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THE TAILORING TRADE 1800 - 1920; INCLUDING AN ANALYSIS OF PATTERN DRAFTING SYSTEMS AND AN EXAMINATION OF THE TRADE IN CANADA

BY

CATHERINE L. ROY

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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The undersigned certify they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled THE TAILORING TRADE 1800 - 1920; INCLUDING AN ANALYSIS OF PATTERN DRAFTING SYSTEMS AND AN EXAMINATION OF THE TRADE IN CANADA submitted by CATHERINE L. ROY in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF SCIENCE in CLOTHING AND TEXTILES.

Anne Lambert, Supervisor

Elizabeth Crown

Burton Smith

Date: 2/10/92

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to Sabatino Roscucci, tailor and educator.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study was to use printed primary sources produced by the tailoring trade between 1880 and 1920 to describe this period of great change within the trade. Content analysis and practical testing were used to analyse 102 pattern drafting systems. Trade journals, a union newspaper, bills of prices and instructional manuals were reviewed and analysed for their content on technical issues, workshop practices, labour issues, working conditions, and labour and professional associations within the trade. Findings showed that technological change affected the content and format of the pattern drafting systems. Three distinct periods of development were identified and described. Systems of the pre-industrial period (1880 - 1949) were remnants of the old methods of teaching apprentices and pattern making. The transitional period (1850 - 1879) showed a blend of methods, and changes in uses and content of the systems. The modern period (1880 - 1920) produced systems that addressed the concerns of fitting the modern client and represented changes in pattern making technology.

The division of labour within the trade increased. The role of the cutter was secure because of its relevance to custom and ready to wear clothing. Cutters formed professional associations that held conferences and edited journals.

North American journeymen tailors formed a union in the late nineteenth century in an attempt to improve their working conditions. The trade union struggled with the issue of organizing workers employed in the factory system of custom clothing production. As journeymen slowly realized the goals of shorter hours and free shop space, merchant tailors organized to fight the union. The business owners or merchant tailors also responded to the innovations of ready to wear by expanding their market: producing "tailor modes" for women and sending their salesmen on the road as travelling or mail-order custom tailors.

References to the practice of the trade in Canada were found in government reports, union documents, trade journals and a 1913 economics thesis. The Canadian trade was slower to industrialize than its American counterpart. Canadian tailors were active members of American associations but used both British and American styling and drafting information.

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PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES

The study of men's wear has lagged behind research in women's dress of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although men played a prominent role in the development of western society, their personal artifacts are seriously under-researched and under-collected. Beaudoin-Ross and Blackstock (1984) have suggested that part of the lack of study in the area of men's historic costume might be attributed to a shortage of technical knowledge about tailoring, or to a lack of interest in the slowly evolved field of men's fashion.

Indeed, the problem may be the mystification of the nineteenth century trade of the tailor. The practice of custom tailoring, except for the rarest of clients, had all but disappeared by the year 1920. Garment production had reached new levels of speed and cost-effectiveness; fit in ready to wear clothing had improved. Most businessmen were able to achieve a sophisticated, commanding presence without the skill of a personal tailor. A general awareness of the original producers of men's fine clothing had left the realm of common knowledge.

A review of the literature has indicated that there are much data concerning the declining circumstances of the tailoring trade during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Information regarding working conditions, technological innovation, and competition for jobs within the workforce creates a picture of a trade that was fighting to retain its economic viability. How did these forces manifest themselves in the practices of the craft?

Many of the printed resources of the trade remain for examination by costume historians. Tailors were many. They developed their methods, making good use of

technological improvements from the tape measure to the sewing machine. As their thought developed about the issue of fit, they took advantage of improvements in the printing industry and their entrepreneurial skill to write and distribute pattern drafting systems for use by their fellow tradesmen. These drafting systems, technical journals, a trade union newspaper, bills of prices, and instructional manuals for young apprentices remain today.

Together, labour histories and technical works about tailoring may be used to provide insight into the life and practices of the producer of men's fine clothing: the tailor.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to examine selected documents from the technical publications of the tailoring trade of the nineteenth and early twentieth century in order to see what information they might contain about the characteristics, issues and practices of the trade and to describe the changes occurring in the custom tailoring trade during the economic, social and industrial development of western society.

Objectives of the Study

The central objective of the study was to examine and analyze primary and secondary sources related to the tailoring trade published between 1800 and 1920.

1. To set the context of the study by examining the literature of labour and costume historians that related to the study period.

2. To determine the broad characteristics of the pattern drafting systems of the study period.

(a) To compare pattern drafting systems published in the United States and in Great Britain.

(b) To determine if the nature of the systems changed over time and if the systems were affected by mechanization.

(c) To determine what proportion of the systems published had instructions sufficient to produce useable patterns.

(d) To determine how the pattern drafting systems dealt with fitting problems such as the corpulent client and abnormal postures. To determine changes in addressing these problems over time.

(e) To determine whether authors of pattern drafting systems used their own theories about posture or cited other references. To determine if posture was measured or assessed by subjective means.

3. To determine the technical issues addressed by tailors' publications throughout the study period. That is, to consider issues relating to the problems of the cut of the garment (drafting), construction, and fitting the client.

4. To determine the workshop practices of the tailor. What were the routines and characteristics of the typical tailor shop at different points throughout the study period?

5. To determine the working conditions of the typical tailor.

6. To determine how tailors' interests were represented by labour or professional organizations throughout the study period.

7. To determine characteristics of the practice of the English-language tailoring trade in Canada. To identify pattern drafting systems in use in Canada. To determine the union affiliations of Canadian tailors

Operational Definitions

(Note: Unless otherwise cited, these definitions were developed by the author.) A glossary of terms is provided in Appendix A.

Men's wear:

Clothing for the adult male including suits, sports or dress coats, topcoats, overcoats, vests, and separate trousers and is distinguished from workwear, heavy outer wear and accessories and other furnishings such as shirts, underwear and sleepwear (Cobrin, 1970, p.5).

Pattern drafting system:

A system which quantifies the method by which garment shapes are produced and which results in the two-dimensional pattern pieces that will give a particular garment style when assembled. Arithmetic formulas, based on body measurement and/or proportions of key measurements, are written in a systematic way, enabling the cutter to draw the pattern pieces for the garment style and size chosen.

Tailor:

A person, usually male, who cuts (determines the shape of) and constructs men's structured clothing. The tailor's skills include measuring and assessing the posture of the client, drafting a pattern according to the style requirements of the client, and assembling the garment using a combination of stitching and pressing to give the desired sculptural result.

Technical issues:

Those problems addressed by the tailor in executing his craft. They include measurement taking, pattern drafting, construction techniques, and garment fitting.

Working conditions:

That combination of physical and economic attributes of a work situation that determine its overall impact on the health and safety of the worker. Factors contributing to the quality of working conditions include: heating, cooling and ventilation; space allotment for each worker; illumination of the workspace; hours of work required; rate of pay; health of co-workers; and safety of equipment in use in the work place.

Workshop practices:

Those techniques, methods, and day to day routines which are a part of conducting a tailoring business. Preparing the fabric for cutting, heating the iron, drafting the pattern pieces, hand or machine sewing, and dealing with the client are all examples of operations which fall into this category of activity.

Limitations and Delimitations of the Study

1. Time Period: The study was limited to the years from 1800 to 1920. This period encompasses the development of pattern drafting systems and the settlement of the Canadian west.

2. Geographic: The study focused on the English language tradition of men's tailoring as it might have been practised in Canada during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Therefore British, American and Canadian sources were considered since both Britain and the United States played a role influencing the cultural development of English Canada.

3. Sources: The study was limited by the availability of materials for study. Few printed resources were available locally. Interlibrary loan secured only materials that were sound enough to handle or have been reproduced on microfilm. Funded travel/study provided access to the materials held by Parks Canada, Ottawa, the Library of Congress and the National Museum of American History, Washington, DC.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The nineteenth century was a time of great change in the methods of production and consumption of most domestic goods. It was an era of elegance in men's wear that was achieved by the mathematical and manipulative skills of a trade in decline due to industrialization. The following review of literature concentrated on the history of men's wear and the historical context of the tailor during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Costume histories were reviewed to trace the development of men's wear. The labour histories of the trade in Britain, the United States and Canada were examined to explore how the business and technological advances of the era affected the day to day practices of the tailor. Primary sources were identified that record the working conditions of tailors, styles of men's wear, and processes used for cutting the garments of the day.

Costume History

Men's wear, as worn by the Western European male, including the European North American culture, has changed little since the late eighteenth century. About 1780, the more practical English hunting dress (dress coat, breeches, shirt, neckcloth and top hat) had begun to replace the fancy embroidered garb previously in vogue. Whereas the full dress suit of the previous century had been made of silk, the new, more practical, country wear was cut from wool. The more malleable fabric led to the advances in shaping and fit that became evident as the nineteenth century progressed (Waugh, 1964).

The dress coat was the practical riding wear adapted about 1750 from the turned-down collared "frock" of the English countryman (Coleman, 1975). The dress coat underwent change, as a result of the increasing sophistication of pattern drafting

techniques. The front and side bodies were originally cut first, as a single piece. The lapels were fashioned when the upper front edges of the coat fell open. The only shaping of the coat was accomplished by the centre back and side back seams. Waugh reported that the change in fashion about 1818 resulting in a longer coat front, resulted in the addition of a dart at the front waist seam to remove the excess fabric that bunched at the waist. Darts were eventually constructed at the side front, and both the waistline and side front darts became seams. The dress coat remained fashionable as the appropriate day wear until 1850, and remained as formal evening wear until the late twentieth century.

The frock coat, with a full-length centre front closing, came into use about 1816, evolving from the greatcoat or overcoat. De Marly (1985) suggests that it was a result of the modesty of that time, covering men's legs after the tight flesh-coloured breeches of the previous fifty years. The frock coat was fitted with a waist seam (Waugh), and the fullness of the skirts, the size and shape of the collar, and other details changed with fashion. The frock coat was acceptable day wear until the 1890's (although worn until the Edwardian era by older, conservative gentlemen). In the 1850's it replaced the dress coat as evening wear.

Waugh suggested that the paletot, a straight-cut overcoat, was the originator of the very successful lounge jacket or suit coat. The paletot appeared about 1830, and the lounge jacket about 1860. The lounge jacket, precursor of today's suit jacket, was a straight-sided coat cut from fabric to match or contrast with the waistcoat and trousers worn with it. It was accepted as day wear when the morning coat was accepted as formal day wear, about 1880. The lounge jacket has served many purposes from the sporty Norfolk-jacket (1870's) and decorative tweed sport coats to the dress lounge (informal evening wear c. 1885) and dinner jacket (1890) or tuxedo. Changes during the early twentieth century were to the silhouette of the coat.

The morning coat was an offshoot of the frock coat, with the front edge sloping away in a gentle curve toward the back tails. It began as a riding coat, hence the term "morning" coat, as riding was a morning exercise for gentlemen (Waugh). By 1820, it had replaced the frock coat as correct day wear.

The waistcoat was cut to waist length during the nineteenth century. It was made of fancy or contrasting cloth and was worn as an accessory for much of the study period. Fashionable variations to the cut included single or double-breasted, with or without collar and lapels, straight cut or pointed lower front edge. During the 1830s and 40s, the waistcoat fronts were padded to accentuate the round, full chest of contemporary fashion (Waugh).

Breeches survived from the late seventeenth century, until about 1810 as formal wear and well into the twentieth century as Court dress. They remained as country and sporting wear during the nineteenth century. The front opening of the breeches was a flap or "fall" (Byrde; Waugh).

Pantaloons had been adopted during the late eighteenth century neo-classical fashion revolution. They fit like tights and were often of flesh coloured fabric or skin (Byrde). They were worn as formal wear until the mid-nineteenth century; calf-length until 1817, and ankle length thereafter (Waugh).

Trousers appeared about the beginning of the nineteenth century and were acceptable informal wear by 1817 (Byrde). The centre front fly closure had become standard by 1840. Styling changes over time were restricted to the width of the leg. Early trousers were cut tight to the calf, then calf width to the ankle. From 1817 to 1850, they were worn with straps under the foot. During the 1870s and 80s they were flared from the knee to ankle. Cuffed trousers were first worn in the late 1880s (Waugh) and the front

cravat introduced about 1890 (de Marly).

Laver (1966, pp.14-19), suggested that fashion is governed by three operating principles: the attraction principle, the hierarchical principle, and the utility principle. If women's wear was calculated to attract a mate, then men's wear functioned to declare the wearer's social status or hierarchical position. (The utility principle dictated the practical extremes to which fashion could go.) Laver suggested that gentility and money became the hallmarks of the elite gentlemen of the nineteenth century.

> "...A 'quiet' mode of dressing. This tended to make 'good' clothes respectable clothes, tighter in fit and more sombre in colour as the century advanced" (Laver, 1966, p.16).

The English "Dandy" became the era's arbiter of the well-dressed man, with his "well-tailored, unflamboyant, dark suit and white linen ... The essence of his style was austerity in colour, perfection of cut in tailoring..." (Lubbock, 1983, p.43-44).

Britain

British costume historians have produced three major works on men's wear. Waugh (1964) described the history of tailoring by including construction details, diagrams of tailors' patterns and quotations about dress from contemporary sources. Photographs of extant garments, illustrations from contemporary texts and excerpts from tailors' account books were used to explain the progress of men's fashion. Diagrams of fashionable cuts were included to give an idea of the evolution of line in the design of men's wear. Waugh's interest in cut and fit was amplified by Tozer and Levitt (1983) in a short chapter "The English gentleman and his tailor". Photographs of Flatt Hall exhibits give detail of late eighteenth century tailoring that is available in few (if any) Canadian collections.

Byrde (1979) gave a thorough explanation of the history of men's garments. Beginning with the fourteenth century, she outlined the development of each garment of men's wear using contemporary commentaries, artistic representations of dress and other general costume histories. References to techniques employed in clothing construction were made to illustrate line rather than expose the making of tailored garments.

De Marly (1985) produced an illustrated history of men's wear that drew heavily on primary sources such as diaries, memoirs, literature, paintings and more recent biographies. The author reached conclusions about the relationship between the silhouettes of men's and women's garments since the Middle Ages. Her work is interesting because her research independently supports her theories about men's wear without using the work of previous costume historians. But she shed little light on the specific ways that the cuts and construction responsible for fashion were achieved by the tailors of the day.

Other British costume historians have looked at men's dress. Laver (1986) addressed the major developments in men's wear from the flamboyance of the neo-classical dandy, to the increasing sobriety beginning in the 1840s. As women's dress increased in size and extravagance during the 1860s, 70s, and 80s, men's wear was distinguished only by increasing elegance of fit. More variety in garment styles was available (for example the frock, morning or lounge jacket with a Chesterfield overcoat, topfrock coat or cape), but men's wear remained sober of cloth and cut. As the nineteenth century ended, the impact of sports wear was felt on men's fashion and more casual wear was acceptable - the smoking jacket and the lounge suit. The lounge suit continued as the correct business wear of the twentieth century and suits of the first two decades were cut closer in fit and shorter trousers were favoured.

Levitt (1986) documented designs for ready to wear clothing patented between 1839 and 1900. She suggested that the popularity of English-style dress during the early part of the century created a demand for the skills of the English tailor. Tailors responded by publishing pattern drafting systems and patenting measuring and drafting devices. The new accessibility of this knowledge, as well as the availability of cheaper textile products led to the availability of ready to wear clothing for the wage earner. Ready to wear clothing for men tended to be shapeless overcoats, constructed of fabrics that would not show the defects in workmanship. Changes to the production and merchandising of clothing also occurred resulting in changes to the traditional practices of the tailor.

Ewing (1986) reported that during the 1880s, clothing factories increased in number seven fold in the city of Leeds. Co-operative Societies were one of the forces in the increasing numbers, along with the growing chain shops and small-scale retail clothiers.

Stibbell (1986) offered a brief overview of men's wear throughout the history of Western civilization. Line drawings were used to represent the basic styles of men's garments.

Godman (1989) used an 1820 account book of Thomas Furnin, tailor, of Surrey, England to examine the practice of the tailor of a small centre. She found that the "top people" of the region probably travelled to London for their tailoring requirements. It seemed that Mr. Furnin' business consisted mostly of making ready to wear clothing for the servant class. He made heavy outer wear and gaiters. He also did a great deal of repair work, a very small amount of ladies' wear (riding habits and pelisses) and some furnishings (tablecloths, curtains and cushions). Most of his clients were men and boys. The account book provided documentation of the fabrics and styles used and serves to illustrate the usefulness of business records to costume historians.

Costume historians have used literature and oral histories to gather details about the wearing and custom - making of men's wear. Buck (1986) used English literature to compare styles of dress over a period of time, and across socio-economic class. Evans (1974) interviewed an elderly rural worker and the local tailor to determine patterns of patronage of custom tailors during the early twentieth century.

The United States

American costume historians have paid more attention to specific producers and methods of constructing clothing. Kidwell and Christman (1974) focused on the role of tailor as contributor to the technological changes of nineteenth century garment production. Early evidence of the change from master to merchant tailor was documented. Skilled in cutting and efficient assembly of clothing, tailors became the natural foremen of the early garment factories.

Pattern drafting systems for women's and men's wear were located and catalogued by Trautman (1987). She suggested that custom tailors tended to use direct measure systems and that the ready to wear trade drafted with proportionate methods. Morton (1981) classified drafting systems by their methods for deriving the measurements that each employs. Rice (1979) made use of collections of men's wear pattern drafting systems (or diagrams of drafts) to make basic pattern drafts for use by reproduction costumers. Rice suspected the skill required to make good patterns, and she commented on the usefulness and accuracy of the various methods tried in her study. However, she did not use the drafting systems themselves as a source of information about tailors or tailoring. Morton (1982) used nineteenth century drafting manuals and advertisements for drafting courses to draw some conclusions about the division of labour and skill within the tailoring trade.

However, her conclusions have been drawn from looking at advertisements for and reports from cutting schools contained in the drafting manuals. The systems were not tested as the original craftsmen used them, to see what their content reveals.

Jacket styles have been studied by American costume historians. Paoletti (1980) used content analysis of contemporary humour to study the adoption of the sack or lounge suit during the period 1880 to 1910. She found that cartoonists ridiculed males adopting new fashion by depicting them as unattractive or effeminate. Paoletti, Becker and Pelletier (1987) used garments and print sources to describe and interpret design and construction changes which occurred in men's suit jackets from 1919 to 1941. Categories such as silhouette, lapel width, jacket length and fibre content were developed to compare a number of jackets in order to perceive trends in fashion. Morra (1985) showed how the invention of the sewing machine altered the construction of men's jackets. She contended that jackets made post-1870 were more like modern men's wear than jackets assembled in the 1840s and early 1850s. By examining extant garments and photographs, she was able to draw conclusions about fit, silhouette and construction techniques.

Byrd and Drake (1985) revealed some details of the early nineteenth century apprentice and itinerant tailor in an article "Andrew Johnson, The tailor president". The detailed accounts of the young tailor's life are drawn from biographies of the seventeenth president of the United States so they may be somewhat aggrandized. The authors reported the young apprentice's escape from a cruel master tailor; travel to other tailors' shops to learn improved techniques; the hiring of "readers" by tailors to read to the workers; and the tailor shop as a centre for informal community political discussions.

Trautman (1985) conducted an exploratory demographic study of tailors, dressmakers and seamstresses from 1880 to 1920 in Colorado to see how these personal

clothiers adapted to the trend to ready to wear clothing. She concluded that the tailoring trade became more masculinized during the study period. The number of personal clothiers dropped dramatically (34%) between 1910 and 1920, after increasing until 1890 and decreasing slightly by 1910. But since Colorado was not a centre of ready to wear production, and the number of personal clothiers declined although the population was growing, Trautman further examined city business directories. She found that tailors survived the trend to ready to wear by specializing in, for example, military wear; they formed partnerships or worked with dry cleaners or retail stores.

American scholars have also studied the industrialization of cities. Passero (1978) studied the impact of Italian immigrants on the garment manufacturing industry in Philadelphia from 1880 to 1950. She found the impact that an immigrant group made on the garment trade was determined by the skills they brought to their new home, traditional sex roles differentiation within their own culture, and immigration patterns. In Philadelphia, during the 1880s, German Jewish immigrant tailors owned and operated men's wear manufacturing businesses, while the Southern Italian male immigrants provided skilled and semi-skilled factory workers. Italian immigrant women tended to be home workers at contract sewing. Thomson (1976) studied the mechanization of shoe and sewing machine production. The sewing machine was patented in 1846, and a usable machine was widely adopted by the mid-1850s. By 1860, the value of the sewing machine's product was exceeded only by that of the steam engine. The development of the sewing machine made an impact, not only on garment construction, but on the production of other, similar machinery and parts.

Canada

Beaudoin-Ross and Blackstock (1984), in their annotated bibliography of costume in Canada, pointed to the lack of "knowledge of tailoring required for in-depth analysis" (p.62) of men's wear. Little specific to the hand-construction of men's wear is available from Canadian sources. Smith (1987) studied the ladies' wear custom trade in Edmonton. Ladies' tailoring was a part of her thesis research, but men's wear was not. Maxendy (1988) evaluated nineteenth century pattern drafting systems for a women's 1880's dress. He located British and American sources relevant to the use of drafting systems in Canada. He commented on period pattern drafting systems as an untapped resource for reproduction costumers.

Collard (1975) used letters and contemporary newspapers to determine the dress habits of men in English Canada. She studied extant garments, photographs and the British journal Tailor and cutter to trace late nineteenth century men's fashion. She concluded that Canadian males exercised more personal preference in clothing choices than their British or American counterparts. Collard has identified the American fashion system 1885 - 1886 as being a pattern drafting system in use in Canada, although there is no rationale contained in the text for this assertion.

Collard (1971) prepared a collection of garment shapes for use in drafting reproduction costume. She stated that Canadian men followed the fashion dictates of the English, "...considered to be the style leaders of the western world" (p.16). She reported that a storekeeper's account book from Port Dover, Ontario, records the sale of ready to wear clothing in 1877.

Holford (1984) documented the establishment of the custom clothing trade. She found that the well-dressed of the late eighteenth century brought their clothing from Britain

when they immigrated and ordered further clothing requirements from Britain or the United States. She noted the advertisement of the arrival of a tailor in a York newspaper in 1799. By 1834, when York became the city of Toronto, there were 61 tailors listed in the city directory. Smaller centres were populated by British immigrants with weaving skills. Local homespun was used in the production of their clothing.

Cole (1988) focused on the establishment of garment factories in Edmonton, Alberta. A large tailoring firm was documented, but the cut of clothing was not part of the study process.

The development of the men's wear industry in Montreal was traced by Davidson (1969) as he studied factors that contributed to that city's dominance of Canadian men's wear manufacturing and merchandising. He found that ready made clothing made its first appearance in Canada in 1868. Ninety percent of the men's wear market share was held by tailors in 1870. That hold had slipped to 34% in 1898 and to 26% in 1911. Davidson found that all men's wear manufacturers in Montreal started as small firms, and that they were mainly managed by Jewish entrepreneurs and staffed by other immigrant workers.

Pattern Drafting Systems

Pattern drafting systems are the graphic evidence of the tailors' contribution to fashion history. They remain as the "blueprint" of the mode in men's wear and provide clues to the otherwise subtle distinctions in men's wear.

Giles (1957) traced the development of pattern drafting for garments from its origins in sixteenth century Spain until 1872. He provided a critical account of the cutting system, introduced during the early 1800s, as it evolved from an art learned from the master to a more precise mathematical craft. He included excerpts from contemporary

drafting systems to support his case.

Kidwell (1979) placed the development of men's pattern drafting systems into its intellectual context as progress within the field of garment production. She showed the role that both the proportional and direct-measure systems played in the development of the odd "tools" for measuring the body - typical of mechanical improvements of the day. She showed how tailors set precedents of drafting methodology that dressmakers eventually followed.

Labour, Trade and Business History

A rich field is opened to the material culture historian when research into the nineteenth century trades is considered. The researcher delving into labour history is immediately struck by the frequent and early references to the tailoring trade. A few labour historians (such as Schmiechen; Burdish and Soule) reported on the garment industry of the study period. Other, more general histories of the period document that tailors were among the first trades to establish labour organizations (Rock, Wilentz, Feeney, Montgomery). Tailors' working conditions were usually poor, their numbers were great as they made most of the clothing, and the intimate atmosphere of the shop led to discussion among workers.

Britain

Schmiechen (1984) used the journal Tailor and Cutter, labour union documents and histories, and the work of social commentors to review the case of the tailor as part of the London clothing trades from 1800 to 1914. His introduction traced the history of the tailors' associations since the eighteenth century and covered much of the literature that

pertains to the early organization of the trade (such as S. & B. Webb, 1911, The history of trade unionism). By 1815, the trade had been divided into the honourable section or "Flints" who worked at the shop of the master tailor, and the dishonourable section or the "dungs" who did piecework or homework. Competition from foreign and provincial markets, as well as higher clothing consumption rates by the populace, led to increasing numbers of contractors of outwork. The development of an outwork branch of the trade led to the dissolution of the strong tailors' union about 1830. The weakened trade, without a strong union, was more likely to succumb to outwork. By about 1850, the price of London ready to wear was only 55% that of West End bespoke tailoring.

Schmiechen contended that the scarce land and high rents in central London contributed to the establishment of the sweated tailoring industry. The sweating system was a substitute for the factory producing ready to wear clothing. By 1866, 80% of tailors in London were outworkers. The outwork system worked in the following manner: garments were cut out and bundled at a warehouse or cutting room. Bundles were picked up by outworkers who absorbed the costs of transportation and travelling time. In some instances, the contractor required that a security deposit be paid on goods removed from the warehouse. The work was taken to the workroom where the outworker supplied his or her own machine, thread and needles. The work might be further subcontracted by the worker before the garment was completed. Then the garments were transported back to the warehouse (at the workers' expense) and the contractor established the price that he or she was willing to pay for the completed work. The result was competition for prices and wages that meant poor pay for the worker, but not necessarily a poor quality garment produced.

Schmiechen found that from about 1866 until the early 1900's, the unions tried to organize in a form that would include sweated workers, in an attempt to monitor wages and working conditions. An 1866 strike of the London Operative Tailors' Protective Association against the master tailors united outwork and indoor tailors and secured higher wages. However, the city-wide log or wage scale included lower rates for outwork. Eventually the London union and the national Amalgamated Society of Tailors negotiated a time log, by which local markets could set wages. The renewed union activity led to the establishment of the Master Tailors Association of Great Britain and successful government prosecution of the tailors for conspiracy against the masters.

In 1872, the tailors union offered lower priced memberships to outworkers to keep them involved in the union. Schmiechen contended that women tailors and Jewish immigrant tailors were not welcome: they were not successfully brought into the union until the mid-1890's.

