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CANADIAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Nous nous souvenons.

Forgetfulness leads to Holocaust
Remembering is the root of redemption.
(Baal Shem Tov)

NEW SERIES
NUMBER THIRTEEN

ON MACKENZIE KING AND JEWISH SWEATING LABOR

PART 2

Compiled by
DAVID ROME

With an Introduction by
SAUL HAYES, O.C., Q.C., LL.D.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES
CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS

MONTREAL - CANADA
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GUROFSKY CORRESPONDENCE

The unusual and warm relationship between the future prime minister of Canada, the fine example of Ontario Anglo-Saxon citizenship, and the concerned Jew of the Toronto ghetto is revealed in the long letter King wrote Gurofsky soon after he arrived at Harvard, on Oct. 17,

"I do not know what you will have thought of me for never writing a line to you before this, especially for not acknowledging the material you kindly sent me in a letter during my last week at Toronto. I can only say, as you probably know, that my coming to Harvard has made me exceptionally busy during the past few weeks, and I tell the truth when I say that a bundle of letters are beside me, some of prior date to your own, which remain as yet unanswered. However if I have not written you, it was not because I did not think daily of you. Nor was it because the cause we each have so dearly at heart was for a moment absent from me. On the contrary while I saw the fight going along so well I felt there was less occasion to write than if things were at all against us.

"You will doubtless be pleased with the way things have gone, with the action which the government has taken. It came much sooner than either of us had expected, and I think has extended even farther than we might have even hoped for. I cannot tell you here just the whole story. I can tell you this much, however, which will be good news to you, that the walk we had together on the Saturday afternoon had a <u>very great deal</u> to do with the bringing about of this reform.

"I write you confidentially on this matter and would not like you to say a word to <u>anyone</u> about it. I believed that we could get the government to act but did

not like to say so till I was sure of it. I thought it better to have it take the initiative rather than have any plan of action forced on them from an opposition paper, and for this reason I saw Mr. Mulock at once -- the day after we parted, explained the situation to him; he took up with it in a moment and said 'We will have this reform put through at once.' We had an afternoon's conversation, outlined the plan of action, and within a day or two after the whole affair was carried into effect. I can tell you this, it is going to go farther than you expect. I do not believe the Garment trades have ever won a better victory, and it is good for you as well as greatly to your honor & credit that the cause you have so ably championed you have seen carried into effect during your years of office in the organization. -- Write me at length and tell me what you think about the whole matter.

"Also one other thing. Now that the fight is on it must be fought out till we gain every inch of ground & leave the enemy nothing whatever to stand upon. With this object in view I intend to hunt up information during the latter part of December which will enable me <u>to expose the whole system as it has been practiced in the past</u>. No matter whom it may affect. I want the <u>truth</u> & I want the world to know it. If the public once know how certain men have bought their way into influence & power by the blood of the people they have oppressed they will take care to guard against a continuance of the wrong, especially now as a great step has been taken to overcome it.

"Now I hope you will continue to stand shoulder to shoulder with me. Here is what I want to do. I want to get exact information as to how all contracts for government clothing, militia, post office officials, etc. etc. have been carried out in the past. I want to get from the people who have made up this clothing evidence from their own lips as to what they have been paid, etc. etc. Now can you help me to get the lines? I will go from here to Montreal, probably about the 15th of Dec. & will get to work there at once, but you see, I will need to know some man like

yourself who knows the conditions to give me hints & tell me where to go, and I need to be assured of his confidence and he of my sincerity. Can you not give me letters to men of your trade there which will help me, also will you write confidentially to them & tell them to supply me as well as they can, & put faith in me? -- You know how suspicious men are. I have proved to you already my sincerity in the matter, and if I can help the work along & better the interests of you men I so dearly love, I want to give my whole life to it.

"As I said to you before 'Use me, if I will be of any service to you, but damn me forever if I ever turn traitor in the smallest degree.' -- Now I will likely go from Montreal to Hamilton so I will act on the same lines there, & then I will finish in Toronto, where I must see the woman on Church St., who made up Boisvert's contracts. Find out anything you can for me so that I can get at it at once; my time will only be short as I cannot get away from here any length of time & will need to get my information at once. Now my dear fellow, anything you can do in this way will be to the good of your cause and will sooner or later bring blessing on yourself. For the present let there <u>be absolute secrecy</u> between us in reference to the matter. I will tell you all when I see you at Xmas.

"Perhaps you saw the article on Sweating in the <u>Mail & Empire</u> of Sat. Oct. 9. I hope it met with your approval. You will see why I did not refer to the Government or even directly to yourself. In an article two weeks before I had a short paragraph in reference to you in speaking of the Jewish population in Toronto. All these articles were written in the last two or three days but were held over for Saturday issues.

"I want to ask information on another point. Can you give me any <u>reliable</u> information as to the extent to which the <u>Union label</u> is used in Canada. If you can I would like you to give me a little about it in a letter sometime soon. Be sure what you give is <u>exact</u> information. I would rather have you minimize than enlarge upon the extent of its

usage. Tell me first of what you know, or can get exact information on? Also, will you be keeping in mind any features of reform you think desirable & jot them down so that we can talk them over? Any further stipulations in government contracts or such like, make a careful note of them, also of any literature on sweating you may come across.

"Now my good fellow, I must thank you for all you have done in the past, and in advance for anything you may do in the future. Let me here from you as soon as possible. Also any expense you are put to in writing letters etc. please allow me to meet. Your kind & self sacrificing services in other ways I cannot at present do more than be grateful to you for.

"Keep up your heart and stick to the right path which you have chosen. Do not become discouraged with adversities. You will get your reward yet. Be noble in whatever you do, and the good we both so much desire will bring its blessing to you & to the members of your family.

"Again, expressing my high esteem for the manly part you have already played in the battle of life and trusting that great blessings may be upon you, believe me ever."

"P.S. I enclose the papers you wished returned. I thank you much for their use & regret having unavoidably kept them so long.

"Whatever you do keep all the contents of this letter a secret between me & you for the present. Let me hear from you soon."

On Oct. 21 he began work on a "bibliography on sweating, came across some large blue books; will work out a short sketch of textile industry," as he did again on the 29th.

King"received a long letter from Gurofsky wh. pleased me very much. He is greatly pleased with mot'n of Gov't & seems glad that I am interested in labor. If I can only win & deserve the confidence of these men!" (Oct. 26, 1897)

He "spent some time looking up references on sweating system in catalogues. Poole's Index etc. & securing German periodical Soziale Gesetzgebung article on the sweating system by Dr. Weber. Spent from 10 till nearly 1 covering two pages, found the German very difficult; that is to say I hardly knew a word of this vocabulary." (Oct. 29) On Nov. 18 and 19 he spent several hours translating this German article and took the trouble of having Aldridge and Fysche verify this translation. "I find this article exceedingly difficult and make very slow progress with it. Am beginning to be tired."

He discussed the subject with his revered teacher Taussig. (Nov. 22)

He was interested to observe (Oct. 9) "the column editorial in the Globe on the sweating system reform which the government has instituted and which will be carried into other branches."

On Oct. 11 he "Rec'd paper with article on Sweating -- 5 columns. I am on the whole rather proud of it, it may do some good I hope. Also a paper in wh. Laurier speaks of the Reform in Gov't contracts at mtg of Board of Trade -- The whole country has now heard of a reform that is on foot & wh. will produce much good. So much for our system of responsible gov't. Letter home cost 3 stamps. Synopsized some of J.S. Mill after reading article on sweating. Then attended lecture by Prof. Ashley."

The organized labor movement in Canada was unanimous in its satisfaction with the law specifying labor conditions in some government contracts. (e.g. the London, Ont. Trades and Labor Council, in Montreal Herald, Nov. 6, 1897, and Victoria Miners, as his Toronto family wrote to King at Harvard. Diary entry Jan. 11, 1898)

Clearly, King and Gurofsky were following through on their findings in labor conditions. Gurofsky replied to King on Oct. 24, 1897 (Public Archives of Canada. King Papers, Pp. 485-91),

"Your most welcome letter of the 17th to hand, and I was much pleased to read it; and through it, that though for a time you have left us and in a foreign country as you are, your mind and feelings are with us here; and your most encouraging remarks and spirit of your letter has had the effect of still more convincing me that any one that can be of any service, no matter how humble, in bettering the condition of the great mass of the poor downtroden oppresed people should not shrink from doing their duty; and I trust I shall not, no matter how thankless it appears some times, and how large the amount of abuse and ridicule and persecution you are subjected to; from the foe from whom you expect it, and from those also who you would consider as friends. I hope that you are in good health and spirits and that your new residence for the time being and your suroundings are congenial to your taste and such that the time you spend in Harvard will not be a penance but a pleasure to you. I shall now proceed to answer your letter beginning with the last paragraph. I shall consider as confidential any thing you may entrust me with, and say it is only for us two. In response to your request for information re use of Label in Canada I shall at once write to the various Trades Council in Canada asking them to furnish me with reliable information as to the use of the Label in their locality, and when I receive same I shall put it all in writing and send it to you at the earliest opportunity. I read your articles on the foreign element in Toronto and of course you might charge me with being a little clannish, or possibly near sighted, in not seeing the faults of the Jews when I write you I was not satisfied with the way you wrote them up as it seemed to me you did not think of them as well as I do or as well as you did of the Germans, and was not so eulogistic about the desirability of having a large number of Jews as residents of a large city; and

