

The Iconography of Labour: An Overview of Canadian Materials

by ROSEMARY DONEGAN*

The working class, because of its position, has not, since the Industrial Revolution, produced a culture in the narrower sense. The culture which it has produced, and which it is important to recognize, is the collective democratic institution, whether in the trade union, the co-operative movements or a political party. Working-class culture, in the stage through which it has been passing, is primarily social (in that it has created institutions) rather than individual (in particular intellectual or imaginative work). When it is considered in context, it can be seen as a very remarkable creative achievement.¹

Introduction

During the course of research for the Hamilton Art Gallery's exhibition *Industrial Images/Images industrielles*, whose subject was the imagery of Canada's industrial experience, the author encountered visual artefacts of the labour movement tucked away in union halls, archives, museums, and private collections throughout Canada.² Taken together, these items — banners, charters, buttons, and other ephemera — formed a partial but fascinating history, a neglected iconography that documents labour's story in a unique and often striking fashion. Not surprisingly, this research illuminated at least some of the problems involved in the acquisition and preservation of union artefacts in Canada.

An icon is a symbol or image that represents religious or legendary subjects.³ Symbols have been used in most cultures throughout history to impart a story or a moral to a preliterate audience, overcoming barriers of language, lack of education, and illiteracy. Similarly, trade unions, and the broader labour movement, have used images to articulate succinct messages easily grasped by their membership and by working-class people in general.

By its very nature, iconography tends to be universal, and transcends the specific racial, religious, and class groupings which produce the images. Furthermore, iconography is not only culturally non-specific, but it is also historically continuous. Although the form of symbolism changes as ideologies, issues, and

social relations change, its general purpose remains the same, even though the original meaning has often been lost.

In looking at the formal imagery of the union movement, we can see how it has evolved by responding to changes in society as a whole, notably growing literacy within the working class and developments in the technology of mechanical reproduction. The most obvious visual transformation has been the evolution of graphic design and popular taste, from the busy decorativeness of late Victoriana to the stylized simplicity of modernism. Union symbolism has also been affected by the popular and sometimes spontaneous expressions of trade union ideology arising in response to specific struggles and events, which makes it possible to trace the formal and informal shifts that occurred within the unions themselves and in society as a whole.⁴

Nineteenth-Century Labour Symbolism

The roots of labour iconography in Canada lay in European culture. The earliest icons were religious symbols developed in the Middle Ages. Secular icons took the form of crests, medals, and military emblems of the landed gentry and military class. Later, they also appeared in the form of ribbons, banners, badges, and insignia used to distinguish authority. The striped barber's pole and the three golden balls of the pawn shop were familiar public business signs. Early craft guilds similarly defined and symbolized occupations with visual images, advertising themselves and projecting a positive image of pride in their members' status as skilled craftsmen. Such symbols were visually and emotionally effective in a largely preliterate society.

Banners became popular union artefacts in Britain when trade unions emerged from the guise of secret societies. Union banners incorporated traditional Catholic and Protestant symbols, as well as imagery used by Freemasons, friendly societies, and temperance groups.⁵ With the establishment of Tutill's, a large-scale banner-making business in London, a recognizable labour iconography began to emerge during the 1840s.

Despite the popularity of early union banners in Canada, very few have survived. In fact, the only example the writer was able to locate for the *Industrial Images* exhibition was a Clothiers and Tailors banner deposited in the New Brunswick Museum at Saint John. The banner portrays Adam and Eve, naked except for a few discreetly placed leaves, being ejected from the Garden of Eden. The image was popular with early tailors' trade unions, as Adam's and Eve's state of undress eloquently symbolized the need for clothes. The reverse side of the banner displays a coat of arms incorporating the motto "Concordia Parvae Res Crescunt." The banner is almost identical to the banner of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors, Belfast District, which portrays Adam and Eve in exactly the same posture: Eve shading her eyes and covering her left breast in shame; Adam glancing back over his shoulder at the tree and serpent. The image of the expulsion of Adam and Eve had been derived from the arms of the Worshipful Company of Needlemakers.⁶

A parade which took place at Saint John, New Brunswick, on 17 May 1840 included in its ranks 1,500 men from ten trades, whose "displays of banners, badges, emblems, models and devices far exceeded all expectation, and made a



Figure 1: *Banner, Clothiers and Tailors Union, Saint John, N.B.* Courtesy: New Brunswick Museum, Saint John.

