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Yankee Industry: Case, Lockwood, & Brainard, Hartford Printers

Jeffrey Makala
History of Hartford
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In the early nineteenth century, Hartford was a small Connecticut city whose modest wealth was the result of its involvement in agricultural production and shipping. Its population was composed almost entirely of white Protestants – Yankees – living with a small African-American community. By the turn of the twentieth century, Hartford had grown in population more than tenfold as a result of successive immigrant waves. It had a large concentration of manufacturing industry and was the center of the nation's greatest concentration of white collar capital from its location as the headquarters of the national insurance industry. In a short period of time it had grown to become the prosperous capital of the wealthiest state in the country.

The successive printing partnerships that became the Case, Lockwood, & Brainard Company were formed in this preindustrial, early nineteenth century Hartford. The company, founded and led by Newton Case, prospered and grew with Hartford to become the largest printing company in Connecticut and one of the largest in the country by the turn of the twentieth century. Through a number of successful moves that combined the rapid implementation of new technology with the exploitation of emerging markets for the products of the printing industry at a local and national level, Case, Lockwood & Brainard was able to ally itself closely with Hartford's core business elites and prosper with them as the nineteenth century progressed.

As the amount industrial strength in Hartford declined and American corporate power shifted to other cities in the twentieth century, so too did the size and relative influence of Case, Lockwood & Brainard. While the company continued to have a local and national

reputation well into the 1970s, its overall influence on American print culture was not the same as other nineteenth century printing companies with similar beginnings such as Harper and Brothers and G. P. Putnam and Sons, which still exist today. Case, Lockwood & Brainard instead had few large successes as publishers and instead successfully diversified its business to include job printing on a local and national scale, binding, and blank book production as its core operations.

This paper will examine the nineteenth century history of Case, Lockwood & Brainard in the light of this shared history with its headquarters city and look at the ways in which it was able to successfully grow and expand.

The first printer in Hartford was Thomas Green, who set up his shop in 1764. Green (whose shop was later known as Hudson & Goodwin) printed the *Connecticut Courant*, documents for the colony and state governments and numerous commissioned sermons, as well as a small number of commercially viable books and pamphlets. By the mid-1820s there were six printers in Hartford, and while each business had to print by necessity a variety of different types of documents for its customers, a few specialties unique to Hartford had begun to emerge.

By the early nineteenth century, Noah Webster had seen his spellers and grammar books printed in numerous local editions from Boston to Philadelphia, with only a few having his authorization. As a result of Webster's subsequent efforts to secure his works from unauthorized editions, individual state copyright laws began to emerge. Hartford's printers began to specialize in the printing of school textbooks such as spellers and

grammars and especially geographies, primarily for the New England market.¹ In the two decades between 1820 and 1840, over 100 different editions of school geographies were printed in Hartford, along with over 30 Greek and Latin grammars. The relatively advanced state of educational facilities in Connecticut's towns nurtured a steady flow of schoolteachers submitting manuscripts for the press. A concentration of skilled engravers in Hartford can also account for this regional specialization. Geographies often had an engraved, folded map bound in the book, and full atlases later accompanied the printed texts. Engravers usually had separate businesses from printers due to their different processes and were commissioned by printers for job work in the course of preparing an illustrated edition.

Newton Case was born and grew up in rural Canton, Connecticut, and came to Hartford at the age of 21 in 1828. He worked in several printing and engraving shops in Hartford over the next several years, first as a clerk and bookkeeper, and later as a co-owner. Several imprints under the sole name of Newton Case appeared in 1832, and Case partnered with A. D. Waters from 1834 to 1836, when the firm was engaged in printing both books and copperplate engravings. This background in two related, yet different skilled trades would allow Case to have a distinct advantage in later years as his businesses consolidated several different elements of book production under the same roof.

