hours and then lay-off many employees in the 1870s.⁵⁸ Hay lobbied for a tariff on furniture imports in concert with other manufacturers, such as George Moorhead, the proprietor of a large furniture factory in London, Ontario, also equipped with steam power and modern equipment.⁵⁹ Responding to the wishes of several Ontario manufacturers, the budget of March 1879, included the desired tariff as part of John A. Macdonald’s National Policy.

Mid-and Late Nineteenth-Century Ontario,” in *Patterns of the Past: Interpreting Ontario's History: A Collection of Historical Articles*, ed. Roger Hall, Anthony Westell, and Laurel Sefton MacDowell, (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1988), pp. 152, 165.

⁵⁶ Robert Hay, “Select Committee on the Extent and Condition of Manufacturing Interests of the Dominion of Canada Appendix,” *Journal of the House of Commons*, Ottawa (Appendix III), 1874, pp. 46-48.

⁵⁷ Frank E. Ransom, *The City Built on Wood: A History of the Furniture Industry in Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1850-1950* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edwards Brothers, 1955), p. 17.

⁵⁸ Ben Forster, *A Conjunction of Interests: Business, Politics, and Tariffs, 1825-1879* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), p. 95. A politically motivated attack in the *Globe* of 11 September 1878, claimed that R. Hay & Co. was “obliged to keep his men on three quarter time” owing to Canadian competition, rather than American dumping.

⁵⁹ Ben Forster, “Finding the Right Size,” p. 161. Before going bankrupt, Moorhead was the third or fourth largest furniture producer in Ontario.

By 1882 Hay could report that this protection had permitted him to hire one hundred more “hands” in the furniture firm, although there is evidence that the factory had resumed some of its former activity as early as 1877 so it is unclear if the company was in real danger of bankruptcy. The tariff came too late for Moorhead who was forced out of business in 1878⁶⁰

The R. Hay & Co. closed in July 1885, as Robert Hay finally retired at the age of seventy-seven, having been unable to come to agreement with his partners on a suitable selling price for the firm.⁶¹ Even before Hay closed the company, it was in decline and had likely ceased to follow the economist Joseph Schumpeter’s recommendation to entrepreneurs to innovate relentlessly.⁶² After Jacques’ retirement, there did not seem to be the same drive to remain technically current. Stanley Pollin also posits that by the 1870s Jacques & Hay had lost their competitive edge, noting that hand lathes were still being employed at the New Lowell works, implying that this would necessarily slow the pace of work.⁶³ In fact, the peak of furniture manufacturing in Toronto was over by the

⁶⁰ “Increased Number of Hands in Some of the Old Factories since January 1, 1879,” *Sessional Papers, House of Commons, Ottawa* 83, vol. 10 (1882) p. 6; *The Journal of Commerce, Finance and Insurance Review* (Montreal) reported on 16 November 1877 that the R. Hay & Co. “put their hands on full time Friday, for the first time in three years,” p. 392.

⁶¹ Terry Rogers, a descendant of Charles Rogers, email 4 May 2009 to Denise Jacques. This information appears consistent with contemporary press reports.

⁶² Thomas K. McCraw, “American Capitalism,” in *Creating Modern Capitalism: How Entrepreneurs, Companies, and Countries Triumphed in Three Industrial Revolutions*, ed. Thomas K. McCraw (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1995), p. 348.

⁶³ Stanley Pollin, “The Jacques & Hay Furniture Company and Cultural

1880s as the hardwood stocks accessible to Toronto and other urban centres had been diminished and the locus of the Ontario trade followed the railway lines westward away from their markets to the available supplies of hardwood timber. There, were still abundant forests of maple, beach, and some black walnut. Public taste was also changing. The clear difference existing in the 1850s and 1860s between the expensive King Street showroom furniture and the inexpensive cottage line had grown blurred by the time of the company's closing in the 1885. Much of the product output had become more generically middle class and produced in the long mechanized production runs made possible by the adoption of the squarish "Eastlake" design with machine-incised decoration popular in the 1870s and 1880s. There was considerable regret that the market for their finer examples of cabinetry appeared to have diminished. As the Canadian furniture market had become very price-sensitive, the over-all quality was reduced.⁶⁴ Smaller firms, often under German-Canadian or Scottish-Canadian management, drawing on local craftsmen who were experienced in milling and fashioning wood now took the place of the large Hay factory. Pressed wooden ornamentation and detailing replaced what had been formerly carved for the most part.⁶⁵

Constraints on the Development of Nineteenth-Century Industrialization" (research paper, York University, 1974), p. 28.

⁶⁴ Phil Ives, "The Charm of Old Walnut," p. 571.

⁶⁵ Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners Women, Men, and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), p.127; Terence S. Green, "A Locational Study of the Furniture Industry in Southern Ontario" (thesis manuscript, University of Toronto 1967); John McIntyre, "From Workshop to Factory: The Furniture Maker," *Material History Review* no. 19 (Spring, 1984), p. 34.

Several of the new furniture companies could trace their lineage to Jacques & Hay.⁶⁶ Charles Rogers had worked for the firm since 1851. While his descendants report that he was recruited from his native Glasgow by the company, the precise connection between Rogers and the firm is unknown.⁶⁷ Later, Rogers became a full partner with Robert Hay in R. Hay & Co., and when that partnership was dissolved in 1885, reassembled elements of the old company to create Charles Rogers & Sons. Before being purchased by the department store Eaton's in the 1920s, this company provided many of the wood interiors of the new Ontario Legislative Building (1883). Much of the highly decorative carving for this building was created by former Jacques & Hay apprentice William McCormack; Charles Rogers & Sons also manufactured the furniture for the new Toronto City Hall (1899).⁶⁸ Rogers pioneered the use of furnished display rooms at the 1886 Canadian National Exhibition to promote his wares. These exhibits, demonstrating how the furniture looked in a co-ordinated décor, were visited by the prime minister, John A. Macdonald, and enthusiastically reviewed in the press.⁶⁹ Overall hand carving on furniture, however, was in decline, and in an 1899 edition of the *Canadian Architect and Building*, a younger Charles Rogers, son of the firm's founder, lamented the use of carving machines and the emphasis on cheap production techniques.

⁶⁶ For instance, Charles Rogers & Sons, Co.; F. C. Burroughes Furniture Co. Ltd., Toronto; and Godard and Callister Co..

⁶⁷ Terry Rogers, email to Denise Jacques, 4 May 2009.

⁶⁸ Terry Rogers, telephone conversation with Denise Jacques, 16 May 2009.

⁶⁹ Keith Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), p. 136.

He stated that the public was no longer interested in paying for well-designed and properly manufactured goods, suggesting that the workmanship that he had known at Jacques & Hay was of a superior quality. A touring group of British craftsmen visiting Charles Rogers' furniture wareroom in 1893 concurred, describing the cabinetry on display as second-rate.⁷⁰

Although Robert Hay's only living son was not interested in continuing in the furniture business, the older man must have died a satisfied man. Certainly, he was described in a contemporary newspaper account as "one of the best known and highly respected men in Canada."⁷¹ After a life that had spanned most of the nineteenth century, he, like his partner before him, had one of the largest funerals ever held in Toronto's history, though with accustomed frugality, the family requested that no flowers be sent.⁷² The respective careers of both Jacques and Hay were seen as milestones in the City of Toronto's progress and both were regarded as pioneers, successful businessmen who provided business continuity from the colonial period to high Victorianism. Certainly, Jacques & Hay's business had transformed the natural forest wealth of the Dominion. Through good timing, hard work and the resourceful application of technology, they had

⁷⁰ Charles Rogers, "Manufacturers and Material," *The Canadian Architect and Builder* 12, issue 5 (1899), p. 108. *British Artisan Expedition to America: Equipped and Sent Out by and at the Expense of the Proprietors of the Dundee Courier and Dundee Weekly News* (Dundee, Scotland: W. and D. C. Thomson, 1893), p. 31. The artisans misidentified the firm as belonging to a Mr. J. Roger. However, as the owner was from Glasgow, as was Charles Rogers, it seems highly likely this was the company they visited.

⁷¹ *The Barrie Examiner*, 31 July 1890.

⁷² Smith, "Jacques and Hay, Cabinet-Makers," p. 29.

seen their company grow to the point that it “furnished the country”.⁷³ Though scattered now, and vastly under-appreciated, a large inventory of Jacques & Hay furniture survives today, representing a significant segment of Canada’s material patrimony.

III. From Commissioned Work to Mass Production

The largest collection of Jacques & Hay documentary material is in the Simcoe County Archives as decades of business records were discovered in the former general store of the company’s mills at New Lowell, Ontario. Almost all of these papers relate to the firm’s mass production of lumber and low-cost furniture. On the other hand, newspapers, correspondence from the well-to-do, diaries, and other such documents provide details on the purchase of high quality and commissioned furniture for the houses and offices of members of the elite. Documentation indicates that from a firm base supplying the carriage trade and establishing a good public profile, the company expanded to produce thousands of inexpensive chairs, tables and beds for a broad market. Greater numbers of people could now enjoy amenities that had formerly only been available to the prosperous.

A. The Carriage Trade

⁷³ *The Globe* (Toronto), 15 February 1862.

From the earliest days, Jacques & Hay had a reputation for quality products, and were regarded as the cabinetmakers of choice by such members of the old elite as the Macaulays and John Beverley Robinson and his family.⁷⁴ The 1839 correspondence between Mrs. Ann Macaulay of Kingston and her son John in Toronto provides information about their purchases of Jacques & Hay furniture. John Macaulay, newspaperman, justice of the peace, militia officer, and politician was a leading member of the Family Compact.⁷⁵ He also had a strong interest in furniture and decoration and took apparent delight in ordering larger items for his mother that were particularly suited to her house and décor. The Macaulay correspondence indicates that Jacques & Hay produced a sideboard and a secretary desk for Mrs. Macaulay, and we have a detailed description of how the furniture was consigned to a secure portion of a steamship making the run between Toronto and Kingston. On arrival, John recommended off-loading the items and having them carried to Mrs. Macaulay's home by "four careful men."⁷⁶ John reported to his mother that the Jacques & Hay furniture was particularly resistant to

⁷⁴ Ruth Cathcart, *Jacques and Hay*, p. 11; Joan MacKinnon, *A Checklist of Toronto Cabinet and Chair Makers*, pp. 80-81; Christopher Robinson purchased a desk from Jacques & Hay in February 1847. Julia Jarvis, *Three Centuries of Robinsons: The Story of a Family* (Don Mills, Ontario: T.H. Best & Co., 1962), p. 181.

⁷⁵ "John Macaulay," *Canadian Dictionary of Biography*, <http://www.biographi.ca>, consulted 23 May 2010.

⁷⁶ Ontario Archives (OA) F32, MS 78, reel 3. Letter John to Ann Macaulay, 28 September 1839. The Macaulay papers do not clearly distinguish between the furniture they purchased from Jacques & Hay and the articles they may have bought from Joseph Wilson, another Toronto cabinet-maker. Jean Minhinnick reads the letters to mean that, with the exception of a Pembroke table, all the items were from Jacques & Hay and this is the assumption here. See Jeanne Minhinnick—quoting a Macaulay letter contained in Ontario Archives—"Canadian Furniture in the English Taste, 1790-1840" *Antiques* 112, no. 1 (July 1967), p. 87.

drying out in stove-heated rooms, as they especially imported the necessary glue from New York. This was an important consideration as Canadian stoves tended to blast out drying heat to deal with the intense cold and draughty house construction. The side-board cost three pounds.⁷⁷ John also noted in his correspondence that the Jacques & Hay secretary had casters that his mother would find convenient.⁷⁸ Jacques & Hay offered an extensive range of services to the elite; they were at the time described as “upholsterers” but, in modern terms, would be called interior designers or decorators. The company did not just supply cabinetware, but advised on overall house furnishings and provided fabrics, blinds, and rugs.⁷⁹ This ability to offer combined services had an honourable pedigree, as the famous eighteenth-century furniture designer William Chippendale had provided a variety of similar products and services; including wall panelling, wallpapers and the carved ornaments.⁸⁰ Jacques & Hay differed from almost all the cabinet-makers of their period as there are no indications that they ever made coffins, a normal staple of the trade.

⁷⁷ Jacques & Hay attempted to sell John Macaulay drab damask instead of the inevitable crimson. Glazebrook, *Life in Ontario: A Social History*, p. 57. Macaulay spent substantially on his house and its furnishings, but in his position as a senior government official he was expected to entertain and be entertained.

⁷⁸ Most Jacques & Hay furniture to this day still has the original castors.

⁷⁹ Library and Archives Canada, George Brown fonds, R2634-0-9-E, reels C-1601 to C-1605, letter from George Brown to Anne Brown, 27 February 1865, Canada. Jacques & Hay prepared for Brown the rugs that had been ordered from Britain by sewing together the necessary carpet strips. They also provided curtains and moving services for Brown. See Brown letters 2 June 1864 and 18 July 1864.

⁸⁰ Robert Little, *Chairs: 400 Years of Social and Stylistic Changes* (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1982), p. 13.

B. Mass Production of “Cottage Furniture”

By the 1840s, and the introduction of steam power, Jacques & Hay was moving into mass production of furniture for more ordinary people, including a line of modest or “cottage” furniture that could be sold at a lower price to immigrant or pioneering families.⁸¹ We have evidence of Jacques & Hay’s production of cottage furniture by means of two letters send by David Fleming to his father, Andrew, in Scotland.⁸² David had recently immigrated to Canada with his younger brother, Sandford Fleming, and, as a young journeymen cabinet-maker actively sought employment with Jacques & Hay to study the organization of the factory for possible replication by him and his cabinet-maker father Andrew. Fleming astutely assessed how Jacques & Hay had increased productivity, citing both steam-power and the factory-based organization of labour, as the primary factors behind the two craftsmen early success. Fleming remarked on the partners’ progress from a “dozen years ago” when they had been “just journeymen Cabinet Makers” to now running an operation using a steam engine, new circular saws, and four to five turning lathes.⁸³ He was intrigued by the style of the cottage furniture,

⁸¹ Even the Marquess of Lorne, Governor-General of Canada, 1878-1883, noted the “excellent,” but cheap furniture that was produced in Toronto. He also referenced the more ornamental furniture for those of “taste and wealth.” John Douglas Sutherland Campbell, Duke of Argyll, *Canadian Pictures: Drawn with Pen and Pencil* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1885), p. 83. The quotation in its entirety is reproduced at the beginning of chapter 6.

⁸² Hutchison House, Peterborough, David Fleming to Andrew Fleming, dated 24 August 1845 and 23 March 1846.

⁸³ Kurzhals, “Initial Advantage and Technological Change in Industry Location: The Furniture Industry of Grand Rapids,” p. 36. Kurzhals describes the machinery used

considering it “neat (sic) painted” with “light patterns” and contrasted it with “the clumsy old fashions” of his native Scotland.⁸⁴ Covering the main aspects of Jacques & Hay’s cheaper lines, Fleming detailed how Windsor chairs, made of basswood and painted, were produced in considerable numbers.⁸⁵ Shipped by steam-boat around Upper Canada, these were intended for use in farmhouses, bars and public buildings; *The British Colonist* reported in 1850 that Jacques & Hay made more than 15,000 of them in a year.⁸⁶ Fleming particularly liked the bedsteads. These were likely spool beds that sold for ten shillings each, putting them within reach of most Upper Canadians, considering that such furniture would even be cheaper at public auction.

We have further evidence that the partners’ hard work met with some success as the same journalistic account of the fire at the Jacques & Hay premises indicated that there was a loss of property in excess of eleven hundred Halifax pounds, a considerable sum of stock for a firm only nine years old.⁸⁷ By 1844—before the arrival of the railway—the young tradesmen had established a good base in local markets and were

by the furniture industry in Grand Rapids in 1847 as “primitive and crude.”

⁸⁴ Hutchinson House, David Fleming to Andrew Fleming, letter 23 March 1846. The price may also have been attractive as even in 1862 the cost of a Jacques & Hay suite of furniture, composed of bedstead, wash-stand, table and chairs, was still only \$ 21. See *Canadian Agriculturist* 14, no. 19 (Oct. 1 1862), pp. 585-586. At the time, a skilled workman may have been earning two dollars a day.

⁸⁵ The Windsor chairs may have been constructed from a variety of woods, including basswood.

⁸⁶ *The British Colonist* (Toronto), 22 February 1850.

⁸⁷ *The British Colonist* (Toronto), 13 February 1844.

expanding. They had developed a winning formula as the company's bespoke furniture for the gentry gave them profile and a reputation for quality. The modest lines of cottage furniture, Windsor chairs, and spool beds tapped a large market and took full advantage of their innovative use of machinery and, as Fleming described it, their division of labour to "increase the speed of their operations."⁸⁸

Jacques & Hay's mass production of cottage furniture places them at the forefront of this stylistic trend in North America. In its earliest manifestation, cottage furniture was commonly made of softwood painted white, grey, lilac, or pale blue and was often decorated with floral motifs applied by stencil or free hand.⁸⁹ This style, made swiftly by machine, frequently featured turned legs that could be easily shaped on a lathe.⁹⁰ The availability of cottage furniture is socially more important than might be assumed. The American designer and purveyor of decorating advice, Andrew Jackson Downing, in his 1850 volume, *The Architecture of Country Houses*, recommended simple furniture for healthy country living. Downing did not limit his design recommendations to those rich enough to be furnishing expensive town-houses, but, taking a more democratic view, believed that every American was entitled to a welcoming home. He provided designs for suitable homemade furniture for the humble and, for the slightly more affluent, he even specified the cabinet maker Edward Hennessy of Brattle Street, Boston for the

⁸⁸ Hutchinson House, Fleming letter dated 23 March 1846.

⁸⁹ Jeanne Minhinnick, "Collecting Furniture in Ontario," *Canadian Antiques Collector* (May 1971), p. 55.

⁹⁰ Toronto Reference Library, Jeanne Minhinnick papers, 1903-1985, L47, Box 4, file 8.

manufacture of suitable and inexpensive “cottage furniture.” Providing sketches of Hennessy’s cabinetry, Downing observed that a complete bedroom suite in this style could be purchased for the price of a simple mahogany wardrobe.⁹¹

There is some question about how the notion of cottage furniture was popularized. Thomas H. Ormsbee, in his much-quoted volume, *Field Guide to American Victorian Furniture*, credits the redoubtable Sara Josepha Hale, the editor of *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, for promoting this concept. Hale was a trend-setter and had a wide following in America and, to some extent, in Canada.⁹² Beginning in 1849, she initiated a “cottage furniture department” section of the magazine she edited, ultimately publishing hundreds of line drawings of recommended furniture styles. Ormsbee believed that American furniture manufacturers responded to this trend by producing similar painted cottage sets, either spool-turned, or in a modified Louis XV style. This suggests that the cheerful furniture promoted by Downing and Hale in their decorating recommendations for ordinary citizens of the new republic may have created a different form of domesticity. Now, very

⁹¹ Andrew Jackson Downing, *The Architecture of the Country Houses* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1852), pp. 406-418. An advertisement for the Hennessy reveals that cottage and “chamber” furniture could also ordered in “ultramarine blue” and “emerald green.” See *Directory of the City of Boston, 1831-52* (Boston: George Adams, 1850.) The advertisement is contained in the end papers.

⁹² It is likely that several women may have pooled money to buy *Godey’s Lady’s Book and Magazine* and passed it from one to another. Alison L. Prentice and Beth Light refer to the surprising number of copies of *Godey’s Lady’s Book* in Canadian libraries as indicative of the significant readership in Canada. See *Pioneer and Gentlewomen of British North America* (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1980), p. 170.

ordinary people were involved in making colour and design decisions affecting their domestic space.

IV. Public Contracts

The company was fortunate in securing a stream of public contracts, which provided a consistent flow of work, guaranteed payment, and kept the factory running and staffed most working days. These commissions began in the 1830s, largely for the “fitting up” of “public offices” and eventually involved all levels of government.⁹³ It can be assumed that their web of personal contacts and their public profile facilitated Jacques & Hay’s successful bids. The partners were unabashed in cultivating patronage relationships. When Trinity College opened in early 1852, Jacques & Hay made a point of presenting Bishop John Strachan with a special commemorative chair and stool to mark the event. This was likely a strategic move as there is evidence to suggest that the bishop had a strong interest in architecture and design.⁹⁴

The architects Fred Cumberland and William Storm, surveyor and engineer Sandford Fleming, the Worthingtons, building contractors and the cabinet-makers

⁹³ *Appendix to the Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada* (Toronto: W. L. Mackenzie, 1838), p. 290; *Appendix to the Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada* (Toronto: W. L. Mackenzie, 1839), p. 33.

⁹⁴ J. George Hodgins, *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada from the Passing of the Constitutional Act 1791* XII (1906), p. 71; Elizabeth Jane Errington, *Wives and Mothers, School Mistresses and Scullery Maids* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), p. 167.

Jacques and Hay all collaborated on various public contracts, and were all interconnected through a variety of linkages and associations. Architects Fred Cumberland, Thomas Ridout, William Storm and Kivas Tully, and surveyors John Howard and Sandford Fleming, all belonged to the same masonic lodge.⁹⁵ Cumberland, Fleming and Jacques were active in the Mechanics' Institute and the Canadian Institute—Fleming being the founder of the latter. Judging from the number of Jacques & Hay employees enrolled in the Mechanics' Institute, and serving in the volunteer militia during the Fenian Raids of the 1860s, it is highly possible that the partners urged their employees to join these organizations. John Jacques's son-in-law and the firm's accountant, John Stuart, was regimental paymaster for the regiment later known as the 10th Royal Grenadiers, in which Sandford Fleming was a captain, and architect Fred Cumberland the lieutenant-colonel.⁹⁶ Jacques & Hay met Cumberland early. Cumberland had arrived in Canada in January 1848 and took a job as the district surveyor of the Home District, later to be York County, where Toronto was situated.⁹⁷ Jacques & Hay helped to design and execute the official decoration of the ceremonial centre of Toronto, St. Lawrence Hall, in August 1850 to celebrate the visit of dignitaries from Buffalo. This involved the elaborate

⁹⁵ Henry T. Smith, *A History of St Andrew's Lodge, 1822-1922* (Toronto: Macomb Press, 1922). Fred Cumberland designed the Lodge's furniture and Jacques & Hay made the cabinetry. See William Dendy, *Lost Toronto* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 81. The exact reference to the furniture is also contained in Smith's History, www.archive.org/stream, consulted 21 May 2009.

⁹⁶ John Ross Robertson, *Robertson's Landmarks of Toronto, Vol. 2* (Toronto: Mika Publishing Co., 1974), p. 801; Ernest J. Chambers, *The Royal Grenadiers: A Regimental History of the Tenth Infantry Regiments of the Active Militia of Canada* (Toronto: I. Ruddy, 1904), pp. 16-17.

⁹⁷ Geoffrey Simmons, *Fred Cumberland: Building the Victorian Dream* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), p. 13.

construction of an evergreen-covered arcade and displays of the appropriate armorial symbols.⁹⁸ This type of display was characteristic of the staged public ceremonies that were so valued by early Victorians and it also illustrates Jacques & Hay's ability to turn their hand to general design and display work.

The partnership between Cumberland and Jacques & Hay flourished in the 1850s as Cumberland designed buildings and Jacques provided the interior wooden carpentry and often compatible furniture. Cumberland frequently used Jacques & Hay as his preferred craftsmen when planning a building and seeking the same unified design in the interior furnishings. Jacques & Hay were able to sub-contract successfully for the wood interiors and usually the general carpentry involved in the construction of St. James' Cathedral, University College, Osgoode Hall, and the furniture of the Normal and Model Schools Building.⁹⁹ They would also work with Cumberland on the Mechanics' Institute Building, the Seventh Toronto Post Office and a masonic hall. Such contracts for important buildings were not insignificant both for the company's balance sheet and its reputation within the city. While Jacques & Hay worked with other architects, their closest relationship was with Cumberland, and their partnership with him often involved

⁹⁸ Simmons, *Fred Cumberland*, pp. 14-15.

⁹⁹ Simmons, pp. 14-15; *The Globe* (Toronto), 30 June 1857. The Jacques & Hay furniture contract was for £1360/4/11 out of a grand total of £23,093/0/06 for the entire Normal and Model School project, including the land. See OA, file RG2-86-0-14, barcode B271069 "Memorandum of Payments on Account of Normal and Model Schools Construction, Furniture, and Laying out of the Grounds." For the Normal School, Jacques & Hay appeared to have won the contract for the furniture and the fittings, but not the carpentry.

both woodwork and furniture. The firm of Cumberland & Storm seems to have collaborated closely with Jacques & Hay, as their sub-contracting wood carvers, to create harmonies of style between the buildings and the interior fittings.¹⁰⁰

Jacques & Hay were also able to win public contracts directly in their own right. Invoices exist indicating that the firm won handsome contracts refitting the Legislative Assembly building and its library in Toronto in 1857.¹⁰¹ There was also publicly-supported work in supplying beds and bedding in 1847 for the hastily-assembled Fever Hospital in Toronto to accommodate streams of mostly Irish emigrants suffering from typhus.¹⁰² This was representative of a steady flow of provincial and local contracts to supply schools, hospitals and important public institutions with furniture.¹⁰³ Jacques & Hay provided beds and cabinetry to such institutions as the Toronto Lunatic Asylum, the School for the Deaf and Dumb, the Toronto Institute for the Blind and the Agricultural College at Guelph. This critical flow of predictable income permitted the firm to organize long production runs of standard furniture. Such runs paid for the considerable

¹⁰⁰ Robert Adam is said to have advanced the view that architecture and furniture should express a unified design and be harmonious. See Howard Pain, *The Heritage of Upper Canadian Furniture* (Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold Ltd., 1978), p. 35.

¹⁰¹ Library and Archives, Canada, RG-8, 14, C-5, Parliament of the Province of Canada [textual record] “Legislative Assembly Vouchers.” The bills total £ 1336/78. In 1856, Parliament moved back to Toronto and was held there until 1859. The Legislative Assembly was then transferred back to Quebec City, where it became the temporary seat of government while new parliament buildings in Ottawa were being completed.

¹⁰² *The British Colonist* (Toronto) 2 July 1847.

¹⁰³ Charles J. Howe, *The Deaf Mutes of Canada* (Toronto: C.J. Howe, 1888), p. 91; Cathcart, p. 29.

investment in machinery, factory space and manpower that made more complex and more extensively carved work possible. The company did not hesitate to turn its hand at a variety of revenue-producing activities. These included supplying billysticks to fight Fenians and fencing material for a walkway built to commemorate the visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada.¹⁰⁴ The firm even undertook the removal of the parliament and government of the Province of Canada from Toronto to Quebec City in 1859.¹⁰⁵ The company stepped in when the original contractor withdrew and, for the same price of \$19,948, moved “all Departmental and Legislative effects.” The firm was commended for its efficiency. Jacques & Hay also acted in a modest way as a rental agency for public events, supplying chairs for such functions, or the necessary tables and voting boxes for elections through the 1860s.¹⁰⁶

Jacques & Hay benefited from the expanding horizons of many Canadians who travelled or entertained more extensively. The luxury hotel or the elaborately furnished steamship accommodated growing numbers of people who observed new notions of style and genteel sociability. The hotel also exposed travellers to new forms of domestic technology, often providing the British North American with his or her first encounter with steam heating, up-to-date plumbing or gas-lighting. The individual was no longer

¹⁰⁴ *The Globe* (Toronto), 6 June 1866; *The Globe* (Toronto), 17 April 1860.

¹⁰⁵ Sessional Papers, *Third Session of the Sixth Parliament of the Province of Canada, session 1860* (Quebec: Thompson & Co., 1860), p. 35.

¹⁰⁶ “Deliberations of the City of Toronto Council,” Toronto Archives, 23 December 1862 and 11 September 1863. Jacques & Hay also rented chairs and tables to the architect Fred Cumberland, likely to furnish some public event. See OA, F1132, Jacques & Hay bill to Cumberland’s attention, 1 July-17 October 1862.

confined to a single community as was common before, but could now mix and mingle with new people and with new ideas with greater facility. Public amenities allowed people the opportunity to socialize outside the confines of the home and use well-furnished public space for entertaining. The hotel with its public access could acquaint new classes of individuals with the pleasures of gracious living, and the whole concept of travelling for pleasure implied an enthusiasm for organized leisure, an appetite for modernity for those of sufficient income to enjoy life's luxuries. Prominent lawyer Robert Harrison's diary also noted that when the influential Baron de Rottenburg arrived in Toronto from his home in Belleville, instead of seeking a venue for a private party, he could now entertain friends over dinner at the stylish Rossin House Hotel, furnished by Jacques & Hay for \$25,000.¹⁰⁷ Jacques & Hay made a specialty of decorating and furnishing hotels. The legendary Red Parlour of the Queen's Hotel, in Toronto, where John A. Macdonald was rumoured to hatch his plots and cut his deals, was decorated with rococo Jacques & Hay furniture.¹⁰⁸ In addition to the Queen's Hotel and the Rossin House Hotel, they also furnished the Mansion House and Thomas' European Hotel and Restaurant in Toronto, the Windsor Hotel in Montreal and the Huron Hotel in

¹⁰⁷ Peter Oliver, *Conventional Man: The Diaries of Ontario Chief Justice Robert A. Harrison, 1856–1878* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), p. 51; *The Perth Courier*, 31 May 1867. This compares with the \$40,000 spent on furnishing the Queen's Hotel in 1868. See *The Globe* (Toronto), 2 December 1868.

¹⁰⁸ Sally Gibson, *Inside Toronto: Urban Interiors, 1880s to 1920s* (Toronto: Cormorant Books, 2006), p. 290, footnote 77. Gibson notes that John A. Macdonald was said to run "the country from the Red Parlor (sic) much as from Parliament Hill, or Earnscliffe, Ottawa." She cites no sources for this quotation. Patricia Phenix, *Private Demons: The Tragic Personal Life of John A. Macdonald* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2007), pp. 219, 285. Apparently Macdonald moved into the hotel on more than one occasion.

Goderich.¹⁰⁹ On occasion, the company acted as general building contractors, and there is evidence that they supplied the gas-lights, steam-fittings, bell service and water closets for at least one hotel.¹¹⁰

In a skilful move to promote their services to a captive audience and reach a new market sector, Jacques & Hay furnished or provided the cabinetry for numerous lake-steamers. These included the *J. C. Morrison*, the *Rescue* and the *Peerless*.¹¹¹ A full description of the elaborate furnishing with “beautiful carving” of the *J. C. Morrison* is contained in Mrs. Edward Copleston’s evocative book of her experiences in Upper Canada during the 1850s. Copleston also described the *J. C. Morrison* as having “costly velvet furniture.”¹¹² The *Peerless* was generally employed transporting tourists from

¹⁰⁹ *The Daily Leader*, 6 April 1872; *Canadian Mechanics’ Magazine and Patent Office Record*, 5, no. 12 (December 1877); *Industries of Canada Historical and Commercial Sketches of Toronto and Environment* (Toronto: M.G. Bixby, 1888), p. 162; *The Globe* (Toronto), 23 January 1862.

¹¹⁰ Jacques & Hay sued for payment when the new hotel in Hamilton that the company had equipped went bankrupt. See *Upper Canada Law Journal of Municipal and Local Courts Gazette* VII, (January-December 1862), p. 175.

¹¹¹ *The Globe* (Toronto), 21 July 1856; *The Toronto Leader* 29 March 1853, reprinted in *Daily News* (Kingston), 30 March 1853.

¹¹² Mrs. Edward Copleston, *Canada: Why We Live in It, and Why We Like It* (London: Parson, Son and Bourn, West Strand, 1861), pp. 36, 63. A sign erected by Heritage Barrie verifies the furnishing of the *J. C. Morrison* by Jacques & Hay. In an editorial, the *Daily Leader* even describes the artistic merit of Jacques & Hay’s carving of the steamer, the *J. C. Morrison*, as comparable to the artistry of Gibbon. *The Daily Leader* (Toronto), 21 July 1856.

Toronto to see the sights at Niagara Falls, and on at least one occasion was used to ferry Governor-General Lord Elgin to Toronto.¹¹³

Perhaps the most stable of all money-makers was the long-term contracts to provide school-desks and other furnishings for the province's rapidly expanding school system. After the completion of the Normal and Model Schools in 1852, Jacques & Hay was allowed to display in a "depository" area at the Normal School samples of student desks and chairs. The advertisements appearing in the *Canadian Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review* through the 1850s and 1860s suggest that various school boards could either inspect the furniture there, or write to the company for samples.¹¹⁴ The cost for a set of two seats and one desk was \$4.50, and in her book on Toronto cabinet-makers the furniture historian Joan Mackinnon indicates that this figure was likely twenty to thirty percent lower than what comparable Boston furniture companies could bid.¹¹⁵ Jacques & Hay later expanded their school-related contracts into furnishing school globes, maps and blackboards, although it is likely that they were obtaining such items from other manufacturers. Such long-term contracts with guaranteed payment from the public purse must have contributed to the company's longevity.

¹¹³ Isabella Lucy Bird, *The Englishwoman in America* (Cirencester, U.K. Echo Library, 2005), p. 106; *The Globe* (Toronto), 15 October 1851.

¹¹⁴ A representative example of this type of advertising appeared in the *Canadian Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review* I, no. 6 (September 1857), p. 531.

¹¹⁵ *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* 13, no. 11 (November 1860), p. 169; Mackinnon, *A Checklist of Toronto Cabinet-Makers*, p. 89.

The survival of Jacques & Hay was never guaranteed. In June 1859, in the face of economic crisis, originating in the United States and abroad and accentuated by a failed harvest, Robert Hay wrote to his manager and brother-in-law at New Lowell saying: “If it was not for the work we have to do at the fitting and furnishing of the University and Osgood (sic) Hall we might shut up our place for anything we are doing in the wareroom [showroom].”¹¹⁶ Although Jacques and Hay’s company weathered at least two economic recessions, and the original partners became wealthy men, other firms, such as that of George Moorhead of London failed.¹¹⁷ Both Jacques & Hay and their customers had to cope with the frequent booms and busts of a cyclic economy and, with a large factory and an extensive pay-roll, the firm must have been particularly vulnerable. In its early days, the company had to establish itself in a conservative society recovering from rebellion, where a colonial culture based on tradition and loyalty still prevailed. In contrast to the individualism of the United States, the desire for order and stability remained strong, and the needs of the community often trumped individual ambition in Canada. In comparison to both the north-eastern United States and Britain, Canada remained a relatively rural society with a low population density and few major cities, challenging early manufacturers to develop appropriate effective distribution and marketing techniques.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ McCalla calls this downturn of 1857-59 a “crisis.” The economic decline was deep enough that it crippled all three principal provincial banks, the Gore Bank, the Commercial Bank and the Bank of Upper Canada. See McCalla, *Planting the Province*, p. 237; JHA, letter from Robert Hay to Peter Paton, 28 June 1859.

¹¹⁷ Ben Forster, “Finding the Right Size,” p. 161

¹¹⁸ Ben Forster and Kris Inwood, “The Diversity of Industrial Experience: Cabinet and Furniture Manufacture in Late Nineteenth-Century Ontario,” *Enterprise & Society* 4 (June 2003), p. 329; Kris Inwood, “The Architecture of an Industrial Sector: Size and Structure in Canadian Manufacturing,” in *Small Firms, Large Concerns: The*

For fifty years the partners had to overcome the inherent problems of a small, scattered population, huge distances, the lower incomes of Canadians in comparison to those of Americans, and a boom and bust economy. Jacques & Hay offset these inherent difficulties by a diverse business strategy. During the 1840s and 1850s, there was also a strong element of luck. In building their large factory Jacques & Hay gambled on the future; they accepted the risk inherent in being industrialists and were fortunate that Toronto, Upper Canada's largest city by 1850, happened to be experiencing phenomenal growth as the furniture factory expanded and mechanized. They also survived the cyclic contractions of their market, owing to the diversity of their products, their readiness to explore all market possibilities and their sustaining public contracts.

Development of Small Business in Comparative Perspective, ed. Konosuke Odaka and Minoru Sawai (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 68.

Chapter Three

The Factories

I. Introduction

By the 1860s, Jacques & Hay had become the largest furniture manufacturer in British North America. A *Globe* article of 1862 refers with pride to the fact that there was almost no house in “the whole of Canada” that did not contain a piece of Jacques & Hay furniture.¹ The *Globe* said, “[I]t's good they have grown with our growth and become strong with our strength.”² The article continued by commenting on the difficulty of matching strong competition from the United States.³ The firm’s physical structure then consisted of the Toronto factory between Front and Bay Streets and bordering Toronto’s shoreline, a fashionable show-room on King at Bay Streets, and mills and smaller factories on Jacques & Hay’s large holdings at New Lowell, near Barrie. Some

¹ *The Globe*, (Toronto), 15 February 1862.

² *The Globe*, (Toronto), 15 February 1862.

³ This was a common theme among other furniture producers, and the appeal to nationalism was used as a familiar marketing device. In an article in the *Canadian Illustrated News* in 1863 there are three separate references to the ability of the Bowmanville Cabinet factory to meet or exceed American competition. The news item ends with an exhortation “to see our Canadian Manufactures encouraged.” The article is reprinted in Jeanne Minhinnick’s *At Home in Upper Canada* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company, 1970), p. 195.

commentators have described this development as creating one of the “largest such [cabinet-making] companies in North America.”⁴

The complexity of the Jacques & Hay organization; the long-range planning relating to the secondary investment in New Lowell; the involvement in transportation projects; and the apparent collaboration with like-minded individuals in the founding and construction of important city institutions reflects a visionary plan. This blueprint was motivated by personal ambition, but also a concept of how at least Upper Canadian society should evolve. This world-view was apparently shared with business colleagues and, if we can judge by the participation of many Jacques & Hay employees in community activities, also the workers.

II. The Toronto Factory

A. On Front Street

There are eye-witness accounts of tours to the Jacques & Hay factory in the 1850s, frequently described as a “showplace.” Indeed, excursions to the factory were regarded in the same light as visits to the principal public buildings of Toronto, such as Osgoode Hall and University College. The various accounts of visitors making the

⁴ F.J. Thorpe, Chief, History Division, National Museum of Man, “Preface,” in Joan Mackinnon’s *A Checklist of Toronto Cabinet and Chair Makers, 1800-1865* (Ottawa: National Museum of Man Mercury Series [History Division Paper No. 11]), 1975), p. 1.

rounds of important local institutions reflect the city's desire to impress visitors with its growing amenities and signs of civility.⁵ Several nineteenth-century commentators remarked on the dramatic wooden Gothic ceiling of St. James' Cathedral (which in more recent years has been painted white) and the beauty of the wood interiors of the libraries of University College and Osgoode Hall.⁶ Author William Chambers, who toured Jacques & Hay when he visited Toronto in preparation for his book, *Things as They Are in America* (1854), observed that there was in Toronto a "manufactory" turning out attractive articles of cabinetry that in "appointed elegance...will match any of the products of France or England."⁷ While this is an exaggeration, Chambers believed it worth noting for his intended audience.

We have reasonably complete descriptions of Jacques & Hay's factory and showroom in Toronto and of the mill in New Lowell, Ontario. The expansion of the Jacques & Hay factory near the junction of Bay Street and Front Street (although in reality closer to Bay Street at the Esplanade as the shoreline expanded further into the

⁵ Charles Mackay, *Life and Liberty in America: Or, Sketches of a Tour in the United States and Canada* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1859), p. 274. Mackay lists four places to visit in Toronto: the House of Parliament, the University, the Normal School, and Jacques & Hay.

⁶ Anthony Trollope, *North America* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1862), pp. 114-115. Trollope admired both Osgoode Hall and University College; William Dendy and William Kilbourn, *Toronto Observed: Its Architecture, Patrons, and Its History* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 58.

⁷ William Chambers, *Things as They Are In America* (Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers, 1854), p. 115. The British seemed to have a mild fascination for the Jacques & Hay factory and there was also a short description in *The Lady's Newspaper* (London) 13 October 1855, issue no. 459, of the factory as "going a-head."

harbour) reached its height in the early 1860s. This new capacity was viewed as credible evidence of Canadian manufacturing progress.⁸ Certainly its main building was one of the first structures striking the eye of the visitor when he or she entered the city by rail or steamboat. Ultimately, the factory would occupy numerous acres of prime commercial real estate, with commanding access to the primary transportation routes into the city by rail and water.⁹ The property on the then Toronto waterfront appears to have been leased, as an advertisement appeared in the *Globe* of 1850 advising the public that a companion lot to the factory was available for lease. The leases were for 42 years.¹⁰

A detailed study of the factory's lay-out was contained in the July 1864 edition of *The Journal of the Board of Arts and Manufactures for Upper Canada*.¹¹ The impressive factory building, which had been constructed by the Worthington Brothers, was described as consisting of several buildings, set close to the railway tracks and Lake Ontario's edge, and surrounded by piles of drying timber. Its 35 horse-power steam engine, fed by burning the factory's waste wood, was reported to be capable of working one million board feet of lumber a year. The main structure was a five-story building, in which all

⁸ While the early factory was situated on Front Street, other buildings had been added between the factory and that street, when the area between the factory and the harbour had expanded with substantial infilling.

⁹ J. Timperlake, *Toronto Past and Present* (Toronto: Peter A. Gross, 1877), p. 275; Galbraith, *General Financial and Trade Review of the City of Toronto for 1880* (Toronto: Globe Printing Co., 1881). This work suggests that ten acres were "hardly sufficient" for the R. Hay & Co.'s operations at the time, www.archive.org/stream/cihm, consulted 18 March 2009.

¹⁰ *The Globe* (Toronto), 20 August 1850.

¹¹ *The Journal of the Board of Arts and Manufactures for Upper Canada* Vol. 4 (July 1864), pp. 193-196.

levels were connected by a steam lift that could ferry furniture up or down. After three disastrous fires, and unable to obtain adequate insurance coverage, Jacques and Hay separated the various production departments by iron doors, while a cistern twelve feet in diameter and twelve feet high was situated on the factory roof to supply water under pressure. Nearby, two smaller buildings contained specialized shops, such as the blacksmith shop and the paint and varnishing workshop, as well as the wood polishers, and the bronze workers who produced the decorative ornaments for fine cabinetry.¹² While some furniture appears to have been stored in secondary buildings, the main warehouse was a separate structure on the southern side, close to the Grand Trunk Railway track. A loaded railroad “furniture car” could pass through this building, and articles removed from the car could then be hoisted through a vast opening in the first floor to ascend to the floors above.

Touring the ground floor of the main factory building, a contemporary visitor would probably have been deafened by the simultaneous whirl of twenty circular saws. While there was some question as to what had caused the fatal 1856 fire, for greater security the boiler and steam-engine were now located into a smaller, separate, fire-proof building.¹³ This steam engine, probably following the arrangement used in the earlier plant, was connected to a heavy central main shaft, from which separate leather belts ran

¹² Some furniture required up to six different coats of varnish. The best cabinetry received the most hand polishing, usually with pumice stone. Jacques & Hay were famous for the meticulous hand-rubbed finish of their quality articles.

¹³ *The Leader* (Toronto), 23 July 1856.

through pulleys to reach each of the lathes, circular saws, and planing machines.¹⁴

Heavier machinery had to be situated closest to the steam engine, as there was a significant power loss along the shaft from it.¹⁵

Among the machines to be found on the first floor was a “Whitney’s Patent Scraper” that planed planks, and a gig-saw for shaping the wood into parts. There was also a moulding machine with two cutters for shaping the curves of sofa backs, and a large revolving cylinder covered in sand-paper for smoothing the curves. The first floor also contained the turning department, where lathes equipped with large cutting knives were calibrated to produce identical chair parts according to detailed patterns. The top rails of chairs were produced by tub saws, and a boring machine drilled the required holes in chair bottoms. “Daniell and Woodworth” wood planers were used to smooth the wooden surfaces. The second floor of the factory building was largely devoted to the mass production of chairs and school furniture. Good sellers such as cane chairs could be finished in one machine-controlled operation that combined sawing and boring of the four main parts that composed the chair’s carcass. A mortising machine was set up to produce just the length of the mortise required. The necessary tenons or moulded parts for chairs could also be completed on this floor.

¹⁴ Lilly Koltun, *The Cabinetmaker’s Art in Ontario, c. 1850-1865* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1979), p. 137; Frank Edward Ransom, *The City Built on Wood: A History of the Furniture Industry in Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1850-1950* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, 1955), p. 34. Toronto Archives, a “Goad Insurance Map of 1880,” reported in 1880 that the company had a 120 hp engine.

¹⁵ Ben Forster and Kris Inwood, “The Diversity of Industrial Experience: Cabinet and Furniture Manufacture in Late-Nineteenth-Century Ontario,” *Enterprise and Society* 4 (2003), p. 348 and footnote 63.

The account published in the *Journal of Arts and Manufactures* is unclear on what happened on all the various upper floors of the factory, but it does describe the semi-complete furniture articles being moved by steam-driven hoist up to the cabinetry department run by Charles Rogers, the firm's chief designer. Here Rogers trained the apprentice cabinet-makers who were "learning their trade" under experienced artisans. A further article published in the *Globe* fills in details about the upper, fifth floor, which housed the design studio and the carving rooms. *The Globe* writer describes the carving rooms as being filled with casts of natural specimens of Canadian flora and fauna, such as roses, lilies, maple leaves, bunches of flowers and perhaps an occasional Canadian beaver.¹⁶ These were used as models for carved replicas, now waiting to be affixed to the backs of sofas and chairs with wooden dowels. The designers and carvers caught the attention of the writer, who portrayed them as possessing all possible skill and taste and engaged in the "constant exercise of thought." In contrast, the production of humble bedsteads and Windsor chairs for the cottage furniture line was deprecated as requiring "little brain."¹⁷ Styles in cabinetry in the 1850s and 1860s were often heavy, with extensive carving, and the Jacques & Hay carvers' position at the apex of the factory may explain the self-consciously bombastic quality of some of their more costly pieces.¹⁸

¹⁶ Researcher Sheila Smith photographed a chair with a prominent beaver carving in the 1960s. Both she and the chair's owner believed it to have been manufactured by Jacques & Hay.

¹⁷ *The Globe* (Toronto), 15 February 1862.

¹⁸ A Jacques & Hay former apprentice and skilled carver, William McCormack, would decorate the interior of the Legislative Buildings of Ontario with amazing works,

There may also have been a re-balancing in the time spent on various aspects of cabinet-making; with the cutting and smoothing of timber now performed by machine, there was more focus on hand-carving and upholstery.

We know from the 1860s account that the factory's use of sawing, turning, boring, sanding and mortising machines reduced hand-work.¹⁹ Boring equipment in particular eliminated the tedious and difficult work of drilling holes in chair seats by hand, where a slight slip of the drill was enough to ruin the most valuable part of the chair.²⁰ A limited number of wood-workers were capable of competently using the modern, but still general-purpose machinery, which needed to be re-set skilfully to perform its multitude of tasks.²¹ A *Globe* article of 15 February 1861, emphasized that each wood-working task was reduced to its simplest components, with clear divisions of labour in the production of the more routine and mundane elements of the Jacques & Hay

representing the range of a trained carver's artistic and imaginative abilities. Some are signed.

¹⁹ *The Journal of the Board of Arts and Manufactures for Upper Canada* 4 (July 1864), pp. 193-196, explicitly refers to the company owning twenty circular saws, a Whitney's Patent Scraper, and Daniell and Woodworth wood planers. Stanley Pollin believes that Hay deliberately patronized Canadian equipment suppliers rather than American companies. Stanley Pollin, "The Jacques & Hay Furniture Company and Cultural Constraints on the Development of Nineteenth-Century Industrialization" (research paper, York University, 1974), p. 70.

²⁰ W. John McIntyre, "Chair-making in Nineteenth-Century Ontario," in *Everyday Life in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Ontario Museum Association Seminar Proceedings, 1978), pp. 91-92.

²¹ Forster and Inwood, "The Diversity of Industrial Experience," p. 364.

line.²² If one lists the different sub-divisions of labour, these would include cabinet-makers, chair-makers, carvers, turners, carpenters, finishers, sawyers and upholsterers. Normally, a good quality chair would pass through half a dozen hands before being finished; although the common slat chair was finished with a minimum of hand-crafting. With the passage of time, machines became more specialized, but the basic elements of planing, cutting, turning, forming joints and mouldings, rabetting, grooving, and sanding remained much the same.²³ The economist and historian of technology Hugh G. J. Aitken has suggested that in the nineteenth century, economic development in Canada lagged roughly two or three decades behind the United States.²⁴ However, this statement may apply more readily to industries other than furniture manufacture. Evidence suggests that Jacques & Hay adopted new technologies without delay, and it is probable that one or other of the partners had set out to study closely American innovations in production techniques. They must have been keenly aware that the company would have to compete with U. S. industry made more efficient by what was referred to as “the American system of production.”²⁵

²² The *Globe* of 15 February 1862 reports that the division of labour was carried to “the utmost extent possible.”

²³ Koltun, *The Cabinetmaker’s Art*, pp. 140, 142.

²⁴ Hugh G. J. Aitken, “Government and Business in Canada: An Interpretation,” *Business History Review* 38 (Spring 1964), p. 6.

²⁵ “Introduction,” in *Technological Innovation and the Decorative Arts*, ed. Ian M. G. Quimby and Polly Anne Earl (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1974), p. ix.