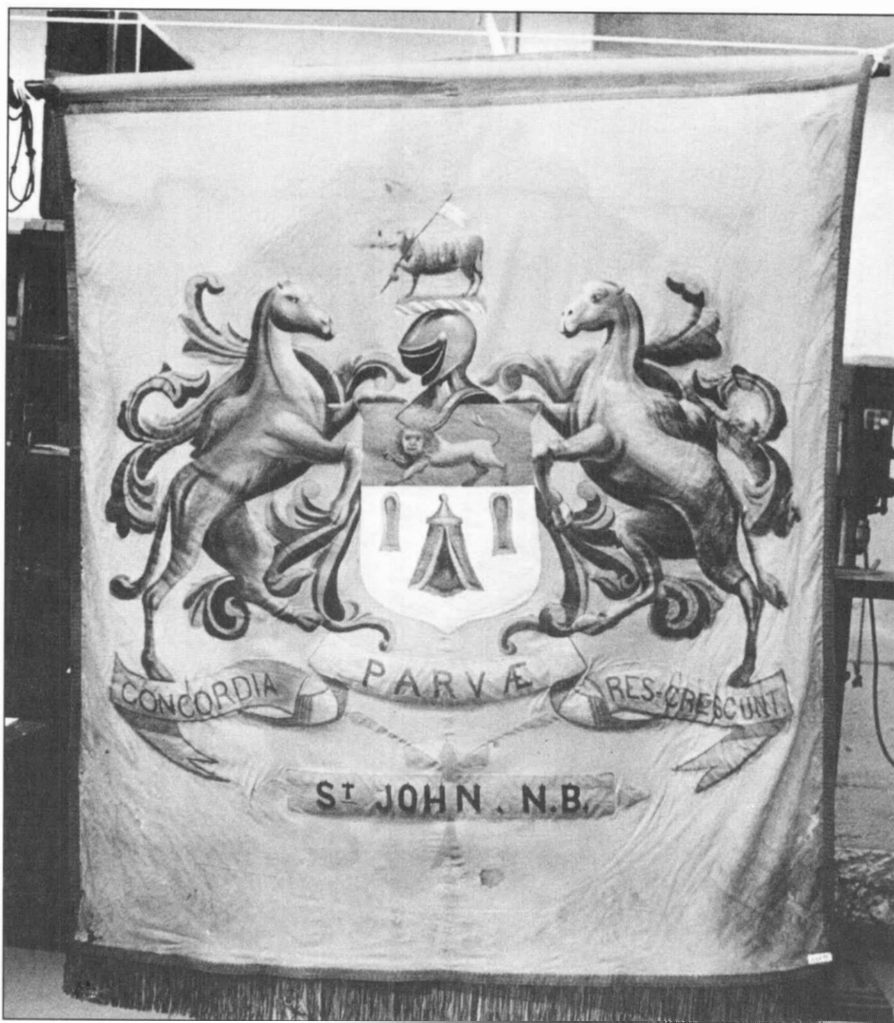


Figure 2: *Banner (verso), Clothiers and Tailors Union, Saint John, N.B.* Courtesy: New Brunswick Museum, Saint John.

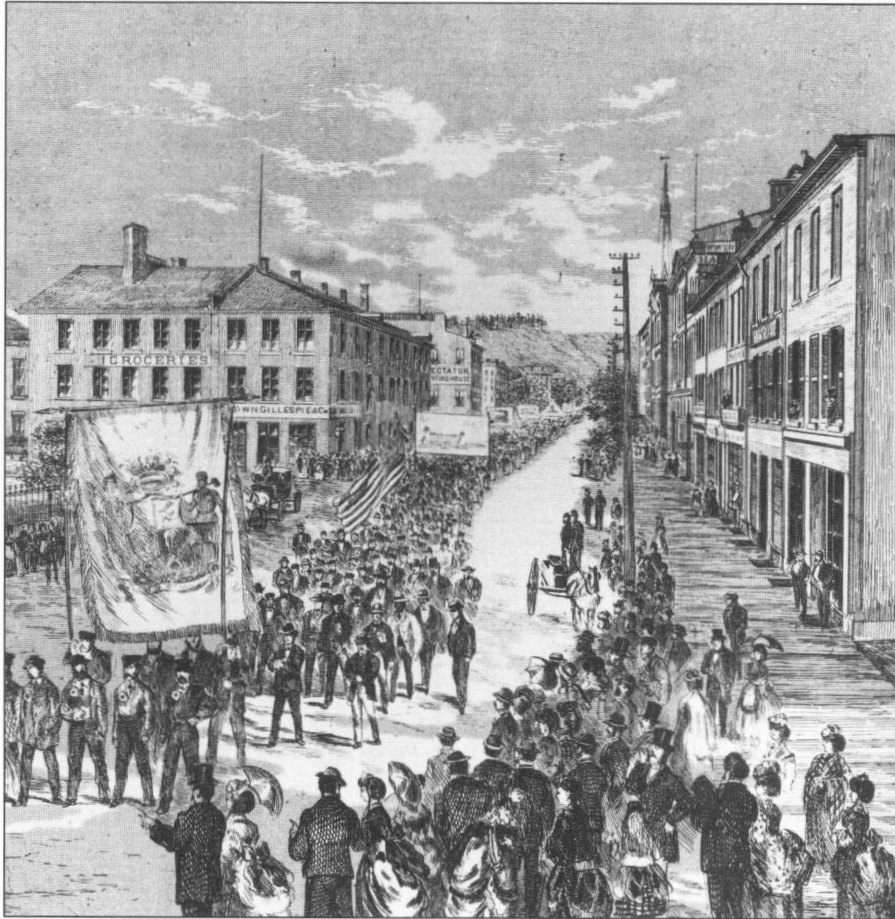


Figure 3: "Hamilton — Procession of the Nine-hour Movement Men. — From a photograph," *Canadian Illustrated News*, Vol. V, No. 23 (8 June 1872), p. 353. Courtesy: National Archives of Canada, Documentary Art and Photography Division, C-58640.