In 1836 Case & Waters was located on State Street in the same building as the printing office of J. Hubbard Wells. On January 4, 1836, an advertisement appeared in

¹ Nietz, John A. *Old Textbooks: Spelling, Grammar, Reading, Arithmetic, Geography, American History, Civil Government, Physiology, Penmanship, Art, Music – as Taught in the Common Schools from Colonial Days to 1900*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1961, p.7. Webster unsuccessfully attempted to have the first national copyright legislation passed. It was defeated in Congress in favor of a desire to have individual states decide their own copyright laws.

the *Connecticut Courant* announcing the availability of Wells's business for sale. Case, Waters, and E. D. Tiffany, the foreman of Wells's shop, struck a deal to buy the business as partners, and the *Courant* announced on January 14 that the business had been bought by Case and Tiffany, that the same foreman had been retained, and their book and job printing business would continue without interruption.² Tiffany ran the printing side of the business, and Case was responsible for the accounting and sales for the new firm of Case, Tiffany, & Co. Waters had originally been a copperplate engraver and continued to run this part of the business. Wells had taken half the purchase price as cash, which the men had raised from loans, and allowed the new partners to pay the remainder to him in installments.³

Philemon Canfield began printing in Hartford under his own name in 1822, having purchased the firm of Bolles & Francis, which had its origins in a business started in 1812 under the name Hale & Hosmer. Canfield printed a wide variety of materials such as the works of Hartford author and poet Lydia Sigourney, schoolbooks, and several geographies. By the early 1830s, Canfield's was the largest printing office in Hartford. An advertisement soliciting offers for the sale of his business in the March 21, 1837 *Connecticut Courant* lists "four Power Presses and six Hand Presses" as part of the business. At a time when printing was still very much a regionalized trade and shops were staffed by small numbers of family members and employees working on the apprentice system, the size of Canfield's business was conspicuously large for a city of

² Job printing at the time primarily involved the printing of single issue items such as announcement broadsides, tickets, programs, and other ephemera, as well as the occasional pamphlet or book for another printer or publisher. The publisher as a separate occupation from printing began to emerge in America at this time.

³ *At the Sign of the Stone Book: Being a Concise History of the Case, Lockwood and Brainard Company from its Founding, 1836-1935*. Hartford: the Company, 1935, p. 3.

Hartford's size. Its early implementation of steam power to run its presses gave it a significant advantage over other local shops. Canfield was the first printer in Connecticut to use steam power to run his presses.⁴ Automated presses were an invention of the early nineteenth century that had a revolutionary impact on the printing industry. In a technology that remained essentially unchanged since its invention 350 years prior, the increased speed of the automated press enabled the mass printing of newspapers and magazines and began to create a truly national print culture in America.

From the printer's perspective, a steam-powered press freed the work of the pressman from pulling the press down on an individual sheet, and from another worker to ink each sheet. The rate of impressions increased tremendously. Once the type was set and the press up and running, one person acting as press feeder could do the work of three pressmen in considerably less time. Later innovations allowed one fast-moving press to support multiple workers feeding it sheets, further increasing the press's efficiency and permitting a greater output in lesser time.

After several months without any sale, possibly due to a recession in 1837-38, Case, Tiffany & Co. made a successful offer to purchase Canfield's business early in 1838, with Leander C. Burnham of Canfield's shop joining the partners. Within two years, Newton Case and his partners had successfully purchased two established Hartford businesses and had the largest printing company in Connecticut.

The new, larger company, still named Case, Tiffany & Co., needed a substantially greater workspace, and took a lease for the "Old Jail" building on the northeast corner of

⁴ Stedman, John Woodhull. "Hartford in 1830: Some Things that I Remember About Hartford Sixty Years Ago." Reprinted in *Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin* 14(3) July 1949, p. 20. Stedman spent several years as an apprentice in Canfield's and Case & Tiffany's shops. While his recollections, written as a paper given to the Connecticut Historical Society in 1890, is the only source identified on the first steam presses in Hartford, his background in the printing trades makes him a reliable source.

Pearl and Trumbull Streets in downtown Hartford. The Old Jail was a large sturdy structure, with three foot thick walls, built in 1793. It was in active use as a jail, with a tavern called the Cross Keys on its first floor, until the mid-1830s, when it served briefly as a boarding house before being leased to the printers. The new space was spacious and readily converted into industrial use. Once it was leased, it allowed the company and its newly-acquired assets to expand further. A bindery was added in 1850, and the company purchased the building outright shortly after. Case, Tiffany & Co. could now print and bind in-house and began to offer its customers custom-designed business ledgers, account books, and ruled notebooks to order. The blank book division formed a significant proportion of their business as the industrial and insurance industries in Hartford began to grow significantly larger during the mid-nineteenth century. The bookbinding firm of Shattuck & Company was located on Trumbull Street near the Case, Tiffany shop and had done binding work for them in the early 1850s. When the company fell into arrears in 1855, Case, Tiffany & Co. bought Shattuck and Co. at liquidation and incorporated their equipment and staff into the company.