The Jacques & Hay factory dominated the cabinet-making landscape in Canada; while the total number of employees engaged in furniture-making in 1870s Montreal was 474, Robert Hay & Co's had in excess of 500 workers for a roughly similar period.²⁶ The process of industrialization in the cabinet-making industry was very uneven, as small and hand-powered workshops persisted throughout the nineteenth century. By 1871 when the first reliable data became available, above three-fifths of the carpenters, carriage makers, cabinet and furniture makers, and coopers worked by themselves or with one other person.²⁷ The advent of rail connections that reduced the cost of shipping heavy cabinetry allowed a big plant such as Jacques & Hay to ship by rail and obtain its raw materials from its woodlots and plant at New Lowell. Networking between large and small entities permitted both to maximize built-in advantages by the contracting and purchasing of parts.²⁸ This allowed small furniture producers to cater to a small population separated by significant distances. The advantages of this mutually-supporting relationship were clearly illustrated by the history of Francis Jones, a cabinet-maker working north of London, Ontario. Relying on mostly hand-tools, Jones ordered Jacques & Hay chairs and sofas to sell in his small shop, but produced his own furniture often using machined parts bought elsewhere.²⁹ Over time the number of furniture-makers using steam power

²⁶ Eve Martel, "L'industrie à Montréal en 1871" (master's thesis, Université du Québec à Montréal, 1976), pp. 66-67, table 1.5.

²⁷ Forster and Inwood, "The Diversity of Industrial Experience," p. 331. The authors drew this figure from the 1871 industrial census, Library and Archives Canada, series 1, Manuscript Census, Record Group 31 (1871), schedule 6.

²⁸ Joy Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men, and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), p. 129.

²⁹ Koltun, *The Cabinetmaker's Art*, pp. 132, 142.

increased threefold and the volume of horsepower per worker almost doubled.³⁰ With time, the rapidly falling transportation cost for cabinetry increasingly favoured smaller companies closer to the source of supply and with a low-paid, but skilled, work force.³¹ By 1885, the then Robert Hay & Co. closed and the industry moved west, closer to forest resources, and where it could draw on a rural population reasonably knowledgeable about wood-working and still informed by a crafts tradition — as documented by Joy Parr in her study of the Knechtel Company of Hanover, Ontario.³²

In a description of his travels through North America, Scottish writer William Chambers contrasts the Jacques & Hay factory with furniture manufacturing plants in Cincinnati, Ohio. The scale of operations he describes in Cincinnati suggests he visited the largest establishments; most likely the factory of Clawson & Mudge, employing 130 hands in 1851; and the chair factory of John Geyer, with 180 employees.³³ These were significant plants for the period, but they largely produced a limited range of articles, concentrating on cheaper high-volume items in demand in the American west and south, such as bedsteads and chairs. Chambers indicates that the “vast” American factories had

³⁰ Forster and Inwood, “The Diversity of Industrial Experience,” p. 348.

³¹ Ben Forster, “Finding the Right Size: Markets and Competition in Mid- and Late Nineteenth-Century Ontario,” in *Patterns of the Past: Interpreting Ontario's History: A Collection of Historical Articles*, ed. Roger Hall, Anthony Westell, and Laurel Sefton MacDowell (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1988), pp. 164. Forster further footnotes Terence S. Green, “A Locational Study of the Furniture Industry in Southern Ontario” (research paper, University of Toronto, 1967), pp.14-15.

³² Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners*.

³³ Charles Cist, *Sketches and Statistics of Cincinnati in 1851* (Cincinnati: William H. Moore and Co., 1851), pp. 201-205.

the competitive edge, with more and better mechanical equipment, longer production lines and superior organization, but he misses the crucial difference.³⁴ U.S. competitors specialized in the quick manufacture of low-cost furniture, while Jacques & Hay never gave up their luxury line of cabinetry: the finer class of drawing room furnishings. It is probable that they could not relinquish this product line, as their status as fine cabinet-makers was an integral part of their identity and reputation; the craft tradition trumped practical considerations. Jacques & Hay also needed to keep their name before the people who mattered and it was significant that both George Brown and John A. Macdonald used the company's furniture. In addition to enjoying the Jacques & Hay furniture in the Red Parlour of the Queen's Hotel, John A. Macdonald rented a house in Toronto equipped with Jacques & Hay cabinetry.³⁵

Jacques & Hay is better compared with Cincinnati furniture-maker, Mitchell & Rammelsberg, a U.S. firm similar in terms of development, employment, size and clientele. This company was in operation from 1847-1881, and like Jacques & Hay, mass-produced furniture suites in a variety of woods, and also created bespoke cabinetry. Whereas Jacques & Hay had a staff of 100 in 1851, Mitchell & Rammelsberg had 150 workers in 1849.³⁶ By 1870 they would employ 600, including 40 children, while Robert

³⁴ Chambers, "Things As They Are in America," pp. 151-154.

³⁵ Lucy Booth Martyn, *Toronto: One Hundred Years of Grandeur* (Toronto: Pagurian Press, 1978), p. 190.

³⁶ Donald C. Peirce, "Mitchell & Rammelsberg: Cincinnati Furniture Manufacturers 1847-1881," *Winterthur Portfolio*, Vol. 13, entitled "American Furniture and Its Makers" (January 1979), p. 211.

Hay and Co. had 480 workers, and no children. Both firms took competition at international exhibitions very seriously, and actively exhibited in these forums. However, one must keep in mind that Jacques & Hay operated in a limited market, with more conservative taste, and where frequently booms and busts were strongly felt. Many of the significant differences between Mitchell & Rammelsberg and Jacques & Hay, such as the Americans' larger size and the employment of child workers, reflect the different markets in which they operated. Despite the risks that Jacques & Hay embraced in catering to a smaller market, it is worth noting that the American publication, *The Furniture Manufacturer and Artisan*, stated that Jacques & Hay "...turned out, in their day, more fine furniture than any other house on the American continent."³⁷ While this is an overstatement, it comes from a seemingly neutral source.

B. Working Conditions: Tradition in the Midst of Modernity

1 Introduction

Robert Kristofferson's theory that craftworkers in nineteenth-century Hamilton experienced a transmodal work life, with one boot in the old crafts tradition and the other in world of capitalistic industrialization, has a variety of applications. His model accounts for the co-existence of small and large firms, owner-artisans and the experienced journeymen-foremen. Jacques & Hay existed in an earlier period, when the transition from craft to mechanization was even more gradual and complex. Strong elements of the

³⁷ "Editorial," *The Furniture Manufacturer and Artisan* (May 1911), p. 225.

old crafts culture persisted as the company owners, living near the factory and belonging to the same community organizations, shared a culture with their employees. Traditional institutions such as apprenticeship persisted. The adoption of machinery in the Jacques & Hay factory illustrated not worker deskilling, but instead a mutual interest in experiencing the benefits of progress and modernity. The behaviour of former employees suggests a positive attitude to increased technology. David Fleming joined the firm with the express purpose of studying the machinery, Ernst Krieghoff—about to be introduced—became so interested in coil springs, he took out his own patents.³⁸ The Tunstall brothers, former Jacques & Hay apprentices, emphasized to the local newspaper that they could design their own equipment.³⁹ Some of this independence is also reflected by the experience of workers at the bottom of the company's pyramid. The New Lowell records indicated that the black labourers responsible for horse-hair production sought to work as sub-contractors as they believed that they could make more money that way. This initiative may have reflected a desire for independence as there is circumstantial evidence that that the head hair-spinner may have been a former slave. It is also possible that the work team wanted to combine horse-hair production with forms of agricultural employment.⁴⁰ The black employees were paid the same salary as the white employees.

41

³⁸ Hutchison House, Peterborough, David Fleming to Andrew Fleming, dated 24 August 1845 and 23 March 1846; Library and Archives Canada, "Canadian Patents, 1869-1894," "Ernst Krieghoff, Toronto." The journal number indicated is 409-5-26 and the patent issued was for a spring mattress. <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/patents>, consulted 26 June 2008.

³⁹ Wayne Townsend, *Orangeville: The Heart of Dufferin County* (Toronto: National Heritage Books, 2006), p. 64.

⁴⁰ Pollin, "The Jacques & Hay Furniture Company," p. 12. The principal horse-hair-spinner was Valentine Spiers. His marriage records reveal that he was born in

Scholars who have studied American commercial life in the nineteenth-century eastern seaboard have observed recurring patterns of close interlocking social and business networks. Historian Naomi Lamoreaux, examining business life in early nineteenth-century America documents the gradual evolution from customary business practice to more instrumental decision-making.⁴² Lamoreaux uses the term “customary” to describe a business strategy characteristic of the early nineteenth century, in contrast to a profit-driven “instrumental” one typical of later business life.⁴³ “Customary” business practice relied on factors such as intricate family and social connections based on kinship, similar geographic backgrounds, and shared church or fraternal society experience. Those ties reinforced commercial ones. These webs were inherited from the eighteenth-century world, when business was not pursued solely for profit, but also for complex cultural and social reasons. Lamoreaux depicts a culture not yet driven exclusively by profit, and her findings relate closely to John Jacques’ and Robert Hay’s business lives. Given their age and backgrounds, it is not surprising that Hay and his partner illustrated “customary”

Virginia in the 1820s. Spiers was not an uncommon name among Virginian slaves. The marriage records are contained in Ontario, Canada, Registration of Marriages, 1869-1926, MS 932, reels 1-793, under “Elizabeth Robinson and Valentine Spiers.” <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/genealogy/index-e.html>, consulted 21 September 2010.

⁴¹ Pollin, p. 12.

⁴² Naomi Lamoreaux, “Rethinking the Transition to Capitalism in the Early American Northeast,” *Journal of American History* 90, issue 2 (September 2003), pp. 437-461.

⁴³ Lamoreaux, “Rethinking the Transition to Capitalism in the Early American Northeast,” pp. 455-459.

behaviour. Lamoreaux observes that kinship played a particularly important role in customary business hiring practices.

Merchants and manufacturers hired members of their own kinship groups as apprentices, employees, and clerks; gave them priority in business dealings; and took them in as partners after they gained experience. More important, they seemed to have felt bound to give preference to family members even when doing so contravened their own interests.⁴⁴

This pattern can be clearly seen in Jacques & Hay's hiring practices. Hay favoured his own family members, as well as many fellow Scots. The employment of apprentices and journeymen involved the careful weighing of considerations of obligation and charity, as well as skill and ability.⁴⁵ The records show that they seem to have preferred to hire family groups—employing combinations of brothers, for example, or fathers and sons.⁴⁶ *Brown's Toronto Directory* for 1846 lists a Frederick Burrows as a polisher at Jacques & Hay, while Joan MacKinnon's study of the cabinet makers of Toronto records a George Burrows as an employee in 1859. A George and Richard Cole were both employed in 1863-64. So were a Charles, George and John Fry; a Frank Hume and two George Humes (Senior and Junior); a Charles and John Irwin; a Richard and Samuel Kearney; a Charles, James and Thomas Scott; and a John and Mark Tooze.⁴⁷ It is

⁴⁴ Lamoreaux, "Rethinking the Transition to Capitalism in the Early American Northeast, p. 446.

⁴⁵ Donna J. Rilling, *Making Houses, Crafting Capitalism: Master Builders in Philadelphia, 1790-1850* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), p. 20.

⁴⁶ MacKinnon, *A Checklist of Toronto Cabinet and Chair Makers, 1800-1865*. MacKinnon identifies at least nine family groups. A systematic review of city directories for the City of Toronto suggests that there may be many others.

⁴⁷ *Brown's Toronto City and Home District Directory 1846-7* (Toronto, 1846);

likely that the partners considered such kinship relationships between employees desirable, as family members working for the firm would be more predictable and dependable, and would feel responsible for each other in ways unrelated employees did not.

We may have one first-hand account of a skilled cabinet-maker's working conditions at Jacques & Hay. On 25 January 1845 the English *Ipswich Journal* published a letter, from a former resident craftsman who was now employed in an unnamed furniture factory in Toronto. The letter was sent to thank the "gentlemen" who "with kind friends" had paid his passage to North America, and to report on what had happened to him. While we might discount some of the positive description as embellished by gratitude, there is still a ring of truth to the considerable detail. The Ipswich craftsman recounts that, "I have a good shop of work, the best in Canada. We have a good deal of steam-power in the factory, and a great many men employed... I can earn about 7 dollars a week, which enables us to live very well... Every body builds himself a house here, as soon as you can." He asserted that the demand for craftsmen was so pressing, that even apprentices received cash bonuses to complete their apprenticeship, in contrast to the old world custom of the apprentice's family paying the employer for his training. Considering the particulars concerning the "steam power" and the payment of apprentices—for which Jacques & Hay had some reputation—the Ipswich cabinet-maker was very likely employed by them. Even if it was a different firm, the report still conveys a convincing impression of the positive opportunities available to a skilled woodworker

in an expanding North American city. The newspaper account of the Ipswich cabinet-maker provides important clues of the working-life of the men and women of Jacques & Hay; it touches on apprenticeship, use of technology and scope—in this case through the building of a family home—for the accumulation of assets.

2 Apprentices

We are fortunate to have some documents relating directly to apprenticeship. In contrast to many manufacturers of the period, Jacques & Hay persisted in offering formal apprenticeships in which young workers with aptitude could learn new skills.⁴⁸ In some ways, the physical lay-out of the factory paralleled the progress that a fledging apprentice made while learning the trade; progressing from outside to inside, from the bottom of the plant to the top floor. John Mowat, the “Dean of Manufacturers” of Grand Rapids, Michigan, recalled Jacques & Hay “was not a factory that furnished short cuts to success.” He explains that “students” started in the lumber yards, piling timber, before going on to complete seven or more years of thorough apprenticeship in the many different operations that “lie between selecting your own lumber and finishing your piece

⁴⁸ William Drum, the comparable cabinet-maker of Quebec City, hired large numbers of apprentices (56% of his workforce) and cut back on his journey-men employees. The apprentices were largely cheap labour and their training became increasingly haphazard. See Jean-François Caron, “William Drum and the Advent of Industrialization,” in *Living in Style: Fine Furniture in Victorian Quebec*, ed. John R. Porter (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1993), p. 337. T. W. Acheson, “The Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-85,” in *Canadian Business History: Selected Studies, 1497-1971*, ed. David S. Macmillan (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972), p. 152. Acheson states that by the 1880s the training of apprentices had been largely abandoned.

of home-made furniture.” In the end, after this experience “you *knew how* [original italics].” Mowat was one of several men of exceptional skill and ability employed at Grand Rapids who had previously been trained by Jacques & Hay.⁴⁹ There may be a connection between their thorough grounding in the use of machinery and superior organizational skills that contributed to Grand Rapids’ dominance in American furniture production in the later part of the nineteenth century. Even though he became a manager in the furniture industry, Mowat never lost his ability to carve wood. He is recorded as being the principal carver for a prize-winning item displayed at the Great Union Fair in 1872.⁵⁰

William McCormack began as a Jacques & Hay apprentice in 1868 and his apprenticeship agreement is interesting, as it indicates that, instead of being trained as a generalist cabinet-maker, McCormack only wanted instruction as “a wood carver,” a process that would require five and one-half years training. This was also substantially longer than George Craig’s—the son of one of Robert Hay’s then partners — apprenticeship of four years, beginning in 1876, as a wood turner. McCormack went on to create some of most impressive wood interiors in the city of Toronto, including those in University College, a new library in Osgoode Hall, and in the new Ontario Legislative Building. He was proud of his training and his skill, noting in the *Toronto Star Weekly* of

⁴⁹ *Furniture Manufacturer and Artisan* vol.74, issue 14 (June 1917), p. 267. Mowat’s name also seems to be spelt Mowatt and it is unclear which is correct.

⁵⁰ In *The City Built on Wood*, p. 25, Ransom cites *The Grand Rapids Daily Eagle*, 20 September 1872.

1928, “[T]here is something about wood; you get ideas from it. It’s alive—much more alive than stone or clay.”⁵¹ While Jacques & Hay used machinery to produce furniture in the rough, it was up to skilled polishers, cabinet-makers and carvers to provide the aesthetically appealing elements. Sometimes this could consist of just gluing on various ready-made components. For better furniture, this meant considerable hand-carving and even more hand polishing.⁵² As a result, instead of being merely factory-hands in a noisy mechanized factory, the carvers saw themselves as craftsmen and, on occasion, artists. While carving machines could be used for such routine tasks as producing wooden mouldings, decorative carving continued to be done by hand. In a letter to *The Canadian Architect and Builder*, William McCormack also conveys his impression that the American furniture industry employed many Canadians in managerial capacities and that “most of those who hold these positions, also hold honorably (sic) cancelled indentures of apprenticeship from Jacques & Hay of Toronto, although I have met some from Bowmanville, Oshawa, London, Montreal and Quebec.”⁵³ Well into the twentieth century, various death notices of old employees listed their experience with Jacques & Hay. The Toronto furniture-maker F. C Burroughes’ advertisements in the *Toronto Star* referred to his former employment with Jacques & Hay. The same is true of the

⁵¹ Muriel Brewster “A Maker of Beautiful Things,” *Toronto Star Weekly*, 22 December 1928.

⁵² Ruth Cathcart, *Jacques & Hay: Nineteenth-Century Toronto Furniture Makers* (Erin, Ontario: Boston Mills Press, 1986), p. 40.

⁵³ William McCormack, “A Wood Carver’s View,” *The Canadian Architect and Builder* 10, no.10 (1897), pp. 196-197.

promotional notice appearing in *The Globe* (Toronto), 2 August, 1861 for Henry A. Schomberg.⁵⁴

3 The Use of Technology and the Persistence of Skills

The Ipswich cabinet-maker refers to the use of steam-power in his factory. While enormous quantities of ink have been spilt by Canadian labour historians decrying the deskilling of the craftsmen during industrialization, comments from skilled cabinet-makers do not record such a loss of status. The contemporary testimony left by several of Jacques & Hay's employees suggests that they were reasonably positive about their work experience. Many employees stayed long years with the company. Confident of their trade's future, they did not feel diminished by working in a mechanized factory. More likely, they associated the machines with science and progress rather than a repressive proletarianization. Indeed, contemporary British firms that adopted machinery in the late 1850s and 1860s advertised their mechanization—with pride, as machined wooden finishes were equated with precision and perfect fit.⁵⁵ Many Jacques & Hay workers may have been sheltered from the full effects of deskilling in an industrializing world by their training and manual skills. Unlike workers in manufacturing factories, such as textile-workers or shoemakers, a Jacques & Hay cabinet-maker could not readily be replaced by a machine and an unskilled operative. Furthermore, the introduction of wood-working machinery and mechanization reduced the drudgery in the formerly labour-intensive

⁵⁴ See MacKinnon, p. 145.

⁵⁵ Robert Little, *Chairs: 400 Years of Social and Stylistic Changes* (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1982), p. 15.

processes, such as cutting, shaping and sanding wood, and may have improved working lives. The same advanced wood-working technology that reduced much of the back-breaking labour, also made it possible to expand the variety of attractive consumer goods available to the public. Having some common cause with their employers in taking pride in the success and quality of their products, the craftsmen at Jacques & Hay appeared to believe that they were providing an essential good to their community.

Skilled labourers were valuable in nineteenth-century Toronto, because they were hard to find. In his 1872 treatise on wood-working in America, nineteenth-century British author John Richards makes it clear that the primary incentive for mechanization in the industry was the constant shortage of skilled labour.⁵⁶ The emphasis on better machines rather than more employees was not surprising, considering that skilled workers in North American also had other employment opportunities, or could readily farm, as long as land was still available. Richards makes several telling comparisons between American and British woodworking machinery. While British woodworking machinery aimed at quality, U.S. equipment was mainly designed to reduce manpower and facilitate the use of wood as a primary building and manufacturing material.⁵⁷ While *The Globe* might identify the designers and carvers as the top of the factory's hierarchy, Richards had another view. He tells us that in general the men in North American who operated the

⁵⁶ Richards said, "...[T]he high cost of labour makes labour saving the first and main consideration..." John Richards, *Treatise on the Construction and Operation of Wood-Working Machines* (London, New York, E. & F. N. Spon, 1872), pp. 243, 283.

“wood machines” had “pay that is greater than is given to any other class of workmen.”

Mostly these had begun as joiners and acquired some knowledge of machine-fitting and millwrighting while on the job. Richard states that:

The operator in a planing mill must, or should, understand the whole theory of carpentry and joinery; he should carry in his head by memory thousands of standard dimensions, with the names and the catalogue numbers of catalogue mouldings of very form; he must understand machine fittings so as to direct and make repairs, and must besides be strong and healthy to stand the wear and anxiety incident to his calling.⁵⁸

Emigration was considerable during economic depression, as workers left looking for work in the American west. But at all times, unskilled workers were the majority. Between 1846 and 1853, the first years for which a detailed breakdown is available, between 54.4 and 53.5 percent of working men landing at Quebec and Montreal were described as “labourers.” This is in sharp contrast to the 2.3 to 4.1 per cent that listed themselves as blacksmiths, tinsmiths, bricklayers, masons, carpenters or joiners.⁵⁹ There may be some bias in these figures, as they do not include immigration to Canada through the faster and more expensive New York route, a voyage a skilled worker was better able to afford than the unskilled. However, even considering that distortion, it is clear that while unskilled labour may have been readily available in Toronto, skilled labour was

⁵⁷ Brooke Hindle, “The Artisan During America’s Wooden Age,” *Technology in America: A History of Individuals and Ideas* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), pp. 9, 14.

⁵⁸ Richards, *Treatise on the Construction and Operation of Wood-Working Machines* p. 282.

⁵⁹ Peter A. Russell, “Wage Rates in Upper Canada, 1815-1840,” *Histoire sociale-Social History* 16 (1983), pp. 61-62. Russell also refers to Helen I. Cowan, *British Emigration to British North America* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 304.

scarce. In a guide to possible emigrants, the writer James Bryce Brown reported that good carpenters, joiners and cabinet-makers were the most highly paid workers in Canada.⁶⁰

Certainly, Hay complained throughout his working life of a dearth of skilled men. An ardent temperance man, he was forced by necessity to comb in person the bars and boarding houses of the tough wards of Toronto, looking for potential employees.⁶¹ In a period when Toronto institutions such as the police-force and local government were dominated by the Orange Hall, Jacques & Hay were notable for their employment of Catholics, women, and, at New Lowell, numerous black workers. There seems to be a connection between Jacques & Hay's hiring of black workers and the anti-slavery movement. A letter from a Hay descendant notes that "Robert Hay had been a helper in the underground railroad for escaping slaves and had given them employment in the timber business."⁶² Judging from the lists of employees of the 1850s and 1860s, they may have actively sought out German and French carvers, who might be expected to be well-

⁶⁰ Philip Shackleton, *The Furniture of Old Ontario* (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1973), p. 34. Shackleton is quoting from James Bryce Brown's *Views of Canada* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1851), p. 367.

⁶¹ Ian Radforth, "The Shantymen," in *Labouring Lives: Work and Workers in the Nineteenth-Century Ontario* ed. Paul Craven (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), p. 242. Hay was hopeless at delegation, particularly in making such personal decisions as hiring.

⁶² Karen Leroux, "Making a Claim on the Public Sphere: Toronto Women's Anti-Slavery Activism, 1851-1854," (master's thesis, University of British Columbia, July 1996) provides evidence of the involvement of both Mary Jacques and Mary Hay in this organization. Sheila Smith Private Archives, Toronto, letter from Joanna Richards of Woollahra, Australia to Mrs. McMurtry, Toronto, dated 14 October 1966. Mrs. McMurtry, who was likely also a descendent of Robert Hay, appears to have been compiling a family history.

trained and knowledgeable about European styling.⁶³ These skills were heavily in demand in the second half of the nineteenth century, when fashion generally required the extensive application of hand-carving.⁶⁴ Machines that could undertake some aspects of furniture carving were only slowly adapted in the furniture trade. They were extremely expensive, not very durable, and profitable only in the large scale manufacture of standardized items such as church pews. Such complicated machinery required extensive adjustment by a skilled and thus well-paid technician. The extensive decoration of the Victorian age is often attributed to the development of wood-working machinery, while in fact the ornate furnishings seen on the furniture displayed at the Great Exhibition of London in 1851 largely pre-dated the carving machine. However, machinery did allow the nineteenth-century furniture-maker to amass mouldings and carved details, which, combined with hand-carved elements, could produce numerous fashionable appliques.⁶⁵ As described earlier, these finishing touches took place on Jacques & Hay's factory's fifth floor, where clients could choose floral details to personalize their cabinetry.

Jacques and Hay carefully laid out production activities on their several floors according to the main tasks in the furniture manufacturing process. This organization

⁶³ Of the fourteen men killed or injured in the 15 July fire of 1856, seven had distinctly Germanic names. Cabinet-makers and carvers—a particularly desirable group of European-trained craftsmen—worked on the factory's upper floors from which it had been more difficult to escape. *The Globe* (Toronto), 16 July 1856.

⁶⁴ James Lindsey Hallock, "Woodworking Machinery in Nineteenth-Century America," (master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1978).

⁶⁵ Clive Edwards, "The Mechanization of Carving: The Development of the Carving Machine, Especially in Relation to the Manufacture of Furniture and the

allowed for batch production. Instead of the cabinet-maker's workshop being reorganized and transformed by size, many of the same functions were merely serially reproduced on a much bigger scale.⁶⁶ The organization of the Jacques & Hay factory was appropriate to the fabrication of a wide range of different products rather than the mass production of quantities of the same object. This layout allowed different teams of men to be responsible for discrete aspects of production. This division of labour also reflected fine distinctions of status, with the highest status reserved for the designers and carvers performing the most skilled jobs.⁶⁷ Their work areas had a more rarefied atmosphere and were considerably quieter than the rest of the busy factory.

4 Upward Mobility

The Ipswich cabinet-maker's account of his employment in Toronto also provides us with a valuable clue as to how the employees of Jacques & Hay might use their skills and reasonable pay to achieve a better standard of living. The cabinet-maker refers to building a house with his son. It was not uncommon for skilled mechanics to own their own houses or to invest in rental properties. Gordon Darroch concluded from the first national census returns that 60 per cent of Ontario artisans owned houses, and a further 42 per cent also reported owing two or more town lots.⁶⁸ Coming from hierarchical

Working of Wood," *History of Technology* 20 (1998), pp. 73-102.

⁶⁶ Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners*, p. 129.

⁶⁷ *The Journal of the Board of Arts and Manufactures for Upper Canada*, Vol 4 (July 1864) pp. 193-196; *The Globe* (Toronto) 16 July 1856.

⁶⁸ Gordon Darroch, "Class in Nineteenth-Century, Central Ontario: A

societies where they had been tenants for generations, many immigrants aspired to become house-owners. Being able to live in one's own house had a powerful symbolic meaning.⁶⁹ Many British immigrants arriving on the American continent brought with them the concept of the yeoman, the independent farmer or countryman owning his own dwelling. Carrying great emotional potency, the concept became a cultural force in its own right.⁷⁰ John Jacques invested in both his own home and several rental buildings as soon as he was able to do so.

Besides being able to own their own houses, several Jacques & Hay employees were able to set up their own businesses. Smaller shops may have performed numerous sub-contracting jobs for Jacques & Hay. We know that by the 1880s about 10 to 15 smaller furniture-making factories and workshops clustered around the R. Hay Co.⁷¹ Examination of the employee rolls also indicates that many employees worked for a few

Reassessment of the Crisis and Demise of Small Producers during early Industrialization, 1861-71," *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 13, 1-2 (1988), p. 62; "Scanty Fortunes and Rural Middle-Class Formation in Nineteenth-Century Rural Ontario," *Canadian Historical Review* 79, no. 4 (December 1998), pp. 621-659.

⁶⁹ Gordon Derek and Lee Solow, *Property and Inequality in Victorian Ontario: Structural Patterns and Cultural Communities in the 1871 Census* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), p. 94.

⁷⁰ Witold Rybczynski, a prolific writer on housing, quotes the American architect Jaquelin Robertson referring to the American colonial house as "a secular temple." Rybczynski believes this is an exaggeration, but he still references Robertson's analogy. Witold Rybczynski, *City Life: Urban Expectations in a New World* (Toronto: Harper-Collins, 1995), pp. 81-83.

⁷¹ Gunter Gad, "Location Patterns of Manufacturing: Toronto in the early 1880s," *Urban History Review* 22 (June 1994), p. 120.

years with the company before launching their own smaller enterprises.⁷² For example, a finished table with a painted Quebec scene on its top documents the employment of Ernst, and possibly his more famous brother Cornelius Krieghoff, by Jacques & Hay in the 1850s.⁷³ (Figure 7.) Ernst certainly worked for the company again in the 1860s, then opened his own upholstery shop on Melinda Street, directly behind the upholstery department of the Jacques & Hay King Street showroom, where he had been foreman.⁷⁴ Obviously planning for his future as an independent artisan, Krieghoff had wisely applied for a patent on a complicated spring system for sofas and mattresses.⁷⁵

Patterns of recurring employment suggest that some skilled employees, such as Mark Tooze, who worked for Jacques & Hay in 1863-4 and later for the then Robert Hay and Co. in 1883, might, like Ernst Krieghoff, return to the company for a second period of time.⁷⁶ Such intermittent employment may have provided security to individuals in the

⁷² In the Burrows' case, at least one of the brothers gained independence by purchasing a farm in King, Ontario. <http://www.mts.net/~d Ballard/letters-burrows-main>, consulted 22 April 2008.

⁷³ Evidence indicates that Cornelius and Ernst Krieghoff had worked in Rochester as cabinet-makers-upholsterers, with Cornelius as the more senior partner. Dennis Reid, *Krieghoff: Images of Canada* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1999), p. 49. Cornelius' first art studio was located at the rear of the Jacques & Hay factory. A high-quality table manufactured by Ernst and decorated by Cornelius is currently on display in the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum.

⁷⁴ MacKinnon, pp. 102-103. The Melinda Street address is indicated in *Robertson & Cook's Toronto City Directory for 1870* (Toronto: Robertson & Cook, 1871), p. 111.

⁷⁵ Reid, *Krieghoff: Images of Canada*, p. 273, note 115. Actually Ernst Krieghoff was an extraordinarily thorough man, as he applied for patents in Britain, the United States and Canada.

⁷⁶ MacKinnon, *A Checklist of Toronto Cabinet and Chair Makers*, p. 162.

process of setting up their own businesses, knowing that they were assured of rehiring if they failed. These social and employment patterns may typify the webs of personal contact and interaction present in Toronto at this period. The furniture factory did more than manufacture furniture, but figured in the life-plans of many local craftsmen. In many ways, Jacques & Hay functioned as a modern incubator firm, offering high-quality training and allowing employees to earn money to open their own workshops. As many employees sub-contracted to the company, or were welcomed back if their own workshops failed, the partners kept in touch with them. The path to self-employment must also have allowed Jacques & Hay employees to retain their dignity, knowing that they had both the ability to become their own masters and a long-term assurance of employment.⁷⁷

Robert Kristofferson is convinced that many of the traditions of the old crafts world persisted in nineteenth Hamilton until well into the 1870s.⁷⁸ As many of the new industrialists were former craftsmen, and as many artisans were optimistic about the structure of what he calls “crafts capitalism,” there was a “fundamental continuity in mutualistic aspects” of craft culture.⁷⁹ Kristofferson’s views on the staying power of the

⁷⁷ Desmond Morton and Terry Copp bluntly state in their volume, *Working People: An Illustrated History of the Canadian Labour Movement* (Ottawa: Deneau and Greenberg, 1980), p. 4, that if a working man was not, or did not have the prospect of becoming, an independent farmer, businessman or craftsman, he was a failure.

⁷⁸ Robert Kristofferson, *Craft Capitalism: Craftworkers and Early Industrialization in Hamilton, Ontario: 1840-1872* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), p. 136.

⁷⁹ Kristofferson, *Craft Capitalism*, pp. 241-262.

old craft culture are largely consistent with the spirit of a speech delivered by John A. Macdonald on 9 September 1878 in Montreal. Macdonald's speech had numerous purposes: first it was a careful calculation to win the hearts and vote of the working man, secondly it laid out the basic tenets of the "National Policy," and finally, it introduced Robert Hay as Macdonald's candidate in the upcoming election.⁸⁰ The whole tenor of the address would suggest that aspects of the mutualist craft tradition that Kristofferson refers to were still alive. Macdonald's shameless pitch, drawing on the "rags to riches" aspects of Robert Hay's history, was a denunciation of Yankee guile and a clever casting of Macdonald as the friend of both manufacturers and artisans alike. He referred to Robert Hay, candidate in the political riding of Toronto Centre, as follows:

Robert Hay,... a mechanic himself, the largest furniture manufacturer in the Dominion, has had 200 skilled workmen under him. He was anxious not to dismiss them, and kept them on the spot, notwithstanding the depression, at three quarters and half time. And I have seen the poor men returning from Hay's manufactory, Toronto with heads hanging down in despair... when, at the next door, there were the culls and refuse of the United States market selling for what they could fetch.⁸¹

In general, labour relationships at Jacques & Hay reflect the strong persistence of mutualism as depicted by Kristofferson. While John Jacques was a successful manufacturer and died wealthy, his obituary identified him as a mechanic. It is difficult to see either Jacques or Hay as stereotypically ruthless capitalists, considering that when the last catastrophic fire took place at their factory in 1856 it was hoped that some of the missing workmen would be found attending the upholstery department's afternoon July

⁸⁰ *The Montreal Gazette*, 9 September 1878.

⁸¹ *The Montreal Gazette*, 9 September 1878.

picnic.⁸² It would appear that some of the employees were enjoying themselves on a mid-week work-day on company time. R. Hay & Co. may have had fewer labour difficulties than most, as their employees perhaps understood the advantage of being employed in a well-respected firm; instead of being replaced by machinery, they may have appreciated its labour-saving aspects and studied its application for possible use when running their own shops. Labour relationships within Jacques & Hay seem to have been reasonably harmonious, until the first test of management-labour conflict, the growing agitation for a shorter working day in 1872.

Although Hay and his then-partners shared the same background as their workers, they remained businessmen having mutual interests with other Toronto employers. A review of the press of the period gives some insight into the company's efforts to preserve the harmony of the factory.⁸³ In contrast to shoemakers, most cabinet-makers were not readily replaced by machinery. Serious shortages of skilled wood-workers meant that any unhappy craftsmen had considerable opportunity for employment and advancement elsewhere, usually in the United States. So when striking printers called on other skilled working men to lend support to their action, Robert Hay and his then-partners must have been conflicted on their best course of action. On one hand they may have worried about losing key employees and marring a history of labour peace, but on the other hand they wished to remain united with the employers led by the vehemently anti-union George Brown. Robert Hay took his role as an early Canadian manufacturer

⁸² *The Globe* (Toronto), 16 July 1856.

⁸³ John Battye, "The Nine Hour Pioneers: The Genesis of the Canadian Labour Movement," *Labour/Le Travail*, 4 (1979), pp. 25-56.

very seriously and was in close contact with other local employers. As the company matured, he was increasingly active in such organizations as the Association for Promotion of Canadian Industry, and its 1870s successor, the Manufacturers' Association of Ontario, where he took part in executive committee activity.⁸⁴

The principal union organizer in the Jacques & Hay factory was a charismatic employee by the name of Richard Nye. He appears to have possessed extraordinary organizational and public speaking skills. In a short time he recruited a number of R. Hay & Co. employees into a loose union, which actively participated in a parade and giant labour rally in Queen's Park on 14 April 1872. For these efforts Nye was promptly fired, and although he noted this in a public speech, interestingly enough he did not seem particularly bitter.⁸⁵ Nye vanished as quickly as he emerged, and there are no references to his being resident in the Toronto city directories from 1871 to 1874. Later unionizing attempts in R. Hay & Co. appeared to have been episodic. It is unclear however whether this is indicative of good labour-management relations within the company, of disorganization within the ranks of the Canadian labour movement of the period, or of the firm's ability to thwart union activists. The depression of the 1870s further undermined labour activity in Toronto with wide-spread unemployment and declining incomes. By

⁸⁴ Isaac Buchanan, *Relations of the Industry of Canada with the Mother Country and the United States* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1864), p. 493 indicates that Hay served on the Executive of the Association; Manufacturers' Association of Ontario, "Proceedings of a Special Meeting...1875" (Toronto: Bell & Co 1876), pp. 2-4.

⁸⁵ *The Ontario Workman* (Toronto), 25 April 1872.

1882 Hay could plainly report before a House of Commons Select Committee that “We have no strike at our place.”⁸⁶

B. Influence

Owing to the large numbers of employees that passed through the Jacques & Hay factory, the firm had a major impact on the furniture and wood-working industry in Canada. A local newspaper, the *Sun*, published in Orangeville, provides an important clue concerning the company’s sustained influence. It commented on the opening of the Tunstall’s Cabinet Shop, operated by the two Tunstall brothers who had “served their time” as apprentices with Jacques & Hay, “the most celebrated cabinet factory in Canada, if not in America.” The newspaper article made laudatory comments about the town’s acquisition of such first-class mechanics, and it also observed that the Messrs. Tunstalls’ shop contained many ingenious machines “of their own manufacture.”⁸⁷ While this last statement is possibly an exaggeration, it indicates that the Tunstalls had been well-trained in the use of current wood-making machinery and this, and their impressive apprenticeships, were considered demonstrative of skill and reliability. The opening of a general cabinet-making shop validated the belief that a Jacques & Hay apprenticeship still enabled a craftsman to have the traditional competences to run his own shop as master. It is also reasonable to assume that Tunstalls’ furniture resembled that of Jacques

⁸⁶ Robert Hay, “Testimony,” 23 April 1882, *Report of the House of Commons Select Committee...to Enquire into the Operation of the Tariff on the Agricultural Interests of the Dominion*, (Ottawa: Roger MacLean, 1883), p. 576.

⁸⁷ Townsend, *Orangeville: The Heart of Dufferin County*, p. 64.

& Hay, as this styling would be the height of fashion, at least in Orangeville, and the brothers were already versed in crafting these designs.⁸⁸

Former Jacques & Hay apprentices like William McCormack and John Mowat seem to recall with considerable gratitude their thorough training at the factory, and most contemporary authors speak with wonder of the positive labour-saving aspects of early forms of mechanization. However, the extensive training that McCormack and Mowat received might also be regarded as an elaborate process of subjugation, inculcating the discipline required by a mechanized workplace, governed by the pace of the machine and the time-keeper. The organized and layered factory, visible from the central control point where lumber and goods ascended and descended the central lifts, may be seen as an embodiment of Michel Foucault's vision of the controlling "panoptic eye."⁸⁹ Men were spared the back-breaking labour of cutting and shaping board lumber, but in return had to embrace a life of sobriety, self-control, regimentation and routine. Internalizing the necessity of keeping pace with the machine—however rudimentary—they lost the inherent freedom of the old crafts world.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Townsend, p. 64.

⁸⁹ Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), pp. 195-228.

⁹⁰ Apparently the former Jacques & Hay-trained apprentice John Mowat struggled to stop the employees of Mitchell & Rammelsberg of Cincinnati from drinking on the job. See "Editorial," *The Furniture Manufacturer and Artisan* (May 1911), p. 225. There is no record of alcohol being a problem at Jacques & Hay.

Still, the particular compensation offered by the Jacques & Hay factory was that valuable experience in a well-known and respected operation upgraded the skills of those who worked there, and provided numerous options for either advancement in the firm or self-employment. Rather than simply exploiting workers for the surplus value of their labour, Jacques & Hay also taught them skills that would in the end increase their income and social standing. The skilled cabinet-makers of Toronto seem to have had a positive view of themselves and their place in the community. Certainly, those employees that attended with Robert Hay a public meeting to discuss the threat posed by a possible Fenian invasion and later formed a “Mechanics’ Militia,” were described by George Brown as the “bone and sinew” of the City.⁹¹ The sheer numbers that gathered at the funerals of first Jacques, and then Hay, implies that they accompanied their old employers to their gravesides.

III. The New Lowell Mills

A. Introduction

In an effort to trace the origins of the community, the public library in New Lowell has currently on display a hand-drawn map, locating key structures in the village’s history. Several New Lowell buildings were constructed by, or associated with, Jacques & Hay: a sawmill, furniture factory, flour mill, hair-cloth factory, blacksmith

⁹¹ *The Globe* (Toronto), 14 February 1862. The public meeting at the Toronto Mechanics’ Institute recommended the formation of a battalion of mechanics and engineers. This militia, under the leadership of Fred Cumberland as lieutenant-colonel,

shop, hotel, general store, church, and a school. All these workshops, stores and public amenities would suggest that the firm was careful in planning this community and was operating with a long-range strategy, involving both a commercial and social agenda. Jacques & Hay's experience in New Lowell has been cited by Ian Ranforth as a remarkable business failure. Certainly, it had quixotic aspects and Robert Hay, for good or ill, chose to staff the mills at New Lowell with his Paton relatives. However, the establishment of the company mills at New Lowell also displayed considerable forward thinking. It was highly successful for taking full advantage of the Northern Railway's routing, but failed—through no fault of its own, other than optimism—to benefit from a proposed canal link. While Radforth was correct and it is likely Hay could never come to grips with the fact that the Patons were not up to the job, many of their frequent failures to satisfy a demanding Hay were symptomatic of the demands for extreme flexibility in production. Often the mill was taxed with precise requirements for various dimensions and species of wood to meet the requirements of a small and idiosyncratic market. The problems were probably further exacerbated by the variability of wood itself and the problems of drying it, without controlled kiln-dryers. Ingrained in customary business practice, Hay could not rid himself of his emotional attachment to his relatives, and his enjoyment of New Lowell as a country retreat for himself and his family outweighed more practical decision-making.

B. The New Lowell Factory

became the 10th Battalion Volunteer Militia Rifles, later the Tenth Royal Grenadiers.

The arrival of the railroad in 1853 changed the commercial environment in Toronto, and was the catalyst for the partners' investment in a sawmill at New Lowell. Eventually the railway would supply the raw materials for manufacturing, and facilitate the delivery of the manufactured product to consumers. In contrast to other modes of transportation such as the steamer, the rail system could pick up and deliver all year round.⁹² Recognizing the possibilities of this breakthrough, Jacques and Hay embarked on an ambitious program of expansion. Involved in several transportation-related projects, the partners were active in promoting public funding for what would become the Northern Railway.⁹³ In 1854, anticipating the route of the railway, Jacques and Hay in 1854 both made a significant investment in the forest lands of Simcoe County, slightly to the west of Barrie, Ontario, and forty-five miles north of Toronto, in order to open a saw-milling operation along this future transportation route. This was a bold move, making a sophisticated use of resources. Jacques & Hay contracted with William Gibbard, the Provincial Land Surveyor, to estimate the usable timber resources of pine, basswood, elm, ash, maple, birch and beech on their chosen parcel of land. The flat terrain beneath the substantial tree cover was also reported to be good for agriculture, and Hay would

⁹² Gerald Tulchinsky, "Transportation Changes in the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes Region, 1828-1869," in *Readings in Canadian History: Pre-Confederation*, ed. R. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith, 3rd ed. (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1990), p. 371.

⁹³ *The Globe* (Toronto) 14 September 1850. Initially called the Ontario, Simcoe and Huron Railway, this line was opened on 1 January 1855 and ran between Toronto, Barrie and Collingwood. In 1858, the railway was renamed the Northern Line, and for simplicity it will be referred to by that title. Sawn lumber accounted for almost 95% of the revenue of the Northern Railway. John Craig, *Simcoe County: The Recent Past* (Midhurst, Ontario: Corporation of the County of Simcoe, 1977), p. 43.

later plant large crops of potatoes and raise prize cattle and horses on the cleared lands.⁹⁴ Scientifically-minded Upper Canadians were very enthusiastic about such inventories of natural resources, believing that progress was encouraged by quantification and the statistical accumulation of data.⁹⁵

C. Paternalism

The planned development in Simcoe Country did not call for just a sawmill. The industrial complex, named New Lowell in honour of earlier planned manufacturing communities in the United States and Britain, was to include a sawmill, a horse-hair factory, a flour mill, and a wood-working shop, as well as a planned village for the workers.⁹⁶ The strategy was to have the mill produce much of the country furniture in demand by pioneering and immigrant families, while the main factory in Toronto would continue with the longer manufacturing runs producing school furniture and the fine

⁹⁴ Adelaide Leitch, *The Visible Past: A Pictorial History of Simcoe County* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1967), p. 7. Leitch attributes this good soil quality to as being left by “ancient aquatic debris.” Modern documents also indicate that elements of a Carolinian forest can still be found in this region. Judging also by the abundant flora and fauna currently found near New Lowell, one can understand Robert Hay’s inclination to treat his establishment here as a summer retreat for family and ailing friends. See Research Document 34: Minesing Swamp, www.wetlands.org/report/ris, consulted 8 April 2008.

⁹⁵ Suzanne Zeller, *Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), pp. 3-5.

⁹⁶ Hay apparently had planned for the mill to be powered by the water of the adjacent stream. However, when the Toronto factory burned down in December 1854, the salvaged steam boiler was transferred to New Lowell and production continued for some types of furniture while the Toronto mill was rebuilt. Pollin, “The Jacques and Hay Furniture Company,” pp. 19-20.

cabinetry intended for prosperous homes springing up in Toronto residential districts. This bifurcation of the Jacques & Hay operations aimed to ensure the company's survival by being close to the required raw materials needed for furniture-making and keeping a large workforce and extensive factory busy. Profiting from the 1854 Reciprocity Agreement with the United States, the New Lowell sawmill also shipped millions of board feet of lumber duty-free to Chicago and Troy (New York), as well as to Toronto.⁹⁷ In slack periods, the Simcoe mill turned out broom handles, bobbins for textile manufacturing, clothes pins, ladders, building lathes, tobacco boxes, packing crates, and paving blocks for roadways. It also produced ties, fences, bridge timber and firewood for the railway, and haircloth for furniture covering and mattress filling. Vast quantities of timber were used as railway ties for the Ontario railway system, and public documents suggest that the firm undertook the construction of at least one railway station.⁹⁸ Probably at the height of its production the mill could produce up to 226,000 furniture parts in a three-month period.⁹⁹ Like other early manufacturers, Jacques & Hay had imported many parts from the United States before the completion of the mill at New Lowell; now they could supply parts to other cabinet-makers in the region.¹⁰⁰ Such mass-produced wooden

⁹⁷ Pollin, "John Jacques"; "Robert Hay," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, pp. 390-391, 448-449; Cathcart, *Jacques & Hay*, p. 16; W. John McIntyre, "Chairs and Chairmaking in Upper Canada," (master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1975), p. 60.

⁹⁸ *Journal of the Legislative Council of the Province of Canada*, Appendix (No.10), 1858, Statement No. 6, under heading "Stations".

⁹⁹ McIntyre, "Chairs and Chairmaking in Upper Canada," p. 68.

¹⁰⁰ McIntyre, p. 54; Robert Hay, "Select Committee on the Extent and Condition of Manufacturing Interests of the Dominion of Canada Appendix" *Journal of the House of Commons*, Ottawa (Appendix III), 1874, pp. 46-48. Jacques & Hay continued to import parts from Rochester and Burlington, Vermont when it suited their purpose.

components were shipped in compact knocked-down form. Received by local chair framers, these parts could be assembled into final form on site.¹⁰¹

The partners' highest ambitions for both patronage and profit are revealed in the development of this community, which had both a money-making and a social reformist agenda. The partners may have been inspired by a desire to increase their status as employers and community patrons, and, at the same time, serve a broader utopian purpose. Both Jacques and Hay made large land purchases in their own respective names in the area, acquiring a total of 1600 acres with significant later additions.¹⁰² They set up their fledgling community on the edge of a fast-running stream, which they planned to use to power the saw mill which provided the necessary building material; they then carefully laid out a grid of streets with typically Victorian names such as Elgin, Nelson, Victoria, Wellington, and Peel.¹⁰³ The company also employed black labour as axemen,

Simcoe County Archives, JHA, Robert Hay letter 30 June 1857.

¹⁰¹ One of the American pioneers in the development of chair parts was Lambert Hitchcock who established a factory in Barkhamsted, Connecticut to mass produce fancy chairs. While few of Hitchcock's chair parts may have actually made their way to Canada, he was the inspiration for other producers to ship their furniture, packed as component parts, further afield. Minhinnick, *At Home in Upper Canada*, p. 190.

¹⁰² Property acquisitions from the Crown are contained in the Ontario Archives, "Computer Land Records Index," "Abstract to Index of Deeds," mfm GS 5511-13; Kathy McCleary "Canadian Country Furniture: Inch by Inch," *The Upper Canadian*, September/October 1992, pp. 18-19; November/December 1992, pp. 27-28 indicates that a total of 2,000 acres were purchased. The *Dominion Illustrated News* reported on Hay's death that he owned 2500 acres of woodland with his nephew Robert Patton. 2 August 1890.

¹⁰³ Library and Archives Canada, RG 30M 77803/10, "Plan of the Village of New Lowell, The Property of Jacques, Hay & Co., Surveyed by William Gibbard, 1857."

teamsters and hair-spinners, and a total of twenty-five black families made their homes in the area.¹⁰⁴

There were certainly Scottish precedents for such experiments, usually organized around textile manufacturing.¹⁰⁵ The fact that Jacques & Hay called this new community “New Lowell” suggests that they were inspired by either Lowell in Massachusetts or perhaps New Lanark, the experimental community developed by Robert Owen in Scotland.¹⁰⁶ The textile factory mill, created by the Boston Manufacturing Company in Lowell, Massachusetts, was also an integrated industrial operation, and there is evidence, obscurely contained in an early history of the origins of names of Ontario post offices, that one or both partners travelled there.¹⁰⁷ This remark is casually included in the text

104

http://www.waymarking.com/waymarks/WM4XCQ_Bethel_Union_Cemetery_Township_of_Clearview_Ontario_Canada, consulted 6 May 2010.