Figure 4: *Insignia of the Knights of Labor*. Courtesy: National Archives of Canada, Manuscript Division, T. Phillips Thompson Papers, MG 29 D 71, C-133510.

most imposing spectacle.”⁷ The tailors were preceded by “a banner inscribed ‘Concordia parvae crescunt’(sic).”⁸ The same banner seems to have figured over a decade later in another Saint John parade which occurred in September 1853. A newspaper report which described the activities of the tailors in the parade stated: “Adam and Eve stood their part well. They were followed by a Golden Lamb and the trade Banner. Two Camels with the motto ‘Concordia parvae res Crescunt’.”⁹

The banner was discovered in the museum’s storage vaults a number of years ago, but there is little documentation concerning its provenance. Unfortunately, the object is in very fragile condition and, therefore, is very difficult to display without inflicting further damage. Banners painted on silk have suffered greater deterioration than those painted on cotton, as silk is highly susceptible to fibre rot.

Banners were public declarations of the respectability and the growing strength of trade unions in an emerging industrial society. Other examples include the often-reproduced “Procession of the Nine Hour Movement,” first published on the cover

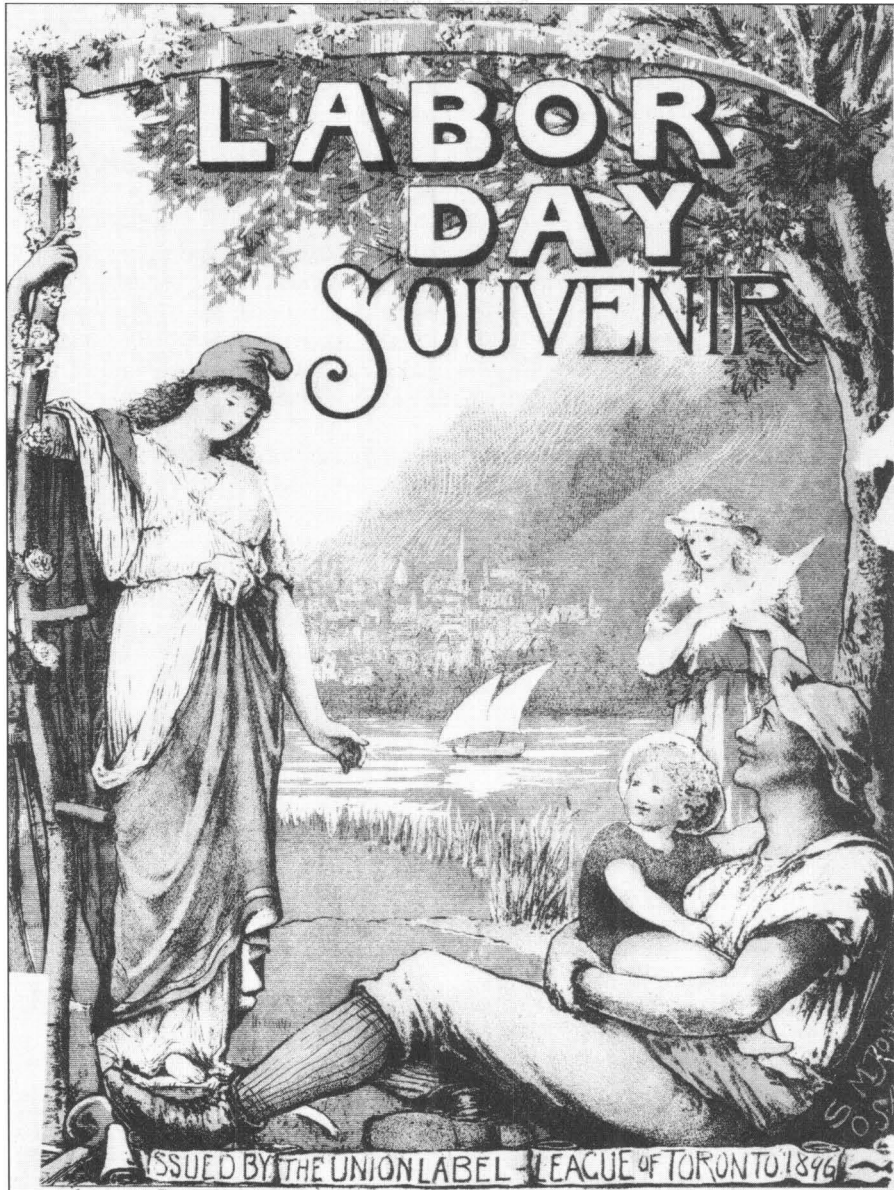


Figure 5: Cover illustration by S.M. Jones, *Labor Day Demonstration 1896 Official Souvenir Program* (Toronto, 1896). Courtesy: Metropolitan Toronto Library Board.

of the *Canadian Illustrated News* of 8 June 1872, which depicts a procession which moved along Hamilton's South James Street, led by a large banner and followed by supporters who marched with flags and banners, and who wore what appear to be buttons or medals on their lapels.

However, many early unions were organized and operated as secret societies and their symbols were not public, but private. The Knights of Labor, one of the largest labour reform movements active in Ontario in the 1880s and 1890s, produced little in the way of formal, public visual symbols. Initiation ceremonies and rituals of meetings were generally secret, and included signs, passwords, secret handshakes, and challenges drawn from fraternal societies like the Freemasons, the Oddfellows, and the Orangemen.¹⁰ The only official emblem to have survived is the Knights' insignia: a star superimposed with circles, polygons, and a triangle bearing the motto "That is the most perfect government in which an injury to one is the concern of all."