also did not seem to think they made as peaceable and industrious citizens as the Germans; on the whole though you were not unfriendly in your remarks. I noticed the reference to myself in the article. You write me you intend about Christmas paying a visit to Canada; before you do you will let me know and I will write to the Secy's of the different unions we have in Hamilton and Montreal, and also will I send you their names and address and a letter of introduction to them. It will be better for me to write to them a few days before you expect to see them, and the matter will be fresh in their minds. Now, my dear King, as you wrote me, your connection with the reform party and your having access to Hon. Mr. Mulock has been of great value to the party -- and Hon. Mr. Mulock, for it was a masters stroke of good policy, even papers of every shade of politics had nothing but good words praise and commendation for Hon. Mr. Mulock, and the action of the government in dealing such a knock-out blow to a class of men who have too long lived and grew opulent on the bones and sinew of the working classes. It only now remains for the government to honestly see that the stipulations that are to be inserted in contracts are lived up to by the contractors, and it will result in a great deal of good to the working people; if not properly looked after, the Contractors will make more money than before. One result of that policy when carried out will be to give us a oportunity such as we never had to organise Unions, and where Unions will be organised and government work done there you will be sure will Contractors have to live up to contracts. Enclosed copies of letters will let you know my action and feelings on the above matter. I might also add here I wrote to our Gen'l office and also sent them a copy of your article, and I got a reply they were well pleased with our efforts as I wrote them who wrote it, and also the action the government had taken to better the condition of the working people. I might also write you here that I have organised a Union of men in the coat branch of the trade and it promises to be a fine

organization it is affiliated with the U.G.W.U. I also expect shortly to be able to install a Union in London, Ont. I also can inform you that the article in the Mail done some good as I got a hint that Chalcraft & Co. of Toronto Wholesale Clothing Mfr's had a notion of using the label. I went to see them and had an interview with Mr. Chalcraft and explained matters to him. He told me he would consider it and also that they had been considering the advisability of doing away with their contractors and have their work done in a factory of their own. It might be possible he said they would either move from their present premises on Front St. which is too small for that purpose, or else build a brick addition by next spring. I have also received word from our Gen'l Sec'y that Mr. Sweet of Newburgh would likely come over to Toronto to look over the ground, for the purpose of starting a Canadian factory, a good Union one using our label. It is with a great deal of satisfaction I write you this item. In the police court the other day a boss was charged with not paying a employee wages and Magistrate Denison who we know to be a bitter foe of trades unionism paid this tribute to their usefulness and power by saying, 'I wish those trades unions would use their influence to get a law passed that would allow a man being sent to jail for not paying his workmen as it is the meanest kind of a fraud to employ anyone and not pay them.'

"I am starting to work tomorrow morning in a cloak factory. It is the first work I have done for 18 mos. at my trade, it will be piece work. I will now be home more and I will have time to do more work in the good cause and I intend also to read up a little more of economics. Prince Koroptkin was in Toronto and last Sunday night he spoke at the Reids studio in the Yonge St. Arcade to a select few of the (cranks?) reform leaders. It was a private meeting invitations having been extended by word of mouth to the few who were there. I was invited to be there to a meeting but was not told what sort it would be, and as I had other engagements I did not go there but I feel sorry now when I found out the sort of a meeting it was that I missed.

On Dec. 1 Gurofsky sent King a very formal letter of introduction addressed"to the officers and members of Garment Workers Unions and labor officers throughout Canada.

"W.L. Mackenzie King is engaged in investigating the sweating system as practiced in the clothing trade in Canada. I call on you all to give him all the information and assistance he may require in getting at the facts required to enable him to make a thorough investigation and will be of incalculable benefit to the garment workers and organized labor in general." (P. 501)

The same day Gurofsky wrote King a long letter which constitutes a vivid document of labor's entrapment into the perpetual political machinations of major parties (King Papers, Pp. 499-504),

"Yours of the 21st to hand,and was pleased to hear from you, and as no doubt you are aware we just finished a most exciting election campaign in Centre Toronto,Mr. Lount having resigned and it resulted in the return of Mr. Bertram, the government candidate. I was very busy electioneering and therefore you had to wait for a reply to your letters. I took a active part in the campaign on behalf of Bertram; for the first time have I supported a Liberal and I am going to write you the particulars which I think will interest you. When Bertram was nominated by the Liberal party I was not very much pleased as I know Bertram to be a man with very little feelings of sympathy or consideration for the masses;he rises above nothing but dollars;anything else he does not trouble about as there is no money in it. I was one of the delegates along with D.G. O'Donyhue apointed by the T.&L.C. to look after the interests of the St. Ry-men when the making of the sunday car agreement was before the City Council, and Bertram was there for the other side and strenuously opposed us;but we beat him,I am thank full to say! and I was also aware of other things from a labor standpoint that would not make Bertram a ideal candidate from our standpoint, and I also opposed the government for various other reasons, Crows Nest deal for one.

I therefore attended the Conservative Convention to which I was a duly acredited delegate and signed the Howlands nomination paper as well as apearing on the platform, among the other notables! I also was very much pleased with Mr. Howland as a candidate as I know him personaly to be very much in sympathy with us, and I would go as far as to say that he is a Socialist. On the Friday before nomination he read a essay on Socialism before the Henry George Club which I was unfortunate in not hearing having got there too late, but good critics said it was a masterpiece and I can also tell you it made several converts for him, good liberals having voted for him as the result of hearing him. In the begin'g of the week it was pointed out to me that this was the first election held since the government adopted their labor policy and they looked to Centre Toronto, it being a working mens constituency, to endorse them; and if it did not it would show the government labor did not care what was done for them; it would not make supporters of the government out of Conservative labor men, and therefore what encouragement would the government have to do something for working men and eliminate perhaps wealthy supporters. When I thought the matter over I seen it was my duty as a labor man to sink my personal antipathy to the candidate, and also for the other acts of the government, and come out and support them on their labor policy and help return the man the government wanted as a supporter. I done so to the surprise of the Conservative party who relied on me to turn the Jewish vote and also labor votes their way, and I have been attacked by the press and reviled by old associates; in fact, after their being beat so close it makes it worse my defection from the conservatives. Mr. A.D. Benjamin of Samuel Benjamin & Co., Wholesale hardware dealers, who is a Millionaire, was a very good friend of mine, but not now no more as he was a strong supporter of Howlands and he thought that I, as a Jew, must follow him; and he thought he had me which he knew meant practicly all the Jewish voters. When I appeared on Howlands platform, but he did not know that when the cause of labor required it I did not place any value on Millionaires' friendships or on party ties and personal friendship to any politician. These things were all secondary to me, and on the Thursday before election went and told the Conservative manager Sumner Hayes that for labor reasons I was retiring from the Conservative party for the time being and was

going to support the Ottawa Government. I spoke at a public meeting on Saturday night and Hon. Mr. Mulock was there and so was Mr. Bertram, and they heard me give my reasons for retiring from the conservative party and giving the liberals my support. After me came Mr. Mulock and he gave me the credit for having been the one that was responsible for having led the government to adopt the Anti-sweating policy. He also mentioned he got information from you but did not name you, though of course I knew who he meant, and finished the eulogy of me by saying thank God there such men as Gurofsky, meaning of course that would risk all I wrote on the other page in the cause of labor. Now then I will get down to what you want. I wrote to all the Trades Council in Canada asking for the information you require re labels. I only so far got an answer from one and I also wrote to our General office telling them to write to the various offices of the Union using labels and I got the enclosed answers. I will again write to the T.& L. C. in Canada asking for a reply to my previous letter. I have also written to the Sec'y of the Montreal Union, and also to Hamilton, telling them of your visit and urging them to give you all the information and assistance possible. I was in Hamilton on Union business about two weeks ago and told them personaly about you. The Sec'y and Presd. of the Cutters and trimmers Union, which consists of Sanfords employees, told me they would give you all the help possible and as they are inside the warehouse they will know who made the work, prices, etc. In Montreal there is also a Cutters Union which may result in you getting inside information also. My dear King, when you are in Montreal I want you to visit the contractor who got last Military contract under the new regulations and see if he lives up to it. I dont know who has it but you can find out by writing to Mulock. And also when in Hamilton and Montreal put in a couple of days as you did with me here in Toronto. I can also write you that we now have in one of our locals here a couple of fellows who work in(————) and we will get inside information that will enable you to track up the whole military work pants and trimmers. I will write to headquarters and ask White to give you any assistance as he can. You can write him anytime

stating what you require and I am sure you will get it if it will be possible for him to furnish it. I wrote to the Secy of our Montreal local you would pay him for any time he would lose while assisting you; he may do it without asking or taking any recompense for lost time, but I thought it would be safer to tell him in advance that you would pay and he can then do as he likes about accepting. I just wished I could afford a trip with you to Montreal as I would like to encourage our boys and also to help you. I wonder if the Government would stand the expense of a investigating trip for your humble servant, especially after the good work I done for them if someone who has their ears asked them! The name of the Secy of L.W. 134 Hamilton is G.W. Beck 114 Wellington North. Secy of Cutters Union Hamilton is Cyrus P. Olliver, 11 Homewood Ave. The Secy of L.W. 140 Montreal is H. Rapport 72 St. Norbert St. and the Presd of Cutters Union in Montreal is Isac Bourgeois, 799 Rue St. Dominique St. You go first to Rapport in Montreal and Beck in Hamilton. In this letter I can write you that today I got laid off; no work, the cause; and dont see any prospect for another job, but something will have to turn up for me. My best wishes for your good health and a good time for you on your trip; expecting a speedy reply, Respectfully yours,"

Several years later, in 1901, we hear of H. Rappaport (sic) being named agent of the Central Trades Council. (Le Pionnier, June 30, 1901)

Gurofsky's suggestion about defraying the expenses of a trip to Montreal was misunderstood by young King in Harvard. It was mutually embarrassing, and Gurofsky attempted to clarify it in his letter of Dec. 8, 1897. (King Papers, Pp. 505-6)

"I must ask your pardon for having wrote you a letter that you could so construe that it required a explation such as you wrote me in reply. Now I want you to permit me to explain myself so that you will not remain under the impression that I wrote you for the purpose of getting you to invite me on your journey at your expense. I was told that you were being employed by the government, and it was also intimated to me that perhaps I could get appointed to assist you and to apply to the government along that line. Now I did not want to follow that advice until I wrote you asking and getting your opinion which I received.

and I am satisfied that I done as I did,though sorry that I did not write as plain as I am now. I am sorry that you have to foot the bill for your investigation yourself as the government could well afford not only to foot your expenses bill but to recompense you for your work as well which is not only a delicate, but a laborious one in view of the great benefit that has and will acrue to the Liberal government as the result of your labors. My dear King,I am satisfied that you will be able to get plenty of thoroughly reliable information in Montreal and Hamilton by seeing the men whose names I sent you. Now dont forget what I wrote you about looking up the present contractor for military clothing who got his contract under the new law. I send you letters from St. Catherines. The following is a extract from letter of Gen'l Sec'y White in reply to the one I wrote him as I wrote you in last letter.