By 1875, Schmiechen reported, working conditions were abysmal for tailors. Most unionized tailors worked in small workshops in houses or in attics or basements. They sought government intervention in securing adequate, healthy working conditions since the union had difficulty maintaining a strong organization of outworkers. Social policy in Britain was undergoing changes during the 1880s - due in part to the exposes of investigative journalists such as Charles Booth (Schmiechen, p.134). Since about 1866, the Workshop Act and the Factory Act governed the sanitary conditions under which employers could run their premises. The enforcement of these acts was inadequate due to the extent of the problem and the lack of local staff dedicated to the issue. Employers kept the number of workers hired to under 50 so that they could avoid the more stringent regulations of the Factory Act - so small workshops and the outwork system was

maintained. As legislation in the early 1890s increased the regulation of the smaller workshops, employers used more outworkers to avoid regulation. This had a negative impact on unionization as the dispersed workers remained difficult to organize.

Labour organizations arranged the 1906 Sweated Industries Exhibition in London. Schmiechen reported that workers were on display, executing their crafts, and the result was an increased awareness in the upper middle class of the plight of the outworker. In 1909, the Trades Board Act established a Board to set minimum wage for workers in sweated industries, including wholesale bespoke tailoring (Schmiechen, p.174). The effect on the trade was that employers increased managerial and technological efficiency in order to get increased output from the higher paid workers. Worker organization was fostered, hours of work tended to decrease, and working conditions in factories improved. The sweating system was largely broken.

Hobsbawm (1964) considered income level and status amongst the trades of tailors of different classes. He provided insight into the areas of general living conditions, level and regularity of earnings, and the advancement of labour unions. The nineteenth century was a period of flux as society's values changed from an appreciation of the pre-industrialized crafts to worshipping the new industrialists and the metal industries.

Hobson (1964) revealed how the trades, including a significant number of tailors, organized a system of routes to look for work in accredited tailor shops. "Tramping" was a system that attempted to financially look after the increasing number of tradesmen who were displaced by the improvements of the industrial revolution.

Bromley (1975) examined the "heavy" (that is tailored) clothing industry, its structure and innovations. She found that from 1880 on, factories kept to the minimal production level throughout the year. Peak production periods were met by contracting out the extra

work required to meet the demands of the seasonal clothing market. Thus, outwork, factories and the bespoke tailoring trade all co-existed.

Arnold (1976) interviewed a custom tailor who apprenticed in Edinburgh from 1916 to 1922. Mr. Daniel Nelson apprenticed in the shop of his father, a master tailor. Seven journeymen and two apprentices worked at the shop. His apprenticeship was considered finished when he had proficiency at particular garments, and had served the required time period. Mr. Nelson took further training in pattern cutting after becoming a journeyman. His comments on the use of drafting systems indicate that an individual tailor used a particular system that he had committed to memory, but that the system was continually modified by what the cutter learned from other systems, other cutters, and through experience.

The United States

Two American labour historians, Rock (1979) and Wilentz (1984), studied early nineteenth century artisans and the rising working class. Both scholars used the case of the tailor as one example. In eighteenth century America, a simple social system had evolved where the materials goods of the country were produced by the honest labour of mechanics who owned their own tools, and housed and trained their apprentices. The increased population of the early nineteenth century led to a business revolution which gave artisans the incentive to expand their operations. Tailors were able to increase both production and profit by hiring less skilled, poorly paid seamstresses (Rock). The industrial revolution allowed garment construction processes to be further sub-divided and performed by unskilled workers. These factors influenced the traditional practices and the lives of working tailors. Changes in the organization of the workplace led to changes in the way

that tailors viewed their position in society. Some tailors formed fraternal organizations to better their position in the new marketplace (Wilentz).

Gutman (1976) broke down the development of industrial society in America into three eras: 1815 to 1843, the pre-industrial phase; 1843 to 1893, the period of tension between pre-industrial and modernization; and 1893 to 1919, the mature industrial society. Pre-industrial tailoring businesses were already undergoing changes due to the pressures of the imported ready to wear clothing trade, and the need for the trade to compensate for seasonal slack times of production (Buddish and Soule, 1939). The introduction of the sewing machine about 1848 caused a further division of labour and reduction in the skill level required to work in the garment industry (Thompson; Fraser; Montgomery, 1987). The trade also experienced the influxes of both skilled and unskilled workers as the waves of immigration continued, and women played a more prominent role in the workplace (Buddish and Soule; Gutman; Wilentz). The garment industry, as it began to take shape in the "modern" phase, did not succeed in winning any consistent victories for workers in the areas of fair wages and safe working conditions until the 1920s (Buddish and Soule). The story of the tailoring trade in nineteenth century America is the story of journeymen struggling to maintain some humanity in a trade destined for complete mechanization.

McNeill (1887) reported that in North America, the trades were originally organized under a guild system, similar to the traditional European system. Master craftsmen signed indenture papers for young apprentices. They provided accommodation in their own homes and trained the apprentice in the increasingly difficult tasks of the trade for a set period of time (up to seven years). When the training period was complete, the Master would share a few last secrets of the trade (in tailoring, the pattern blocks) and the apprentice would, at last, be a journeyman (Fraser, Wilentz). The journeyman could

expect to find work for wages in the shop of another tailor. With extra work and training in the shop of his Master, he might become a Master himself (McNeill).

The early nineteenth century transportation revolution caused rapid population growth in the northeastern United States (Wilentz). At the beginning of the century, investment capital was available in the areas of shipping, real estate, insurance, and transportation but was not available to craftsmen or entrepreneurs (Wilentz; Rock). Some tailors had been importing cheap ready to wear clothing for resale since the late eighteenth century (Kidwell, 1974; Fraser). "Slop shops" had developed in sea ports to provide quickly available "ready to wear" clothing for sailors. The term "slops" was the term used to describe sailors' baggy trousers (Lovin, 1986). Local slop shops began to challenge the goods imported from England for the cheap ready to wear and southern slave clothing markets. Master tailors began to contract out garment assembly, taking advantage of the increasing pool of labour. Competition with native tradesmen occurred when immigrant tailors, willing to work at home, and women, willing to work at 25% to 50% of the journeymen's wage, were hired by tailors producing for the ready to wear market. The master tailor was becoming the merchant tailor (Wilentz).

Wilentz reported that by 1815, in New York City, one-fifth of all master craftsmen were entrepreneurs. By 1825, New York City masters no longer honoured the indenture papers of their apprentices. (However, Preston, 1983, documented the case of an 1830s apprenticeship in New Hampshire which suggests that the situation varied in different locations.) Tailors would teach apprentices only simple tasks and employ them as helpers. The position of the mechanic in society was no longer as honourable as it once had been. Apprentices tended to come from poorer families. Their wages were determined by the paternalistic employer whose profit was first safeguarded. The early nineteenth century

was a period of transition for the trade. Wilentz suggested that the masters expressed their craftsmen's pride in the quality of their business operations; they had not yet reached the profit levels or cynicism of the capitalist entrepreneurs.

Wilentz and Rock described the conditions of the small master tailors who remained in the traditional form of custom tailoring business. They continued to eke out a living. They owned no property, had perhaps one partner in addition to the working members of their family, and hired one or two journeymen. They worked for a local clientele. They lived on the edge of financial ruin, for theirs was a precarious position. Disease, disaster (such as fire), compulsory military service or jury duty could put them out of business. They were unable to save money, and only able to remain in business by exploiting members of their own family. Wilentz suggests that they were unwilling to make the change to the emerging economic system. They expected little in terms of wealth, but valued their independence. They worked hard. They had no access to credit to expand their operations. They denounced outwork as cruel. The new business ethic made a mockery of their values.

Wilentz found that most tailors of the nineteenth century were journeymen employed by other tailors. They depended on the honesty and solvency of their employers for their pay. They were not usually employed year-round. They were renters, and their wives and children had to find work as well.

Faler (1974) suggested that changes in the formal practice of the craft - training, conditions of work, and pride in craftsmanship contributed to a change in the way that journeymen perceived themselves and conducted their lives. In a study of Lynn, Massachusetts shoemakers (1826-1860), he used health and census data and contemporary newspapers to develop his notion of three types of the journeymen's response to change.

Some artisans remained traditionalists. They clung to eighteenth century customs and habits - they drank, danced and gambled - and stayed away from formal organizations of their fellows. The loyalists adapted best to the new economic structure. They deferred to the employer and readily adopted the new "industrial morality" by practising the temperance reform being popularized at the time. They were self-reliant, self-disciplined, and sober. They attributed the poverty of their fellows to idleness and self-indulgence. They described the drinking members of their trade as poor craftsmen. The rebel mechanics were culturally similar to their loyalist fellows, but they were critics of capitalist exploitation. They accepted the code of morality of their employers, but used it in their own class interest to form unions, producers co-operatives, and trade newspapers to advance their position as workers. Wilentz suggested that because of their unstable conditions, journeymen were the first members of their trade to set up fraternal organizations, benevolent societies, tramping circuits, and, eventually, schools and libraries for self-education. Their trade organizations reinforced the journeymen's self-concept as sober, reliable, capable artisans. They were able to take independent action as a result of their collective efforts.

During the eighteenth century, workers were prevented from earning more than the legislated maximum daily rate (McNeill). Wilentz reported that the first strike of tailors in America occurred in New York City in 1768. Twenty journeymen struck for increased wages and set up their own co-operative shop while out of the masters' employ. Between 1794 and 1834 in New York City, many trades, including tailors, unionized to provide sick benefits for members and to organize the patriotic functions in which the mechanics were represented. During this time, local and trade societies were formed (Grob).

Wilentz reported that in the early nineteenth century journeymen tailors organized against both master and merchant tailors. Inflationary economic conditions led to concerns over wages, a regular book of prices, and shop conditions in disputes with the masters. Journeymen worked to prevent their merchant employers from lowering the acceptable level of workmanship and to prevent subcontracting. In 1819, tailors struck against New York City masters hiring women tailors to work as shop tailors. An economic collapse in 1819 led to restrictive legislation against combinations of workers (workers' societies were allowed no control over conditions of work or wages). In 1823 - 24, conspiracy trials were held in New York City over the organizations of tailors. Grob described the decades of the 1820s and 30s as the time that trade unions turned to politics. They formed "workingmen's parties" (Grob, p.5) that saw their maintenance of a social position as important as economic gains. During the 1830s wages fell and the organized labour movement revived primarily as mutual aid societies (Wilentz). During the mid-1830s, Montgomery (1980) reported the first joint action was taken by trade societies for mutual support. Associations were formed among differing trades, for example, the National Trades Union of 1834. However, this organization failed during the economic panic of 1837 (Grob). Grob and Wilentz both noted that the unions of the 1830s did not represent workers versus employers, but rather, producers versus non-producers. The trade union movement temporarily dissolved during the 1840s due to an economic downturn, and unions again functioned as benevolent societies. When unions were revived during the 1850s (Montgomery, 1980, suggested as a result of industrialization), they comprised a large number of immigrant tradesmen with European values as labour activists. Grob found that these unions focused on collective bargaining and not on social reform. They accepted the loss of status that the business revolution had imparted to craftsmen and realized that they

did not share the interests of their employers. Wilentz reported on the strike of tailors in New York City in 1850 over a scale of prices for work. Later that year the first recorded death due to union violence occurred when police and firemen killed two tailors and severely wounded dozens of others who were demonstrating in front of the residence of a journeyman working at home for below union scale.

Perlman (1922) noted that the period from 1852 to 1866 saw the development of a network of consumer co-operative stores. Producer co-operatives were tried by unsuccessful strikers including collarmakers, tailors and needle women.

Perlman stated that the Civil War beginning in 1862, caused industrial stagnation. One billion dollars in paper currency was introduced into the economy causing a period of inflation. Wages lagged behind prices, forcing workers to unionize. Local trade unions formed in every craft.

Many labour historians have traced the history of the Knights of Labor (McNeill; Grob; Perlman). The Knights of Labor was founded in Philadelphia in 1869 by a tailor, Uriah Stephens, as a replacement for the former Garment Cutters' Association. The Knights aimed to return the wealth of production to the labouring classes. They believed that all workers were producers, whether workers, manufacturers or entrepreneurs. The Knights were reform unionists as they felt that the worker could only regain his status with a radical political reorganization of society along the lines of co-operative networks of production and distribution.

Grob explained the structure of the organization. The Knights organized local assemblies of either a single trade group, or mixed trades. The locals were grouped into district assemblies that sent delegates to the annual convention or General Assembly, where the General Executive Board was elected. The constitution of the Knights was

ratified in 1878 and their period of greatest activity was during the 1880s. Grob referred to the "Great Upheaval" as the period of time when a large number of trade union members left their respective locals to join the Knights of Labor (Grob, p.109). During this period, the Knights organized assemblies of garment contractors, cutters, tailors, operators and pressers. Their success was the result of a number of economic factors that made conditions poor for the working class. Markets were defined by the completion of the rail transportation network. Manufacturing enterprises grew in size as owners ploughed profits into expansion. Immigration continued and rural migration to the cities provided more workers for industry.

McNeill stated that the Journeymen Tailors' National Trades-Union was established in 1865. The union collapsed in 1886 due to the economic depression and the fact that the treasurer ran off with the union funds. No other references to this union have been found.

Perlman termed 1872 the "year of great strikes" due to the violence seen in strikes occurring when employers had rolled-back employees wages. Business prosperity had returned by 1879, and with it a strengthened tra[illegible] union movement. Unions and assemblies grew in numbers. Issues were oppo[illegible]nistic, a response to rising prices, rather than political or class issues. The depression of 1883 to 1885 drew unskilled and semi-skilled workers into the union movement. Another tailors' trade union was formed and held its first convention in Philadelphia. The Journeymen Tailors' Union of America was founded in 1883. It represented tailors in the United States and Canada, and existed until the 1930s when its function was replaced by the Garment Workers Union.

Grob also detailed the history of the American Federation of Labor, formed in 1886. This association of trade unions had more immediate economic goals than the reform-minded Knights. They were made up of autonomous, individual craft unions and

sought to protect the dignity of tradesmen by securing adequate wages and working conditions from employers. They did not represent unskilled workers and the basic differences between the Knights and the AFL caused personal bitterness between the groups.

Montgomery (1980) argued that the Eight Hour Day struggles, begun in the 1860s and 1870s helped to develop unionized workers abilities to further organize and to articulate their demands. The late 1880s and 1890s continued to be dominated by the Eight Hour movement (Grob), and ended with the recognition of collective bargaining as an accepted principle of labour (Buddish and Soule).

By the last decades of the century, the working conditions had dramatically altered for tailors. Montgomery (1987) documented the working conditions in the evolving garment industry. By the 1870s, a task system had emerged for coat making: three tailors worked as a team - machine operator, baster, and finisher. The contractor, usually one of the three, paid the others a weekly wage which determined the number of coats that were produced. A presser was hired seperately. Competition resulted in increasingly lower prices paid for work. The weekly quota changed from 9 to 10 coats in 1882 to 18 to 20 coats in the late 1890s. The teams became more efficient and specialized. Three teams would employ two pressers. Contactors only contracted work and ceased to function as craftsmen. Women were hired as specialists.

Montgomery (1987) reported that by the 1880s, many tenement workshops were replaced by factories - highly capitalized and specialized. The contracting-out system resulted in intense competition between workers. Jewish and Italian immigrants and American-born women provided the workforce. (In 1880, 54% of the workers in men's wear were women, and by 1890, this figure had dropped by only 10%.)

The conditions under which men's wear was produced made it difficult to regulate the trade by establishing rules for union members (Buddish and Soule; Montgomery, 1987). Each contractor made price deals, and the price per item paid to contractors determined the profit, wages, hours and conditions. The most successful strikes were held at the height of the season (Montgomery), but one season's victories were often forgotten in the next year's rush for the seasonal employment. Manufacturers did not rehire troublesome workers in subsequent seasons (Buddish and Soule).

Canada

Canadian labour historians have examined the history of trade unions in the early decades of the country (Forsey, 1982) and the impact of the Knights of Labor on the Ontario labour scene (Kealey and Palmer, 1982). By the 1840s, handicraft production was firmly established in Toronto (Kealey, 1980). But by the 1850s, the new division of labour had replaced individual shops with manufactories. From the 1860s to the 1880s, the advent of modern machinery led to the implementation of the factory system of production. By 1871, Kealey (1980) reported, Toronto had experienced the industrial revolution: 71% of the industrial workforce were employed in units of more than thirty workers. The result was a "...working class... slowly creating its own institutions to defend itself against the onslaught of capital" (Cross & Kealey, 1982, p.15).

Forsey (1980) traced the development of Canadian trade unions between 1812 and 1982 using trade union minutes, labour papers such as The Tailor, and local newspapers. He found that tailors' trade societies were established for the protection of workers against master tailors as early as 1815 in Halifax. Tailors joined international unions and

participated in the nineteenth century labour festivals and parades. They were also charter members of local and national central labour organizations.

Forsey reported that two unions formed in an attempt to prevent the introduction of the sewing machine: the 1854 Hamilton Journeymen Tailors Protective Society and the 1852 Toronto Journeymen Tailors Operative Society. Other issues around which tailors in Canada organized included wage roll backs during the depression of 1893, the employment of non-union workers, and the establishment of a standard rate.

Forsey noted that early societies of tailors included the Saint John Tailors Society of the 1830s and 40s; the 1815 Benovolent Society of Journeymen Tailors in Halifax; a Montreal tailors union, 1830 to 1834; and the 1858 Journeymen Tailors Protective Society of Montreal. Three successive unions of tailors were formed in Toronto between 1845 and 1855. The Toronto Operative Tailors Society became the Golden Fleece Local Assembly of the Knights of Labor in 1886. And in 1891, the local left the Knights to become local 132 of the Journeymen Tailors Union of America.

Forsey studied the central organizations formed by trades groups to offer mutual support. Tailors societies were often charter members of these associations. The Toronto Trades Assembly (TTA) was formed in 1871 to replace the committee of trades unions established in 1867. The TTA tried to work as an arbitrator in disputes, including an 1873 strike between tailors and their employers. The Canadian Labor Union (CLU) existed from 1873 to 1877. Tailors were present at the founding convention and at each annual meeting thereafter. The CLU's last convention took place during a period of depression and reduced wages. Tailor and labour activist, Alf Jury spoke at the last convention about contemporary economic woes, believing that they were "caused from over-production and over-importation of goods and labor" (Forsey, p.134). Resolutions passed by the

convention favoured: a reduction of hours of work from ten to nine; the establishment of boards of arbitration and conciliation; the use of co-operatives for production and distribution; and the abolition of convict labour in competition with free labour.

Beginning in about 1889, Forsey reported, the Journeymen Tailors Union of America began organizing locals or reorganizing old locals in Canada. Members of the JTUA remained relatively few: 300 members in total, an average of about 20 per local. A protracted strike against Toronto merchant tailors who opposed union interference with non-union tailors lasted two years and brought international financial aid from the parent union and moral support from the Amalgamated Society of Journeymen Tailors in London, England. In 1898, the St. Thomas local 141, seceded from the International to become local 1 of the Journeymen Tailors Union of Canada. They had returned within the year, however, convinced that Canadian locals were receiving more in benefits from the International than the amount of their dues collected. Forsey (p.262) commented ironically about the economic climate of the day: "It was agreed, incidentally, that 'Canada is a very fair place for tailors, very little sweating and a great number of free shops'".

Later unions were enumerated by Forsey as he examined newspaper reports of labour festival parades. St. John had a strong tailors union in 1883 that was replaced by the International by 1894. Hamilton unions included tailors, cutters and trimmers. Montreal had a Tailors Union and a Cutters and Trimmers Union in the late 1880s and early 1890s. A Tailors and Cutters Union was also present in 1891. In 1900 there was a Wholesale Clothing Tailors Union and an Independent Tailors Union. Between 1885 and 1895, Local Assemblies of the Knights of Labor represented English-speaking tailors (LA 44) and Clothing Cutters (LA 869).

Kealey and Palmer (1982) used the case of the development of the Knights of Labor in Toronto and Hamilton to illustrate the effect that the group had on labour organization in Canada. The economic collapse of the 1870's caused a decline in the trade union movement. But the industrialization of the 1880s caused Ontario to experience the same Great Upheaval observed in America during the years from 1885 to 1889. The life of the Knights in Ontario spanned from 1875 to 1907, with the first Local Assemblies (LA's) being organized in towns along the US border. Toronto LA's included tailors, "factory and sewing girls" (Kealey & Palmer, p.86), tailoresses, and many mixed groups that probably included tailors.

One such mixed assembly, reported Kealey and Palmer, was LA 2305, the group in part responsible for determining the Knight's Canadian strategy. Its membership included Alf Jury, tailor and English trade unionist. The Knights' success depended upon their ability to organize workers in a number of different ways. They organized on an industry basis, cutting across lines of craft, ethnicity and sex. They replaced former independent unions (for example, the tailors). Or they organized in areas represented by existing trade unions, leading to strife within the labour community. The Knights believed that an effective social movement could only occur if the differences between workers were ignored. In Toronto, in 1883, they proved their point when they formed an alliance between craft workers and the unskilled with the constitution of the women shoe operatives assembly.

Primary Sources

Trade journals began to flourish during the late nineteenth century. Many journals for the tailoring trade were found at the Library of Congress. Scott's Mirror of Fashion (1848) was an example of an early trade journal. It functioned as a source for materials, equipment, styles, pattern drafting information as well as news and fiction. The Custom Cutter and Fashion Review was directed to cutters employed in small custom tailoring firms. The Journal of Fashion and Tailoring was addressed to cutters and tailors. Only two numbers of Modern Fashions were available at the Smithsonian Library, but they were of interest because they specifically mentioned the Canadian reader. American Gentleman is one of the best known journals. It was aimed at the merchant tailor, and combined both technical and business articles. The Tailors' Intelligencer (1870-2) was a technically oriented journal. It included discussions of the value of different systems of drafting, fitting of abnormal posture and gave insights into the methods and levels of skill used to solve the perennial problems of the tailor.

Training handbooks were located such as Vincent (c.1870) and The tailor, an instructional manual for the tailor's apprentice (c.1850). Instructional manuals seemed to be more common as the study period progressed.

Pattern drafting systems were numerous. Several hundred are housed at the Library of Congress.

Three bibliographies of primary materials have been published. Rink (1981) included lists of pattern drafting systems and legal documents pertaining to the tailoring trade. Troutman (1987) provided locations and systems of measurement used for pattern drafting systems. Seligman (1982, 1983) identified pattern drafting systems and instructional manuals published in the United States and Britain, throughout the nineteenth

and twentieth centuries.

Bills of prices (prices paid by master tailors for work performed by journeymen, or prices set by the journeymen's union or association) were located in libraries and in the labour newspaper The Tailor. They provided information about the type of work taken by tailors, the details of construction, and what constituted regular or extra features of garment construction.

Primary sources published by Canadian tailors have not been located (G. Carlos, personal communication, December 9, 1988). However, some documents refer to Canadian readers (Glencross, 1866).

Newspapers such as The Red Republican (The tailors..., 1850) provided stories of contemporary labour disputes and can be used to verify the work of commentators.

A wealth of data exist for this time period in the form of the American trade union newspaper The Tailor (1887 - 1935), a publication of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America. It reported on the expansion of union locals throughout North America and covered political issues within the labour sphere that were of importance to tailors.

Secondary sources

The social commentaries of such newspaper writers as Charles Booth in his series of the late 1880s and 90s and Henry Mayhew, 1849, (Yeo & Thompson, 1979) on the lives and labours of Londoners detailed the living and working conditions of tailors.

A catalogue of the 1906 Sweated Industries Exhibition sponsored by the London Daily News has been reprinted (Mudie-Smith, 1906) and provided information about the processes used by clothing workers at that time.

METHODS

McIlveen (1984) discussed the applicability of the historical model to research in home economics. Her work is relevant to the study of costume history. She summarized the historical method as: locating the evidence, criticising the evidence and relating the evidence. McIlveen suggested that the evidence must include an environmental context for the sources under consideration. The evidence must be criticized for its authenticity. It must be determined if the content of secondary sources is valid.

Bensman (1985) studied the labour organization of American hat finishers during the rapid industrialization of the trade. He had almost abandoned his project for lack of evidence when he found two trade journals published by the hat finishers (Bensman, p.ix). He found these publications to be an invaluable source of data about issues within the trade and the practices and values of his subjects, providing a better insight into the circumstances of the trade than had conventional economic theory.

Petruschock - Heim (1969) in an examination of sixteenth and seventeenth century tailors' "masterpiece-books" found that these books of diagrams and cutting instructions reflected "more exactly the nature and extent of the activity of the practising tailor in his workshop" (p.6).

Sources

The purpose of this study of the tailoring trade was to relate the previous discussions of labour and costume historians to the evidence provided by the tailors themselves through their trade and union publications and their written technical materials.

The materials located included :

1. Pattern drafting systems
2. Trade journals
3. Instructional manuals
4. Union publications
5. Bills of prices
6. Social commentary
7. Newspapers
8. Government documents/ legal records

Data Collection

A study of 162 pattern drafting systems was conducted. Data were gathered from the other sources by taking notes on articles, lists and illustrations that related to the objectives of the study. Notes were then compiled for each category of subject matter. Not all sources provided information about each objective of the study. A picture of the trade at various points through the study period emerged, answering, to differing degrees of success, the questions posed by the objectives.

Pattern Drafting Systems

Most of the pattern drafting systems studied were housed at the Library of Congress. Others were found at the Smithsonian Library, the University of Alberta Library, and through interlibrary loans. The study attempted to review the largest number of pattern drafting systems available for use as identified in bibliographies by Trautman (1987), Blair (1981) and Saligman (1982-3). Only published monographs with content

related to men's wear were considered. No drafting "gadgets" or measuring or drafting machines were included. In spite of Kidwell's study (1979) of the use of these devices, especially by dressmakers, systems employing "gadgets" were excluded. They often don't remain in libraries for examination. Giles (1957, p.188) stated "...no inventor has yet succeeded in producing a machine which has been used by any considerable number of cutters." Being a tailor, the researcher felt that the impact of these devices on the practice of tailoring had been minimal: there are few measuring instruments more sophisticated than the tape measure in the hands of a skilled tailor. Only complete systems which included diagrams and which were published in English during the study period were selected. Scales were often included with systems to make drafting easier for the tailor. The scales consisted of a ruler or square divided into fractions of a particular body measurement. If a scale was included in the original system, but had not survived to this day, the researcher attempted to recreate it. If it could be recreated, that system remained in the study. These restrictions reduced the number of systems from over 400 available, to the 102 selected.

Eight questions were asked about all of the pattern drafting systems. A sample of thirty-three systems was drawn by assigning numbers to the population and selecting from a table of random numbers. Then the researcher attempted to draft using each system of the selected sample. The garment front and back only were drafted, either coat or trousers, not including sleeves or collar.

Coding Procedure for Pattern Drafting Systems

Data were coded using the coding sheet in Appendix B and the coding rules in Appendix C. Data were coded directly onto machine-readable forms.