With the establishment of Labour Day as an official workers' holiday in Canada in 1894, the annual parade of workers became a major public spectacle.¹¹ Celebratory in nature, the parades, held in cities across the country, were public declarations of the strength and pride of local labour movements. Contemporary newspaper accounts, which describe banners, floats, and costumes, indicate that each union would march in formation, its members dressed in a sanitized version of their work clothes, carrying banners, and accompanied by floats exemplifying their trade and skills. The parade was usually followed by a picnic and entertainment.

In 1896, the *Toronto Labor Day Souvenir Program* commemorated the 8,000 workers who marched in the Labour Day parade which culminated at the Toronto Industrial Exhibition grounds.¹² The programme's cover illustration depicts an idyllic landscape and features a man with a child in his arms, as well as an allegorical female figure holding a large scythe, and a young woman in the distance. The artist, S.M. Jones, used late-Victorian popular imagery and religious allegory as a means of expressing the desire of trade unions to be perceived as a harmonious, utopian haven for the working man, a protective rather than a militant force.

The booklet was produced by the Toronto Union Label League, an association of trade unions that promoted the labelling of union-made consumer goods as an incentive for employers to accept union workers. The union label was indeed "the Worker's trademark certifying to the world that the article to which it is affixed has been made by a first-class workman, at a fair price for his labor, and that the work has been performed under good sanitary conditions."¹³ Most successful in the cigar-making, printing, and garment industries, the League's campaign used visual symbols in the same way that contemporary businesses used trademarks to confirm proof of patent and to establish brand loyalties for manufactured goods in a burgeoning consumer society.¹⁴

As education and literacy gained ground, labour imagery became more stylized and was often relegated to being merely a decorative border surrounding a printed text. This shift can be seen in one of the few symbolic documents owned by each union local: the union charter. Most locals received a charter as a legal record of

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BUTTONS**

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71 Yonge Street, TORONTO.

J. B. FULLER, *Manager.*

Figure 6: Advertisement of The Whitehead & Hoag Company, *Toronto Labor Directory and Union Label Handbook; Official Directory of the Toronto Trades and Labor Council* (Toronto, 1896), p. 6. Courtesy: Metropolitan Toronto Library.

existence and as a legal symbol of membership in a central union. Originating in the secret charters of the friendly societies, charters and certificates of membership were highly valued. Most charters have been preserved, and continue to have symbolic importance for both the leadership and members of unions.

Charters were often elaborately designed, using the lithographic process.¹⁵ An interesting nineteenth-century example is the certificate of membership in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, which represented workers in Canada, the United States, and Mexico.¹⁶ Designed around the central image of a locomotive engine, with references to the tools of the locomotive engineer, the certificate is appropriately bordered by train tracks which frame the virtues attributed to union membership: justice, truth, morality, sobriety. The motto “Do Unto Others As Ye Would They Should Do Unto You And So Fulfil The Law” and symbols denoting the nationalities of the union’s membership (a beaver represents Canada) complete the design. The graphic style is drawn from contemporary Victorian illustration and contains allusions to religious pictures and Greek allegorical figures.

Buttons, ribbons, and medals were also common popular artefacts of the union movement during the nineteenth century. Buttons and tokens were usually made of

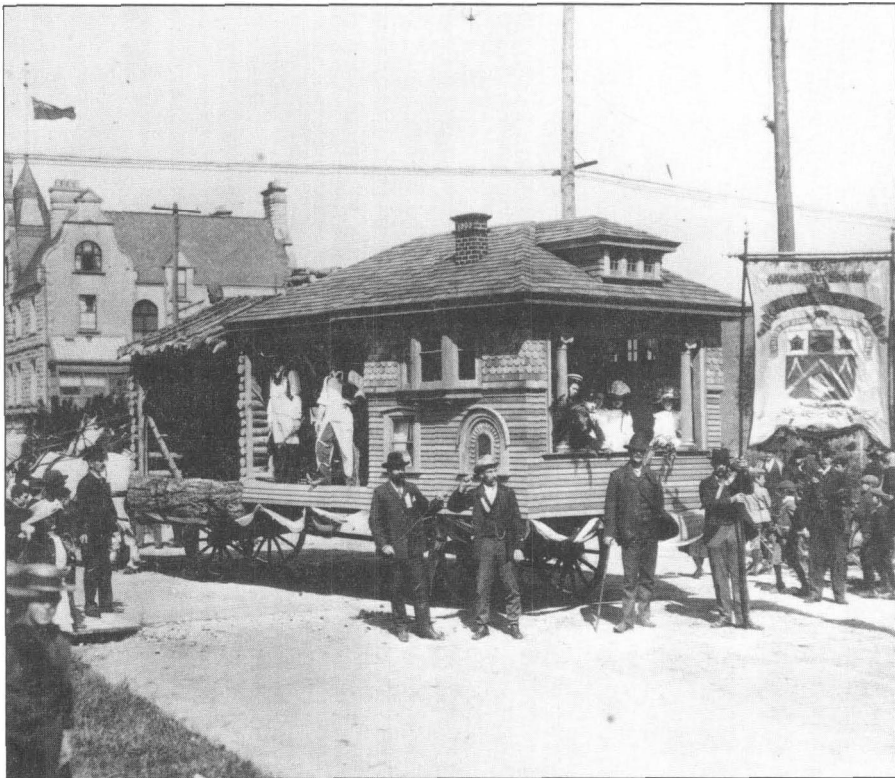


Figure 7: *Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners' float, Labour Day Parade, Seymour and Dunsmuir Streets, Vancouver, B.C., September 1903.* Courtesy: Vancouver City Archives.

tin and painted, or covered with celluloid; some were cast in metal and stamped with an enamel design and ordered from badge-making companies.¹⁷ Crudely designed, they were worn as public indicators of union membership and extolled such union causes as the “8-Hour Day” and “Social Justice.”