"'I have notified Mr. H. Rapport, 72 Norbert St. Montreal Canada that Prof. King will visit Montreal in order to investigate the manner in which the Military clothing is to be made. It would be well for Mr. King to call and see him. I will give Mr. King a good reception in the event of his visit to this office.' Hoping that your journey will be beneficial and productive of much good to you,and use to you physically and intellectually, to us a betterment of conditions. I will eagerly await for your arrival in Toronto to know results,and again to have a chat with you. I close with best wishes for your good health and spirits. Respectfully yours."

King's Dec., 1897 diary records his explorations of the Montreal scene where he met with Rapport and with contractor Gold. After calling on one home he notes, "One of the worst cases I have seen" after visiting "half a dozen homes where Jews were working. Everywhere the same story." All contractors were Jewish. Women were earning less than $3 a week. Apprentices were notpaid for three weeks of work.

King's plan to investigate labor conditions outside Toronto materialized, with Gurofsky's cooperation. His report appeared in the Montreal Herald and was noted in the Toronto Globe of May 14.

From Stratford Gurofsky wrote King to ask him for a copy of the published report.

"I am at present working in Stratford in a new factory just started here. How long I will stay I don't know. Not very long, it has been intimated to me. But no matter, I am used to the sack." (P. 808)

In the political context it will surprise noone that local developments altered Gurofsky's thinking greatly. Fortunately another revealing document survives spelling out in detail the minute-by-minute life on the aldermanic level of the labor ward. In a long letter to King, Gurofsky tells of his disillusion as it turned out, in his shift from the unionist universe to more private concerns and to a keener involvement in the problems of the Jewish community.

On March 13, 1898 he wrote to King (King Papers, Pp. 800-807),

"No doubt you receive the Toronto papers; therefore you are aware that we have up till last night, which I hope has ended it till next Jan'y, been engaged in election campaign work for some time past; therefore that will excuse me for not writing you ere this. I actively supported the Liberal party in the late election and also F.S. Spencer whom you no doubt know, and in both cases I was one of the vanquished but, as I said to some of the oponents, I may be a

trifle the worse of wear but still in the ring. The election yesterday for Alderman was worth a great deal to me in one sense, and in another it will no doubt be a loss to some poor devils. It opened my eyes to the falseness of human nature; it showed me truly what the politicians say past favours are easily forgotten; future favors may perhaps influence a trifle, but what you do at the time cuts the most ice; which perhaps is not a elegant phrase but it conveys the meaning, and that is what I want to do just now. I foolishly believed that there were a great many honest people in the world. I knew there were a large number that were not. I took others to be like myself thinking that I was a fair example of the average man; and I am not writing egoistically when I write like this, that I am sorry to say I am not like the average man but like the few. I firmly have made up my mind that I shall from now on place very little confidence in any one untill I find them worthy; not indiscriminately spend time and money to assist any one who puts up a pitifull story or deserved a poor merit, which I have done in the past only to be insulted laughed at and reviled by the very people who I have sacrificed, I might say not only myself but wife and children. Is it not rather hard to be told you are a fool to help a fellow man, and you must be a knave and have other objects in your mind of a ulterior kind because no one else, without being either, would spend not days but years in trying to do his little might to leave conditions better than he found them, try to alleviate a trifle the miseries that some people are afflicted with? I have decided that I will drop out of the prominent place I have heretofore ocupied in the ranks of labor, as represented by the Garment Workers in Toronto at any rate. Will try and get in to some job and quietly let the whole world slip out of my existence as it were, work and stay home nights getting aquainted with my family and conserving my health and strength for the selfish purpose of looking out for myself. The cost to me has been great to learn this, but I think I am fortunate in having learned it, before it would have been to late to utilise the lesson learned. I will sure write you what caused this letter to be wrote in this strain.

"R.J. Score was elected Alderman for Ward 3 in January; technically he was not qualified and, he being a determined and bitter enemy of organised labor having been the leader of the King st Tailors in the lockout two years ago, we do not like him as a alderman, and I entered a protest against him, he was unseated; he again became a candidate and F.S. Spence, whom you know as well as I do, was asked to run against Score; he consented. He got a petition signed by a large number of citizens; he was promised the support of the labor element, the Church element, the temprance element. He got it in the neck. The element that promised to support Score done it. Whisky and Boodle easily carried the day, and Spence was a victim. You know the work I have done for the Garment Workers. I told them what the issues were; they promised to vote and support Spence. Did they? no, members did not vote at all; others for Score and but a few for Spence, and work not done; anything after faithfully promising me they would. I have done a great deal for the Jews in Toronto; made citizens of hundreds; got them their papers without cost to them; always was at their beck and call. I canvased everyone in the ward; some told me they would not vote for Spence; that was honest; some told me it being Saturday they could not conscientiously vote and therefore would not go to the polls; that was honest as far as it went; a number did go to polls and voted who told me if they did go they would for Spence, but voted for Score. A little boodle made promises to Gurofsky easily broken and past favors forgetable. This along with the way the Church and Temprance people treated Spence; also other labor men who voted for a Scab employer because he belonged to the same political party; it makes me sick at heart to think of it. Poor Spence said to my brother, 'I will be elected; my Temprance workers and Church people will do the work necessary for my election.' I guess he to day thinks along the same line as I do. But enough of this. I hope you are in good health and spirits and enjoying your life. I received a letter from Vienna, Austria from a Dr. Schwiedland, Vienna IX/3 Rothes Haus, Austria who wrote me (having seen the article I wrote in the Garment Work re Mulock Bill) and asked me to send

him a copy. I gave the letter to O'Donoghue who told me he would give him all the information he could. This gentleman wrote me he was going to deliver a paper on anti sweating legislation etc., at the International Congress at Brussels in Sept. '98. I think if you will get in correspondence with him it might be mutually advantageous. I met your father one day and asked him to remember me to you. With my best wishes to you from your friend."

King spent the afternoon of Feb. 11, 1898 "at the State House getting data on the Sweating legisl'n in Mass., talking to Griffin the Inspector."

On Feb. 14 it was the Report of the Congress Committee on Sweating, 1893; the following day, "the Report of the House of Representatives, 1892 on the Sweating System, till nearly eleven, was more impressed than ever with need for good work in this cause, espec. re dangers of contagion, & those whose lives are being ruined. The subject is so human, it has a living interest." On the 16th it was Massachusetts' reports on sweating.

He spent the afternoon of Feb. 17 studying "an article on the sweating system by Mr. Wadlin which he made the basis of two or three others." During an at-home at Prof. Norton's he had a talk with "Miss Fiske, bright and 'Frenchy' on the sweating system." The following day he continued on the Wadlin reports on Massachusetts' conditions "finding some good points."

The morning of Feb. 22 "I was at work shortly after 9 o'clock & spent the entire morning working on my thesis, a good part of the time was taken up with the report by Hy. White Secy. Gar't Makers' Union N.Y. in Bull'tn Labor, May 96.

"After lunch I worked from about 2-5 preparing for my talk tonight on the Sweating System in Canada, most of the time was taken in reading over my report for the Gov't & in taking out figures for which I can never

trust my memory. Tonight there were not very many at the Denison House. My audience was made up of a club of boys between 16-24 yrs. about 10 or more of them, the resident ladies of the Denison House, a small gathering of outsiders, 4 men and the rest ladies. However, the room looked fairly well filled & there were enough to talk to. I spoke for an hour, without a note, except when referring to the figures. I did not hesitate for a word during the whole time excepting when some rapped loudly at the window & I forgot for a moment my last sentence. My head was in beautiful shape, not in the least nervous. At last I seemed to have gotten over, for one night at least, that dreadful flush, or rush to the head which comes on such occasions. It was like old times speaking at ease; thoughts came to me often on the spur of the moment & were easily expressed."

On March 8 he spent several hours "at my thesis going over articles in the Factory Inspector's reports, some of which were good, others worthless because mere platitudes. There were some sad cases of human torturing and, as one reads the record, he wonders what will become of the race. Mrs. Kelly's article had a good ring to it, more enthusiastic than her later ones no doubt."