Analysis of Data

Frequency distributions were determined for the following study variables using the SPSSx package (Statistical package for the social sciences) for statistical analysis.

Frequency distributions run for variables considered

Frequency distributions were run for each of the study variables: country of publication, sex of author, drafting media, intended user, corpulency fitting, assessment of posture, method of assessment, useable system, system of measurement and type of proportion used.

Cross-tabulations comparing associations between variables

Cross - tabulations were run to determine associations between the following pairs of variables: country of publication by drafting media, intended user, corpulency fitting, posture assessment, method of assessment and system of measurement; and year of publication: 1800-1849, 1850-1879, 1880-1920 by all variables.

Trade Journals

Trade journals included in the study were selected at the Smithsonian Library and the Library of Congress, Washington, DC. Each available number of two complete journal series was studied (Custom Cutter and Fashion Review and Tailors' Intelligencer). A smaller number of issues of tailoring journals of a more general nature were studied (Mirror of Fashion, American Gentleman, American Tailor and Cutter, Sartorial Art Journal, Herald of Fashion and Journal Of Tailoring and Journal of Fashions and Tailoring). The selection of journals focused on the more rare journals of the cutters. Journals geared to the merchant tailor grew less technical in substance and it was easier to survey the scope of the journals contents. Although the method of study of each journal could have been more rigidly controlled (for example by conducting a content analysis of subject matter of all articles published), the study benefits from a breadth of sources. For each issue examined, a record was kept of the content of articles in each of the following categories:

1. technical issues
2. workshop practices
3. working conditions
4. labour and professional organizations
5. references to the trade in Canada

Instructional Manuals

Five manuals were collected through University of Alberta interlibrary loan office, Parks Canada and the New York Public Library. Chapters of instruction to apprentices were found in five drafting manuals. They were studied and a record was kept of articles by the categories outlined in the previous section (See Appendix D for a list of source locations.)

Union Publications

The Tailor, Volumes 1 - 31 (1887 - 1920), newspaper of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America were examined. The newspaper was obtained on nine reels of microfilm from the Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, IL and the microfilm copies are held by the University of Alberta Library. Records were kept of information found in the categories under study. In order to reduce the volume of material to read (the newspaper changed from a monthly to weekly publication in 1914) examination of the volumes following 1909 focused on Canadian and specifically western Canadian developments.

An annual report of the Tailors' Labour Agency was examined and analyzed with respect to the above categories. It was obtained through an University of Alberta inter-library loan from the Detroit Public Library.

Bills of Prices

Two broadsides of prices charged/paid for tailoring were obtained in Washington, DC from the Library of Congress and through the Smithsonian inter-library loan office. The Tailor published both blank and approved bills negotiated under the jurisdiction of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America. The bills of prices were viewed with respect to the five study categories explained in the above sections.

Social Commentary

British writers related the plight of the working poor in their chronicles and newspapers. These reports were viewed as a secondary source of information about the tailoring trade in the five categories under study.

Newspapers

The Red Republican (1850) (University of Alberta inter-library loan from Simon Fraser Library, Vancouver, BC) and The News (1904) (University of Alberta Library) were used to provide more details on events considered in this study. Vernuh (1988) provided an annotated bibliography of Canadian labour newspapers which were published between 1864 and 1898. This source could be used to provide verification of details of labour disputes in Canada described in the trade union newspaper The Tailor. Greater use of newspapers was limited by the time restrictions placed upon this study.

Government Documents and Legal Records

Canadian government documents were located pertaining to the clothing industry, wholesale prices and census data (University of Alberta Library). These sources were used to describe characteristics of the trade in Canada.

A report of the trial of 24 journeymen accused of a conspiracy in Philadelphia (Commonwealth v. John Moore and others, 1827) was located at the Law Library of the Library of Congress, Washington, DC and provided details of the workshop practices of the era.

The steps above constituted locating and collection of evidence. Findings of the study (examination of the evidence) are related in the following chapter.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The range of printed materials examined yielded findings across the spectrum of the study objectives. Trade journals contained the broadest range of information. They offered articles on technical points, general economic conditions affecting the trade, events of professional associations within the trade, advertisements from tailors' suppliers, reminiscences of old tailors and occasionally news about and lists of subscribers to their journals and graduates of their cutting schools. Instructional manuals were the most focused printed materials. They generally provided shop etiquette for the apprentice and instructions for the construction of tailored garments. Bills of prices listed contemporary styles, fabrics, fashionable details, the variety of clients served (eg. men's, women's, military or children's wear) and expected rates of pay for work. Pattern drafting systems provided the expected cutting and fitting information. Authors also identified a particular audience of intended users and described the equipment necessary to produce patterns. The trade union newspaper The Tailor provided information about the labour issues of the day, reports of working conditions, and lists of locals formed and new members. The following table illustrates the types of sources used and the categories of information found in each:

Table 1: Some of the sources and the categories of information studied.

ISSUES / SOURCES	TECHNICAL ISSUES	WORKSHOP PRACTICES	LABOUR and WORKING CONDITIONS	CANADIAN REFERENCES
TRADE JOURNALS	• articles • diagrams	• equipment ads • business management articles	• stories of old tailors	• supplies • subscribers • graduates • members
PATTERN DRAFTING SYSTEMS	• cut • shapes of pattern pieces • fit • posture	• users • drafting equipment	no information	• bibliography
INSTRUCTIONAL MANUALS	• layout • pattern blocks	• shop etiquette • stitches • assembly instructions	no information	no information
BILLS OF TRADE	• construction details • fabrics	• billing practices: by the day, week, hour or piece	• rate of pay	no information
LABOUR NEWSPAPER	no information	• division of labour	• 10 hr. day • weekly pay • free shop space • skilled trade	• locals • members • condition of trade

The study period spanned an era of complete change in the tailoring trade. In 1800 the tailor in Great Britain and the United States was an artisan, making garments by hand, in his own shop, from cloth supplied by his clients. By 1920, custom made tailored clothing formed a much smaller percentage of the garments worn by men. In North America, custom tailored garments were assembled using a factory system to organize the work. In Great Britain, most fine men's wear was assembled using more traditional techniques, the majority of workers working in their own homes. Journeymen tailors in both Britain and North America had organized to improve their working conditions, but they were unable to make the changes required to ensure the dominance of their trade in the garment industry. Mechanization of the trade and the specialization of its workers had led to the development of other interest groups within the trade: the cutters and the business owners. The following examination and analysis of the technical and union publications and documents of tailors is an attempt to shed more light on these changes and how they occurred between 1800 and 1920.

Pattern Drafting Systems

Using the criteria outlined in Methods, 102 pattern drafting systems were selected for study and data were machine coded according to the rules outlined in Appendices B and C. Notes were also kept about each system. Following the collection of data, the study period was divided into three periods.

Subjective Observations

Characteristics of the systems were noted during their examination and use. Three types of systems were observed: the early systems that depended on the tailor's skill to interpret and use them (not unlike the spoken method of the previous century, a language

lost to the present researcher); the middle or transitional systems characterized by a somewhat more rational layout of the draft and higher technical quality of the publications; and the late systems which demonstrated a clearly defined grid upon which the draftsman drew the garment pattern pieces based upon the complete instructions provided. The sewing machine was invented c. 1848. Technical journals proliferated in the trades c. 1880. These factors contributed to the researcher's assignment of the following three periods:

1800-1849 The pre-industrial period Pattern drafting systems were brief. The simple diagrams had few spatial references or guidelines for the user. The written instructions often depended upon the previous pattern making skills of the user in order to successfully draft the required garment pieces.

1850-1879 The transitional period These systems were longer technical documents. Major improvements in printing (the rotary press and web press) and composing (first mechanical composing machine) had affected the ease of production of monographs (Bleyer, 1927; Lee, 1976). The introduction of the sewing machine had a profound effect on the technology of clothing construction that was beginning to be felt by 1850.

1880-1920 The modern period The drafting systems of this period had clearly reproduced diagrams and instructions presented in point form. Williams (1895), in an article on the trade and technical press in America, stated that in 1860, there were 20 trade and 50 technical papers being published. By 1895 this number had soared to 1000 trade and slightly less than 700 technical journals (excluding the fields of religion, agriculture, sports and education.) Schools of tailoring and cutting were being established. The beginning of publication of many tailoring journals about 1880 seems to coincide with similar developments in other technical fields. Twelve American tailoring trade journals were identified in this period. Giles (1887) commented on the increase in circulation of

journals in Britain and on the "expansion of our periodical literature in the last quarter century" (p.181).

The three periods of development of the pattern drafting systems studied help to identify steps in the evolution of these systems. The selection of these particular dates to set the parameters of the periods is supported by the quantified data.

Descriptive Statistics

Characteristics of the population of pattern drafting systems examined were determined by analyzing the answers to the basic bibliographic questions.

Year of Publication: The earliest system studied (Queen and Lapsley, 1859) was published in Philadelphia. (Giles, p.79, states that this system was plagiarized from the Society of Adepts British publication of 1796.) The latest systems studied were American publications of 1920 (Mitchell, Strieff). There were 19 systems published before 1850, 26 systems from 1850 to 1879, and 56 systems from 1880 to 1920. One system was undated.

Country of Publication: American publications made up 87.5% (91 systems) of the population. British publications accounted for 10.6% (11 systems) of the pattern drafting systems studied. (The number of British systems studied was limited by the fact that systems had to be obtained through inter-library loan or viewed in the library in which they were held. The research project did not include funding for travel to Britain.) This disparity in numbers severely limited the researcher's ability to draw conclusions about similarities and differences between American and British systems. In a comparison of numbers of British and American systems throughout the study period, the British systems remained at about 10% of each group so limited comparisons are valid.

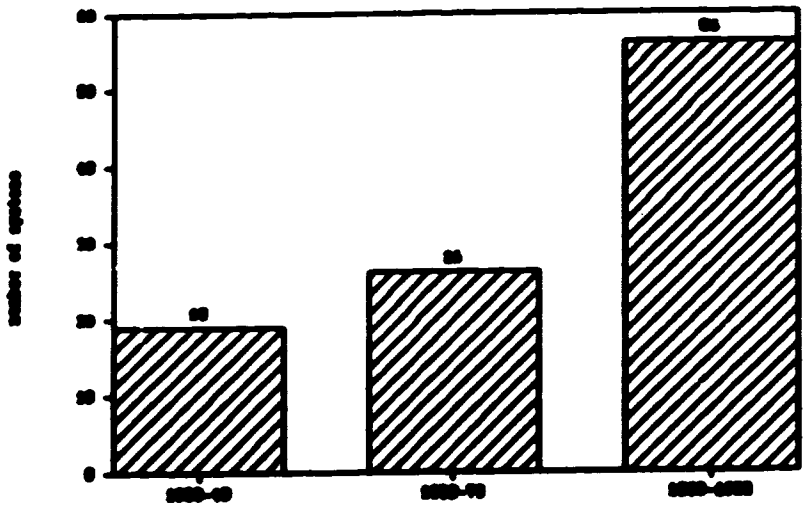

Figure 1 Pattern Drafting Systems:
Year of Publication. n = 101.

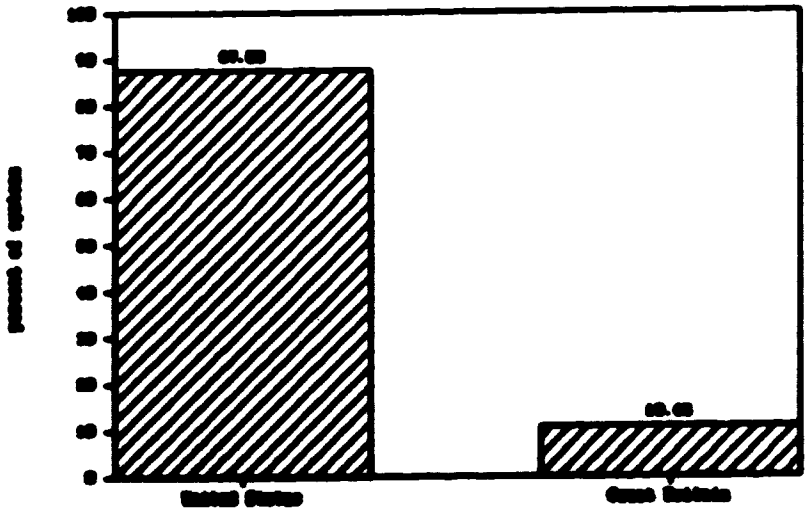

Figure 2 Pattern Drafting Systems:
Country of Publication. n = 102.

Sex of author: Male authors wrote 92.2% of the systems studied. One per cent (one author) was female. It was not possible to determine the sex of 6.9% of the authors from bibliographic information.

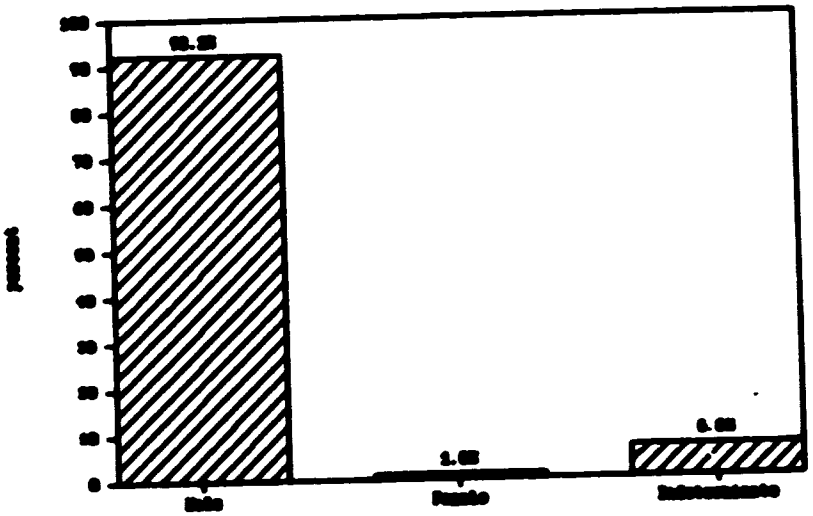

Figure 3 Pattern Drafting Systems:
Sex of Author. n = 102.

Intended User: Only 2% of the systems studied were directed to home sewers. The general public was identified as the intended users of 3.9% of the pattern drafting systems. The rest of the systems were directed to tailors and cutters. This finding confirmed that most pattern drafting systems were technical documents, used by practitioners within the trade.

From the population of 102, a sample of 33 drafting systems was drawn and the instructions were tested by producing a one-quarter scale draft with each system. Questions were asked about how the systems dealt with variations from the "normal" posture and build of client. The following results were obtained:

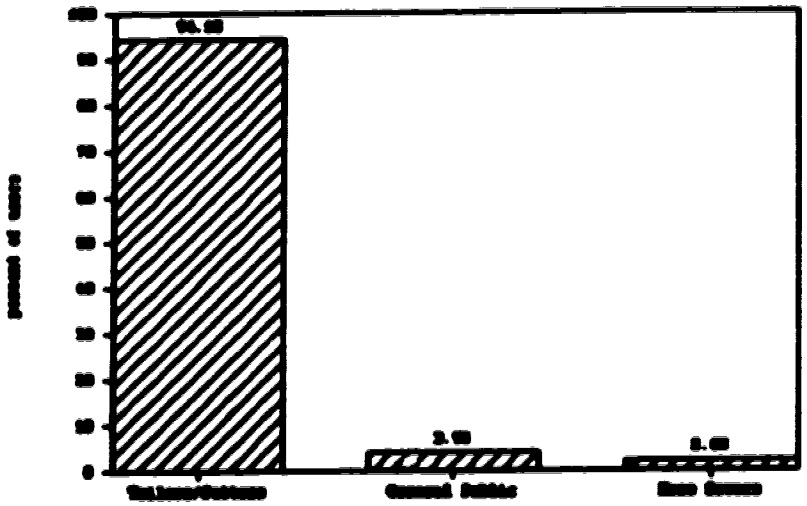

Figure 4 Pattern Doubling Systems:
Intended Users. n = 102.

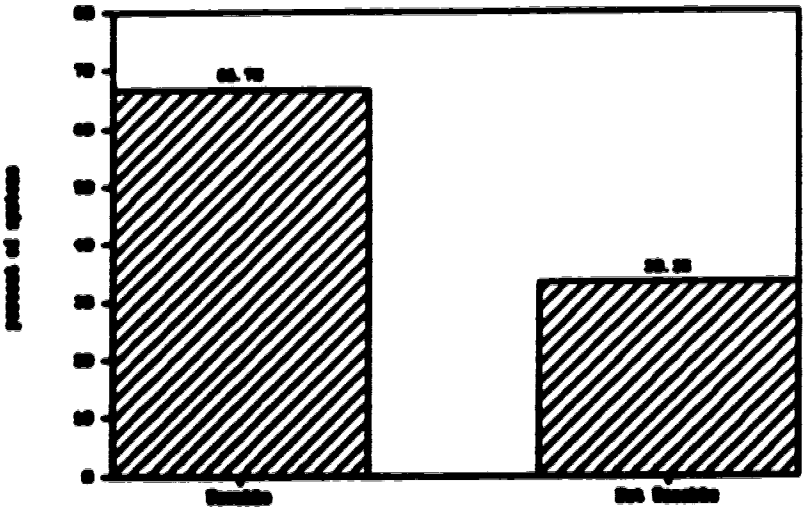

Figure 5 Pattern Doubling Systems:
Unusable Systems. n = 33.

Unusable systems: Two-thirds of the systems tested (66.7%) worked, 33.3% did not. "Workability" was defined as a system which would spell out the position of the neck point, armeye, neckline, and width of front chest of a jacket and the waistline, seatline and rise of trousers. The bulk of the unworkable systems came from the earlier decades of the study period. Results may indicate that the right question was not asked of these earlier systems. These systems tended to rely on the tacit knowledge of the user, and the researcher was not trained in the methods of the pre-industrial era. So whether or not a system "worked" would likely have better been replaced by the question: "Is there enough information in this system to make it useful to the cutter of reproduction costumes today?" Systems from the middle segment of the study tended to be quite confusing, as authors struggled to write a series of rules for determining each point in the draft. Occasionally, the drawings of the systems featured more points than were included in the written instructions (Glencross, 1873).

System of Measurement Used: Drafting system authors in 29% of the cases used proportions of some body measurement to determine some pattern dimensions. No proportions were calculated in the 54.8% of systems which used natural body measurements. Sixteen percent used a combination of both proportion and natural measurement to determine pattern dimensions.

If Proportion was Used: Of the pattern drafting systems using proportions to determine pattern shapes, 6.7% used a proportion of the shoulder, 33.3% the chest, 3.3% the seat, and 6.7% some other or many body measurements.

Comparison of British and American Systems: Although the sample of British drafting systems was too small to draw definite conclusions about differences between American and British systems, some interesting trends were observed. All of the British systems

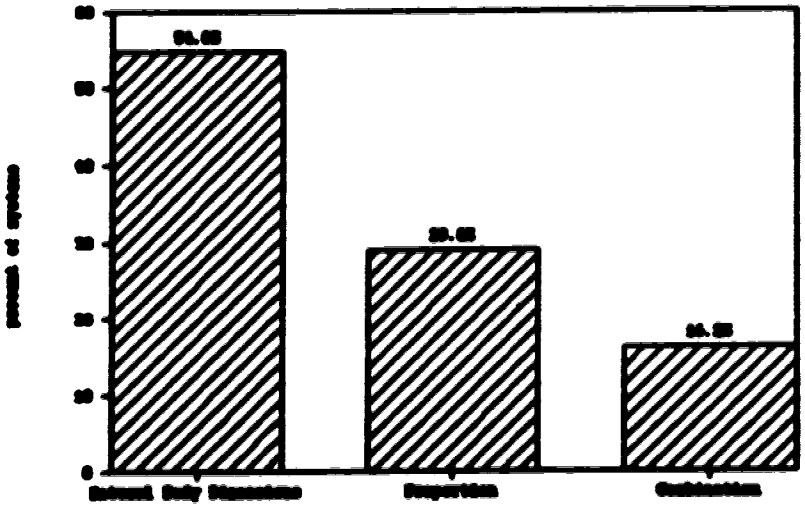

Figure 6 Pattern Drafting Systems:
Types of Measurements. n = 31.

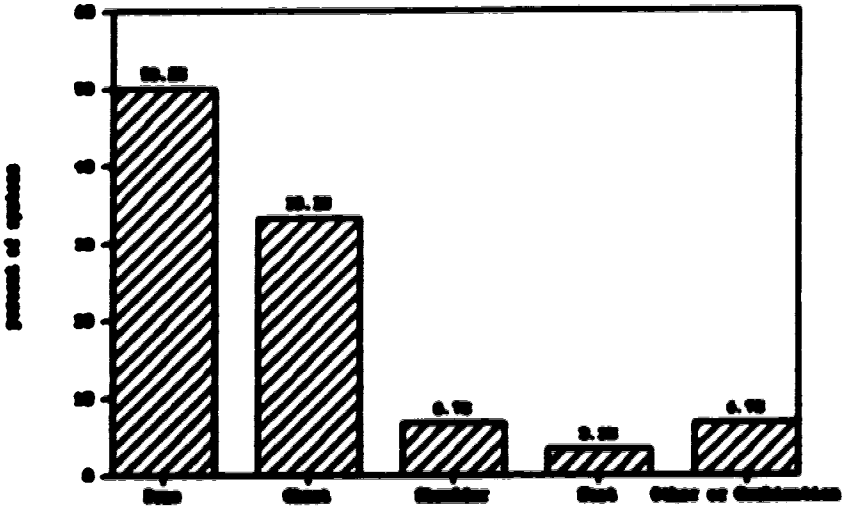

Figure 7 Pattern Drafting Systems
Types of Proportions. n = 30.

studied contained at least a mention of the corpulent client. Only 68% of the American systems did. Was the corpulent client a more persistent body type in the "old world" with its sizable affluent class? Was the tailor of the new world less skilled? Perhaps peculiar figures could not be readily analyzed by the American tailor, so solutions were not articulated. Or was the typical new world man a more active client with different fitting problems for the tailor? Chabot (1829), published in Baltimore, stated "happily there are but few men of this [corpulent] make..." (p.ix), but he reported the large boasted, sinewy, portly and chunky client as one of the proportionate classes of men.

More of the British systems studied were concerned with the assessment of posture. Ninety-one percent of the British, as compared to 65.9% of the American drafting systems gave some method by which to account for the client's posture when drafting garments. A trend in differences in the method of posture assessment is also obvious. American systems are equally divided between use of measurement or use of the practiced eye for determining posture (30.7% measured, 30.7% subjective, 3.3% both, and 35.2% no method.) However, British systems tended to rely on "rock of eye" (54.5% subjective, 27.2% measured, 9.1% both, 9.1% no method). British authors seemed more content with the subjective assessment of the "artistic tailor". Over one-third of the American authors made no mention of the posture of clients.

Discussion of the Evolution of Pattern Drafting Systems

The Pre-Industrial Period 1589 - 1862

The systems published during the first time period were more sophisticated than the "first" published pattern drafting system (Alonge, 1589). The Spanish monograph provided only layouts for cutting the expensive fabrics fashionable at that time. No method was given for determining the shapes of pattern pieces. Early nineteenth century publications

were considered pattern drafting systems because they tried to explain how to draw the shapes of garment pieces from human measurements. However, they failed to indicate instructions in a systematic or quantified way. "...A frock coat will require an additional width to the back in that place upon the hips, between the buttons..." (Queen and Lapsley, 1809). "... And so on to the bottom for the fold and you have done" (Moxley, 1823). "On forming the back...I shall not propose anything new of my own [to Minister's draft], as any person at all acquainted with Cutting knows that the back is easily formed..." (Killey, 1821, p.4). Typical instructions put the onus on the cutter to use his professional judgement and to use the drawings of the draft, as much as the written instructions, to determine the required shapes. Why then were these systems published? One contains grading instructions (Killey, 1821). A few hope to teach persons beyond the trade to cut men's wear for their families (Jones, 1822; Wrightman, 1823) - a requirement for some frontier communities. Some systems made the intended user aware of the use of proportion in cutting. They do reflect changes within the trade: the growing economic changes that forced the craftsman to become more of an entrepreneur and the decline of the traditional apprenticeship system.

Drafting methods, seemingly characteristic of the time were revealed in the written directions of the drafting systems. Most early systems drafted the back onto cloth, then cut it out and used it to establish key points on the garment front, such as the neck point, the shoulder length and angle, the front neckline and side seamline. Many of the curved contours of the garment pieces were formed by the use of a compass or string. Wyatt (1838) and Elsner (1846) used the compass to form most contours. The compass was also used as a pair of callipers to transfer a drafted length from one part of the pattern to another. During the pre-industrial period, most (84.2%) of the systems drafted directly onto cloth.

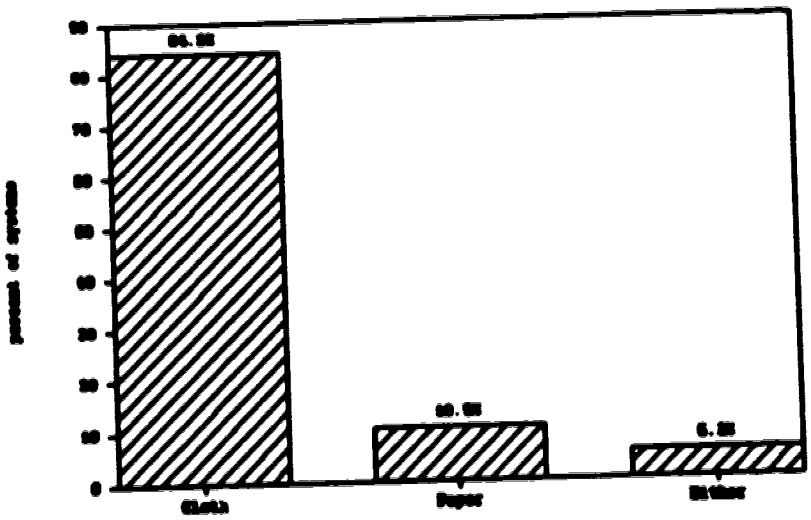

Figure 8 Pattern Drafting Systems: Pre-Industrial Drafting Media. n = 19.

Most of the systems (68.9%) were directed to the custom tailor. Other intended readers of the drafting systems included cutters (5%), merchant tailors, home sewers and the general public (21.1%), unknown (5%).

As simple as these first systems seem, at least one system articulated most fundamental (yet most complex) concept of garment construction and that is the balance point. Queen and Lapsley (1809) state: " the shoulder point [neck point] rules the draft". (The neck point is the location of the natural shoulder line as it intersects the natural neckline.) The neck point relates to the construction of the coat front, and the balance of the entire garment on the body (front and back). Its placement determines the success of the finished coat as an elegant, fitted garment.