Early Twentieth Century: Symbols of Respectability

In the early twentieth century, Canada experienced unprecedented growth as a result of mass industrialization, continuing immigration, and growing urbanization. With the growth of the economy and the consequent demand for skilled trades, craft unions achieved some degree of success in organizing the major trades. Part of this continuing struggle for recognition and acceptance was the need for unions to establish themselves as legitimate social organizations. Labour’s desire to present an image of respectability, seriousness, and good citizenship can be seen most overtly in union photographs of the period, in which leaders and members typically line up formally, clean and sober, and look directly into the camera. The most obvious shift in union symbols after the turn of the century was the move away from religious and allegorical images to a more straightforward representation of the members’ particular skills and trades. Less obviously, one starts to see a growing reliance on text rather than pictorial imagery.

In this period, union banners were often designed around the union name and local number, perhaps with a small emblem, while the pictorial content became



Figure 8: *Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers’ float, Labour Day Parade, Winnipeg, Man., ca. 1915.* Courtesy: Foote Collection, Manitoba Archives.



Figure 9: Charter of the International Association of Machinists, ca. 1929. Courtesy: National Archives of Canada, Manuscript Division, International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers' Papers, MG 28 I 191.

ICONOGRAPHY OF LABOUR

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Figure 10: Advertisement of The Dominion Regalia Co. Limited, Labor Day Souvenir Program (Toronto, 1907). Courtesy: Metropolitan Toronto Library.

more limited and more specific. The banner of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners in the 1903 Vancouver Labour Day parade, for instance, is quite simple, consisting of the name of the union, the number of the local, and the official emblem.

The most interesting visual aspect of these parades was often the floats, which depicted the skills and expertise of the union's members. In the 1903 Vancouver parade, the carpenters marched with a float which was a full-scale replica of a small wooden house of the style popular on the West Coast, complete with cedar shingles, chimney, and classical columns. A photograph of the Winnipeg Labour Day parade, circa 1915, shows the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers assembling for the festivities. Decked out in their best suits and full ceremonial regalia, and carrying hand-tools and the union banner, the workers are standing in front of a scaled-down sheet metal replica of a battleship. The group is informal and relaxed, but their patriotism and pride in their collective skills is evident. Unfortunately, these floats can be documented only in the photographic record of the period.

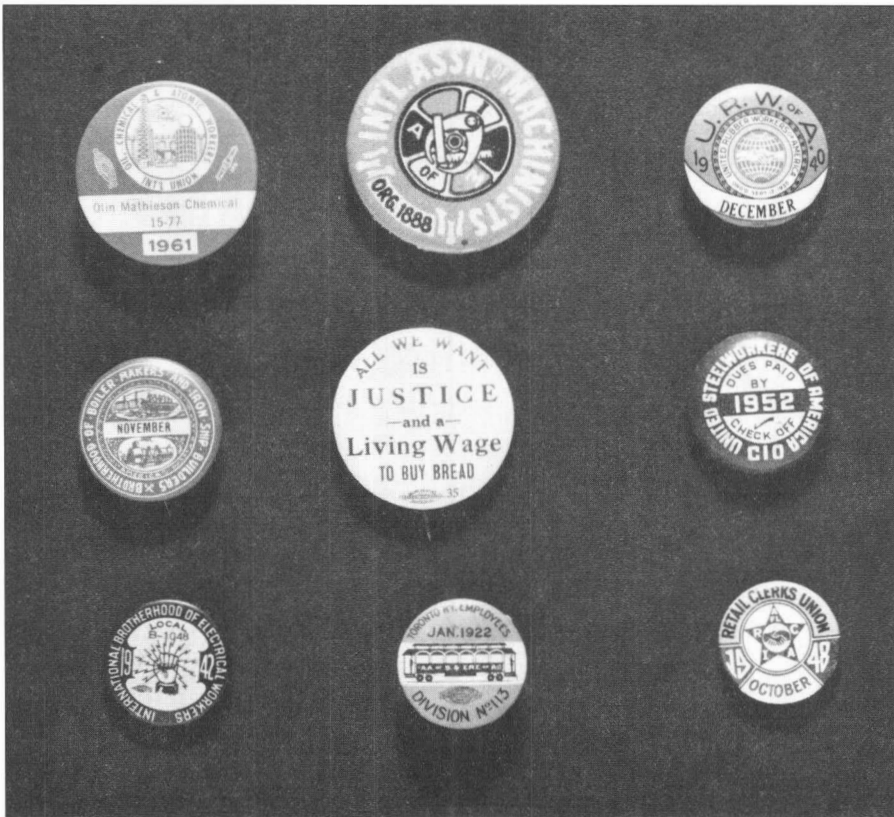


Figure 11A: Assorted labour buttons and tokens. Courtesy: Karl Beveridge and Carole Condé Collection, Toronto.



Figure 11B: *Assorted labour buttons and tokens.* Courtesy: Karl Beveridge and Carole Condé Collection, Toronto.