While the business diversified its output to offer its customers products serving several different purposes, Newton Case also sensed the importance of publishing books as well as printing them for other publishers. Case, Tiffany, and Co. made an acquisition in this period that was wildly successful and gave the company the capital it needed to expand to dominate the printing business in Hartford and begin to establish a national reputation.

Case acquired the rights to publish the “Cottage Bible” in 1840.⁵ The Cottage Bible combined the Old and New Testaments with added commentary, moral and instructive essays, and many simple illustrations. It was meant to be an inexpensive family Bible which could also be used for education at home. These functions allowed it to appeal to several different audiences and age groups simultaneously. With the rights came the ready-made stereotype plates to the Bible, so Case, Tiffany and Co. could quickly print up a large number of copies without having to reset it.⁶ Their first edition of 1841 was printed in an edition of 10,000 copies, a huge number for the time, and quickly sold out through subscription sales and bulk sales to dry goods merchants. In a short speech given at a celebration of his 50th anniversary in the printing trades, Case noted that “to 1857 we had sold 150,000 sets of the Cottage Bible.”⁷ Demand was so great that it was reprinted every few months and was the most popular family Bible sold in America.

The overwhelming success of the Cottage Bible gave the firm a successful reputation for large jobs, which was repeated when Case, Tiffany & Co. secured an exclusive contract to print Noah Webster’s *American Dictionary* for the Springfield, Massachusetts publishers G. & C. Merriam. Ellsworth Grant, in his 1986 history of Hartford, is incorrect when he states that Case, Tiffany were the publishers of the dictionary.⁸ At a time when local education systems in America were expanding and the railroad network on the Eastern seaboard was nearly complete, the dictionary became a bestseller for both

⁵ Patton, William, and Thomas Williams. *The Cottage Bible, and Family Expositor; Containing the Old and New Testaments, with Practical Expositions and Explanatory Notes*. Hartford: Case, Tiffany & Co., 1841, and numerous successive editions.

⁶ Stereotype plates were full-page impressions made in a reverse casting process from the original set type. Creating and storing stereotype plates to a book freed up loose type for new jobs and allowed for relatively quick reprints of popular texts. See: Gaskell, Philip. *A New Introduction to Bibliography*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972, p. 201-204.

⁷ Op. cit., *At the Sign of the Stone Book*, p.7.

⁸ Grant, Ellsworth Strong and Marion Hepburn Grant. *The City of Hartford 1784-1984*. Hartford: The Connecticut Historical Society, 1986.

companies during the fifteen years it was printed by Case, Tiffany and Co. The dictionary's success gave the company the steady income and volume of work needed to further expand into a new factory and headquarters.

The printing of the dictionary began in 1847 and lasted until 1864 at a moderate pace and a steady volume. The total copies printed would, like the Cottage Bible, number in the hundreds of thousands by the end of the contract. In 1847 Case, Tiffany could write to Merriam to inform them that, "We can print, under favorable circumstances, an edition of 2000 copies in 36 working days."⁹ They were using Shattuck and Co. as binders, and would struggle with consistency in the paper supply, as they had not yet purchased their own mills. By the mid-1850s, Case, Tiffany would also be making additional profits from binding the dictionary for Merriam after the Shattuck buyout. One dedicated press out of several in the shop was used to print the dictionary. They could offer to Merriam, "whenever you wish the work to progress at a more rapid note...we will accommodate you by starting another press or two if you wish."¹⁰ In 1851 Case, Tiffany printed 5000 copies of the dictionary for the New York City school system alone, and large orders would be placed by states such as Iowa and Indiana in the coming years as the book gained a near universal adoption in the nation's schools. The dictionary printing was a successful proportion of Case, Tiffany's business, but by 1854 it was only one part of an increasingly diverse operation meeting with considerable local success as well. Some signs of strain were beginning to show in their ability to keep up with the jobs they had accepted. On March 10, they wrote to Merriam canceling their previous agreement to print a copy of the *Village Reader*, stating it would be too much strain on current jobs,

⁹ Case, Tiffany and Co. to G. and C. Merriam, December 11, 1847. Connecticut Historical Society.