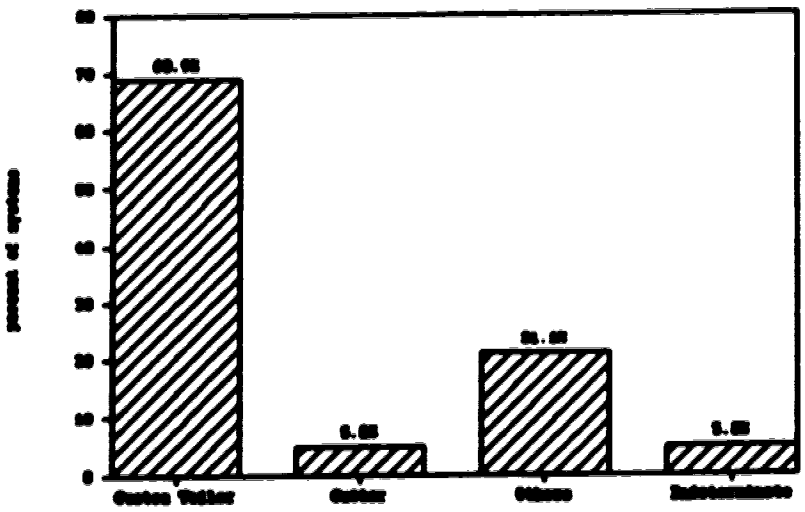

Figure 9 Pattern Drafting Systems: Pre-Industrial Intended Users. n = 19.

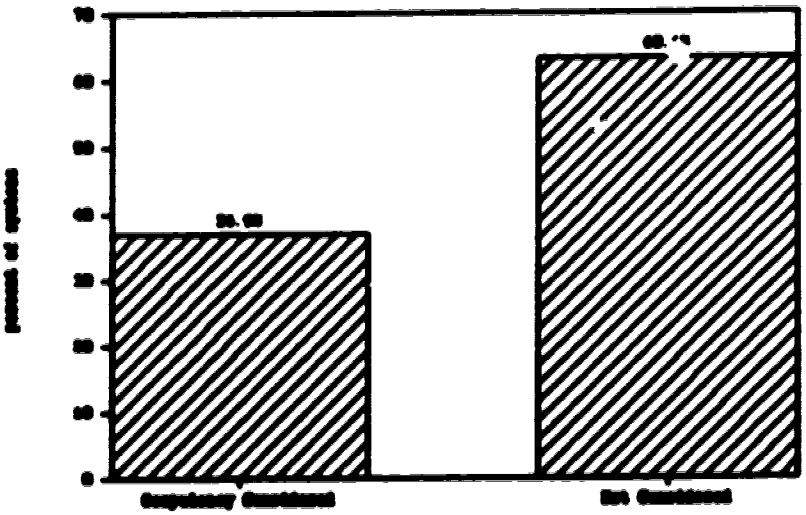

Figure 10 Pattern Drafting Systems: Pre-Industrial Compulsory Fitting. n = 19.

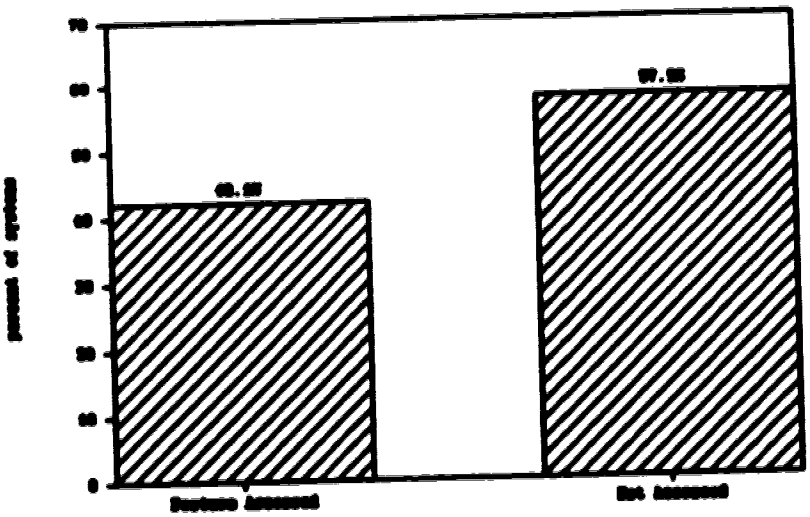

Figure 11 Pattern Drafting Systems: Pre-Industrial Postural Assessment. n = 19.

The authors of the systems articulated less fitting theory than their modern counterparts. Nearly two-thirds (63.1%) gave no mention of the corpulent client. More than half (57.9%) of the systems had no suggested method of assessing clients' posture. This finding may not be representative of contemporary knowledge and skill. The recurring theme of fitting as the art within tailoring is evident in the range of written publications of the trade between 1800 and 1920. Articulating the tacit knowledge and describing the steps followed by a skilled draftsman/tailor were difficulties faced by the early writer of technical works for wide circulation. Of the early authors who considered the posture of the client, most (75%) favoured subjective assessment over some quantified measurement of posture.

Some authors marketed a set of scales to use in drafting, which eliminated the need to do the simple arithmetic required by all drafting systems. Mahon (1839, 1854), sold in

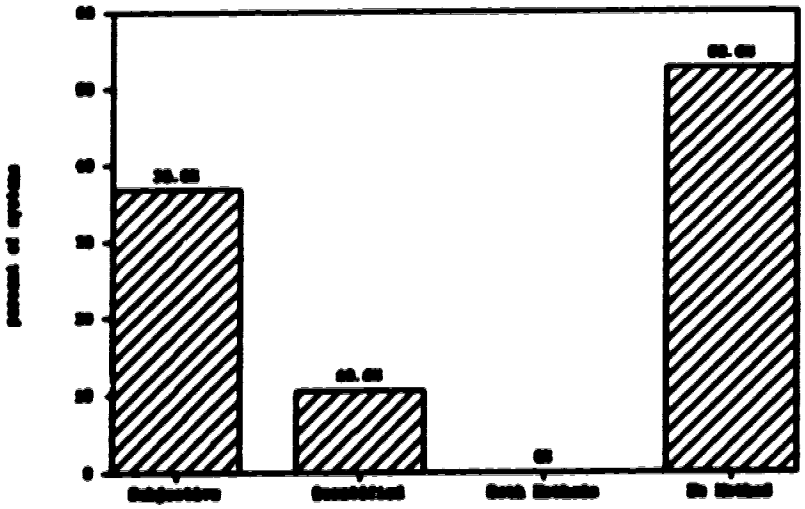

Figure 12 Pattern Drafting Systems: Pre-Industrial Postural Measurement. n = 19.

Canada and the US, offered a set of 58 scales for use in a holder, with his system. Indeed many of these systems incorporated the use of scales. Hull (1844) used but one scale to determine the armscye for the entire range of male sizes and shapes, thereby rendering his system useless.

Towards the end of the pre-industrial period, some drafting systems were published in conjunction with style plates, (eg. Mahon, 1839; Scott's Mirror of Fashion, 1849). The Mirror of Fashion included some news and theatre reviews as well as diagrams, drafting instructions and advertisements for tailors' supplies, suggesting it was to be read by tailors, not their clients. These publications may indicate that change in fashion was being disseminated by the tailor. This development took place after the introduction of the first American trade journals about 1830 (Williams, 1895).

The Transitional Period 1850 to 1879

The second group of systems was written for a changing audience. The term "cutter" emerged as 30.8% of the systems were directed to this specialist. Technical instructions were more clearly laid out in a point by point way, but printing technology didn't favour the reader. There were typographical errors, instructions were set in paragraph form, and some seemed to be missing crucial points from the instructions. Taylor (1863) showed evidence of both the pre-industrial and the modern approaches, tracing around the standing customer, creating a longitudinal grid across the drawing, then forming pattern pieces based on the life-sized outline. This system did not qualify as a drafting system because it did not give a written method for accommodating three dimensional forms in two dimensional patterns. It used the drawing skills of the pre-industrial tailor and anticipated the rational, modern grid method for constructing patterns.

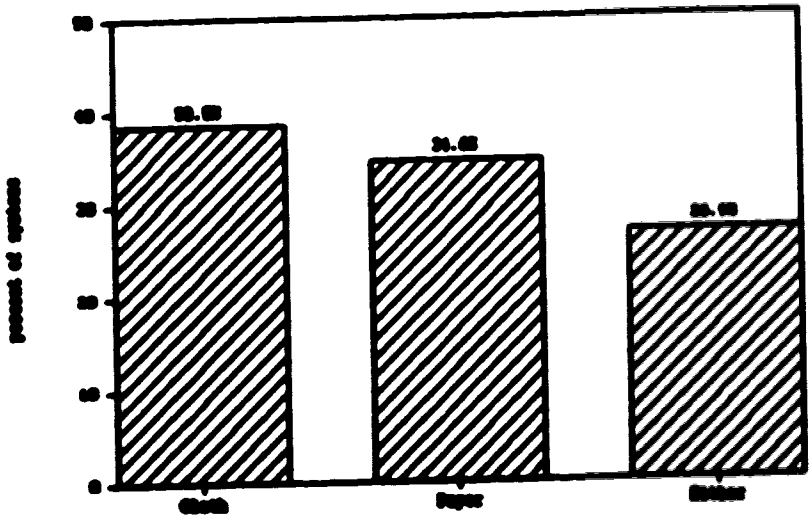

Figure 13 Pattern Drafting Systems: Transitional Period Drafting Media. n = 26.

The acceptable drafting medium was not clear cut in the transitional period. Drafting onto cloth was favoured by 38.5% of authors. Drafting onto paper was suggested in 34.6% of the systems studied. Either (or both) methods were used in 26.9% of the pattern drafting systems.

The intended user of the systems was still predominately small shop owners: 57.6% were directed at either the custom tailor, the merchant tailor or both. The cutter accounted for 30.8% of the intended users, while 7.7% of the systems did not have an audience discernable to the researcher.

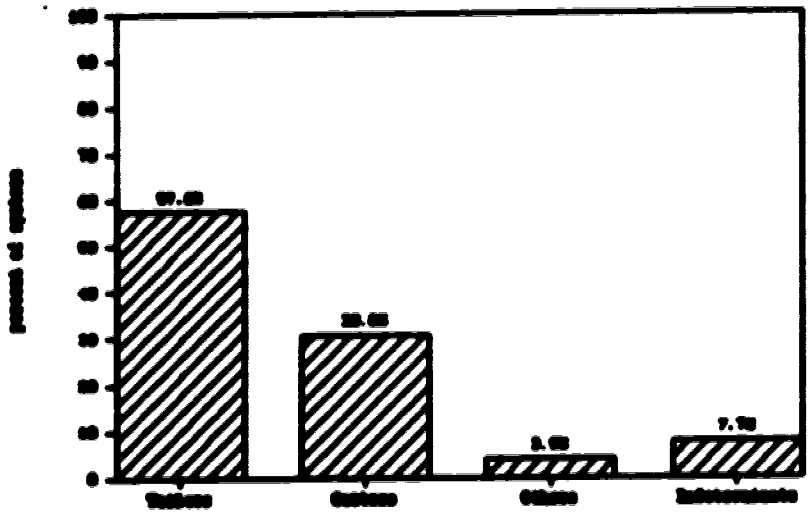

Figure 14 Pattern Drafting Systems: Transitional Period Intended Users. n = 26.

Compulsory fitting had become more important: 61.5% of the systems addressed this problem. Assessing the client's posture was a feature of 65.3% of the systems. Of the systems that assessed posture, half determined posture subjectively, half objectively, using body measurements.

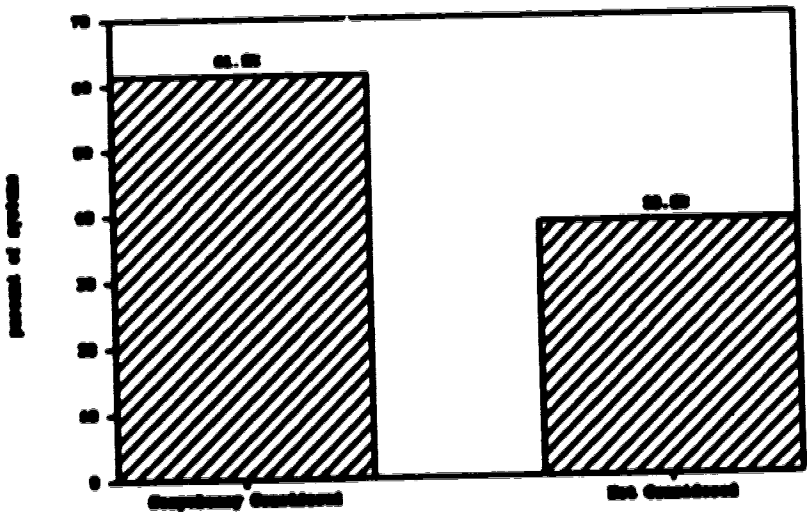

Figure 15 Pattern Doubling Systems: Transitional Period Competency Fitting. n = 26.

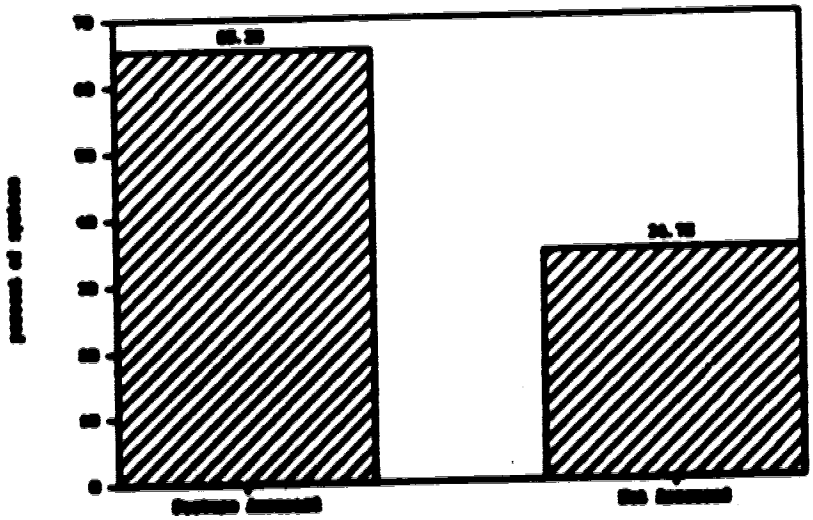

Figure 16 Pattern Doubling Systems: Transitional Period Postural Assessment. n = 26.

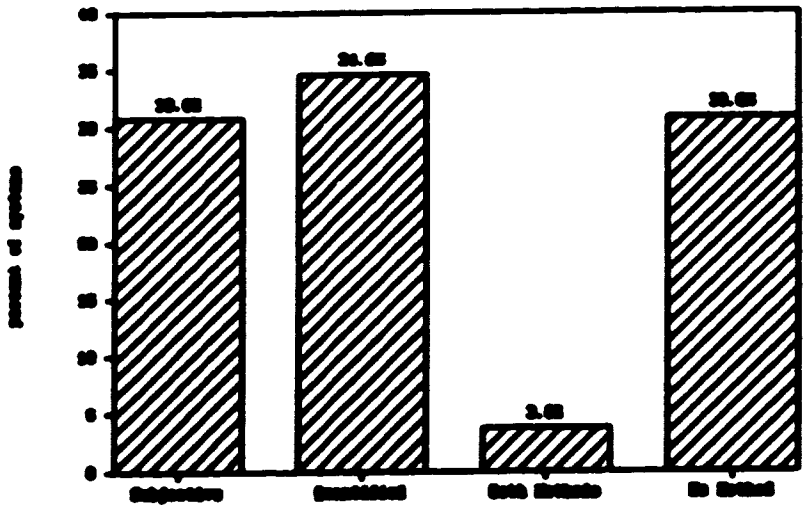

Figure 17 Pattern Drafting Systems: Transitional Period Postural Measurement. n = 26.

The Modern Period 1880 to 1920

From about 1880 until 1920, systems became more rational in their layout and easier for the seamstress to use. Directions were printed in point form. Most of the systems tried to consider the posture of the customer and suggested either measurements or observation to incorporate these personal characteristics into the draft. The drafts of front and back were based on the same proportionate intitudes of waist length, full garment length, etc. and longitudes of neck width, armhole width, etc. that formed a stable grid upon which the cutter established the pattern pieces. Contemporary journals included articles on the relationship of sleeve cap to armeye, showing the same interest in establishing graphic and accurate relationships between related garment components.

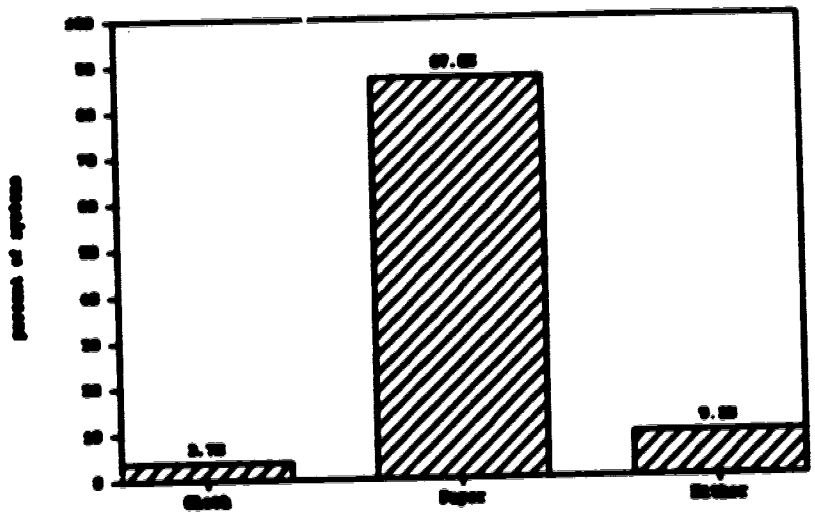

Figure 18 Pattern Drafting Systems: Modern Drafting Media. n = 56.

By the modern period, the technique of drafting had changed dramatically. Paper was the medium chosen by 87% of the systems' authors. Only 3.7% drafted onto cloth, and 9.3% used either method.

The cutter had become the most important user of pattern drafting systems: 62.5% were intended for use by cutters. Only 30.4% were aimed at the shop owner, 1.8% were directed to the home sewer and 4.4% were of indeterminate audience.

Fitting the corpulent client had become an important issue in the trade: 87.5% of the systems at least mentioned him. The stereotype of the late nineteenth century industrialist is of a gentleman of the portly "distinguished Of the systems studied, 78.5% offered theories of postural assessment, indicating that creating fit was considered a requirement for most tailors.

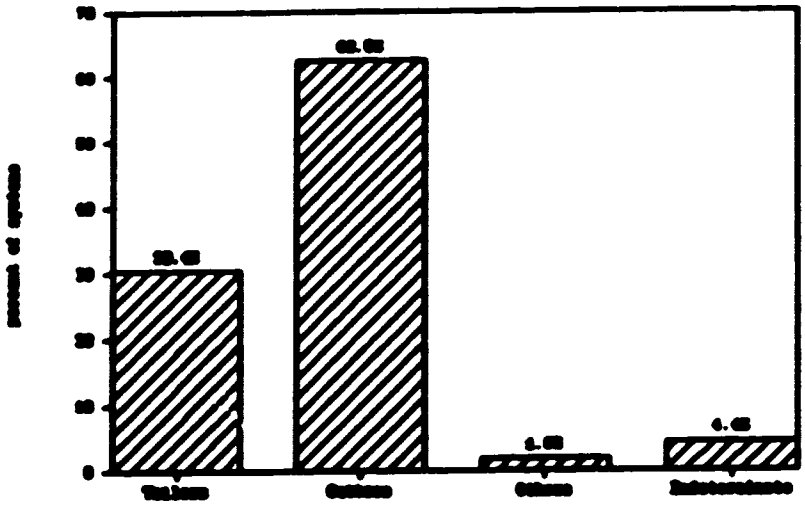

Figure 19 Pattern Doubling Systems: Modern Intended Users. n = 56.

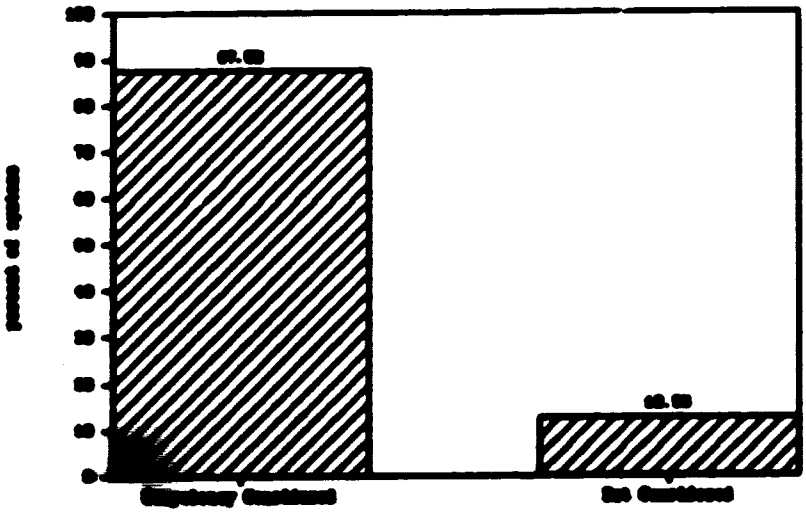

Figure 20 Pattern Doubling Systems: Modern Compulsory Fitting. n = 56.

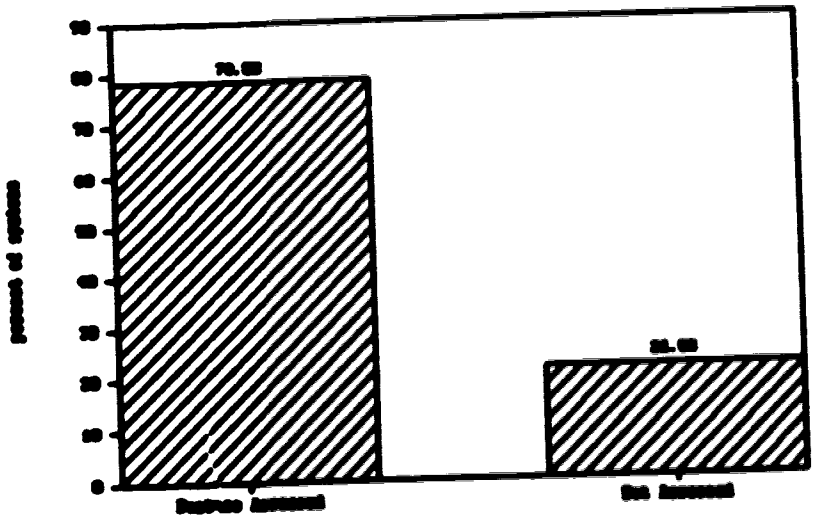

Figure 21 Pattern Drafting Systems: Modern Postural Assessment. n = 56.

Measuring methods did not become more quantified than in the previous period. Measurement of posture was prescribed by 35.7% of the authors. Of the systems studied, 33.9% used what the British tailors call "rock of eye". No method for determining posture was included in 26.7% of the systems.

From 1880 to 1920, drafting systems were often published by the same corporations that ran drafting schools and published the trade journals. Their intended use in schools might have improved the clarity of instruction and the layout of directions. The Jno. J. Mitchell Co., New York, published The American Fashion Review, The Successful Art Journal, and The American Tailor and Cutter between the years 1874 and 1920. They offered courses in pattern drafting for tailors at the Mitchell School of Cutting. The Robert Phillips Co., Chicago, published the Custom Cutter and Fashion Review from 1890 to 1897

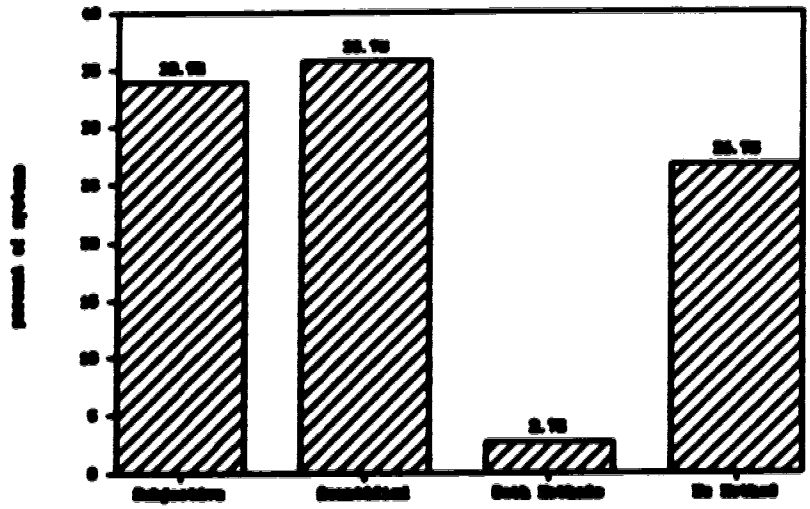

Figure 22 Pattern Drafting Systems: Modern Postural Measurement. n = 56.

and offered courses through the Custom Cutter School of Cutting. This journal often referred to graduates of their program who came from Canadian centres. The West Publishing Company of New York, published the Journal of Fashion and Tailoring beginning in 1897 until merging with the Herald of Fashion Company in 1905 to publish The Herald of Fashion and Journal of Tailoring for another two years. West distributed the Keystone Systems for instruction in pattern drafting. The Chas. J. Stone Co. of Chicago ran the Charles J. Stone Co. Tailors' Cutting School using Stone's Superlative Systems. He published the Practical Tailor and Cutter between 1893 and 1901. The American Fashion Company published the Custom Cutters Exchange and American Gentleman from 1901 until 1920. They ran the American Fashion Company Schools of Cutting and Designing in New York City. The Greenberg Tailorial Co. of Chicago and New York published

Advanced Fashions and Custom Cutter, both trade journals, between 1905 and 1910. The Blue Book of Man's Tailoring, (Croonborg, 1907) is still a standard work of men's-wear cutting. The New York Cutting School was run by A.D. Rude, publisher of Modern Fashions c.1905. Mr. Rude's journal was directed to American and Canadian tailors.

Generally, drafting systems showed modifications that mirrored the changes felt within the trade, both economically and technically. Drafting systems were increasingly directed to the cutter of patterns, and less to the small shop owner - either the master or merchant tailor. Authors developed drafting scales that made the arithmetic component of the systems easier for an increasing number of practitioners to use. The way in which patterns were made changed from drawing directly onto the cloth, the draftsmen responsible for the spatial relationship between the garment components, to a method by which paper patterns were first accurately produced before being traced onto the cloth. The tailors' tacit knowledge of posture and other fitting problems became better articulated until it was incorporated within the instructions of most drafting systems.

Technical Issues

Technical issues were defined as "problems addressed by the tailor in executing his craft". They were limited broadly to issues of cut, construction and fit. Sources of this information were American trade publications directed to tailors, pattern drafting systems, proceedings of the International Custom Cutters' Association of America (annual meetings held by cutters to exchange craft-related information) and British and American instructional manuals. The sources were studied according to their availability at the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, through inter-library loan and Parks Canada, Ottawa. Time restrictions placed upon the researcher also limited the study. Records were kept of the content of appropriate articles.