The following day, "I went to a meeting of working men near corner of Washington & Dover Sts. There were about 200 or more there. Mr. Chamberlin presided & asked me to speak. I gave them a little talk on the sweating reform in Can., short but earnest, talked exceedingly rapidly but never hesitated for a word. The men gave me a fine recept'n, & after the meeting one man said if we had twenty men like you in the U.S. there wd. not be so many out of employment. Others were also complimentary; a little boy said he was much pleased at the lecture, etc. etc. God bless them all. How I love these fellows, even the worst of them! A group of them invited me to tea next Thursday. There was a splendid musical concert after. The men sang too, in earnest. Chamberlin in speaking of me sd., 'I had decided to give my life for cause of working man.' Oh God, keep me to this!"

So, again, two hours on the 10th and three hours on the 15th, including a reading of "a splendid article by Frenny of New York on the sweating system, and some other material also which was poor stuff...After dinner received a letter from Gurofsky." Still, on the 17th, "I got to work on my thesis and spent three hours going through some more articles on the sweating, from which I got one or two points. I then went to Boston to the reading room for working men where I met Mr. Chamberlin. One of the men said to his friend, 'He is the working man's friend' pointing to me.

"Wrote a short note to Mr. Brierly promising him an article on sweating."

On March 19, "I had intended writing an article on sweating for the Herald, and really started to work on it when Mr. Hatch called and stayed for an hour or so."

So we find that on March 24, 1898 he "spent two and a half hours going through evidence of the committee on manufacturers and sweating." The following evening he "wrote for two hours on an article on sweating." He spent part of the following morning, on a Saturday, "on my article on the sweating system for the Montreal Herald." This was continued all afternoon. Sunday the 27th, too, he "put in two and a half hours on my article for the Montreal Herald which I have almost finished but which I was obliged to drop at lunch time."

Monday morning, "after breakfast I continued my article for the Montreal Herald, which I completed about 11. I did not think it would take so long. It will make about 4 columns. I wrote Mr. Briarly, the editor, a short note."

At this time, remarkably, the future prime minister of Canada, now interested in the life of the Jewish workers, comes to hear of the great Yiddish poet Morris Rosenfeld, the stormy and tragic laureate of the sweating, working factory slaves at a singular moment in his life.

The sad biography of the poet, one of the creators of Yiddish poetic language and prosody, consists of intense suffering, poverty, neglect and tormenting slow development. Curiously, this most intimately Yiddish writer won recognition not from the critics, leaders and editors of his linguistic sphere, but from Anglophone observers, and very slowly at that.

This is the more remarkable when we recall that the Yiddish language was not even at the beginning of its struggle for recognition in its own East European milieu -- and certainly had no status in Anglo-Saxon Harvard. Yet it was a Harvard professor of Slavic languages, Leo Weiner, who first drew attention to him on the pages of a Boston newspaper. But this was not until 1899.

Nevertheless, a year earlier, in 1898, Rosenfeld was invited to lecture at Harvard and on March 31, King "went to dinner at Mrs. Richardson's on Brattle St. and had a most delightful time. Sat next to Mrs. Black, who I like more & more, a woman of beautiful character. Mrs. Richardson herself is splendid too. She looks a little like Bella. She has some noble & lofty views. Is bright and intellectual. Is strong in her words against the sweating system, told me some interesting facts concerning Rosenfeld and his poems -- a sweat shop poet who will rise to fame, if he already hasnot done so."

The following day, "I went to gym & Grass gave me a rub down. We went together to hear Morris Rosenfeld and I was deeply interested in his poems. -- It seems to me he is a born poet, and will become famous -- his poems are full of deep & true thought & feeling. I would like to have met him."

Apr. 5 was spent mainly on an article for the Herald on the working man's reading room.

A copy of the Herald of Apr. 23 with the second part of his article reached King on Apr. 26. He noted, "It reads well, -- it was written hastily but I am not ashamed of it altogether, thought it might be much improved."

He recorded in his diary on Apr. 13, "Tonight I spoke on the Sweating System at the Prospect Union. I gave it no preparat'n and really was not in a fit condit'n to speak, but the men applauded me well & were very attentive. There were a good many of them out."

He lent "a man named Pierce some papers, and reports on Sweating System" on May 4.

May 18 was a rewarding day for "I was much delighted with an editorial in the Mail & Empire of yesterday which speaks of my work re sweating. It speaks of me as evidently friendly to the working classes, & is very complimentary. It refers to the article I wrote last Fall (I imagine Mr. Wallace wrote the editorial). The Globe of Saturday had a splendid notice too. This is my field of action, fight for the working men, keep to their cause through all. I will do this & oh God help me to do it well."

Equally encouraging, a week later: on May 25 he received papers "with notices of sweating system, one referring to me as W.L. Mackenzie's grandson; also notices in the Boston papers re speech last night."

Again,he noted, on June 13 "The Globe & Mail of Toronto have good notices yesterday -- but what is fame? May I not see a glittering bubble? Keep me humble, Oh Lord."

King received word from Mr. Willison on July 22 "that he would accept a two-to two and a half-column article from me on Sweating in Canada."

He spent most of the morning of Saturday July 30 "reading over Wright report on the Sweating System in Can.: his investigation was an extremely superficial one, and in one or two important points he is entirely wrong; he simply did not look into conditions as they are. I read over also some articles which I had written on the subject. While reading many of my old thoughts & much of my old inspiration returned upon me.

"I began to walk the library floor & deliver an address to working men. I expounded much of the belief, the Gospel of work, -- from the time of the Carpenter of Nazareth; all men build as architects of Fate, build more stately mansions; the justificat'n for a professorial life only work to bring all to (the) talents to the best,etc. I saw clearly that the long pain I have had was only to make me feel deeper, give me stronger faith & convictions. I feel I was bound to be a leader of men. I recognized it as a terrible responsibility, & could not believe that it was mere ambition. A man cannot know himself or the forces which move him on. Some days I think it the one, sometimes the other. Perhaps such a questioning spirit is good for a time."

We can almost witness his writing process as he records on Aug. 1, "At 9 o'clock I began work on article for the Globe. Mrs. Sullivan, the house keeper, has been reading an article of mine on the sweating system & has shown it to her lover who is a tailor. They have both abundant praise, 'such good plain writing everybody can understand it. I think it is beautiful, he says you must be clever'. These are the people to whom my heart warms.

"I began writing on the article on sweating in Canada about 9 o'clock, & kept at it all morning. I wrote much slower than usual, but am writing as concisely as possible."

"This afternoon I cont'd writing on article till 4, had finished in all about a column, (1500 words) perhaps a little more. I found it hard to keep at work this afternoon. At moments I was a little cloudy & morose, but I am getting away from that & have had some moments, yes even minutes of old time happiness."

Again the next day, "This morning I was at work shortly after 9 o'clock. I put in the whole time pretty steadily at article on Sweating for the Globe and did some good work on the part relating to competition. I finished it in 2 more hours this afternoon, tho' am not well satisfied with the last part. I find I can see the field fairly well,

and that there is a great deal of material which I might write about. My work on it has not been all for nothing, I have some idea of the subject."

King recorded in Toronto, on Sept. 23 that he "worked on article for the Globe, copying out the balance of it. My head was not in good shape & I copied in more or less of a mechanical way. I am not satisfied but disgusted with it."

The next morning he finished the article. He gave it to Mr. Willison, on Sept. 26, "who said he would probably use it."

On his visit home, Sept. 8, he "spent a very pleasant evening with Inspector Stephens called at his home shortly after 8. We had a little supper brought in, some grape wine, etc.; showed me his library in wh. he takes much pride. Then I walked down town with him. We went thro' some of the back streets, & along York street where he stopped to talk German to a Jew & Italian to a fruit vendor to show me how he was progressing; we went then to the Grand Opera for a few minutes, then to the Toronto Opera."

During this visit King and his father sought to visit Goldwin Smith on Sept. 11, but Mr. Smith was out.

But on Sept. 24 "Father and I called on Mr. Goldwin Smith at 5. He talked pleasantly of the war of prohibit'n, supporting Mr. Norton on the former, denouncing Chamberlain as a kite flyer, etc., opposed Prohibit'n as being impossible to carry out, told how a mayor of a temperance town had offered him liquor, etc. Wished to be remembered himself to Mr. Norton whom he wished would come to see him. He looked well, said his Pol. Histy, wd. soon be out, but he was old & it took him more time. His wife came in, a selfish conceited illmannered woman."

Back at Harvard he spent several hours on Oct. 10 as he "looked over material on Sweating. In truth, I have done but little at it. I wrote two letters, one to Inspector of Pennsylvania and one to Griffin in Mass."

Later, on Oct. 17, he "received a copy of the Winnipeg Free Press sent by Appleton with a half column editorial on it, -- quotes one or two passages I wish I had left out. Strangely enough, I do not attach so much importance to these notices as I did a year or so ago. I care little about them. I feel myself unworthy. I have a truer knowledge of strength. I want to achieve a real solid bit of work."

He was existing very frugally, though not unhappy for this, a life that was intellectually and emotionally rather stormy. Still, counting his small change on Nov. 9, he"wished that the Globe would publish my articles on sweating in Canada and send me $10 or so."

So that he was pleased to note on Nov. 21,1898 that "the Globe of Nov. 19 published my sweating in Canada article, five columns nearly."

On Nov. 5 he received a copy of the Berlin (Kitchener, Ont.) "Telegraph with a 3 col. editorial on sweating rept. Excessively complimentary. The Globe copies part of it. Out of what thin paper a reputat'n may be made. Yet will I work hard to try to merit a deserved one."

Three days later the mail brought him the Montreal Herald with an article of nearly two columns on his report (to the Postmaster-General).

IN THE GLOBE

King's article on "The Sweating System in Canada" appeared on the front page in the Globe of Nov. 19, 1898, unsigned. It reads:

"Conditions which obtain in the Manufacture of Ready-Made Clothing: Effects of Competition under some Features of the Industrial System; An Investigation into the Various Processes by which Ready-Made Clothing is obtained by the Contractor -- The Economics of Present Conditions— Revelations with regard to the Employment of Women and Children -- Prices Paid for the Work Done.