Charters during the early twentieth century also tended to be simpler in design, their graphic elements limited to a few details of work tools and the representation of skills. A good example is the International Association of Machinists' charter held by the National Archives of Canada. Printed in two colours with a gold seal, the charter features an architectural cross-section of compartments which frame depictions of the work of a machinist. The decorative border surrounding the text of the union constitution consists of industrial motifs. In the details of the visual design of charters, one can see further evidence of the movement toward a more literate form. Here the union's constitution is in printed form, unlike the previously mentioned Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' charter, which is primarily pictorial. As many Canadian charters were designed and printed in the United States by the head office, their imagery tends to be general and "international" in nature, rarely presenting specifically-Canadian imagery or symbolism.

The unions active during the early part of the century also developed regalia in the form of ribbons, sashes, and pins. The ribbons featured the union name and local and included the union's emblem in the form of a metal medallion. The reverse side often featured the insignia "In Memoriam" and was worn for funerals.

The ribbon was attached by an enamelled pin which depicted two hands in the act of shaking hands and bore the motto "In Union There is Strength."

By far the most common medium which unions used to convey their message was, of course, the placard. In strikes, as well as in May Day and Labour Day parades, members usually carried placards. Either produced for a specific event or used repeatedly in successive protests or parades, the placards were purely verbal and rarely utilized a visual element. Strike meetings, elections, and social events were promoted by posters and handbills, printed in local, unionized print shops. As placards, handbills, and leaflets were produced quickly and simply, their visual appeal was purely functional. Although local members have frequently kept them as mementos, they have rarely been collected in public institutions. Paper deterioration, the lack of permanency of most inks and paints, and the lack of adequate storage have made them difficult to preserve.

Union medals and buttons, on the other hand, have been treasured and preserved. Commercially produced on a mass scale, these items, particularly dues buttons which proved that a member had paid monthly dues, were common, and many have survived. Highly codified, the buttons and medals bear a small visual symbol,



Figure 12: Collage of Industrial Workers of the World pamphlets. Courtesy: University of British Columbia, The Library, Special Collections Division, Angus MacInnis Memorial Collection, Box 33, Folder 1.

which depicts the specific trade, surrounded by the name of the union and, frequently, its affiliation to its larger labour federation. They can often be found in private memorabilia collections, as well as at auctions and antique fairs. A few archival collections and museums do have button and medal collections, but they are few and far between, considering the proliferation of these objects over the years.¹⁸

It is interesting to look at the visual imagery of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and the One Big Union (OBU) produced during the early twentieth century, which forms a striking contrast to the seriousness of traditional craft union imagery. Although they had limited strength in Canada and were only active for a short period, the OBU and the IWW were both known for their populist radical workplace-organizing strategy, which was related to anarcho-syndicalism. Their cartoons, logos, and posters feature symbols and messages which attack the status quo with an aggressive tone. Slogans such as “4 Hours Work for 8 Hours Pay Puts More Workers on the Job/Every Day!” established an image of stridency and momentum, in contrast to the image of sobriety and morality adopted by most craft unions of the period.

Stylistically, the crude IWW and OBU symbols, such as the clenched fist and the muscular worker striding forward, reflected the comic strips and cartoons of popular working-class publications. The sharp humour and irony were essential in conveying the immediacy of their message. The OBU was actively organizing non-skilled workers, primarily non-English-speaking immigrants, so that simple, striking visual symbols played an important role in union strategy.

Throughout the early twentieth century, formal imagery continued to change, reflecting the developing structure and scale of labour organizations. Often, the image of labour was not that different from the image of industry. Chimneys belching smoke were symbols of industry, progress, and full employment, used alike by unions, management, and left-wing political parties, as they shared the same belief

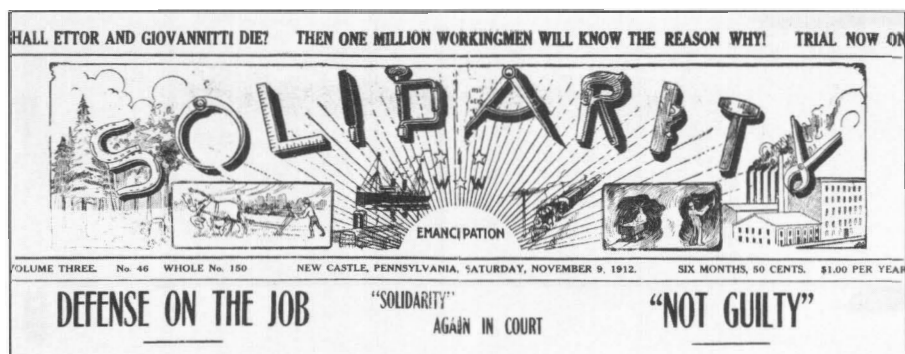


Figure 13: *Masthead of the I.W.W. newspaper Solidarity, Vol. 3, No. 46 (9 November 1912)*. Courtesy: University of British Columbia, The Library, Special Collections Division, Records of the Vancouver Branch, Industrial Workers of the World, Box 3, File 3.

that industry equalled progress. Although the symbol of the muscled worker does appear frequently in contemporary company and government images, it was rarely used by the union movement, which saw its members as skilled workers with ideas, and not as mere labourers.

The Modern Period and Shifts in Labour Symbolism

A major shift in official union symbolism took place in the 1930s with the growth of mass industrial unions under the auspices of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Widespread unemployment during the Depression radicalized the labour movement and, both during and after the Second World War, successful campaigns were mounted to organize the growing numbers of industrial workers. Unlike craft unions, which shared a common symbolic code of tools and skills around which their imagery was based, the new industrial unions created imagery whose basis was a common production process and work location, rather than an identifiable skill.