¹⁰⁵ D. C. Lockhart, “Planned Village Development in Scotland and Ireland, 1700-1850,” in *Ireland and Scotland, 1600-1850*, ed. Thomas Martin Devine and David Dickson (Edinburgh: Humanities Press International, 1983), pp. 132-145. A similar experiment took place in Streetsville, Ontario where the Toronto Woollen Mills Co. laid out a community and built workers’ cottages. It slightly predated the Jacques & Hay experiment. Peter Ennals and Deryck Holdsworth, *Homeplace: The Making of the Canadian Dwelling Over Three Centuries* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), p. 230.

¹⁰⁶ W. John McIntyre, in his essay “From Workshop to Factory: The Furniture Maker,” *Material History Review* no. 19, pp. 25-37, seems to have been the only historian who effectively linked the Jacques & Hay experience at New Lowell with other model worker towns. Lowell was something of a tourist attraction, and was visited by luminaries such as Charles Dickens. See Charles Dickens, *American Notes for General Circulation*, Vol. 1 (London: Chapman & Co., 1842), pp. 152-163.

¹⁰⁷ David Williams, “The Origin of the Names of the Post Offices in Simcoe County,” *Ontario History* 7 (1906), p. 225. Williams tells us that, “In 1858 Jacques, Hay & Co. built a turning factory at the place. To purchase machinery for this, three men were sent to Lowell, Mass. These were so taken with the New England town that they decided to perpetuate its name by giving it to their new home in Ontario, believing it was the

and not footnoted, but considering the article was written in 1906, the author may have been drawing on local memory that gives it some credence. The original Lowell mill spun, wove, dyed, fulled, and bleached. They also originally provided supervised boarding houses for their large workforce of young New England rural women. These operatives were expected to live respectable lives and attend church. This tight social control eventually broke down when the mills cut wages and replaced the New England women with Irish immigrant workers. The Lowell operation did share a characteristic with New Lowell; it was in a rural setting surrounded by farm-land. Both mills thus provided a healthy setting, far from congested urban slums, where their employees could alternate between mill-work and agriculture as they chose.¹⁰⁸ It is remarkable that in the depth of the Upper Canadian forest, two provincial businessmen would try to replicate paternalistic experiments from the United States and perhaps Europe; further testimony that Canadians were well-informed of prevailing social trends despite distance

New Lowell boasted such amenities as a general store, a post office, a church, a school, a tavern and a boarding house.¹⁰⁹ The village was not intended to be reserved for their employees only and Jacques & Hay advertised for small investors and independent artisans to settle in New Lowell. In an effort to develop the village, they were hoping to attract individuals who would purchase the already constructed housing and find work at

nucleus of another Lowell.”

¹⁰⁸ Ruth Schwartz Cowan, *A Social History of American Technology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 86-89.

¹⁰⁹ Even a prohibitionist like Robert Hay acknowledged that the men that worked the forestry frequently liked to drink, and New Lowell was provided with a tavern.

the mill, or set up their own businesses.¹¹⁰ Existing and new employees were induced—by a variety of means—to take up residence in the new community and by 1870 there were 56 men employed at the sawmill.¹¹¹ Unfortunately, the community of New Lowell never realized the dreams of the partners, as it was always difficult to attract labour to this rural environment. On the other hand, the timing of the New Lowell expansion was fortunate on two counts. First, the mill continued to operate when the Jacques & Hay factory on Toronto waterfront was burnt out in 1854 and 1856, and second, this expansion took place when many Upper Canadian families had more money available for consumption, owing to the rapid rise in the price of wheat during the Crimean War, 1853-1856.¹¹² During this period of prosperity many local families were able to afford new frame houses and farms.¹¹³ In addition, orders for sawn timber in the US were at a peak and New Lowell allowed Jacques & Hay to meet this demand.

D. Relatives and Agents

¹¹⁰ *The Globe* (Toronto) 21 November 1855; 21 July 1858.

¹¹¹ McCleary, “Canadian Country Furniture: Inch by Inch,” p. 28.

¹¹² Tulchinsky, “Transportation Changes in the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes Region, 1828-1869,” p. 374.

¹¹³ John I. Rempel, in *Building with Wood and Other Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Building in Central Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), p. 36, has a dramatic photo showing a brick veneer placed on an early log cabin. Such improvements were common during the 1850s as a result of increased farm income during the Crimean War.

More than a thousand letters discovered in the New Lowell General Store at New Lowell reveal that Robert Hay acted as his own human resources manager. Hay appears to have been idiosyncratic in his personnel decisions. While on occasion he could muster a degree of ruthlessness, at other times he was hopelessly involved in his employees' lives, sitting up with them through illness, and finding accommodation in Toronto so they could be treated by city doctors or at the hospital.¹¹⁴ Decisions were deeply personal, as friends and relatives leaned on him for employment. As was common at the time, Hay had appointed his brother-in-law Peter Patton and his two sons as managers of the sawmill and facilities at New Lowell. The Pattons were also co-investors. Ian Radforth has made extensive use of the Jacques & Hay archive to analyse how a seemingly successful nineteenth-century company attempted to manage a branch operation from a distance.¹¹⁵ He argues that Hay failed because he staffed his mill with incompetent relatives. Hay could not make the transition from a traditional master craftsman with direct charge of employees and a haphazard approach to organization, to that of the more diversified manufacturer, running a complex organization.

It may have been particularly difficult for Hay to adopt a more modern business model, as he had no need to organize long-distance arrangements before the opening of the New Lowell facilities. Despite his continued frustration with his brother-in-law's management, Hay tried his hardest to find solutions. He sent patterns of the furniture

¹¹⁴ Simcoe County Archives, JHA, Letters from Robert Hay, 5 May 1860; 15 September 1864.

¹¹⁵ Ian Radforth, "Confronting Distance: Managing Jacques and Hay's New Lowell Operation, 1853-73," *Canadian Papers in Business History* 1 (1995), pp. 75-100.

being constructed to be hung up in the mill workshop for constant reference and to eliminate confusion.¹¹⁶ He had the various furniture components numbered so they could be readily sent to Toronto for assembly and finishing.¹¹⁷ As Hay tried to simplify operations at New Lowell and to reduce local decision-making, he was continually stymied by his brother-in-law and his nephews' seeming obstinacy in repeatedly overfilling railway cars and alienating customers. It is also likely that Hay's relatives, who ran not only the sawmill but also the company store, resented Hay's micro-management. On the other hand, they had a talent for sloppy workmanship, poor accounting, incompetent packing, and poor salesmanship. However, whatever the Pattons cost the company in terms of lost business and delay, Hay's obligations to his relatives trumped other considerations.¹¹⁸ "Customary" business practice was more important than more rational calculations of profit and loss.

Ian Radforth and the earlier unpublished work by Stanley Pollin have considered Hay's difficulty with his recalcitrant relatives from a business point of view.¹¹⁹ Business relations were intensely personal during the middle of the nineteenth century and the

¹¹⁶ Simcoe County Archives, JHA, Robert Hay letter, 18 March 1854.

¹¹⁷ JHA, Robert Hay letter 16 March 1857; W. John McIntyre, "Arms Across the Border: Trade in Chairs and Chairs Parts between the United States and Upper Canada," in *Furniture in Victorian America*, ed. Kenneth L. Ames (Philadelphia: Victorian Society in America, 1983), p. 62; Cathcart, *Jacques & Hay*, p. 16; McIntyre, "From Workshop to Factory," p. 32.

¹¹⁸ Lamoreaux, "Rethinking the Transition to Capitalism in the Early American Northeast," pp. 455-459.

¹¹⁹ Pollin, "The Jacques & Hay Furniture Company." In "Confronting Distance," Radforth borrowed heavily from Pollin's conclusions.

notion that they should be governed solely by profit would probably have been disturbing. The Pattons were bound to Hay by kinship, and as such were among the few individuals in the trade to whom Hay could confide his considerable worries.¹²⁰ John Jacques, characteristically and wisely, steered clear of the conflict with the Pattons. After Jacques' retirement in 1870, Hay's new partners were not as patient, but by this point the business culture had changed and commercial relations were no longer so exclusively based on personal loyalty and intimacy.

In developing the forest property and mill in Simcoe County, Jacques & Hay had adopted a complicated agenda. They could merely have sought timber-cutting rights through crown leases, but chose instead to pursue a more permanent investment in the region, with a program of tree replanting as well as the development of agricultural land. When Robert Hay testified before an Ontario Agricultural Commission in the 1880s, he regretted the destruction of so many profitable species of wood that had occurred in the earlier fifty years and strongly urged replanting for market reasons.¹²¹ There is also a belief among Hay descendants that Robert Hay planted walnut trees on his properties in Simcoe County in the full knowledge that he personally would never enjoy their benefit.¹²² Despite the gruff tone of his letters and his considerable business drive, Hay

¹²⁰ JHA, Letters to New Lowell, 3 February 1864 and 7 February 1864. Hay shares his anxiety about his daughter's ["little Annie"] case of scarlet fever.

¹²¹ "Evidence of Mr. Hay, M. P.," *Ontario Agricultural Commission, Report of the Commissioners* (Toronto: C. Blackett Robinson, 1881), vol. II, p. 162. The Commission was organized to analyse Ontario agricultural and forestry resources.

¹²² Communicated to Denise Jacques by Dr. Laura Brandon, descendant of Robert

was concerned about the future of the Canadian forest and the long-term viability of various wood species, particularly his beloved black walnut which “grows best in a climate such as that of Michigan or Canada.”¹²³ A strong advocate of forest replanting, Hay remarked that it “is a shame to see our valuable wood cut down and wasted as it is and has been.” Characteristically, he argued from a financial point of view that “there is an immense amount of money to made from second growth timber...” and that new forests “should be replanted on the prairies....”¹²⁴

Jacques & Hay were not the only ones trying to benefit from the arrival of rail transportation in the Upper Canadian countryside. Like Jacques and Hay at New Lowell, George Brown acquired extensive lands in Lambton County, in the south west of Ontario and just south of Lake Huron, and both Brown and Jacques and Hay appeared to have had the same plans for their respective communities. As the similarities are striking, they must have shared ideas, and it is likely that more than one of Toronto’s prominent figures had dreams of hinterland development. Anticipating the new Great Western Railway route, Brown acquired a substantial acreage in the early 1850s in the village of Bothwell. Acting very much as the “Laird of Bothwell,” as his biographer Maurice Careless called him, Brown sold farm and town lots, developed roads and mills, cut lumber, and built a

Hay, May 2007.

¹²³ “Evidence of Mr. Hay, M. P.,” *Ontario Agricultural Commission*, p. 161.

¹²⁴ “Evidence of Mr. Hay, M. P.,” p. 163.

cabinet factory. After the discovery of oil on the property, Brown sold his Bothwell properties to an oil syndicate in 1865 for \$275,000, which made him a wealthy man.¹²⁵

Jacques & Hay did not have the luck of finding oil on their property. They were also wrong in their expectation that a canal would be built from the mouth of the Nottawasaga River on Georgian Bay, through Lakes Simcoe and Ontario to connect Toronto with the St. Lawrence River.¹²⁶ This development—which would have reduced the passage from Chicago by 400 miles—would have enhanced the value of the New Lowell community and further reduced transportation costs for shipping large volumes of sawn wood and furniture parts.¹²⁷ The proposed canal was part of a grand design to place Toronto at the centre of a transportation network. Several city leaders were caught up in this enthusiasm and, along with other members of the Toronto Board of Trade, Robert Hay was active in a campaign to create the passageway the *New York Times* described as “a channel of conveyances for the products of the Great West that cannot be rivaled.”¹²⁸ Ultimately the canal, involving a total of 78 locks, was too ambitious, especially for governments already over-expended in the construction of railway and other canals. The

¹²⁵ J. M. S. Careless, “George Brown,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, <http://www.biographi.ca>, consulted 15 February 2010.

¹²⁶ G. H. Stanford, *To Serve the Community: The Story of Toronto’s Board of Trade* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), pp. 14-16; *The New York Times*, 27 July 1855.

¹²⁷ Mark Osbaldeston, *Unbuilt Toronto: A History of the City that Might Have Been* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2008), pp. 107-108.

¹²⁸ *The New York Times*, 30 November 1855.

grand plan faded from public attention, although it was revived in a different context almost a hundred years later.¹²⁹

In his retirement Robert Hay considerably developed his New Lowell farm, which he was known to refer to as “his estate.”¹³⁰ In contrast, in retirement John Jacques seemed more pre-occupied by his investments, but he always had a talent for real estate and other capitalistic ventures. These small vanities do not reduce the partners’ accomplishment in creating their minor empire. In constructing their factory, persisting with apprenticeship, avoiding strikes, and building their model village, they used considerable vision, planning, and an element of philanthropy. The proof is that New Lowell still benefits from this early planning. The Hay-endowed church, now the New Lowell United Church, still functions, the replacement for Jacques & Hay’s earlier school is now a public library, and at least some of the old mill site is a nature reserve. The descendants of the black refugees that Jacques & Hay employed have recently restored the cemetery that shelters the bones of both black and white settlers, and former Jacques & Hay employees.

¹²⁹ Stanford, *To Serve the Community*, pp. 15-16. Hay had a predilection for transportation projects and was elected a director of the Credit Valley Railway in 1875. See, “Robert Hay,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, <http://www.biographi.ca>, p. 449, consulted 6 June 2010; *The Leader* (Toronto), 13 February 1871.

¹³⁰ Radforth, “Confronting Distance,” p. 84. When Hay’s executors liquidated some of the Simcoe County farm it comprised more than 800 acres, a herd of Angus cattle, pedigree sheep, prize horses, a flour mill, and a general store. See *Toronto Daily Mail*, 26 September 1891.

Chapter Four

Schumpeterian Entrepreneurs?

Jacques and Hay's contemporaries viewed them as agents of progress. The influential Austrian economist Joseph Schumpeter identified entrepreneurs as the true instigators of economic progress—and his very specific definition of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship fits Jacques & Hay and their business activities to a significant degree.¹ In *The Theory of Economic Development* Schumpeter provides one of the first theoretical frameworks for the study of the entrepreneur as an important player in business life. He defines the entrepreneur as the spark of economic progress.² In the drama of economic life, the entrepreneur is the commercial protagonist capable of breaking free from old traditions; he is not driven by the desire to become rich, but rather to found a personal kingdom; he is not an inventor, as he commercializes other people's inventions; he is not a capitalist, as he uses other people's money.³ In short, the entrepreneur's key traits are the

¹ Joseph Schumpeter is currently the hero of much of the commercial press. In an article in the *Scotsman* (Edinburgh), Bill Jamieson credits Schumpeter with introducing the word “entrepreneur” into the study of economies. See “After Bust Follows Booms—Yes, Even This Time,” *Scotsman*, 15 January 2010.

² Joseph Schumpeter, *Theory of Economic Development: An Inquiry into Profits, Capital, Credit, Interest, and the Business Cycle* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 137. Originally published in German 1911; and Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy* (London; New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 132.

³ Mark Casson and Andrew Godley, “Entrepreneurship and Historical Explanation,” in *Entrepreneurship in Theory and History*, ed. Yousell Cassis and Ioanna Pepelasis Minoglou (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 27. Schumpeter believed that Marx has failed to appreciate the sharp distinction between the function of the entrepreneur and the role of the capitalist. Thomas K. McGraw, *Prophet of Innovation:*

ability to innovate and will power; his contribution to business success may be technical or managerial.⁴ In the long-term a society benefits from the entrepreneur's energy and creativity in a process that Schumpeter called "creative destruction." He suggested that this is the life force of a functioning capitalistic system as it successfully promotes change, eliminates out-dated firms and introduces new products.⁵ While Schumpeter formulated his theory stressing the importance of the entrepreneur as early as 1911, he would repeatedly revisit this theme, using different approaches and drawing on psychology and sociology, as well as economic theory.⁶ Schumpeter saw the entrepreneur as one who creates new industries and affects great changes in economical life. By articulating these criteria, Schumpeter provided the first theoretical framework to study entrepreneurship, and sets the tone for subsequent work in this field.⁷

Joseph Schumpeter and Creative Destruction (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007), p. 349.

⁴ Howard H. Stevenson and J. Carlos Jarillo "Entrepreneurship: Concepts, Theory, and Perspective," in *Entrepreneurship: Concepts, Theory and Perspective*, ed. Álvaro Cuervo, Domingo Ribeiro, and Salvador Roi (New York: Springer, 2007), p. 166.

⁵ Youssef Cassis and Ioanna Pepelasis Minoglou, "Entrepreneurship in Theory and History: State of the Art and New Perspective," in *Entrepreneurship in Theory and History*, p. 5.

⁶ Joseph A. Schumpeter, "Entrepreneurship as Innovation," in *Entrepreneurship: The Social Science View*, ed. Richard Swedberg, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 51-75. Thomas K. McCraw believes that the emphasis on the personal psychology of the entrepreneur was unusual for an economist. See Thomas K. McCraw, "What Leads a Person to Start A Company?" *Inc. Magazine* 29, Issue 8 (August 2007), p. 73.

⁷ Schumpeter, "Entrepreneurship as Innovation," in Swedberg, *Entrepreneurship: The Social Science View*, pp. 51-75; Cassis and Minoglou, "Entrepreneurship in Theory and History," pp. 5-6, 10.

Schumpeter identified five key characteristics of entrepreneurship. These include: the introduction of a new good in a given market; the introduction of a new means of production; the opening of a new market; the conquest of new sources of supply; and the creation of a new organizational model for an industry.⁸ Success in any one of these requirements would qualify an individual as an entrepreneur. Some achieved several; Jacques & Hay Co. displayed most. They introduced a new type of consumer goods to the Upper Canadian market in the form of inexpensive machine-made furniture; they pioneered a new means of manufacturing—at least in the Canadian context—by using steam energy and batch production; they opened new markets by supplying customers via the railway and by means of numerous sub-agents; and they invested in forest lands made accessible by the railway and later re-developed for agriculture.⁹ Jacques & Hay did not share Schumpeter’s last characteristic, the ability to create a new form of organization within an industry, as the firm likely borrowed heavily from existing American models, but it did introduce this organization to Canada. The company also did not stray from the model of a traditional nineteenth-century partnership, although a thirty-five year partnership was a considerable achievement.

All of Jacques & Hay’s production capacity and their manufacturing expertise on the supply side of manufacturing would have been meaningless if there had been no ready market for their furniture. Jacques & Hay proved apt at meeting the demands and

⁸ Casson and Godley, “Entrepreneurship and Historical Explanation,” p. 52.

⁹ It can be argued that the large-scale manufacture of chair parts by American firms was an earlier example of mass production, but the parts were often incorporated into Canadian chair frames and this early trade in “knock-down” components was limited to that one specific sector.

needs of their customers. There was almost no project, large or small, that they would not pursue if it would further ingratiate them with important decision-makers. By chasing such high-status projects as the Prince of Wales' furniture for the 1860 Royal Visit and furnishings of both the vice-regal residences of Rideau Hall and Government House, in Toronto, the company convinced elite customers that they were not only the largest furniture company in Canada, but the most stylish. By placing their cabinetry at prominent public exhibitions, a new form of entertainment and information and where the Jacques & Hay articles displayed frequently won prizes, the company conveyed the impression that in addition to being stylish, they were modern and progressive. The company's owners had an instinctive understanding of the "multiplier effect" by which a series of high profile sales to public buildings, hotels and steamships kept their name before the individuals who would take the crucial decisions relating to a steady-stream of public contracts.

Jacques & Hay's business strategies display an uncanny resemblance to those used by another early purveyor of consumer goods—another Schumpeterian entrepreneur and brilliant marketer—Josiah Wedgwood. Coming from a family of potters, Wedgwood was an undoubted master of innovation in developing new means to manufacture desirable goods and foster buyer-demand. Wedgwood began manufacturing at a particular productive period of British potting when techniques producing substitutes for imported Chinese porcelain had already been developed, and local craftsmen could produce fine, cream-coloured earthenware which was strong enough to withstand boiling water and good for the brewing and drinking of tea. The growing fashion for drinking the new consumable and stimulant beverages (tea, coffee and hot chocolate) that had begun

in the seventeenth century as pastime of the affluent had now spread to more middle-class consumers and inspired a passion for the articles involved in their preparation and serving.

Wedgwood proved to be particularly able at meeting this new market. He employed steam energy and carefully planned divisions of labour and more effective workplace organization to turn out excellent and consistent products, often at modest prices.¹⁰ However, it was in the promotion of his products that he really demonstrated genius. Wedgwood used modern marketing techniques in strategic and sustained campaigns; these often involved storeroom display, chains of sales and distribution points, market segmentation, brand-name development, and loss-leader-sales. To capture public attention, he used innovative techniques such as royal patronage or the public exhibition of his copy of the Portland Vase, an artistic tour de force, to build enthusiasm for this new range of china products.¹¹ Customers visiting his handsome London showroom could choose their china from catalogues detailing different forms and decorations, and select personalized combinations of design features to suit their

¹⁰ Nancy F. Koehn “Josiah Wedgwood and the First Industrial Revolution,” in, *Creating Modern Capitalism: How Entrepreneurs, Companies, and Countries and Countries Triumphed in Three Industrial Revolutions*, ed. Thomas K. McCraw (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), p. 37.

¹¹ McCraw, “Introduction,” *Creating Modern Capitalism*, p. 16. The Portland Vase was an original Roman cameo-glass vase lent by the Duke of Portland to Josiah Wedgwood for copying. After much experimentation, Wedgwood in 1789 produced the first of a series of successful copies, probably the summit of his craftsmanship. See the Wedgwood Museum, “The Portland Vase,” www.wedgwoodmuseum.org.uk/learning/discovery, consulted 6 May 2010.

individual style.¹² Wedgwood was particularly deft at using the “loss leader” marketing strategy. In 1771 he shipped unsolicited parcels of pottery to one thousand members of the German aristocracy. As in a twentieth-century record club, the recipients could either purchase the articles sent, or return them at no cost.¹³ This was a well-calculated risk on Wedgwood’s part and created market excitement.

Wedgwood had a remarkable ability to dramatize his vases and pots by naming them after well-known public figures. One of his design lines was dubbed Queensware, after his patron Queen Charlotte; another was called “the Russian pattern,” (for Catherine the Great); another still was called Devonshire pots, named after the beautiful and scandalous Duchess of Devonshire.¹⁴ Wedgwood tapped celebrity glamour in a society avid for aristocratic associations, and his marketing campaigns relied on the modern technique of associating the material thing with a compelling dramatic narrative. Eighteenth-century British people increasingly associated attractive pieces of decorative goods with related human interest stories at a time when reading fiction was on the rise. Wedgwood discovered there was an enormous potential market among middling folk eager to purchase his tableware. To capture their loyalty, he introduced lines of more moderately priced articles that they could purchase. This not only added significant

¹² Neil McKendrick, “Josiah Wedgwood and the Commercialization of the Potteries,” in *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J.H. Plumb (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), pp. 100-145; Jenny Uglow, *The Lunar Men: Five Friends Whose Curiosity Changed the World* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002), pp. 46-56, 85-92, 194-221.

¹³ Koehn, “Josiah Wedgwood and the First Industrial Revolution,” p. 39.

¹⁴ McKendrick, “Josiah Wedgwood and the Commercialization of the Potteries,”

segments to his market, but introduced new buyers to the concept of purchasing an object for pure aesthetic pleasure, or to indicate taste and status. This allowed ordinary people to seek novelty in consumption as a new form of entertainment and stimulation.

Wedgwood and Jacques & Hay both made pioneering breakthroughs in manufacturing technique and inventive forms of marketing, but in different contexts. Wedgwood lived at the height of the British Enlightenment and personally knew most of the leading figures. Jacques & Hay lived on the edge of a vast continent. Both manufacturers, however, witnessed sweeping social and technological changes and, becoming aware of the potential of the mass market, they made the most of their opportunities. Their respective marketing strategies required calculated use of elite patronage and star appeal, evolving transportation technology, webs of sub-agents and attractive retail space. Wedgwood and Jacques & Hay were lucky to exist in periods characterized by a desire for novelty and elaborate style changes.¹⁵ Jacques & Hay, like Wedgwood, were also fortunate in selling to an underdeveloped market and, by precise calculation, they quickened demand. Other than newspaper advertising, we know little about the early marketing techniques used by furniture manufacturers to promote their products. However, drawing from contemporary American evidence and some Canadian newspaper accounts, we can make some broad assumptions. As manufacturing of consumer goods increased in the nineteenth-century, businessmen began to orchestrate careful marketing campaigns. Most of the larger furniture firms had their own travelling salesmen, who toured potential markets with catalogues, possibly illustrated with line

p. 112.

drawings of different furniture styles or, in the case of the George Moorhead Manufacturing Co. of London, Ontario, photographs.¹⁶ Unfortunately no such promotional material for Jacques & Hay has survived, which is curious in its own right, implying that the company did not require this type of promotion or that they wished to continue earlier marketing strategies.¹⁷

In addition to participating directly in local manufacturing exhibitions held in Toronto and local regions,¹⁸ Jacques & Hay maintained a system of agents who organized extensive furniture shows in locations as far away as Quebec City.¹⁹ Furniture

¹⁵ McKendrick, pp. 100-145.

¹⁶ Ben Forster and Kris Inwood, "The Diversity of Industrial Experience: Cabinet and Furniture Manufacture in Late-Nineteenth Century Ontario," *Enterprise and Society* 4 (2003), , p. 362, footnote 115. Forster and Inwood date this development from the 1870s, citing George Moorhead Manufacturing Co. and the Knechtel Furniture Company Ltd. of Hanover, Ontario as examples of companies who used this type of marketing. It is unclear when Canadian companies began to use photographs depicting various furniture styles, although we know that American firms used photography in promotional material by 1862. F. E. Ransom, *The City Built on Wood: A History of the Furniture Industry in Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1850-1950*, (Ann Arbor, Edwards Brothers, 1955), p. 19; The Moorhead photographs have been preserved in the Special Archives Collection of the University of Western Ontario Library.

¹⁷ The Ontario Art Gallery has interesting correspondence from the 1950s on file under the name "Jacques & Hay," Amicus no. 33556789. The Director and Chief Librarian were conducting some informal research on Jacques & Hay. In a hand-written note appearing in this file, it was observed that a W. C. Colgate—identified as a journalist with the *Globe and Mail*—indicated that "he has heard of a Jacques and Hay catalogue or price list, but has never seen it."

¹⁸ Jacques & Hay exhibited in regional exhibitions in Hamilton and Ottawa: *Hamilton Evening Times*, 29 September 1864; *The Canadian Monthly and National Review*, 6 (1874), p. 389.

¹⁹ Elizabeth Collard, "Review of Joan MacKinnon's *A Checklist of Toronto Cabinet and Chair Makers*," *Material History Bulletins* no. 2 (1977) (Ottawa: National Museum of Man), p. 55-56.

retailers were frequently country cabinet-makers, who wished to sell mass-produced items, such as chairs, alongside their own bespoke items.²⁰ Craftsmen and part-time retailers could visit these exhibits to place orders for volume items to supplement their own stock. A chance survival of family letters from the 1850s describes how a former employee of Jacques & Hay, a craftsman probably named Alexander Miller, founded his own business in Hamilton, employing “eleven men.” The connection with his old employers had remained cordial, as “Jaques (sic) and Hays furnish him with a great deal of furniture.”²¹ Jacques & Hay, for at least some time, also maintained showrooms in several Ontario towns.²² We can gain an idea of the size of the network of local cabinet-makers acting as sub-dealers, from the fact that the company advertised in twelve local Ontario newspapers and three Quebec newspapers when they resumed business after the fire of December 1853.²³

²⁰ An advertisement appearing in the *Perth Courier* on 27 September 1872 advises potential customers that the local cabinet-maker, D. Hogg, has, in addition to his own wares, some of “the best makers throughout Ontario.”

²¹ Letters from James and Catherine Miller, New Market, Canada West, to Miller family members in California, 24 December 1854 and 28 October 1855. Alexander Miller (or “Sandy” in the letters) did not succeed in his furniture shop in Hamilton as “there is so much Yankee stuff comes into Hamilton.” home.att.net/~kiharvey/letter_1854, consulted 2 May 2008.

²² Ben Forster, “Finding the Right Size: Markets and Competition in Mid- and Late Nineteenth-Century Ontario,” in *Patterns of the Past: Interpreting Ontario's History*, ed. Roger Hall, William Westfall, and Laurel Sefton (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1988), p. 163. An announcement in the *Globe* (Toronto), 23 July 1856, advised the public of the opening of the Hamilton showroom. The London Ontario showroom opened on 3 April 1858. See Lilly Koltun, *The Cabinetmaker's Art in Ontario, c. 1850-1900* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1979), p. 130.

²³ Sheila M. Smith, “Jacques and Hay, Cabinet-Markers: 1835-85” (master’s thesis, University of Toronto, 1968), pp. 11-12.

Records from the early 1860s identify sub-agents for Jacques & Hay operating in Aurora (just north of Toronto), and Ottawa.²⁴ The distributor acting for Jacques & Hay in London (Canada West) was a local business, Ferguson’s Upholstery and Decorative Manufactory. This arrangement would indicate that the company’s early experiment in 1858 of operating a dedicated Jacques & Hay London showroom had ended.²⁵ An advertisement noted that, while the Jacques & Hay “cabinet ware” (sic) is of the best description, it has been priced “to suit the time”—a reference to the ongoing recession in Canada.²⁶ Whatever the economic climate, there seemed to be no shortage of local consumers of domestic cabinetry, as in addition to the upholsterer acting as Jacques & Hay’s agent, there were eight different cabinet makers and furniture dealers who employed, by a conservative calculation, at least 49 men. The large Mountjoy Cabinet Factory Manufactory in London was also equipped with modern steam power and extensive machinery. Recession or not, the demand for furniture in mid-nineteenth-century western Upper Canada remained robust.

Jacques & Hay made a clear decision not to focus exclusively—as did many of their American competitors—on mass-produced machine-made furniture. They never

²⁴ The Aurora Historical Society in their notes on the restored Hillary House found labels from the local furniture store, J. Crockart of Aurora, who acted as a local agent for Jacques & Hay. <http://hhahs.space4art.biz/index.php?view=article&catid=40%3Aarchitecture-and-grounds&id=66%3Aballroommore&option=>, consulted 1 May 2010; *Ottawa Free Press*, 31 March 1874. The agent for R. Hay & Co. was William Shoolbred.

²⁵ Koltun, *The Cabinetmaker’s Art in Ontario*, p. 130.

²⁶ *London Prototype and Daily Western Advocate*, 5 March 1861, reprinted in *Western Ontario Historical Nuggets* 13 (1947), p. 16.

abandoned the carriage trade that commissioned pieces of furniture. It is possible that the decision not to forsake the luxury line was a calculated marketing consideration. It was a good marketing initiative to have Jacques & Hay furniture in the finest homes in Canada. Looking for such show-cases must have inspired the firm to become closely involved in the most important spectacle of the Canadian nineteenth century: the Prince of Wales' visit in 1860.

Victorians greatly loved being present in public spectacles and in events taking place in public space. Canadians would turn out in vast numbers to see such ceremonies as the official sod-turning for the building of the Northern Railway, or the launching of Toronto-constructed ocean-going vessel the *City of Toronto*.²⁷ Such crowds demonstrated a hunger to participate in outdoor spectacles that reinforced a sense of community. Jacques & Hay continued their extensive involvement with public events in Toronto, of which the pinnacle was the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1860.²⁸ They supplied the art direction and general contracting for the refitting the Toronto Crystal Palace exhibition hall for its official opening by the Prince.²⁹ In what may have been their greatest artistic and promotional coup, even covered by an article in the *New York Times*, the firm was also commissioned to manufacture the hotel and train-compartment furniture to

²⁷ According to the newspapers of the period, there were 20,000 spectators for this event. See *The Newfoundland Express* (St. John's), 8 November 1851. This crowd was estimated at 12,000 persons. See *The Daily Leader* (Toronto), 27 April 1855. The vessel's first shipment was a quantity of walnut destined for the port of Liverpool.

²⁸ *The Globe* (Toronto), 2 August 1860.

²⁹ *The Globe* (Toronto), 15 August 1860.

accompany the Prince of Wales on his visits to Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto and Niagara.³⁰ In Ottawa, a new hotel had been already leased for the occasion and in the words of the *New York Times* was “furnished by a celebrated upholstering firm, Messrs. JACQUES & HAY, of Toronto.”³¹ Their designs for the bedroom sets and the lavish railway car included British and Canadian symbols, combined with princely feathers.³²

While Jacques & Hay played numerous roles in the Prince’s visit to Canada, they also took the opportunity to introduced royal-visit-theme goods and engage in a form of patriotic branding. If Canada and Canadians were becoming more conscious of themselves as cultural and political entities, the company would use this trend by decorating their furniture with patriotic symbols. The visit of the heir to the throne was also an opportunity for Canadians to use the maple leaf emblem to identify themselves to the world. The maple leaf had been utilized earlier, but the visit of the Prince prompted “native-born” Canadians to adopt it as a defining symbol to pin on their lapels or jackets.³³ The furniture company followed this lead and articles of furniture produced for the Prince of Wales’ visit prominently displayed the maple leaf. The maple also

³⁰ *New York Times*, 19 June 1860; Henry James Morgan, *The Tour of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales through British America and the United States* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1860), p. 117-118.

³¹ *The New York Times*, 25 June 1860.

³² Morgan, *The Tour of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales*, pp. 117-118.

³³ J. Ross Robertson, *Robertson's Landmarks of Toronto: A Collection of Historical Sketches of the Old Town of York from 1792 until 1837, and of Toronto from 1834 to 1914* vol.5 (1908), pp. 581-582; *The Canadian Church Press* 1, no. 15 (29 August 1860), p. 3. The population contained a greater number of native-born Canadians than ever before, comprising one half of the population by 1870; J. M. S. Careless, *Toronto to 1918, An Illustrated History* (Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1984), p. 76.

decorated the Jacques & Hay-produced ceremonial trowel and mallet the Prince used in the dedication of the Queen Victoria monument in Queen's Park, Toronto.³⁴ The company again employed the leaf on the Prince's furnishings and his private railway car in likely the first provincial consciousness-raising display. While the Prince's visit involved ardent expressions of loyalty to the monarchy, it also marked the emergence of a new identity.

As the visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada was a major event, and an opportunity for considerable self-awareness, Canadians were eager to commemorate the spectacle by the inclusion of royal symbols on larger pieces of furniture and dinner-sets. The enthusiasm was so great that dinnerware such as a Royal Worcester design now belonging to the Canadian Museum of Civilization, featuring the princely symbols surrounded by a maple wreath, was ordered for the royal visit.³⁵ Jacques & Hay appeared to have created numerous articles decorated with either princely crown or plumes or—in the case of a suite of furniture that has recently been documented in Belleville Ontario,

³⁴ Robert Cellem, *Visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to the British North American Provinces and United States in the Year 1860* (Toronto: Henry Rowsell, 1861), p. 268. The Jacques & Hay building on King Street was also illuminated for the Prince's visit.

³⁵ This dinner plate was made by Kerr and Binns, Worcester, England. It has identification number HIS 985.14.1. *Treasures: Canadian Museum of Civilization* (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1988), pp. 129, 173. Porcelain historian Elizabeth Collard, on the other hand, believes that such china was actually used at large scale dinners honouring the Prince, and then sold at auction. See *Nineteenth-Century Pottery and Porcelain in Canada* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1967), pp. 68-69. The Royal Ontario Museum also has examples of plates with maple leaves and princely feathers on display.

Ontario—a youthful head of Queen Victoria.³⁶ The chairs' carver was possibly working from an illustration in a publication like *The London Illustrated News* as he rendered the familiar face on the crest of the chair's back. (Figure 8.) Considering the existence of the Belleville furniture suite and the documentation of similar articles, usually beds decorated in maple leaves and feathers, the company may have marketed a whole line of royalty-themed furnishings in 1860.³⁷ As the occurrence of such items is not uncommon, it is apparent that their owners prized them and maintained them over the generations.

It is not clear from the existing sources whether the Government of Canada commissioned Jacques & Hay to make the prince's furniture while in Canada, or whether the company did so on speculation, as a promotional device. In order not to lose momentum after this public triumph, Jacques & Hay organized an important auction to liquidate the furniture after the Prince had used it. This event was also considered noteworthy enough to be covered in the *New York Times*, including a detailed list of the items offered for sale and the successful bidders.³⁸ In the *New York Times*' account, Robert Hay was reported to be dissatisfied with the prices fetched at the sale; the bidders,

³⁶ Hare Private Family Archives; One chair from this suite was manufactured in a Louis Philippe revival style, with Rococo cabriole legs and a neo-classical oval back. Its photograph was provided to the author with the kind permission of Mrs. Marjorie Hare, Belleville, Ontario. The chairs were part of a suite of furniture originally belonging to Mrs. Hare's great-grandparents of Kingston, Ontario.

³⁷ Ruth Cathcart, *Jacques & Hay: Nineteenth-Century Toronto Furniture Maker* (Erin, Ontario: Boston Mills Press, 1986), p. 46; *Treasures: Canadian Museum of Civilization*, p. 129.

³⁸ *The New York Times*, 7 November 1860. In a similar fashion, when the Queen's Hotel in Toronto sold off all its furniture prior to demolition, this auction was not only covered by the *Toronto Star*, but many of the successful bidders for important items were listed. See the *Toronto Star*, 23 August 1927.

on the other hand were delighted.³⁹ Not only did the auction provide furnishings linked with royalty, but it did so at bargain prices.

After the Prince's visit and the ensuing auction, Jacques & Hay were determined to keep their company before the eye of the people. Now they pursued vice-regal contracts, and the company so dominated the local furniture trade that it was contacted by Lord Monck, the then governor-general, to provide the majority of the furnishings of Rideau Hall.⁴⁰ We have reasonably clear bills documenting these transactions, and some are for entire suites of room furnishings. There were also orders for impressive pier glass mirrors, each costing \$225, which are still in use at the governor-general's official residence in Ottawa.⁴¹ (Figure 9.) On another occasion, the company carefully positioned itself to win the contract for the furniture of the newly-built lieutenant governor's residence in Toronto by submitting what seems, in comparison to the other companies bidding, to have been a low figure.⁴² This "loss leader" strategy allowed Jacques & Hay to exhibit its furniture in an important public building receiving many distinguished visitors for generations; elements of this decorating contract are still scattered through Ontario public buildings or currently in use by Ontario's lieutenant-governor in his

³⁹ *The New York Times*, 7 November 1860.

⁴⁰ Cathcart, *Jacques & Hay*, p. 22; Rideau Hall Archives, document no. 985, correspondence from Jacques & Hay addressed to J. C. Chaplais, Commissionaire of Public Works, 6 October 1866.

⁴¹ Cathcart, *Jacques & Hay*, p. 26; the bill is dated 6 October 1866.

⁴² Henry Langley, "Description of the Lieutenant-Governor's Residence," in *Report of the Commissioner of Public Works, 1869* (Toronto: Hunter Rose & Co., 1869), pp. 9, 49.

official suite.⁴³ (Figures 10 and 11.)

While American furniture firms would rely on travelling salesmen, regional furniture-specific trade fairs, and finally, photography of their representative stock, Jacques & Hay used another technique, saving on expensive promotion and highlighting their status as cabinet-makers to the elite.⁴⁴ An 1882 invoice addressed to A. Austin from R. Hay & Co. implies that the company depicted their various style options with either drawings or reference to tables and chairs already on display in grand Toronto houses. This allowed the client to order literally a “Gooderham” or a “Nordheimer” chair for his or her own home, the Gooderhams and Nordheimers being prominent local families.⁴⁵ The company appears to have been completely unabashed about treating the homes of the rich as extensions of their showrooms and saving on the cost of expensive photographs.

Both politicians and advertisers have gained public attention by using nationalism as a promotional device. Canadian cabinet-makers attempted to do something similar by employing Canadian woods to capture patriotic feeling. The company frequently took

⁴³ http://www.lt.gov.on.ca/en/Visit/old_gov_house, consulted 12 May 2010; communication to Denise Jacques from Gillian Reddyhoff, Curator, Archives of Ontario, Government of Ontario Art Collection, 16 May 2009.

⁴⁴ Richard D. Kurzhals, “Initial Advantage and Technological Change in Industry Location: The Furniture Industry of Grand Rapids” (PhD dissertation, Michigan State University, 1973), pp. 98-106; Koltun, *The Cabinetmaker’s Art in Ontario*, p. 172 mentions that furniture catalogues and travelling salesmen selling cabinetry, were both circulating in Canada in the last half of the nineteenth century.

⁴⁵ Toronto, Spadina Archives, “A Bill addressed to A. Austin from R. Hay & Co., date obscured, 1882.”

advantage of high-profile events to emphasize the Canadian forest patrimony by displaying furniture made in various Canadian species as a recurring motif. For the Prince of Wales' tour, they selected a different wood for the Prince's furniture suite in each of the principal central Canadian cities he visited: Montreal had maple bedroom furnishing; Ottawa, oak; Toronto, walnut; and Niagara Falls, cherry.⁴⁶ (Figures 12, 13, 14, and 15.) Choosing the bedroom furniture for Rideau Hall, Charles Rogers, Jacques & Hay's chief designer, used the same metaphor and the respective bedrooms were furnished in different Canadian tree species.⁴⁷ Jacques & Hay also submitted a table, again displaying the various Canadian wood types, for an International Exhibit in Dublin in 1868.⁴⁸ William Drum, the elegant cabinet-maker of Quebec City, employed the same design feature for a furniture set he produced for the Prince's apartments in Quebec City, using sixty-six different species of Canadian wood.⁴⁹ This identification of Canada with its forest resources was a central theme at the Canadian exhibit at the Paris Exposition in 1867. The journalist covering the event for *The Illustrated London News* seemed

⁴⁶ Natalie Vanier and Yves Lacasse, "The Bedroom Suite Created for the Prince of Wales in Montreal in 1860," in *Living in Style: Fine Furniture in Victorian Quebec*, ed. John R. Porter (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1993), pp. 55-59. The bedroom suite designed by Jacques & Hay for Montreal was largely in the rococo-revival style with some elements of Renaissance revival. The suites for the various other cities were identical.

⁴⁷ The bedrooms were respectively furnished in black walnut, white maple with rosewood mouldings, cherry, whitewood—probably pine—oak with walnut mouldings, maple with rosewood mouldings, and oak. Rideau Hall Archives, document no. 985, correspondence from Jacques & Hay addressed to J. C. Chaplais, 6 October 1866.

⁴⁸ E. A. Heaman, *The Inglorious Arts of Peace: Exhibitions in Canadian Society during the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), p. 175.

⁴⁹ Vanier and Lacasse, "The Bedroom Suite Created for the Prince of Wales in Montreal," p. 58.

surprised by the elaborate structure prepared for the fair, a towering arch of bird's eye maple, referring to it as the wood "in which Canadians evidently pride themselves."⁵⁰

Jacques & Hay flourished during a period of immense enthusiasm for public exhibitions. Victorians viewed such events as a form of education and entertainment, a demonstration of modern technology combined with a carnival mid-way. So dramatic were the effects of public exhibition that the pre-eminent furniture-producing area in North America, Grand Rapids, Michigan, attributed its break-through as a production centre to their popular furniture exhibit at the Philadelphia World's Fair in 1876.⁵¹ Shortly after the city became the American leader in quality furniture. Exploiting the exhibition as marketing vehicle, Jacques & Hay participated enthusiastically and went out of their way to prepare elaborate public displays. Both John Jacques and Robert Hay seem to have been men of some professional vanity and they actively exhibited furniture in numerous provincial competitions, where it won many prizes. The firm had a flair for promotional events, as illustrated by show-casing its furniture with the construction of a furnished model cottage at the 1852 Provincial Exhibition, held in Toronto.⁵² Exhibitions were relatively new, and Mrs. Harriet Boulton of the Grange—now the core building of the Art Gallery of Ontario—had lent ground from her estate for the fair.⁵³ For the time,

⁵⁰ *The Illustrated London News*, 25 May 1867, p. 526.

⁵¹ Kurzhals, "Initial Advantage and Technological Change in Industry Location," p. 92.

⁵² MacKinnon, *A Checklist of Toronto Cabinet and Chair Makers*, p. 82; *The Canadian Agriculturist* 5 (1852), p. 291.

⁵³ *Journal and Transactions of the Board of Agriculture of Upper Canada* 1 (1856), p. 249.

the Jacques & Hay “cottage” was a lavish undertaking and involved some promotional expertise. The cottage was 21 by 17 feet, and hung with crimson and drab damask and carpeted with a thick “Brussels” carpet.⁵⁴ Within the cottage they displayed a three-door ladies’ walnut wardrobe valued at £30. There was also an elaborate “French bed” with an ornately carved design featuring a Madonna-like mother and child and covered with representations of such flowers as the dahlia, German aster, rose and convolvulus, carved in relief.⁵⁵

Building on experiences gained locally, Jacques & Hay began to exhibit internationally. Later examples of their furniture would win a medal at the Paris Exposition of 1868, as well as another award at the Philadelphia World Fair in 1876 for a very elaborately carved sideboard that would later be displayed in the principal restaurant of the Queen’s Hotel, in Toronto, as a type of permanent exhibition.⁵⁶ (Figure 16.) The company’s entries were often custom-fabricated, with details that demonstrated the range and the abundance of distinctive Canadian woods, like black walnut, which was highly prized in Britain.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ *The Canadian Agriculturist* 10, vol. 5 (October 1852), p. 291.

⁵⁵ Jesse E. Middleton, *The Municipality of Toronto, A History*, volume I (Toronto: Dominion Publishing Co., 1923), pp. 517-518.

⁵⁶ E. A. Heaman, *The Inglorious Arts of Peace*, pp. 78, 123, 173, 177. The Hay family remembers the medal as silver. James Acton, *The Canadian Book of Furniture: A Short Outline of the History and Development of Furniture in Canada* (Toronto: Acton Publishing, 1923), p. 75. The Queen’s Hotel auction referenced many hotel articles as being manufactured by Jacques & Hay. See the *Toronto Star*, 23 August, 1927.

⁵⁷ George Henry Hume, *Canada as It Is, comprising details relating to the domestic policy, commerce and agriculture, of the Upper and Lower ...*(London:

Jacques & Hay had the advantage that their furniture was easily available to people from almost all backgrounds. For those who could not afford ware-room prices, furniture could be obtained at auction and this was a common means of acquiring durable goods, with no embarrassment for either buyers or sellers. In a country with inexpensive furniture and much space, distances often made moving furniture from place to place uneconomical. Emigrants at all social levels were advised to avoid the expense of bringing heavy household goods across the sea for on-going shipment on rudimentary roads. Not only was this a costly undertaking, but often the furniture or china was damaged along the route.⁵⁸ Moreover, colonists were told to buy furnishings in Canada as local furniture was fashioned from beautiful wood and inexpensive.⁵⁹ Auctions provided a good opportunity for newcomers to purchase and for people relocating or strapped for money to liquidate their possessions. Auctions marked almost every change of condition, from a death in the family, to moving, to possible reversals in fortune. For instance, John A. Macdonald's household possessions were auctioned at least twice: some before a move to Toronto and others after his death.⁶⁰

Effingham Wilson, 1832), p. 254.

⁵⁸ Collard, *Nineteenth-Century Pottery and Porcelain in Canada*, p. 15.

⁵⁹ George Henry Hume, *Canada as It Is*, p. 254; John Mathison, *Counsel for emigrants, and interesting information from numerous sources. With original letters from Canada and the United States* (Aberdeen: John Mathison, 1834), p. 102.

⁶⁰ "Catalogue of the Household Furnishings of Hon. John A. Macdonald to be Sold at his Residence, Chapel Street, Monday, 26 April 1875," *Ottawa Citizen*, 15 April 1875. A similar sale took place after Macdonald's death from his residence Earncliffe, Ottawa.

Auctions were a socially levelling experience and individuals from all classes frequented them. There was considerable movement in Upper Canadian life and individuals and families were now accustomed to pull up stakes in search of opportunity, or to seek a fresh start after a business failure; auctions allowed them to protect their investment in household furnishings and provided a source of ready cash. Auctions permitted incoming families to establish themselves quickly by purchasing other people's goods and chattels. It was also not uncommon for men and women to sell up at auction after experiencing a major life event. The diary of Toronto lawyer Larratt Smith indicates that he sold all his possessions, including his Jacques & Hay furniture, after his young wife died and he moved in with relatives.⁶¹ Merchants, and such early manufacturers as cabinet-makers, also made calculated use of auction sales for quick turnaround, or to deal with surplus stock.⁶² Owing to the extended credit lines operating in a cash-strapped economy, merchants or craftsmen might be left with orders for which the individual or the company had since become bankrupt.⁶³

In his reminiscences, English immigrant to Toronto Conyngham Crawford Taylor mentioned that residents of the 1840s city regarded auctions as important forms of local entertainment in the absence of other means of recreation.⁶⁴ While sales might be

⁶¹ Mary Larratt Smith and William Larratt Smith, *Young Mr. Smith in Upper Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), p. 155. Smith's diary, 25 April 1852, noted, "...I could not stay in that house."

⁶² MacKinnon, *A Checklist of Toronto Cabinet and Chair-Makers*, p. 128.

⁶³ Collard, *Nineteenth-Century Pottery and Porcelain in Canada*, p. 20.