"The history of the development of the clothing industry has been much the same in most countries in which the industry has been established. In each and all alike it has passed through three stages of transition, marked out distinctly by the chief place of manufacture: the home, the shop or the factory. Still the development has not been complete, for the reason that methods common to all three stages have been retained, and are in operation at the present time. This fact, considered in relation to the magnitude of the industry, helps to explain the difficulties and dangers which beset those who are engaged in it. The most serious of these is what has been termed "sweating," which is a condition of industrial oppression not confined to the clothing trade, but which, in recent years, has been so conspicuous a feature of it as to be regarded by some as an almost inseperable accompaniment.

"It is not quite a decade since a Select Committee of the House of Lords presented to the British Parliament the first of a series of lengthy reports upon the sweating system in Great Britain. The Committee of Manufacturers of the House of Representatives in the United States prepared a report on the same subject in 1893. At the close of that year the Commission on Labor Statistics of the German Empire concluded an investigation into the condition of garment-makers in that country, and, in the fall of 1895, the Government of the Dominion appointed a commission to report upon the sweating system in Canada. In all of these the same class of phenomena was shown to have made its appearance, and the same results were, in a greater or less degree, visible in all, or promised to become so in the course of time.

"The changes in the clothing industry, and the rise of the so-called sweating system have been coincident with the business revolution which has placed at almost opposite extremes the proportion of custom-made goods to ready-made, of the products of domestic industry to those of the factory. It is not from song or story alone that many remember the maiden in the Acadian land close at her father's side --

"Spinning flax from the loom that stood
In the corner behind her....
While the monotonous drone of the
wheel, like the drone of bagpipe,
Followed the old man's song, and unit-
ed the fragments together.

"Nor does it need any creation of the poet's mind to recall to-day the girl

"....whose fingers thin
Wove the weary broidery in,
Bending backward from her toil,
Lest her tears the silk might soil,
And in midnight's chill and murk,
Stitched her life into the work;
Shaping from her bitter thought
Heart's-ease and forget-me-not,
Satirizing her despair
With the emblems woven there.

"This is no fanciful picture, but is a poetical expression of the industrial changes which have taken place.

"What proportion the ready-made clothing bears to the custom-made in Canada it is difficult to determine. An official estimate made in 1892 for the United States of clothing worn by men and boys in that country puts the proportion of ready-made at seventy-five per cent; other estimates place it even higher. The proportion in Canada is not likely to be less. Two-thirds of the clothing worn

by men and boys in the Dominion, it seems fair to assert, is ready-made. Of this the greater part is manufactured in the Dominion. And, as the enquiry is an important one, it may be well to describe in what places in Canada and according to what methods the manufacture is carried on.

"Ready-made Clothing.

"The ready-made clothing business is conducted by large wholesale merchants, spoken of usually as manufacturers, although often such in name only. Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Halifax, Quebec and Ottawa are the chief places of manufacture, although there are also clothing industries in some of the towns as, for example, in Clinton, Ont; but the bulk of ready-made clothing is turned out in the larger centres named. The method of manufacture, however, is not the same in all these places; or, rather, the different kinds of methods are adopted in different proportions in different places. These methods as already indicated, are three, namely, the home, the shop and the factory; but for purposes of more accurate descriptions, as well as because of its important bearing upon other conditions, it is well to add a fourth, which is a combination of the first and second of these, and which may be termed the 'home-shop' method. The Germans have nicely distinguished the 'home' work and 'house-shop' work by designating the former 'heimarbeit' and the latter 'hausarbeit.' The importance of this distinction will appear later. The factory method explains itself. The making of the garment, with the exception of the cloth, is from start to finish carried on in the one factory. An extended system of division of labor is in vogue, and the number of hands at work in the establishment is usually large. Where this method is adopted the wholesale merchants, or company, who own the premises, are in reality the 'manufacturers' in the strict present-day sense of the term, but this is hardly true where the other methods are adopted. The workshop method is bound up with the contract system. Instead of the goods being manufactured entirely on the premises of the wholesale merchant as manufacturer, contracts are entered into with men, who have small shops of their own for the making up of the garments at a stipulated price or sum.

"These contractors employ hands in their own shops, and receive from the wholesaler or manufacturer the cloth already cut (frequently by machine) and recut the goods in the condition intended for wear. The shops are scattered about, but many are situate in the business parts of the cities. The 'homeshop' method is the same as the last, in so far as the making of a contract and the hiring of hands are concerned, but the place of manufacture is the home of the contractor. The shop is situate in the home; strangers are introduced to assist in the work of manufacture, and members of the family are also frequently employed. Lastly, in the home method there is no hiring of hands on the part of the person who receives the cut goods from the wholesale manufacturer. These goods are given out in bundles, to be made up by the person receiving them in his home, and no others save the immediate members of the family are expected to work on the garments in question.

"Distribution of Processes.

"The amount of ready-made clothing manufactured in factories is not large. In Toronto and Montreal there are only one or two firms that manufacture ready-made clothing on their own premises. In Halifax the proportion of factory work is greater, and in some of the small towns there are also factories; but the entire output of ready-made men's and boys' clothing which is manufactured in the factories of the Dominion would not be five per cent of the whole. The real places of manufacture are the hundreds of small workshops and the thousands of homes of the working people. In other lines of ready-made goods, underwear, for example, a much larger proportion, and, in some cases, almost the entire quantity, is made up in factories. In Toronto, Montreal and Hamilton there are a number of contractors' shops, the proportion of these being probably higher in Toronto than anywhere else. The home-shops are to be found in all the cities mentioned. There are many in Montreal and Quebec, where, owing to the fact that a business tax is levied on all business establishments, if such can be located, the contractor has a special reason for conducting his shop in his place of residence, and not on separate business premises.

Lastly, the giving out of garments to individuals to be made up in their homes is the custom with respect to certain classes of goods everywhere. In Toronto and Hamilton these goods are usually made up by people who live in the city proper, or its suburbs. But in Montreal the great bulk of the clothing is made up in the homes of farmers and habitants, some of whom live thirty or forty miles, or even a greater distance, from the city. In many of the villages half, or more than half, of the inhabitants are employed during part of the year in the manufacture of these goods. In some instances the persons doing the work call for and deliver it in person at the place of business of the manufacturer, but it is also a common practice for the wholesale manufacturer to send the cut cloth in bundles out into the country in charge of special delivery men, who leave it at the homes of persons desiring this kind of employment, and call for it on their return journeys. The great bulk of the cheaper grades of clothing in the Province of Quebec is made up in this way. It is to be observed also, that a wholesale manufacturer may have some of his goods made up according to one method, and some according to the others. This is, indeed, the usual custom. The better class of ready-made goods, coats for example, is usually made up in contractors' shops. Pants and vests are made up chiefly in the homes.

"It remains to be considered how this arrangement, apparently satisfactory, and outwardly presenting something of the nicety of a geometrical design, lends itself to a species of industrial oppression which is hardly to be equalled in any other industry. In other words, what is the sweating system? and how does it come into practice here?

"Definition of 'Sweating'."

"Speaking generally, the sweating system denotes a condition of labor in which the remuneration is quite disproportionate to the amount of work done: or, to borrow mathematical phraseology, in which a maximum amount of work, in a given time, is performed for a minimum wage. It is also usually understood that the hours of labor are long, and that the place in which the work is done, and the

environments to which the workers are subjected, are unhealthy, and such as to prove injurious to their physical and moral well-being. Excessive work, low wages, long hours and unhealthy surroundings are the distinguishing characteristics of the so-called sweating system.

"First, as to the low rate of wages. Competition, which has been made the scapegoat of so many commercial sins, is not shorn of any of its odious features in accounting for the low remuneration received by workers in the clothing industry. Rather should it be said that it would be difficult to devise an arrangement whereby competition is given a more relentless sweep than in the one just described. Home shop and factory are played off against one another with a degree of ingenuity which at times is cruel in the extreme. For example, take the situation as it exists in Montreal. In the villages surrounding that city are people who seldom, if ever, have continuous employment of any kind. Many are small farmers, who, during certain seasons of the year, have practically nothing to do. Their farms may or may not yield a sufficient livelihood for their families, yet they welcome an opportunity to supplement their incomes by the making up of garments. Not being at all dependent on this class of work, but regarding it merely as adventitious or supplementary, they are willing to accept a very small remuneration. They take in the work when it is convenient to do so, and work upon it when they are not otherwise employed. If this class of people were numerous and skilled enough to do the entire work, the letting out of garments to be made in homes might be regarded as a return to the old domestic system, with many of its best features, as well as a benefit to the purchasing public. But such is not the case. The number of workers so situated is limited, and their skill is not of a high order. Their existence, however, is the fact of which the wholesale manufacturer avails himself. In determining his prices and persons less fortunately situated as to any regular source of income, he quotes the prices at which the work is done in some of these homes, and, as far as possible, uses these as a basis for his bargainings with others. The result is that women in their homes who are mostly, if not entirely,