Fewer references to technical issues were found than the researcher expected. A more representative survey of technical materials might be conducted by using a content analysis of a series of technical journals to determine the proportion of articles devoted to areas under study. But even an improved system of data collection would be drawing mainly from sources published after 1870. Most of the references surveyed were directed to cutters. The complete series of both the journal Custom Cutter and Fashion Review and the proceedings of the International Custom Cutters' Association of America annual conferences were examined. Other more generally directed tailors' journals were studied on the basis of their availability and the researcher's time limitations. The results are therefore skewed in the direction of cutters. However, the case may be made that cutters were the only skilled craft left intact after the advent of the sewing machine and the sectional system of garment assembly. Their printed material is the most technical. The journals directed to merchant tailors tended to turn from technical and styling information towards sales strategies as their market share was reduced about the turn of the century. A

cursory analysis of the table of contents of American Gentleman between 1915 and 1920 showed how the field broadened to improve the merchant tailor's chance of economic survival. The journal changed from being geared to the dissemination of fashion and trade news to offering tips on conducting a more profitable business.

The earliest references to issues of cut (drafting) came from the pattern drafting systems studied. (See previous section.) Early systems recognized the existence of the corpulent client and the postural differences amongst the clients of custom tailors. Compaing (1857) included detailed diagrams of the wide range of human defects and the corrections required to the basic garment draft. The existence of this drafting system indicates that the knowledge of human postural defects was well-developed among tailors, if not well-articulated by most writers at this early stage.

American Sources

The earliest trade journal extant is Mirror of Fashion. Occasional numbers from the 1840s, 50s, 70s and 80s were found at the Library of Congress. Articles considered questions peculiar to the time such as the problem of measuring a client over his heavily "wadded" coat of the 1840s (Mirror of Fashion, 2.(1),10). A shoulder measure system was explained (Mirror of Fashion, 11.(5),35). Drafting instructions for fashionable garments for the summer of 1850 were reported - a summer sack coat and plaited pantaloons (Mirror of Fashion, 12.(5),34). This journal was published sporadically during the latter half of the nineteenth century. In the 1880-81 Fall and Winter number, an article on the cutter's role in fashion indicated some changes that had taken place within the trade. The author stated that readers were tired of long-winded technical articles without much content (pp.4-5). The author's point was that cutters spent too little time developing their artistic side and selling those skills to the client. The tailor should be applying his trained eye to the dress

choices of his clients. The tailor should not merely cut what has been ordered by a client who may lack knowledge of flattering proportion.

The Tailors' Intelligencer was published between 1870 and 1872 in Battle Creek, MI and is held by the Library of Congress. It was the most exclusively technical of the tailors' trade journals studied. Content of the journal was limited to technical articles such as contributors' drafting systems, the publishers' drafting systems, instruction on the correct use of the sewing machine in garment assembly (The Tailors' Intelligencer, 1,(6),31), fit of trousers for corpulent and bowed or knock-kneed postures, the correct amount of wadding for use in square-shouldered garments and the use of actual measures versus the use of scales or divisional systems. Occasional columns commented briefly on the fashionable fabrics and styles of the day. A column entitled "Terms defined" (The Tailors' Intelligencer, 1,(8),47) included six geometric terms, indicating a mathematical attitude to the development of pattern drafting systems. The Tailors' Intelligencer is a good source of pattern drafting directions for a variety of contemporary men's wear and minute detail about garment assembly processes and materials used in the custom construction of tailored garments.

As the study period progressed, the amount of printed material for tailors to consider increased dramatically. The increase in publication of trade journals from the 1880s on created a wider diversity of journals and a greater number of them for tailors to read and to contribute to. Technical articles were found in such American publications as The Herald of Fashion, Custom Cutter and Fashion Review, Journal of Fashion and Tailoring, American Tailor and Cutter, and American Gentleman located at the Library of Congress. Subjects ranged from drafting patterns, pattern layouts on fabric, cost and trouser construction, alterations to garments and ladies' garment cutting.

Journals and associations of tailors ran technical competitions. During 1894, The Custom Cutter and Fashion Review ran a section called "Close lays". Contributors offered sketches of the economical layouts of coats or suits. The width of fabric and size of pattern was specified. The series created interest and controversy among the readers. Both local and international cutters' clubs held exhibitions of garments at their conventions. Merchant tailoring firms or individual cutters entered examples of fashionable or novelty garments. Some photographs remain indicating the high level of craftsmanship on exhibit (for example, Journal of Fashion and Tailoring 6.(11),213). Some exhibitions were judged and prizes were awarded. (Some of the winners used the awards in subsequent advertising for their firms.) Other displays were for the admiration of the public and other tailors, a celebration of the artistic nature of the trade. Journals included written descriptions of the garments displayed, another source of detailed styling information for the costume historian (for example, The Herald of Fashion and Journal of Tailoring, 2.(3),11-14). Exhibitions and competitions within the cutters' realm are more evidence of a lively craft within the trade.

Block patterns, which had been produced since the 1870s (advertised in The Tailors' Intelligencer, 2.(3),48), were denounced as having a negative effect on the cutters' wages as well as stunting intellectual growth (Custom Cutter and Fashion Review, 8.(9),11-12). The relationship between posture and drafting was discussed in an 1892 article in Custom Cutter and Fashion Review (3.(5),120-2). The 1917 meetings of the International Custom Cutters' Association of America included a paper on "Attitude [posture] and manipulation" (Proceedings of the 37th Annual Convention of the International Custom Cutters' of America, pp.115-22). A later article noted that World War I had created a bank of 100,000 men's measurements that could be used to develop more accurate ready to

wear sizes (American Gentleman, 20.(9),18).

Sleeves were a popular sub-topic of drafting. Attention seemed to focus on using the drafted front and back grid as the basis for the sleeve draft (Proceedings of the 37th Annual Convention of the International Custom Cutters' Association of America,pp.104-7). It was recognised that different postural types required different sleeve drafts to accommodate the harmony between sleeve and garment with the high standard of conformity required of all dress men's wear (Custom Cutter and Fashion Review, 3.(9), 120-2 & Proceedings of the 34th Annual Convention of the International Custom Cutters' Association of America, pp.115-8).

Ladies' garment cutting by men's tailors was the subject of an 1894 series in the Custom Cutter and Fashion Review (5.(6),150-2 & (7),172-3).

Coat drafting articles were concerned with waist suppression in sack and frock coats. (Waist suppression represents the amount of difference in circumference between the garment's chest and waist and upon which seams this transition is accomplished.) The "crooked shoulder" was a continuing problem throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Early tailored coats often fell prey to a rip occurring in the coat front chest area, beginning at the lower armscye. By 1917, tailors had learned to correctly articulate the remedy. The angle of the armscye (whether slanted towards the back of the garment, or considerably straighter) determined the fit of the armhole of the garment. Fit could be modified by "straightening" the armhole contour and adjusting the amount of drawing in or stretching on various points of the armhole according to the client's posture.

Trouser drafting articles focused repeatedly on how far the centre front should advance for the corpulent client. Postural types and their accurate measurements, as well as articles about bow-legged posture were of concern in the expert fitting of the custom

tailors' clients.

Between 1915 and 1920, the American Gentleman ran articles on "The present day dance craze as a trade stimulant" ("tango tailoring") (15.(1),17); ladies' tailoring as a part of the merchant tailor's business (15.(11),3); practical law for the business man (15.(10),3); improving signage, displays and business cards (20.(1); and salesmanship and profitable sidelines for merchant tailors (20.(5),5-15). The 1915 volume of American Gentleman included numerous articles and advertisements for dry cleaning systems. The journal imparted less technical information, relying on being useful as a fashion periodical and dispensing business information.

British Sources

Proceedings of the 37th Annual Convention of the International Custom Cutters' Association of America, included an article "English and American cutters' societies: A study of differences and similarities" (pp.99-104). The author found British societies to be more concerned with their practical (benevolent) functions as societies than American "clubs". He included the program of lectures and discussions for one London trade society during the 1916-17 season. Lectures were given by prominent authors of men's wear pattern drafting journals and systems. They covered styling (liveries, sporting, hunting and overcoats - "no sack coats" noted the Americans), disproportion, raglan construction, history of tailoring and "problems of the cutting room". Excepting the cultural differences regarding fashion, the practice of lectures by experts on technical issues within the trade seems similar to the North American situation.

Holding (1892) found that in Great Britain over a period of fifteen years, the chest circumference increased by 20% and the waist circumference by 40%. He recorded no

increases in height in his study among the gentry, professionals and "better class" of farmers. He used his data to produce a pattern drafting system called Cutting for stout men.

Sladdin (1896) published a monograph promoting his ready made shoulder pads and coat front canvas interfacings (hymos). Most British tailors used wadding (layers of cotton or kapok) to add shape to the shoulders and chests of garments. They considered the production of these components of the structured garment a part of the sculptural art of tailoring and were reluctant to change to the American system of pre-made padding and stiffening. Sladdin produced eight sizes and shapes of woolen shoulder pads, and a cheaper version for use in ready to wear production. His horsehair and canvas hymos were more porous and therefore more comfortable than wadding. (He also marketed sateen-covered hair cloth bust improvers for ladies.)

Holding (1905) advocated the use of block patterns for creating any style fashionable. He also illustrated the use of block patterns for cutting garments for a large variety of physical defects including postural defects and a "coat to hide thinness".

In general, written material about technical issues tended to be about the more theoretical issues of cut and fit. Earlier journals devoted more content to construction practices. Later practical tailoring work had become more subdivided and there was less discussion of assembly methods amongst craftsmen. As a result, sectional system workers were less likely to be well-rounded and curious members of craft associations. Cutters, however, continued to discuss and refine their systems in order to achieve the perfect fit for the infinite variety of human shapes. Their skill at producing patterns remained an intact craft in the rapidly industrialising tailoring trade.

Workshop Practices

Data for this portion of the study were obtained from a variety of sources. Instructional manuals, directed to the young apprentice, or sections of pattern drafting systems, similarly directed, made up most of the information available. Articles in trade periodicals reviewing contemporary procedures made up another valuable source. The newspaper of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, The Tailor, reprinted an old bill of prices and reported on contemporary bills and agreements. More unusual sources of information were the record of an American trial against journeymen tailors and early nineteenth century official price bills of the tailors' charges for particular garments.

Pre-1830 Tailoring

The United States

Information from the early part of the study period is scanty and is drawn from the briefest of sources. Still, a sense can be given of the tailors' world at work. We know that all work was hand sewing, executed with the simplest of tools: scissors, thimble, needles and iron.

American sources provide the following information. A broadside of prices paid to journeymen tailors, (Society of Master Tailors, 1805) is held by the Library of Congress, Rare Books Division, Washington, DC. This document indicated that tailors in New York City were producing men's wear as well as youths, boys' and children's wear (outer garments). Ladies' habits, greatcoats and spencers were also within the repertoire of the early nineteenth century tradesman. Tailors charged extra for the client to try on the garment (with the extra charge supposedly to cover the cost of the necessary changes). Within the realm of men's wear, the tailors of New York were making dress coats, coatees (short dress coats), pea jackets, spencers, round jackets, greatcoats, cloaks, regimental

coats, dressing gowns, pantaloons, "sherry vallies" (Sherryvallies: Overalls made of thick velvet, buttoning up the outside leg, to protect the trousers from mud, Oxford), long and short gaiters, waistcoats, flannel vests and drawers. Extra charges were incurred for coat edges turned in, indicating that raw edge construction was typical of the day. Quilted collars were a fashionable option.

A similar document was obtained through inter-library loan, filmed from the holdings of the Kress Library, Harvard University (The Boston Association of Master Tailors, 1811). Nearly half of the brief price list pertained to military uniforms such as militia officers uniform coats, cadet coats, privates coats, and full dress navy captain coats. Civilian costume included coats, coatees, spencers, surtouts, greatcoats, cloaks, breeches, pantaloons and "cherrevallies" (plain and strapped with leather).

In 1827, the firm of Robb and Weinbrenner, Philadelphia, took twenty-seven journeymen tailors to court over a dispute concerning a fair price for the construction of a ladies' (silk and cotton) pongee riding habit. The trial was reported in a document held by the Library of Congress, Law Library, Washington, DC (Commonwealth v. John Moore and others). The tailors were charged with (among other counts) conspiring to seek a wage higher than that received by other journeymen; conspiring to injure, disturb and obstruct other tailors employed by the firm and other (scab) firms. The record of the trial reveals some shop conventions of the time period. The Robb and Weinbrenner shop employed thirty to forty journeymen of whom four to five were involved in making the coat. The journeymen expected to collect their wage on Saturday night. After a dispute about the wage to be paid for work on the ladies' riding habit (it was not a regular item on the tailors' bill), the tailor shop paid the requested rate to insure that the work would be finished, then fired the ten tailors who had protested. Seventeen others walked out in sympathy.

Although there was not a union in place at the time of the walkout, one tailor expressed the fear of being called a "dung" by his fellows (one who works for under full scale, Commonwealth v. John Moore and others, p.33). Consistent in the testimony of the journeymen was that work done on thin cloth was more difficult than that done on thick cloth. The owner of the shop had argued that his reason for paying less was that thin cloth was easier to work with. One journeyman testified that the cloth was only 18 inches wide therefore twice the seams were required to construct a garment. The journeymen were acquitted on all counts except conspiring to reemploy those who were dismissed for demanding greater than normal wages (they had refused to work unless the original ten were rehired).

To summarize the information gathered: tailors were negotiating their prices with the master tailors, tailors were making outer (protective) clothing as well as dress clothes for gentlemen, and they were the experts in the area of childrens' and ladies' heavy outer wear. Tailor shops could be quite large; some kind of "team system" was in place. Francis Mahon (publisher of a periodical of fashion plates and drafting systems beginning c. 1835) ran a large tailoring shop in Philadelphia, as he took on some of the work from the struck shop. The term "crook" was used to mean master tailor.

A bill of prices established by the journeymen tailors of Chicago in 1839 was reprinted in the April, 1901 edition of The Tailor (2.(9).1&2). Several types of garments were listed including men's coats, overcoats, pantaloons, and "chervales". No women's outerwear was listed; only boy's coats were included. Rates by the week, day and hour were also appended to the list, showing the variety of contracts for work that were acceptible to tailors of the day. The price lists were much more detailed than those of the early nineteenth century. Dress coats, for example, had thirty-six variations included within

the construction of the basic garment. Options were given such as "Wadding in skirts" (for a smooth back waistline seam or padded hips?), "Back skirt lined" (The Tailor, 2.(9),1) (dress coats of the era were not normally lined in the skirt) and "Lapels faced with velvet or other stuff over cloth" (The Tailor, 2.(9),2) indicated velvet applied over the coating fabric rather than used alone. Plain pantaloons and "chervalet" were the only nother garments on the list which probably indicated that the journeymen tailors of Chicago were primarily coat makers, and that trouser-like garments were the work of specialized workers (formerly called breeches makers). "New York wrappers" (The Tailor, 2.(9),2) (overcoats) were the most expensive garment on the bill at $6.00 each. A full lining "quilted in diamonds three inches square" added $3.00 to the cost and "Sewing on braid in figures" was $.13 per yard. Any extras not included on the price list were billed at $.25 per hour.

An encyclopedia of trades, (Hamm, 1837) described the tailor and although the value of the written material must be weighed carefully (the author relates all trades to their origins in the Bible), the illustrating wood cut of a tailor shop contains some interesting information. There are two classes of workers. The cutter and the proprietor (a master or merchant tailor) are both clad in dress coats like the customer. At the back of the shop, the two journeymen are seen working in their vests and shirt sleeves, an indication of their lower class status (as workers). The stock of fabrics on the shop shelves indicates that the tailor of this date was also the cloth merchant to his clientele.

Hamm (1837) suggested that women could train to be full tailors. Brownlee and Brownlee (1976) indicated that during the eighteenth century, work wasn't sharply defined by sex because of a labour scarcity. Women were apprenticed in a small variety of trades such as dressmaking, mantua-making and millinery. Other trades were generally learned from immediate family. A woman often assisted her husband or father in a trade, and

upon the death of her husband, a woman could gain the full master tradesman status herself. Preston (1983) documented the case of a young female apprentice, c.1833. Her research indicated that the early nineteenth century trade did accept females as journeymen tailors, although they had to pressure the master to learn all of the trade and not be relegated to the status of a domestic servant. Brownlee and Brownlee reported that the participation of women in the American economy increased slowly between 1800 and 1850 when it began to decline. Immigrant women replaced native-born women in the work force. Trade unions expanded their role from benevolent societies to bargaining units about 1850, excluding women from the union and the trade to ensure more work for men (Foner, p.86). Women as well as men may have been full time in America during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Britain

A pre-1850 instructional manual, The tailor, was written for young men considering entering the trade. Its publication pre-dates the use of sewing machines. The tailor suggested that the tailor's apprentice must be strong of body (to withstand the long days), strong of intellect so that he is a good student, "...orderly or exact, neat or tasteful..." (p.9) and have an aptitude for the trade. The anonymous author suggested (p. 13) that

> "The making of clothes seems indeed to be an employment better suited to women than to men; and, therefore, Tailors have generally been considered as a somewhat effeminate class."

Occasionally, the tailor and his apprentices visited the homes of their customers to make clothing. This practice was called "whipping the cat". It was considered enjoyable, profitable work because there was a certain amount of excitement generated by the visit of the tailor and the household treated the workers to food and drink as part of the day. The tailors were paid on a daily basis for this work.

The author suggested that tailors cannot lead or introduce fashion, but must keep abreast of technical changes such as new methods of cutting or making up of garments. Apprentices should learn to observe fashion carefully.

Some facts about the functioning of the apprenticeship system in London were revealed. A good apprenticeship took place in a large shop because the apprentice was able to learn about business as well as tailoring. There were pitfalls, however, in the potential detriment done to a young lad by having so many fellow workmen, some of whom were bound to be coarse. So a small shop had its advantages. The author offered

> "...a few words of advice to parents, on the choice of a master" (The tailor, p.20).
> "...it is the duty of the lad's parents or guardians, to see for themselves that this agreement is strictly fulfilled..." (The tailor, p.23).

The author stated that the apprentice

> "...has little to do in regard to the providing himself with either food or lodging; ...do the best he can with what is provided for him..." (The tailor, p.87).

Preliminary duties of the apprentice included: waiting upon the master or foreman; keeping the cutting room (sweeping, picking up pattern pieces and putting them, alphabetically on their proper pegs, picking up cloth pieces, threads, measuring tapes); tidying the cutting table (rolling up fabrics, placing clothing on the clothes-horse, covering with wrappers before sweeping, tidying up cutout garments); keeping the shop windows clean, "proper management of the grate, or oven" (The tailor, p.28); "dividing parcels of thread into separate skeins" (p.31); matching cloth to trimmings from stock or at the draper; brushing finished garments and delivering them to the customer.

Tools used within the shop included: measuring tape, rule or yard wand, marking chalk, shears or scissors, sleeve boards, irons (16 to 22 pounds), iron stands, iron handle holders (The tailor, pp.26-7), press cloths of wool, to cover sleeve board, (The tailor, p.30), a yard of linen for lap cloth, thimble, beeswax, hand sewing needles (The tailor, p.44).

The apprentice was taught to sew. Proper posture was sitting in "the usual cross-legged position"(The tailor, p.42); a sleeve board placed across the thighs and weighted down by irons would help the reluctant boy to achieve this position. The first sewing task was basting seams together, then sewing them. "Scratching up" the seam with a needle or finger nail concealed the stitches and then the seam was pressed. These skills would be used initially to stitch edges, pad lapels and collars. Eventually the apprentice would be able to make a garment, starting with the waistcoat, then trousers and finally the coat.

Post-1850 Tailoring

The United States

The tailors manual: or twenty years a New England tailor (1856) was obtained from the research files of the Canadian Parks Service, Ottawa. It was published in Worcester, MA and an original is held by the Boston Public Library. The book consists of accounting procedures for tailors, but also describes the recent transitions undergone by practitioners within the trade. Previously,

> "Except in large cities, the cloth trade was wholly in the hands of traders twenty years ago [1836]. They sold the cloths and trimmings, and the customer carried the goods to the tailor..." (The tailors manual, p.7). "The little diminutive tailor's shop, has changed to a Merchant Tailor's establishment. The proprietor, from a common tailor, has become a merchant, and is of some consequence and influence..." (The tailors manual, p.9).

The author warned about accurate consideration of the cost of hiring staff such as salesmen, girls (to sew garments) and pressmen (The tailors manual, pp.8-9). His example of recorded information in a "measure book" (The tailors manual, pp.12-13) included the surname of the person paid for doing the work, and may have indicated that cut out custom work was made up by individual journeymen tailors or contracted out.

Matheson (1871) offered 'Preliminary instruction in Tailoring' as an introduction to his pattern drafting system (excluded from the study due to missing measuring instrument). He discussed the problems inherent in the division of labour between cutter and journeyman tailor in American shops - that is the need for clear communication between the two. He further described the status of the craft:

> 'Tailoring, like every branch of business, is divided into several branches, such as the master tailor; the cutter or foreman tailor; and the sewing tailor. The first, or merchant tailor ...is equal...to any leading man...The cutter, or foreman tailor, is a man of refined intellect...the third-class, or sewing tailor ...makes higher wages than any other class of mechanics' (Matheson, p.45).

He suggested that cutters also 'fit up' (cut small pieces such as facings, flaps, Matheson, p.49) the work to allow for the most economical trimming of the work. Sewing silk was provided for coats made by hand or machine; linen was used for sewing on buttons. Wadding was included in the list of trimmings, indicating that pre-made shoulder padding was not in use at this time in the United States. The author recommended the pre-cutting of trimmings to standard sizes in order to save time in the cutting room.

Hertner (1892) suggested that it took a few weeks of practice for an apprentice to be able to work buttonholes of adequate quality for button fly trousers. Two more years of practice were required to make proper buttonholes for coat fronts.

Weinmder (1896) commented that the tailor must be a good salesman, businessman, good with customers, employees, cutters and salesmen. The variety of inter-personal skills that were part of the late nineteenth century American tailor's repetoire indicate that he most likely ran a large 'efficiency' system shop. Business was probably quite competitive indicated by references to employed salesmen and the admonition: 'Never go out for dinner or supper, when customers are most apt to come in to see you' (Weinmder, p.21).

Bills of prices of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America were printed in The

Tailor in March 1908 (13,(9)8-10) and August 1905 (16,(1),2-4). They were published as blank forms, to be used in developing local prices and in negotiating prices with employers. The types of fabrics used indicated the classification of the work. First class fabrics were more difficult to work with such as basket (weave), crepe, fancy vestings, velvet and others. Second class fabrics included flannel, tweeds, velveteens and others. Types of coats, overcoats, vests and trousers were listed. Extras are listed for each type of garment. Some extras were differing types of edging, seams, linings and interlinings for coats; different seams, flys, and linings for trousers; and different edges, linings and pockets for vests. Try ons were charged extra for each type of garment. The two lists were compiled two years apart. Minute changes in men's wear styles were indicated by changes in the list. Bicycle coats were listed in 1905; in 1905 they were replaced by the Norfolk jacket. Knickerbockers were found on the 1905 list (worn with the Norfolk jacket), but not on the 1908 list. "Cravenette or raincoats" were listed in 1905, but these garments were not on the 1908 list. If other price bills could be located, they would likely be of use in a study of changes in men's fashion.

A "Model agreement for section work" was published by The Tailor in July, 1912 (22,(12),29-30). It was a blank agreement for use in negotiating with local employers. The occupations listed within the agreement were coat, vest, and trouser makers, helpers, buttonhole and apprentices. The union seemed to encourage the apprenticeship system by making a job distinction between helper and apprentice, something that employers were often unwilling to do.

By September, 1916 (The Tailor, 22,(9),3) the union had succeeded in signing many member shops of local 198, Chicago to the weekly system of payment. Twenty-two job classifications were listed for these special order tailors, ranging from the cutter to edge

baster, collar maker and all around operator. The differences in positions within the factory system for custom made clothing indicated that although tasks were sub-divided, many of them remained hand sewing positions.

Doiner (1920) published a book of instructions for setting up sectional system shops of varying sizes. He outlined rules for the humane treatment of workers in a factory setting, but pointed out that monotonous tasks were more acceptable if the worker was required to put in only eight hours per day (rather than the former twelve to eighteen hours of a tailor's day). The sectional system operated with ten groups of workers executing specialized tasks. Management included a foreman and office assistant. Groups were comprised of tailors, machinists, underpressers, women (seamstresses) and pressers. The number of members of each group determined the number of coats that could be produced each day. The organization of a sectional shop demanded a thorough knowledge of the sequences of the steps in the construction of a coat and an understanding of the time required to complete each step of construction. The system offered the advantages of being able to lay off only a few staff to keep the rest busy in the slack season. Doiner included step by step instruction for the assembly of a coat.

Britain

In a chapter on the east London tailoring trade, Potter (1889) reported that independent cutters were working for both journeymen tailors and the wholesale slop trade (p. 211). She found little subdivision of work within the best bespoke shops. The sweated workers were ironically more secure due to the regularity of employment offered by the subcontractors.

Byrne (1895) wrote about the British garment making trade and lamented the decline of the apprenticeship system. He felt that small masters were taking in apprentices as a means of securing cheap help. The trade was suffering from its bad reputation for poor wages and working conditions. Contemporary wages were improved due to the government investigations and resulting legislation. He felt that the recently formed Master Tailors' Association should put into place a better apprenticeship system. Division of labour should be avoided to guarantee high quality work. He listed the qualities of a good apprentice: punctuality and cleanliness. His duties included threading needles (for the other tailors). Byrne described the cross-legged posture for sewing and pressing that was so difficult to achieve. He said that it was used by English and Egyptian tailors, but that continental and Chinese tailors preferred to sew sitting on a chair and press, standing at a table.

Byrne described the following equipment: buttonhole cutter, press cloth (cf. 1940s), ticket (attached to the cut out garment and describing the custom aspects of a particular suit for the trimmer and sewing tailor). The instructional manual included the following techniques: raw edge, built shoulders, binding edges, swelled seams (topstitched edges), velvet collar.

The training of tailors and cutters was changing even in Britain. An advertisement which listed the tables of contents of publications by the Tailor and Cutter Office (Williamson, 1879) included a manual explaining the workings and applications of the sewing machine, detailed construction manuals for ladies' riding habits, men's frock coats, dress coats, clerical and Highland garb, overcoats and waistcoats. Liveries, youths and boys wear, and military uniforms were also topics in the garment making series. The document entitled "The sewing machine" followed "Stitches used by tailors and their application" and

indicated the slow adoption of the sewing machine for fine custom work in Britain.