⁶⁴ Conyngham Crawford Taylor, *The Queen's Jubilee and Toronto "Called Back"*

attended by all classes, they were particularly advantageous for poorer people, as they could acquire machine-made furniture at even more modest prices than from the factory. The auction not only allowed the poor to obtain household goods, but to liquidate their important assets at death to pay funeral costs and outstanding debts. This meant that a variety of important large items were in constant circulation through poor communities.⁶⁵ Furniture not only had cash value—with a constant market of potential buyers—but it could also facilitate the opening of a small business venture. Women with larger furnished houses could run boarding houses, needing beds and chairs, or might open unlicensed bars out of expanded kitchens, requiring chairs. Historical geographer Sherry Olson has well documented the furnishings used by two Montreal bordellos operating in the mid-nineteenth century. Not only were these establishments big consumers of furniture, but one possessed the only bath-tub in neighbourhood.⁶⁶

Luce Vermette's research on Quebec's material history shows that auctioneers liked to promote name-brand furniture in their local newspapers sale notices.⁶⁷ The Hiltons of Montreal, William Drum of Quebec, and Jacques & Hay of Toronto were

from 1887 to 1847 (Toronto, William Briggs, 1887), p. 50.

⁶⁵ Sherry Olson, "Feathering Her Nest in Nineteenth-Century Montreal," *Histoire sociale/Social History*, 33, no. 65 (2000), pp. 1-35.

⁶⁶ Olson, "Feathering Her Nest in Nineteenth-Century Montreal," pp. 31-35. Olson drew from a corpus of 200 inventories of material goods prepared by local notaries. In Quebec such inventories were often compiled in the event of death, marriage, bankruptcy and seizure and lease-back of goods. See pp. 2-3.

⁶⁷ The concept of name-brand recognition was a new commercial development.

among the more obvious names that central Canadian auctioneers advertised.⁶⁸ The Hiltons believed that their name would add a bonus of ten per cent on any auction price.⁶⁹ Auctioneers' advertisements would often contain considerable detail, attempting to create interest with information such as "favourite style," "manufactured by order," and "been in use but nine months."⁷⁰ While Jacques & Hay seemed happy to promote regular auction sales of new furniture in Montreal, they were careful that their goods did not regularly appear on sale in Toronto, or nearby.⁷¹ How the firm prevented this is not clear, although they may have bought back their own furniture rather than see it go to public auction, or they may have leaned on auctioneers to have their name excluded from auction notices in Toronto newspapers. After the firm closed in 1885, auctioneers frequently used Jacques & Hay names or, more usually, Hay's name alone.⁷²

⁶⁸ Luce Vermette, "Ebéniste à Meublier," *Canadian Collector* (May-June 1985), pp. 45-50. A representative example from the *Kingston Daily News*, 9 May 1863 indicates, "the new furniture is from Jacques & Hays, of Toronto, and is of superior quality." Jacques & Hay would advertise as far away as Ottawa for a forthcoming auction sale in Montreal, *The Ottawa Times*, 8 March 1866.

⁶⁹ Anonymous, *Notes on the Road by a Canadian Guerilla alias Commercial Traveller* (Toronto: Daily Telegraph Printing House, 1868), p. 64.

⁷⁰ *Hamilton Evening Times*, 6 May 1862.

⁷¹ Jacques & Hay used an auctioneer in Montreal named Lawrence Devany. He held sales for Jacques & Hay "blackwalnut" furniture, advertised in the *Montreal Herald* on a regular basis in the early 1860s. Devany appears to have cornered the luxury auction market as he also sold fine china of the "superior kind." Collard, *Nineteenth-Century Pottery and Porcelain in Canada*, p. 66.

⁷² *The Toronto World*, 10 May 1887, contained two representative examples, as it published notices for two furniture auctions both using Jacques & Hay's name.

Wedgwood and—in a much more limited sense—Jacques & Hay, had achieved brand recognition at a period when this was an achievement.⁷³ Wedgwood was fortunate that he had the wide world of export trade available to him and successfully sold to Europe and North America. In nineteenth-century Canada, the long-dead Wedgwood was alone amongst china producers in achieving name recognition. Whereas Spode and Ridgways' names rarely appeared, Wedgwood's name was usually mentioned in local china merchants' advertising.⁷⁴ In the furniture world, Jacques & Hay was almost completely excluded from the American market by a stiff tariff on furniture.⁷⁵ This meant that the firm was committed to its domestic market, but its early hold on this consumer group and abundant public contracts ensured that it received early public recognition.

There are similarities between Josiah Wedgwood's business development and that of Jacques & Hay. There were also sharp differences. Wedgwood was marketing to Europe and a vast colonial market and serving the aristocratic world of the Duchess of Devonshire, along with more modest consumers, while Jacques & Hay were catering to a colonial society—where the Gooderhams who made whisky were considered leaders of fashion. One clear difference between Josiah Wedgwood and Robert Hay was that Wedgwood had a much better grasp of accounting. Wedgwood used mathematics to calculate carefully his pottery's cost structure—both fixed and variable.⁷⁶ In contrast,

⁷³ Koehn, "Josiah Wedgwood and the First Industrial Revolution," p. 39.

⁷⁴ Collard, *Nineteenth-Century Pottery and Porcelain in Canada*, pp. 103-111.

⁷⁵ Eric James Jarvis, "Mid-Victorian Toronto: Panic, Policy and Public Response, 1857-1873" (PhD dissertation, University of Western Ontario, 1978), p. 291.

⁷⁶ Koehn, "Josiah Wedgwood and the First Industrial Revolution," pp. 45-46.

Hay seemed to keep everything in his head. As Radforth, Taylor and Baskerville have rightly observed, in an era before cost-accounting, Hay had no notion what his incompetent relatives running the sawmill at New Lowell were costing the company.⁷⁷ Hay's reluctance to come to grips with effective cost-accounting may reflect a limited education. In contrast, Wedgwood lived in a more cultivated world and had greater appreciation for the direct application of scientific measurement. However, despite this disinclination to cost the firm's daily operations, Jacques & Hay put other skills in play.

Examining closely the contract that Jacques & Hay drew up for the furnishing of Government House reveals an extraordinary ability to plan complex projects.⁷⁸ The lead-time for the total decoration of the lieutenant-governor of Ontario's official residence was short; the contract was dated 19 August 1869 and the completion date without penalty was 24 December 1869. (Figure 17.) The range of items was vast, varying from sideboards, blinds, carpeting, and billiard tables to Nottingham window lace. However, the descriptions and the individual decorating decisions required are sufficiently detailed that the reader can visualize what the various rooms in the official residence would look like. In all fairness, the civil servant reviewing the contract was equally precise, making numerous observations and noting required "up-grades" and improvements on the

⁷⁷ Ian Radforth, "Confronting Distance: Managing Jacques and Hay's New Lowell Operation, 1853-73," *Canadian Papers in Business History* 1 (1995), pp. 75-100.

⁷⁸ Archives of Ontario (AO), file RG 15-55-1, barcode B240293, Jacques & Hay contract for furnishing the lieutenant-governor of Ontario's, official residence. On the cover of the contract there is a note saying, "The difference between the dining table estimated for and the one Mr. Howland must—unlined in the original twice—have, will be \$ 50." W.P. Howland, the first lieutenant-governor of Ontario, was the first occupant of the newly built Government House on Simcoe Street in Toronto.

original texts. These also were meticulously described, priced and initialled. In an age before computers to assist in laying out the decoration for each space, the supervising Jacques & Hay craftsmen must have possessed considerable visual memory to plan and cost each room and allow for frequent changes by clients. It is a fair assumption that speedy furnishing and decoration on such a scale would have been impossible without access to a developed network of sub-contractors from different parts of the city, adept in both production and distribution, to supply the window lace and the billiard tables on demand. As urban geographer Gunter Gad has pointed out, transportation in the nineteenth-century city by water, rail and horse was likely cumbersome and expensive.⁷⁹ The existence of such an operating system of sub-contractors would suggest a sophisticated network that was based on the exchange of materials, technical information and even workmen.

Schumpeter posited that it was possible to achieve status as an entrepreneur by means of either technical or managerial innovation. Both Wedgwood and Jacques & Hay appear to have done both. Like skilful chess masters, and demonstrating considerable powers of sustained and abstract thought, they created manufacturing models involving intricate planning and projecting well into the future. Wedgwood created his potting colony of Etruria and Jacques & Hay developed New Lowell. They used the same organizational strengths to build complex marketing models to support their manufacturing investments, moving rapidly from celebrity endorsement and loss leaders,

⁷⁹ Gunter Gad, "Location Patterns of Manufacturing," *Urban History Review* 22 (June 1994), pp. 114-115.

to attractive showroom organization, webs of sales representatives and chains of distribution.

Schumpeter's depiction of the entrepreneur as the imaginative lone wolf, single-handedly creating a business empire in an environment of creative destruction, however, does not apply to either Wedgwood or Jacques & Hay. These companies were tightly interwoven in the fabric of their societies. Before the triumph of unit cost-accounting, businessmen may have weighed many social factors in making critical decisions, and a bare outline of Jacques & Hay's history does not convey the numerous factors that contributed to the company's success. The firm operated within a business context that is quite unlike modern practice, as personal relationships figured so prominently in daily life, and Schumpeter does not give sufficient weight to emotional linkages and local prejudices. Records from the New Lowell sawmill provide details of numerous small requests that, judging from Hay's detailed letters, required Robert Hay and his sawmill managers' constant attention. These ranged from the manager at the Rossin House Hotel requiring a new hardwood cutting board for the hotel's restaurant; to the church building committee of St. James' Cathedral demanding to see the red pine samples so they could gauge the precise colour and texture of the proposed cathedral ceiling; to Captain Thomas Dick, the owner of the Queen's Hotel, having particular concerns about the maple joists of the hotel's new wing. All these requests must have consumed quantities of Hay's managerial time. However, he recognized early that catering to local fussy clients led to bigger contracts. Jacques & Hay was successful in cornering the very large furniture contracts for both the Rossin House Hotel and the Queen's Hotel, ensuring that important travellers and the hotels' clients would view frequently the more luxurious of the firm's

products.⁸⁰ Close attention to detail and carefully tended customer relations were significant aspects of the firm's success and one that guaranteed the good will of influential community leaders, those decision-makers on major public contracts that would off-set capital invested in company's buildings, machinery and expensive pay-roll. The problems of the smaller and provincial manufacturer and manager appear to have been largely overlooked by Schumpeter.

Schumpeter was working from a larger, more rational, vantage-point. He was analyzing mature integrated markets and therefore his views do not reflect the idiosyncratic nature of a colonial society. In many ways the good-will that Jacques & Hay could muster in the community and a steady stream of work went far in dealing with adverse business cycles and the destruction of three major fires. Personality is often destiny and the laudatory personal comments on the character of the partners contained in the R. G. Dun report help to explain why the community offered the necessary support for their business to survive.⁸¹ The firm's partners exploited a window of opportunity that, if we credit historian Acheson's findings, was available for the ambitious artisan turned manufacturer in the thirty years prior to the 1870s.⁸² This opportunity was largely owing to unique preconditions in the commercial climate of Upper Canada in the 1840s

⁸⁰ Jacques & Hay was also situated across the street from the hotel and the hotel's elaborate reception desk was of their manufacture. See Sally Gibson, *Inside Toronto: Urban Interiors, 1880s to 1920s* (Toronto: Cormorant Books, 2006), p. 185, illust. 6:30 (from the City of Toronto Archives, fonds 1587, series 409, item 8)

⁸¹ Library and Archives, Canada, "R. G. Dun," M-7760/R3845-0-2-E (Vol. 26, York County), p. 211.

⁸² T. W. Acheson, "The Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite," in *Canadian Business History: Selected Studies, 1497-1971*, ed. David S. Macmillan

and the 1850s. Such luck in timing minimizes the fact that the two founding partners, Jacques and Hay, had the vision and the will necessary to seize the specific advantages presented by this constellation of factors.

Chapter Five

Decent Furniture for Decent People

I. Introduction

Decent housing and decent furniture were important for the people of Upper Canada—for comfort, for respectability and for their sense of belonging to a “civilized” society. Access to moderately priced furniture; wooden beds for comfortable sleeping, tables and chairs for entertaining the church committee, or wardrobes to hide work clothes, conveyed a sense of progress and civility. Domestic space became desirable to linger in and invite others to share. While respectability as expressed in the acquisition of furniture took a physical form, it was representative of a whole cluster of nineteenth-century norms often illustrated by the upwardly mobile. Lynne Marks in her book, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario*, analyses the strong hold that both religion and respectability had in the second half of the century in southern Ontario. She believes that church-going and an aspiration to respectability were part of the same dominant Protestant culture. While individuals could be devout, there were many social advantages to conspicuous church-going, of which the most significant was a claim to respectability. Church attendance was a public statement of conformity to prevailing norms of behaviour. In return, the publicly pious might expect an active social life, community support and, occasionally, material advancement. Even working-class women viewed church membership as means to respectability and an

implicit claim on charity in the face of economic uncertainty. Church-going, respectability, and the domestic virtues were often linked and the vision of the happy family sitting down to a meal around a gleaming table after Sunday services was a trite but powerful mental image.¹

Even the united province of Canada wanted to look respectable and there is evidence of this thinking in some public documents. Early in the 1850s, a committee of eminent Canadians was asked to select appropriate consumer goods to represent the united provinces at the upcoming Great Exhibition in London. The conservative politician and temperance advocate Christopher Dunkin, presenting his views on the subject in the *Montreal Gazette*, underlined the importance of the fair for encouraging trade and immigration. According to Dunkin the object of this exercise was to make Canada “respectable and respected.”² On the individual level, the building and the furnishing of a home had the same purpose. It provided the necessary framework for the creation of a good social network and was the manifestation of such community-sanctioned norms as steadiness, temperance, religion and self-improvement.

Generally, people living in North America had better housing and more furniture than those in Europe. About thirty per cent of the population owned their house in

¹ Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), pp. 3-24, 36, 203.

² Suzanne Zeller, *Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), p. 79 and the *Montreal Gazette*, 18 February and 27 March 1850.

Kingston, Toronto and Hamilton between 1881 and 1900.³ This development may largely be attributed to higher wages, the availability of land, cheaper wood, and simple building techniques.⁴ Houses could be larger in North America because there was more land on which to build them than in Europe.⁵ In addition standards of living were higher in North America than Europe and a greater proportion of the population could be considered “middling” or above. Not only was there space for more furniture, but more people could afford to buy it.⁶

It is worth considering just who was considered “middling” in Upper Canada. Several historians have tried to define the various social groupings prevalent in the society of the colonial period. Peter A. Russell who has devoted a book to the subject has developed a grid with five different social classes.⁷ Elizabeth Jane Errington noted that the nature of the community might influence who was considered elite, as the doctor’s wife in smaller community might take on the roles that were usually designated for elite women in

³ Richard Harris and Chris Hamnett, “The Myth of the Promised Land: The Social Diffusion of Home Ownership in Britain and North America,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. 77, no. 2 (June 1987), p. 179.

⁴ Harris and Hamnett, “The Myth of the Promised Land,” p. 176.

⁵ Peter Ward, *A History of Domestic Space: Privacy and the Canadian Home* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999), p. 14.

⁶ Mrs. Edward Copleston on the first page of her book states that “Canada offers a home where all the conveniences of life may be enjoyed at far less cost than they may be obtained in Old England”, Mrs. Edward Copleston, *Canada: Why we Live in it, and Why we Like it* (London: Parker Son and Bourn, 1861), pp. 1-2.

⁷ Peter A. Russell, *Attitudes to Social Structure and Mobility in Upper Canada, 1815-1840* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), p. 9.

larger centres. By the 1830s she believes that those of the middling rank, and respected and respectable members of their communities, included “small shopkeepers, independent artisans, skilled craftspeople, hotel-and innkeepers, and some schoolmasters or schoolmistresses who owned their own businesses and small homes.”⁸ As neither scholar provides any numerical breakdown of these various social groups, it is difficult to have a precise picture of the type of housing they lived in. Demographic historians looking at the nineteenth century in a slightly later period have tended to emphasize home ownership as indicative of status, rather than the size and quality of housing and this has excluded investigation of those who lived in comfortable rented houses.⁹ For instance, in contrast to John Jacques, who had invested in several real estate properties in Toronto, Robert Hay rented most of his homes.¹⁰

The act of immigrating to the new world implied a hope for a prosperous future. In April 1831 William Lyon Mackenzie commented on a group of immigrants recently arrived from the England, describing them as “...poor, but in general they were fine-looking, and such as I was glad to see come to America.”¹¹ Such a group may well have

⁸ Elizabeth Jane Errington, *Wives and Mothers, School Mistresses and Scullery Maids* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), pp. 18-19.

⁹ Gordon Darroch, “Class in Nineteenth-Century, Central Ontario: A Reassessment of the Crisis and Demise of Small Producers during Early Industrialization, 1861-71,” *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 13, 1-2 (1988), p. 62; “Scanty Fortunes and Rural Middle-Class Formation in Nineteenth-Century Rural Ontario,” *Canadian Historical Review* 79, no. 4 (December 1998), pp. 621-659.

¹⁰ Toronto Tax Assessment Rolls for 1853, www.ontarioroots.com/ogs, consulted 13 January 2009.

¹¹ Edwin Guillet, *The Great Migration: The Atlantic Crossing by Sailing-Ship* (1937; repr., New York: J.S. Ozer, 1971), p. 157.

included craftsmen resembling the cabinet-maker of Ipswich, referred to earlier, or carpenters similar to the John Falconer, who appeared before the Royal Commission on Labor (sic). Mackenzie's comment conveys approbation of the group's wholesomeness and an endorsement of their vigour and skills. Such newcomers to Upper Canada were intent on creating a better life in Canada; this dream involved good homes with decent furniture.

II. The Furniture

Having a home with tables, chairs and beds that could accommodate the family and provide for the modest reception of others anchored people, and allowed them to demonstrate the domestic virtues involved in establishing respectability. Owning a bed, a table and chairs—and a commode to hide the chamber pot—went far to making one clean and decent, at least in the neighbours' eyes. Efficient manufacturing had put these goals within the range of most people. Moralistic contemporary writers emphasized the necessity of happy homes, good housekeeping, and cleanliness to project credibility—in the real sense of being worthy of credit. *The Agriculturist and Canadian Journal* informed “the ladies” in 1848 that “[T]he cleanly family, whether living in the cottage or the hall, is ‘respectable,’ ‘creditable’—a distinction which serves as capital or stock in trade to members of the industrious working class...”¹² In small communities, such a reputation was invaluable as the family needed the support of others to survive and flourish.

¹² *The Agriculturist and Canadian Journal*, 1, no.14 (16 October 1848).

As houses became more spacious, they had more room for the furniture that would provide greater comfort and privacy. Housing was comparatively cheap and within the reach of most moderately skilled men. The Ipswich cabinet-maker's letter records that he and his son were building their own house in Toronto. While this mechanic obviously had the skill to tackle this job, abundant lumber greatly lowered the price. Technology, in the form of the "up and down," and later circular-saw, further reduced costs. Some sawmills could produce more than 500 board feet per day. Housing consumed enormous quantities of such sawn boards as almost all North American houses were constructed from wood. In addition, the development of balloon housing, first used in Chicago in 1839, cut costs and made frame houses available to a greater number of people in a country where "...rent day never comes..."¹³ Before, houses had been constructed slowly and laboriously, using the traditional post and beam method, which involved precision fitting and joining. In contrast, the balloon frame house only required standardized studs, joists and rafters, lengths of light lumber, and now mass-produced nails.¹⁴ This was a faster method and required less skill and man-power, putting housing within reach of the determined amateur. While housing was primitive in the early days of Upper Canadian settlement, it improved quickly as many log cabins of the early colony gave way to other forms of housing. Of a total of 145,000 dwellings in 1851 Upper Canada, 12% were log shanties, 45% were of round or hewn logs,

¹³ Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984), p. 87; David Gibson, " 'Letter Written to Friends in Scotland, 1827': Conditions in York County a Century Ago," *Ontario Historical Society's Papers and Records*, Toronto XXIV (1927), p. 7.

¹⁴ J. Thomas Schlereth, *Victorian America: Transformations in Everyday Life, 1876-1915* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1992), p. 99.

but 43% were of wood-frame construction, or made out of brick, or stone.¹⁵ In Europe, houses were made of bricks, stones, wattle and daub, and wood. Wood was not a rare building material, but it was geographically circumscribed, mostly to northern countries such as Scandinavia, Russia, or the Alps.

While most visitors to Toronto noted the attractive shops on King Street, and the impressive public buildings, in the 1850s the German geographer Johann Georg Kohl was also interested in documenting the living conditions of working people. He made particular note of the housing available to mechanics, labourers and “the poor.” While the housing stock for humble families was often composed of wooden sheds hastily constructed on the edges of the growing town, and rents were high, “...the interiors are fitted up very nicely, and filled in a surprisingly short time with good furniture and all that is required to meet Anglo-Saxon ideas of comfort.”¹⁶ Kohl also called on a one-hundred-year-old former slave called “Uncle Robertson” and found him seated in a comfortable “easy chair.”¹⁷ If we may draw on American evidence, there are other indications that the working people of Toronto probably had more household furnishings than their British counterparts. Frederick B. Perkins, who toured the United States in roughly the same period as Kohl, reported, that with the “general diffusion of wealth and comfort” there was little difference between the

¹⁵ Brian Coffey, “Factors Affecting the Use of Construction Materials in Early Ontario,” *Ontario History* 77, no. 4 (1985), p. 301.

¹⁶ Johann Georg Kohl, *Travels in Canada, and Through the States of New York and Pennsylvania, Volume 2* (London: George Manwaring, 1861), p. 18.

¹⁷ Kohl, *Travels in Canada*, p. 100.

furniture of “the rich, and that of the poor” and that many luxuries were now available to the “farmer and the mechanic.”¹⁸ This was a distortion, but it interesting that a European deliberately downplayed so emphatically the existence of class differences in America.

The furnishing of the homes of mechanics, labourers, and even the poor likely improved as beds, chairs and sets of furniture could be manufactured quickly and cheaply in steam-driven furniture factories. Jacques & Hay was the largest and the best known of these. The *Canadian Merchants' Magazine* reported Jacques & Hay products were “distinguished for cheapness, durability and finish.”¹⁹ They also had the capacity to turn out countless numbers of spool beds, at roughly three dollars each.²⁰ In 1850 the company was described as producing yearly 1,000 bedsteads and 15,000 Windsor chairs.²¹ By 1862, it manufactured 1,000 to 2,000 chairs and 150 bedsteads per week, and by 1867 this number had increased to 2,500 chairs and 200 bedsteads per week.²²

¹⁸ Charles Louis Flint, Charles Francis McCay, Thomas Prentice Kettell, Frederic Beecher Perkins, Thomas Addison Richards, Henry Barnard, James Thatcher Hodge, and John C. Merriam, *Eighty Years' Progress of the United States: Showing the Various Channels of Industry and Education Through which the People of the United States Have Arisen from a British Colony to Their Present National Importance...* (New York: Stebbins, 1861), p. 250.

¹⁹ *Canadian Merchants Magazine* 3, no. 6 (October 1858), p. 434.

²⁰ Kathy McCleary, “Canadian Country Furniture Inch by Inch,” *The Upper Canadian*, November-December 1992, p. 27, and drawing on Jacques & Hay Archives (JHA), quotes from representative letters from Hay in Toronto to the mill in New Lowell requesting 200 common bedsteads in June 1863 and 2,000 to 3,000 in November 1863.

²¹ *The British Colonist* (Toronto), 22 February 1850.

²² *The Globe* (Toronto), 15 February 1862; *The Globe* (Toronto), 31 January 1867.

The volumes of articles produced by Jacques & Hay indicated there was almost unlimited demand for chairs. Among their best-sellers were variations of the slat side chair or the Windsor chair. The Jacques & Hay slat chair had a back composed of two horizontal slats, approximately three inches wide, top to bottom, three-quarters of an inch thick on the bottom edge and one-half inch thick on the top. The back slats were often finely grained ash or elm, which, while durable, could be bent slightly for comfort and a graceful appearance. The legs and posts were usually birch, beech, maple, rock elm or slippery elm. For stretchers, the firm used rock elm when available, or birch. Legs could be turned green, so that when the finished chair finally dried, the former green legs would grasp more tightly the already dry stretchers.²³

Furniture historian John McIntyre describes the slat chair as “the most common nineteenth-century chair found in Ontario today.”²⁴ While there were numerous variations of the slat chair and we find closely-related styles, often called arrowback or cottage chairs, the slat chair was the most popular for ordinary homes. Jacques & Hay also carried furniture stylistically derived from the slat chair, described as “painted caned-seat chairs, office stools, Boston rockers, dining chairs, nurse chairs and children’s chairs.”²⁵ Jeanne Minhinnick, who was a furniture historian extensively involved with the development of Upper Canada Village, determined that such mass-produced chairs cost between 50 cents

²³ John McIntyre, “Chairs and Chairmaking in Upper Canada” (master’s thesis, University of Delaware, 1975), p. 65.

²⁴ McIntyre, “Chairs and Chairmaking,” p. 167.

²⁵ McIntyre, pp. 64, 65, and illustration no. 70, p. 167.

to one dollar in the middle of the nineteenth century.²⁶ Those prices were low, and as many such articles could be bought at auction for still less, chairs were within the reach of almost everyone other than the homeless.²⁷ While the fancy chair was ubiquitous in Upper Canada, Jacques & Hay's correspondence only fleetingly refers to it, suggesting that their heyday had passed, or that the firm called them by the name "pillowback chairs". This descriptor relates to the central portion of the chair's crest rail which was broad and flat and was perhaps the more modern term.²⁸

In addition to the slat chairs, Jacques & Hay also manufactured the enduring and elegant Windsor chairs. The Windsor chair is the generic name for a chair of stick construction; the back is formed by spindles socketed into solid wooden seats, the legs are also composed of spindles.²⁹ Despite its name, the exact point of origin is unknown, but the technique of stick construction may well have developed in many localities in

²⁶ Jeanne Minhinnick, "Some Personal Observations on the Use of Paint in Early Ontario," *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology*, 7, no. 2 (1975), pp. 13-31. The specific time reference is unclear but the context implies that these prices relate to the 1850s and 1860s.

²⁷ The Montreal furniture firm Hilton and Co. estimated that by the 1850s they had lowered the cost of furniture by fifty per cent. Anonymous, *Notes on the Road by a Canadian Guerilla Alias Commercial Traveller* (Toronto: Daily Telegram Printing House, 1868), p. 65.

²⁸ McIntyre, "Chairs and Chairmaking," illustration no. 20, p. 117. Jeanne Minhinnick defined these as painted chairs often in Sheraton, Empire or Victorian styles. *At Home in Upper Canada* (Toronto: Clarke Irwin, 1970), p. 185.

²⁹ In Britain such chairs were largely of hardwood, while in Canada softwood could be used for important elements such as the seat. Cynthia Schwarz Johnson "The Art of the Windsor Chairmaker: An Aesthetic Inquiry" (PhD dissertation, New York University, 1985), p. 65.

England.³⁰ Windsor chairs first arrived in America in the 1720s and are recorded as being produced in Philadelphia in the 1740s. They were used extensively for houses, businesses, social organizations, and public institutions and were a particular favourite of taverns.³¹ As Nancy Goynes Evans remarks, owing to their low cost, durability and good looks, this chair was immensely popular in the United States and eagerly purchased by all classes.³²

Southern Ontario antique shops still display numerous examples of the popular Windsor chair. Unfortunately, as Jacques & Hay almost never labelled their product, we can only guess at which ones were manufactured by that firm.³³ From David Fleming's letter referred earlier, we know that Jacques & Hay produced many painted Windsor chairs, starting in 1845.³⁴ We have a visual impression of what the chairs looked like as the Canadian furniture scholar John McIntyre included a Windsor chair in his master's thesis, identified as likely manufactured by Jacques & Hay. The photo reveals a handsome, well-crafted chair that was part of a set purchased in the 1870s by a Markham, Ontario

³⁰ John Gloag, *A Complete Dictionary of Furniture* (Woodstock, NY: The Overlook Press, 1990), pp. 719-721.

³¹ Nancy Goynes Evans, *Windsor-Chair Making in America: From Craft Shop to Consumer* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2006), pp. ix, xii.

³² Evans, *Windsor-Chair Making in America*, p. xiv.

³³ Until Robert Hay patented selected items of his furniture line in 1879 and the early 1880s, and put his label with the appropriate patent number on the underside of these articles, there was no label or identifying mark for Jacques & Hay furniture. Approximately 10 Hay patents have been identified. See Library and Archives, Canada, RG 105, Volume 78. There are probably more, judging from the number of articles that appear at auction with R. Hay & Co. labels on their reverse sides.

³⁴ Hutchison House, Peterborough, David Fleming to Andrew Fleming, dated 24 August 1845.

blacksmith, who was also a part-time furniture dealer. It was later sold for use at the local lodge-hall of the Independent Order of Foresters. The chair fortunately retains its original dark stain, and, as was typical for Jacques & Hay Windsor chairs, was composed of various mixed hardwoods.³⁵ Similar small-backed Windsor chairs survive in the Baldwin Room of the Toronto Reference Library and these may have been part of the original Jacques & Hay contract to furnish the Toronto Mechanics' Institute, the nineteenth-century predecessor of the current Library.³⁶

While we know that Jacques & Hay produced more chairs than beds, it is the beds that dominate the surviving business correspondence of the company found in the New Lowell general store. This is understandable as the required hardwoods for the bed-posts were abundant in the area. Fleming, who was employed in the Jacques & Hay shop, particularly liked the bedsteads constructed with hardwood turned posts and noted that these were attached by means of wooden screws turned at the end of the bed rails to "make a better job."³⁷ He was probably describing the process by which the bed-rails end in a

³⁵ McIntyre, "Chairs and Chairmaking," p. 170.

³⁶ It is also possible that these are replacement chairs but considering the consistency in design the present chairs appear to resemble the originals depicted in archival photographs. See also the Toronto Reference Library, "Minutes of the Mechanics Institute of Toronto," [hereafter referred to as Minutes MIT]. Manuscripts including minutes and inventories are contained in Toronto Reference Library file, number E1 (for years 1833-1848), E2 (1855-1865), E3 (1857-1860), E4 (1860-1883), E5 (1861-1867); Mechanics' Institute bill, "The Report of the Mechanics Institute Building Committee, 18 September 1861."

³⁷ Jeanne Minhinnick, *At Home in Upper Canada*, (Toronto: Clarke Irwin, 1970), p. 27.

threaded round tenon which could be screwed into the posts. Such beds, easily constructed by attaching a spindle-producing lathe to a steam engine, were sold for 10 shillings in 1846. Local furniture historians, Lynda Nykor and the Mussons, researching Mennonite furniture in York County, Ontario, record that many Upper Canadians switched from products crafted by village artisans to factory-produced spool furniture. Spool beds, and often matching chests of drawers decorated with similarly turned pilasters, proved very popular and may have been associated in the buying public's mind with fashionable decoration.³⁸ With time, this style of furniture was modified and spiral turning was used to decorate countless chairs, now described as Elizabethan, while actually recalling the styling fashionable under Charles II. Spool turning became such a rage that what-nots, tables, chairs, hanging shelves, often displaying bulbous spooling, now graced parlours, and were used in Upper Canadian photographers' studios as props in the production of endless "cartes de visites."³⁹

Jacques & Hay also made cottage furniture. The humble classes' ability to own comfortable homes in the form of well-built cottages, equipped with compatible furniture, was a new idea. As mentioned, the "cottage furniture" concept originated in the United

³⁸ Hutchinson House, David Fleming to Andrew Fleming, 23 March 1846; Andrew Jackson Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses: Including Designs for Cottages, and Farmhouses, and Villas, with Remarks on Interiors, Furniture, and the Best Modes of Warming and Ventilating* (1850; repr., New York, NY: Dover Publications, 1969), pp. 415-416; Lynda Musson Nykor, Patricia Musson, Patricia D. Musson, *Mennonite Furniture: The Ontario Tradition in York County* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1977), p. 55.

³⁹ Minhinnick, *At Home in Upper Canada*, p. 27. These were the small photographs about the size of a visiting card that were circulated widely, particularly in the mid-nineteenth century.

States. It was consistent with the view promulgated by architect Andrew Jackson Downing, and magazine editor Sara Josepha Hale, that all Americans deserved a decent home. This wholesome viewpoint romanticized both simplicity and home life. It was part of the understanding that the “pursuit of happiness” involved all classes. In many ways this was a liberating thought, as it made every man and woman a potential decorator, it raised the status of simplicity and it glorified the home and the family. While many of these concepts were alien to the more hierarchical society of Upper Canada, Jacques & Hay’s prolific production of cottage furniture sets and spool beds was a significant cultural borrowing from America. Just as better technology could reduce the costs of houses, machinery would also deliver inexpensive cabinetry to fill them.

According to Fleming, Jacques & Hay were making large quantities of cottage furniture closely matching the prototype recommended by Downing and manufactured by the cabinet-maker Hennessey of Boston.⁴⁰ Line drawings of how cottage furniture should look, and provided by Downing, were probably quickly copied by other producers on both sides of the border. Jeanne Minhinnick did extensive research on the painted finishes and furniture of the St. Lawrence area and eastern Ontario. Although she concluded that most painted furniture was imported from the United States—she seems unaware that Jacques & Hay made them—she was impressed by the quality of a cupboard that she discovered in Picton, Ontario. She portrayed the cottage furniture produced in the 1850s to 1860s as factory-made, enamel-painted and often covered with flowers, birds, and garlands motifs

⁴⁰ David Fleming to Andrew Fleming, 23 March 1846; Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses*, pp. 415-416.

or, in the case of the Picton cupboard, painted scenes in ovals. The use of bright colours must have created a cheerful and expressive interior for many modest, and often, cold frame houses. The purchasing of matching sets of furniture also resonates with an enhanced desire for a common look in furnishings. This appears to be a new development, and may reflect a greater desire for an overall aesthetic effect. This is the view expressed in *Agricultural Journal* of July 1851 that advised: “A want of system with regard to household furniture leads to inconvenience. We frequently see an intermixture of articles quite unsuited to the place they occupy and to each other.”⁴¹ The stated goal of cottage furniture was to harmonize with the look and feel of a modest, but attractive, cottage.

Cottage furniture was ubiquitous, and Jacques & Hay made great quantities of it. A 1870s bookkeeping manual provides evidence of this. The manual used real life examples to explain various aspects of bookkeeping to a potential store-keeper. One of these examples reads: “Bought of Jakes & Hayes, Toronto, on acct., 10 sets Enamelled Furniture at \$75, 6 do. Black Walnut at \$150, 10 Extension Dining Tables at \$25. Total, \$1900.”⁴² This example reveals the overwhelming presence of Jacques & Hay furniture for the consuming public, and suggests that the sale of cottage furniture was continuing well into the 1870s. It also lists prices, providing detail on the transition from the relatively inexpensive cottage furniture at \$75, to sets of black walnut at double the price. The late

⁴¹ *Agricultural Journal and Transaction of the Lower Canada Agricultural Society* 4 no 7, (July 1851), p. 221.

⁴² S. G. Beatty and J. W. Johnson, *The Canadian Accountant, a Practical system of Book-keeping: Containing a Complete Elucidation of the Science of Accounts...* (Belleville: Ontario Business College, 1877), p. 53.

prevalence of these hardwood sets is confirmed by the fact that parts of them can still be purchased in Ontario at modest prices. This proves that the furniture sets were well made and durable, and by the end of Jacques & Hay's, or now Robert Hay & Co.'s existence, new middle-of-the-road furniture was available and the clear bifurcation between cottage furniture and more elaborate furniture sets with extensive hand-carving was less clearly defined. This middle-class line was usually manufactured in the squarish Eastlake style, and is generally what auctioneers and antique dealers described as "Jacques & Hay" style. Charles Eastlake was a British art critic who urged in 1868 the abandonment of over-decorated furniture in favour of simpler design. Unfortunately, his message was distorted by the large North American factories which mass-produced cookie-cutter furniture with strong rectangular lines and legs with simple turnings. (Figures 18 and 19.)

III. Furniture, Sociability and Respectability

In 1851 the Legislature of the Province of Canada passed in second reading an "Act to Exempt the Tools or Implement of any Householder's Trade or Calling and the Wearing Apparel, the Bedding, and other Furniture Necessary for the Use of His Family from Seizure and Sale under Execution for Debt."⁴³ This reveals what the province's Legislative Assembly considered the necessities of life, and its determination to protect these items.

⁴³ "Bill an act to exempt, to the value of, the tools or implements of any householder's trade or calling, and the wearing apparel, the bedding, and other furniture required for the use of his family, from seizure and sale under execution for debt; and to prevent the property thus exempted from being assigned, pledged or sold, in liquidation of debts contracted for intoxicating drinks," Legislative Assembly, Province of Canada, 1st Session, 4th Parliament, 16 Victoria (Quebec: J. Lovell, 1852), CIHM, 9-05247.

The authors of the bill make it clear that they saw a link between the loss of important domestic goods and poverty and destitution; they held that the seizure of such material objects for the “liquidation of debts contracted for intoxicating drinks” punished the innocent; they also believed that a family stripped of its clothing, tools, bedding and furniture was reduced to “want and misery.” The religious and temperance-promoting press of Upper Canada often featured fictional stories featuring the disastrous effects of drunken husbands on the family. Often the first item to suffer was the family’s furniture as either husbands or fathers would break and destroy household belongings in drunken rages, or the furniture had been pledged for credit at the local bar and could be seized for debt. The wide-spread conviction that this was a common experience among the working class family explains the legislature’s initiative to off-set such a threat. The furniture may have been an elaborate metaphor for the family’s well-being. Perhaps the strongest statement in the Legislature’s bill links the loss of essential family property to weakening “the pillars upon which civilization and order rest.” This last statement is most interesting as it suggests that the bill’s authors had a clear understanding of what the minimum requirements were for family life and this definitely included basic furnishings. It also conveys their readiness to safeguard it. By the 1870s the connection with furniture and civility was even more overt. A probably British article reprinted in the *Canadian Monthly* on the civilizing effect of French furniture declared:

[T]hat the more delicate forms of furniture may gradually descend into common use, and carry their civilizing influence everywhere. Thus far that influence applies to the upper classes only: increasing cheapness of production, coupled with increasing needs in the lower strata of society, may propagate it widely; and some

day future students of the history of civilization may recognize the real importance of the part which furniture has played in the progress of the nineteenth century.⁴⁴

It is likely that cheap bedsteads and dining sets enhanced working-class family life as consumer spending extended down the social scale. It may be hard for a modern reader to understand how crucial it was for the Victorian family to express itself through its house and furnishings, to project an image of decency and respectability. The striving for such status was so alarming to Frederick Engels that he remarked in the 1880s that “The most repulsive thing here [Britain] is the bourgeois “respectability” which has grown deep into the bones of the workers.”⁴⁵ A study of the furniture can shed light on the growing importance of respectability among some members of the working-class. Lizabeth Cohen has written an interesting essay on furniture and the American working class that argues that newly furnished domestic spaces and working-class notions of respectability were

⁴⁴ “Furniture,” *The Canadian Monthly and National Review*, 5, no. 1 (Jan. 1874), p. 89. The argument is repeated in an article in the same publication on the importance of Mechanics’ Institutes. “The decorations and furniture of our house might be raised at little cost to a high order of beauty, and the power of producing multiplied and cheapened so as to be placed within the reach of the classes that made them.” See Richard Lewis, “Mechanics’ Institutes and the Best Means of Improving Them,” *The Canadian Monthly and National Review*, 10, vol. 3 (September 1876), p. 232.

⁴⁵ Letter dated 7 December 1889, Engels to Frederich Adolph Sorge; *Marx and Engels Correspondence and Marx & Engels on the Irish Question* (1968; Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1971), p. 351
<http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1889/letters/>, consulted 20 March 2010.

strongly intertwined.⁴⁶ Certainly, the copy-writing contained in the Eaton's catalogue would suggest similar concepts were circulating in Canada at a slightly later date.⁴⁷

Scholars studying the adoption of respectability by the middle class in both Britain and America have often related to this development to that of a notion of separate spheres of activity, as men went to offices or factories to work, while women stayed home. The concept that men and woman should flourish in their own unique spheres of influence was promoted by the nineteenth-century press and from the pulpit in both Britain and America. This was a powerful and pervasive social discourse that dominated much of the Victorian period. Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall in their volume *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* and Mary Ryan's study of Oneida County, New York, for the years 1790 to 1865, gives a useful picture of how this theory functioned in practice.⁴⁸ Neither book, however, appear to capture the Canadian experience as typified by the partners, Jacques and Hay, their families and their social circles. These individuals were not as burdened by the controls of class or religion as the people described in these studies. Hay's religion was of a bland philosophic nature, his mother-in-

⁴⁶ Elizabeth Cohen, "Respectability at \$50.00 Down, 25 Months to Pay!: Furnishing a Working-Class Victorian Home," in *Furniture in Victorian America*, ed. Kenneth L. Ames (Philadelphia: Victorian Society in America, 1983), pp. 233-242.

⁴⁷ Joy L. Santink, *Timothy Eaton and the Rise of His Department Store* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1990); "Life is broader, deeper, richer today than it ever was, thanks to retailing and progressive manufacturing." *Eaton's Catalogue*, Fall/Winter 1890, p. 54.

⁴⁸ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1987); Mary Ryan, *The Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

law was a successful entrepreneur in her own right and his wife and daughters active in the community.⁴⁹

What did relate closely to the concept of respectability in the Upper Canada mentality was the Victorian house and all its accoutrements; not only did it shelter the family, but it also provided an appropriate setting for the residents' social life. In addition to accommodating routine socialization, the ideal home had sufficient space and furniture for such milestones as births, christenings, marriages, deaths and funerals, as many of these occasions would take place at home.⁵⁰ The house-holders' place in the community ensured not just approval of members of their own class, but also access to business capital, credit extended from store-owners and social acceptance for their children. Social approval guaranteed the strong support of neighbours and friends who moved constantly in and out of each other's homes, providing information, assistance, and entertainment.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Elizabeth Jane Errington agrees, although for a slightly early period, postulating, "In most Upper Canadian homes, the divisions between the public and private sphere were never clearly delineated. Like their mothers and grandmothers, all colonial women worked hard ..." Errington, *Wives and Mothers, School Mistresses and Scullery Maids*, pp. 23.

⁵⁰ The diary of Amelia Harris tells us that very few of her social class and religion were married in church, but rather at home. Robin S. and Terry G. Harris, eds., *The Eldon House Diaries: Five Women's Views of the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, Toronto, 1994), p. lxxviii.

⁵¹ Suzanne Morton, in her study of the working-class suburb of Halifax, Richmond Heights, noted a parallel need for social approval. Women were particularly anxious to maintain their claims on respectability, as it provided them with access to credit and support from their community and church. See *Ideal Surroundings: Domestic Life in a Working-Class Suburb in the 1920s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), pp. 32-50.

Providing a meal or accommodation for the night offered opportunity to build webs of social contact and obligation. In an era of rapid change, there was often anxiety about whether individuals were who they seemed to be.⁵² This was particularly true in British North America, as traditional indicators of class and background were less obvious. Hospitality allowed individuals to determine whether others had anything to offer either socially or economically. Socializing had a serious purpose: reinforcing business relations, cementing business partnerships, finding suitable spouses for children and entertaining friends who might help in times of need. In a nineteenth-century world dominated by winter and distance, people had an urgent need for the company and support of other people. As immigration removed individuals from parts of their traditional networks, it was important for a family's well-being that a new system of relationships be established, often comprised of friends, co-religionists, patrons, clients and neighbours. We find that family and friends sustained many nineteenth-century people in times of trouble. The web of mutual obligation of expertise and assistance may have been as important an investment as money in the bank. Household furnishings, such as sufficient tables and chairs and beds for visitors, enhanced the important social custom of mutual visiting.

The rituals of entertaining, exchanging information and building social alliances empower individuals. While such activities can take place in coffee-houses and taverns, they are more personal if they occur within the family space. Furniture facilitates this richer social life and allows such behaviour to travel further down the social pyramid. As

⁵² Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982).

the urban home was usually separated from the workplace, it now offered more room and greater quiet and was viewed as a place of refuge and recovery.⁵³ While the Briton of the eighteenth century might have loved the public space of the coffee-house, the tavern and the racetrack, or what E. P. Thompson called ‘...the half-pagan popular culture, with its fairs, its sports, its drink, and its picaresque hedonism...’ a century later, home became the nub of such interlocking Victorian values as family, respectability, and evangelistic piety.⁵⁴

The middle class also strongly believed that the working class could progress morally if it enjoyed better material conditions. Improvements in living standards, such as more windows or a shining wooden table in the dining room, were thought to encourage moral growth. Imbedded in the notion of social advances was the implicit understanding that they require increased consumption. Victorian social reformers truly believed that, if the homelife of the poor were improved, then drunkenness, prostitution, poverty, and disease could be eliminated.⁵⁵ They sought to reinforce the image of the industrious, sober, house-holding family man living a life of “family values.” They strongly believed in the uplifting influence of good design and architecture, and also that the wisdom of earlier ages and exotic places might be imparted by replicating the style of other times and other

⁵³ Cole Harris, *The Reluctant Land: Society, Space, and Environment in Canada before Confederation* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008) p. 362.

⁵⁴ E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working-Class*, 3rd ed. (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1968), p. 918; Davidoff and Hall *Family Fortunes*, p. 178; Craig Heron, *Booze: A Distilled History* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2003), pp. 64-68.

⁵⁵ Cohen, “Respectability at \$50.00 Down,” p. 235.

places in ornamentation.⁵⁶ The popularity of Gothic architecture and Gothic furniture may be attributed to the fact that it was considered Christian decoration, and effective for instilling Christian values in those exposed to it.⁵⁷

Newspaper accounts of the period often record local fires. Not only were these devastating for the families involved, but the same accounts usually mention whether the furniture was saved or describe the vigorous efforts to rescue it. Loss of home seemed a particular tragedy for women, and contemporary letters and diaries indicate strong affection for the well-furnished home. A young Upper Canadian girl, Mary Victoria Campion, noted in her diary in 1861 that a neighbour “Mrs. Liggetts’ house was burnt up...They say all of the furniture burnt. It is such a loss.”⁵⁸ In a diary written in 1850 near Hamilton, Ontario, Catherine Bell Van Norman grieves the death of her brother-in-law, lamenting that he had just moved into “a fine brick home” and lived to enjoy it barely five months.⁵⁹ In another instance, concerned about the ill health of a friend, Van Norman

⁵⁶ James Lindsey Hallock, “Woodworking Machinery in Nineteenth-Century America” (master’s thesis, University of Delaware, 1978), p. 8; Clifford E. Clark, Jr., “Domestic Architecture as an Index to Social History: The Romantic Revival and the Cult of Domesticity in America, 1840-1870,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 7 (Summer 1976), pp. 33-56.

⁵⁷ Clark, “Domestic Architecture,” p. 37.

⁵⁸ Mary Victoria Campion, diary entry for 9 January 1861. Mary Victoria Campion, lived in Marmora Township in Hastings County, Canada West in the 1860s. <http://www2.canada.com/ottawacitizen/features/littlehouse/flash/diary>, consulted 11 January 2009.

⁵⁹ Catherine Bell Van Norman, *Catherine Bell Van Norman, Her Diary, 1850* (Burlington, ON: Burlington Historical Society, 1981), p. 31.

hopes that the friend will survive to be able to move into a new home that is “very nicely finished off.”⁶⁰

The *Canadian Monthly*, lauding the civilizing effects of furniture, referred to the struggle between “outdoor temptations” and the “home joys.” It stated that “...women are waking up more and more to an appreciation of the fact that they are fighting with the outer world for the control of men...”⁶¹ The dwelling and all its furnishing may have figured strongly in female consciousness, as they needed social space to forge close alliances with friends, neighbours and fellow church members. As indicated by the legislation to protect household furniture from seizure by debt collectors, it was women and children who had the most to gain from the improvements of domestic life offered by better housing and furniture. Dealing with childbirth, dependent children, sickness and death, women badly needed community support. Some scholars have raised the possibility that Victorian emotional relationships differed considerably from contemporary ones. Historian Carroll Smith-Rosenberg has made an effective case that the emotional relationships that women often forged with each other were extremely important for their psychological well-being.⁶² Such intimacy often compensated for disappointing husbands. In a society when births, illness and death occurred at home, a support system of loving and caring helpers to assist the individual through these major events was crucial. The

⁶⁰ Van Norman, *Her Diary*, p. 12.

⁶¹ “Furniture,” *The Canadian Monthly and National Review*, p. 81.

⁶² Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 53-108.

diary of Frances Tweedie Milne is remarkable in its considerable detail regarding the social life of southern Ontario during the 1860s and 1870s. Milne was married to a successful lumber-miller and farmer in Malvern, Ontario. While the family was prosperous, they were not rich, and Milne was heavily engaged in house and farm work. The Milnes were social people and their most active form of recreation, other than reading, was visiting and being visited. The support that Milne received from her community during the birth of her first child in 1871 was impressive. Milne was regularly visited by her neighbour, an experienced woman in her sixties. Even though Milne was a close friend of the neighbour's two daughters, it was the older woman who waited with Milne for the doctor's arrival after Milne had gone into labour, and who followed up with regular visits after the birth.⁶³ The social rituals of house calls or church attendance might keep such networks intact and functional. Many of these interpersonal transactions were a form of exchange of favours, performed in the social space of the home, and presided over by women.⁶⁴ Women were the family keepers of what has been called the "complicated social arithmetic" that allowed the whole circle of favour and emotional debt to function.⁶⁵ For some marginal or pioneer families, this may have made the difference between life and death.