¹⁰ Ibid., February, 26, 1849.

and that the company was considering working nights to make up the workload. By 1855, they were printing dictionaries at a rate of 2000 per month, and had to inform Merriam that an increase in volume would not be possible: “2000 copies per month is about the extent of our ability to furnish the Unabridged, and much of this is done at the expense of our own works.”¹¹ Case, Tiffany and Co. had become so successful that they were struggling to keep up with the demands of balancing local jobs, which were the core of their business, with the national contracts that helped build their reputation. The size and floor plan of the Old Jail building did not permit easy expansion or a more efficient reorganization of presses. The only way the business could further expand to meet its needs would be to build a larger factory. The dictionary business slowed somewhat during the Civil War, but between 4000 and 5000 copies were still being printed every six months through the end of the contract in 1864.

The firm’s great success as a national publisher was not repeated again on the same scale as that of the Cottage Bible. A later Bible, *Corbin’s Illustrated Domestic Photograph Bible*, met with a modest success as another subscription book in the 1860s, but Newton Case remained for the most part an occasional regional publisher, printing the works of Hartford natives Horace Bushnell and Catherine Beecher as well as scientific texts, poetry and the occasional textbook. Later in the nineteenth century, its reputation for completing large jobs secured, the company continued to focus on job printing for organizations and as a contract book printer for other large publishers.

Edwin O. Tiffany was able to retire from the business in 1857 to become president of the First National Bank in Hartford, leaving Case and James Lockwood, his manager, to

¹¹ Ibid., August 25, 1855.

run it. Leverett Brainard, the secretary of the City Fire Insurance Company of Hartford, was brought on as a new partner in January 1858, forming the core partnerships which would last for the rest of the nineteenth century. Brainard was no stranger to the printing business, as his brother Albert was the co-owner of the subscription book firm Brainard & Sampson, which had sold Case & Tiffany's Cottage Bible several years before.

The company changed its name to Case, Lockwood and Co., and later incorporated itself as The Case, Lockwood & Brainard Company in 1873. Brainard's ties to the extremely successful insurance industry in Hartford, along with Tiffany's new position as a bank president, allowed the company to become firmly incorporated into the Yankee power elite structures of ruling-class Hartford. Case and his partners served on the boards of Hartford insurance corporations and banks, while Hartford executives in those businesses served on the Case, Lockwood, & Brainard board, securing their place as the largest and most prosperous printers in one of the wealthiest cities in the country.

In 1873, the Hartford Paper Company was organized with Leverett Brainard as President and Newton Case as one of the directors. Having its own paper mill allowed the company the freedom to produce exactly what it needed, cut costs, and eliminate inconsistency in the finished product. The Paper Company was located in the same office as Case, Lockwood, and Brainard and listed a not unsubstantial capitalization of \$150,000 in the 1873 *Hartford City Directory*.

The Old Jail building, while structurally sound, had clearly shown its inflexibility to accommodate a large number of steam presses. A new, efficiently-designed factory and headquarters was needed. The firm moved into rented space across the street for a year in 1866 while the Old Jail was torn down and a new factory built on the same site at the

corner of Trumbull and Pearl, using pieces of the Old Jail's walls for its foundation. The new building, whose architectural plans survive,¹² had four full floors of shop and office space and a full attic and basement. The building was designed with three interconnecting wings which on the outside appear as one massive stone structure. Inside, one was only able to pass between wing via a limited number of doorways. This design allowed each of the divisions of the business to function as nearly separate units.¹³ Since certain activities such as bookbinding were entirely female, including its supervisors and department head, the new factory layout effectively reinforced the gendered separation of tasks common in the American printing in the late nineteenth century.¹⁴

The building had a steam elevator which allowed the easy movement of large machinery and finished, packed books out to its two loading docks. The main offices of were located in a suite on the first floor overlooking the corner of Pearl and Trumbull. The building had more floor space than was needed well into the 1890s, as notes made by the chief engineer of Case, Lockwood & Brainard mention that several businesses, often in the printing trades, leased entire floors of one wing.¹⁵ The Kellogg and Bulkeley company, one of the best known lithographic printers in the country, leased a floor of the factory in 1886. They had often supplied illustrations for the printers. Morgan G. Bulkeley, the son of one of its founders and later Connecticut governor and United States

¹² Gilbert, George. *Architectural Plans of the Case, Lockwood and Brainard Company, Hartford, 1867*. Connecticut Historical Society.