dependent on the sewing which they can get to do are obliged to accept the very low prices offered, or go without work altogether. These women often possess skill of a somewhat higher order, and are given garments of a better grade to make up. Sometimes, in fact, frequently, they convert part of their homes into small shops, in which members of the family, if such there be, assist, and in which two or three girls or young women from the village are employed at a low rate or apprenticed with no remuneration to learn the trade. These small shops conducted in homes are, in their turn, played off against the larger workshops in the cities. The contractors who own the latter are quoted the prices which obtain in the home shops, a slight allowance being made for the better grade of work which they receive, for, as a rule, the best grades of ready-made clothing can only be satisfactorily made up in the large shops or factories, and the offer of one contractor is played off against the offers of the others. These contractors have then to employ hands out of whose work they must make a sufficient income to meet the expenses of the shop and provide a net profit sufficient to induce the undertaking. Among the employees, in turn, there are varying degrees of skill, and also in the urgency of need of employment; and here again the weaker individuals are played off against the stronger, so as to keep down the remuneration of all. Lastly, in no case can the amounts paid out to these different classes of workers average more than would be sufficient to meet the gross expenses of a large factory with adequate labor-saving machinery and a division of labor minutely apportioned. To this must be added the competition among the wholesale manufacturers themselves; not only in one city, but in different parts of the country, and even the competition of the manufacturers of one country with those of another. In other words, looking at the struggle for existence in this small section of the industrial world, the nature of the conflict would appear to be something like this: The industries of one country are competing with those of others; within the one country those of one city or town with those of others; within the one city one wholesale merchant with the other wholesale merchants; among those employed by each, one

contractor is set off against the others; his employees are set off against each other; the small home-shops are arrayed against the workshops, and against each other; while the home workers are opposed to the home-shops and engaged in an endless conflict amongst themselves. In such a struggle the weakest are continually going to the wall, and the last surviving on each plane help to bring down the others to their level. The clothing industry in Canada has so far been spared the presence of a separate class of contractors who stand between the wholesale merchants and the shop contractors or home workers, and whose existence, in some parts of the United States and England, has served to give additional viciousness to the action of competition. In Canada the letting out of the work is usually in the hands of the foremen of the wholesale houses, who deal directly with the shop contractors or home workers; but in some cities of the United States and England this work is undertaken for a number of firms by one contractor, who in turn sub-lets his contract, in part to shop and in part to home or tenement house workers. This introduces new competition by this class of contractors, and necessitates the realization of an additional profit before the actual worker receives his remuneration.

"Realization of Profits.

"In accounting, therefore, for the scantiness of wages which the actual worker receives, our explanation, at least, is found in profits which have to be realized over and above the wages which are paid to him. Where the sub-contracting system is in full vogue the process is something like this: The retail dealer realizes his profit in the difference between the price at which the consumer buys and that at which the articles are purchased from the wholesale manufacturer. In most cases the wholesale manufacturers have their own stores, but sell at retail prices. The wholesale manufacturer realizes his profit out of the difference between what he sells the articles for and what he pays the contractor, all other expenses having also to be met out of the difference. The contractor realizes a

profit out of the work of the sub-contractors in shops and homes and the work of the home workers; and lastly, the sub-contractors meet the expenses of their shops and receive their profits out of what they, working often in company with their employees, are able to realize from the work of the latter. Where part of the work, such as finishing, button-hole making and the like, is further sub-contracted, as is sometimes the case, another profit is realized from the work of those who are so employed. When, in addition to this, it is remembered that the buying of cheap goods has become so common and is so much practiced as to be almost a mania with large numbers in all classes of the community, there is little wonder that many workers are obliged to quit the field, and that even the Jewish contractor, with his proverbial shrewdness in buying and selling, finds it difficult to earn profits and not infrequently falls into the ranks of those whom he employs.

"The wages and prices received by men and women in the Dominion may be judged from the few following quotations, recently obtained with respect to amount paid to workers in Montreal and Toronto. They are not in any way exceptional, but admit of an increase or diminution in many cases. In some of the largest shops in Montreal the prices paid to the contractor by the wholesale merchant were as follows:-- For the making of heavy winter overcoats (including, in all cases, the putting in of linings, the pressing, the finishing, etc.) $1 each; for gentlemen's morning coats, 75 and 80 cents; for men's double-breasted coats, 60 and 65 cents; for men's sack coats 60 and 65 cents; and for the more common grade of coats, 35 and 40 cents. This is the gross amount paid to the contractor, and out of it he has to clear his profit, after meeting the expenses of his shop and paying the wages of those employed. In these shops the employees are, in some cases, paid by the week, in others by the piece. Their wages vary according to the season of the year and the skill and necessities of the worker. In a week of 60 hours a fair average for a good workman is $10, but many do not earn more than half that amount, and, of those who are to-day receiving it, some were obliged to serve a term of apprenticeship for nothing, and to work up, year by year, to their present position. The wages for the

best-paid women and girls average, for the same number of hours from $3 to $5 a week. Very few receive much over these sums, and many are working for less. As an instance in point, one contractor employed during the busy season five men and nineteen women. The men worked for six days in the week from 7 a.m. till 6 p.m. the best-paid receiving $6 and the other $5. The wages of the women were much less. Some received $1.25, others $2, and the rest $3 a week. A number of them, in order to earn a little more, were in the habit of working overtime, coming to the shop at 6 o'clock in the morning, and working there till after 9 o'clock at night. It was seldom that even in this way $5 a week could be realized. Indeed, $2 and $2.50 a week is not an uncommon wage for many girls and young women who are working steadily ten hours daily in these shops.

"'And Flesh and Blood So Cheap!'

"In the home-shops women are almost exclusively employed. The work done is that on the cheaper grades of clothing and consists largely in the making up of pants and vests. Many of them are employed at $2 and $2.50 a week, and $3 is regarded as a good wage. But among the home workers in the villages prices are at their lowest. Pants are made up at from $1 to $3 a dozen pairs, i.e., from 8-1/3 to 25 cents a pair, while 12-1/2 and 15 cents is commonly quoted as the price paid for the making of a pair of men's trousers of a fair grade. In fact, 90 cents a dozen pairs is not uncommon in the cheaper class, and, in some places,boys' pants are being made up at 60 cents a dozen. For vests, 10 cents apiece is paid, for men's coats of a common sort 30 cents each; heavy blue coats, lined and with four pockets, and double-breasted coats 40 cents each; heavy winter overcoats 60 and 75 cents each.

"The prices and wages in Toronto are much the same. They are, if anything, a little better, the competition being somewhat lessened by the fact that not much work is sent out into the country. Yet $9 to $12 a week is not uncommon for the best-paid men in shops, while many receive only $6 and $7. Women and girls receive from $2 to $4, and, in some cases, as high as $5. Heavy winter ulsters are being made up in shops at 60 and 65 cents each,

each ulster having to be lined and furnished with canvas and bulock, a belt, four pockets and 28 buttons; men's coats are being made at from 40 to 70 cents each, pants 12-1/2 to 15 cents each, and vests about the same. In many cases the person doing the work has to furnish the thread, and also send for the cut cloth and deliver the finished goods.

"It is sometimes asserted that the immigration of a large foreign population, composed largely of persons of an inferior degree of skill and intelligence, is the main cause of the prevalence of such low wages and prices. Whatever truth there may be in this statement in its application to particular cities in other countries, it is certainly far from being the whole truth in so far as Canadian towns and cities are concerned. While there are doubtless many Jewish contractors and employees engaged in the clothing industry, the majority of workers are English speaking or French Canadians, and among the class of Jews engaged in work, many are quite the reverse of being incapable or ignorant. It is true, however, that by far the great majority of workers in the clothing industry are women and girls, and that female labor has, in this industry at least, never received anything like the compensation which has been given to male labor, however inadequate this latter may appear.

"Hours of Labor.

"The matter of hours and environment is hardly less important than that of wages, if, indeed, it is not, in many respects, far more so; but the real facts of the case can only be hinted at. Where the workshop is in a separate establishment the hours are regulated by the Provincial factory and workshops acts; but, where the shop is in the home it is frequently unknown to the inspectors, and the period of labor often extends beyond fifteen and sixteen hours a day. To those who work in their homes there is, in many cases, no limit save that of physical endurance; for where the individuals or families are dependent solely

on the amount earned by sewing, nothing but excessively long hours can enable them to gain a subsistence with so small a remuneration. There are many who work in homes for fifteen or sixteen hours daily, and who realize only from $3 to $5 a week. The task system, which is common in New York tenements, has also found its way into some of the shops in Canada. It is a scheme whereby one employee, or a group of employees, are allotted what is nominally supposed to be one day's work, and receive only one day's pay for the whole of it, though to complete it satisfactorily may require two or even three days. The baneful effects of excessive work of this sort upon the workers require no comment.

"The possible evils arising from the unsanitary condition of the place of manufacture are not only fraught with danger to those engaged in the work, but expose the public itself to grave risks of one kind or another. The homeshops, in particular, are apt to be small and unhealthy. There is a danger of the spread of contagion by means of the garments should an infectious disease exist in the house at the time. This is not less true of work done by individuals where care is not taken as to the class of people to whom it is given out. But the danger is at a minimum where the work is done in a factory with proper sanitary appliances and inspection, and where the regulations as to surroundings are sufficiently observed. There is great need of reform in places where much of the work is now being done. Not infrequently men and women, boys and girls, are crowded together in a room hardly large enough for a half or a third of the number. The atmosphere of the place, already noxious by reason of the presence of too many persons in so confined a space, is still more vitiated by the fetid odors arising from the gas, irons and dampened cloths. The running of machines and the pressing of garments create an incessant noise of the most distracting kind. Where the work is done in homes it is sometimes made up in the living apartments of the family, or in sleeping rooms, and cases are not uncommon where partially finished garments have been used as a covering for members of the family. These articles are afterwards

returned to the wholesale merchant who has no guarantee against their being infected with the germs of contagious disease.

"There are many other objectionable features due to conditions as they are -- the serious detriment to home life, the injustice to children, the social and moral dangers -- but these must be passed over, save in so far as their possible existence may be gleaned from what has already been described."