⁶³ Archives of Ontario, F 763, Frances Tweedie Milne fonds (1867-1871).

⁶⁴ Karen V. Hansen, *A Very Social Time: Crafting Community in Antebellum New England* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994), p. 166.

⁶⁵ Thomas J. Schlereth, *Victorian America: Transformations in Everyday Life, 1876-1915* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1991), p. 118. Susan Sibbald kept a meticulous diary recording visits, calls and letters written and received. While this is a thorough record of social arithmetic, it makes dull reading. In contrast, Sibbald's letters of the same period are both insightful and witty. York University Archives, J. David Wood fonds, call no. 2001-024/002, Susan Sibbald Diary and Letters, 1855-1866.

Houses, furnishings and mothers were asked to carry the burdens of moral development. Knowledge, education and self-improvement were deemed desirable as they contributed to the moral improvement of people of all ranks. In an era obsessed with the necessity of personal and public progress, a good home life was expressive of moral standing and progressive views.⁶⁶ Nineteenth-century family values penetrated much of the skilled working class. We find references to the working man's need for more leisure to spent at home, or in useful reading, in the pages of the 1870s labour publication *The Ontario Workman*, and in the speeches of the labour leaders lobbying for the nine-hour day.⁶⁷ The incipient Canadian labour movement justified greater leisure for the working man with a whole-hearted endorsement of domestic respectability.⁶⁸ It is no wonder that Engels was alarmed by this trend.

Nineteenth-century magazine writers are clear on the improving effects of household furnishings. In the 1850s these are described in straight-forward terms with the

⁶⁶ Jean Gordon and Jan McArthur, "American Women and Domestic Consumption, 1800-1925," in Marilyn Ferris Motz and Pat Brown, *Making the American Home: Middle-Class Women and Domestic Material Culture* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1988), pp. 38, 41, 45 (footnote 26).

⁶⁷ Christina Burr, "The Other Side: The Rhetoric of Labour Reform in Toronto during the 1870s," in *Ontario Since Confederation: A Reader*, ed. Edgar-André Montigny and Anne Lorene Chambers (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), pp. 55-71.

⁶⁸ John Battye, "The Nine Hour Pioneers: The Genesis of the Canadian Labour Movement," *Labour/Le Travail* 4 (1979), pp. 28-29.

emphasis on well-being and comfort. This is illustrated by the following segment from the 1851 *Agricultural Journal*:

Among the means of domestic comfort there is scarcely any so important as what is called household furniture; most persons must have felt that much of their well-being depends on the articles intended for our daily and nightly use.⁶⁹

A little later, a well-furnished parlour was determined to have important civilizing effects. An editorial of *The Canadian Agriculturalist and Journal of Transactions*, quoting from a “manners book,” advised their readers to use their parlours, rather than treating them as shrines to domesticity.

Finally if you have beautiful things, make them useful. The fashion of having a nice parlour, and then shutting it up all but three or four days in a year, when you have company—spending your own life in a mean room, shabbily furnished, on an unhealthy basement, to save your things, is the meanest possible economy. Go a little further—shut up your house and live in a pig-pen. The use of nice and beautiful things is to act upon your spirit—to educate you and make you beautiful.⁷⁰

By the 1860s, there were some indications that there were cravings beyond comfort and symmetry, and that a prosperous country could enjoy some forms of luxury. In October 1869 the *Sarnia Observer* commented on the manufactured items that had been exhibited at the local London Ontario fair, saying “...the country ...has arrived at the point in the onward march of progress, when its population can afford to devote a portion of their time and attention to the manufacture of articles of luxury...”⁷¹ The editorialist saw

⁶⁹ *Agricultural Journal* 4, no. 7 (July 1851), p. 221.

⁷⁰ *The Canadian Agriculturalist and Journal of Transactions*, October, 1855, p. 317.

⁷¹ *The Sarnia Observer*, 1 October 1869.

the manufacture of consumer items, such as furniture and textiles, as a first step. If the residents of Ontario could move beyond the acquisition of necessary, and often utilitarian, household objects, they would then pay greater attention to aesthetics and ornamentation. And indeed, by 1870s we know that Americans, and likely all North Americans, would spend more on furniture than ever before.⁷² The scene was set for the consumption of more pretentious furniture.

⁷² Gordon and McArthur, “American Women and Domestic Consumption, 1800-1925,” p. 35.

Chapter Six

Ornamental Furniture for the Wealthy and Tasteful¹

I. Introduction

During the 1960s and 1970s, there was great public enthusiasm for pioneer life as depicted in such reconstructed communities as Upper Canada and Black Creek Pioneer Villages. Here the Canadian nineteenth century was dramatized as a world of sturdy farmers overcoming the wilderness to wrest an existence from a frozen land, living among attractive but rustic dry sinks, harvest tables and pine-corner cupboards.²

¹ The Marquess of Lorne approved of Jacques & Hay furniture, which he found tastefully appropriate for the residents of Canada. He said, “Its [Toronto’s] factories employ thousands of skilled workmen...Nowhere is the abundance of wood turned to better account. The cheap furniture is excellent, while [people of taste and wealth] find ornamental inlaid ‘marqueterie’ and first-rate joiners’ work in the more expensive kind of ‘household effects.’” John Douglas Sutherland Campbell, Duke of Argyll, Marquess of Lorne, Governor-General of Canada, 1878-1883, *Canadian Pictures: Drawn with Pen and Pencil* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1884), p. 83. Judging from questions raised in the House of Commons and the numerous articles from the 1870s still in Rideau Hall, we can assume that Lorne not only lauded Canadian furniture-making, but was a big shopper himself. He bought furniture from the R. Hay & Co. on 7 April 1874. Robert Hubbard, *Rideau Hall: An Illustrated History of Government House, Ottawa* (Ottawa: The Queen’s Printer, 1967), p. 61, footnote 59 refers to *Journal* (Ottawa), 7 April 1874.

² The Royal Ontario Museum curator, Donald Webster believed that this mythology created a bias in the Canadian antique market and that “the ordinary and mediocre are typically overvalued, both aesthetically and economically, while the fine or significant are substantially undervalued.” Donald Webster, *Canfake: An Expert’s Guide to the Tricks of the Canadian Antique Trade* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1997), p. 25.

Furniture historian Scott Symons called this the “Log Cabin myth of Canadiana.” This mythical equalitarian world leaves little room for the prosperous Victorian family enjoying a brick home with silk-covered furniture and sipping sherry in the parlour. In an overstatement, Symons referred to this latter world “a culture of sophistications, elegances, poise and literacy and believed that visual heritage was “well-reflected in the fine furniture of Canadian hardwoods such as maple, cherry and black walnut.”³ Elizabeth Collard’s research on the patterns of china consumption in Canada reinforces Symons’ conclusions. Immigrating gentlefolk and better-off Upper Canadians constituted a ready market for china of the “superior kind.”⁴ In contrast, our loyalty to the bush-whacking colonist myth may explain the infatuation with Canadian pine, associated with simplicity and wholesome values.

Although many immigrants in Upper Canada were poor, a significant proportion of longer-established inhabitants of the province had money, and Toronto was a centre for consumption.⁵ Jacques & Hay were capable of providing this more affluent clientele with the type of furniture it wanted. In 1857, Writer William Chambers told his readers “...in this recently established city there is a manufactory of cabinet and other varieties of

³ Scott Symons, *Heritage: A Romantic Look at Early Canadian Furniture* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1971), p. 32; Scott Symons, “The Contemporary Meaning in Canadiana: Jean Palardy’s *The Early Furniture of French Canada*,” *Queen’s Quarterly* 71, no. 2 (Summer 1964), p. 269.

⁴ Elizabeth Collard, *Nineteenth-Century Pottery and Porcelain in Canada* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1967), pp. 18-19.

⁵ Barrie Dyster, “Toronto, 1840-1860: Making It in a British Protestant Town” (PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 1970), pp. 249, 256.

furniture, turning out articles which, in point of elegance, will match any products of France or England.”⁶ And in 1859, Charles Mackay reminded his readers that Jacques & Hay made more than basic furniture and commented on the incredible diversity of Jacques & Hay’s production, ranging from the chair “for the log-hut” to “the most costly fauteuil.”⁷

Pioneer and author Catharine Parr Trail noted that more affluent would-be colonists “...will be able to purchase very handsome furniture of black walnut or cherry wood at moderate at cost.” She added, “[F]urniture, new and handsome, and even costly, is to be met with in any of the large towns...”⁸ Although Jacques & Hay’s use of steam technology allowed them to supply the lower-priced market interested in value and serviceability, they never stopped targeting the well-off who wanted to replace the antiques left in Britain, or the newly wealthy who wanted to pretend they were replacing antiques. Both of these markets mutually supported each other. The clients of modest means kept the factory busy; the rich clients promoted the furniture line and facilitated the winning of public contracts.

⁶ William Chambers, *Things as They are in America* (Edinburgh: W. and R. Chambers, 1854), p. 115.

⁷ Charles Mackay, *Life and Liberty in America, Or, Sketches of a Tour in the United States and Canada, in 1857-8* (London: Smith Elder, 1859), pp. 271-274.

⁸ Catharine Parr Trail, *The Female Emigrant’s Guide and Hints on Canadian Housekeeping* (Toronto: Maclear, 1854), p. 34.

II. Jacques & Hay's Affluent Consumers

References to Jacques & Hay furniture are not uncommon in the letters, diaries, newspaper accounts and photographs of the period. Such evidence usually relates to the better class of furniture, as the consumers of these items had the education and the leisure to record their transactions or their impressions of the cabinetry. The principal individuals who figure in any documentation of Jacques & Hay include: John Macaulay, Larratt Smith, Mrs. Edward Copleston, George Brown and the Austin family of Spadina. Luckily such a list touches on every decade in which the firm was active. Macaulay was the civil secretary of Sir George Arthur, the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, 1838-1839, and living in Toronto, while his mother for whom he was purchasing furniture was a resident of Kingston.⁹ Larratt Smith, trained as a lawyer, became a senior executive at Consumers' Gas Company. As his final home was a 30-room mansion on a large Toronto estate, where he lived with his second wife and 12 children, he must have been an excellent long-term customer for Jacques & Hay.¹⁰ Mrs. Edward Copleston was the author of *Canada: Why We Live in It, and Why We Like It* (London: Parker, Son, and Bourn, 1861). She is a fascinating figure and it is unfortunate that we know little about her, including her first name. Following a financial set-back in Britain, Copleston and her husband emigrated to Canada in search of a place where they could stretch their income.

⁹ "John Macaulay," *Canadian Dictionary of Biography Online*, <http://www.biographi.ca>, consulted 23 May 2010.

¹⁰ William Larratt Smith and Mary Larratt Smith, eds. *Young Mr Smith in Upper Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980).

They appeared to have lived temporarily in several places, such as Orillia and Toronto, before settling on a farm along the St. Lawrence River. From there, Copleston completely fades from view.¹¹ James Austin, founder of The Dominion Bank and of Consumers' Gas Company, purchased Spadina, a spacious house and estate slightly outside the then city of Toronto, for his family in 1866.¹²

The act of purchasing furniture has much to do with the personality or fantasies of the individuals involved. There is a strong element of projection in selecting household furnishings. As Mrs. Macaulay noted in her letter to her son, her consumption of useful cabinetry should also be an opportunity to exercise patriotism. Larratt Smith could demonstrate his success as a lawyer and a family man by furnishing his lake-side cottage with Jacques & Hay, using borrowed money. Mrs. Copleston could convince herself that the products of this new world were as good as the old; Brown was able to reassure himself and his wife that he was tasteful and not just nouveau rich. The Austins' purchases of two generations of Jacques & Hay's products may only indicate that they had money, were brand-loyal and needed furniture.

Our earliest accounts of Jacques & Hay furniture from the consumer's point of view appear in the correspondence of John Macaulay to his mother, Ann. In 1839,

¹¹ Mrs. Edward Copleston, *Canada: Why We Live in it, and Why We Like it* (London: Parker Son and Bourn, 1861).

¹² "James Austin," *Canadian Dictionary of Biography Online*, <http://www.biographi.ca>, consulted 23 May 2010.

Macaulay patronized Jacques & Hay and their rival Joseph Wilson in order to furnish his own and his mother's home.¹³ Wilson may have offered a greater range of services than Jacques & Hay at this early point in the firm's history, as he had begun his business two year earlier, and he supplied the Macaulay house in Toronto with chairs, wallpaper, curtains, and carpeting.¹⁴ We also learn that Macaulay, who seems to have been sincerely interested in the decorating process, also purchased some goods in Rochester and Buffalo.¹⁵ From his letters, we know that Macaulay had planned a shopping trip to Buffalo, but Ann Macaulay begged off, informing her son that she "can't go to Buffalo owing to heat [in July 1839] ...I bring to my recollection patriotic feelings that it would not be right to spend my money in encouraging Yankee manufactures."¹⁶ After his mother's cancellation of their trip, Macaulay then purchased some larger articles of cabinetry from Wilson's, and then Jacques & Hay, for use in his mother's home.

¹³ David Fleming had first worked for Wilson's before leaving for employment with Jacques & Hay. Hutchinson House, David Fleming to Andrew Fleming, 23 March 1846; Library and Archives, Canada, file R7666-0-8-E, "Diaries of Sandford Fleming," with particular reference to 1843-52; Sandford Fleming's diary entry 1 June 1846.

¹⁴ Joan MacKinnon, *A Checklist of Toronto Cabinet and Chair Makers 1800-1865*. (Ottawa: National Museum of Man Mercury Series [History Division Paper No. 11], 1975), pp. 178-180.

¹⁵ Joan MacKinnon states that by the mid 1830s the tendency was for better classes to purchase their furniture in Toronto, rather than in Rochester or Buffalo. See MacKinnon, *A Checklist of Toronto Cabinet and Chair Makers*, p. 3.

¹⁶ Ontario Archives (OA) F32, MS 78, reel 3; Macaulay fonds, Ann Macaulay to John Macaulay, 21 July 1839; Jeanne Minhinnick and Elizabeth Wylie, "Extracts from the Macaulay Papers Relating to Furnishings, Architecture and Gardens," *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology*, 5, no. 3 (1973), pp. 34-76.

The diaries of Larratt Smith are most revealing in regard to his attitude toward Jacques & Hay. According to his careful expenditure records, he opened a standing account with them upon his marriage in late 1845. Smith was decorating his first home, a cottage on Front Street, not far from the site of what would shortly be the Jacques & Hay factory, with the advice of his future mother-in-law, not his bride.¹⁷ Over the next five and half years, Smith spent a total of £108 on cabinetry.¹⁸ As this was a running account, we have little or no breakdown of the precise items of furniture included. This was also a fair amount, as in 1852 John Beverley Robinson ordered from Jacques & Hay ten items of furniture, had carpeting laid and a papier mâché tray fixed, for just over £27.¹⁹ Whatever the size of Smith's furniture order, it is likely that the Jacques & Hay items were a bargain compared with similar British cabinetry. Judith Flanders, quoting figures drawn from J.H. Walsh's 1857 publication, *Manual of Domestic Economy*, suggested that a British "prosperous" family would need £585 to furnish a three bedroom house with sufficient room for two servants.²⁰ For another point of comparison, Peter Ward in his book, *Courtship, Love and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century English Canada*, recounts how a Mrs Elmsley, pressing the marriage suit of her son, informed his potential mother-in-law that a couple in Toronto could live as well as one in England possessing twice the

¹⁷ Smith, *Young Mr Smith in Upper Canada*, pp. 95-96.

¹⁸ Toronto Reference Library, S102, Larratt Smith, "Diaries and Expenditure Accounts," Toronto, Upper Canada, 1845-55.

¹⁹ John Beverley Robinson ordered a total of £27/14/4 worth of furniture in 1852. MacKinnon, *A Checklist of Toronto Cabinet and Chair Makers*, p. 81.

²⁰ Judith Flanders, *The Victorian House: Domestic Life from Childbirth to Death* (London: Harper Perennial, 2003), p. 133.

income.²¹ At the same time as Smith was decorating his house, he faced significant financial difficulties, as his law practice was struggling. Reviewing his expenditure to an aunt who had advanced money for his law firm, he maintained that he had not been extravagant, but had furnished his house “decently, rather than handsomely.”²² Smith obviously felt that Jacques & Hay furniture was appropriate to his station and expectations, and, because of the importance of social entertaining, a critical business investment as well as a source of personal pleasure.²³ Jacques & Hay were very effective at capturing the loyalty of this rising class of young middle-class men, who were carving out a future in a young colony and seeking to enhance their standing in that community.

Mrs. Edward Copleston’s fresh account of her immigration to Canada in 1856 yields significant information about furniture in Canada and its importance in home-making.²⁴ While the Toronto elites might have used their homes and décors to advance their careers, the Coplestons simply wanted to maintain their previous social status, or at the least the same level of material comfort. Mrs. Copleston was candid about the reasons

²¹ Peter Ward, *Courtship, Love and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century English Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1990), p. 142.

²² Larratt Smith’s letter to his aunt 19 February 1847, reprinted in Smith, *Young Mr. Smith in Upper Canada*, pp. 107-108.

²³ Christina Bates, in her essay on the furnishing of John A. Macdonald’s house in Kingston, made an instructive comparison between the free-spending ways of the young Macdonald of Kingston and those of Larratt Smith of Toronto. Christina Bates, *Research Bulletin: Furnishing Bellevue in 1848* (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1982), pp. 6-7, 12, note 29. Egerton Ryerson also invested in a house beyond his means. Egerton Ryerson, Sophia Howard (Ryerson) Harris, Charles Bruce Sissons, *My Dearest Sophie: Letters from Egerton Ryerson to his Daughter* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1955), p. xxvi.

²⁴ Copleston, *Canada: Why We Live in It, and Why We Like It*.

for her family's removal to Canada, citing some financial embarrassment requiring re-settlement in a British colony where they could live reasonably inexpensively.²⁵ At the time of her writing, and her book, published in 1861, is really the expansion of a series of family letters, her family was having qualified success farming in the St. Lawrence River Valley. While describing this transition with considerable zest, she did not conceal her disappointments. Determined to make the best of it, Copleston did not minimize the rough edges of the native inhabitants, or the isolation of the countryside or the fierceness of winter. But she balances her negative observations with detailed comments about the amenities that did impress her, describing the steamer taking the newcomers from Kingston to Toronto as "a large floating hotel" with a "luxurious drawing room and piano."²⁶ In a similar fashion, the lake steamer "J. C. Morrison" that transported the family to Orillia, Ontario, where they lived for several months, was depicted as having "costly velvet furniture," and the elaborate woodwork furnished by Jacques & Hay was described as "beautifully carved."²⁷

Copleston was very interested in Jacques & Hay furniture and, while she did not cite the company by name, she makes reference to a visit of a governor-general to a Toronto furniture factory that could only have been the tour by Lord Elgin of the new

²⁵ Copleston, pp.1-2.

²⁶ Copleston, p. 16.

²⁷ Copleston, p. 36. She does not name the steamer, but her description permits only this identification. The J. C. Morrison was a large and luxurious steamer built for Lake Simcoe at a cost of about 18,000 pounds. It was equipped with a Chickering piano in the salon.

Jacques & Hay building in 13 October 1849.²⁸ The vocabulary she uses to describe this vice-regal event is very similar to that used by Williams Chambers when he visited Jacques & Hay in the early 1850s.²⁹ Copleston also records the furnishing of her Toronto home, described as “a semi-detached frame-cottage” with “green Venetian shutters and small verandah” with new local furniture.³⁰ This very likely came from Jacques & Hay, as the governor-general anecdote follows closely her description of her cottage décor, suggesting a line of thought between the two stories. Copleston is quite matter-of-fact when making comparisons between her life in Britain and her experiences in British North America. Writing on the aesthetics of home furnishings in Canada, she comments:

I do not say articles of furniture bought at such low figures are so good or substantial as those purchased at home, but they serve their purpose; the tout ensemble of our little establishment always impressed everyone who looked in upon us, as pleasant and well arranged. This was in a great measure due to the light finish given to the furniture, which is, for the most part, made of our hardiest Canadian walnut, worked and carved by machinery, and very highly polished.³¹

Copleston’s observations suggest that the pumice-rubbed sheen of Canadian cabinetry was particularly fine in comparison with British furniture of the period. Writers such as Copleston were attempting to assess Canada’s potential for civilized living, and, in enumerating the abundant resources of hardwoods, were making a statement about the

²⁸ Copleston, pp. 67-68; *The Globe* (Toronto) 13 October 1849.

²⁹ Chambers, *Things as They Are in America*, p. 115.

³⁰ Copleston, p. 66.

³¹ Copleston, p. 68.

industry's possible future.³² Nineteenth-century commentators on the domestic scene reacted strongly to gleaming wood. Hard-wood furniture had been a costly item in Britain, and as noted in the letters and diaries of the time, the appeal of a beautiful wood finish was strong.

Macaulay, Smith and Copleston were all enthusiastic shoppers who expressed satisfaction with their purchases. They appreciated the quality of Canadian furniture and its ability to furnish a house relatively inexpensively and in an appealing manner. Macaulay had just moved to Toronto and was assisting his elderly mother in Kingston; Smith was newly married and creating his first home; and Copleston was attempting to duplicate some of the elegance of her old world in a new setting. The variety and availability of Jacques & Hay furniture provided a measure of comfort and reassurance in these cycles of home-creation. The psychological importance of having a comfortable and welcoming home is probably best illustrated by Larratt Smith's refusal to return to his cottage after the death of his first wife.³³ The cottage was closed, the furniture auctioned, children boarded with relatives and Smith moved in with his sister and her husband.

³² The American historian of technology, Brooke Hindle, described wood as the "basic foundation" of the American economy. This statement may be even more accurate for Canada. See "The Artisan During America's Wooden Age," in *Technology in America: A History of Individuals and Ideas*, ed. Carroll W. Pursell (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1981), p. 9.

³³ Smith, *Young Mr Smith in Upper Canada*, p. 155.

Jacques & Hay were fortunate to inspire considerable loyalty for many decades from better-off customers. In the 1860s and 1870s they were patronized by the politician and newspaper editor George Brown. Brown's unique place as the pre-eminent shaper of public opinion in Upper Canada must have had a powerful influence on the firm's success.³⁴ On a holiday trip to Scotland, in his mid-forties, Brown married Anne Nelson, the daughter of a prominent publisher. In the mid 1860s, while Brown was attending Parliament, then situated in Quebec City, he wrote almost daily to his wife. Many of these letters were written inside the Parliament during the tedious political debates that preceded Canadian Confederation. In these notes, beginning in July 1864, George Brown ignored the background noise of the House to describe his delight in furnishing the couple's first home. Prior to this time, the couple had lived in Brown's parental home and he details his acquisition of rooms full of Jacques & Hay furniture, much of it ordered from the showroom located near his newspaper office on King Street. Brown appears to have been close to both Jacques & Hay partners and he records in his letters the very mild stroke that Robert Hay suffered in the 1870s, and the death of Jacques' grandson at Upper Canada College.³⁵

Brown's letters have a poignant quality. According to his biographer, J.M.S. Careless, Brown underwent a profound personality change after his marriage. From being

³⁴ According to Maurice Careless, the *Globe* was the most influential newspaper in English-speaking Canada for some forty years. See J. M. S. Careless, *Toronto to 1918*, (Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1984), p. 67.

³⁵ Library and Archives, Canada, George Brown fonds, R2634-0-9-E, reels C-1601 to C-1605, George Brown to Anne Brown, 14 October 1875; George Brown to Anne Brown, 16 December 1875.

a very public man, a political chieftain absorbed in his newspaper office and the meeting hall, he became a loving husband and father engrossed in the careful construction of an intimate family life. Brown, who had lived with his parents until his marriage, had never had to create his own home. He was also attempting to cope with Anne's discomfort with both Toronto, and perhaps the raucous nature of local politics.³⁶ It is possible that by meticulously furnishing his own house, "Oak Lodge," Brown was hoping to construct a private world sufficiently attractive to tempt his wife to stay longer in Toronto and spend less time in Scotland with her influential family. As a man with a gift for politics and some flair for drama, Brown designed his house as a theatrical setting for the staging of his family life. In the arrangement of his larger public rooms, he was inventing the story of his future life there. His lengthy letters minutely describe the furniture from Jacques & Hay, the carpeting, the mirrors, the lighting, and, finally, the glassware and the china.³⁷ He purchased some of these things from as far away as New York and London and, although seeking considerable advice from Robert Hay on furniture and general decoration, he found nothing unmanly in personally choosing the wallpaper and

³⁶ Anne Brown to George Brown, 28 February 1865. Anne, pressing for a possible permanent return to Scotland, recorded in this letter that "the idea of being buried here is dreadful to me." She is buried in Scotland.

³⁷ Brown's carpeting was ordered from Britain and arrived in pieces to be assembled and sewed by Jacques & Hay. This seems to be part of their general decorating services. George Brown to Anne Brown, 27 February 1865. Wilton and Brussels carpets were woven in strips up to approximately 32 inches wide and had to be sewn together to form the complete carpet. Corresponding borders were also available in roughly 12 or 18 inch wide strips and carpets generally fitted wall to wall. Neil Brochu, Collections Specialist, Collections and Conservation, Museums and Heritage Services, City of Toronto, email to Denise Jacques, 11 July 2008.

accompanying room border for his infant daughter.³⁸ Above all, Brown made no attempt to mask his pleasure in this activity: “[D]o you know I am vulgar enough to like all this little fuss about putting down new things....[I]t is rather vulgar I know, but it’s amusing and pleasant.”³⁹

The letters suggest a man who was eager to demonstrate his new status in life as a husband and father, but was also somewhat anxious in his new role. He was delighted by the larger possibilities that his recent acquisition of significant wealth had opened up, but cautious about displaying it too ostentatiously.⁴⁰ Brown worried about his taste, and about the possible gossip that his new house and furnishings might prompt, and about whether it made him look nouveau riche.⁴¹ On 1 March 1865, Brown reassured his wife that they should not care what people might say, as they can pay their bills, and have not been extravagant “one bit.”⁴² What is more striking than Brown’s enthusiasm for interior design is that this inclination coincided with the period in which he was building a country. In his letters, Brown seems more interested in the minutiae of house decoration than in the details of the Quebec Conference he was attending at this point, and where he

³⁸ George Brown to Anne Brown, 6 December 1864.

³⁹ George Brown to Anne Brown, 1 March 1865.

⁴⁰ Between his wife’s handsome dowry of \$120,000 and the sale of his properties at Bothwell for \$250,000, Brown had become a wealthy man and was enjoying the new freedom of this affluence. J.M.S. Careless, *Brown of the Globe* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1959), pp. 81,186.

⁴¹ George Brown to Anne Brown 26 January 1865, 1 March 1865.

⁴² George Brown to Anne Brown, 1 March 1865.

made his greatest contribution to Canadian life.⁴³ For someone unused to decorating, Brown chose remarkably well, if we can judge from the second Brown house which is still standing on Beverley Street in Toronto. The public rooms have a presence and warmth, and it is possible that Jacques & Hay produced the magnificent walnut doors found in this home. Unfortunately Anne Brown sold all the Jacques & Hay furniture at public auction in 1889 and only elements of the Jacques & Hay carved bookcase have survived in the Beverley Street house.⁴⁴

George Brown's consumption of Jacques & Hay furniture gives us considerable insight into how furniture was viewed in Upper Canada. Mary Douglas' theoretical perspective can help put Brown and his consumption into context.⁴⁵ Douglas discusses how some group behaviour ensures that no clear difference in living standards can be achieved by anyone within the group.⁴⁶ She and Baron C. Isherwood posit that the world of goods constitutes a living information system and a means of checks and balances. The buying and displaying of goods by individuals involves a commonly understood visual vocabulary to communicate symbolically with other members of their group. Dismissing

⁴³ J.M.S. Careless, "George Brown," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, www.biographi.ca/EN/ShowBio, consulted 19 February 2008.

⁴⁴ The *Globe* (Toronto), 17 September 1889.

⁴⁵ Mary Tew Douglas and Baron C. Isherwood, eds. *The World of Goods* (New York: Basic Books, 1979).

⁴⁶ Douglas and Isherwood, *The World of Goods*, pp. 36-38. The work cited is Norman Dennis, Fernando Henriques and Clifford Slaughter, *Coal is Our Life: An Analysis of a Yorkshire Coal Mining Community* (London: Tavistock, 1969). There have been similar findings in examinations of the saloon culture of both Ireland and the United States. See Thomas Schlereth, *Victorian America: Transformations in Everyday Life, 1876-1915* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1991), p. 228.

the argument that material articles are often cherished for unnecessary or grandiose display, these scholars argue that consumer goods provide a ready means for understanding an individual's place in a power structure. Goods provide identifying badges for social exclusion, or for inclusion.⁴⁷ Many of the forms of social control outlined by Douglas can be seen in George Brown's attitudes towards furnishing his first home. Brown's decision-making about his décor reflects wider issues of cultural consumption and social self-invention. While Brown wanted a showplace house and furnishings, there are underlying tensions; he worried about how others will view his rooms full of new Jacques & Hay furniture. He anticipated gossip about how much he had spent, and criticism for indulging himself. When Brown fretted about being perceived as "extravagant," he may merely have been unsure that he was reading correctly the subtle cues of the moneyed elite and consequently coming across as a parvenu. He wanted to convey a measure of power, without alienating his confined society. Brown was perceptive in his concerns, as many societies when faced with a new rising class often attack the brashness of those with new fortunes. A potential social critic such as Susan Sibbald, representing old money and a pedigreed background, denouncing his drawing room for vulgarity, would have been Brown's worst nightmare.

George Brown was not exaggerating the possibility that Toronto might be critical, particularly of such a public and partisan figure such as him. Brown was living in a young society on the edge of a vast continent engaged in defining its social norms. Prestige and

⁴⁷ Schlereth, *Victorian America*, pp. 84-85.

deference were in a state of flux, owing to the diverse geographic and social origins of many immigrants, their varying abilities to seize opportunities in the new nation, and by the social consequences of sweeping technological changes. Brown was purchasing furniture at a time of transition, when greater numbers of newly-rich and middle-class people could demonstrate success through the display of domestic goods. Good wood did not just express status; properly chosen, it could go further and actually create it. In a period of unstable hierarchy, material goods offered a means of fixing status and displaying accomplishment. Brown wanted to get the balance just right between self-confidence and overstatement. Brown's letters from the 1860s and 1870s convey how closely he worked with Robert Hay on numerous minute details of decoration. This indicates that they found the process worthy of attention, and had a visual image of how things should look. It also suggests that Brown's experience ran parallel to those of Macaulay, Copleston and Smith, and the choice of furniture and décor was expected to provide narrative about the respective owners' backgrounds and hopes and dreams.

III. Spadina

Photographic records provide us with considerable information about some of the larger houses in Canada. Spadina, the Toronto home of the Austin family, has been preserved almost in its entirety and was sympathetically restored in the 1980s. The museum was open until recently closed for refurbishing in the style of the 1920s and 1930s. Spadina was purchased in 1866 by James Austin, founder of the Dominion Bank and president of Consumers' Gas Company. The original decoration that the Austen

family chose for Spadina over the decades illustrated the evolution of style from mid-Victorian to 1930s Colonial Revival, drawing on elements from the Arts and Crafts and Aesthetic movements, as well in the Art Nouveau and Art Deco styles. Nevertheless, the Austins never got rid of their early purchases of Jacques & Hay furniture. These pieces were in the house when it was transferred to the public in 1978, and the drawing room alone still boasts twenty-eight pieces of Jacques & Hay's manufacture.⁴⁸ We have documentation that at least two large sales of Jacques & Hay furniture were made to two generations of Austins; the first items were ordered by James and Susan Austin from the Jacques & Hay's King Street ware-rooms in 1866; and the second by Albert Austin and his wife Mary in 1882.⁴⁹ It is not improbable that earlier purchases were made before the Austins moved into Spadina and some bills from the 1870s may no longer be in existence. This would account for the happy mixing of nineteenth-century styles, such as Gothic with Louis XV, Renaissance Revival with Eastlake. Sometimes more than one style is represented in the same piece of cabinetry. Spadina provides us insight into the uses of furniture in the Canadian home of the Victorian period; it is typical in some ways

⁴⁸ The last descendant of the Austin family and living resident of the house, Anna Kathleen Thompson, transferred the house, furnishings and remaining acreage to the City of Toronto and the Province of Ontario in 1978. <http://www.toronto.ca/culture/museums/spadina-history.htm>, consulted 25 March 2010; Ontario Heritage Foundation, Toronto Historical Board, "Spadina: A joint preservation project of the Province of Ontario through the Ontario Heritage Foundation and the City of Toronto under the direction of the Toronto Historical Board, opening, 1984." There are no page numbers in this publication, but the information provided is posted under the heading "Restoration of Drawing Room Furniture."

⁴⁹ Austin Seton Thompson, *Spadina: A Story of Old Toronto* (Toronto: Pagurian Press Limited, 1975), p. 121; Spadina House Archives, Toronto, bill addressed to A. Austin from R. Hay & Co., 16 December 1882.

and, in others, it is exceptional. It shows how Jacques & Hay furniture was consumed by Toronto's more affluent nineteenth-century middle classes.

Spadina's interiors reflect the tastes of an upwardly mobile class and provide examples of the type of the material goods with which they filled their homes. The house's main rooms show how the furniture was used. All rooms accessible to guests had specific purposes and furniture to match. The entrance hall where visitors arrived and were greeted was normally furnished with a wooden hall-stand, as large and impressive as possible.⁵⁰ The hall-stand performed specific functions. If the master of the house were at home he would leave his high top-hat there, announcing his presence. If ladies or other visitors called through the day, the maid would fetch from the hall-stand the tray for calling cards to be either left, or presented to the mistress of the house. When the lady of the house or her daughters left home, they would check the mirror in the hall-stand to ensure that their hats were in order and to examine the expression that was set to meet the world.⁵¹ Tradesmen would be asked to wait in the hall, seated on chairs that had ornate backs and legs, but uncomfortable and durable plank seats.⁵² Tradesmen were never

⁵⁰ Ruth Cathcart, *Jacques & Hay: Nineteenth-Century Toronto Furniture Makers*. (Erin, Ontario: Boston Mills Press, 1986), p. 81. Neil Brochu, the collections specialist of Spadina's furniture, reports that the hall-stand was even more impressive in its original state, but as the furniture was a blend of the Jacques & Hay furniture of two generations of Austins, components have been removed to fit the space. This is also indicative of a tendency to restyle furniture to keep up with changing trends.

⁵¹ Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Garden City, New York, Doubleday and Anchor Books, 1959), p. 121.

⁵² Adrian Forty, *Objects of Desire: Design and Society Since 1750* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), p 86.

permitted to leave cards in the card tray.⁵³ The Jacques & Hay hall-stand used by the Austin family at Spadina was both ostentatious and extremely fashionable.⁵⁴ The hall-seats are particularly fine and imaginative. They are the house's clearest examples of Gothic Revival, with three-lobe backs pierced by stylized Gothic motifs. (Figure 20.) It is also revealing that the Austins had no difficulty mixing their "aesthetic movement" hall-stand, with carved sunflowers of 1880s, with the Gothic hall-chairs of an earlier period.

The centre of most Victorian houses was the parlour and, when the house was as impressive as Spadina, it was referred to as the drawing room.⁵⁵ Traditionally, the parlour was used as a central display area to demonstrate good taste by the careful selection of good furniture. The parlour was a formal room with serious intentions, and only rituals, gestures and topics of conversation deemed consistent with the notion of gentility were supposed to take place there.⁵⁶ Often in the middle of the room was a well-lit table, where an inherited Bible might be placed to represent the heart of the family, as well as other books or albums of photos important to the family. Here, the ladies of the houses might work on their needlework, and chairs might be covered with what was known as raised

⁵³ Schlereth, *Victorian America*, p. 117.

⁵⁴ Cathcart, *Jacques & Hay*, p. 81.

⁵⁵ The parlour also might be called the drawing room, the morning room, or the breakfast room depending on the region. Margaret Ponsonby, "Ideals, Reality and Meaning: Homemaking in England in the first half of the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Design History* 16, no. 3 (2003), p. 213, footnote 10.

⁵⁶ Michael J. Ettema, "The Fashion System in American Furniture," in *Living in a Material World: Canadian and American Approaches to Material Culture*, ed. Gerald Pocius (St. John's, NL : Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1991), p. 193.

work.⁵⁷ Jacques & Hay appeared to have had a profitable side-industry providing the necessary cabinetry to display such needlepoint. Records exist showing they produced a chair for a Widder daughter to cover with needlework, and a footstool for the “Berlin work” of Susanna Moody.⁵⁸ Spadina has one rather exotic Jacques & Hay chair from the 1880s, dramatically decorated with a Moorish arched back and displaying an unusual needlepoint of a female figure, decorated with feathers and equipped with a bow, and lion. (Figure 20 and 21.)

The design and detail of Victorian furniture suited new forms of socializing and this is reflected in something as mundane as the staging of chairs, tables and sofas. In contrast to the Georgian period, when furniture was carefully lined up against the walls in a symmetric but static setting when not in use, by the mid-nineteenth-century parlour furniture was intended to be viewed from all sides in rooms with high ceilings.⁵⁹ The invention of the coiled string led to greater attention to comfort. Manufactured metal strings and factory-made upholstery materials in both plush and horsehair gave seats a

⁵⁷ An advertisement in the *Ottawa Free Press* on 21 February 1874 described a Jacques & Hay black walnut set of parlour furniture that had been purchased to display “raised work,” but was being auctioned after only three months use. Time-consuming women’s handicrafts are indicative of Thorstein Veblen’s “conspicuous consumption” theory, demonstrating that the women of the family had sufficient leisure and taste to devote themselves to such refined tasks. Raised work was a type of needle-work which sought to achieve a three-dimensional effect.

⁵⁸ *North American Immigrant Letters, Diaries and Oral Histories*, a letter from Susannah Moodie to Catherine Parr Strickland Traill, 2 April 1878, Editor@AlexanderSt.com, consulted 22 July 2008.

⁵⁹ Sally Mitchell, *Daily Life in Victorian England* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), p. 111.

richer feel, suggesting both luxury and ease.⁶⁰ Desire for sociability often led to arranging chairs in clusters that permitted conversation or games. Reading took place in the Victorian parlour rather than in the privacy of the bedroom and was frequently a shared family recreation.⁶¹ Diaries and letters of the period refer to other forms of group activity, such as drama, board games, singing or informal dancing, and the emergence of the home as a place of recreation and sociability seems to have paralleled increased consumption.⁶² As tables and chairs were situated in the central part of any room, and permitted human movement on several sides, they could be viewed in the round. This suited the often asymmetric curves and undulations of line found in Victorian furniture, which gave it a more sculptural effect (Figure 22). The majority of chairs in the Austin's drawing room feature Renaissance Revival pierced back-splats with scrolling and palmette decoration. They date from 1866.

The Spadina drawing room was furnished with handsome sofas, chairs and an arresting ottoman, all covered in crimson striped wool fabric. (Figure 23.) It is a formal but inviting room, likely intended for larger parties and social events when the furniture might be relatively quickly removed to permit dancing. Though the pieces of Jacques &

⁶⁰ Paul Davidson, *Antique Collector's Directory of Period Detail* (London: Aurum Press, 2000), p. 153.

⁶¹ Louise L. Stevenson, *The Victorian Homefront: American Thought and Culture, 1860-1880* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001), pp. xxiii-xxxv. Stevenson also suggests that couples courting in the parlour communicated their thoughts and feelings by fervent discussions of literature.

⁶² Katherine C. Grier, *Culture & Comfort: Parlor Making and Middle-class Identity, 1850-1930* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997), pp. 181-184.

Hay furniture are roughly similar, despite being purchased at differing times, they do not give the same impression of rigidity as some lower middle-class parlours. This elegant causal effect is produced by the fact that the Austins did not choose to fill the drawing room with a single “furniture set.” Slightly less affluent families, equipping parlours rather than drawing rooms, tended to buy Jacques & Hay furniture in sets, suitable for largely family groups. These usually contained extensively carved gentleman’s and lady’s chairs, a sofa reserved for company, and more modest chairs for the children, symbolizing their lesser social position.⁶³ The uniformity of a furniture set often gave a room a stiffness that is not present in Spadina’s drawing room.

The Spadina drawing room also displays impressive mirrors for which Jacques & Hay had an established reputation. Gilt mirrors were frequently used to magnify the available light, and Jacques & Hay were famous for the fine examples they supplied to Osgoode Hall and Rideau Hall.⁶⁴ Improvements in the sawing and sanding of wood by machine insured a smooth, reflecting surface on furniture that would be magnified by large mirrors. The Renaissance Revival mirror in the Austin residence is stylistically similar to other examples in the firm’s design repertoire and, in this case, boasts at its crest a prominent female head drawn from classical sources. Such carved details might be

⁶³ Sharon Darling, *Chicago Furniture: Art, Craft and Industry, 1833-1983* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1894), p. 75.

⁶⁴ Jeanne Minhinnick, *At Home in Upper Canada* (Toronto: Clarke Irwin, 1970), p. 28.

purchased from an independent carver and glued or screwed on in the factory workshop.⁶⁵

Opulent dining rooms permitted lavish dinner parties and afforded the opportunity to display the silver, glassware and china so carefully accumulated by the family and, owing to machine production, now available at more modest prices. Examination of nineteenth-century diaries implies that dinner party invitations indicated social acceptance, and attending guests frequently made careful notes of others who attended.⁶⁶ For guests privileged with an invitation to dinner by upper middle-class families in the 1860s and 1870s, no room conveyed more completely the Victorian love of large and expressive furnishings than the dining room. These were often equipped with elaborately carved side-boards. In contrast, the Austins' dining room was rather understated, using

⁶⁵ One American wood carver firm produced an extensive catalogue of classically posed female heads for inclusion on articles of furniture. It is likely that Jacques & Hay contracted carvers such as David Fleming, who was conveniently located on King Street, for supplies of similar items that might then be affixed to the furniture. This piling on of discreet elements of carving was often applied to elaborate sideboards and gigantic beds. In reaction, the British designer Charles Eastlake was particularly critical of this practice and believed it vulgar. See Charles Eastlake, *Hints on Household Taste in Furniture, Upholstery, and Other Details* (London, 1868; Boston, 1872; repr. New York: Dover Publications, 1969). Eastlake was first published in 1868 in London and 1872 in America. A representative condemnation of the practice of "glued" detail appears on pp. 58-59.

⁶⁶ Toronto lawyer, later Chief Justice, Robert Harrison, while running a demanding legal practice, would host sit-down gatherings of up to two hundred guests at his carefully furnished home, Englefield. Before his marriage, Harrison had priced Jacques & Hay furniture and, equipped with a quotation, bought comparable furniture from Wakefield, the auctioneer. Peter Oliver, ed., *The Conventional Man: The Diaries of Ontario Chief Justice Robert A Harrison, 1856-1878* (Toronto: Published for the Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History by University of Toronto Press, 2003), p. 167.

smaller scale Jacques & Hay furniture acquired in the 1860s.⁶⁷ (Figure 24.) Instead of one towering side-board, there was a smaller buffet and a convenient walnut server. While Spadina's drawing room was organized for public entertaining, the dining room appears intended for family-centred entertaining and radiates warmth rather than formality. The walnut serving tables are well-crafted pieces that combine Rococo and Renaissance Revival styling in a balanced fashion and resemble comparable pieces in the smaller rooms of Rideau Hall. (Figures 25, 26.) The dining table chairs are of sturdy construction, modestly decorated with incised lines; the seats covered in red Morocco leather. Many Toronto dining rooms had similar chairs and they are still seen at public auctions.

The purchase of now readily available consumer goods can be associated with the new men, rich in railways and manufacturing—or in the Austins' case, services—who wanted to demonstrate their political and social importance. This group had risen quickly, leaping several social rungs in one generation—James Austin himself had started in Toronto as a printer's devil or an apprentice printer. They had no difficulty in acquiring the offerings of mechanized factories and readily acquired showy but imitative houses and furnishings. In a society dazzled by change, large houses, towering mirrors, complicated draperies, and shining wooden sideboards seemed appropriate.

By the 1880s the expensive but welcoming decor of Spadina was being up-staged

⁶⁷ The Austins appear to have been reasonably confident of their good taste as they retained the earlier more modest furniture in their dining room. Other Toronto mansions contemporary to Spadina had lavish sideboards festooned with carved cornucopia, geometric medallions or garlands that were affixed to the cabinetry according to the buyer's taste.

by the furnishings of more elaborate newer houses, filled with paintings, art objects and even more imposing furniture. As fortunes were made in business and manufacturing, families with new money constructed imposing mansions, often complete with pillars and portes-cochères, on Beverley, St. George, and Jarvis Streets in Toronto. Jacques & Hay manufactured increasingly elaborate and ostentatious furniture to fill these grand houses. An 1881 account book kept by Fredrick Dennison—of the important Dennison family of Toronto—indicates that almost exactly ten per cent of the overall family expenditure was spent on Robert Hay & Co. furnishings.⁶⁸ Robert Hay even reported that in the 1880s the rising families of Winnipeg, served by railway to central Canada, were most extravagant in their orders for luxurious cabinetry from his factory.⁶⁹ As it became more common to photograph domestic interiors in the 1870s and 1880s, the photographic record of Toronto in this period suggests a high bourgeois over-stuffed aesthetic, with dining rooms and bedrooms dominated by massive pieces of walnut, decorated in towering Renaissance Revival styles. This style freely borrowed classical and antique motifs such as ram's heads, Minerva faces, ornamental swags or broken arches; it might be embellished with cultural references to the Renaissance architecture or Cellini goldwork. When Canadians chose to deviate from their normal conservative spending habits, they favoured an elaborate opulent look now made possible by technological improvements and efficient factory organization. If we believe Mrs. Copleston's account, she knew that her Jacques & Hay cabinetry was only a facsimile of the handcrafted antique British

⁶⁸ Toronto Reference Library, no. L22, Dennison Family fonds, Denison Family Account Book (reference no. 40591).

⁶⁹ Robert Hay, "Testimony," 23 April 1882, *Report of the House of Commons Select Committee...to Enquire into the Operation of the Tariff on the Agricultural*

furniture that she implies she left behind in England, but acknowledged that the local furniture had merit as it ensured her Toronto cottage looked pulled together, and the tables and chairs had a beautiful shine. Manufactured furniture made a fantasy world accessible, and by the 1870s Torontonians were avidly purchasing huge beds so replete with hand carving that they resembled those of Renaissance princes, and fitting for houses heavy with romantic references. A continued enthusiasm for archaeology and the Grand European tour may explain the fashion for the well-turned Pompeian leg that frequently appeared on Jacques & Hay furniture.

As has been demonstrated, Jacques & Hay furniture followed the majority of nineteenth-century's decorative fashions. The emphasis was on historicism and multiple historical references that might be combined in one room or in the same piece of furniture. One was free to play with different design elements in mood pieces inspired by a romantic theme, rather than mere historic reproductions.⁷⁰ This was a transoceanic decorative trend, and there appears to have been little time lag between styling in Europe and New York and how Jacques & Hay were decorating their furniture.⁷¹ We know that

Interests of the Dominion, (Ottawa: Roger MacLean, 1883), p. 576.

⁷⁰ Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), p. 82

⁷¹ There are other illustrations demonstrating that nineteenth-century Canadians were style-conscious. The McCord Museum of Montreal has made an extensive analysis of dress fashions appearing in photographs of the period, cross-referencing London fashions with actual dresses seen in the nineteenth century Notman Photography Collection. From this evidence, a convincing argument may be made that the women of Montreal were both current and fashionable. If this is the case for dress, it is likely that urban Canadians were just as demanding of style in home decoration. See Jacqueline Beaudoin-Ross, *Form and Fashion: Nineteenth-Century Montreal Dress* (Montreal: McCord Museum of Canadian History, 1992). In a possible overstatement, Luke

Paris magazines, like *Le Garde-meuble* published by Désiré Guilmard, and containing coloured chromolithographs of furniture designs, window treatments, and room settings, circulated in both Quebec and the American seaboard.⁷² Jacques & Hay, as an employer of several skilled European carvers and designers, must also have kept up-to-date with European styling which they combined with indigenous motifs. As mentioned earlier, Jacques & Hay actively participated in international fairs and chose examples of Canadian flora, to decorate cabinetry and for official buildings. The frame produced by the company for the portrait of Queen Victoria currently in Osgoode Hall animated with imagery ranging from the beaver to wheat stalks.⁷³ Although the firm's designers probably drew heavily from circulating pattern books, the repeating combination of style details suggests the company used endless variations on a set of themes. Railway, steamship and telegraph now interconnected the western world, foreshortening time and space. As a result Canadian manufacturers were more able keep up with the style-setters of the western world, such as Britain, France and the United States. While Montreal furniture producers, such as the Hiltons or James Thompson, favoured mahogany and cherry, Jacques & Hay's furniture was almost invariably black walnut.⁷⁴ This is more

Rombout, the Executive Director of the McCord Museum, in his preface to the publication states: "The corroborative documentation indicates that Montreal was already one of the fashion capitals of North America..." See p. 11.

⁷² Michel Lessard, *Antique Furniture of Quebec: Four Centuries of Furniture-Making* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2002), pp. 327-333; Kenneth L. Ames, "Designed in France: Notes on the Transmission of French Style to America," *Winterthur Portfolio 12*, ed. Ian M. G. Quimby (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1977), pp. 103-114.