¹³ Company divisions in the 1870s included: Book Composition; Book Printing; Book Binding; Job Printing; Job Composition; Job and Blank Binding; Proofreading; Orders; Purchasing and Subscription; and "Girls' Work." *A Sketch Descriptive of the Printing-Office and Book-Bindery of The Case, Lockwood & Brainard Co., With Illustrations*. Hartford: the Company, 1877.

¹⁴ Baron, Ava. "Contested Terrain Revisited: Technology and Gender Definitions of Work in the Printing Industry, 1850-1920" in Wright, Barbara Drygulski et al. *Women, Work, and Technology*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990.

¹⁵ Lynch, Charles A. *Diary, 1865-1917*. Connecticut Historical Society.

Senator, would later become the president of Case, Lockwood & Brainard at the turn of the century.

While the company had expanded its number of steam-powered presses to over 12 by the late 1800s, a small number of hand presses was still used well into the early twentieth century. Hand presses often printed labels and occasionally “fancy printing” items such as broadsides, keepsakes, or other pieces to commemorate an occasion or event.

The company continued to expand, buying Hartford’s Hutching Printing Company in 1875. Breaking from their existing practice of keeping all parts of the production process under their ownership and control, the company in May 1881 went into contract with The Hartford Steam Heating Company, its neighbor, to supply steam power for the presses via a connecting pipe underneath Pearl Street. Within eighteen months an inconsistent supply of steam and poor service had caused the company to break its contract with the Steam Heating Company and move back to generating its own steam power from its coal-fired boilers.

Newspaper printing, originally part of every early American printer’s business, had evolved into a separate industry by the mid-1800s. Newspaper printers later formed separate unions from other printing house employees. Case, Lockwood, & Brainard and its predecessor businesses had not done any newspaper printing, but a spirit of community existed in the printing trades, especially in times of crisis. The *Hartford Times* suffered a fire in its printing shop in March 1869, and a newspaper press was set up in the basement of the C., L. & B. building for its workers to use for the daily and weekly editions while their shop was being rebuilt. The company also allowed the *Evening Post* to be printed in its shop in 1888 for a time as the result of another fire.

In 1891 the company installed its first press that fed paper from a roll. Automatic feeder presses using single sheets had been used by the company for over thirty years. This press was the final step towards the elimination of female press feeders working alongside male pressmen, the only part of a large printing operation where men and women regularly interacted with each other.

Newton Case, still active as president of the company at 83, died on September 15, 1890. Work at the shop continued as a normal day, as it did when James Lockwood died in 1888. Lynch, the firm's engineer, reports on this day that, "The works did not close down for the funeral. Strange."¹⁶ Case left a large estate that was divided evenly between his only daughter and the Hartford Theological Seminary. His daughter received a lifetime lease to his house on Farmington Avenue in the Nook Farm section of Hartford, with the proviso that its ownership revert to the Seminary upon her death. Case had been a trustee and treasurer of the Seminary for over 30 years. Many of his earlier gifts and his estate were used to build a substantial library for the Seminary.

Leverett Brainard assumed the presidency of the company until his death in 1902. Connecticut Senator Morgan G. Bulkeley, succeeded Lockwood as president. He hired as secretary of the company Newton Case Brainard, Leverett Brainard's son, who had just graduated from Yale. Brainard would assume the presidency of the company in 1910 and hold it until 1952, when he was elected chairman of its board, an office he held until his death in 1962. Brainard served one term as mayor of Hartford in 1920-22 and was partly responsible for Hartford's first airport, named Brainard Field in his honor at the end of his term in office.

¹⁶ Lynch, Charles. *Diary*, entry for 9/15/1890.

The practice of printing books from collected subscriptions, which had flourished in the middle of the nineteenth century, had slowed down considerably after the Civil War and had ceased by the turn of the century. Case, Lockwood & Brainard's earlier successes printing books for other American publishers, some as far away as San Francisco, also slowed after the war as the American book publishing industry began to consolidate in the New York, Boston, and Philadelphia areas, with local printers taking on most of the large book contracts. The company continued to be the largest job printer for local industries and organizations, picking up state government contracts such as the printing of the state statutes of Connecticut and Supreme Court's documents, and other large institutional printing jobs, such as Trinity College's and Wesleyan University's course catalogs and directories, in addition to the reliable blank book, stationery, and binding operations. At the turn of the century, Hartford City Directories list the company's capital holdings at \$400,000. This figure had remained constant for most of the later nineteenth century.