During the late 1930s and throughout the 1940s, union symbolism underwent a gradual change, responding to the social and political upheavals that swept the industrialized world. The images used by union sympathizers in their organizing campaigns tended to be informal, rarely officially sponsored by the unions. However, the all-out patriotism of the “War at Home” reduced much union imagery to patriotic jingoism aimed at selling war bonds. Nevertheless, traditional art forms, such as floats and puppets, continued to be popular. The making of large-scale agit-



Figure 14: Agit-prop puppets by Murray Thomson, Labour Day Parade, Hamilton, Ont., 1946. Courtesy: National Archives of Canada, Documentary Art and Photography Division, PA-120506.

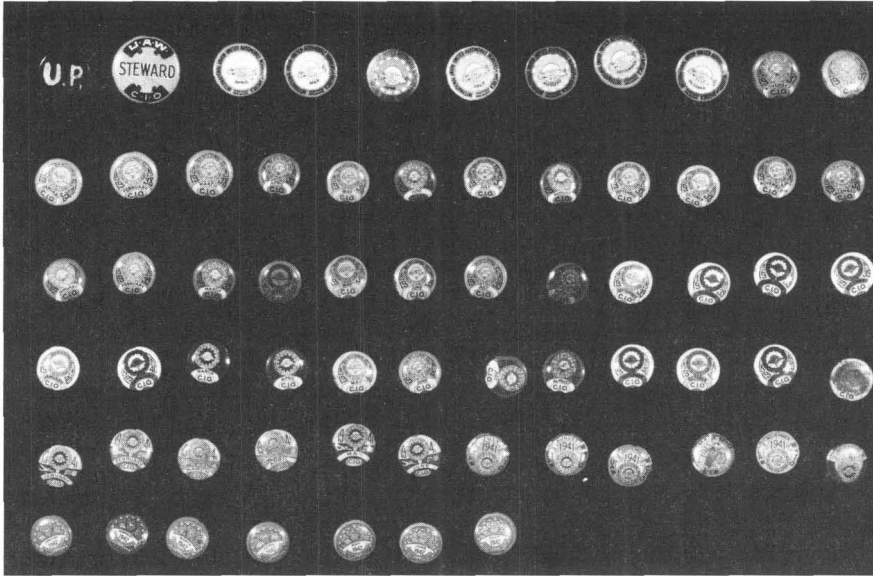


Figure 15: *Dues buttons of Local 222, United Automobile Workers of America, Oshawa, Ont., 1937-1943.* Courtesy: Russell McNeil Collection, Oshawa.

prop figures for public demonstrations was part of the long tradition originating with the carrying of union banners in parades, and even the burning of effigies as a public spectacle. One example of agit-prop puppets is documented in a photograph of the 1946 steelworkers strike in Hamilton. The puppet figures were made by Murray Thomson, a Westinghouse production worker and unofficial labour artist, whose larger-than-life caricatures of Prime Minister Mackenzie King, STELCO's president Hugh Hilton and local controller Norah Henderson, led the 1946 Hamilton Labour Day parade, held in the midst of a series of local strikes and a national steel strike. The figures mocked the establishment and symbolized the strength of the local labour movement. Unfortunately, Thomson's figures, like most organizing posters, handbills for public meetings, and backdrops for conventions and meetings, have been lost, surviving only in the form of photographs.

The psychological effects of the Cold War and the widespread attack on unions after the Second World War, combined with new developments in the graphic arts and commercial advertising, profoundly affected the symbolism of the union movement. Workers, smoking factory chimneys, and huge machines, which once had been popular images, were thought to be too specific, too close to the sweaty realities of working life. In commercial advertising, they came to be seen as negative images, which undermined the attempt to create a consumer market for industrial commodities.¹⁹ In the mainstream trade union movement, images of workers, raised fists, and picket lines were now associated exclusively with communism and European socialism, and were therefore considered to be detrimental to developing a positive image for labour. There was thus a noticeable shift away from imagery explicitly connected to industrial work or strife. Instead, images of products and acronyms were used increasingly as symbols. At the same time, the influence of

contemporary aesthetics within graphic arts and design led to simpler, more uniform, less evocative and less specific imagery. When images are used, they are often banal; the covers of the Toronto Labour Day Souvenir Programs during the 1950s bear images of Toronto City Hall, the Queen, and, in 1954, a Mountie and Uncle Sam shaking hands over the St. Lawrence Seaway project!

The various symbols that have been used to identify the United Automobile Workers (UAW) effectively illustrate this postwar transformation. The original UAW design utilized an image of a sleek 1930s-model car, surrounded by the union name and the number of the local. In the 1940s, an airplane and combine were included as the union added aerospace and agricultural implement workers to its membership. In the 1950s, the international logo gave way to the letters UAW with a pattern of stick men and cogs around a circle. This trend continued, and can be seen today in the new Canadian Automobile Workers (CAW) logo, which utilizes the English/French acronym CAW/TCA in blue with the ubiquitous red maple leaf.²⁰

Today, visual symbols continue to be used in highly stylized union emblems and logos, which lack the specificity and detail of earlier images. Most contemporary official emblems, featured on the letterheads, buttons, and logos of unions and corporations alike, have evolved since the 1950s as pure typography. Whether they represent CN, the TD Bank, CUPE, or the CSN, these images are almost purely design, and have little inherent message.