⁷³ This frame is a cornucopia of symbols of abundance, ranging from wheat, apples, flowers, a beaver and a lamb.

⁷⁴ Jacques & Hay sold at public auction in Montreal. A comparison of the

consistent with American furniture styles as walnut was the popular wood for furniture in the mid-west through most of the nineteenth century, and Jacques & Hay were its most fervent champions in Canada. This association with the designs generated from the big workshops of Cincinnati, Chicago and Grand Rapids would indicate that competitors from these regions were the company's principal rivals, and their main source for styling ideas.

The Jacques & Hay furnishings of many well-to-do Toronto houses witnessed the daily rituals of lives. The furniture's choice and use tells us much about the people who used them and the social lives they experienced. Their taste in detail mirrored international movements but also reflect the images—whether Gothic trefoils, carved local flowers, or Renaissance Revival broken arches—with which they wished to surround themselves. This visual imagery drew from Britain—with its love of historicism—and also from America—with Jacques & Hay's preference for walnut. Most of all, the furniture reflects prosperity and expansion. A laudatory article in the *Irish Canadian* of 18 July 1889, noting the early history of James Austin and three other contemporaries of similar Irish background, remarked on their wealth having been generated by their “own exertions” and “the product of their business-tact and lucky ventures.” Their furniture expresses the same self-satisfaction, but it is also reflective of a desire to show the fruits of success in a lucky time and place.

advertisements announcing the auctions with local cabinet-makers' notices highlights the different choices in wood. John Hilton (1792-1866) with 92 employees dominated the trade in Montreal. See Ben Forster and Kris Inwood, “The Diversity of Industrial Experience: Cabinet and Furniture Manufacture in Late-Nineteenth-Century Ontario,” *Enterprise and Society* 4 (2003), p. 335. James Thompson was important enough that he

IV. Fictional Consumers

In her novel *Mary Wakefield*, the Canadian author Mazo de la Roche uses the metaphor of Jacques & Hay furniture to capture the essence of the Canadian character. De la Roche was a popular author whose series of novels about the Whiteoak family and their estate Jalna were published between 1925 and 1950. *Mary Wakefield*, a late novel in the same family saga, relates the story of a spirited governess who marries the widowed son of the family matriarch. Among the novel's characters, the wholesome Laceys, a Canadian family, have Jacques & Hay furniture, while the haughty Whiteoaks have imported English chairs and tables.⁷⁵ The Laceys' small house is described as containing "impressive furniture" covered in horsehair of the best quality and possessing "ornate carved walnut" frames that might well last forever "so admirably was it [the furniture] made."⁷⁶ The overall effect of the cabinetry, and the family it resembles, is described as "one of long establishment and well-being," although it is also noted that the Lacey's rooms are a little crowded with such furnishings.⁷⁷ The Lacey daughters, who will no doubt inherit all the Jacques & Hay tables and chairs, are depicted as "mettlesome

was Jacques & Hay's rival, producing a small fraction of the furnishings of Rideau Hall.

⁷⁵ De la Roche was somewhat inspired by the Benares House in Clarkson, Ontario. The Harris family who lived at Benares were also clients of Jacques & Hay and the house has very fine examples of Gothic revival furniture. See www.mississauga.ca/portal/discover/benareshistorichouse, consulted 13 April 2010.

⁷⁶ Mazo de la Roche, *Mary Wakefield* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1949), p. 57.

⁷⁷ De la Roche, *Mary Wakefield*, pp. 54 and 57.

ponies” and use “too many superlatives.”⁷⁸ As defiantly native-born Canadians, they love trilliums and their country. Other, more significant characters in the novel, are conflicted and have much difficulty distancing themselves from both the “old country” and the pernicious influence of the United States. De la Roche uses the Jacques & Hay furniture as a metaphor for the children of the new world and the wholesomeness of the Canadian experiment. Her fictional references do not differ much from the retrospective views published in the *Toronto Star* on the importance of the company and its legacy. In an earlier newspaper column, the obituary writer, noting Robert Hay’s death, remarked that the furniture created by Hay and his partner was already considered dowdy by 1890, but was still deemed a “good investment.”⁷⁹ The Upper Canadian public associated the furniture with their manufacturers; it conveyed an honesty and integrity, it is what is.

There is a relationship between the pretentious furniture of the affluent, the numerous public contracts for cabinetry that Jacques & Hay secured, and the large school and public bids for bedding that the company won. The firm in its production of sideboards and parlour chairs for the well-to-do kept its name and products before the people that mattered; it likely cornered the market on good craftsmen, and it had the scale and capacity to handle almost any contract. The early position of the company as manufacturers of a desirable consumer product also enabled it to become a sustained

⁷⁸ De la Roche, p. 59.

⁷⁹ *The Toronto World*, 25 July 1890. The obituary writer tells us that the furniture is known far and wide “for its honest handicraft, the quality of its material and in many instances the merit of its design.”

metaphor for success and well-being, and, with the passage of time, it approached the status of a legend.

V. A Canadian Mode of Consumption

If we look at how Jacques and Hay furniture was bought and sold, we can draw some conclusions about nineteenth-century patterns of consumption. The modest consumer bought the basics required for living such as beds, chairs, and tables—later the same purchaser might upgrade their décor by acquiring a set of painted cottage furniture. The more affluent could purchase solid wood furniture often in sets, and some of the upper middle-class furniture could be very grandiose. All classes frequented auctions for bargains, and happily mixed styles. The tendency was to retain the furniture for generations, sometimes altering it or remaking it if necessary. It is rare for a long-established Toronto family not to know of Jacques & Hay furniture or believe that they may still possess pieces.⁸⁰ Many nineteenth-century commentators remarked on the “cheapness” of Jacques & Hay cabinetry; this expression may relate to value for money, rather than the furniture being poorly made, as it is obviously intended as a compliment, and accompanies such expressions as “durability” and “finish.”⁸¹ It is culturally revealing

⁸⁰ Toronto collection specialist Neil Brochu still sees many examples in prominent Toronto homes. Personal communication with Denise Jacques, 11 June 2008.

⁸¹ *Canadian Merchants' Magazine*, 1 October 1858, p. 434; Jacques & Hay's award at Paris Exhibition was for “durability and cheapness.” *Reports on the Paris Universal Exhibition, 1867*, Volume 7 (London: George E. Eyre and William Spottiswodde, 1869), p. 91.

that an expression that usually describes furniture for the poor or parsimonious was used for what were considered valuable items.

Owing to the paucity of scholarly investigation, we know very little about how Canadians purchased household items during the nineteenth century. But historical research into twentieth century patterns of consumer behaviour throws some retrospective light on the nineteenth. Joy Parr has investigated Canadian consumer behaviour in the immediate post-war period, and her findings reflect the little we know about the nineteenth century. Although there were colourful exceptions, most post-Confederation Ontario residents were still reasonably conservative consumers. Quality furniture was expected to last. This parsimonious attitude to elegant acquisition has important echoes in the twentieth century. In *Domestic Goods: the Material, the Moral and the Economic in the Postwar Years*, Joy Parr argues we are enacting a political and social agenda when we create a domestic world.⁸² As this domestic agenda has been firmly women's responsibility, earlier historians may have consistently overlooked its relevance. In contrast, Parr queries Canadian consumption habits to determine what was considered beautiful, what was useful and how much was enough. She seeks to know what aspects of consumption were creative and which ones were destructive in the original sense of the term consumption, meaning "to devour from within."⁸³ Overall, she concludes that

⁸² Joy Parr, *Domestic Goods: The Material, the Moral and the Economic in the Postwar Year* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), p. 270.

⁸³ Parr, *Domestic Goods*, p. 5.

household decoration was for many female consumers an important form of expression “when their opportunities for public oratory were limited.”⁸⁴

Parr describes the material life of these post-war decades. After the Depression and the rationing of the Second World War, Canadian consumers eagerly purchased consumer goods, fascinated by the new availability.⁸⁵ She also argues that in a post-depression, post-war, post-Hiroshima world, individuals needed the physicality of material objects to reassure themselves and to give form to a potentially formless society.⁸⁶ Furnishing a home is essentially a hopeful act, as it implies a belief in the future and a commitment to the responsibilities of domestic life. For a generation emotionally drained by the Depression and the war, home-building was probably an exercise in self-confidence. Immigration to Canada was also high during the post-war period, and, as was common in the nineteenth century, there was strong interest in building a home-life to compensate for the loss of family and community through relocation.⁸⁷

Parr conducted numerous interviews with Canadian women, analysing their acquisition of household furnishings through the 1940s and 1950s. She challenges the

⁸⁴ Parr, p. 187. Parr footnotes Jennifer A. Gonzalez, “The Rhetoric of the Object: Material Memory and the Artwork of Amalia Mesa-Bains,” *Visual Anthropology Review* 9, 1 (1993), pp. 83-4.

⁸⁵ Parr, p. 270.

⁸⁶ Parr, p. 42.

⁸⁷ Parr, p. 187.

view of the consumer-victim, in thrall to the forces of capitalism and brain-washed by advertising to crave material goods that will be quickly tossed aside from lack of sustained interest or planned obsolescence. In contrast, Parr finds the individual consumer remarkably deliberate in making purchasing decisions and capable of exercising considerable choice. Her study of Canadian housewives suggests that this group's patterns of consumption were more about "self-production," a means to shelter and sustain the household rather than to worship the false god of waste.⁸⁸ Her main findings outline the numerous strategies that Canadian women developed to create satisfying domestic spaces. In contrast to many British women, whom Parr believed often deferred marriage until they could purchase new sets of furniture, there was a strong Canadian tendency to marry and then make significant purchases one at a time.⁸⁹ The prevalent decorating philosophy was based on mixing and matching furniture styles and attempting to delay obsolescence by sticking to conservative styles. While the Canadian parsimonious school of decorating may be unorthodox, the principal objective was to create a focus for family life.

Parr emphasizes the buyers' agency in these individual acts of consumption. The women she interviewed stated that their inexpensive mode of household furnishing was not just a money-saving technique, but a thoughtful means of living in a world beyond

⁸⁸ Parr, pp. 3-10.

⁸⁹ Parr, p. 178.

“the bounds of the market.”⁹⁰ The home-made Canadian school of decoration allowed some freedom from the blandishments of manufacturers and advertisers. Parr believes her informants effectively resisted what Parr calls the “Diderot effect.”⁹¹ The French philosopher Denis Diderot noticed how worn and dated his domestic decoration was, after he was given an elaborate dressing gown that made all his household furnishings look shabby. The characteristics of one category of material object (a dressing gown) transforms another category (furniture). The “mix and match” approach to interior design minimizes this effect. This suggests that the efforts these women made to build attractive homes at modest cost were a form of cultural production and that their consuming choices reflect a prevalent trend. The individuals Parr interviewed implied that their inexpensive mode of household furnishing was not for strict economy, but a means to establish personal identity. Parr believes the strategy these women used in inexpensively creating pleasing domestic worlds was a prevalent cultural norm.

How Canadian women consumed in the post-war period was similar to the way Toronto working-class women acquired clothes in the 1930s.⁹² These modestly paid women, often supporting entire households, still struggled to be attractive and well-

⁹⁰ Parr, p. 168.

⁹¹ Grant McCracken, *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), pp. 118-129; Parr references Denis Diderot, *Regrets on Parting with My Old Dressing Gown: Or, A Warning to Those Who Have More Taste than Money*.

⁹² Katrina Srigley, “Clothing Stories: Consumption, Identity, and Desire in Depression-Era Toronto,” *Journal of Women's History* 19, No. 1 (Spring 2007), pp. 82-104.

dressed. They often succeeded by using imagination and energy to create desirable outfits from second-hand goods or remnants of fabric. Instead of the Depression being viewed as a time of humiliating poverty, the women that scholar Katrina Srigley interviewed seemed to have built their confidence through their skills in designing clothing from scraps. Their knowledge of dressmaking techniques and their creativity appeared to have been just as important as the actual dress or skirt.⁹³

Parr's interpretation of the post 1945 Canadian consumption helps us understand the patterns of nineteenth-century consumption. The pragmatic and careful purchasing habits she describes suggest an enduring form of behaviour that lasted at least a century and a half. We know that in the nineteenth-century Canadians were avid shoppers for second-hand furniture at public auction. The Canadian middle classes displayed, and persisted in displaying, considerable enthusiasm for furniture bought in this fashion. Documents provide us with ready examples of this mode of acquisition. Frederic Cumberland's wife did not fail to attend the January 1855 auction of Attorney-General Robert Jameson's effects after his death.⁹⁴ George Brown did not flinch from buying a

⁹³ Srigley's research findings are very similar to those of Suzanne Morton, and her work on the working-class suburb of Richmond Heights in Nova Scotia. Here, working-class women were respected for their ability to stretch the single wage of a working man to accommodate the needs of a family, without having to leave the home in search of work themselves. See Suzanne Morton, *Ideal Surroundings: Domestic Life in a Working-Class Suburb in the 1920s* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1995), pp. 37, 49.

⁹⁴ Frank Norman Walker, *Sketches of Old Toronto* (Don Mills, ON: Longmans, 1965), p. 200.

second-hand carpet and was frustrated that he could not purchase a used dining suite.⁹⁵ Even ambitious lawyer Robert Harrison did not hesitate to buy a hat stand used by the Prince of Wales at the auction sale of Jacques & Hay furniture after the royal visit.⁹⁶ There seemed to have been no stigma attached to goods purchased second-hand. This also means that furniture could be easily sold in time of need, or used as security for other financial purposes. This frugal approach to consumption reinforces Parr's views that consumption has more to do with the exercise of individual taste or personality than competition with others. Moreover, even the rich appeared to derive satisfaction from successfully stretching a dollar.

The "improvise" and "made-do" school of decorating characterized all classes. While archival records describing furniture are most abundant for members of the upper-middle classes, the sheer volume of items manufactured clearly show that consumption was widespread among the humbler classes as well. Although the Jacques & Hay cottage line was modestly priced, it was reduced even further through auction. This allowed virtually all classes to become consumers of Jacques & Hay furniture and participate in the very middle-class ritual of home decoration. In the 1840s and later, a new enthusiasm for books and magazines on household decoration and organization was likely reflective of rising standards of living and interest in home interiors. Popular domestic guide books, such as those produced by Mrs. Isabella Beeton in Britain and Catharine Beecher

⁹⁵ George Brown to Anne Brown, 28 July 1864. By 1 October 1864, he had concluded that the Widder table and dining-room furniture were "above my limit."

⁹⁶ Oliver, *Conventional Man*, p. 184.

in the United States, were enormously successful and remained in print for decades.⁹⁷

These domestic advice manuals covered many aspects of what was deemed household science, ranging from decoration to the creation of comfort, and their significant sales reveal the lasting appeal of this literature.

We have considered the Austin's family long-term affection for their Jacques & Hay furniture, lasting in effect until 1978. The Austins were not unique. A glance at Sally Gibson's volume *Inside Toronto: Urban Interiors, 1880s to 1920s* reveals that many middle-class Torontonians were happy to keep their Jacques & Hay furniture long after it had ceased to be the height of fashion.⁹⁸ This is also true of the Queen's Hotel that retained its original Jacques & Hay furniture into the 1920s. At the closing of the Hotel,

⁹⁷ Isabella Mary Beeton, *The Book of Household Management, With a History of the Origin, Properties, and Uses of All Things Connected with Home Life and Comfort* (London: Samuel Beeton, 1861; New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1969); Catharine Beecher and Harriet Stowe, *American Woman's Home* (1869; Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 2008); Clifford E. Clark, "The Vision of the Dining Room: Plan Book Dreams and Middle Class Realities," in *Dining in America: 1850-1900*, ed. Kathryn Grover (Boston: University of Massachusetts, 1987), pp.142-154. There are differences between the British and American domestic advice books. British writers, such as Mrs. Beeton, recommended maximizing the appearance of middle-class status by careful application of knowledge and organization. In contrast, American writers seem uncomfortable with such barefaced attempts to gain status through better house-keeping. Instead they emphasized the responsibility of American women to create happy homes, suggesting that good housing enlarged "the mind." See Andrew Jackson Downing, *Cottage Residences, or, a Series of Designs for Rural Cottages and Cottage-Villas, and Their Gardens and Grounds Adapted to North America* (1842; repr. as *Victorian Cottage Residences*, New York: Dover Publications, 1981), p. vii.

⁹⁸ For a representative example depicting a 1900 dining room with solid "Jacques & Hay style sideboard," see Sally Gibson, *Inside Toronto: Urban Interiors, 1880s to 1920s* (Toronto: Cormorant Books, 2006), p. 60. The photos are referenced as coming from City of Toronto archives fonds, no. 1545, item 53.

and the ensuing auction, the Prince George Hotel purchased walnut bureaux and the hotel's decorative sideboard for use on their own premises, extending the life of these items from the 1860s and 1870s well into the twentieth century.⁹⁹ Decorative arts historians studying the décor of the manor house of the Québécois patriot, Louis Joseph Papineau, reached a similar conclusion to those analysing Spadina. The restoration of the Manoir-Papineau was assisted by the existence of numerous archival photographs, revealing a happy layering of very different styles of furniture.¹⁰⁰ This Canadian tendency to restrain spending in interior decoration is also apparent in decisions regarding the public expenditure on Government House in Toronto. Not only were elements of the exterior and interior decorated with faux finishing to resemble more expensive materials, but, once the structure was complete, it did not change until the early twentieth century.¹⁰¹ Despite the sweeping changes in fashion from 1872 to 1912, the décor was frozen in time. Judging from these examples, it is fair to say that when Canadians made a significant investment in furniture, it was regarded as almost permanent.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ *The Toronto Star*, 21 September and 23 September 1927. The sideboard purchased by the Prince George Hotel was a massive, lavishly-carved piece of cabinetry that, according to legend, had won a prize at the Philadelphia World Fair in 1876. This monstrosity presided for decades in the main dining room of the Queen's Hotel just opposite to the factory's location.

¹⁰⁰ Lessard, *Antique Furniture of Quebec*, p. 86; John Porter, *Living in Style: Fine Furniture in Victorian Quebec* (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1993), p. 229.

¹⁰¹ William Dendy, "Government House, Toronto 1866-70," *Canadian Collector* 11, no.5 (September-October 1977), pp. 21–25.

¹⁰² This was certainly the case in the author's family, the Browns, of the milling and baking company, Christie Brown Co. There is a suggestion that this furniture was lovingly maintained as it was reminiscent of the only time of real prosperity in the

If we return to the title of this chapter, the Marquess of Lorne's remarks on the availability of modest furniture for the labouring classes, and fine furniture for those of wealth and taste, may also be intended as a comment on the resources of Canada. The accessibility of these consumer goods for almost all levels of society made local furniture a shared characteristic of life in North America. This improved the standard of living for virtually all and contributed to the civility of the society. These benefits were generated by efficient production, but Canadians also enjoyed considerable license in buying second-hand, resisting styles changes and believing almost everyone had the capacity to be his or her own decorator. These practical characteristics were embedded in the culture of the society and they allowed almost all income groups to participate in some aspect of domesticity.

Chapter Seven

Building “the Pillars upon which Civilization and Order Rest”¹

I. Introduction

George Brown, arguing against the Annexation Manifesto in 1849, a resolution supported by many prominent Montreal citizens who thought that the Canadas should join the United States, described his belief in Canadian progress as follows:

Let them [signers of the Manifesto] come to Upper Canada and we will show them something ...rising villages, elegant cities, magnificent farms, and public works of unrivalled excellence... We will show them thousands of families living in comfort and independence who, but yesterday, came from starvation and degradation in Europe. We will show them log huts giving way to frame houses, and they in their turn deserted for comfortable brick and stone dwellings... Where is the country which can show the progress which these twenty years exhibit in Canada?²

Many like him were very optimistic about Upper Canada’s future and had great faith in the force of progress.³ The men that entertained the Prince of Wales in Toronto in

¹ “Bill an act to exempt, to the value of, the tools or implements of any householder's trade or calling, and the wearing apparel, the bedding, and other furniture required for the use of his family, from seizure and sale under execution for debt; and to prevent the property thus exempted from being assigned, pledged or sold, in liquidation of debts contracted for intoxicating drinks,” Legislative Assembly, 1st Session, 4th Parliament, 16 Victoria (Quebec: J. Lovell, 1852), CIHM, 9-05247. The Legislature’s bill links the loss of essential family property to weakening “the pillars upon which civilization and order rest.”

² *The Globe* (Toronto), 20 October 1849.

³ Geoffrey Simmins, *Fred Cumberland: Building the Victorian Dream* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), p. 17.

1860 were plainly a tight-knit group likely sharing this view. Geoffrey Simmins, in his biography of Frederic Cumberland, chose “Building the Victorian Dream” as his subtitle.⁴ Cumberland was not alone in having great plans for the future of Toronto. His vision was shared by others who were also gifted forward thinkers. The most energetic in this circle of institution-builders were the construction contractors, surveyors, railwaymen and engineers. Jacques and Hay were part of this group, as they sub-contracted extensively. But even more importantly, Jacques and Hay were Cumberland’s close collaborators on a series of public buildings, a rapport that revealed a common vision of architecture and its role in civic development.

Cumberland arrived in Canada aged 27 in 1849. By the 1850s his letters to his wife, sent home to her while he was visiting Britain, reveal how deeply Canadian he had become. Cumberland perceived the promise of Canada in its vast space and abundant natural resources and he considered it particularly fortunate that it was not encumbered by an idle aristocracy or by swarming poor. In contrast to decadent Europe, Canada offered a brighter, cleaner future.⁵ He was sure that Canada would deliver both prosperity and moral development to its inhabitants. Such notions were not new, and Ramsay Cook has stated that from the fifteenth century onward Europeans had fantasized that Canada could become a new Garden of Eden.⁶

⁴ Simmins, *Fred Cumberland: Building the Victorian Dream*, p. 17

⁵ Simmins, pp. 21-22.

⁶ Suzanne Zeller, *Land of Promise, Promised Land: The Culture of Victorian Science in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1996), p. 2. She does not footnote this reference.

In a December 1849 speech before the Hamilton Mechanics' Institute, Cumberland outlined a well-developed strategy on how to achieve this goal. To a large extent, he was preaching to the choir, explaining a philosophy to a group already appreciative of science and fully imbued with the gospel of progress. Cumberland explicitly believed that nineteenth-century society was the most advanced in human history and that this steady progress would continue. His Hamilton speech traced the many technical achievements that had occurred since the beginning of history. He depicted modern factory production as a pinnacle of achievement, and explained his belief that an advancing society should be founded on the cornerstones of art, science and commerce. These factors working together could harness personal ambition to create more goods for more people and promote moral progress. He also commented favourably on capitalism and democracy and their impact on Upper Canada of 1849. As his biographer Geoffrey Simmins had observed, Cumberland's Hamilton speech drew inspiration from many sources. These included English-speaking political philosophers such as John Ramsey McCulloch, at one time influenced by utilitarian Jeremy Bentham, and liberals John Stuart Mill and Adam Smith.⁷ Cumberland's speech was well received and proof that the audience shared his views and that these notions had wide currency in his occupational circle. Cumberland did not limit himself to rhetorical statements, but expressed his views visually as an architect. He took special care in the design of the ground floor atrium when renovating and expanding Osgoode Hall in

⁷ Simmins, *Fred Cumberland: Building the Victorian Dream*, pp. 19-20.

1855-1859.⁸ Here the crests of the atrium's arches were carved to symbolize "science, art and commerce"—stressing their importance for the developing colony.⁹

Attendance at the London Great Exhibition of 1851 must have been a turning point for Fred Cumberland, who served as the United Canadian delegation's recording secretary.¹⁰ The Fair's organizers shared the wide-spread Victorian belief that societies as well as individuals would rise or fall depending on their ability to expand and develop. The Great Exhibition had enormous public appeal, as it set out to display the best that a specific nation could offer in terms of material goods and technological achievements.¹¹ There was considerable satisfaction with the United Canada's performance at the Great Exhibition, as the country won twenty-three medals, and a new wide-spread confidence emerged.¹² The debate on possible annexation by the United States was over.¹³

⁸ Cumberland worked on this design with his then-partner William Storm. There is some debate about exactly what was each architect's role in the design of their more important buildings.

⁹ Archives of Ontario, J.C.B. and E.C. Horwood Collection reference code 11-101(751)12. "Atrium keystone" <http://www.archives.gov.on.ca/english/on-line-exhibits/osgoode/cumberland-storm>, consulted 12 April 2009. This unity of science, art and commerce may also have been short-lived as, by 1872, a triumphal arch designed for the visit of a Governor-General was emblazoned with the words: "industry" and "prosperity". *Canadian Illustrated News*, 19 October 1872.

¹⁰ Simmins, *Fred Cumberland: Building the Victorian Dream*, p. 21.

¹¹ Bruce Sinclair, Norman R. Ball, and James O. Peterson, eds., *Let Us be Honest and Modest: Technology and Society in Canadian History* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1974), p. 105.

¹² Zeller, *Inventing Canada*, pp. 81-82.

¹³ Zeller, pp. 81-82.

Upper Canadians were so interested in the inspiring aspects of public exhibitions that in 1858 they built their own version of the London exhibition hall, designed by Sandford Fleming and a notable railway engineer, Collingwood Schreiber, and also called the Crystal Palace. This structure provided fifty thousand square feet of display space and was later used for provincial exhibitions, by then regarded as “a rational form of entertainment.”¹⁴ Jacques & Hay produced the wood flooring and further renovated the building in preparation for a large public ball in honour of the Prince of Wales in 1860.¹⁵ Provincial exhibitions were such important events, and attracted so many visitors, that Albert Sylvester in his early history of Toronto credited them with having “introduced civilization to this beautiful quarter of the globe.”¹⁶ Civilization was a key idea, as there seems to have been a ready linking of the values of the European Enlightenment with technology, progress, greater consumption, and even cleanliness. On the edge of a rapidly consolidating empire, there was strong support for the notions of advancement and improvement.¹⁷

¹⁴ Roger Hall and Gordon Dodds, *A Picture History of Ontario* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1978), p. 58.

¹⁵ *The Globe* (Toronto), 15 August 1860.

¹⁶ Alfred Sylvester, *Sketches of Toronto: Comprising a complete and accurate description of the practical points of interest in the city and public buildings, together with necessary details in connection with the provincial exhibition* (Toronto: C. E. Holiwell, 1858), p. 90.

¹⁷ Anthony Pagden, *People and Empires: A Short History of European Migration, Exploration, and Conquest, from Greece to the Present* (New York: Modern Library, 2003), pp. 139-140. Pagden posits that Europeans were urged to promote these values in exchange for the new world’s natural products. He includes Christianity among the belief systems to be promulgated, although neither Fleming, Jacques, nor Hay appeared to have

Cumberland's associates also were engaged in activities intended to further their society as well as their personal ambitions. Sandford Fleming, a fervent believer in self-improvement and progress, founded the Canadian Institute. The Institute's ambitious lecture program promoted knowledge of science, the arts and manufactures and produced an excellent periodical publication. As another founding member, Cumberland was also active in this organization, delivering lectures, serving on the publications committee and acting as vice-president in 1853.¹⁸ Jacques & Hay were also involved as they furnished the Institute's offices and fitted out its library.¹⁹ Jacques & Hay's founding of the community at New Lowell reflects a similar effort to promote social progress through the creation of an efficient workers' community—in their case combined with unvarnished capitalism. Cumberland, Storm, Sandford Fleming and Jacques & Hay all enjoyed considerable success and benefited greatly from their association with each other. A shared view of the desirable triumph of art, science and commerce likely inspired their considerable energy. These men from humble backgrounds, with varying levels of education, believed that through their efforts science could serve social ends and could encourage morality. They cast themselves in the important role of colonial institution-builders, erecting "palaces of

been be inspired by religion. Cumberland was devout, but this seems a more personal conviction.

¹⁸ Simmins, *Fred Cumberland: Building the Victorian Dream*, pp. 16, 20. Cumberland later became President of the Canadian Institute. See p. 184.

¹⁹ *The Canadian Journal*, vol. 3 (1854-55), p. 400.

education and of industry,” and were involved in an ambitious round of building that included a cathedral, a normal school, a university and a law court in Toronto.²⁰

The buildings designed by Cumberland are described as some of the most important in Canada. They range from his classical domed library in Osgoode Hall, to the Romanesque University College, rich with intricately carved decoration. Jacques & Hay collaborated on almost all the important public contracts, and at least in the example of Osgoode Hall, they appeared to act as project managers and were responsible for all the carpentry, joinery, smithing, founding and plumbing.²¹ We can assume that to fulfill this contract they must have used their established network of sub-contractors. In constructing significant buildings, the firm of Cumberland & Ridout, later Cumberland & Storm, seems to have worked closely with their sub-contracting stone masons and wood carvers, including Jacques & Hay, to harmonize the style of the buildings being constructed with the interior fittings.²² Cumberland and Jacques & Hay displayed an amazing range and versatility, but were unified by the nineteenth-century belief that good architecture and design could promote a more moral and thus happier society.²³

²⁰ Charles Pelham Mulvany, *Toronto, Past and Present: A Handbook of the City*. (Toronto: W. E. Caiger Publisher, 1884), p. 31.

²¹ *The Builder* XV, 11 July 1857, p. 395.

²² This corresponds to Robert Adam’s view advocating a harmony between architecture and interior decoration. Howard Pain, *The Heritage of Upper Canadian Furniture* (Toronto: Key Porter, 1984), p. 35.

²³ Considering the assumed influence of John Ruskin in Cumberland’s work, it seems reasonable that Cumberland and his colleagues shared Ruskin’s view on the moral influence of architecture and the decorative arts. Eric Arthur, *Toronto: No Mean City* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), pp. 133-134; Simmins, *Fred Cumberland:*

In developing innovative designs for Toronto buildings, Victorian architects such as Fred Cumberland and his partners were able to choose from a profusion of styles. It has been suggested that Cumberland treated the architecture of the past as “a reservoir in which anyone could lower a pail.”²⁴ Pattern books—an increasing popular type of publication—together with architectural texts, sometimes printed in colour using the new chromolithography method, allowed the Victorian designer to reject the regularity of Georgian symmetry, and to pick and choose among various historic styles and motifs in a widely eclectic manner.²⁵ The premier English house pattern book was John Claudius Loudon’s 1839 *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Villa and Farm Architecture*. This work, displaying hundreds of illustrations for domestic architecture, was avidly used as an inspiration and a source book by any aspiring architect, builder or cabinet-maker.²⁶ However, the *Encyclopaedia* was more than a mere pattern book of historic styles that might run from Grecian to Tudor to Italian; it was a comprehensive guide to house and garden decoration and contained practical tips on both interior and exterior design. Loudon’s *Encyclopaedia* was a tremendous success, running to fourteen editions or printings over the next forty years. Architects and customers’ eclecticism reflected a cultural transition from the

Building the Victorian Dream, pp. 96-97; Harold Kalman, *A Concise History of Canadian Architecture* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 374.

²⁴ Charles H. A. Armstrong, *The Honourable Society of Osgoode Hall* (Toronto: Clarke Irwin & Company, 1952), p. 54.

²⁵ Philip B. Meggs and Alston W. Purvis Meggs, *History of Graphic Design*, Fourth Edition (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons, 2006), p. 152.

²⁶ John Claudius Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Villa and Farm Architecture* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green & Longman, 1839).

intrinsically conservative world of the Georgian Upper Canada to the Victorian world of change and experimentation. Designs were used for their symbolic value; Classical columns or Rococo details were associated with a set of ideas evoked by this particular decoration.²⁷

With the numerous newspapers and books circulating in the province, Upper Canadians were well informed about American and European intellectual and cultural aesthetic trends. This raiding of the past for motifs was part of the romantic movement and reflected an affinity for the historic and the heroic. It elevated personal emotion, showed an aesthetic inclination for picturesque irregularity, and seemed obsessed by visions of the past.²⁸ The romantic house, evoking Sir Walter Scott's fiction or Gothic romances popularized by writers such as Matthew G. Lewis in *The Monk*, became very fashionable.²⁹

²⁷ Alan Gowans, "The Canadian National Style," in *The Shield of Achilles: Aspects of Canada in the Victorian Age*, ed. W. L. Morton (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd., 1968), pp. 208–219; John Ruskin popularized the view that ornamentation was the principal aspect of architecture. See John Steegman, *The Victorian Taste: A Study of the Arts and Architecture from 1830 to 1870* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1971), p. 281.

²⁸ Kalman, *A Concise History of Canadian Architecture*, p. 208.

²⁹ The culture and topography of Canada, with its intense changes in climate, light and topography and the contrast of the settlement to the threatening forest, were well suited to the Gothic imagination. Toronto historian William Kilborn reports that both English and French Canadian nineteenth-century literature is full of eerie horror tales. See William Kilborn, "The Peaceable Kingdom Still," *Daedalus* 117, no. 4 (Fall 1988), p. 25. The desire to engage in the melancholy consideration of life and death in a picturesque location, replete with natural romantic vistas, calculated to create a self-conscious Gothic mood was typically Victorian. We have repeated evidence that Canadians and their visitors consciously sought Toronto's graveyards to consider life and death in a deliberately romantic setting. This interest in Italian architecture occurred in Britain in the 1850s and 1860s. See Steegman, *The Victorian Taste*, p. 118.

Eclecticism enabled the designer to select from the history of design the style most resonant with the project underway. More than one style might also be combined in a single building and an important structure such as University College was a masterpiece of hybrid decoration.³⁰ In Cumberland's architecture we may see echoes of his philosophical view that the nineteenth-century progress was the pinnacle of human experience so far. He believed that making decorative references from earlier epochs would incorporate these past experiences in a building and its furnishings and influence the people surrounded by this visual vocabulary.³¹

Fred Cumberland and his partners constructed buildings in a variety of styles and periods: a Classical temple for Toronto's Seventh Post Office (1853), Palladian for Osgoode Hall (1860), English Gothic for St. James' Cathedral (1853), Romanesque for University College (1859), modified Renaissance Revival for the Toronto Mechanics' Institute (1861).³² Possibly the most eccentric of all Cumberland's Toronto structures was the Toronto Normal School, in which he combined a Classical exterior with a Gothic interior. Cumberland was not alone in varying his stylistic repertoire. The Ottawa committee considering designs for a new governor general's residence, planned but never

³⁰ Alan Gowans, *Looking at Architecture in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 143; Arthur, *Toronto, No Mean City*, p. 137.

³¹ Gowans, *Looking at Architecture in Canada*, pp.144-145. Gowans eloquently describes this as "a sort of emanation of 'pastness'".

³² Architectural historian, William Dendy, found the Mechanics' Institute's styling hard to identify, and preferred to see its neo-classical mass and solidity as its dominant characteristics. Owing to the slow construction of this building, its furniture was probably from a later date than the building and may have featured more Renaissance Revival detail. See William Dendy, *Lost Toronto* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 109.

built, looked at proposed buildings in the Gothic, Classic, Norman, Elizabethan, Lombard, Venetian, Italian and Plain Modern styles.³³

Many of Cumberland & Storm's buildings, particularly University College, were intended to showcase the artistic range of the craftsmen and highlight the work of the carver. The original wooden furnishings of the University College library—unfortunately destroyed by fire in 1890—resemble closely elements that still survive in the distinctive Norman saw-tooth central door of the College entrance. Other repeating features include the round shield metopes that appear in the facade of the Normal School founded by Egerton Ryerson, as well as in Ryerson's own desk, which was supplied by Jacques & Hay.³⁴ (figures 27, 28) It seems feasible that the restrained but elegant Mechanics' Institute boardroom table was also designed by Jacques & Hay to match Cumberland's neo-classical exterior for the building.³⁵ The same twisted barber-pole columns that appear in the architectural detailing of the Music Room of the Mechanics' Institute are repeated in

³³ Carolyn Ann Young, *The Glory of Ottawa: Canada's First Parliament Buildings* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), pp. 60, 116-118.

³⁴ Photographed during visit to Ryerson University, June 2007.

³⁵ This table currently sits in the Baldwin Room of the Toronto Reference Library. Toronto Reference Library, "Minutes of the Mechanics Institute of Toronto," [hereafter referred to as Minutes MIT], Manuscripts including minutes and inventories are contained in Toronto Reference Library file number E1 (for years 1833-1848), E2 (1855-1865), E3 (1857-1860), E4 (1860-1883), E5 (1861-1867). "The Report of the Mechanics Institute Building Committee of 18 September 1861" indicated that Jacques & Hay were to be paid \$400 for "contracts and fitting up."

the base of the table. Fred Cumberland and William Storm designed both the interiors of St Andrew's Masonic Lodge and the Lodge's furniture; Jacques & Hay made the cabinetry.³⁶

Jacques & Hay or the R. Hay Co. rarely missed providing some element to any major building project in Toronto from 1850 until the company closed in 1885. When Cumberland and his partners, Ridout and Storm, contracted for the architectural work involved in a major building, their sub-contractors for "wood-work," or furniture, were invariably Jacques & Hay.³⁷ The relationship between Cumberland and the two partners operated at several levels and involved a degree of trust. Considering the many Jacques & Hay workers and apprentices that joined the Toronto Mechanics' Institute, of which Cumberland was twice president and the numerous employees and Jacques' son-in-law who served in the militia when Cumberland was colonel, we can surmise that the company's partners actively supported these institutions while Cumberland was active.³⁸ They appeared to have shared a world-view that constructing the city's institutions and instilling a sense of purpose in craftsmen engaged in the building trade were important. Such a mutual conviction may have unleashed a mutual creativity. Cumberland could be wildly varied in his architectural design and in decorative details, confident that his sub-contractors were up to the job. Jacques & Hay had proven that they could work with tight

³⁶ Dendy, *Lost Toronto*, p. 81; Henry T. Smith, *A History of St Andrew's Lodge, 1822-1922* (Toronto: Maccoomb Press, 1922); The exact reference to the furniture is also contained in Smith's History. www.archive.org/stream/historyofstandre00smituoft, consulted 21 May 2009.

³⁷ There may be exceptions, but so far these are not apparent.

³⁸ Simmins, *Fred Cumberland: Building the Victorian Dream*, p. 168.

deadlines and could call on networks of craftsmen to help. Cumberland could plan highly ambitious wood decoration for University College, knowing that Jacques & Hay had the carvers to execute it skilfully, and that they would respect his vision of the building. As the training and supervision of carvers was John Jacques' responsibility, we do not find much detail in Hay's letters to New Lowell about this aspect of the company's business, but the quality of the structures completed is evidence of close rapport between the architect and the collaborating craftsmen.

II. St. James' Cathedral, 1849-1853

In 1849, Toronto's St. James' Cathedral burnt down in a large downtown fire. The church building committee, probably in consultation with Bishop John Strachan, decided that the replacement structure should be in the Church Gothic style. The selection of Gothic was motivated by a strong desire within the Church of England to return to medieval church architecture.³⁹ The church committee were so intent on controlling the appearance of the new church that they asked the Jacques & Hay mill at New Lowell to send wood samples of the pine to be used for the cathedral ceiling, so they might study them in advance.⁴⁰

³⁹ Shirley Morriss and Carl Benn, "Architecture," in *The Parish and Cathedral of St. James Toronto, 1797-1997*, ed. William Cooke (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp. 195-205.

⁴⁰ Simcoe County Jacques & Hay Archives, (JHA), Robert Hay letter, 17 February and 26 February 1857. As these dates are after the principal construction of the cathedral, the interior decoration must have gone on for some time.

The basic design was a single-towered building with nave, aisles and perhaps drawing some inspiration from Salisbury Cathedral. Some of the decorative details, such as the polygonal chancel with traceried windows, the pinnacles, the entrance porches and the planned (and built later) tower, imitated fourteenth-century decorated Gothic styles.⁴¹ Cumberland and his partners made abundant use of the possibilities for light and shadow offered by the various building materials used to heighten drama. Jacques & Hay provided the pews. Although most of them have been removed, contemporary accounts note that these were Gothic in style with “enriched ends.”⁴² The significant high-pitched roof of heavy timber, also constructed by Jacques & Hay and crowned with “enriched ribs, carved bosses” was very powerful.⁴³ The intended effect was to give a sense of shelter to the congregation assembled in the nave. Over the principal church entrance, a wonderfully carved organ cover—singled out by the newspaper *United Empire* for particular praise as a credit to Jacques & Hay—rises in triumph over well-executed royal coat of arms.⁴⁴

Victorian architecture reflected the romantic belief that buildings should inspire, transcend the humdrum and unite past and present in order to create an age of faith. Whatever were the pious considerations in the construction of St. James, it is likely that

⁴¹ William Dendy and William Kilbourn, *Toronto Observed: Its Architecture, Patrons, and History* (Toronto: Oxford University Press Canada, 1986), p. 56.

⁴² *Descriptive Letterpress: Views of Toronto*, 1858, CIHM, no. 63531, p. 6.

⁴³ *Descriptive Letterpress: Views of Toronto*, p. 6.

⁴⁴ *United Empire* (Toronto), 16 June 1853. The journalist reported that the organ case was the product of the “extensive factory” of Jacques & Hay and “does them great credit.”

Frederic Cumberland was inspired by the broad and pervasive influence of romanticism and was making a conscious effort to capture the imagined atmosphere of English medieval life—redolent with piety and heroics—when he gave Toronto’s Anglican cathedral such a formidable timbered roof.⁴⁵ In the twentieth century, the congregation lost their appreciation for Victorian dark wood and, finding it depressing, they painted it white. Sometime in the transition between the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, the notion that architecture and furniture should be symbolic and deeply rooted in both Christianity and the English medieval culture was lost.

III. The Normal and Model Schools, 1851-1852

Egerton Ryerson, the founder of public education in Upper Canada, carefully planned the Normal School for teacher training, and a Model School for teacher practice. Both were intended as educational showplaces where his educational theories could be put into practice; they would serve as models for other educational institutions in Upper Canada.⁴⁶ In addition to being a training facility, the Normal School had serious cultural

⁴⁵ While Cumberland was drawing on the Middle Ages for inspiration, the quality of the woodwork in the powerful crossbeams and the volume of lumber used in the ceiling suggests medieval inspiration with a vigorous Victorian twist. The heavy timbers and defined crossbeams create such a compelling sense of drama and enclosed space that William Dendy and William Kilborn have noted that while “The moulded beams have medieval sources, but their massive thickness and obvious structural power are Victorian.” See Dendy and Kilborn, *Toronto Observed*, p. 58.

⁴⁶ Simmins, *Fred Cumberland: Building the Victorian Dream*, p. 78.

objectives in its own right and, to provide a greater range of cultural resources for the community, it was equipped with a museum, a gallery and a theatre.

It must have been an imposing edifice with its Palladio-influenced exterior and a Gothic interior. Unfortunately, only part of the facade and Ryerson's desk still survive. The Normal School was torn down in 1963 to allow the Ryerson Institute of Technology to expand.⁴⁷ The erection of the Model and Normal Schools was a strategic element in Ryerson's co-ordinated program to improve educational facilities in Upper Canada. According to his own description, the object of the Normal School building and its furnishing was to foster "...the chaste elegance of its appearance..."⁴⁸ Another aspect of Ryerson's grand plan was to provide public schools with proper furniture and, in pursuing this aspect of his improvement strategy, he brought samples of student desks and chairs back from the United States and Jacques & Hay further modified them.⁴⁹ Jacques & Hay also furnished display cases, benches and tables for the Normal and Model school-buildings. The cabinetry of the museum was of sufficient quality to receive laudatory

⁴⁷ "A Brief History of Ryerson University"
<http://www.ryerson.ca/archives/ryehistory>, consulted 23 May 2010.

⁴⁸ J. G. Hodgins, ed. *Historical and Other Papers and Documents Illustrative of the Educational System of Ontario, 1842-1861*, Vol. V (Toronto: L. K. Cameron, 1912), p. 216.

⁴⁹ Joan MacKinnon, *A Checklist of Toronto Cabinet and Chair-makers, 1800-1865*. (Ottawa: National Museum of Man Mercury Series [History Division, Paper No. 11], 1975), p. 89.

comments in its own right; the shelving and display cases' craftsmanship were regarded as part of the overall didactic experience.⁵⁰

Jacques & Hay had a successful and long working rapport with Ryerson, as they apparently understood his agenda to deliver well-designed and better quality educational facilities at a modest cost.⁵¹ Their long reputation for "durability and cheapness" ideally suited them for this role.

IV. University College, 1856-1859

Eric Arthur, a dedicated architectural historian of Toronto, called University College "one of the great buildings of the nineteenth century in the English-speaking world."⁵² This building does not receive the attention it deserves. Water-colours of the period reveal that it was originally surrounded by a picturesque landscape involving reflecting ponds, ravines and surrounding small hills; this charm was lost when these were levelled and neighbouring university buildings constructed destroying the earlier vista.⁵³

⁵⁰ J. G. Hodgins, *The Journal of Education for Ontario*, Vol 27-28 (Toronto: Hunter, Rose and Co., 1874), p. 157. Ryerson believed that better school buildings had a transforming effect; he contented that "...their [poor children] love of beauty and property would be gratified and increased." *Journal of Education, Upper Canada*. 10, no. 5 (May 1857), p. 66.

⁵¹ Jacques & Hay not only produced school tables and chairs, but sold also other equipment, as advertised in the *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* in the late 1850s and in the early 1860s.

⁵² Eric Arthur, "Remembering University College," *Canadian Collector Magazine*, 12, no. 4 (July/August 1977), p. 33.

In planning the building, Cumberland and Storm looked for inspiration to Oxford and Cambridge. As the then Governor-General, Edmund Head, wished to avoid the Gothic style, popular then for colleges, as “too churchy,” Cumberland settled on a style that has been variously described as Norman or Romanesque.⁵⁴ Imaginative carvings composed of colonettes, arches, patterned capitals, and a range of toothed or zig-zag mouldings, in both wood and stone, grace the college’s interior and exterior. The round Croft Chapter House, intended for chemistry experiments, and the East and West Halls, boast splendid open timber roofs and there has been a deliberate effort to emphasize the working structure of the building by exposing beams, joists and occasionally floor boards. This focus on the building’s engineering is appropriate for a structure that emphasized the sciences, with a dedicated chemistry laboratory and a natural science museum.⁵⁵

William Dendy and William Kilborn describe the carved ornament of the building as a “great glory.”⁵⁶ In the West Hall alone, there are 267 wooden roundels, all unique,

⁵³ See water-colour painted by Sir Edmund Walker Head entitled “University College from Queen’s Park,” University College Art Collection. Douglas Richardson, *A Not Unsightly Building: University College and Its History* (Toronto: Mosaic Press, 1990), p. 11.

⁵⁴ Simmins, *Fred Cumberland: Building the Victorian Dream*, p. 11; Dendy and Kilborn, *Toronto Observed*, p. 65; Anon, *The Great Good Place: Exploring University College* (Toronto: University College, 1984), no pagination.

⁵⁵ Simmins, *Fred Cumberland: Building the Victorian Dream*, p. 93.

⁵⁶ Dendy and Kilborn, *Toronto Observed*, p. 68.

making it one of the “most richly decorated structures of its period in Canada.”⁵⁷ The carving is remarkable and fantastic, displaying in running friezes scores of strange beasts, people, plants and geometric designs. The grain of the red pine wood and the depth of its colour burnish the interior, enhancing the building’s accessibility as the folkloric imagery conveys warmth and humour. The wood was left unpainted, and stained to emphasize its natural red-gold colour.⁵⁸

The Jacques & Hay library, which appears to have been a tour de force, was not restored, but only rebuilt in a simpler form after the devastating fire of 1890. Fortunately, detailed water-coloured drawings survive of the designs for the deliberately elegant cabinetry.⁵⁹ The cabinet-makers completing this generous room displayed their artistic talents by decorating with cable moulding, barley sugar colonettes and an impressive cradle wooded roof. The library’s dominant decorative motif was a saw-tooth design, a characteristic Norman decorative feature and it is used repeatedly in Cumberland’s building. (Figure 29.)

University College was a bold building, much larger than needed to accommodate the paltry dozen students that had graduated each year until its erection. In fact, in his book

⁵⁷ There is some debate about exactly which portions of the university’s wood-carving was destroyed in the fire of 1890. The principal carver for the 1890-1892 restoration was William McCormack, a trained Jacques & Hay apprentice.

⁵⁸ Dendy and Kilborn, *Toronto Observed*, p. 69.

⁵⁹ Richardson, *A Not Unsightly Building*, p. 95. Gouache drawings of the library’s fittings exist in the Horwood Collection, OA.

on the history of University College, Douglas Richardson states that the university building was as large and ambitious as any erected in a comparable period throughout the English-speaking world.⁶⁰ In risking potential public criticism, the university and its builders were focussing on their vision of the rising city and this appears to have been a stronger motivation than the difficulty of dealing with potential nay-sayers.

V. Osgoode Hall, 1857-1860

The central portion of Osgoode Hall (home of the Law Society of Upper Canada, as well as several provincial courts) was completely renovated by Cumberland and Storm in 1857. The Great Library, described by more than one architectural historian as one of the finest rooms in Canada, was their most spectacular addition to the building.⁶¹ Inspired by the Queen's House in Greenwich, the library is in a classical style, with an immense vaulted ceiling and remarkable Corinthian columns. Jacques & Hay provided the woodwork and furnishings in the Cumberland-designed law-courts.⁶² Some of them have magnificent wooden trim, corroborating a statement in *The Globe* that the company was responsible for the carpentry—described as the “wood work”—and the furniture, in

⁶⁰ Richardson, p. 72.