The printing trades had long used an apprentice system where young men, usually when they were 16, signed up as apprentices to age 21, after which they would claim journeyman status. Some of Case, Lockwood & Brainard's apprenticeship papers for pressmen and compositors survive.¹⁷ Its apprentices received job training and steady employment and were required to provide their own housing and board. Salaries from the 1870s ranged from 50 cents to \$1.50 per day depending upon the year of their apprenticeship. Upon completion of their contract, apprentices were paid a sum of \$100 and were supplied with references. Skilled pressmen and compositors were paid between

¹⁷ Case, Lockwood & Brainard. Apprenticeship Papers, 1868-1888. Connecticut Historical Society.

one and three dollars per day, and foremen and supervisors between three and four dollars a day for a six day work week.

The company reduced its working days from ten to nine hours in 1868, early for the printing trades, as many printing firms in the United States had not started working nine-hour days until the 1890s and later. Half days on Saturdays began in 1898.

One major employee action took place at Case, Lockwood & Brainard during its 150 year history. A small strike in the 1890s was resolved in one week, but a significant strike in 1905-06 lasted over six months. It took place as part of a larger series of labor actions in the printing trades in the United States and Canada. The International Typographical Union had announced in October 1904 that its members, who were primarily compositors and pressmen in the book and job printing industry, would begin to work an eight-hour day, and only in closed shops, on January 1, 1906. This decision was intended to give employers time to plan and implement changes in workflow to allow the reduction to occur with minimal disruption. Many print shops in the United States and Canada were already working nine-hours days by this time, and a number of businesses successfully reduced their hours to eight-hour days by 1906. In Connecticut industry, closed shops were not at all common and were resisted heavily by business owners, much more so than the possibility of a reduction in working hours. The Connecticut chapter of the printing trades professional organization, the United Typothetae of America, was adamant about resisting both requirements, and stated so repeatedly in public announcements during 1904 and 1905. Connecticut members of the International Typographic Union struck early, on September 15, 1905, in an attempt to force owners to agree to the union's terms by the first of January.

In a statewide action, the largest number of workers struck in New Haven, Hartford, Waterbury, Norwich, and New London. There were about 40 printing shops in Hartford, many of which were small family businesses with less than five employees and less affected by labor actions. Several shops were slightly larger, and three firms employed more than 25. Case, Lockwood, & Brainard was by far the largest, with well over 250 employees. The newspaper printing industry had already been working eight-hour days for several years, and its workers were members of a separate union not affected by the strike. At the union's announcement, about 100 compositors struck in Hartford. Of these, 49 worked at Case, Lockwood, & Brainard. The September 16, 1905 *Hartford Courant* reported that 14 shops in the city had men on strike, and 13 shops were already operating under the union's conditions. The remainder were small family businesses without outside employees. On the eve of the strike in Hartford, the union inducted six new members, including "one colored man," which was unusual and worthy of mention in the paper. The printing trades in America were not at all integrated at this time. African-Americans were not apprenticed into print shops or hired for even menial labor, which was usually done by the youngest apprentices. The small number of African-American newspapers in large cities was done by a very small number of African-American operated print shops which were not welcome in any printers' union. Pressmen and bindery workers did not strike, causing one member of the Connecticut Typothetae to speculate that

"the union considered it was good policy to leave the pressmen and binders there, as the idea was that the proprietors would be further crippled by employing them when there was no work for them to do."¹⁸

¹⁸ "Printers Go Out – 98 on Strike Here," *Hartford Courant*, September 16, 1905, p.1.

What the Connecticut union leadership thought would be a short action turned into a months-long deadlock as the Typothetae members remained fiercely opposed to their terms and refused any meetings or concessions with the printers for well into the new year. The first weeks of the strike brought announcements that Case, Lockwood & Brainard's business, as the largest in the city, was the most affected, and that the Supreme Court session would have to be delayed because lawyer's briefs would not be printing for the opening of the Court's session in October. The company responded by shifting internal jobs and by attempting to hire non-union compositors from New York and Massachusetts. The union was quick to denounce the hirings, and many Hartford citizens were behind the striking workers. In late October, several compositors from New York were refused lodgings at a Hartford boarding house when it was discovered why they had recently arrived in town. The landlady tipped them off to the union, which sent them back to New York on the train.¹⁹