THE FATEFUL YEAR 1900

It was more than a good omen for King on Christmas Day 1898, during his visit home in Toronto, "Mr. Mulock had a little talk with me this afternoon -- shook hands heartily & spoke of report, telling me he had rec'd a request from the Trades and Labor Council for 1600 or more copies for distribut'n. He told me if I could find out anything else of the kind, to bring it along & he wd. give me the work to do & see that I was kept in with this government. He was very pleasant & seemed glad to see me. Judge Falconbridge who was with him was also very pleasant."

Not surprisingly King became a resource for information in his chosen field. On Feb. 5, 1899 "a Mr. Snow called with a letter from Fysshe; he was seeking information on the sweating system. I gave him a number of references, some papers, and indicated topics, etc."

Similarly, "a fellow named Fitz had written me for some information as to sweating." (May 21, 1899)

On the streets of Boston, while waiting in the cold to come into a theatre; King "had short talk with a Jew on Socialism. These Jews are a reading class & I feel convinced that socialism is making much headway thro' the mass of the people. Not that it may accomplish anything satisfactory, but it appeals to the masses; it seems to represent their cause." (Feb. 11, 1899)

Equally inauspicious was the lecture he heard the following evening from a novelist whose name his diary records. It was the very brilliant Israel Zangwill; "a Jewish author 'The Children of the Ghetto spoke on the subject. He seemed to me a very ordinary Jew who had a fair amount of knowledge but not an educated man. His talk is rather tiresome."

The conjuncture of King and Zangwill produced no sparks.

A rather conservative friend, a Dr. Cunningham, called on King on March 1, 1899 for an exchange of views on social questions. "We had quite a long talk together. I was surprised to hear some of the views he put forward, e.g., he believed, he said, in shoddy, & cheap things wh. people bought because they did not want them to last. He thought as to employment of women etc., regulat'ns shld. be framed so as to see that all time was well employed -- he thought there was much sentiment as to leisure, etc. He hoped more for legis'n than Consumers League in matter of reforming sweating, etc. His view of sweating was that the sweater had a double source of income, small return to capital & his own labor etc."

He met again with Dr. Cunningham a week later. "We talked in reference to the sweating system."

King delivered a sermon to the Wellesly students. As he noted in his diary (Apr. 30, 1899),

"I spoke on the great theme of the bible, love to our fellow men, & vs. oppress'n, & while nothing original in sins, the forms might change; of the sins of a commercial age likely to be commercial sins, -- then went on to speak of sweating, as the grt. indust'rl wrong &, after giving an account of it, spoke as to remedy, & closed by saying I believe behind all, the one real solut'n of this as of other problems lay in following the teachings of Christ, -- in a greater love for our Fellow men. Till we all saw the Christ in every man or woman we wd. not have solved the problem of our humanity or any of its wrongs.

"I was rather tired in speaking tonight, but scarcely made any use of notes, talked about 3/4's of an hour. The girls were very attentive, & towards the close I became quite earnest & spoke I think to good effect. After the talk a number of them came to the drawing-room downstairs."

That summer, King visited his family in Toronto. On Sunday afternoon, July 9, 1899,

"I saw Prof. Clarke pass & ran out & caught up to him. We had a little talk together. He told me he had been rereading my pamphlet (sic) on Govt. Clothing Contracts & thought it very good, he had made use of it at a meeting of clerical men, & intended to use it again. He asked me if I wd. come & lunch with him some day this week when Morang, the publisher, was coming to have lunch with him."

That week King "went to a meeting of the Trades & Labor Council. I cld. not help thinking while there of the change in a century. Just this time 100 yrs. ago Combinat'ns were declared illegal. Here last night were open discussions, a labor parliament which the public were freely admitted -- an advance in right of combination & freedom of speech. -- This kind of program will go on -- what will close of next century witness? I was interested in the frank way in wh. they disagreed among themselves -- they were down on the immigrat'n encourag'mt & favored day wage vs. contract system." (July 13)

King's status at this time is somewhat reflected in that it was Goldwin Smith who, about noon of Aug. 1, "called and brought with him a letter for father to me. It began, 'My dear King,' He said he would be pleased to have father & I (sic) call together any time."

Just before King sailed for England on Sept. 19, he "received a letter of introduction to the librarian of the Bodleian, Oxford, from Mr. Goldwin Smith in which he speaks of me as 'his friend'."

At this time the matter of sweating in the Montreal industry reached the Commons.

During the debate on supply on Aug. 1, 1899, the Minister of Militia reported that some additional clothing would be manufactured by contract. Mr. Foster asked,

"Then it will not be considered as part of the anti-sweating system that the homes of the habitants of the province of Quebec would be interdicted from doing this work?"

The Minister said,

"I would not object to that very much, but I think there should be an inspection of the houses and rooms to be occupied. In many cases I think the neighbours come together in one central room, and do the work in very much too small quarters. In some cases it is done, and I think we should in our contracts provide for inspection being made from time to time. We should have a list of both the houses where the work is done and the people employed."

Mr. Foster asked whether the Shorey firm will get a chance at this work and Mr. Montague stated that if it is the Workman firm 49¢ should be deducted apiece for the 500 coats which he made outside of his own shop.

The Minister of Militia replied,

"I do not think Mr. Workman should be liable for that. If any one is liable, I suppose I should be personally liable."

J.G.H. Bergeron of Beauharnois brought to the attention of R.L. Borden, Minister of Militia and Defence,

"....some contracts which were given to Mr. M. Workman, of Montreal, for trousers and military coats. The Hon. Minister will remember that there was some discussion on the point that Shorey & Co.,of Montreal, had tendered at a price very much lower than the party to whom the contract was awarded. Shorey & Co. offered to supply the goods at 49 cents per coat less than the contract price, but the contract was not given to that firm,

because they would not agree to the condition of the anti-sweating clause, which was comprised in the tender. I said to my hon. friend that I had every reason to believe that Mr. Workman of Montreal was not complying with the anti-sweating condition, but was doing the work in the same way that Shorey & Co. had proposed to do it. My hon. friend said that it was a dangerous assertion, because Mr. Workman had sworn that he had worked according to the anti-sweating clause. Shorey & Co. said that they would do the work according to their own way, and because they would not accept the condition of the anti-sweating clause, the department would not give them the contract. Workman got the contract at 49 cents per coat higher, but Workman has not worked according to the condition of the anti-sweating clause."(cols. 9067-68)

He cited the names of workers at Ste. Thérèse and Ste. Rose.

"The result of all this is that the Government have paid 49 cents more for coats than Shorey & Co.'s tender, the reason given by the Minister being that he could not entertain their contract because they would not accept the conditions of the contract with regard to sweating; and yet Mr. Workman who got the contract had the work done in the same way in which Shorey & Co. were honest enough to say they would have the work done. Therefore, I say that Mr. Workman, in agreeing to accept the conditions in regard to the sweating system, misled the Minister. I put the matter before him so that he can deal with the charge made against Mr. Workman." (9068)

Bergeron was to clash seriously again within a few months. In October King, now editor of the government's Labor Gazette and official conciliator, intervened in a strike at Valleyfield, P.Q., in Bergeron's constituency. This work stoppage was given a partisan significance by the Conservative factory owners, and King was accused of Liberal activity during his conciliation, particularly as Bergeron was defeated by the Liberal Loy. Serious accusations were levelled against civil servant King by F.D. Monk, member for Jacques Cartier. (R. McG. Dawson. William Lyon Mackenzie King, A Political Biography, 1874-1923. Pp. 106-12)

The minister had not had this information.

"In justice to Mr. Workman, I will say this. As the hon. gentleman remembers, I explained that we gave out certain orders just before the annual drill, both to Sanford and to Workman, to be done quickly; and these orders they were unable to undertake unless we permitted them to do them in the way they had been doing in the past. I have a memorandum of one of the employees of the department to say that the infantry trousers to which my hon. friend refers were got in that way by a special order, and not by contract; and I have a further note saying that the first 500 overcoats had to be got in a hurry, and before Workman's shops were ready. These, my officers know, are the only cases in which there was a departure. But since the hon. gentleman has brought the matter to my notice, I promise him that I will have it carefully investigated, because my only object is to enforce this clause. Seeing that not only Shorey & Co., but other contractors, were excluded on account of the terms of our contract, it is my duty to see that the men who have taken the contract adhere closely to the letter of the contract, and I shall do so." (9068-69)

Mr. Bergeron added that,

"Messrs. Workman & Co., at the time they tendered, had not any such factory as they pretended they had, and have not got it to-day; but all the work is done outside." (9069)

Sir Charles Tupper, leader of the opposition, went further,

"I do not myself see any reason, especially if Canada has to pay heavily for it, why a contractor of high standing and character should not be able to employ worthy people to do the work at home, if they pay a fair and legitimate price for it. Therefore, I do not see any reason why Messrs. Shorey & Co. should have been deprived of this contract when they offered to perform the work at a lower price than anyone else, and the work given to

another person. When the Minister of Militia and Defence refused to accept the lower tender, and gave the work to one of his friends, as I assume he did, at a much higher rate, he was bound to ascertain whether that contractor had the means of complying with the terms. It appears that he had not. Messrs. Shorey & Co. had this contract taken from them because they were going to go outside of their factory to get a portion of the work done; and they stated honestly and fairly to the Minister that they were willing to give him the fullest information and to put it into their tender. The question is a very serious one, involving a great loss of public money; and it appears now, from the statement of the Minister of Militia and Defence, that a large part of this contract is admittedly done in the precise manner in which Messrs. Shorey & Co. were prepared to do the work, and at 49 cents a coat more. It appears to me to be a most unjustifiable transaction. The Minister of Militia and Defence is, at all events, blamable to this extent, that when he took the contract away from the Messrs. Shorey and gave it to the Messrs. Workman he did not inquire, as he could have done, whether Workman & Co. were going to do the work in precisely the same manner as Shorey & Co." (9069)

He had reopened the entire question of sweating practices, and the Minister of the Militia reminded Sir Charles that he had not been here,

"....when the discussion on this subject took place before and when I explained very fully what had happened. As a matter of policy, this Government decided to introduce into certain contracts for clothing a clause which prevented sub-letting or farming out of these contracts, in the interest of the labouring people." (9070)

Sir Charles asked,

"Does the hon. Minister mean that a contractor who employs a person to do a certain amount of work at a certain price in his own home is sub-letting a contract?