⁶¹ Dendy and Kilborn stated, “There is no grander room in Canada,” *Toronto Observed*, p. 77. Eric Arthur is more modest, calling it “one of the finest.” See Arthur, *Toronto, No Mean City*, p. 103.

⁶² Email from Elise Brunet, Curator, The Law Society of Upper Canada, to Denise Jacques, 29 November 2004.

addition to providing project management services.⁶³ Early photos depicted the library as equipped with elegant Regency-style chairs, some of which are currently in the Benchers' Dining Room, and there was a lavish Jacques & Hay mirror at one end of the long library, which must have magnified the available light. (Figures 30 and 31.)

Osgoode Hall was opened by the Prince of Wales in 1860; it completed Cumberland's series of major public buildings in Toronto. Cumberland and his collaborators' accomplishments were lauded in their own life-times. *The Globe* insisted that: "[T]here is not in America a more magnificent building devoted to the law than Osgoode Hall. All that architecture can do to charm the eye or impress the mind with a sense of splendour is there."⁶⁴ In 1858, Cumberland became President of the Northern Railway, and always building on a grand scale, planned to turn the Northern line into a coordinated transportation system, involving luxury hotels and steamers, with access to the important US market.⁶⁵

VI. The Mechanics' Institute Building, 1854-1861

⁶³ *The Globe* (Toronto), 30 June 1857; *The Builder* XV, 11 July 1857, p. 395.

⁶⁴ *The Globe*, (Toronto), 10 September 1860.

⁶⁵ Simmins, *Fred Cumberland: Building the Victorian Dream*, pp. 34- 37.

The Mechanics' Institute movement was initiated in 1824 in Great Britain to offer evening classes in science and technology to working men.⁶⁶ In Toronto the emphasis was initially placed on delivering library services and public lectures. To provide the organization with a permanent home, the institute's directors purchased a downtown lot and the cornerstone for a new building was laid on 17 April 1854. The architectural firm of Cumberland and Storm contracted to construct the new building on a largely pro bono basis. Before the new structure was finished, the money that had been contributed ran out, and the unfinished building was rented to the Government of Canada for four years, to be finally completed in 1861 at a cost of over \$48,000. This building was an important local institution with a large and well-used music hall and lecture room, as well as classrooms and library. Over time, other local organizations increasingly offered similar services in the form of evening classes and lending libraries, and in 1883 the organization donated all of its property and books to the new Toronto Public Library and the old structure was finally demolished in 1948.⁶⁷ Surviving a series of moves to different new library buildings, the only remnants of the old Mechanics' Institute appear to be the Board of Directors' table, and possibly several Windsor chairs, all originally furnished by Jacques & Hay. These are currently in the Toronto Reference Library's Baldwin Room, which houses Toronto's Canadiana collection. (Figure 32.) Working on the Mechanics' Institute building was perhaps a labour of love for Cumberland. Many of his professional circle, particularly

⁶⁶ Stephen P. Rice, "*Minding the Machine:*" *Languages of Class in Early Industrial America* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), p. 46; Heather Murray, *Come, Bright Improvement!: The Literary Societies of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), pp. 40-44.

⁶⁷ Dendy, *Lost Toronto*, pp. 109-110; Mulvany, *Toronto, Past and Present*, pp. 295-296; Toronto Reference Library, [MIT].

Fleming and Jacques and Hay, were largely self-taught, rising as far as their talents would take them. The successful establishment of the Mechanics' Institute, with an important public hall, well-used library, educational programs and lectures, must have been a public validation of their collective life experiences.

Architects, engineers, and craftsmen such as Jacques & Hay built “public works of unrivalled excellence.”⁶⁸ Cumberland’s vision of the trinity of science, art and commerce as expressed in Osgoode Hall’s atrium was a consistent and articulate philosophy, well suited to his society. It fully justified the strongly capitalistic bent of Cumberland, Hay, and probably Jacques. They may all have started poor and humble, but they died rich, and it was natural that they would espouse a belief system to legitimize their access to wealth and influence. Whatever Fred Cumberland’s sincerity as a moral philosopher—and he did not hesitate to take a bribe—he crafted a winning formula for himself, his friends and colleagues, stimulating considerable vision and creativity, and leaving his city better equipped and more beautiful.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ *The Globe* (Toronto), 20 October 1849.

⁶⁹ Simmins, *Fred Cumberland: Building the Victorian Dream*, p. 37.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

In the eyes of their contemporaries Jacques and Hay were more than mere furniture makers. They contributed to the city and province's economic growth and development and exemplified the social and economic opportunities offered by British North America. Not only were they successful manufacturers and entrepreneurs in a fledgling economy, their expertise delivered essential components for more salubrious and civilized living. In many respects, Jacques & Hay's history was a microcosm of Upper Canadian history, bridging the crafts world of apprenticeship and mutualism and the newer business world of technology, better distribution and marketing. They grew as Toronto grew. The partners were fortunate in their timing, as Upper Canada's population growth provided them with an expanding market and a much improved transportation and communication system that allowed them to deliver their goods to their customers' doorsteps. Upper Canadians with money wanted to replace the furniture that they had left in Britain and to furnish the larger houses that many were building. More modest people wanted the comforts of having more furniture and enjoying the respectable social life it made possible.

Jacques and Hay were also true entrepreneurs. They demonstrated these talents by their ability to innovate with steam energy and work organization; to initiate good promotional techniques; to exercise skilful project management and to garner community support. In several respects they fitted the model of the Schumpeterian entrepreneurs, and this made them genuine

agents of development, not merely contributors to the province's growth. In an economy just emerging from primitive accumulation, Jacques and Hay were held up as exemplars of knowledge and application. If we are to credit John A. Macdonald's speech announcing Robert Hay's candidature for Parliament, the residents of Toronto would gauge whether times were economically bad by whether Jacques & Hay employees were working full days.¹ It is possible that the Jacques & Hay factory was particularly important to Toronto's residents as it embodied, in its organization and use of steam energy, much that represented modernity in nineteenth-century thinking. It captured the belief that, through technology and efficiency, there could be distinct improvements in the human condition. As reflected in the pages of the Canadian Institute's *Journal*, Victorian Canadians were very interested in documenting the physical resources of the country. Jacques & Hay's ability to transform trees and logs into desirable consumer items, raising living standards for rich and poor, may have been proof of success in the Canadian experiment so far. Jacques and Hay's business success made their social mobility possible. The partners seized the window of opportunity described by Acheson in his study of successful nineteenth-century business leaders.² They lived in a unique period in Upper Canada's economic development that allowed some talented craftsmen to rise to become prosperous industrialists. Jacques & Hay's commercial history does not fit easily into much scholarship on nineteenth-century social transformations. The mechanization that occurred in their factory does not appear to have destroyed craftsmanship, merely changed its role as more

¹ *The Montreal Gazette*, 9 September 1878.

² T. W. Acheson, "The Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite," in *Canadian Business History: Selected Studies, 1497-1971*, ed. David S. Macmillan (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972), pp. 144-177.

attention was lavished on hand carving and elaborate upholstery.³ (Figure 33.) Jacques and Hay's role as craftsmen turned paternalistic, but well-meaning, factory-owners also does not easily accommodate labour history that emphasizes the growing antagonism between management and labour. The Jacques & Hay narrative is almost devoid of social struggle; the owners were good men and their employees appeared proud to work for the firm. Moreover, the personal history of the partners is a capitalistic success story of rags—or mechanic's apron—to riches.

But Jacques and Hay's story fits well into a larger narrative of social change in Upper Canada. Upper Canadians sincerely believed that civilization required decent living conditions, and reciprocally, that decent living conditions had a civilizing effect.

...[A] filthy, squalid, noxious dwelling, rendered still more wretched by its noisome site, and in which none of the decencies of life can be observed, contributes to make its unfortunate inhabitants selfish, sensual, regardless of the feelings of each other...reckless and brutal...

said *The Canadian Agriculturalist* in 1851, expressing a widely-held sentiment.⁴

Contemporaries associated Jacques & Hay with the forces of progress and civility. This shared outlook, uniting manufacturers with their customers, allowed the factory and its products to reflect the spirit of the times and, in addition, boosted sales. The affluent equated the ownership

³ Richard D. Kurzhals, "Initial Advantage and Technological Change In Industry Location: The Furniture Industry of Grand Rapids" (PhD dissertation, Michigan State University, 1973), p. 84; Joy Parr in her study of the Knechtel factory of Hanover, Ontario found abundant examples of craftsmanship well into the 1920s. She says, "Manufacturers had come to realize that techniques derived from mass production industries did not apply" See Joy Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men, and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), p. 163.

⁴ *The Canadian Agriculturalist* 3, no. 2 (February 1851), p. 39.

of handsome houses and pleasing furniture with being stylish and progressive, and the humble with looking and feeling respectable. Attractive furniture even allowed individuals such as Mrs. Copleston to reassemble elements of her affluent life in Britain at a modest cost. Furniture scholar Scott Symons called this manner of living “A culture of sophistications, elegances, poise and literacy.”⁵ This stylistic élan might take the shape of beautiful winter sleds, luxurious fur coats for both women and men, dinner parties for two hundred guests and champagne balls until the early hours of the morning.⁶ Its existence is frequently overlooked in reconstructed pioneer villages that emphasize the hardship of early colonial life.

If we believe the contemporary press, that hardship was somewhat alleviated by the ownership of sets of cottage furniture. More rooms, tables, chairs, wash-stands and beds were all thought to contribute to greater cleanness, privacy, sexual morality, and less bar-room drinking. This may have had more social impact than supposed. Jacques & Hay, in their development of the cottage furniture line, borrowed from the thinking of American designer Andrew Jackson Downing, who idealized cottage living. Downing’s decorating philosophy had currency in British North America as domestic order, cleanliness and respectability gained importance. All of this equipment for living, like better plumbing, was part of the necessary apparatus of civilization. It made more people comfortable, and it

⁵ Scott Symons, *Heritage: A Romantic Look at Early Canadian Furniture*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971), p. 32. Krieghoff’s illustrations depicting Canadian winter life may be romanticized, but were also based on a real visual imagery; the pages of early Eaton’s and Simpson’s catalogues contain attractive illustrations of winter sleds, fur coats and even beautifully designed dog and horse harnesses.

⁶ Library and Archives, Canada, R-7548-0-7-E, Susan Sibbald fonds, Susan Sibbald, letter, 22 July 1866.

upheld social values. Owing to Jacques & Hay's organizational skills and technological innovation, furniture costs were low. Furniture was made even more accessible by the sensible Upper Canadian propensity to purchase second-hand.

Jacques and Hay also contributed to a sense of progress in Upper Canadian colonial life through their contribution to the construction of public buildings. The company was actively involved in the building of such amenities as a cathedral, a normal school, a university and a law court, in addition to the two official residences of Rideau Hall in Ottawa and Government House in Toronto. Constructing and furnishing public buildings paralleled the individual process of building and decorating homes. Nineteenth-century Upper Canadians looked at buildings and their contents with a different mindset than their descendants. They asked their public structures to mould and change them and believed that building great temples to God, education and the law would do this. For them a building such as University College and its lavish wood interiors had moral significance and it was possible to read in such a structure the messages that the architect and his decorators intended. The literary and cultural references contained in the décor were believed to convey earlier wisdom and inspire by example. The construction of these prominent Toronto landmarks involved a circle of contractors and sub-contractors—including Jacques & Hay—who were collectively following an enormous mental blueprint. They build large, but well. They wanted to create public institutions so that others could climb the same ladder that had elevated and finally enriched them. They sought to promulgate the values of application and self-improvement and a belief in science that had served them well and opened opportunities. As they developed themselves, they also believed

that they could develop their country. The architect Frederic Cumberland's vision involved not just physical structures, but an elaborate transportation system centred in Toronto which captured both the American trade and the one developing in the Canadian west.⁷ Jacques and Hay's vision was simpler: they just wanted to keep their factory busy, their workers employed and their model village growing.

Despite their success, the popularity of their furniture, and the esteem in which their contemporaries held them, Jacques and Hay have been largely forgotten, and their furniture dismissed as ugly and pretentious. When Vincent Massey, the first Canadian-born Governor-General, toured Rideau Hall in 1952, he described the furnishings as "the most regrettable pieces of furniture that I have ever seen."⁸ Records indicate that the majority of the nineteenth-century furniture manufactured for the opening of Rideau Hall was produced by Jacques & Hay, with smaller portions manufactured respectively by William Drum of Quebec and by James Thompson of Montreal.⁹ No matter what Massey thought of the Rideau Hall tables, chairs and sideboards, these decorative articles were still part of his culture. Massey's embarrassment reflects his opinion that these factory products of the nineteenth century were not appropriate props for the public rituals of his country. Massey's views are made more

⁷ Geoffrey Simmins, *Fred Cumberland: Building the Victorian Dream* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), pp. 34- 37. Cumberland's vision also involved the building of luxury steamers and hotels.

⁸ Vincent Massey, *What is Past is Prologue: The Memoirs of the Right Honourable Vincent Massey* (London: Macmillan, 1963), p. 462.

⁹ "Report of F. P. Rubidge, Architect and Assistant Engineer," *Sessional Papers*, House of Commons, 31 Victoria, no. 8, (1867), p. 244.

damning by the fact that he had been a champion for better Canadian design while at the University of Toronto.¹⁰

Massey's rejection was not unique. 1950s historian Arthur Lower explicitly singled out Jacques & Hay in his general condemnation of nineteenth-century decorative arts—describing it as “a period in which taste was at a low ebb.”¹¹ Lower associated the Georgian period with aristocratic traditions, and the Victorians with the bourgeois. He tells us that:

Colonials from the first made their own furniture. ...Chairs, tables, beds, thanks to the goodness of the wood used and the simplicity imposed by limited facilities, are all aristocrats. Then when the ‘climate’ changed, bunches of grapes, sprays of leaves, carved in beautiful native walnut, began to gallop along the undulating backs of settees. Chair legs developed seductive curves. One of the major contributors to this Victorian exuberance was the well-known furniture-making house of Jaques (sic) and Hay, Toronto, whose pieces to-day to the uninitiated are minor prizes. Everyone at the time said “how nice”; just as the ladies did over the ever-swelling circumferences of their rioting, romantic Victorian crinolines.¹²

While it is common for a given generation to react against the characteristics of earlier ones, any Canadian decorative form that elicits such strong reactions is worthy of investigation. Such rejection may indicate a condemnation of other cultural values, rather than the poor aesthetics or the excessive ornamentation of a few sticks of furniture. It may be worth considering why Massey experienced such a visceral reaction. It is possible that,

¹⁰ Massey was an influential petitioner for the Association of Industrial Designers, 1948. See Virginia Wright, *Modern Furniture in Canada, 1920 to 1970* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), pp. 115-116.

¹¹ A. R. M. Lower, *Canadians in the Making* (Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company, 1958), p. 230.

¹² Lower, *Canadians in the Making*, p. 231.

independent of his opinion of Rideau Hall furniture, Massey was uncomfortable with the Canadian nineteenth century in general. Perhaps the towering mirrors and wardrobes were reminiscent of bearded, thrifty individuals obsessed with God and temperance, living in small towns or in distant farms and dying small deaths every winter. Maybe for Massey, fresh from living in London as Canada's High Commissioner, it was much too "colonial."

In addition, there was also a repudiation of cabinetry made by machine. Donald Webster, the long-serving curator at the Royal Ontario Museum, was an eminent scholar of Canadian Georgian furniture. He had a bleak view of Canadian furniture produced in the Jacques & Hay period, considering such factory-produced products culturally sterile and lacking in craftsmanship, especially compared to the beautiful lines and balance of the earlier cabinetry. He argued that in a world more closely connected by rail and steamship, furniture production had been homogenized to conform to a Northern American standard designed around the limitations of machinery.¹³ Webster was writing just after the crest of interest in Canadian decorative history fostered by the renewed nationalism of the 1967 Centennial Year. His view might have been influenced by the belief that hand-crafted tables or chairs are always more desirable than machine-worked furniture. In contrast to the mechanized factory turning out thousands of tables and chairs, the craftsman who made his own furniture was eulogized as a folk hero in touch with the traditions of his calling and the natural beauty of the

¹³ Donald Webster, "Furniture and the Atlantic Canada Condition," *Material History Bulletin* 15 (Summer 1982), pp. 53-59.

wood.¹⁴ This appreciation for hand-made articles often ignored the fact that many cabinet-makers believed that their lives were substantially improved by the use of the band-saw.¹⁵

Massey's, Lower's and Webster's disdain for Upper Victorian furniture in general and sometimes Jacques & Hay furniture in particular, was a combination of a number of forces. Massey was probably reacting against reminders of his ancestors' hard-working, Methodist origins in a country machine-shop.¹⁶ He had likely been made acutely aware of these roots while serving as his country's representative in London. Lower just may have been uncomfortable with the bourgeois, seeing no symmetry or aristocratic charm in factory-produced items. Webster believed that machinery was the enemy of craftsmanship and imagination. From John Ruskin to William Morris, this was a wide-spread opinion, but not necessarily held by the individuals who made furniture.

Ultimately, the Jacques & Hay narrative must return to consideration of the furniture, as this is what has been left behind. James Deetz believed that the study of material objects was useful for documenting social change.¹⁷ Much of Victorian architecture and decorative arts are

¹⁴ Thomas Schlereth, "Material Culture Studies in America: Notes Towards an Historical Perspective," *Material History Review*, Special Issue 1979, p. 92.

¹⁵ James Hay, Senior Conservator for Furniture at the Canadian Conservation Institute, was trained by a European cabinet-maker, schooled in handcrafted woodwork. He describes the work before machinery, as "back-breaking." Personal communication to Denise Jacques, November 2005.

¹⁶ David Roberts, "Hart Almerrin Massey," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, <http://www.biographi.ca/>, consulted 27 June 2010.

¹⁷ James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1977).

dismissed by contemporary Canadians as ugly and irrelevant. Maybe the furniture seems unsightly because it reflects the nineteenth-century society that used it. Canadian museums seem embarrassed in their attempts to explain Victorian culture to a multicultural society and contemporary Canadian nationalists have difficulty interpreting nineteenth-century discourse in a post-modern culture. There is little common ground between nineteenth-century ideals and a national dream built on cultural diversity. This dissonance in historic memory is heightened by the recognition that Victorian discourse was dominated by white, male, English-speaking Protestants from central Canada. Antipathy to such voices spotlights the Canadian failure to agree on a common history.

There are, however, continuities with the past, and some visceral reactions to nineteenth-century carved wood can be favourable. Individuals still do respond to the appeal of a shining surface and artistry in carving. The former Jacques & Hay apprentice William McCormack was a genius in the sculpting of wood. Following a disastrous fire, McCormack was commissioned between 1892 and 1893 to replace many of the wooden decorations of University College. McCormack had served his long apprenticeship under the Jacques & Hay carvers that had originally decorated the University. For a fine wooden stairway in the University, he carved a magnificent wooden griffin as the newel post. McCormack was so proud of this work that he featured it in his professional portfolio. The distinguished architectural scholar Eric Arthur was also an admirer of this minor masterpiece and had an

official photograph taken with the griffin.¹⁸ (Figure 34) The first photographic plate of Scott Symons' book depicts the same wooden figure.¹⁹ However, most importantly of all, the generations of students who have ascended and descended this stairway, responding to the sculpture drawn from the traditions of Beowulf, have lovingly caressed it, turning its texture to honey brown. It is an eloquent monument to the vanished hardwood forests of Ontario and the men who carved them.

¹⁸ University of Toronto, Imagine Bank, no. 2001-77-182MS. Portrait of Eric Arthur at University College, University of Toronto, 9 April 1970. The photographer was Robert Lansdale.

¹⁹ Symons, *Heritage: A Romantic Look at Early Canadian Furniture*, p. xiii. (The page is unnumbered.)

Bibliography

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

1. DOCUMENTS IN PRIVATE HANDS

Jacques family papers. Private collection of Mary Angus.

Hare family papers (furniture photographs). Private collection, Belleville, Ontario.

Smith, Sheila. Letters, documents, and photographs related to "Jacques and Hay, Cabinet-Makers: 1835-85." Master's thesis, University of Toronto, 1968.

2. ARCHIVAL MATERIAL

Hutchinson House, Peterborough

Fleming letters. No identification other than dates, 24 August, 1845; 23 March, 1846.

Library and Archives Canada

Brown, George, fonds. R2634-0-9-E, reels C-1601-1605, 1860s, 1870s.

Dun, R. G., & Co. Collection. M-7760/R3845-0-2-E, Vol. 26, York County,

Fleming, Sandford, Diary. R 7666-0-8-E, 1843-52.

House of Commons. Committee Reports, 82, no.10. Robert Hay, "Testimony," 23 April 1882.

House of Commons. Journal, Select Committee on the Extent and Condition of Manufacturing Interests, 1874; Appendix III.

House of Commons, Sessional Papers. 31 Victoria, no. 8 (1867), "Report of F. P. Rubidge, Architect and Assistant Engineer."

House of Commons, Sessional Papers, "Increased Number of Hands in Some of the Old Factories since January 1 1879," 83, no. 10, 1882.

Legislative Council of the Province of Canada. Journal, Appendix, no. 6, Page A6-230, 1857; Appendix no. 10, 1858.

Legislative Bills, Province of Canada. First session, Fourth Parliament, 16 Victoria, 1852, CIHM 9-05247.

Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada. RG-8, 14, C-5, Parliament of the Province of Canada, 1857.

Manuscript Census, 1871. Record Group 31, Series 1, Schedule 6, Toronto, district no. 46.

New Lowell, Plan of the Village of. RG-30 M 77803/10.

Parliament of the Province of Canada. Sessional Papers. Third Session, Sixth Parliament, no. 11, 1860, "Removal from Toronto to Quebec," *General Report of the Commissioner of Public Works*.

Province of Canada. Statutes. "An Act to Incorporate the Toronto Press Brick

Company, 22 May 1857.”
Sibbald, Susan, and family fonds. R-7548-0-7-E (MG 29-C69), 1852-1866.

Ontario Archives, Toronto

Cumberland, Frederic, fonds. F1132, 1849-1860.
House of Assembly of Upper Canada, Journal of the. Third Session, Thirteenth Parliament, 1838. Fourth Session, Thirteenth Parliament, 1838.
Land Records Index. Abstract to Index of Deeds, GS 5611-13.
Macaulay Family fonds. F 32, MS 78, 1835-1850.
Milne, Frances Tweedie, fonds. F 763, 1867-1871.
Montgomery papers. F142-1-0-17, October 1870.
Normal and Model Schools Contract. RG2-86-0-14.

Ontario Art Gallery, Toronto

Jacques & Hay file (amicus number 33556789).

Rideau Hall Archives, Ottawa

Correspondence, 1866, document no. 985.

Simcoe County Archives, Minsing, Ontario

Jacques & Hay Co. Archives, 1854-1872, 2000 items, mostly letters

Spadina Archives, Toronto

Austin family papers.

City of Toronto Archives

Goad Insurance Map, 1880.
Ontario Heritage Foundation, Toronto Historical Board, “Spadina: A Joint Preservation Project” (in Archives library).
St. Andrew’s fonds, 1238, Series 1329, File 4.
Toronto City Council. Minutes, 1835-1860

Toronto Reference Library

Denison Family Account Book, no. L22, 1870-1880, the account book has reference number 40591.
Mechanics’ Institute, E1-E5, Baldwin Room, 1835-60.
Minhinnick, Jeanne. Papers, 1965-1985, L47, Box 4.
Smith, Larratt. Diary and Expenditure Accounts, S102, 1847-1851.

York University Archives

Wood, J. David, fonds, Letters of Susan Sibbald, 1840-1866, F0215, call no. 2001-024/002.

PRIMARY PUBLISHED SOURCES

1. NEWSPAPERS

Barrie Examiner, 1890
British Colonist (Toronto), 1844, 1847, 1850
Daily Colonist (Toronto), 1855
Daily Leader (Toronto), 1854, 1855, 1856, 1872
Globe (Toronto), 1848-1900
Hamilton Evening Times, 1862, 1864
Journal (Ottawa), 1874
Kingston Daily News, 1863
Lady's Newspaper (London, UK), 1855
London Prototype and Daily Western Advocate (Ontario), 1861
Mail (Toronto), 1886
Markham Economist (Ontario), 1861
Montreal Gazette, 1850, 1878
Montreal Herald, 1860-1868
Newfoundland Express (St. John's, NL), 1851
Northern Advance (Barrie), 1854
Ontario Workman (Toronto), 1872
Ottawa Citizen, 1875
Ottawa Free Press, 1874
Ottawa Times, 1866
Perth Courier, 1867, 1872
Sarnia Observer, 1867
Scotsman (Edinburgh), 2010
Toronto Daily Mail, 1891
Toronto Daily Star, 1895-1940
Toronto Star Weekly, 1928
Toronto Leader, 1853
Toronto World, 1890
United Empire (Toronto) 1853

2. NINETEENTH-CENTURY PERIODICALS

Agricultural Journal, 1851
Builder, 1857
Canadian Architect and Builder, 1877
Canadian Agriculturist and Journal of Transactions, 1851, 1852, 1855, 1856, 1862
Canadian Church Press, 1860
Canadian Illustrated News, 1872
Canadian Journal of Industry, Science and Art, 1853, 1854, 1855, 1860

Canadian Magazine, 1911
Canadian Mechanics' Magazine and Patent Office Record, 1858
Canadian Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review, 1857, 1877
Canadian Monthly and National Review, 1874
Dominion Illustrated News, 1872, 1890
The Furniture Manufacturer and Artisan, 1911
Journal of the Board of Arts and Manufactures for Upper Canada, 1856, 1864
Journal of Commerce, Finance and Insurance Review, 1877
Journal of Education for Upper Canada, 1850-1865
Journal and Transactions of the Board of Agriculture of Upper Canada, 1856
Illustrated London News, 1867
Manufacturers' Association, 1876
Ontario Agricultural Commission, 1881
Upper Canada Law Journal of Municipal and Local Courts Gazette, 1862

3. BOOKS AND OTHER MATERIAL

- Anon. *Notes on the Road by a Canadian "Guerilla," Alias Commercial Traveller*.
 Toronto: Daily Telegram Printing House, 1868.
- . *Fiftieth Annual Report of the St. Andrew's Society of Toronto, from November 30 1835 to November 30 1886*. Toronto: James Murray & Co., 1887.
- . *Industries of Canada: Historical and Commercial Sketches of Toronto and Environs: Its Prominent Places and People, Representative Merchants and Manufacturers: Its Improvements, Progress and Enterprise*. Toronto: M.G. Bixby, 1888.
- . *Descriptive Letterpress Views of Toronto*. Toronto: S. I. s.n. 1858? (CIHM no. 63531).
- . *Directory of the City of Boston, 1831-52*. Boston: George Adams, 1850.
- . *Manufacturers' Association of Ontario: Special Meeting, 1875: Toronto*. Toronto: Bell & Co., 1876.
- Beatty, S. G. and J. W. Johnson. *The Canadian Accountant, a Practical System of Book-Keeping*. Belleville, ON: The Ontario Business College, 1874.
- Beecher, Catharine and Harriet Stowe. *American Woman's Home*. 1869. Reprint, Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, 2008.
- Beeton, Isabella Mary. *The Book of Household Management*. London: Samuel Beeton, 1861. Reprint, New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1969.

- Bird, Isabella Lucy. *The Englishwoman in America*. 1856. Reprint, Cirencester, U.K. Echo Library, 2005/1856. Reprint,
- Buchanan, Isaac and Henry J. Morgan, eds. *The Relations of the Industry of Canada with the Mother Country and the United States*. Montreal: J. Lovell, 1864.
- Cellem, Robert. *Visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to the British North American Provinces and United States in the Year 1860*. Toronto: Henry Rowsell, 1861.
- Chambers, Ernest J. *The Royal Grenadiers: A Regimental History of the Tenth Infantry Regiments of the Active Militia of Canada*. Toronto: I. Ruddy, 1904.
- Chambers, William. *Things as They Are in America*. 1st ed. London and Edinburgh: W. and R. Chambers, 1854.
- Cist, Charles. *Sketches and Statistics of Cincinnati in 1851*. Cincinnati: William. H. Moore & Co., 1851.
- Copleston, Edward, Mrs. *Canada: Why we Live in it, and Why we Like it*. London: Parker, Son, and Bourn, 1861.
- Dickens, Charles. *American Notes for General Circulation*. 1842. Reprint, London: Chapman and Hall, 1868.
- Downing, Andrew Jackson. *The Architecture of Country Houses: Including Designs for Cottages, and Farmhouses, and Villas, with Remarks on Interiors, Furniture, and the Best Modes of Warming and Ventilating*. 1850. Reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1969.
- Downing, Andrew Jackson, 1873. *Victorian Cottage Residences*. 1842. 1873. Reprint of 1873 edition, New York: Dover Publications, 1981.
- Eastlake, Charles L. *Hints on Household Taste in Furniture, Upholstery, and Other Details*. London, 1868. Boston, 1872. Reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1969.
- Flint, Charles Louis, Charles Francis McCay, Thomas Prentice Kettell, Frederic Beecher Perkins, Thomas Addison Richards, Henry Barnard, James Thatcher Hodge, and John C. Merriam. *Eighty Years' Progress of the United States: Showing the Various Channels of Industry and Education Through which the People of the United States Have Arisen from a British Colony to Their Present National Importance*. New York: Stebbins, 1861.
- Galbraith, Thomas. *General Financial and Trade Review of the City of Toronto for 1880*. Toronto: Toronto Globe Printing Co., 1881.

- Hodgins, J. George, ed. *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada, from the Passing of the Constitutional Act of 1791 to the Close of the Reverend Doctor Ryerson's Administration of the Education Department in 1876*. Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1906.
- Hodgins, J. George. *Historical and Other Papers and Documents Illustrative Of The Educational System Of Ontario, 1842-1861*. Vol. V. Toronto: L. K. Cameron, 1912.
- Hodgins, J. George. *The Journal of Education for Ontario*, Vol. 27-28. Toronto: Hunter, Rose and Co., 1874.
- Howe, Charles J. *The Deaf Mutes of Canada: A History of their Education, with an Account of the Deaf Mute Institutions of the Dominion*. Toronto: C. J. Howe, 1888.
- Hume, George Henry. *Canada, as it is: Comprising Details Relating to the Domestic Policy, Commerce and Agriculture, of the Upper and Lower Provinces: Comprising Matters of General Information and Interest, especially Intended for the use of Settlers and Emigrants*. New York: W. Stoddart, 1832.
- Kohl, Johann Georg. *Travels in Canada, and Through the States of New York and Pennsylvania*. Vol 2. London: G. Manwaring, 1861.
- Langley, Henry. "Description of the Lieutenant-Governor's Residence," *Report of the Commissioner of Public Works, 1869*. Toronto: Hunter Rose & Co., 1869.
- Lewis, Richard. "Mechanics Institutes and the Best Means of Improving Them." *The Canadian Monthly and National Review*, 10, no. 3 (September, 1876).
- Lorne, Marquess of. *Canadian Pictures, Drawn with Pen and Pencil*. London: Religious Tract Society, 1884.
- Loudon, John Claudius. *Encyclopædia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture and Furniture; containing numerous designs for dwellings...each design accompanied by analytical and critical remarks*. London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longmans, 1839.
- Mackay, Charles. *Life and Liberty in America, Or, Sketches of a Tour in the United States and Canada, in 1857-8*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1859.
- Mathison, John. *Counsel for emigrants, and interesting information from numerous sources. With original letters from Canada and the United States*. Aberdeen: John Mathison, 1834.

- Moodie, Susanna. *Roughing It in the Bush*. London: 1852. Reprint, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1989.
- Morgan, Henry James. *The Tour of HRH the Prince of Wales through British America and the United States*. Montreal: James Lovell, 1860.
- Mulvany, Charles Pelham. *Toronto, Past and Present: A Handbook of the City*. Toronto: W.E. Caiger Publisher, 1884.
- Osler, Andrew and James Taylor. *Artisan Expedition to the World's Fair, Chicago: organised by the Dundee courier and the Dundee weekly news: a tour of observation,* Dundee Courier; Dundee Weekly News, 1893.
- Richard, John. *A Treatise on the Construction and Operation of Wood-Working Machines: including a History of the Origin and Progress of the Manufacture of Wood-Working Machinery*. London and New York: E. & F. N. Spon, 1872.
- Robertson and Cook's Toronto City Directory for 1871–2*. Toronto: Robertson & Cook, 1871.
- Robertson, J. Ross. *Robertson's Landmarks of Toronto; a Collection of Historical Sketches of the old Town of York from 1792 until 1837, and of Toronto from 1834 to 1914*. Vol. I-V. Toronto: J. R. Robertson, 1894-1914.
- Rogers, Charles. "Manufacturers and Material." *The Canadian Architect and Builder* 12, issue 5 (1899), p. 108.
- Royal Commission on the Subject of Labor (sic) and its Relation to Capital: Volume 2, Evidence, Ontario*. Ottawa, A. Senecal, 1889.
- Rose, George Maclean, ed. *A Cyclopaedia of Canadian Biography Being Chiefly Men of the Time*. Toronto: Rose Publishing Company, 1886.
- Smith, William. *H. Smith's Canadian Gazetteer; Comprising Statistical and General Information Respecting all Parts of the Upper Province, or Canada West*. Toronto: H. & W. Rowsell, 1846.
- Sylvester, Alfred. *Sketches of Toronto: Comprising a complete and accurate description of the principal points of interest in the city, its public buildings inc., together with necessary details in connection with the provincial exhibition*. Toronto: Charles E. Holiwell, 1858.
- Taylor, Conyngham Crawford. *The Queen's Jubilee and Toronto "Called Back" from 1887 to 1847*. Toronto: Published for the author by W. Briggs, 1887.

- Timperlake, J., ed. *Illustrated Toronto, Past and Present: Being an Historical and Descriptive Guide-Book: Comprising its Architecture, Manufacture, Trade; its Social, Literary, Scientific and Charitable Institutions; its Churches, Schools and Colleges; and Other Principal Points of Interest to the Visitor and Resident: Together with a Key to the Publisher's Bird's-Eye View of the City*. Toronto: P.A. Gross, 1877.
- Traill, Mrs C.P. *The Female Emigrant's Guide, and Hints on Canadian Housekeeping*. Toronto: Maclear, 1854.
- Trollope, Anthony. *North America*. London: Dawsons, 1968.
- Trotter, Isabella Strange. *First Impressions of the New World on Two Travellers from the Old in the Autumn of 1858*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans & Roberts, 1859.
- Walton, George. *The City of Toronto and the Home District Commercial Directory and Register with Almanack and Calendar for 1837*. Toronto: T. Dalton and W. J. Coates, 1837.
- Woods, N.A. *The Prince of Wales in the United States and Canada*. London: Woodward, 1861.

SECONDARY LITERATURE

1. BOOKS

- Acton, James. *The Canadian Book of Furniture: A Short Outline of the History and Development of Furniture in Canada*. Toronto: Acton Publishing, 1923.
- Ames, Kenneth L. *Death in the Dining Room and Other Tales of Victorian Culture*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992.
- Anon. *The Great Good Place: Exploring University College*. Toronto: University College, 1984.
- Armstrong, Charles H. A. *The Honourable Society of Osgoode Hall*. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1952
- Armstrong, Jackson W., ed. *Seven Eggs Today: The Diaries of Mary Armstrong, 1859 and 1869*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2004.
- Arthur, Eric. *Toronto: No Mean City*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968.
- Baker, Michael, ed. *Downtown London: Layers of Time* London, ON: The London

- Regional Art and Historical Museums, 2000.
- Barker-Benfield, G. A. *The Culture of Sensibility, Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1992.
- Bates, Christina. *Furnishing Bellevue in 1848*, Research Bulletin, no. 175. Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1982.
- Beaudoin-Ross, Jacqueline. *Form and Fashion: Nineteenth-Century Montreal Dress*. Montreal: McCord Museum of Canadian History, 1992.
- Bliss, Michael. *Northern Enterprise: Five Centuries of Canadian Business*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987.
- Blaszczyk, Regina Lee, and Philip B. Scranton, eds. *Major Problems in American Business History: Documents and Essays*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2006.
- Brewer, John. *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1997.
- Brewer, John, and Roy Porter, eds. *Consumption and the World of Goods*. London and New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Briggs, Asa. *Victorian Cities*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1968.
- . *Victorian People: A Reassessment of Persons and Themes, 1851-67*. Rev. 1st ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.
- . *Victorian Things*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1988.
- Burley, David G. *A Particular Condition in Life: Self-Employment and Social Mobility in Mid-Victorian Brantford, Ontario*. Montreal; Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994.
- Bushman, Richard L. *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities*. New York: Vintage Press, 1993.
- Campbell, Colin. *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*. Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1987.
- Canadian Museum of Civilization. *Treasures*. Camden East, ON.: Old Bridge Press in collaboration with the Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1988.
- Careless, J. M. S., *Brown of the Globe*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1959.
- . *Toronto to 1918: An Illustrated History*. Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1984.

- Carty, R. Kenneth, and W. Peter Ward, eds. *National Politics and Community in Canada*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986.
- Cassis, Youssef, and Ioanna Pepelasis Minoglou, eds. *Entrepreneurship in Theory and History*. Houndmills, UK and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Cathcart, Ruth. *Jacques & Hay: Nineteenth-Century Toronto Furniture Makers*. Erin, ON: Boston Mills Press, 1986.
- Collard, Elizabeth. *Nineteenth-Century Pottery and Porcelain in Canada*. Montreal: McGill University Press, 1967.
- Cook, Jane Leigh. *Coalescence of Styles: The Ethnic Heritage of St. John River Valley Regional Furniture, 1763-1851*. Montreal; Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001.
- Cowan, Helen I. *British Emigration to British North America: The First Hundred Years*. Revised edition, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961.
- Cowan, Ruth Schwartz. *A Social History of American Technology*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Craig, John. *Simcoe County, the Recent Past*. Midhurst: Corporation of the County of Simcoe, 1977.
- Crowley, John E. *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibility and Design in Early Modern Britain and Early America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.
- Cuervo, Alvaro, Domingo Ribeiro, and Salvador Roig, eds. *Entrepreneurship: Concepts, Theory and Perspective*. Berlin: Springer, 2007.
- Darling, Sharon. *Chicago Furniture: Art, Craft and Industry, 1833-1983*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1984.
- Darroch, Gordon, and Lee Soltow. *Property and Inequality in Victorian Ontario: Structural Patterns and Cultural Communities in the 1871 Census*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.
- Davidoff, Lenore, and Catherine Hall. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Davidson, Paul. *Antique Collector's Directory of Period Detail*. London: Aurum Press, 2000.

- Degler, Carl. *Out of Our Past: The Forces That Shaped Modern America*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959.
- Deetz, James. *In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1977.
- Dendy, William. *Lost Toronto*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1978.
- Dendy, William, and William Kilborn. *Toronto Observed: Its Architecture, Patrons, and History*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Douglas, Mary Tew, and Baron C. Isherwood, eds. *The World of Goods*. New York: Basic Books, 1979.
- Elliott, Bruce S. *Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach*. 2nd ed., Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004.
- Ennals, Peter, and Deryck Holdsworth. *Homeplace: The Making of the Canadian Dwelling over Three Centuries*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.
- Erickson, Charlotte. *Leaving England: Essays on British Emigration in the Nineteenth Century*. Ithaca: Cornell University, 1994.
- Errington, Elizabeth Jane. *Wives and Mothers, Schoolmistresses and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada, 1790-1840*. Montreal; Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995.
- Evans, Nancy Goyne. *Windsor-Chair Making in America: From Craft Shop to Consumer*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2006.
- Ferry, Darren. *Uniting in Measures of Common Good: The Construction of Liberal Identities in Central Canada*. Montreal; Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008.
- Firth, Edith G., ed. *The Town of York, 1793-1815*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962.
- , ed. *The Town of York, 1815-1834; A Further Collection of Documents of Early Toronto*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966.
- Flanders, Judith. *The Victorian House: Domestic Life from Childbirth to Deathbed.*, London, UK: HarperPerennial, 2004.
- Forster, Ben. *A Conjunction of Interests: Business, Politics, and Tariffs, 1825-1879*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986.

- Forty, Adrian. *Objects of Desire: Design and Society, 1750-1980*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1986.
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.
- Francis, R. D. and Donald B. Smith, eds. *Readings in Canadian History*. 3rd ed., Toronto: Holt Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1990.
- Galbraith, John Kenneth. *The Affluent Society*. 4th ed., Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984.
- Gibson, Sally. *Inside Toronto: Urban Interiors, 1880s to 1920s*. Toronto: Cormorant Books, 2006.
- Gidney, R. D. and W. P. J. Millar, eds. *Professional Gentlemen: The Professions in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.
- Giedion, Siegfried., *Mechanization Takes Command: a Contribution to Anonymous History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948.
- Gilmour, James. *Spatial Evolution of Manufacturing, Southern Ontario, 1851-1891*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.
- Glassie, Henry H. *Material Culture*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.
- Glazebrook, George Parkin de Twenebroker. *Life in Ontario: a Social History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968.
- . *The Story of Toronto*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971.
- Gloag, John. *A Complete Dictionary of Furniture*. Woodstock, N.Y.: Overlook Press, 1991.
- Goffman, Erving. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1959.
- Gowans, Alan. *Looking at Architecture in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1958
- Grier, Katherine C. *Culture and Comfort: Parlor Making and Middle-Class Identity, 1850-1930*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997.
- Guiguet, Kristina Marie. *The Ideal World of Mrs. Widder's Soirée Musicale: Social Identity and Musical Life in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*. Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2004.

- Guillet Edwin. *The Great Migration: The Atlantic Crossing by Sailing-Ship*. Reprint, 1937; New York: J. S. Ozer, 1971.
- Hall, Roger and Gordon Dodds. *A Picture History of Ontario*. Edmonton, Alberta: Hurtig Publishers, 1978.
- Hall, Roger, William Westfall, and Laurel Sefton MacDowell, eds. *Patterns of the Past: Interpreting Ontario's History: A Collection of Historical Articles Published on the Occasion of the Centenary of the Ontario Historical Society*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1988.
- Halttunen, Karen. *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830-1870*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982.
- Hansen, Karen V. *A Very Social Time: Crafting Community in Antebellum New England*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994.
- Harris, Cole. *The Reluctant Land: Society, Space, and Environment in Canada before Confederation*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2008.
- Harris, Robin S. and Terry G. Harris, eds. *The Eldon House Diaries: Five Women's Views of the 19th Century*. Toronto: The Champlain Society in co-operation with the Government of Ontario, 1994.
- Harrison, Robert A. and Peter Oliver, eds. *The Conventional Man: The Diaries of Ontario Chief Justice Robert A. Harrison, 1856-1878*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003.
- Heaman, E. A. *The Inglorious Arts of Peace: Exhibitions in Canadian Society During the Nineteenth Century*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- Heron, Craig. *Booze: A Distilled History*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2003.
- *The Canadian Labour Movement: A Short History*. Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1989.
- Hounshell, David A. *From the American System to Mass Production: 1800-1932*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984.
- Howe Daniel Walker. *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Hubbard, Robert. *Rideau Hall: An Illustrated History of Government House, Ottawa*. Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1967.

- Iacovetta, Franca and Mariana Valverde, eds. *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.
- Ingolfsrud, Elizabeth. *All About Ontario Chairs*. Toronto: House of Grant, 1974.
- Jarvis, Julia. *Three Centuries of Robinsons: The Story of a Family*. Don Mills, Ontario: T.H. Best, 1967.
- Leitch Adelaide. *The Visible Past: The Pictorial History of Simcoe County*. 1967. Republished, Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1992.
- Kalman, Harold. *A Concise History of Canadian Architecture*. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, Canada, 2000.
- Katz, Michael B. *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975.
- Katz, Michael B., Michael J. Doucet, and Mark J. Stern, eds. *The Social Organization of Early Industrial Capitalism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982.
- Kealey, Gregory S. *Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism: 1867-1892*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.
- . *Working-Class Toronto at the Turn of the Century*. Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1973.
- . *Workers and Canadian History*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995.
- Lessard, Michel. *Antique Furniture of Québec: Four Centuries of Furniture Making*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2002.
- Lower, A. R. M. *Canadians in the Making*. Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company, 1958.
- Koltun, Lilly. *The Cabinetmaker's Art in Ontario: 1850-1900*. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1979.
- Kristofferson, Robert B. *Craft Capitalism: Craftworkers and Early Industrialization in Hamilton, Ontario: 1840-1872*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007.
- MacKinnon, Joan. *A Checklist of Toronto Cabinet and Chair Makers, 1800-1865*. Ottawa: National Museum of Man Mercury Series, 1975.
- Macmillan, David S., ed. *Canadian Business History: Selected Studies, 1497-1971*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972.

- Marks, Lynne. *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- Martyn, Lucy Booth. *Toronto: One Hundred Years of Grandeur: The Inside Stories of Toronto's Great Homes and the People Who Lived There*. Toronto: Pagurian Press, 1978.
- McCalla, Douglas. *Planting the Province: The Economic History of Upper Canada: 1784-1870*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.
- . *The Upper Canada Trade, 1834-1872: A Study of the Buchanan's Business*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979.
- McCallum, John. *Unequal Beginnings: Agriculture and Economic Development in Quebec and Ontario until 1870*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.
- McCracken, Grant. *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988.
- McCraw, Thomas K. *Prophet of Innovation: Joseph Schumpeter and Creative Destruction*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007.
- McKendrick, Neil, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb. *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*. Bloomington, University Press, 1982.
- Meggs, Philip B., and Alston W. Purvis Meggs. *History of Graphic Design*. 4th ed., Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons, 2006.
- Middleton, Jesse E. *The Municipality of Toronto, A History*. Vol. I. Toronto: Dominion Publishing Co., 1923.
- Minhinnick, Jeanne. *At Home in Upper Canada*. Toronto: Clarke Irwin, 1970.
- Mitchell, Sally. *Daily Life in Victorian England*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2009.
- Monod, David. *Store Wars: Shopkeepers and the Culture of Mass Marketing, 1890-1939*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.
- Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. *Chairs: 400 Years of Social and Stylistic Changes*. Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1982.

- Morton, Desmond, and J. T. Copp, eds. *Working People*. Ottawa: Deneau & Greenberg, 1980.
- Morton, Suzanne. *Ideal Surroundings: Domestic Life in a Working-Class Suburb in the 1920s*. Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1995.
- Motz, Marilyn Ferris, and Pat Browne, eds. *Making the American Home: Middle-Class Women and Domestic Material Culture, 1840-1940*. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1988.
- Murray, Heather. *Come, Bright Improvement! The Literary Societies of Nineteenth-Century Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.
- Musson-Nykor, Lynda, Patricia Musson, and Patricia D. Musson, eds. *Mennonite Furniture*. Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1977.
- Naylor, R. T. *The History of Canadian Business, 1867-1914*. Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1975.
- Orvell, Miles. *The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880-1940*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.
- Osbaldeston, Mark. *Unbuilt Toronto: A History of the City That Might Have Been*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2008.
- Otter, A. A. den. *The Philosophy of Railways: The Transcontinental Railway Idea in British North America*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- Pagden, Anthony. *People and Empires: A Short History of European Migration, Exploration, and Conquest, from Greece to the Present*. New York: Modern Library, 2003.
- Pain, Howard. *Heritage of Upper Canadian Furniture: A Study in the Survival of Formal and Vernacular Styles from Britain, America and Europe, 1780-1900*. Toronto: Key Porter, 1984.
- Parr, Joy. *Domestic Goods: The Material, the Moral and the Economic in the Postwar Years*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- . *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men, and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.
- Phenix, Patricia. *Private Demons: The Tragic Personal Life of John A. Macdonald*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2006.

- Pocius, Gerald L., ed., *Living in a Material World: Canadian and American Approaches to Material Culture*. St. John's, NL.: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1991.
- Prentice, Alison L., and Beth Light, eds. *Pioneer and Gentlewomen of British North America, 1713-1867*. Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1980.
- Pursell, Carroll W., ed., *Technology in America: A History of Individuals and Ideas*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981.
- Radforth, Ian. *Royal Spectacle: The Visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada and the United States*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.
- Ransom, F. E. *The City Built on Wood: A History of the Furniture Industry in Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1850-1950*. Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, 1955.
- Reid, Dennis. *Krieghoff: Images of Canada*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1999.
- Rempel, John I. *Building with Wood and Other Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Building in Central Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.
- Rice, Stephen P. "Minding the Machine:" *Languages of Class in Early Industrial America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.
- Richardson, Douglas Scott. *A Not Unsightly Building: University College and its History*. Oakville, ON: Mosaic Press for University College, 1990.
- Rilling, Donna J. *Making Houses, Crafting Capitalism: Builders in Philadelphia, 1790-1850*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.
- de la Roche, Mazo. *Mary Wakefield*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1949.
- Russell, Peter A. *Attitudes to Social Structure and Mobility in Upper Canada, 1815-1840*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1990.
- Ryan, Mary. *The Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Rybczynski, Witold. *City Life*. Toronto: HarperPerennial, 1995.
- . *Home: A Short History of an Idea*. New York: Viking, 1986.
- . *The Most Beautiful House in the World*. New York: Penguin Books, 1990.
- Ryerson, Egerton, edited by C. B. Sissons. *My Dearest Sophie: Letters from Egerton Ryerson to his Daughter*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1955.