By the middle of October, the *Courant* reported that Case, Lockwood, & Brainard had 20 workers replacing the 49 strikers, including "a girl from Springfield who is an expert linotype operator."²⁰ Gender was an even more prominent dividing factor in the printing trades than race. Women had long been working in the binding and shipping departments of the printing trades and had worked as press feeders when much of that work was done by hand. Male compositors successfully resisted women doing their skilled jobs. The introduction in 1890 of the Linotype machine, which used a keyboard similar to a typewriter to set and cast a "line o' type," marked a point when type composition as a distinctly masculine-defined skill became much harder to defend. Women trained in

¹⁹ *Hartford Courant*, September 29, 1905.

²⁰ *Ibid.* October 10, 1905.

typewriting began to find some increased opportunities for better paid work as the practice of employing women in composition slowly became more prevalent.²¹

Coverage of the strike in the *Courant*, a fairly conservative establishment newspaper, was not judgmental, though Typothetae members, unlike union leaders, were often quoted at length. A short article reporting that some printers' wives were not supporting their actions and instead were urging them to return to work prompted a strongly-worded letter to the editor, co-signed by over 15 women, denouncing the *Courant's* coverage of the strike and sharply disagreeing with its suggestion that the union was beginning to weaken.

Hints that the owners might be willing to accept an eight-hour day began to appear in late October, as the Typothetae released a statement calling upon members to retain open shops at all costs, but saying little else about the specifics of working hours:

“In view of the rapidly developing defeat of the International Typographical Union every local typothetae and individual member must make no contracts in the composing room that do not specifically call for and define the open shop.”²²

Nearly all larger print shops had been working nine-hours days, and several had already made the move to eight, so this condition was likely the one that owners would use to negotiate with when the timing was appropriate. Printers in other states had begun to strike in anticipation of the January 1st deadline, with about 3000 men on strike nationwide at the end of October. The *Courant* also took pains to note that several Hartford printers had left town to seek other employment, which they reported as being plentiful in New York. At Case, Lockwood, & Brainard, rush printing jobs were not being taken and several pressmen had been laid off. Back orders were being filled, but

²¹ Burr, Christina. “Defending “The Art Preservative”: Class and Gender Relations in the Printing Trades Unions, 1850-1914. *Labour* 31 (1993), p. 47-73.

²² *Hartford Courant*, October 24, 1905.

new work was also coming in at a much smaller rate. By early November, they were using apprentices as compositors and had about 30 positions filled of the 49 total openings.

By the turn of the new year, 8 employers in the Hartford area had met the union's terms and were back at work, with the largest employers still holding out. When owners in other parts of the United States and Canada had not met the union's conditions, a large scale action took place. New York printers, who had been working steadily throughout the fall, struck on January 2nd. 1200 men were on strike in New York City and 700 in Philadelphia, the two major centers of book printing in the country, along with widespread local actions in most states and provinces.

The printing industry in Connecticut was clearly not as affected by the strikes as the union had hoped. Despite additional support from the American Federation of Labor, the Typographical Union, and several local fundraising dances, the union could not hold out with an advantage over the employers. An eight-hour day compromise, with open shops, was agreed to later in 1906. The strike did have a lasting memory at the company, and was remarked upon in its 1940 annual report, when the company described in detail what it characterized as its positive relationship with its workers.

Case, Lockwood & Brainard built a new, smaller headquarters on Trumbull Street in the 1926, and merged with its longtime tenants and collaborators, the lithographers Kellogg & Bulkeley, in 1947. The new company was called Connecticut Printers, Inc. and remained in Hartford until the late 1950s when it built a new factory in Bloomfield. It retained sales offices in Hartford and New York, and built a brief reputation for printing childrens' books for most of the major publishing houses in the country, including

Viking, Harpers, Scribners, and Macmillan. The company's combined printing and lithography expertise was put to good use in the production of these heavily-illustrated full color products. Connecticut Printers also completed some fine press printing for The Limited Editions Club as well as retaining its local job printing business.

The company was sold in 1973 to The Robertson Paper Box Company and operated until 1990, when it declared bankruptcy and its holdings were liquidated, ending 154 years of work that precisely paralleled the rise and fall of Hartford as a commercial and industrial leader in America.