The Sweated Industries exhibition (Medlo-Smith, 1988/1986) was organized to increase public awareness of the conditions of workers producing many of the manufactured goods sold in Britain at the beginning of the twentieth century. The exhibition featured workshops set up and operated by the sweated workers. A guide book remains (reprinted) and describes the related trades of button-hole making and waistcoat making - both women's jobs. The button hole maker (pp.44-46) was always a girl or woman who worked on men's coats or waistcoats. Tailors could not afford to do this hand work themselves as they had to get the work done as cheaply as possible in order to complete their contracts efficiently. The waistcoat maker (pp.58-60) "does all the machining in the 'ready-made' waistcoat, and makes the buttonholes". The waistcoats took two to three hours each to produce. Bespoke waistcoats were made "mostly by hand" (p.59). The catalogue described the new training program for fourteen year olds at Borough Polytechnic, Day Trade School for Girls in England which opened in 1904. It provided a two year training program for hand made waistcoats (which paid workers four to five times as much as the machine-constructed ready to wear waistcoats). The course of study included pockets, buttonholes, all sewing, drawing (to train the eye), English, arithmetic, account keeping, industrial history and law, and literature.

Tailoring: How to make and mend trousers, vests and coats (1909) was published as part of a series on "handicrafts" edited by P.N. Hasluck. The 156 page volume purported to address the teaching of practical tailoring. The author referred to the journeyman tailor's kit which included the tailor's (open-ended) thimble, "between" type needles, clay chalk, long and short shears, beeswax, 60 inch tape measure and a four to five inch flat, bone bodkin (for turning input points?). A lengthy (50 page) section explained repairs and

relining jobs often brought to the "jobbing" tailor. Sketchy methods for drafting and constructing trousers, vests and frock and morning coats, lounge and reefer jackets are described. The textile materials used are well-defined. It does not seem that this book would have provided adequate instruction for those intending to become custom tailors. Rather it is more likely that the lengthy instruction for repairs could have been used by someone wanting to establish an alterations and repair business. The existence of this manual does offer evidence of the declining British apprenticeship system.

Systems of Organizing the Workshop

Over the study period, there were a number of different means of organizing the complex business of constructing men's wear. Constructing a man's coat, for example, involves approximately one hundred separate steps. The process is time consuming and, given a supply of labour, may be organized in several different ways. Stowell (1913) described the difference in systems as old line versus the efficiency movement.

One tailor/one suit: The first system of tailoring was typical of the early, one-person shop. This method was not used exclusively due to the amount of work involved in the hand manufacture of even one garment. Tailors often involved their family members in the simple hand finishing or "felling" of suits.

Team system: A pair or small group of tailors shared the construction of a garment or garments. In order to preserve the symmetry of the garment, the job of constructing the left and right fronts were eliminated. A third tailor might be responsible for constructing the sleeves and assembly of the garment.

Sectional system: The shop employed many tailors and their work was monitored or supervised by a foreman. The shop was divided into sections that were responsible for the construction of one element of a garment (eg. lower pockets). This shop was like the early factory or manufactory and is the basis for the division of labour prevalent in the modern garment factory.

Factory system: The use of unskilled workers to perform such minute tasks as is most efficient for the speedy production of garments.

Homework system: Contracting work out to journeymen tailors and their helpers continued in Britain due to the lack of space in central London to set up factories (Schmiechen). Workers often contributed trimmings as well as a work place and its maintainence and transportation of materials and garments.

Changes to the Practice of Tailoring

Two major changes occurred in the tailoring trade in the United States about the turn of the twentieth century: tailors began making ladies' suits (day wear rather than the heavy tailored wear they had made earlier in the century) and the travelling cutter brought new customers to the tailors' shop. The term "ladies' tailor" was introduced into the trade about 1900 (sewing for "tailor-made girls"). The Tailor, 2(4),3. The new silhouette and use of heavier fabrics for ladies' wear which developed about 1890 was a natural boost to the declining tailoring trade. Tailors did not seem to capitalize on this fashion development until the late 1890s, possibly as a result of the economic depression during the mid-1890s. Women were harder to accommodate with standard sizes, and the tailor was more adept

than the dressmaker at constructing the new, more masculine styles. Trade journals co-operated by offering monthly drafting systems for ladies' garments and cutting for the women's figure became a relevant technical issue of the day. The new client of the custom tailor brought with her a powerful lobbying community such as the Social Reform Club and the Consumers' League, both useful in New York City labour disputes within the tailoring trade.

As the custom tailoring business continued to decline in numbers due to the increasing use of ready to wear by business gentlemen, trade journals advocated the development of a travelling branch within large shops. Merchant tailors were instructed to send out a cutter who also possessed sales skills (American Gentleman, 2,(7),22). The cutter would pack up cloth samples and ship them ahead. He would travel by train to set up shop in hotel rooms, taking measurements and orders, dealing with fitting and complaints of previous customers. The orders that he placed with the main shop were mailed out to the client. Firms eventually developed such successful "country" businesses that many small town tailors were unable to compete with the prices offered by the large firms and so went out of business.

Working Conditions

> "A humble, fearing, tragic individual the tailor was always. At the mere mention of the word 'tailor' one would picture a meek little individual, slovenly and unkempt, emaciated, with little round eyes peeping through inflamed lids, bow-legged, and pigeon-chested" (Amalgamated Union, 1928, p.32).

The poor working conditions of tailors have usually been associated with sweat shops, that is home work or workshop situations where overcrowding, lack of adequate light and ventilation, heating or cooling are the norm. British data for this part of the study came from a newspaper series on the working poor The Morning Mayhew, 1849 (Yeo & Thompson, 1979), a newspaper, The Red Republican (1850) and contemporary comment, (Potter, 1896). North American data was obtained from the union newspaper The Tailor. Information sources were limited to the latter portion of the study period. Sources were not found for the early nineteenth century.

Britain

Mayhew (Yeo & Thompson, 1979) conducted his investigation of the Operative tailors of London in preparation for his research into the slop trade during 1849. Using a post office directory, he found that of the over 23,000 tailors in London, less than 12% were in business for themselves. He identified the "honourable" trade as that which made garments on the premises and the "dishonourable" trade as those who give out work to sweaters (Yeo & Thompson, p.182). Until 1834, legislation had held the hours of tailors to a maximum of twelve per day. Since the strike that weakened the position of the journeymen, "sweaters and underpaid workmen have increased" (Yeo & Thompson, p.188). Mayhew found three classes of tailors - trousers hands, coat hands and waistcoat hands. They were all working under the piece work system of payment which replaced the log of

standard prices after the 1834 strike. The piece work payment system caused a great decline in working conditions by allowing the workmen to take the garment home with him. Women and children became a major source of labour in the tailoring trade.

Casual workers in the trade could expect only two months of work in an honourable shop per year. One tailor complained about government contract work making army and police clothing. The workers were required to provide trimmings for the work thus lowering their pay. Some government work was contracted to prisoners creating unfair competition with working tailors. Tailors complained that the products of sweated labour were purchased, not by the poor but by the aristocracy. It was possible for home working tailors to have to pay to do their work. Contractors charged deposits on work taken home to complete. If a garment was delivered late, the contractor could fine the worker a sum greater than the payment for the work performed. Some contractors paid a lower amount for work that they thought that women had done. The homeworker also bore the costs of heating and lighting the space in which he worked. Workers often began to work at six in the morning and worked until eleven at night.

Mayhew also reported tailored clothing being made in unhygienic surroundings. One tailor reported working in the room of a dying tailor so that he might use the dying man's shave board and irons. The living conditions of home workers were so poor that the rooms in which they worked often had inadequate lighting, and no ventilation and little heat. These workers usually had inadequate nutrition. The crowded conditions of families living and working in one room led to the use of fabric and wadding as bedding. The damp environmental conditions in Britain provided excellent conditions for the spread of germs. Sickness could be transferred from worker to customer through the clothing. Tailors interviewed agreed that sweated work was preferable (had more benefits) than government

contract work (Yeo & Thompson, p.221).

The Red Republican (1850) set out to investigate the working conditions of men working for a particular tailoring firm in London. The anonymous author argued that the ordinary working man could not afford to buy clothing made in honourable shops. The honourable shop owner could not realise the economies of scale that the slop shop owner did when he purchased materials and trimmings. It was argued that tailors employed in the honourable section of the trade worked under very poor conditions. Their shops were in the attic or in the cellar.

> [Workers] "suffer from excessive heat in the summer, and excessive cold in the winter, surrounded by all the filth and dust which rags and wadding can produce (the cleaning of workshops is almost out of fashion)" (The tailors..., p.170).

The work was sporadic. The trade was subject to the climatic and social seasons. Master tailors were able to hire the workers of their choice, so that even during the busy season, some tailors were over-worked while others were short of work. The construction of the suit itself required waiting for the fabric and trimmings and waiting for the customer to attend fittings.

Mayhew commented that the tailoring trade had been receiving workers that were displaced by the mechanisation of other trades. Tailoring was one of the few unmechanised trades that offered a worker the chance to become an independent master. He saw the deterioration of the trade as a result of the reduction of wages (since the strike of 1834) and a surplus of hands. The rapid progress of sweating was caused by the decrease of the income of the working class and the fact that the honourable trade stuck to its high prices.

Ashtil (1896) prepared a report on the tailors and bootmakers of London for Booth's series on life and labour in London. He commented that since the publication of

the last Booth series (1889), the sweatshop methods of London's east end were making their way into the west end trade. However, government regulation of home workers was slowly influencing the improvement of shop workers conditions (Ashell, p.10).

Hours of work were generally from 8:30 a.m. to 7:30 p.m. The busy seasons were Christmas and Easter. Ashell reported that 55.5% of London clothing workers lived in crowded conditions.

The United States and Canada

The Tailor described the working conditions of the sweated trade as an inducement to union members to continue their organizing of other workers. The descriptions of crowded, unsanitary shops and incidents of workers being cheated by their contractors are even worse than the descriptions found in secondary sources.

J. McGough spent a week in a sweat shop during 1889 and prepared an article for the union newspaper, The Tailor (2,(7),5-6). She worked as a tailoress in a Chicago shop employing five or six men, twenty women and fifteen children. Men did the cutting, basting and pressing operations. Children assisted the men and finished garments. Larger girls and women operated the sewing machines. The regular work day was twelve hours long, with up to fifteen hours per day worked in the busy season. McGough reported a headache by the end of the day, as did most workers. The only heat provided in the shop was from the iron stove.

In 1890, Minneapolis held a labour day industrial exposition. The tailors' union exhibited a union shop 'fair and sanitary conditions' (The Tailor, 10(2),11) and a kitchen shop. The home worker was described as 'a miserable tailor sitting on the bench to whom the day has no beginning and no end' (The Tailor, 10(2),11). The Minneapolis local

boasted 200 members and five back shops. Their aim for the exhibit was to show the public where their clothes were made.

Travelling cards were issued as part of a tramping system in the late 1880s. Union members could transfer their membership among locals and seek work in other, more prosperous cities. The Tailor published lists of the "condition of trade" in a variety of cities, so that "tramps" would know where to look for work and which cities to avoid.

Benevolent funds - to provide death benefits and strike funds - were not a fundamental part of the North American tailors' unions. (The travelling cards seem to be the extent of benefits provided - excepting collective action such as strikes.) The suggestion of a burial fund, strike fund and insurance was made in a member's letter in March, 1889 (The Tailor, 1,17,4) and the burial fund was put into place by January, 1890 (The Tailor, 2,5,4). This is unusually late for such provision to be made (a decent burial for members was the usual first goal of most unions and the earlier benevolent societies) and is indicative of the poverty of the union.

A major labor issue of the 1880s was the eight hour day. The Journeymen Tailors' Union participated in this debate and action during the 1880s and 1890s but were seeking a ten hour day. The ten hour day was considered a big reduction for this trade and reveals that the tailors' position was well behind the advances of other craft groups. (The Ten Hours Law had been adopted by the Massachusetts Legislature in 1874, Webb, p.98). " ...No mechanics, except tailors, work over ten hours per day" was the point of a brief item in The Tailor (1,2,9) in 1887, listing the daily hours of cigar makers, brick layers and stone masons at eight and printers and carpenters at nine.

The newly formed American Federation of Labor found the eight hour issue to be an excellent rallying exercise for the membership. May 1, 1890 was to be the target date

for achieving the eight hour day for unionized workers in the United States. The Tailor documented these activities in March and April, 1889. In May, 1889, the eight hour issue was championed in a report documenting the hours of tailoring factories as "15 to 18 hours per day" (The Tailor, 1,20,1). In June, 1889 a letter from the Fort Smith local 73 related their experiences since securing the ten hour day in March, 1889.

> "...[We are] all ready to affirm that we can each and every one of us do as much work in a month as we could in the long-hour day, as none of us have failed to make our two coats or six pants each week... We are thus able to meet with our friends of other trades, feeling ourselves to be like them - men able to earn our living by a fair day's work ... " (The Tailor, 1,21,1).

By September, 1890, Samuel Gompers, in his AFL report to The Tailor stated: "In thirteen cities the members of the Journeymen Tailors' National Union [sic] have restricted their hours of labor to ten per day, and in nearly all, higher wages and improved conditions have been secured" (The Tailor, 2,(13),6).

World War I brought a boost in business for the depressed tailoring trade. But an article reprinted from the Ottawa Citizen created doubts as to whether the nature of government work had improved since the mid-nineteenth century (The Tailor, 26,(21),1). The article charged that Canadian men, women and girls were working seven days per week under the piece work system to make khaki militia uniforms.

The endless requirement for clothing and a continuing supply of immigrants, women and unemployed men conspired to perpetuate poor working conditions for tailors and their helpers.

Organizations Within the Tailoring Trade

How did tailors' associations and unions develop and respond with support for their members? Tailors have always been at the forefront of labour organization. They were

among the first trades to organize in Britain, the United States and Canada. Their strong organization had to overcome many obstacles - a labour action by tailors could be interpreted as being against the interests of other workers since clothing prices would increase as a result of victory. When unions gained strength, owners and manufacturers formed their own groups to organize against the tailors. But tailors' labour groups also must have inspired the cutters who formed their own associations, not for labour gains, but to work for mutual education and improvement in working relationships within the shop.

Labour and Benevolent Organizations

Britain

Pamuson & Prothero (1977) described the conditions that led to the collapse of the London tailors' union in 1834. During the late eighteenth century, good pay for tailors during the busy season led to the establishment of benefit clubs for payment of unemployment relief during the slow season. Journeymen were hired through "houses of call", which were neighbourhood pubs where the journeymen signed up to receive calls to work in the masters' shops. Masters would send a representative to the house of call to recruit journeymen on a daily basis. About 25 houses of call monopolized the west end London trade. They were able to exclude less skilled workers and to undercut other firms. The existence of such places where journeymen gathered led to the establishment of trade unions. Tailors' unions were forced underground as early as 1720 in Britain. They became secret, military-like organizations in order to preserve the strength of their combination against the London masters. Tailors were the strongest combination in London; it took the masters 30 years to break it.

By 1834, the west end tailors' union in London represented between 9,000 and 13,000 journeymen (Pamiment & Prothero). The police recruited a spy to infiltrate the tailors' union, a strong component of the Grand National Consolidated Trade Unions. The Grand National was a united front of trades whose goals were a reform of society to the benefit of trades workers including replacement of employers with Boards of Labour and Committees of Industry, a general bank for the working class and support of the co-op movement.

The police spy's report as reprinted by Pamiment and Prothero included little detail about the tailors' life, but did include some of the type of ritual activities common to underground organizations. The spy successfully infiltrated the tailors' union and reported the process of his initiation in front of a crowd of 1500 union brothers. He also reported the secret signs of the union in his written reports to police (Pamiment & Prothero, pp.81-5). A candidate for union membership tied his hat to the upper buttonhole of his coat with a piece of string. He and a group of similar candidates were then blind folded with handkerchiefs and led into the union hall to swear a secret oath. They knelt on the floor, left hands upon their naked breasts and right hands placed upon a leaf of the Bible. When the blind folds were removed the initiates found that the hall had been darkened. They were facing the President and Vice-president of the union who were dressed in white surplices. They faced "the perfect Skeleton of a Man" painted upon "a Black Ground Transparency" (Pamiment & Prothero, p.82) to which the President directed their attention by pointing with a sword. He explained how the tyranny of the "Governors and Masters" who employed the tailors robbed the workers of their substance. The initiates were then asked to reply to the question "What are you?" as eight union brothers held arm blades to their necks. The correct answer was 'a Taylor'.

The police spy reported that there was a "Universal sign" by which members of the tailors' union were known. The right hand thumb and finger grasped the top left side of the waistcoat and passed the hand across the body to the right thigh. If the greeted person did not respond with the same gesture begun on the opposite side of the body, he was not a member of the secret organization. Secret signs used to gain entry to the lodge were also reported: upon approaching the first sword-bearing guard at the lodge door, initiates used the "sign" and said, slowly, "A". Upon meeting the second guard, the same sign was used and "Z" was said.

Labour histories have described the period of the 1850s and 60s as a time of quiescence in the tailoring trade. But the report Capital and labour: their rights and duties: A retrospection of the Tailors' Labour Agency (1861) dispelled the notion that the trade associations were dormant. The report documented ten years of organization and success for the Tailors' Labour Agency. The primary object of the agency was fair wages: clients could afford to pay more. Well-paid workers would buy more goods themselves. The report contended that "having a large demand for made up goods [ready to wear]... [there is] no need to discharge any of our people in the slack season" (Capital and labour, p.14). The agency also worked for a means of intellectual development of workmen and education for their children.

The Tailors' Labour Agency erected a hall in 1853. It housed a meeting hall, committee room and a workshop with seat space for eighty men. The building also functioned as a day school for the workers' children and as a library institute for the tailors, with classrooms, a reading room and a library. A bath house was located in the basement. The workshop operated by renting seat space for a small proportion of the earnings of each tailor (six pence of every 20 shillings earned). Charges covered all services including

children's education. There was an additional one pence per week charge for the library fund.

This association is evidence of the strength of tailors' unions in spite of the masters' opposition to them. The existence of educational facilities for the workers and their children also indicates that the trade was literate.

The Amalgamated Society of Journeymen Tailors (ASJT) was formed in London in 1866 (Galton, 1896, p.xii). The Tailor, the newspaper of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America printed a series in the late 1890s called "London letter" by Thomas Reece. The series is one of the sources of information about British tailors' trade unions. Reece reported that there were about twenty unions representing the tailoring trade in Great Britain. The largest was the ASJT, headquartered in Manchester with about 16,000 members. The second largest was the Scottish National Operative Tailors' Trade Protection and Benefit Society, headquartered in Glasgow with a membership of about 5,000. Other, smaller unions represented clothiers' cutters, machinists and pressers, military uniform makers, ladies tailors, vestmakers and tailoresses. In large clothing manufacturing centres such as Leeds, separate unions often were chartered to represent Jewish workers because of language differences (The Tailor, 2(6),1). Reece reported that the "golden age" of tailors unions was from 1870-75. Membership since then had fluctuated due to gains made by the union - tailors made gains then turned their back on the union. In 1899 a Jewish local in Yorkshire won a twelve hour day, replacing the fourteen hour day. Reece termed the gain a victory for arbitration and conciliation (The Tailor, 2(12),7).

The United States

American tailors formed labour organizations as early as the eighteenth century but no primary sources were found for the early part of the study period. The Journeymen Tailors' Union of America (JTUA) was founded in Philadelphia in 1887. Fifteen delegates from as far away as Denver, CO and St.Louis, MO joined with tailors from eastern cities improve their condition as workers. The JTUA published the monthly newspaper, The Tailor, which remains as a source of information about union business until 1937. It was published in both English and German until 1898. The newspaper became a weekly in August 1914. For the purpose of this study, the newspaper was read for the years 1887 to 1920 and notes were kept about key matters. The newspaper numbers between 1900 and 1920 were examined with emphasis placed on references to the trade in Canada in order to reduce the workload of the research project.

When the JTUA was formed in 1887, most American tailors laboured in their homes, their wives and children helping them with their work. They were working longer days than most trades - over ten hours per day. The goals of the second convention, in August 1888, were to make women workers eligible for union membership, to organize "shop" tailors (ready to wear workers), to abolish home work and to reduce hours of work (The Tailor, 2.(1),1). By the ninth convention, it was recognized that funding would have to be devoted to organizers salaries in order to make gains in abolishing home work and instituting a union label (The Tailor, 3.(1),1). An article entitled "A minimum bill" (The Tailor, 3.(8),2-3) called for the development of a general bill or scale of prices for use in negotiation with business owners. It was hoped that the "minimum or fundamental bill" would be high enough to guarantee humane conditions to the worker while being low enough that no reasonable employer could refuse to pay it.

The Tailor contained insights into the conflict surrounding women in the tailoring trade. The Journeymen Tailors' Union presented a scale of prices for vests and pants to the Merchant Tailors' Exchange in 1890 to guarantee fair remuneration for women for these articles (The Tailor, 2,10/4). It appears that women were still the main makers of these garments: "The girls and women employed in custom tailoring must also be organized. ... they work not only as assistants but finish a piece of work themselves. In this manner pants and vests are manufactured almost exclusively; in some places they make coats as well" (The Tailor, 1,(21),1). Some male tailors resented the lower paid women being part of the trade. A few took the time to point out: "Help the women up to better wages and thereby you will help yourselves" (The Tailor, 1,(19),4). If women were unionized and working for the same pay scale as men, they could no longer undercut men's position within the industry (The Tailor, 1,(17),6).

The Tailor included some evidence of traditional trade union ritual. Upon the death of a member, the local corresponding secretary would write to The Tailor noting the death of the member and indicating that the local would be "draping the charter in black for thirty days" (6,(2),8). Such notices were printed in the early issues of the newspaper. No evidence of elaborate or secret rituals was found.

Home work was made a finable offense ($1 per day) for union members on October 1, 1898. A resolution was passed setting April 1, 1899 as the date for achieving a daily maximum of ten hours for union shops. The union's jurisdiction included those over 18 years who worked as journeymen tailors, tailoresses, apprentices, helpers or custom tailoring workers (The Tailor, 8,(1),5-6).

The General Executive Board of the union conducted a survey in June, 1898 to learn the extent of the free book shops among unionized tailors. Of a total membership of

5,061 tailors, 1,991 (39%) worked in shops provided by the employer. This number represented 76 locals (The Tailor, 2.(2),8).

Organization of the "cheaper grades" of tailoring was an issue that plagued the union for its entire existence and eventually proved to be its downfall. Taggart (November, 1898) articulated the problem of the tailors. As the industry became increasingly mechanized, more custom tailoring was done in factory settings, especially "country order house" tailoring. The United Garment Workers were organizing factory clothing workers in large centres such as Chicago. They were also organizing custom tailors who worked in factory settings while the JTUA lacked sufficient organizing staff to work in these cities. The union membership had voted against organizing factory custom workers because they felt a threat to their trade skills and status. Taggart called for members to vote to amend the constitution to include those working under the "division of labor or factory system" (The Tailor, 2.(4),2). But the outcome of the vote reported in March 1899, resulted in even stronger opposition to "a certain class of cheap trade" (The Tailor, 2.(5),6). In 1901, the JTUA and the United Garment Workers signed an agreement that the tailors' union would not organize "factory system" workers (The Tailor, 11.(7),9). Some members of the JTUA General Executive Board were aware that the strength of the tailors' union depended on a position that united all workers in the custom trade. So, General Secretary John Lennon held another vote on the issue in late 1901 which was, again, soundly defeated by the membership (The Tailor, 12.(4),10). Lennon lamented the decision and charged that "inroads [will be] made into our trade by the United Garment Workers" (The Tailor, 12.(4),13). In May 1902, a meeting was held between the JTUA, the UGWA, and the Custom Clothing Makers Union at the behest of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) to settle the jurisdictional debate about factory custom tailors. No agreement was reached,

but the AFL decided to issue a charter for a Special Order Clothing Makers' Union. The new union would represent neither journeymen tailors nor ready to wear workers. The JTUA representatives supported the AFL decision (The Tailor, 12.(10),15). The membership was asked to vote on whether the JTUA should claim jurisdiction over the Special Order Tailors and again voted no (The Tailor, 13.(11),19 & 14.(1),5). On October 19, 1908, the JTUA and the UGWA agreed to split the jurisdiction of custom tailors according to the retail cost of the suits produced. The JTUA agreed to represent tailors engaged in the manufacture of suits costing more than $25 (US) and more than $18 (Can.) (The Tailor, 14.(4),9). Once again, in 1985, General Secretary Lennon called upon members to adapt to the new system of garment production in order to preserve the tailoring trade. Long apprenticeships no longer work, he argued, and changes in the methods of industry are put into place so quickly that they are not noticed by tailors (The Tailor, 15.(7),3-7). In September, 1905, it was proposed to unite the JTUA and UGWA into the Garment Workers' and Journeymen Tailors International Union. The new structure would accommodate four branches: custom tailoring, cutters (trimmers and lining cutters from any area of the trade), ready to wear and work wear workers (The Tailor, 16.(2),1-2). The Canadian Labour Congress resolved to support the amalgamation (The Tailor, 16.(3),19). But amalgamation was rejected by the JTUA membership in February, 1906 (The Tailor, 16.(7),14). In August, 1907, the Committee on Laws and Audit announced that negotiations with the Garment Workers had been dropped (The Tailor, 18.(1),4). In October, 1914, a Needle Trades Conference was held in New York City to discuss amalgamation within the clothing industry. Only the tailors' union and the UGWA were represented, so no recommendations were reached (The Tailor, 25.(15),1). However the question of amalgamation was put to the membership in December, 1914 supporting an

organization called the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA) (The Tailor, 25.(19),1). The vote passed (The Tailor, 25.(23),2). The agreement to amalgamate had been made with the radical Hillman faction of the United Garment Workers (The Tailor, 25.(24),2). The same month, January, 1915, E.J. Brais, General Secretary of the JTUA resigned to become the General Secretary of the ACWA (The Tailor, 25.(28),1). In July 1915, the tailors reconsidered their decision to amalgamate and overturned the decision by referendum (The Tailor, 25.(49),1). In November, 1919, the JTUA's General Executive Board requested that the General Secretary discuss amalgamation with the ACWA (The Tailor, 28.(16),3). The ACWA responded favourably (The Tailor, 28.(20),3) but nearly a year later, the JTUA was discussing amalgamation with the International Fur Workers, UGWA, ACWA, United Cloth Hat, Cap Makers and Millinery Workers Union of America (The Tailor, 28.(48),1). The JTUA eventually co-operated by joining the Needle Trade Workers Alliance, a federation of garment workers international unions (as listed above) (The Tailor, 31.(6),1). This was the state of the JTUA at the end of 1928. By 1932 the union had fewer than 3,000 members and in 1938, its charter was revoked by the AFL (Fink, 1977, p.367).