Archival Sources

As this brief survey of Canada's labour iconography indicates, visual records represent a significant documentary source of labour history. It is evident, however, that Canadian archives and museums have not fully recognized the importance of such material.

Although it is encouraging to report that most of the material located for *Industrial Images* was in public collections, there were many items which were very difficult, if not impossible, to obtain. Certain artefacts, once common and valued within the labour movement, such as union banners and buttons, simply do not appear to any significant degree in Canadian repositories. While their scarcity can be partly explained by lack of proper conservation, the instability of the original materials, and the transience of many early union organizations and headquarters, it is obvious that archives and other heritage institutions need to reassess the value they place on seeking out and obtaining the visual records of labour.

Adequate description of these records is another problem. It is often difficult for researchers to ascertain what is found in textual and other collections because of the manner in which labour holdings are created, processed, organized, and stored. The more ephemeral objects, such as posters, handbills, letterheads, and meeting notices, are often buried within mounds of unrelated written documents, or artificially separated within archival institutions according to medium. At times, indexes and other finding aids leave much to be desired, offering no references to, or descriptions of, iconographic artefacts and documents, or providing descriptions that are too vague to be very useful.

Needless to say, labour itself must assume some responsibility for the meagre public holdings of its iconographic materials. One of the major problems is the lack of a strategy to organize and conserve material within the labour movement. Generally speaking, unions have not developed adequate policies and methods for dealing with their own archival material and its disposition. It is also important that more private collectors of union memorabilia and ephemera be encouraged to deposit material. A resolution, recently passed at the 1988 CLC Convention, urging the establishment of "a Canadian Labour Foundation, whose mandate it would be to preserve and promote labour history and culture on behalf of all Canadian workers," is an important first step in this direction.

One hopes that this growing appreciation of labour's heritage will result in an understanding that iconography is a vital part of the historical record, documenting how unions have presented themselves and, by implication, how society has perceived the labour movement. Once seen as marginal, the images and symbols used by labour actually form an integral part of labour's story.

Notes

- * I would like to thank Karl Beveridge, Craig Heron, and Peter MacCallum for their assistance, and the Hamilton Art Gallery, the Ontario Heritage Foundation, and the National Museums of Canada for their support.
- 1 Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society: 1780-1950* (London, 1958), p. 327.
- 2 The labour artefacts and imagery that I examine are only a portion of the material dealt with in my research for the exhibition. This research focussed on Canadian industrial imagery in the first half of the twentieth century. The exhibition, which included paintings, sculpture, graphics, and applied arts material derived from the corporate, trade union, government, and private collections, focussed on the work of a number of artists who depicted industrial imagery.
- 3 The term is mainly used within the discipline of art history, particularly with reference to the medieval and Renaissance periods. In contemporary critical discussion, the term "representation" embodies similar ideas, but includes a broader context of meanings.
- 4 It is only in photography that there has been a consistent depiction of labour unions since the turn of the century. Photographic records are primarily composed of dramatic newspaper shots of strike violence, the social documentation of working conditions, and formal studio and convention portraits of union leaders. For the purposes of this paper, photographic images are not included (except as a documentary source for other materials). It is also important to realize that most union photographic material was produced outside the labour movement and for purposes beyond labour's own use.
- 5 John Gorman, *Banner Bright: An Illustrated History of the Banners of the British Trade Union Movement* (Middlesex, England, 1973), p. 9.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 87.
- 7 *New Brunswick Courier*, 25 July 1840.
- 8 *Morning News*, 29 May 1840; cited in: Eugene Forsey, *Trade Unions in Canada: 1812-1902* (Toronto, 1982), p. 10.
- 9 *New Brunswick Courier*, 17 September 1853.
- 10 Gregory S. Kealey & Brian D. Palmer, *Dreaming of What Might Be* (Toronto, 1987), p. 296.
- 11 Labour Day was the only recommendation of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital to be put into law. See: Greg Kealey, ed., *Canada Investigates Industrialism: The Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital* (Toronto, 1973).
- 12 The Union Label League, *Labour Day Demonstration 1896 Official Souvenir Programme*, Toronto, unpaginated [Metro Toronto Reference Library].

- 13 *Ibid.*
- 14 Union labels still appear on certain consumer goods, such as workclothes and beer. The contemporary trade union movement continues to adhere to the use of the union label as a matter of principle, mainly in the printing industry.
- 15 For a more detailed treatment of the importance of the development of lithography in Canada see: Jim Burant, "The Visual World in the Victorian Age," *Archivaria* 19 (Winter 1984-85), pp. 110-121.
- 16 Joseph Gardner, *Labor on the March: The Story of America's Unions* (New York, 1969), p. 92.
- 17 Union Label League, *Toronto Labor Directory*, [Metro Toronto Reference Library], p. 6.
- 18 Although the National Archives does include some union artefacts in its medals collection, they are primarily convention medals and tokens that were given out at formal occasions, and are rarely of any iconographic interest.
- 19 Stuart Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of Consumer Culture* (New York, 1976), p. 78.
- 20 It is interesting to note the importance of union symbolism and identity in the story of the fight over the design of the CAW/TCA logo, which was a major issue in the breakup of the UAW and the CAW in the mid-1980s. The international UAW's headquarters in Detroit insisted that all references to the international logo be removed from every union hall, sweatshirt, and letterhead before the final monetary negotiations could be settled. See: Bob White, *Hard Bargains: My Life on the Line* (Toronto, 1987).