- Samuel, Sigmund. *In Return: The Autobiography of Sigmund Samuel*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963.
- Santink, Joy L. *Timothy Eaton and the Rise of His Department Store*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.
- Schlereth, Thomas J. *Victorian America: Transformations in Everyday Life, 1876-1915*. New York: HarperPerennial, 1991.
- Schumpeter, Joseph, A. *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. London and New York: Routledge, 1994.
- . *Theory of Economic Development: An Inquiry into Profits, Capital, Credit, Interest, and the Business Cycle*. 1934. Reprint, New York: Oxford University Press, 1961.
- Shackleton, Philip. *The Furniture of Old Ontario*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1973.
- Simmins, Geoffrey. *Fred Cumberland: Building the Victorian Dream*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- Sinclair, Bruce, Norman R. Ball, and James O. Peterson, eds. *Let Us Be Honest and Modest: Technology and Society in Canadian History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.
- Smith, Henry T. *A History of St Andrew's Lodge, 1822-1922*. Toronto: Maccoomb Press, 1922.
- Smith, Larratt William and Mary Larratt Smith, eds. *Young Mr. Smith in Upper Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.
- Smith, Mark M. *Sensing the Past: Seeing, Hearing, Smelling, Tasting, and Touching in History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.
- Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll. *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America*. Reprint, New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Smith, Woodruff D. *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600-1800*. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Spelt, Jacob. *Urban Development in South-Central Ontario*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972.

- Stanford, G. H. *To Serve the Community: The Story of Toronto's Board of Trade*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.
- Strange, Carolyn. *Toronto's Girl Problem: The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880-1930*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.
- Steegman, John. *The Victorian Taste: A Study of the Arts and Architecture from 1830 to 1870*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1971.
- Stevenson, Louise L. *The Victorian Homefront: American Thought and Culture, 1860-1880*. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1991.
- Swedberg, Richard, ed. *Entrepreneurship: The Social Science View*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Symons, Scott. *Heritage: A Romantic Look at Early Canadian Furniture*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971.
- Taylor, Graham D. and Peter A. Baskerville, eds. *A Concise History of Business in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Taylor, M. Brook. *Promoters, Patriots, and Partisans: Historiography in Nineteenth-Century English Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989.
- Thompson, Austin Seton. *Spadina: A Story of Old Toronto*. Toronto: Pagurian Press, 1976.
- Thompson, E. P. *The Making of the English Working Class*. 3rd ed. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1968.
- Townsend, Wayne. *Orangeville: the Heart of Dufferin County*. Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2006.
- Unglow, Jennifer S. *The Lunar Men: Five Friends Whose Curiosity Changed the World*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002.
- Van Norman, Catherine Bell. *Catherine Bell Van Norman, Her Diary, 1850*. Burlington, Ontario: Burlington Historical Society, 1981.
- Veblen, Thorstein, 1899. *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Walden, Keith. *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- Walker, Frank Norman. *Sketches of Old Toronto*. Don Mills, ON: Longmans, 1965.

- Walton, Whitney. *France at the Crystal Palace: Bourgeois Taste and Artisan Manufacture*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- Ward, Peter. *Courtship, Love, and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century English Canada*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990.
- . *A History of Domestic Space: Privacy and the Canadian Home*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999.
- Weatherill, Lorna. *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660–1760*. London: Routledge, 1988.
- Wright, Gwendolyn. *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1981.
- Wright, Virginia. *Modern Furniture in Canada, 1920 to 1970*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005.
- Young, Carolyn A. *The Glory of Ottawa: Canada's First Parliament Buildings*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995.
- Zeller, Suzanne. *Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.
- . *Land of Promise, Promised Land: The Culture of Victorian Science in Canada*. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1996.

2. ARTICLES AND ESSAYS

- Acheson, T.W. "Changing Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-1910." *Business History Review* 47, no. 2 (1973), pp. 189.
- . T. W. "The Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-85." In *Canadian Business History: Selected Studies, 1497-1971*, edited by David S. Macmillan. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972.
- Anon. "Editorial Statement." *Winterthur Portfolio* 17, no.1 (Spring 1982), unnumbered page.
- Aitken, Hugh G. J. "Government and Business in Canada: An Interpretation." *Business History Review* 38, no. 1 (Spring 1964), pp. 4-21.
- Ames, Kenneth L. "Designed in France: Notes on the Transmission of French Style to America." *Winterthur Portfolio* 12 (1977), pp. 103-114.

- "Furniture Study: Moving Into the Mainstream." In *Victorian Furniture: Essays from a Victorian Society Autumn Symposium*, edited by Kenneth L. Ames. Philadelphia: The Victorian Society in America, 1983.
- Arthur, Eric. "Remembering University College." *Canadian Collector Magazine*, 12, no. 4 (July/August 1977), pp. 32-35.
- Balakrishnan, Jaydeep, Janice B Eliasson, and Timothy R.C. Sweet. "Factors Affecting the Evolution of Manufacturing in Canada: An Historical Perspective." *Journal of Operations* 25, Issue 2 (March 2007), pp. 260-283.
- Battye, John. "The Nine-Hour Pioneers: The Genesis of the Canadian Labour Movement." *Labour/Le Travail* 4 (1979), pp. 25-56.
- Belisle, Donica. "Toward a Canadian Consumer History." *Labour/Le Travail* 52 (Fall 2003), pp. 181-206.
- Benn, Carl. "British Officer Housing in Upper Canada, 1784-1841." *Material History Review* 44 (Fall 1996), pp. 79-99.
- Bloomfield, Elizabeth, and Gerald Bloomfield. "Mills, Factories and Craftshops of Ontario, 1870: A Machine-Readable Source for Material Historians." *Material History Review* 25 (Spring 1987), pp. 120-132.
- . "'Our Prosperity Rests Upon Manufactures:' Industry in the Central Canadian Urban System, 1871." *Urban History Review* 22 (May 1994), pp. 75-96.
- Bond, Hallie E. "The Featherweight and the Backwoods and the Evolution of the Pack Canoe." *Material History Review*, no. 48 (Fall 1998), pp. 26-37.
- Bradshaw, James Standford. "Grand Rapids, 1870-1880: Furniture City Emerges." *Michigan History* LV, 4 (1971), pp. 321-342.
- Burr, Christina. "The Other Side: The Rhetoric of Labour Reform in Toronto during the 1870s." in *Ontario Since Confederation: A Reader*, edited by Edgar-André Montigny and Anne Lorene Chambers,. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.
- Carlos, Ann M., and Patricia Fulton. "Chance or Destiny? The Dominance of Toronto Over the Urban Landscape, 1797-1850." *Social Science History* 15, no. 1 (Spring 1991), pp. 35-66.
- Caron, Jean-Francois. "William Drum and the Advent of Industrialization." In *Living in Style: Fine Furniture in Victorian Quebec*, edited by John R. Porter. Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1993.

- Casson, Mark, and Andrew Godley. "Entrepreneurship and Historical Explanation," In *Entrepreneurship in Theory and History*, edited by Youssef Cassis and Ioanna Minoglou. Houndmills, UK and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Clark, Clifford E. Jr. "Domestic Architecture as an Index to Social History: The Romantic Revival and the Cult of Domesticity in America, 1840-1870." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 6, no. 3 (Summer 1976), pp. 33-56.
- . "House Furnishings as Cultural Evidence: The Promise and Peril of Material Culture Studies." *American Quarterly* 43, no. 1 (March 1991), pp. 73-81.
- . "The Vision of the Dining Room: Plan Book Dreams and Middle-Class Realities." In *Dining in America, 1850-1900*, edited by Kathryn Grover. Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 1987.
- Clunas, Craig. "Modernity, Global and Local: Consumption and the Rise of the West." *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 5 (December 1999), pp. 1497-1511.
- Coffey, Brian. "Factors Affecting the Use of Construction Materials in Early Ontario." *Ontario History* 77, no. 4 (December 1985), pp. 301-318.
- Cohen, Lizabeth. "Respectability at \$5 Down, 20 Months to Pay: Furnishing a Working Class Victorian Home." In *Victorian Furniture: Essays from a Victorian Society Symposium*, edited by Kenneth L. Ames. Philadelphia: Victorian Society in America, 1993.
- Cook, Terry. "John Beverley Robinson and the Conservative Blueprint for the Upper Canada Community." *Ontario History* 64, no. 2 (June 1972), pp. 79-94.
- Crowley, John E. "The Sensibility of Comfort." *American Historical Review* 104, no. 3 (June 1999), pp. 749-782.
- Darroch, Gordon. "Class in Nineteenth-Century Ontario: A Reassessment of the Crisis and Demise of Small Producers During Early Industrialization, 1861-71," *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 13, no. 1-2 (1988), pp. 47-74.
- . "Scanty Fortunes and Rural Middle-Class Formation in Nineteenth-Century Rural Ontario." *Canadian Historical Review* 79 (December 1998), pp. 621-659.
- Dendy, William. "Government House, Toronto 1866-70." *Canadian Collector* 11, no. 5 (September-October 1977), pp. 21-25.
- Earl, Polly Anne. "Craftsmen and Machines: The Nineteenth-Century Furniture Industry." In *Technological Innovation and the Decorative Arts*, edited by Ian M.

- G. Quimby and Polly Anne Earl. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1974.
- Edwards, Clive. "The Mechanization of Carving: the Development of the Carving Machine, especially in relation to the Manufacture of Furniture and the Working of Wood." *History of Technology* 21 (January 1999), pp. 73-102.
- Ettema, Michael J. "The Fashion System in American Furniture." In *Living in a Material World: Canadian and American Approaches to Material Culture*, edited by Gerald Pocius, St. John's, NL: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1991.
- . "History, Nostalgia, and American Furniture." *Winterthur Portfolio* 17, no. 2/3 (Summer - Autumn 1982), pp. 135-144.
- . "Technological Innovation and Design Economics in Furniture Manufacture." *Winterthur Portfolio*, 16 (Summer/Autumn 1981), pp. 197-224.
- Flynn, Paula. "Making and Metaphor: Hooked Rug Development in Newfoundland, 1973-2003." *Material History Review*, no. 60 (Fall 2004), pp. 20-34.
- Forster, Ben. "Finding the Right Size': Markets and Competition in the Mid- and Late Nineteenth-Century Ontario." In *Patterns of the Past: Interpreting Ontario's History*, edited by Roger Hall, William Westfall, and Laurel Sefton. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1988.
- Forster, Ben, and Kris Inwood. "The Diversity of Industrial Experience: Cabinet and Furniture Manufacture in Late-Nineteenth Century Ontario." *Enterprise and Society* 4 (2003), pp. 326-371.
- Gad, Gunter. "Location Patterns of Manufacturing: Toronto in the Early 1880s." *Urban History Review* 22 (June 1994), pp. 113-138.
- Gad, Gunter, and Deryck W. Holdsworth. "Streetcape and Society: The Changing Built Environment of King Street, Toronto." In *Patterns of the Past*, edited by Roger Hall, William Westfall, and Laura S. MacDowell. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1988.
- Gagan, David. "The Prose of Life: Literary Reflections of the Family, Individual Experience and Social Structure in Nineteenth-Century Canada." *Journal of Social History* 9, No. 3 (Spring 1976), pp. 367-381.
- Gagan, David, and Rosemary Gagan. "Working Class Standards of Living in Late Victorian Urban Ontario." *Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers* (1990), pp. 171-19.
- Gibson, David. "Conditions in York County a Century ago: Written in a Letter to a

Friend in Scotland, 27th April, 1827." *Ontario Historical Society's Papers and Records*, XXIV, 1927, pp. 356-365.

Gordon, Jean and Jan McArthur. "American Women and Domestic Consumption, 1800-1925." In *Making the American Home: Middle-Class Women and Domestic Material Culture*, edited by Marilyn Ferris Motz and Pat Brown. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1988.

Gowans, Alan. "The Canadian National Style." In *The Shield of Achilles: Aspects of Canada in the Victorian Age*, edited by W. L. Morton. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968.

Harris, Richard, and Chris Hamnett. "The Myth of the Promised Land: The Social Diffusion of Home Ownership in Britain and North America." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 77, no. 2 (June 1987), pp. 173-190.

Hindle, Brooke. "The Artisan During America's Wooden Age." in *Technology in America*, edited by Carroll E. Pursell. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1981.

Hobbs, Stuart D. "Exhibiting Antimodernism: History, Memory, and the Aestheticized Past in Mid-Twentieth-Century America." *The Public Historian* 23, no. 3. (Summer 2001) pp. 39-61.

Ibson, John. "Virgin Land or Virgin Mary? Studying the Ethnicity of White Americans." *American Quarterly* 33 no. 3 (1981), pp. 284-308.

Innis, Harold. A. "An Introduction to the Economic History of Ontario from Outpost to Empire." *Ontario History Society, Papers and Records* XXX (1934), pp. 111-123.

Inwood, Kris. "The Architecture of an Industrial Sector: Size and Structure in Canadian Manufacturing." In *Small Firms: Large Concerns: The Development of Small Business in Comparative Perspective*, edited by Konosuke Odaka and Minoru Sawai. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Ives, Phil. "The Charm of Old Walnut." *Canadian Magazine* 37 (May-October 1911), pp. 565-573.

Lamoreaux, Naomi R. "Rethinking the Transition to Capitalism in the Early American Northeast." *Journal of American History* 90, no. 2 (September 2003), pp. 437-461.

Lewis, Frank D., and M. C. Urquhart. "Growth and the Standard of Living in a Pioneer Economy: Upper Canada, 1826 to 1851." *William and Mary Quarterly* LVI, no. 1 (1999), pp. 151-181.

- Katz, Michael. B. "The Entrepreneurial Class in a Canadian City: The Mid-Nineteenth Century." *Journal of Social History* 8, no. 2 (1975), pp. 1-29.
- . "The People of a Canadian City: 1851-1852." In *Readings in Canadian History — Pre-Confederation*, edited by Douglas Francis R. and Donald B. Smith. 3rd edition. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1990.
- Keefer, T. C. "Philosophy of Railroads." In *Readings in Canadian History — Pre-Confederation*, edited by Douglas Francis R. and Donald B. Smith. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1982.
- Kilborn, William. "The Peaceable Kingdom Still." *Daedalus* 117, no. 4 (Fall 1988), pp. 1-29.
- Koehn, Nancy F. "Josiah Wedgwood and the First Industrial Revolution." In *Creating Modern Capitalism, How Entrepreneurs Companies, and Countries Triumphed in Three Industrial Revolutions*. Edited by Thomas K. McCraw. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Koltun, Lilly. "Seeing is Believing? - A Critique of Archival Visual Sources." *Material History Review*, Special Issue 1979, pp. 59-64.
- Lockhart, D. G. "Planned Village Development in Scotland and Ireland." In *Ireland and Scotland in the Early Nineteenth Century, 1600-1850: Parallels and Contrasts in Economic and Social Development*, edited by Devine Thomas Martin and David Dickson. Edinburgh: John Donald, 1983.
- Mayo, Edith. "Introduction: Focus on Material Culture." *Journal of American Culture* 3 (Winter, 1980), pp. 595-604.
- McCalla, Douglas. "A World without Chocolate." *Agricultural History* 79, no. 2 (2005), pp. 147-172.
- McCleary, Kathy. "Canadian Country Furniture Inch by Inch." *The Upper Canadian*, September-October, 1992, pp. 18-19; and November-December, pp. 27-28.
- McCraw, Thomas K. "What Leads a Person to Start a Company." *Inc. Magazine* 29, issue 8 (August 2007), pp. 73-74.
- McIntyre, W. John. "Arms Across the Border: Trade in Chairs and Chairs Parts between the United States and Upper Canada." In *Furniture in Victorian America*, edited by Kenneth L. Ames. Philadelphia: Victorian Society in America, 1983.
- . "Chairmaking in Nineteenth Century Ontario." In *Everyday Life in Nineteenth Century Ontario: The Proceedings of a Seminar Sponsored by the Ontario*

Museum Association, edited by John Coleman. Toronto: Ontario Museum Association, 1978.

———. "From Workshop to Factory: The Furniture-maker." *Material History*, Bulletin, no. 19, (Spring 1984), pp. 25-36.

———. "Artifacts as Sources for Material History Research." *Material History Review*, Special Issue, 1979, pp. 71-77.

McKendrick, Neil. "Josiah Wedgwood and the Commercialization of the Potteries." In *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*, edited by Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982.

Minhinnick, Jeanne. "Canadian Furniture in the English Taste, 1790-1840." *Antiques* 112, no. 1 (July 1967), pp. 84-90.

———. "Collecting Furniture in Ontario." *Canadian Antiques Collector*, May, 1971, pp. 53-55.

———. "Some Personal Observations on the Use of Paint in Early Ontario." *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology* 7, No. 2 (1975), pp. 13-3.

Minhinnick, Jeanne, and Elizabeth Wylie. "Extracts from the Macaulay Papers Relating to Furnishings, Architecture and Gardens." *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology* 5, No. 3 (1973), pp. 34-76.

Mintz, Sidney W. "The Changing Role of Food in the Study of Consumption." In *Consumption and the World of Goods*, edited by John Brewer and Roy Porter. London and New York: Routledge, 1993.

Morriss, Shirley, and Carl Benn. "Architecture" in *The Parish and Cathedral of St. James' Toronto, 1797-1997: A Collaborative History*, edited by Wayne Cook. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.

Nenadic, Stana. "Middle-rank Consumers and Domestic Culture in Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1720-1840." *Past & Present* 145, no. 1(1994), pp. 122-156.

Olson, Sherry, "Feathering Her Nest in Nineteenth-Century Montreal." *Histoire sociale/Social History*, 33, no. 65 (2000), pp. 1-35.

Parr, Joy. "Household Choices as Politics and Pleasure in 1950s Canada." *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 55 (Spring 1999), pp. 112-128.

- Peirce, Donald C. "Mitchell and Rammelsbert: Cincinnati Furniture Manufacturers." 1847-1881." *Winterthur Portfolio* 13 (Winter 1979), pp. 209-229.
- Pocius, Gerald L. "Oral History and the Study of Material Culture." *Material History Review*, Special Issue, 1979, pp. 65-71.
- Ponsonby, Margaret. "Ideals, Reality and Meaning: Homemaking in England in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century." *Journal of Design History* 16, no. 3 (2003), pp. 201-214.
- Porter, Roy. "Consumption: Disease of the Consumer Society?" In *Consumption and the World of Goods*, edited by John Brewer and Roy Porter. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Prown, Jules David. "The Truth of Material Culture: Fact or Fiction?" In *History From Things: Essays on Material Culture*, edited by Steven Lubar and W. David Kingery. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993.
- Radforth, Ian. "Confronting Distance: Managing Jacques and Hay's New Lowell Operation, 1853-73." *Canadian Papers in Business History* 1 (1995), pp. 75-100.
- . "The Shantymen," in *Labouring Lives: Work and Workers in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*, edited by Paul Craven. Toronto: Ontario Historical Studies Series, 1995.
- Russell, Peter A. "Wage Labour Rates in Upper Canada, 1818-1840." *Histoire sociale: Social History* 16 (May 1983), pp. 61-80.
- Shamas, Carole. "The Domestic Environment in Early Modern England and America." *Journal of Social History* 14, no. 1 (1980), pp. 3-24.
- Schlereth, Thomas J. "Material Culture Research and Historical Explanation." *The Public Historian* 7, no. 4 (Autumn 1985), pp. 21-36.
- . "Material Culture Studies in America: Notes Towards an Historical Perspective." *Material History Review*, Special Issue, 1979, pp. 89-98.
- Schumpeter, Joseph A. "Entrepreneurship as Innovation." In *Entrepreneurship: The Social Science View*, edited by Richard Swedberg. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Simard, François, et Louis-Pascal Rousseau. "La ceinture fléchée au carrefour des convoitises des communautés canadiennes-françaises, amérindiennes et métisses du Canada." *Material History Review*, no. 59, (Spring 2004), pp. 8-19.

- Spelt, Joseph. "The Building of the Railways." In *Readings in Canadian History: Pre-Confederation* edited by Douglas Francis R. and Donald B. Smith. First edition. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1982.
- Strigley, Katrina. "Clothing Stories: Consumption, Identity, and Desire in Depression-Era Toronto." *Journal of Women's History* 19, no. 1 (Spring 2007), pp. 82-104.
- Stevenson, Howard H. and Jarillo, J. Carlos. "A Paradigm of Entrepreneurship: Entrepreneurial Management." In *Entrepreneurship: Concepts, Theory and Perspective*, edited by Álvaro Cuervo, Domingo Ribeiro, and Salvador Roig. Berlin and New York: Springer, 2007.
- Symons, Scott. "The Contemporary Meaning in Canadiana: Jean Palardy's *The Early Furniture of French Canada*." *Queen's Quarterly* 71, no. 2 (Summer 1964), pp. 257-270.
- Tiersten, Lisa. "Beyond Consumerism: New Historic Perspective on Consumption." *Journal of Contemporary History* 39, no. 3 (2004), pp. 373-401.
- . "Refining Consumer Culture: Recent Literature on Consumption and the Bourgeoisie in Western Europe." *Radical History Review* 57 (1993), pp. 117-159.
- Tulchinsky, Gerald. "Transportation Changes in the St Lawrence-Great Lakes Region, 1828-1860." In *Readings in Canadian History — Pre-Confederation*, edited by Douglas Francis R. and Donald B. Smith. 3rd edition. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1990.
- Vanier, Natalie, and Yves Lacasse. "The Bedroom Suite Created for the Prince of Wales in Montreal in 1860." In *Living in Style: Fine Furniture in Victorian Quebec*, edited by John R. Porter. Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1993.
- Vermette, Luce. "Ebéniste à Meublier." *Canadian Collector*, May-June, 1985, pp. 45-50.
- William, David. "The Origin of the Names of the Post Offices in Simcoe County." *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records*, Volumes 7-8, 1906, pp. 93-233.
- Wise, S. F. "Upper Canada and the Conservative Tradition." In *Readings in Canadian History — Pre-Confederation*, edited by Douglas Francis R. and Donald B. Smith. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1982.
- Wright, Cynthia. "Feminine Trifles of Vast Importance: Writing Gender into the History of Consumption." In *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History* edited by Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.

Wynn, Graeme. "Notes on Society and Environment in Old Ontario." *Journal of Social History* 13, no. 1 (Fall 1979), pp. 49-65.

3. SOURCES IN ELECTRONIC FORMAT

Benares House

"Welcome to Benares Historic House"

<http://www.mississauga.ca/portal/discover/benareshistorichouse> (consulted 13 April 2010).

Bethel Union Cemetery

Bethel Union Cemetery - Township of Clearview, Ontario, Canada

http://www.waymarking.com/waymarks/WM4XCQ_Bethel_Union_Cemetery_Township_of_Clearview_Ontario_Canada (consulted 6 May 2010).

Biography

"George Brown," "John Galt," Robert Hay," "John Jacques," "John Macaulay," "Hart Almerrin Massey"

Dictionary of Canadian Biography

General editor: Ramsay Cook,

University of Toronto

<http://www.biographi.ca/index-e.html>

Burrows Family Papers

"The Precious Letters"

<http://www.mts.net/~d Ballard/letters-burrows-main> (consulted 22 April 2008).

Campion Diary

Mary Victoria Campion, Mamora Township. Hastings County, Upper Canada

"1860s Diary"

<http://www2.canada.com/ottawacitizen/features/littlehouse/flash/diary.html>

(consulted 11 January 2009).

Canadian Institute

Royal Canadian Institute for the Advancement of Science

"What We Do"

<http://www.royalcanadianinstitute.org> (consulted 7 April 2010).

City of Toronto

Arts, Heritage and Culture

Mackenzie House

"Constructing Gentility: Domestic Space in Victorian Toronto"

http://www.toronto.ca/culture/online-exhibits/mak_introduction.htm (consulted 20 June 2010).

Engels Correspondence

Marx and Engels Correspondence and Marx & Engels on the Irish Question, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1971, [first published International Publishers, 1968]
<http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1889/letters/> (consulted 20 March 2010).

Galbraith, Thomas

Thomas Galbraith, 1881 *General Financial and Trade Review of the City of Toronto for 1880*
http://www.archive.org/stream/cihm_01460 (consulted 18 March 2009).

Heritage Barrie

“Discovering the Waterfront Walking Tour”
www.tourismbarrie.com/ (consulted 24 April 2008).

Hillary House, Aurora Historical Society

“Notes on the Restored Hillary House”
<http://hhahs.space4art.biz/index.php?view=article&catid=40%3Aarchitecture-and-grounds&id=66%3Aballroommore&option=> (consulted 21 May 2009).

Kim, Duol

“The Popularity of Partnership in United States Manufacturing During the Nineteenth Century”
Unpublished manuscript.
University of California, Davis, 2003.
[Econ.ucdavis.edu](http://econ.ucdavis.edu) (consulted 7 May 2008).

Library and Archives Canada

<http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/genealogy/index-e.html> (consulted 21 September 2010).

Miller Family Papers

Letters from James and Catherine Miller, New Market, Canada West, 24 December 1854 and 28 October, 1855 to Miller family members in California.
home.att.net/~kiharvey/letter_1854 (consulted 2 May 2008).

Minesing Ontario

See Research Document 34: Minesing Swamp
Information Sheet on Ramsar Wetlands
www.wetlands.org/report/ris (consulted 8 April 2008).

North American Immigrant Letters, Diaries and Oral Histories

University of Chicago,
<http://solomon.imld.alexanderstreet.com/> (consulted 22 July, 2008).

Archives of Ontario, Government of Ontario Art Collection

http://www.lt.gov.on.ca/en/Visit/old_gov_house (consulted 16 May 2009)

Patents

Patent no. 409, 1870-01-01, E. Krieghoff, Toronto, granted 1870-05-01.

“Improvement in Spring Mattresses”

http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/patents_(consulted 26 June 2008)

Ryerson University

“A Brief History of Ryerson University”

<http://www.ryerson.ca/archives/ryehistory> (consulted 23 May 2010).

St. Andrew’s Masonic Lodge

History-of-St-Andrews-Lodge-1822-1922,

by H. T. Smith, Toronto

www.scribd.com (consulted 21 May 2009).

Spadina Museum: Historic House & Gardens

<http://www.toronto.ca/culture/museums/spadina-history.htm> (consulted 25 March 2010).

Toronto Tax Records

Ontario Genealogical Society, Toronto Branch & OntarioRoots.com

“City of Toronto Tax Assessment Transcription Project”

<http://www.ontarioroots.com/ogs/> (consulted 13 January 2009).

York Pioneer and Historical Society

“The York Pioneer & Historical Society: A Grand Tradition”

<http://www.yorkpioneers.org/> (consulted 9 March 2010).

The Wedgwood Museum

“The Portland Vase”

<http://www.wedgwoodmuseum.org.uk/home> (consulted 6 May 2010).

Winterthur Portfolio: A Journal of American Material Culture,

http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/WP/home_(consulted 26 October 2007).

4. UNPUBLISHED THESES AND OTHER MANUSCRIPTS

Dyster, Barrie. “Toronto, 1840-1860: Making It in a British Protestant Town.” PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 1970.

Fraser, R.L. “Like Eden in her Summer Dress: Gentry, Economy and Society: Upper Canada, 1812-1840.” PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 1979.

- Green, Terence S. "A Locational Study of the Furniture Industry in Southern Ontario." BA thesis, University of Toronto, 1967
- Hallock, James Lindsey. "Woodworking Machinery in Nineteenth Century America." Master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1978.
- Jarvis, Eric James. "Mid-Victorian Toronto: Panic, Policy and Public Response, 1857-1873." PhD dissertation, University of Western Ontario, 1978.
- Johnson, Cynthia Schwarz. "The Art of the Windsor Chairmaker: An Aesthetic Inquiry" PhD dissertation, New York University, 1985.
- Leroux, Karen. "Making a Claim on the Public Sphere: Toronto Women's Anti-Slavery Activism, 1851-1854." Master's thesis, University of British Columbia, 1996.
- Kurzahls, Richard D. "Initial Advantage and Technological Change in Industrial Location: The Furniture Industry of Grand Rapids, Michigan." PhD dissertation, Michigan State University, 1973.
- Martel, Eve. "L'industrie à Montréal en 1871." Master's thesis, Université du Québec à Montréal, 1976.
- McIntyre, W. John. "Chairs and Chair-making in Canada." Master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1975.
- McNally, L. S. "Montreal Engine Foundries and their Contribution to Central Canadian Technical Development, 1820-1870." Master's thesis, Carleton University, 1991.
- Pollin, Stanley. "The Jacques & Hay Furniture Company and Cultural Constraints on the Development of Nineteenth Century Industrialization." Research Paper, York University, 1974.
- Smith, Sheila M. "Jacques and Hay, Cabinet-Makers: 1835-85." Master's thesis, University of Toronto, 1968.
- Tippin, David John. "The Legitimation of Social Change: Ontario Railways and the Idea of Progress, 1841-1884." PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 1985.
- Trant, Jennifer. "The Victorian Furniture Industry in Grey and Bruce Counties, Ontario." Master's thesis, Queen's University, 1987.

A. Appendix

Illustrations

- Figure 1 John Jacques (1804-1886).
- 2 Robert Hay (1808-1890).
- 3 Partial plan of the City of Toronto, 1857.
- 4 Launch of the vessel “*City of Toronto*,” 1855.
- 5 Arthur Cox, “*View from Hanlan’s Point*,” 1870s.
- 6 King Street Showroom of R. Hay Co., after 1870.
- 7 Jacques & Hay, Kreighoff table, c. 1850s.
- 8 “Royalty theme” chair.
- 9 Mirrors, Rideau Hall, Ottawa, Ontario.
- 10 Jacques & Hay dining room chair, Government House (residence of the lieutenant-governor), Toronto, 1869.
- 11 Jacques & Hay, serving sideboard, 1869, Government House.
- 12 Jacques & Hay, Prince of Wales bed, 1860.
- 13 Jacques & Hay, Prince of Wales dresser, 1860.
- 14 Jacques & Hay, Prince of Wales washstand, 1860.
- 15 Jacques & Hay, Prince of Wales wardrobe, 1860.
- 16 Sideboard in the principal restaurant of the Queen’s Hotel, Toronto.
- 17 Drawing room of the lieutenant-governor of Ontario.
- 18 Example of an Eastlake-styled chair: “Pets on Furniture” website.
- 19 Example of an Eastlake-styled chair: Playter family photo.
- 20 Gothic Revival hall chair, Spadina, Toronto.
- 21 Moorish Revival chair, Spadina, Toronto.
- 22 Occasional chair, Spadina House,
- 23 Drawing Room, Spadina, before 2010 redecoration.
- 24 Dining Room, Spadina, before 2010 redecoration.
- 25 Dining Room in use, Spadina, 1960s.
- 26 Dining Room, Rideau Hall, Ottawa.
- 27 Jacques & Hay, desk for Egerton Ryerson.
- 28 Cumberland and Storm’s Normal School façade.
- 29 Old Library of University College.

- 30 Cumberland & Storm architects, gouache drawing of Osgoode Hall Library, 1857-1859.
- 31 Jacques & Hay tables and chairs, Great Library, Osgoode Hall, 1915.
- 32 Mechanics' Institute Board of Directors Table.
- 33 Carved detail, Spadina.
- 34 Eric Arthur and the griffin, University College, Toronto.

Figure 1. John Jacques (1804-1886). From Charles Pelham Mulvany's *History of Toronto and the County of York*, C. Blackett Robinson: Toronto, 1885.



John Jacques

Figure 2. Robert Hay (1808-1890). From Charles Pelham Mulvany's *History of Toronto and the County of York*, C. Blackett Robinson: Toronto, 1885.



Figure 3. Partial plan of the City of Toronto, 1857. Toronto Public Library (TRL), T1857/4Mirg c2. “Constructing Gentility: Domestic Space in Victorian Toronto.” http://www.toronto.ca/culture/online-exhibits/gallery/mak_slide_26.htm, downloaded 20 June 2010.



Figure 4. F. Armstrong, drawing showing the launch of the vessel “City of Toronto,” c. 1855. Illustration from J. Ross Robertson, *Robertson’s Landmarks of Toronto: A Collection of Historical Sketches of the Old Town of York from 1792 until 1837, and of Toronto from 1834 to 1914*. Volume 2, page 304.

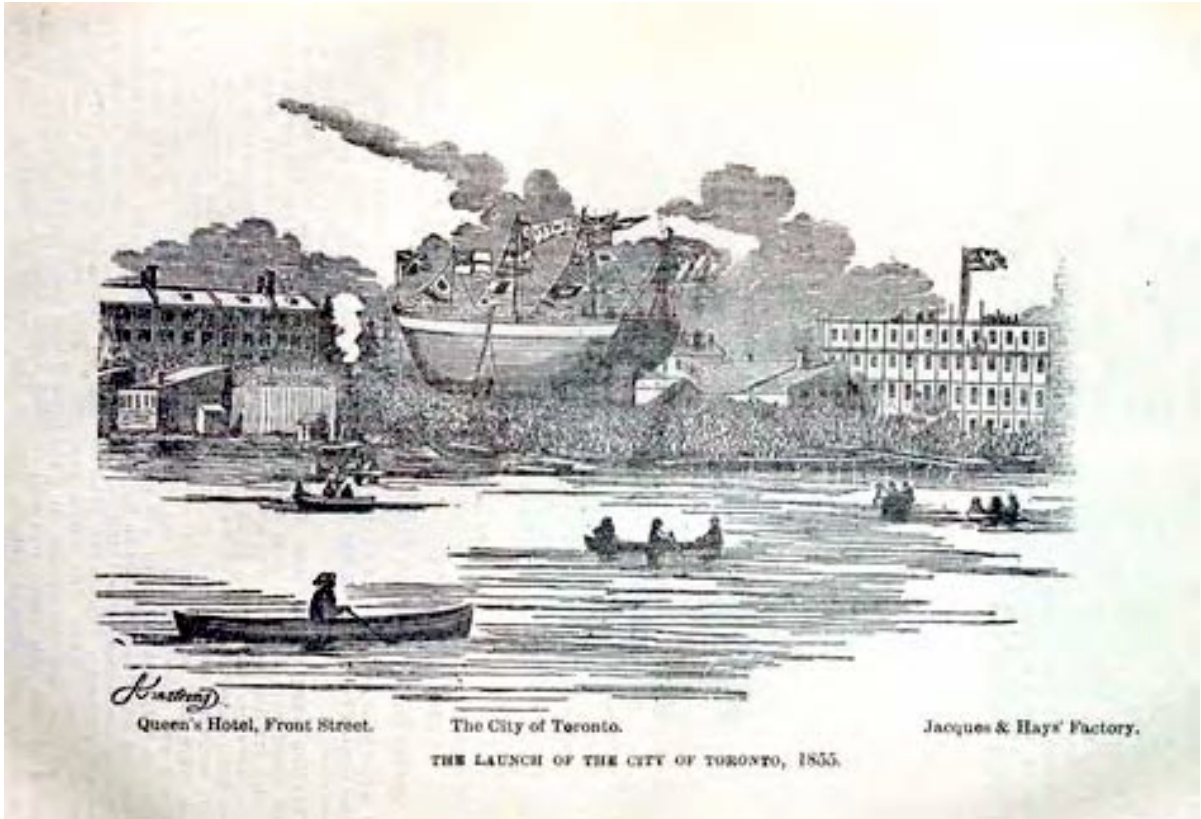


Figure 5. Arthur Cox, “*View from Hanlan’s Point*,” 1870s. Toronto Reference Library, JRR 4693.



Detail showing flag flying over the cupola of the Jacques & Hay factory.



Figure 6. King Street showroom of R. Hay Co., between 1870 and 1885; formerly the showroom of Jacques & Hay. Toronto Reference Library, Canadian Historical Picture Collection, TEC 423.5 The building was located at the corner of King and Jordan Streets, just east of Bay Street.

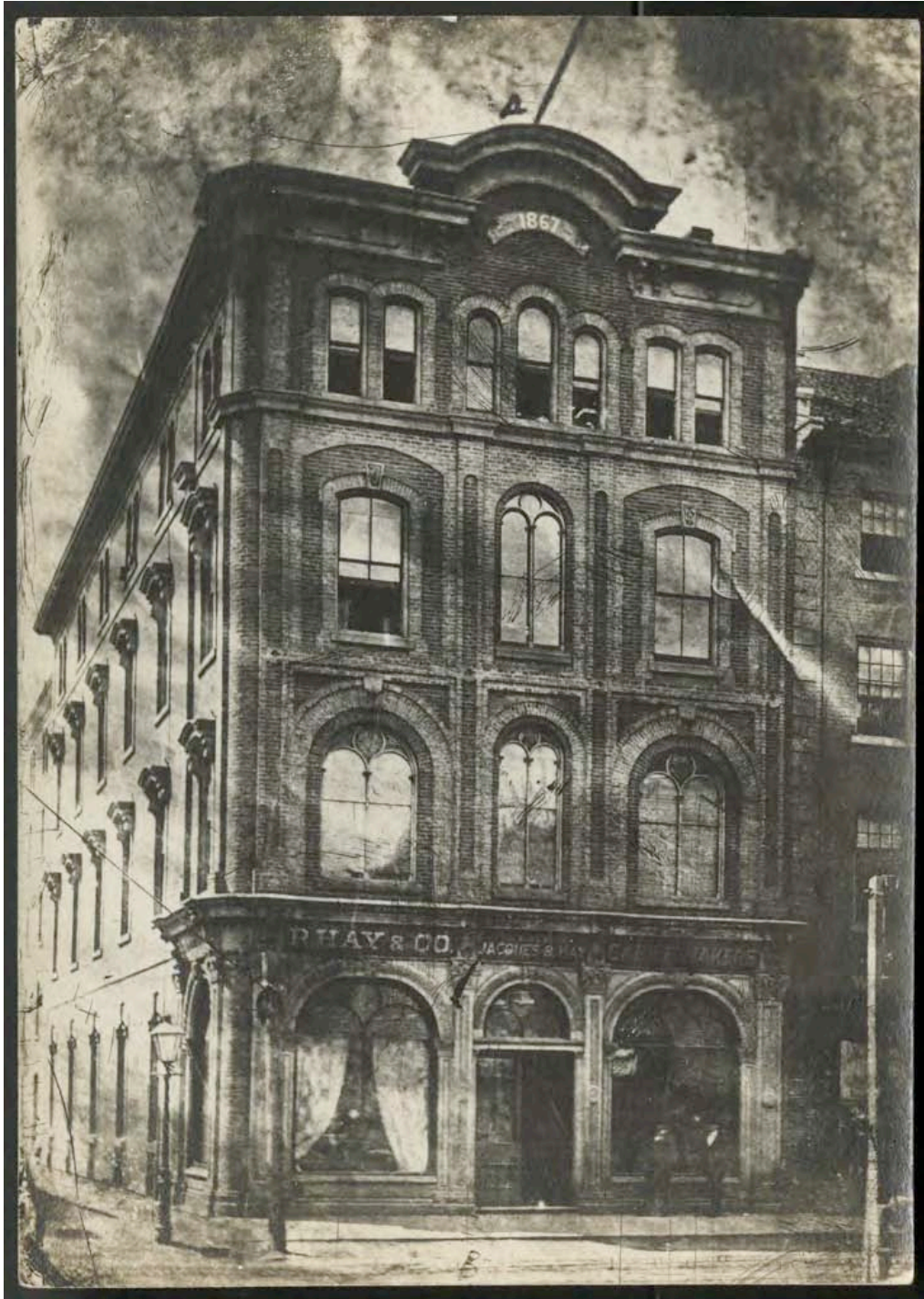


Figure 7. Jacques & Hay table, c. 1850s. Collection of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Ontario. Photo © 2009 Dan Field, used by permission. The painting on the top is attributed by the Museum to Cornelius Krieghoff, and the carved base to his brother, Ernst Krieghoff, who was a Jacques & Hay employee during the 1850s.



Figure 8. “Royalty theme” chair; part of a suite of furniture originally belonging to the great-grandparents of Mrs. Marjorie Hare, Kingston, Ontario, 1860. Photos © 2009 Marjorie Hare, Belleville, Ontario. Used by permission. This suite may be tentatively attributed to Jacques & Hay.



Figure 9. Jacques & Hay furnishings and mirrors installed in Rideau Hall, Ottawa, c. 1880s. Library and Archives Canada, photo file PA-013191.



PA-013191

Figure 10. Jacques & Hay dining room chair, walnut, from the residence of the lieutenant-governor, Toronto, 1869. Chair in the collection of the Archives of Ontario, Ontario Art Collection, 100190. Photo © Sandra Russell, Archives of Ontario, used by permission. <http://www.archives.gov.on.ca/english/on-line-exhibits/art/goac-furnishings.aspx>, downloaded 20 June 2010.



Figure 11. Jacques & Hay serving sideboard, walnut, from the residence of the lieutenant-governor, Toronto, 1869. Sideboard in the collection of the Archives of Ontario, Ontario Art Collection, 100205, used by permission.

<http://www.archives.gov.on.ca/english/on-line-exhibits/art/big/7672big.aspx>,
downloaded 20 June 2010.



Figure 12. Jacques & Hay bed manufactured for the Prince of Wales, 1860, maple.
Collection of the Montreal Museum of Fine Art, donation of Mrs. David M.
Stewart. Photo © Montreal Museum of Fine Art, used by permission.



Figure 13. Jacques & Hay dresser manufactured for the Prince of Wales, 1860, maple. Collection of the Montreal Museum of Fine Art, donated by Mrs. David M. Stewart. Photo © Montreal Museum of Fine Art, used by permission.



Figure 14. Jacques & Hay washstand manufactured for the Prince of Wales, 1860, maple.
Collection of the Montreal Museum of Fine Art, donated by Mrs. David M.
Stewart. Photo © Montreal Museum of Fine Art, used by permission.



Figure 15. Jacques & Hay armoire manufactured for the Prince of Wales, 1860, maple. Collection of the Montreal Museum of Fine Art, donated by Mrs. David M. Stewart, Photo © Montreal Museum of Fine Art, used by permission.



Figure 16. Two men beside the black walnut Jacques & Hay buffet of the Queen's Hotel, possibly between 1908 and 1912. City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244, Item 542. This buffet won a prize at the Centennial Exhibition in 1876.



Figure 17. Drawing room of the lieutenant-governor of Ontario, photographed c. 1912. The mirror, chair and table were likely part of the 1869 Jacques & Hay contract for furnishing the residence. Ontario Archives, file no. 2094.



Figure 18. Example of an Eastlake-styled chair, from a website featuring “Pets on Furniture.” Photo by “Sarah.” Download 30 June 2010.

<http://www.desiretoinspire.net/blog/2010/1/25/mondays-pets-on-furniture-part-2.html> Guinness, the dog, is described as sitting on a “Jacques & Hayes (sic) chair.” This chair is from the 1880s or 1890s, and likely manufactured either by the Robert Hay & Co., in the latter part of the firm’s history, or by Charles Rogers, after the close of Robert Hay and Co. This mass-produced, but obviously sturdy chair is what many Canadian antique dealers refer to “Jacques & Hayes.”



Figure 19. Example of an Eastlake-styled chair with sophisticated Aesthetic Movement-influenced upholstery, from the family photos of the Playter family, Toronto. Jeanne Minhinnick Papers, L 47, Toronto Reference Library. No further details or date are given, although “J. Bruce” was a fashionable Toronto photographer of the 1880s and 1890s.



Figure 20. Jacques & Hay Gothic Revival hall chair, Spadina, Toronto, c. 1860s. Photo © 1968 Sheila Smith, used by permission.



Figure 21. Jacques & Hay Moorish Revival chair with bead-worked design of a lion and a female figure, decorated with feathers and equipped with a bow. Spadina, c. 1880s. Photographs from the City of Toronto Museum Services, 1982_7_395.



Figure 22. Jacques & Hay Rococo Revival occasional chair. Spadina, 1860s, City of Toronto Museum Services 1982_7_252.



Figure 23. Drawing room, Spadina, before 2010 redecoration. City of Toronto Museum Services.



Figure 24. Dining room, Spadina, before 2010 redecoration, City of Toronto Museum Services.



Figure 25. Dining Room of Spadina. Photo © 1968 Sheila Smith Photography, used by permission. This photograph was taken when Spadina was still in use as a private home. The server illustrated is similar to the Jacques & Hay server in Rideau Hall, Ottawa.



Figure 26. Dining Room, Rideau Hall, Ottawa, c. 1880s. The server on display is very similar to that in Spadina. Library and Archives Canada photo file PA-013142.



PA-013142

Figure 27. Jacques & Hay desk of Egerton Ryerson, early 1850s. Collection of Ryerson University, Toronto. Photograph © 2010 Denise Jacques. The drawer handles resemble the metopes on the façade of the Normal School where the desk was originally located.



Figure 28. Partial façade of the Normal School, Toronto, Ontario, constructed 1851-1852. Frederic Cumberland, architect. Photo © 2010 Denise Jacques. The frieze metopes contain motifs that resemble details of Ryerson desk supplied as part of the original furnishings for this building.



Figure 29. "University College Library, prior to the fire of 1890." University of Toronto Image Bank, file number A 1965-0004.



Figure 30. Cumberland & Storm architects, Osgoode Hall Library, 1857-1859. Archives of Ontario, digital image, 10005480, reference code C 11. Jacques & Hay were the major sub-contractors for Cumberland's expansion.

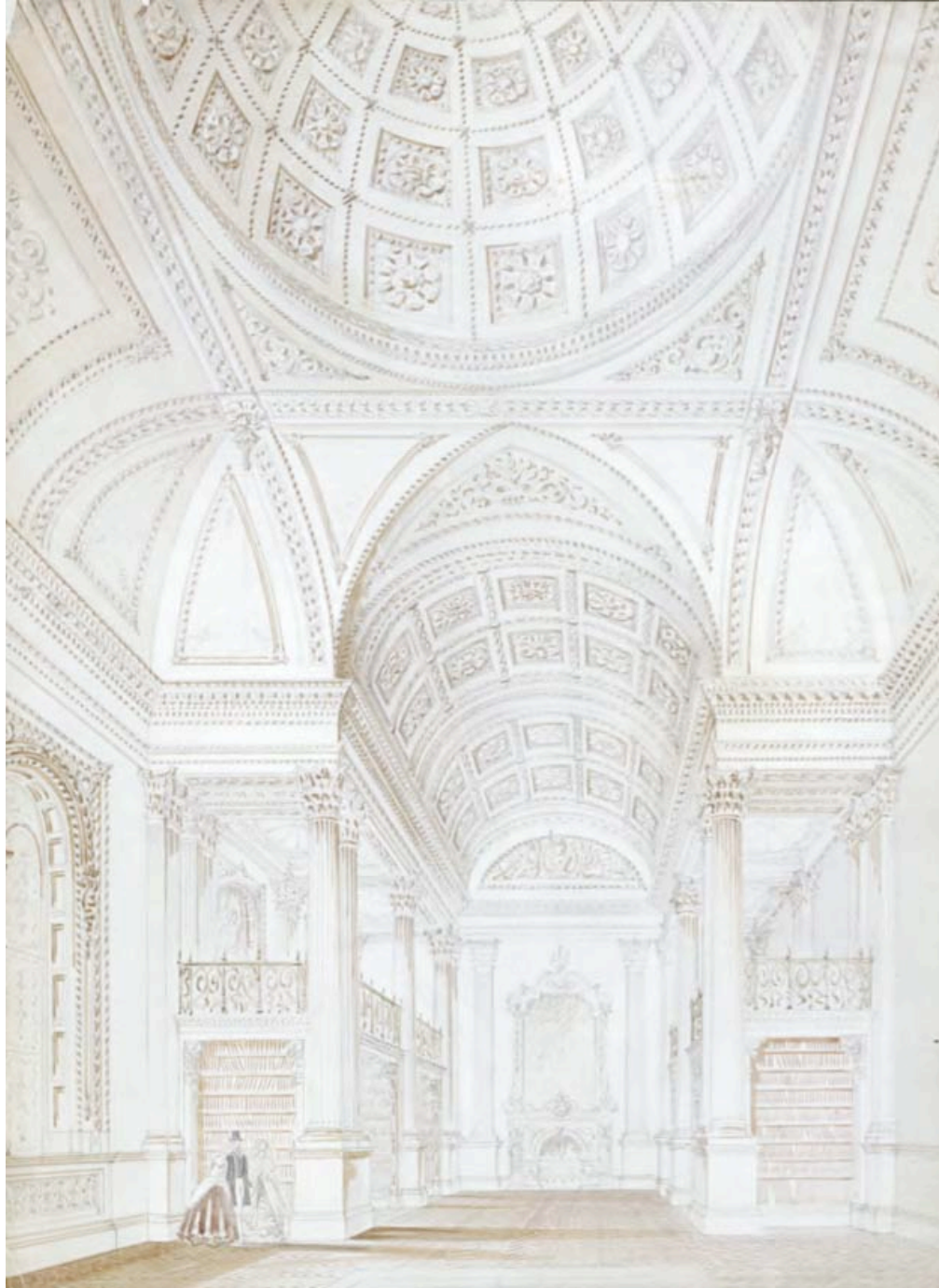


Figure 31. Jacques & Hay, tables and chairs made for the Great Library, Osgoode Hall, photographed c. 1915. Archives of Ontario, digital image 10021974, reference code F 4436.



Figure 32. Mechanics' Institute Board of Directors Table, Toronto Reference Library, late 1850s or early 1860s, walnut. Photo © 2009 Dan Field, used by permission.



Figure 33. Carved detail from Spadina sideboard, c. late 1870s or early 1880s. City of Toronto Museum Service.



Figure 34. Eric Arthur in the hallway of University College, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario, c. 1970s. University of Toronto Image Bank, file number B 1998-0033. The depicted griffin was carved by William McCormack, a Jacques & Hay trained carver and former apprentice.