Although the tailors' union did not advocate involvement in the political process for its membership, union officials were active throughout the union's history in the labor politics of the United States and Canada. John Lennon served as President, Vice-president and General Secretary (and editor of The Tailor) of the JTUA. In 1888 he became the treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, and continued his tenure with the JTUA until 1910 (Stowell, 1913, pp.58-4). This close alignment with the AFL may have contributed to the union's relative conservatism on the issue of uniting with factory toilers. (The AFL strongly advocated the independence of skilled tradesmen.) However, Lennon

wrote many thoughtful editorials in favour of the issue of uniting with other garment workers.

In 1910, Eugene J. Brais was elected General Secretary to succeed Mr. Lennon. Brais had been born in Quebec and lived there until the age of ten when the family moved to the United States. His family had participated in union and Knights of Labor politics. Brais had been active in the Socialist Party since 1900 and in tailors' unions since 1907. When elected as General Secretary, he was regarded as a "spokesman of the Socialist or 'progressive' element" of the union (Stowell, 1913, p.95).

Brais also succeeded Lennon as the editor of The Tailor. He made a several changes that improved union services to its Canadian membership. In August, 1910, he added a "Canadian Department" to the newspaper (The Tailor, 21.(1),23). In September, he visited Quebec and Toronto (The Tailor, 21.(2),21). In October, one and one-half pages of the newspaper were devoted to a French version of the Canadian Department (The Tailor, 21.(3),31-2).

In 1913, the General Executive Board of the JTUA decided to accept the cards of IWW members "in order to demonstrate our internationalism" (The Tailor, 24.(1),14). This was a reversal of a 1906 decision (The Tailor, 17.(3),22). In January, 1914, The Tailor announced a change of the JTUA's name to Tailors' Industrial Union (International) (TIUI). The jurisdiction of the new union had been extended to include "every and all branches in the clothing industry" (The Tailor, 24.(6),24). As a result of these changes, the union was called to report to the AFL executive, charged with violating AFL regulations (changing name and jurisdiction without consent). Editorials and articles in The Tailor called for one union in the clothing industry, for steadfastness to the "new" tailors' union and reminded readers that only the socialists had helped the union during strikes (The

Tailor, 24(9),1-12). In June 1914, the TIUI moved from Bloomington, IL to Chicago, the centre of the American garment trade (The Tailor, 24(11),1) and in August, the monthly newspaper became a weekly. In August 1914, D. Davis, secretary of the Calgary, Alberta local wrote to The Tailor supporting the TIUI in its disagreement with the AFL. He charged that it was obvious that the federation executive never supported the custom tailors, evidenced by their wearing of cheap, ready to wear suits (25,(4),3)! In November 1914, former General Secretary John Lennon urged TIUI members to return to the old name and their old jurisdiction (The Tailor, 25,(19),4). By January 1915, the TIUI had reverted to its old name. Later that month, Brais resigned to become the General secretary of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Over the years the JTUA grappled with the issues of ethnicity in the trade, the position of women, their political commitment. They maintained a position of skilled exclusivity that led to their downfall. British tailors were readily able to accept the union membership of the unskilled, but American tailors clung to their artisan status, in spite of the industrial change that was leaving them behind. Trade journals between 1910 and 1920 show an increase in the number of articles on improved salesmanship and profitable sidelines (such as dry cleaning) for the custom tailor. The American trade as a group seemed unable to see that their business failures were a result of major change within the clothing industry and not a result of their personal failure as businessmen.

Employers' Associations

As the JTUA gained strength in working for shorter hours and free book shops, owners of merchant tailoring firms found it necessary to join together to fight the gains being demanded by their employees. An editorial in The Tailor (13,(11),16) suggested that

the Merchant Tailors Protective Association was organized to antagonize the JTUA in response to the push for free back shops. A successful free back shop movement would require a large outlay of money by shop owners. Tailors wanted workshop space and most owners supplied only the front show room and the cutting room. Custom tailoring done by a particular firm was mainly constructed in the workers' homes. In 1903 in Kansas City, Denver, Birmingham and Cleveland, the Merchant Tailors Association locked out tailors and refused to negotiate with the unions (The Tailor, 14.(3),19). In Kingston, Ontario in 1907, the merchant tailors had "bonded themselves and signed a $300 forfeit" (The Tailor, 18.(4),8-9) to end the union and deal with each worker separately. Only two of the Kingston firms eventually broke the pact. A 1909 editorial in The Tailor warned against the implementation of tailoring trade programs run by the Merchant Tailors Protective Association in co-operation with the Chicago public school board (19.(8),13). The union newspaper cautioned that former trade schools run by shop owners had proven farcical and that the goal of trade schools must be "progress and uplift of the wageworking classes". In 1912 in Toronto, merchant tailors attempted to run a co-operative shop since most of the tailors in the city were out on strike. The attempt was deemed by The Tailor a "white elephant" (23.(1),16).

The Merchant Tailors' National Exchange was another organization of shop owners, but its aims were not discernible to the researcher. It seemed to be a lobbying force for merchant tailors, promoting the trade to improve business for all. One of the group's major accomplishments was to build an exhibition building for the Columbian Exposition in 1893 (the Chicago World's Fair). The group collected donations from members who included the local exchange members, woollens and trimmings suppliers to the trade, fashion publishers, large tailoring firms and individuals. The building erected was

a small neo-classical temple. "The erection of a building for the exclusive use of the trade was a brilliant and daring conception..." (Journal of Fashion and Tailoring, 6.(11),210). Panel paintings decorated the interior with the historical periods of fashionable dress. Exhibit space featured garments displayed such as dress suits, frock coats, sack suits, over garments, tuxedos, ladies' and boys' suits, and livery and equestrian wear (The Custom Cutter, 4.(5),132). Detailed written descriptions of garments and photographs remain for study (Journal of Fashion and Tailoring, 6.(11),210-16; The Custom Cutter and Fashion Review, 4.(9),257-64).

Professional Associations

Two types organizations were referred to in the American trade journals of the late nineteenth century: the Custom Cutters Societies and the Custom Foremen Tailors' Associations (CFTA). It is difficult to distinguish between the two as the Custom Foremen Tailors' Association defined those eligible for membership as "any custom cutter not a practical tailor...any practical tailor, filing his intention of becoming a custom cutter...[and] Merchant Tailors doing their own cutting" (The Custom Cutter and Fashion Review, 6.(1),4). The CFTA was founded in 1881, apparently modelled on the Foremen Cutters' Association of London. The Custom Cutters' societies were issued state charters beginning in about 1889 (The Custom Cutter, 3.(1),26-7). No statement could be found of each society's particular goals, but the CFTA considered amending its constitution in 1894 in order to offer a benefit scheme to members (death and unemployment benefits).

The International Custom Cutters' Association of America was formed in 1898. They held annual conventions that featured exhibits of practical work, lectures, demonstrations of new techniques and association business. The group co-operated to

disseminate new techniques amongst their membership by instituting an "interchange system", mail-circulated packages of new garment drafts and constructed samples. The system seems cumbersome by modern standards, and indeed the Cutters' Association had to abandon the project due to, among other problems, the customs charges at the Canadian border (Proceedings of the 32nd Annual Convention of the International Custom Cutters of America, pp.22-4). An employment bureau run by the association matched cutters and positions throughout North America (Proceedings of the 31st Annual Convention of the International Custom Cutters of America, p.20). A service station department listed co-operating firms throughout the United States and Canada to which any customer could take a mail order custom garment for alteration at no charge. The co-operating firm would be reimbursed by the custom maker of the garment (Proceedings of the 37th Annual Convention of the International Custom Cutters' Association of America, pp.30-6).

Cutters operated at a professional level within the tailoring trade. They wrote articles, held annual professional meetings and lobbied and networked on professional issues. Wages and working conditions do not enter into the published concerns of cutters, so it may be concluded that they remained well paid.

References to the Tailoring Trade in Canada

No documents were found that were produced by Canadian tailors or tailors' associations. G. Carlos (personal communication April 20, 1990) reported that only the personal records of tailors are held by the Public Archives in Ottawa. There were no pattern drafting systems, trade journals or instructional manuals found in her search of archival holdings for nineteenth century men's wear in Canada. Her search of Registered Designs found only women's wear and men's shirt designs. The period 1900 to 1920 was not searched.

However, many references to the Canadian trade were found in American trade journals and in the labour newspaper, The Tailor. Several Canadian tailors patented measuring devices or systems for men's wear at the United States Patent Office during the study period, perhaps because Canadian Patents were not issued for such innovations. Stowell (1913) reported data from a survey of union locals in Canada. One Canadian source, the McCord Museum, Montreal, holds the uncatalogued archival material of Gibb and Co. Limited, Tailors and Shirtmakers of Montreal, including materials published in Britain. Censuses of Canada collected inconsistent categories of information about the tailoring trade so they are not useful alone as indicators of patterns of change within the trade. But data collected for censuses and government reports reinforced and added to information gathered from other sources.

The Diversity of Canadian Custom Tailoring Businesses

Canadian census data is limited in the provision of details about the existence of the trade in Canada. Although references are included in the manufacturing and occupations volumes of the censuses conducted over the years, the census tables were often instructed

to exclude the smaller businesses that likely represented much of the trade during the early development of this country. Categories of references to tailoring are inconsistent, so only sporadic information is available.

Census data provided the earliest reference to Canadian tailors. "Tailors" were included within the Industrial Class for Canadian census reports of 1851, 1861 and 1871. Each class of labour represented by the figures showed increased numbers consistent with the settlement and dramatic growth of Canada (Censuses of Canada 1608 to 1876, Vol.5, pp.90-2). The 1881 Census of Canada, 1881, Vol.3, reported a category of industrial establishments: "tailors and clothiers". There were a total of 1,994 such establishments in the entire country: 553 in Quebec, 1,121 in Ontario, nine in Manitoba, and one shop in the Territories. According to the Census of Canada, 1881, Vol.3, the Territories had 19 shops and 51 employees, while industrial Ontario ran 2,121 shops and employed 12,835 workers. The three maritime provinces reported a total of 694 shops and 3,768 employees.

Enumerators for the 1901 census were instructed that

> "no manufacturing establishment or factory will be so recognized for census purposes which does not employ at least five persons, either in the establishment itself or as piece-workers employed out of it" (p. vi).

Tailoring is a portable skill, requiring little in the outlay of capital resources. Many immigrants to Canada who had been tailors in Europe probably resumed their trade when they arrived here. The census criteria for size of establishment may have eliminated the majority of tailor shops in Canada. The Census of Canada, 1891, Vol. 3, Manufactures reported that custom shops predominated over numbers of men's clothing factories by a factor of 9:1 in eastern Canada. Only the general category representing "custom work, repairing and factory products" was counted in the west. In The clothing industry, 1928, Alberta still reported no "factory clothing" establishments and sixty-five "custom clothing"

establishments. Even industrialized Ontario and Quebec reported from four to ten times as many custom clothing establishments as wholesale or factory clothing businesses. The condition and nature of the trade differed greatly between industrialized Ontario and Quebec with their large mail order houses and the independent journeymen and small merchant tailor shops of the west.

Results of a 1910 Study of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America

Stowell (1913), in his study of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America (JTUA), made general comments on the trade in Canada, based on information provided by Hugh Robinson, Canadian organizer for the JTUA. Stowell concluded that there were more tailors per capita in Canada than in the United States for the following reasons: 1. The system of production of men's wear was less technologically advanced than in the US (so more tailors were required to make men's wear). 2. The custom tailoring trade was healthier because imported cloth was duty-free in Canada. 3. Canadian tailors seemed to be more settled, less transient than their American counterparts. 4. Stowell contended that tailoring was a more lucrative business in Canada. Robinson reported to Stowell that the Canadian trade was made up of mainly "high class" clothing, American styles were followed and tradesmen joined American associations. Ninety per cent of the trousers and vests made by the custom trade in Canada were made by women and a number of skilled Canadian women contractors practiced and were paid at the same wage scale as men.

The Census of Canada, 1911, Vol.6 indicated that about one-third of Torontonian tailors and tailoresses were female, consistent with the greater number of factory tailor shops in the east and the use of women in the less specialized areas of the trade. In the booming western cities, however, more tradesmen were men. Only one-fifth of Albertans

working in the tailoring trade were women. (The population of men outnumbered women in Alberta 3:2. The population of Canada as a whole was evenly balanced male to female.) The number of female workers in custom clothing nearly equalled male workers in 1918 and 1920, but women were confined to the lower weekly wage categories. In 1918, 69% of Torontonians and 34.5% of Albertans were immigrant workers in the trade. The clothing industry, 1920 reported that the Canadian custom trade was made up of about 98% boys and men's wear and 2% women's wear. All Canadian tailors represented by Stowell's survey (Stowell, 1913) worked under the "individual system" of garment construction (as opposed to the "team" or factory system).

Canadian Locals of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America

Information about locally formed branches of the JTUA was found in the union newspaper The Tailor as well as Stowell's (1913) thesis. Stowell sent out a questionnaire "Circular of information" (Stowell, 1913, pp.131-143) seeking data on type of work, shops and production that made up the union members experience in 1910. He also collected data on wages, piece rates, and prices of standard garments made. Although a list of members in The Tailor shows forty Canadian locals (Appendix E), Stowell's study reported the existence of thirty-three. The list published monthly in The Tailor may not have been updated regularly. Stowell was employed in the union's central office so he had access to current information. Stowell reported three Alberta locals (138 Lethbridge, 194 Calgary, 293 Edmonton). Three Canadian locals responded to the questionnaire, so data is available from local 70 Winnipeg (pop. 125,449), local 194 Calgary (pop. 43,704) and local 295 St.Catharines, Ont. (pop. 12,484).

St. Catharines was organized as early as 1878 (population was 9,631 Census of Canada, 1881, Vol.4), joining the American (International) union in 1896. Winnipeg was first organized in 1882 (population Census of Canada, 1881, Vol.4 was 7,985) and joined the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America (JTUA) in 1892. Calgary's first union membership was in the JTUA in 1905 (population was 11,967, Census of population and agriculture of the northwest provinces, 1906). The three cities reported an estimated 48.3% of their tailors belonging to the union. Stowell's general findings indicated that smaller cities had a higher degree of organization. Larger cities had a greater supply of cheap labour and could resist organizing.

An important issue for the clothing trade was the provision of "free back shops". Employers acted as "putters out" of labour for they did not provide shop space for the journeymen to work in. The "free back shop" movement echoed the mid-nineteenth century attempt of British tailors to secure for tailors what most other workers enjoyed, that is, a place to work in when under the employ of a particular shop owner (Yeo & Thompson, 1979). According to Stowell, by 1910, ninety of Winnipeg's 100 union members had won "free back shops", the remaining members worked in their homes or rented "rent space" in a larger tailor shop. In St. Catharines, only four union members had a free back shop, while 31 members secured their own work space. Stowell's result for 71 North American cities surveyed indicated that 43% of tailors worked in free back shops with only 30.9% of tailors in large cities enjoying this benefit.

The labour journal The Tailor, provided details of the union struggle in Canada. Union members enjoyed the benefits of belonging to a large union during strikes approved by the General Executive Board of the union. But the Canadian locals had to abide by Board decisions that often ignored the realities of the Canadian region. Both Toronto and

Nanaimo, BC requested permission to ask for increased price bills from local employers during 1898. Both were refused permission by the General Executive Board of the International due to the general nature of the economic depression (The Tailor, 3.(15),6; 4.(2),5; 4.(3),7).

The Klondike boom had an effect on the tailoring trade. Organizers for the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America were sent west in 1897 to help cope with the increase in business (The Tailor, 2.(7),14). The Vancouver local 178, was organized in January 1898 (The Tailor, 2.(7),1) but the union seems to have been unable to negotiate their first bill of prices with employers. They remained out on strike until June 1899, when they gave up the fight for free back shops, a closed shop and the eight hour day (The Tailor, 2.(11),2 & (12),3). Wage rates were noted for 1899 in Wholesale prices in Canada 1890 - 1902 (p.499). The Vancouver journeymen was paid from $12.50 to $15.00 per week. This rate had risen to $18.00 by 1900.

In March, 1900 the working conditions of organized tailor shops in Canada represented a few gains made by the union. Free back shops had been won in London, Woodstock, Winnipeg, St. Thomas, Ottawa, Nanaimo, Vancouver and Rossland, BC. Some of the local members in Toronto and St. Catharines had free back shops. The ten-hour law was established in Winnipeg, St. Thomas, Nanaimo, Vancouver and Kingston. During 1900 and 1901, organizer George Saugster reported on the conditions of the trade in Canada for The Tailor. Both Ottawa and Kingston suffered from an abundance of work, but the lowest of wages (The Tailor, 10.(9),4).

The west coast workers feared a complete take-over of the trade by Chinese immigrant labour. They used the union paper to warn their American counterparts of the consequences of inadequate regulation on immigration (The Tailor, 11.(10),10).

In 1902, amendments to the JTUA charter divided the international's jurisdiction into five districts for the purpose of setting goals for the achievement of free back shops. "All of Canada" formed the second district, and September 1, 1902 was the target date set for the enforcement of free back shops (The Tailor, 12.(7),12). But the union's aspiration was premature for the Toronto local, so its new target date became April, 1903 (The Tailor, 13.(2),11).

Western Canada

On April 19 and 20, 1904, a fire in Toronto destroyed most of the best class of wholesale clothing houses. The fire destroyed in one conflagration 123 Toronto publishing, printing and garment manufacturing businesses. The News (26.(77),1) reported that 3500 employees were out of work. The Tailor reported the resulting western migration of Toronto tailors (The Tailor, 14.(10),10).

By September of 1904, new locals had been formed in Halifax, Moncton, St. John's, NF, and Fort William/Port Arthur. In June 1905, the JTUA sent organizer Hugh Robinson west. He organized locals in Brandon, Calgary and Fernie. Some centres such as Regina and Lethbridge had insufficient journeymen to constitute a local although Regina joined in 1906 (The Tailor, 18.(9),21). Moose Jaw was the largest city in Saskatchewan (population 6,249, Census of population and agriculture of the northwest provinces, 1906, p.100) when Robinson travelled through on his organizing trip. He could not organize a local with only three journeymen in town willing to sign up, and he commented on his experience: "Trade unionists fewcooth - their exclusiveness gives one the ugles" (The Tailor, 15.(12),16).

In October 1906, Local 233, Edmonton was issued a charter. This local seems to have been formed without the prodding of the General Organizer. Twelve members were originally signed up, three of whom were women (The Tailor, 17.(3),22). Homer W. Marsh

was the secretary. In 1909, organizer Robinson reported that local 233 had lapsed but had been reorganized (The Tailor, 19.(6),22 & (11),19). The 1909 local represented tailors from the firms H.K. Hilborn and Hockley Co. (Henderson's Edmonton and Strathcona Directory). It is evident from membership lists in The Tailor, that the Edmonton local remained very small and somewhat unstable. The local's secretary changed often. Edmonton responded to only one of many ballots issued by the General Secretary over the approximately fifteen years of its existence and that was to vote against the proposal to amalgamate with the United Garment Workers of America (the only time that the majority of the JTUA membership voted 'yes') (The Tailor, 25.(23),2). Wholesale prices in Canada 1890-1920 compared the journeymen tailors wages per week for the years 1899 and 1909 by region. Edmonton tailors were reported as having wages of $16 per week in 1899 and $18 per week in 1909. Generally, wages increased more on the prairies than for the rest of Canada during this time (Wholesale prices..., pp.498-9).

Calgary was organized by the JTUA in 1910 (The Tailor, 21.(12),27). In 1911, after a strike lasting three months, Calgary tailors settled for a lower bill of prices than they had originally asked for. At the time, some master tailors were making a 75% profit on the work produced in basement shops. The Tailor reported that the cost of living was 50% higher than it was in Ontario and the United States (The Tailor, 22.(12),10), but no government reports are available to back up this statement. In August 1912, the local secretary called for union tailors to come to Calgary to work because the city was suffering from a loss of journeymen due to the strike (The Tailor, 23.(3),25).

Montreal

Forsey (1982) reported that unions existed in Montreal during the mid-nineteenth century but Montreal remained difficult to organize during the early tenure of the JTUA. An organizer visiting Canada in 1897 found Montreal to be a "hopeless" place, with tailors doing scab work for Toronto employers (The Tailor, 8(3),6-7). Smith and Co., a firm making men's wear sold in western mining communities, required the union label in order to sell in strong union towns. In July 1901, six of the fifteen journeymen organized to form local 317 (The Tailor, 12(2),11). This shop may have been a small manufacturer: one of its organizers was a ready to wear cutter and the shop produced work clothing. The JTUA had excluded this type of clothing worker from its jurisdiction by debate and ballot for the previous three years. The technological lag between Canada and the United States may have accounted for local 317 representing factory workers. As late as 1910, Canadian tailors working in custom clothing factories were working on the individual system of garment construction (Stowell). Statistics for the clothing industry included cotton denims and drills in the materials used in the manufacture of custom clothing (The clothing industry, 1918, Men's wear, p.3) so work clothes for a specific bulk purchaser may have been considered custom tailoring in Canada. The Ottawa organizer R.A. Miller reported in September 1901 that he had failed to reorganize the infant local with "capable men".

Organizer H. Robinson in May 1904 found Montreal tailors working under poor conditions for poor wages (The Tailor, 14(10),10). He reported in the next issue of The Tailor that local 317 had been reorganized. By 1906, the local had signed up two more stores, representing an increase in membership of 25% (The Tailor, 17(12),9). Another local, 104 represented Ladies' Tailors (date of charter unknown) (The Tailor, 22(10),2) and in 1915, local 61 represented "Jewish-speaking" [sic] tailors (The Tailor, 28(49),3).

In 1908, Montreal began asking for a French organizer. The problem of language was to plague local 317 for many years. Only under the administration of Quebec-born E.J. Bunn, General Secretary of the JTUA, was a French-speaking organizer spontaneously supplied. The American-based General Executive Board seemed not to understand that a sizable proportion of the Montreal working class communicated in French. Local executives were blamed for poor organizing as requests for appropriate staff were refused and delayed by the General Executive Board (The Tailor, 19.(1),22; 21.(2),25; 26.(41),1; 27.(7),1; 27.(20 & 24),1;28.(51),2). Economic conditions in Montreal remained poor in spite of the high class of custom work being produced (The Tailor, 26.(38),2). Workers were reluctant to join an organization that required the payment of dues (The Tailor, 26.(11),1). In 1917, locals 61 and 317 merged into local 317 (The Tailor, 27.(15),2).

Local 104 struck only in 1917 for the weekly system. The strike was a long one, but the local was breaking new ground in Canada (The Tailor, 27.(44),4). They became the first Canadian local to secure weekly wage rates. They eventually settled with a single firm in October 1917, and agreed to work 54 hours per week for nine months and 50 hours per week for 3 months of the year. Sault Ste. Marie and Toronto followed with weekly bills in 1919 (The Tailor, 28.(7),3 & (8),4).

The JTUA was active in fighting the anti- American Federation of Labor movement in Canada (The Tailor, 19.(2),26). The Canadian nationalist movement (called the "National Trades and Labour Congress" in The Tailor, 14.(10),9) was likely an off-shoot of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada which splintered in 1902 after it expelled all Canadian members of the American Federation of Labor. The splinter group supported independent Canadian trade unions and the Knights of Labour. The Tailor called for affiliates of the American Federation of Labor to join the Trades and Labor Congress of

Canada to fight this incursion of Canadian nationalism. The splinter organization offered members a label featuring a maple leaf surrounded by the words "Canada for the Canadians". It is not known if this label was made available to the clothing trades. A report in The Tailor, (12.(2),26-7), September 1908, indicated that "a merciless war of extermination is being waged on the National Movement by the respective Canadian representatives of the various International organizations...". Organizer Robinson reported that the nationalist movement was centred in Quebec and was "fostered and encouraged" by the clergy.

The Union Label

The use of the union label in Canadian tailored garments was approved on May 7, 1895. The Toronto local was responsible for registering the use of the label (The Tailor, 5.(11),6). The label was to be affixed to the inside breast pocket of coats, inside the back strap of vests and inside the watch pocket or waistband of trousers (The Tailor, 8.(1),13). This information may be of use in determining the producer (union or non-union tailor) and the date of some Canadian made men's wear. Although an extensive search has not been conducted, this researcher has not seen an example of the union label affixed to any article of clothing considered within the study period. (The Canadian Heritage Information Network search form does not include the field "label".) Distribution of the label was a cumbersome problem for the union. Shops sometimes sold their extra supplies of labels to non-union shops that wanted to trade on the label's value with union customers. Stowell (1913) reported that in 1910, the three Canadian cities he surveyed responded that their local used the label. No other evidence was located about the use of the label in Canada.

Canadian Pay Rates and Patterns

Stowell (1913) reported that Canadian tailors were, in the majority, paid by the piece. He noted that most weekly wage workers were employed in team system situations. None of the Canadian respondents had a limit on hours worked, as they worked seasonally and by the piece. Hours per week data for journeymen tailors reported in Wholesale prices in Canada 1889 - 1920 were indicated only for the province of British Columbia: New Westminster was unchanged from 1899 to 1909 - 60 hours per week; Vancouver reported 54 hours per week in 1909. Stowell reported the average annual earnings (1911) for journeymen tailors paid by the weekly wage system. Although few shops in Canada were operating on the weekly system, he found that journeymen in Winnipeg received a maximum of $18.50; in Calgary a maximum of $19 and in St. Catherines a maximum of $13. Wholesale Prices in Canada, 1890-1920 also reported the weekly wages of journeymen tailors. It is not clear if these figures represent wages paid by the week, or if they represent estimated weekly earnings. During 1899, they ranged from a low in the Maritime provinces of $8.75 to the highs of $18 per week in Nanaimo, BC, Hull, Quebec and Port Arthur, Ontario. During 1909, pay ranged from a reported low of $9 per week in St. Catharines to a high of $22 per week in Regina. These statistics reflect the working situation of but a few tailors in Canada, but they were the only figures found.

Trade Journals and Associations for Canadian Tailors

Tailors used trade journals featuring fashion plates, fabric trends, technical articles and association news to keep up on concerns within the trade. Such periodicals were published by both British and American sources.

American journals such as Mirror of Fashion (1840s), Custom Cutter and Fashion Review (1890-97), American Gentleman (1905-20) and Modern Fashions (1905) were available to Canadians through their American publishers. These publications referred to Canadian subscribers and distributors. Canadian tailors were also influenced by British tailoring style books and journals. Style sheets for the years 1890 and 1891 were found among the papers of Gibb and Co. Limited, Montreal. They were taken from the following London publications: The Gentleman's Magazine of Fashion, The London Tailor and Record of Fashion and The London Art Fashions.

Canadians seemed to use the same cutting schools and systems available to their American counterparts. Trade journals often listed recent Canadian graduates of their respective schools in their social columns. The trade journal Modern Fashions refers to the attendance of Canadian students at its New York Cutting School and the use of A.D. Rude's cutting system The great modern system. The tailors of London, Ont. were hosts to John V. Foches of the US, lecturing in November 1894 on the topics of the history of tailoring and clothing the abnormal figure. No evidence was found of Canadian cutting schools operating during the study period.

Canadian tailors belonged to American trade associations, often taking executive roles and hosting conventions. The Custom Foremen Tailors' Association of America (CFTAA) included members from Truro and Toronto in 1898. Canadians were specifically

invited to the (CFTAA) convention in Dallas in 1893. Tailors from Nova Scotia and other parts of Canada entered the (CFTAA) Exhibit of Made-up Garments competition held in 1894. The annual convention of the Custom Cutters' Association was held in Toronto in 1900 and 1911. The Custom Cutters' Association of America had among its executive members cutters from Toronto and Guelph from 1902 to 1908. Between 1909 and 1913, Canadians held consistent membership on the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America's Committee on Laws and Audit (a major governing committee).

Memberships in these international trade organizations represented the existence of local groups such as the Merchant Tailors and Custom Cutters Association of Halifax (1909), and the Hamilton and Brantford Cutters' Association (1907). Goals of these groups included a mutual exchange of ideas, assisting young cutters, and cultivating a brotherly feeling (American Gentleman, 2(3),37).

American Patents Held by Canadians

Kidwell (1979) listed "Patents for drafting systems for assorted clothing" (pp.129-130). Four Canadians who patented men's wear drafting aids were identified as patent holders. Copies of these patents were obtained from the Smithsonian Institution Library and from the US Patent Office Public Search Library in Crystal City, VA. They included scales, measuring devices and charts for drafting a coat sleeve and were patented between 1872 and 1890. Some Canadian tailors seem to have had the same interest in mechanical aids to drafting that their American counter-parts did.

CONCLUSIONS

Sources

Technical documents of the tailoring trade provide a resource of detailed material for the costume historian. The range of materials available in libraries gives the costume historian a window into the tailor shop of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Sources provide details regarding styling advice (trade journals), pattern making instructions (pattern drafting systems), the kinds of materials and stitches used in the production of garments (instructional manuals), equipment used (trade journals), the division of labour within the shop (instructional manuals) and issues of pay and working conditions (the union newspaper). Although secondary sources provide ready access to the content of a trade, the primary materials offer the bits of day to day detail required to fill in our picture of men's wear and its production.

The life of the producer of clothing has largely been overlooked by costume historians. The materials examined in this study were all written by or for the use of tailors. They therefore present a biased view of the industry. However, it is unreasonable to continue the study of costume without considering the conditions under which clothing was made. This study presented an account of changes within the trade from the tailors' point of view. The conditions under which men's wear was produced and the effects that technological change had upon the workers must be considered in future costume history studies.

The search for Canadian sources regarding the tailoring trade provided a few references by costume and labour historians. Most of the information about the Canadian trade came from trade journals and the labour newspaper published in the United States.

Similar British sources might also provide information about the Canadian trade. Researchers considering the origins of Canadian costume should not overlook the fact that Canadian trades have always belonged to international trade organizations. A great deal of information relating to the development of Canadian industries is held in foreign libraries.

The Development of the Trade

Findings of the study indicate that although the products of the tailor between 1800 and 1920 were remarkably consistent, there were regional and temporal differences in the means of production.

Cut of Men's Wear

Pattern making technology changed over the study period, mirroring economic and industrial changes in the production of men's clothing. Although the content of the systems changed little, drafting and measuring methods developed dramatically. There is little evidence to show that the tailor's fitting skills evolved with technology. Rather, a larger number of authors gained the ability to articulate what artistic tailors had known from their experience at fitting the client. Early drafting systems concentrated on specifying a method to be used for each customer, directly upon the client's cloth. Pattern making developed methods more suitable to the ready to wear industry, that is, the preparation of reusable paper templates from which to cut garments (patterns). Drafting tools developed. Early scales eliminated the simple arithmetic calculations required by pattern drafting systems. Squares and drafting tools developed in attempts to simplify the complex drafting process.

Pattern cutting began to be a specialized job within the tailoring industry. More systems were addressed to this professional who might be employed by a large tailor shop, a custom clothing factory or even a ready to wear factory.

The client who the systems presumed to fit changed as well. The American male became more like his British counterpart - more likely to be obese.

Most of the systems studied relied on the tailors' accurate measurement of the client's own shape, rather than the easy (but inaccurate method) of determining most measures from the proportions of a single body measurement. However, as the systems developed, authors tended to incorporate more specific instructions for dealing with difficult postures or corpulency. This finding may indicate a greater ability of authors to articulate fit, or it may indicate that custom tailoring was becoming the special requirement of the tailors' clients who did not easily fit off the rack clothing.

By the beginning of the modern period, 1880, the publication of pattern drafting systems was passing from the hands of the entrepreneurial authors of the systems to larger concerns - the trade journal and cutting school businesses.

Women authors did not write for the men's wear cutter with the exception of Amanda Jones, writing for the pioneer housewife. Although women authors seem to have made a significant contribution to dressmaking drafting systems, men's wear would appear to have been a male domain.

American tailoring was an amalgam of traditions from the immigrant groups that made up the trade during the different study periods considered. All were working towards keeping the production of men's wear an economically feasible occupation - to clothe the growing population, to provide employment for the skilled and to ensure adequate profit levels for the merchant tailor. Tailors in the early half of the nineteenth century sewed for men and boys and made heavy outerwear for women. Military uniforms formed a substantial part of some tailors' businesses. The tailor shop hierarchy was made up of the merchant tailor (a respectable community business operator) and the journeymen (the skilled working men). As early as 1827, large (30 to 40 hand) shops existed where smaller teams of tailors were employed to make up individual garments. By 1835, large shop owners such as Francis Mahon of Philadelphia had begun to publish pattern drafting systems for fashionable garments in periodical format (annual publications). A price bill of 1829 showed that some American tailors no longer worked on ladies garments, and were no longer piece workers, but rather paid by the hour, day or week. Women may have been tailors during the early nineteenth century, but the unions of the 1840s squeezed them out as the trade tried to protect its wage levels during the influx of European-trained immigrant tailors. As industrialization heralded the death of custom tailoring, the fine craftsman, rather than finding a niche in the carriage trade, was forced to try to expand his market by sewing more for women and expanding into the country mail-order market.

English tailors clung to their tradition of fine hand techniques in spite of industrialization. The British shops changed their centuries-old traditions very slowly. Apprentices had well-defined jobs within the tailor shop hierarchy. The use of hand sewing techniques in fine tailoring continued long after the acceptance of the sewing machine for

lower grades of work. In the face of technological improvements, the English trade split into classes of quality of workmanship, with the highest level retaining the old hand production methods of the "artistic" tailor. Even as late as 1888, little subdivision of labour was found in the fine bespoke shops. Although by 1879, instructional pamphlets were being published to supplement the dying apprenticeship system, their titles indicate that the British trade clung to the old hand techniques while slowly adapting to the use of the half-century old development of the sewing machine. Women workers seem to have been absent from the trade in the earlier period and played a "helper" role during the latter period as handstitching specialists - the tailoress. Areas of the trade, such as waistcoat-making, became the domain of tailoresses and chiefly groups took up the cause of the tailoress and the homeworker in an attempt to reform labour and factory legislation.

The story of the Canadian tailor is less easy to define. Because Canadian published documents have not yet been located, conclusions about the trade must be deduced from foreign sources. Government data likely excluded most small producers of men's wear. Much more research remains to be done on a regional basis. It does seem that Canadian tailors practised in smaller shops than their American counterparts. Although the Canadian population grew rapidly, it did not reach the proportions of American centres. Perhaps the tradition of English tailoring contributed to the older production methods employed in Canadian shops, but the lower population probably led to retaining the team system, piece work wages and seasonal work.

Canadians used both British and American styling information, but were active members of American labour and professional organizations. Canadian members of the International unions fell prey to the same fate as much other Canadian labour. Nationally-based unions were too small to collect enough dues to support themselves during labour

disputes. American head offices remained ignorant of economic and social conditions in Canada and therefore often failed to serve the membership adequately. Although the names of some British labour and professional organizations were identified, no detailed information about them was located. Canadians may have had connections with British organizations as well.

Labour Issues

British tailors were well organized into unions and protective associations during the early part of the nineteenth century. They formed tramping networks to provide employment for their members. They organized co-operative workshop space for their members and schools for themselves and their children. But craft members of the late nineteenth century suffered low wages and poor working conditions.

The tailoring trade remained behind other trades in the North American context. Gains such as the shorter work day, weekly wages, shop space in which to work, were made more slowly than in other trades. The tailoring trade fell prey to the split in the American labour movement between skilled and unskilled workers. British unions readily adopted the unskilled hand in the tailoring manufactory. But American unions refused to accept the new factory producer of men's wear. The exclusivity of the unionized workers led to their downfall as their members dwindled to an insignificant number in the twentieth century.

By 1867 in the United States, many tailors were working at home and the goals of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America became to achieve minimum price bills for work and free shop space in which journeymen could work. As the ready to wear clothing industry developed and its centre moved from New York City to Chicago, homework spread. Unions and civic organizations worked to ensure decent shops in which tailors

could work. In response, merchant tailors (shop owners) worked collectively to discredit the tailors.

As the trade adapted to the new industrial technology, the resulting work patterns influenced the evolution of new positions within the trade. Whereas in the eighteenth century, the tailor both cut and sewed garments, in the nineteenth century, occupations such as cutter, sewing tailor, and fuller (hand finisher) emerged. Hand work portions of garment construction were let out to home workers, often women and immigrants. However, cutters benefitted by the changes, for their job was the interpretation of fashion in enacting shape and fit.

The position of the cutter of patterns seemed to be insulated from the working conditions of the sewing tailors. Cutters were in demand in all parts of the clothing industry so they were not threatened by the ready to wear industry that was killing the custom tailoring trade. As close fit became more fashionable, their skills were tested and developed. The cutters developed their own professional organizations to hold conventions, publish trade journals and improve their professional skills. Their technical information continued to evolve and remains an excellent, detailed resources for the costume historian.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

1. The fashion continuum of men's wear requires more research. Many of the trade journals identified in this study could be used to supplement our knowledge of costume history. Fashion drawings, photographs and descriptions of garments found in men's wear fashion periodicals such as American Gentleman, The Tailors' Intelligencer, Custom Cutter and Fashion Review and Proceedings of the Annual Conventions of the International Custom Cutters' Association of America and others provide valuable sources. Research using such sources could focus on the minute changes of styling details (such as shape and position of pocket flaps) in order to identify fashionable change in men's wear more precisely.

2. Tailors' technical publications contain good information for use by reproduction costumers. The Tailors' Intelligencer provides pattern drafting directions, assembly processes and construction materials of use to the reproduction costumer. A systematic study of this and other trade journals could identify authentic materials, styles and techniques for use in reproduction costume construction.

3. Tables of proportion developed by authors of drafting systems need examination and analysis of their mathematical validity. Tables of proportions often accompanied pattern drafting systems and were used to extrapolate several body measurements from a single measurement such as the chest circumference. By the early twentieth century, many tailors had realized that most tables of proportion were too simplistic. How sophisticated were these tables and were some better at predicting measurements than others? Future studies

could examine pattern drafting systems and the theoretical explanations and content of tables of proportion to determine the validity and applicability of early authors' mathematical analysis of the human form. Such research would contribute to our understanding of the intellectual (mathematical) development of this trade.

4. Business histories should be undertaken for tailoring firms, trade publishers and cutting schools. The order books and ledgers of tailors provide data about customers, fabrics, styles and prices charged for custom made garments. Some museums and archives collect these business records of tailors (Gibb and Co., McCord Archives, Montreal; Godman, 1989). Research should be undertaken for merchant, custom and factory tailors, cutting schools and publishers of trade journals to develop business histories of these industries.

5. A search for union labels should be a part of the documentation of all tailor-made men's wear. These labels could provide clues to documenting specific men's wear artifacts. The Journeymen Tailors' Union of America (JTUA) approved the use of their label in garments made in union tailor shop beginning in 1885 in Canada and the United States. Combined with other identifying labels and a list of JTUA locals, more precise dating of men's wear may be possible.

6. More investigation on a regional basis should be done of locals of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America (JTUA). Histories of locals should be set within their local labour context. Sources include JTUA lists of locals established, names of their members (both published in the newspaper The Tailor) and municipal business directories.

7. Lists of suppliers and subscribers published in trade journals should be used in local trade histories. Trade journals often published lists of subscribers and advertisements for regional suppliers. These sources could be used to supplement local histories of the tailoring trade.

8. British men's wear printed sources must be examined in a systematic way. Pattern drafting systems, fashion and trade periodicals must be identified, examined and analyzed to determine their characteristics for comparison with American sources. The relevance of these materials to the tailoring trade in Canada must be determined. Such investigations could be extended to the other language groups (French, German, Russian, Spanish, etc.) that settled North America. (The Library of Congress has large holdings of Russian pattern drafting systems.)

9. Pattern drafting systems should be used as a source of information about postural ideals over time. Published systems usually included a diagram of the "ideal" male form upon which to describe the measurements necessary for drafting with each system. A preliminary look at a range of these diagrams (identified during the study of pattern drafting systems) has indicated that they may provide valuable clues to the evolution of North American posture from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries. This work would build upon the work of Kidwell (1970) on eighteenth century American posture.

10. A systematic content analysis of the subject matter of articles and advertisements in trade journals would provide information about the economic changes experienced within the trade. Journals for sewing tailors, cutters, business owners and the ready to wear

industry remain for study. Both American and British sources are available. This information would lead to our understanding of changes in the methods of production of men's wear.

11. Tailors' bills of prices should be used in research for reproduction costume. Price lists approved and proposed by tailors' organizations remain in archives and in libraries as reprints. A systematic analysis of these documents would result in lists of the materials used and techniques employed in the tailoring of specific time periods. This work would provide detailed data for use by producers of reproduction costumes for historic sites.

12. Techniques described in historic instructional manuals should be investigated and adapted for use by reproduction costumers. Two publications (The tailor, c.1850 and Byrne, 1885) contained detailed explanations of the many types of stitches within the technical repertoire of the nineteenth century tailor. The tailor and Hasluck (1909) included step by step instructions for garment assembly. These sources could be used to develop practical guides (demonstrations or printed directions) for use by agencies producing "authentic" reproduction men's wear for historic interpretive sites.

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APPENDIX A

Glossary of terms

(Note: unless otherwise indicated, definitions were developed by the author.)

Apprentice:

A person who has signed papers indenturing himself to a master tailor to learn the skills required to become a journeyman of the trade.

Bespoke tailor: See master tailor.

Breeches:

A bifurcated garment with falls (to 1840), or a centre front opening fly. Loose or tight fitting legs (depending on style) end above or below the knee. They were made from soft leather until about the beginning of the nineteenth century, after which they fell out of fashion and are retained as riding, court dress and children's wear.

Bushelmen:

A sewing tailor whose job in the large tailor shop or clothing factory is to correct the full variety of construction defects that may occur during the construction process. The alterations tailor (one who alters ready to wear clothing) is sometimes called a bushelmen (in Britain where alterations tailors are less common). Although the job description does not appear to be technically demanding, as the factory system took over, tailors with this broad range of skills were considered to be very valuable.

Business wear:

Those garment ensembles deemed appropriate for attending to business duties in an urban setting.

Custom tailor: See master tailor.

Cut-away coat: See morning coat.

Cutter:

A person, usually male, who is solely responsible for determining the shape of the garment pieces, planning the efficient layout of the pattern on cloth, and cutting the pieces from fabric in preparation for their assembly by another worker or assembly line. (Kidwell, 1979)

Dress coat:

A single or double breasted jacket cut to the front waist line (or slightly below). The back skirt is a pair of forked tails with pleats on either side of the centre vent. The garment appears in the history of men's wear from about 1750 to the present day. (Byrde, 1979; Oxford, 1971; de Marly, 1985; Waugh, 1964)

Dress jacket: See dress coat.

Dung:

(Early C.19th British term) "...Predecessors of the sweated workers, who usually worked for lower wages, under a piecework system, and usually at home..." Also called the "dishonourable" section of the trade. (Schmiechen, 1984, p.8.)

Falls:

The flapped front trouser closure, precursor to the fly. Extending across the whole front called "whole falls" or ranging from 5 inches to nine inches wide called "small falls". Replaced by the fly about 1840. (Cunnington, 1959)

Flint:

(Early C.19th British term) Those tailors who worked in a master's shop only by hourly or daily rates of pay. Also called the "honourable" section of the trade. (See also "dung".) (Schmiechen, 1984)

Formal jacket: See dress coat.

Formal wear:

Those clothing ensembles deemed acceptable for evening dress functions.

Frock coat:

A waist-seamed coat, double or single breasted, with straight front edges that fall to approximately knee length (depending on fashion). First introduced about 1846, it evolved into an overcoat as well as business wear. Its height of popularity was from about 1860 to 1895. (Waugh, 1964)

Greatcoat: See overcoat.

Inside shop:

A workplace where the entire garment was constructed on the premises from cutting to finishing. (Kidwell, 1974)

Journeyman tailor:

A tailor who has undertaken the training and apprenticeship prescribed by the jurisdiction in which he resides. He is capable of independently producing tailored garments but is working as an employee in the shop of a master or merchant tailor.

Lounge coat:

A single or double-breasted, three-seamed coat of straight silhouette and easy fit. It has two lower (often flapped) pockets and a single breast pocket. It came into use about 1865 as informal wear, and has had many variations such as the Norfolk jacket and the reefer coat. In the 1890's the lounge suit (with matching coat, trousers and waistcoat) became acceptable day wear and is the style of jacket worn by men throughout the twentieth century.

Manufactory:

A large workshop, free standing or part of another building, where the assembly-line production of goods is conducted. The work is efficiently done by a division of labour, but no machines are involved. The prototype of the later factory. (Wikantz)

Master tailor:

A tailor who has achieved more proficiency than a journeyman and may train tailors. He may operate his own shop alone, with hired journeymen and/or the help of his family members. For the purposes of this study, the master tailor makes only custom clothing for individual clients.

Merchant tailor:

(The term has two meanings, depending upon the date of use.) Pre-1870: A tailor whose workshop has expanded to include the sale of cloth to clients and may include production of ready to wear clothing as well as work for the custom clients. The ready to wear production may or may not take place on the tailor's own premises. Late nineteenth century: A tailor who operates a large custom order house. His shop produces a large volume of custom made garments, and it may be run like a factory. His business is in competition with ready to wear clothing.

Morning coat:

A single-breasted jacket with front edges sloping back into a curve. It has a centre vent and two back skirt pieces topped by buttons. It replaced the frock coat as fashionable day wear beginning about 1850. "As riding was a popular morning exercise for gentlemen this coat came to be known as a 'riding coat', and was also worn on more informal occasions" (Waugh, p.113).

Outwork:

Work that is obtained from a contractor and is completed outside of the contractor's place of business - usually in the workers home.

Overcoat:

A coat worn outside another. (Concise Oxford) A term coming into use mid-nineteenth century. (Cunnington, 1965)

Pantaloons:

Calf or ankle length, close-fitting tights with a front fall closure. They extended below the calf c.1817 and later (c.1969) extended to the ankle, being held taut with straps under the foot. About 1790 - 1830 they became riding wear. (Cunnington, 1965)

Riding coat: See morning coat.

Sac or sack coat: See lounge coat.

Sewing tailor:

A tailor who works in a team or sectional system shop and is solely responsible for one aspect of construction. The sewing tailor may have less training than the full journeyman tailor and does not have the skill to cut garments.

Swallow tail coat: See dress coat.

Sweating:

"...any situation in which the piecework wages were so low that workers had to keep going at a gruelling pace for many hours at a time." (Johnson & Johnson, p.39)

Tail coat: See dress coat.

Topcoat:

An outer coat, of lighter-weight fabric than an overcoat. (Schneller & Cole, 1975)

Trimmer:

The cutter's assistant whose job it is to cut the simpler garment components such as linings, pocketings; to transfer the work to the workmen, appropriately labelled; to take the customers measurements and orders; to keep the order book; and to order supplies as required. (Vincent, c. 1970)

Trousers:

A garment enclosing the legs and extending from the waist to the ankles. They were closed by small falls until 1823 when the centre front fly was introduced. Trousers were accepted as day wear from about 1807, and evening wear from about 1817 to the present. (Cunnington, 1965)

Vest: See waistcoat.

Waistcoat:

A bodice fitting, usually sleeveless garment, worn under the coat to accessorize the trouser and coat ensemble. It was introduced as a fashionable garment about 1660, became a fussy accessory during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and grew increasingly sober during the twentieth century. The waistcoat may have a collar and/or lapels and may be single or double breasted. (Byrde, 1979)

APPENDIX B

CODING SHEET FOR PATTERN DRAFTING SYSTEMS

Variable	Value
STAGE ONE: ID Number	3 columns
Country of publication	1 Britain 2 United States 3 Canada 4 Other
Year of publication	3 columns
Sex of author	1 Male 2 Female 3 Indeterminate
Drafting medium	1 Cloth 2 Paper or card 3 Either 4 No mention
Intended user	1 Custom tailor 2 Merchant tailor 3 Cutter 4 Home sewer 5 Indeterminate
Corpulency fitting	1 Discussed 2 Unmentioned
Assessment of posture	1 Considered 2 Unmentioned
Method of assessment	1 Measured 2 Subjective 3 Both 4 None

STAGE TWO:

Usable system	**1 Usable** **2 Not usable**
System of measurement used	**1 Proportion** **2 Natural measures** **3 Combination**
Proportion used	**1 None** **2 Shoulder** **3 Chest** **4 Seat** **5 Other/combination**

APPENDIX C

CODING RULES FOR PATTERN DRAFTING SYSTEMS

STAGE ONE:

1. Assign ID number (code three digits), then record manually author's name and title of work.

2. Enter country of publication. Code "1" for Britain, code "2" for the United States, code "3" for Canada. Code "4" if the system was published in another country.

3. Enter year of publication using last three digits of the year. Enter "999" for missing value.

4. Enter sex of author. Code "1" for male and code "2" for female authors. Enter "3" if sex is indeterminate by name.

5. Drafting medium is explained, usually in the author's preamble to the system, or at the beginning of the first drafting example. If the method drafts onto the cloth, with no intermediate drafting-onto-paper step, code "1". If the method drafts first onto paper or card, code "2". If the method drafts some elements directly onto the fabric, and some onto paper first, code "3". If no mention of the medium is made anywhere in the drafting system, code "4".

6. The intended user is determined from the preamble to the drafting system. Often the author directs the system to a particular user. If the system is directed to the custom tailor code "1", or the merchant tailor code "2". If the cutter is identified as the user of the system, code "3". If the home sewer is the intended user, code "4" and if the information is not available, code "5".

7. If the system includes a chapter, or chapters on fitting the corpulent client, if the information is but part of a chapter on fittings or is confined to one or two examples within a section on general fitting problems or if the problem of corpulency is mentioned, without detailed solutions being offered, code "1". If the problem is not mentioned, code "2".

8. If the author deals with assessment of posture in the drafting system, code "1". If no mention of posture is made, code "2".

9. The method of postural assessment of the client is coded as follows: If the method described involves measuring the client's posture with a tape measure or ruler, code "1". If the tailor measures the client's posture "by eye", that is, using subjective means, code "2". If a combination of both methods are prescribed, code "3". If no method for measuring posture was indicated (as indicated in point 8, above) code "4".

STAGE TWO:

10. If after drafting with a selected system it works, either using the author's examples, or with standard measurements, code "1". If the system does not work to give shapes equivalent to the diagrams within the system, code "2".

11. The type of measurements used as a basis for drafting is coded as follows: code "1" if a method using one proportion or a variety of proportions is used. Code "2" if only natural body measurements are used. Code "3" if a combination of natural measurements and proportions are used.

12. The type of proportion used is recorded as follows: code "1" if no proportions of body measurements are incorporated into the drafting system. Code "2" if the system uses proportions of the shoulder measurement. Code "3" for chest and "4" for seat if proportions of these measurements are used. Code "5" if the system employs a variety of proportions, or proportions of another body dimension (eg. height).

APPENDIX D

INSTRUCTIONAL MANUALS - SOURCES

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APPENDIX E

The following list includes the local number, city, secretary's name and mailing address for the forty Canadian locals as listed in The Tailor, February 1910 (20(7),20).

23 Peterboro, M. Johnston, 360 Stewart

30 London, Ont., J.G. Hussey, 243 1/2 Dundas Street

33 Woodstock, Ont., T. Breckenridge, Box 685

70 Winnipeg, David Miller, 546 Victor Street

114 Windsor, Ont. G.H. Elliott Box 351

117 Brantford, Ont. W.W. Woods, 9 Princess Street

132 Toronto, James Watt, Labor Temple

141 St. Thomas, Ont., W. Abernethy, 32 Ross Street

142 Victoria, BC, Ed. Christopher, Box 387

143 Ottawa, Chas. Milne, 210 Gladstone Avenue

149 Hamilton J.A. Honeycomb, 13 1/2 N. Macnab Street

156 West Toronto, M.P. Aitchison, Box 86

175 Revelstoke, BC, Miss F. Benson, Box 101

178 Vancouver, F. Williams, 1814 W 7th Avenue

188 Amherst, NS, D. Mc Donald, Box 270

191 Ft. William, Ont., Wm. Gibb, Box 478

194 Calgary, Mrs. Brown, 708 Center Street

217 Niagara Falls, Ont., Harold Burns, Box 81

226 Sudbury, Ont., A. Trevelyan, Box 220

233 Edmonton, Chas. S. Birch, c/o Hockley & Co.

235 St. Catharines, Ont., V. Fullerton, Box 955

236 Kenora, Ont., Belle Morris, Box 29

241 Sarnia, Ont., M.J. Foster, 306 London Road

252 Rossland, BC, Alex. Cameron, Box 753

262 Brockville, Ont., David Muirhead, Box 49

263 Kingston, Ont., J. Snowe, 101 Queen Street

264 Berlin, Ont., O.A. Stauch, 83 St. George Street

275 Regina, Sask., John Tritter, Box 936

293 Nelson, BC, W.B. Pollard, Box 414

297 Guelph, Ont., Tonic Astell, 130 Oxford Street

307 Sydney, NS, J.J. Cameron, Box 155

317 Montreal, L.M. Dupont, 898 Beaubien Boulevard

340 St. Mary, Ont., Harry Wrenford, Box 34

345 Phoenix, BC, G.W. McAuliff

355 Cornwall, Ont., J.B. Ouellette, Box 414

365 Galt, Ont., Margaret Moreland, Box 757

409 Halifax, Percy J. Young, 3 Chestnut Street

410 St. John's, NF, J.H. Snow, 26 Colonial Street

417 Wallaceburg, Ont., Fred Boyd, Box 297

420 Port Arthur, Ont., Lizzie Curran, Box 150

APPENDIX F

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF 102 PATTERN DRAFTING SYSTEMS STUDIED

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