I do not call that sub-letting a contract. I call that getting the work done, and if the price paid is a fair and reasonable one, let the Minister of Militia and Defence explain why the Government feel bound to take such a course." (9070)

The Minister replied,

"The price paid will have a great deal to do with it, but what is known as the sweating system is that system by which work is given out by the large contractors to poor people who are paid ruinously low prices, and it is to prevent that practice that this policy was adopted. Mr. Shorey knew perfectly well the terms upon which we asked for the tenders, and he refused to comply with them, so that we had no tender from him to consider. There were others in the same position. The Sanford Company put in two tenders, one higher than the other, but they said: If we get a certain proportion of the contract we shall be bound by our lower price. It turned out that they did get a larger amount, $60,000 or $70,000, and so they did the work at the lower price. The late Mr. Sanford came to me about this matter and he said he would have to hire a building and put machinery in it in order to fulfil this contract, and could not afford to do that without getting a very large amount of the contract. I believe that was done by the Sanford Company.... (9070)

"The principle we adopted in these contracts was not to encourage the sweating system. The Workman Company, I believe, are a solvent concern, and they assured the department that they would make the necessary arrangements to do the work in their own factory just as the Sanford Company did, and up to the present, I believed they had done so, and was very much surprised to hear my hon. friend say they had not.

"I have the assurance from one of the officers of my department that he was in the factory and saw the work going on. Only 500 coats out of 4,000 were done in that way, and that the infantry trousers, to which the hon. member for Beauharnois has referred, were outside the contract altogether. That was a special order made for the camps we have just had. In the same way the Sanford Company did work under the old system where they were not bound by this contract."(9071)

Sir Charles insisted that,

"You may have sweating in a factory just as well as outside. It all depends on the price, and I can imagine that quite as small wages might be paid in a factory. If this is a Government regulation, why does it not apply to all the departments? I am told that the right hon. Prime Minister obtained from Shorey & Company the coats for the Mounted Police, and I am quite certain that he consulted the public interest in doing so." (9071)

G.E.Foster supported him,

"I think the Minister of Militia was not as careful as he should have been in the making of the contract. He should have assured himself, before he gave a contract at all, that the successful tenderer, or the one to whom he wished to give it, had all the requirements necessary in order to have this sweating condition carried out in the spirit of the law. But he tells us that he did not take those precautions. Two precautions were required: First, an inspection as to whether there was a factory or not of sufficient size; and second, the price paid for the labour. If these two things had been satisfactorily ascertained, the hon. Minister would have been then in a position to say whether the sweating condition was lived up to or not. Is this the system that the Government are going to make operative in these contracts for clothing and supplies?

"Are they going to compel the clothing to be made in a factory, in a steaming street in Montreal, and prohibit respectable householders in the country from making up those garments in their own homes where they are surrounded with every convenience? Is it better to drive these people into a crowded factory filled with operatives breathing a heated atmosphere than having the work distributed at as good or better prices amongst the homes of habitants around the city of Montreal in the different parishes? If that be the system adopted by the Government, the sooner it is got rid of the better. It is a farce, because it produces a worse condition of things and prohibits the people from taking advantage of a better condition of things. What will be the rule with reference to the making of articles in the city of Montreal?

"I first came across it in the case of the manufacture of such articles as shirts, collars and cuffs. Instead of being made in the factories, they were made in this way -- the material was cut in quantity and the garments in this form were taken out to hundreds, and I was going to say thousands, of homes in the parishes near Montreal. Women and young girls do the work of sewing at their homes at so much apiece or so much per dozen. It was done there when other work could not be got, and the homes round and about the city of Montreal were actually made comfortable and wealth was gained -- wealth for these simple-living people -- for these homes by that kind of work which suited them. The same system is used by Mr. Shorey in connection with his clothing department.

"Now, would it be a just thing to drive the work out of conditions like that, conditions conducive to health and happiness, and shut it up in crowded factories in the city of Montreal? And to do what? Merely to carry out what is known to be a fad. Is it not plain to every one that in doing that, you take the work out of the best conditions and actually force it into the worst conditions.

"We are told that there were only a few great-coats. But here is one of the affidavits. It is dated Montreal, 28th July, 1899 and says:

"'I carted for Mr. M. Workman, of this city, about 2,000 military great-coats since the 1st November, 1898, to different work-people....'

"Where - in the factory of Mr. Workman? Not at all.

"'...to different work-people in the parish of Ste. Rose.'

"That is some twelve or fifteen miles outside of Montreal.

"'I also carted these same coats back to and delivered them to the said Mr. M. Workman, 1888 Notre Dame Street.'

"This is signed by the carter, Calixte Belanger, and also by two witnesses. Is that a factory? Under the very eyes of the Minister, the conditions of the contract are entirely ignored, and the work is done just as Mr. Shorey wished to do it. It is done under the same conditions, but Mr. Workman is paid 49 cents more for each greatcoat in order that the glory of an alleged anti-sweating system may be paraded before the laboring men of this country. What does Mr. Shorey say? I have a letter in which he speaks of some of these things:

"'You will find the great-coats with attached capes, 4,000 in quantity, were given to Workman, McShane's friend...'

"There is a very good item. Mr. McShane is a party politician, who has to get along. Mr. McShane is the friend of Mr. Workman. Mr. McShane gets the contract for Mr. Workman.

"'...at 49 cents per coat more than ours. We affirm that there is no sweating in Montreal. The clause calls for work to be done in the contractor's factory, and not in the homes of work-people. We deal at all times direct with work-people, and pay them current and satisfactory prices. Sweating means contract work, getting some man or person who employes people in his or her own shop, paying inferior wages in price per garment, working long hours, and keeping the people steadily on the grind. We know of no one doing such here. Our work is frequently done in the country by farmers' wives and daughters, they coming to us or we sending the work to them by wagon or railway train, cut in quantities, and they make it up and return to us when ready, and receive their pay at once. To make militia or any clothing as the tender asks for, in our own factory, our system would have to be altered altogether, and our present employees in the rural district would be deprived of the means of livelihood which they have enjoyed for many years. Farmers' wives and daughters are thus of great assistance to the heads of families. We have been thanked many times by curés in the rural districts for giving work to families, thus keeping the families together and preventing young women seeking employment in cities where they are subject to great temptations.

"'Fully 75 per cent of our work is done in the country -- Ste. Rose, Ste. Thérèse, Boucherville and like places taking the bulk of it. Convents, such as the Sacred Heart, do a great deal of work for us. We pay the convent mentioned above $1,000 to $12,000 annually. So, according to the present system of calling for tenders, these as well as country people would be deprived of the work. I do not think the present contractors carry out this clause in the contract. In making up our tenders we made a red-ink line around the clause and wrote the Minister that we would only make garments in the usual way; that is, cut and trim them in our own factory, and send them out to be sewn in the usual way. The Minister will probably answer that Shorey's tender was irregular. Well, are they seeing to the enforcing of this clause with Workman, who got all the work? I think not,'" The Hon. G.E. Foster of York, N.B. said. (Pp.9072-75)

The Postmaster General, Mr. Mulock, entered the debate by alluding to King's report and to the requirement that contractors provide proper sanitary conditions under which goods are manufactured, as a fad. My hon. friend the leader of the Opposition also appears to disapprove of such conditions. Now, I may say that the ex-Minister of Finance is quite in error when he asserts that the sweating system in all its viciousness has not acquired a foothold in the city of Montreal.

"Some time ago I received information that caused me to have an inquiry made upon this subject, and if time admitted, I would lay before the House the report of the gentleman who made the investigation, both in the city of Montreal and in other cities. His report shows that garments were being manufactured in various places in Canada under conditions most detrimental to the health and morals of many engaged in that work. Because the anti-sweating conditions adopted by my colleague in the Militia Department and by myself require a contractor to supply accommodation and facilities whereby work can be done under sanitary conditions, the hon. gentleman assumes that the term 'factory' means some place congested with people, unwholesome in every respect. Now, if the hon. gentleman studied the conditions, I am sure he would have reason to correct his conclusions upon that point. The conditions generally seek to accomplish, what? The payment to the workingmen who do the work for a fair wage, and that the contractor shall see that they are enabled to do their work under proper sanitary conditions. Whilst in many instances piecework may be done to advantage at the homes, yet the balance of the testimony seems to be in favour of the work being done where the factory building can be open to inspection and the adoption of proper sanitary arrangements enforced.

"These conditions are not oppressive, they are intended for the good of those who bear the heat and burden of the day in connection with this work. My hon. friend is not familiar with them, but I may say that they provide that in connection with any of these works the contractors shall pay to the workingman a fair wage, such a wage as is fair and legitimate in the district where the work is being performed: that sub-letting shall not be permitted; and that the work shall be done under proper sanitary conditions. Whether it be in a street that is crowded or uncrowded, whether it be in the home or whether it be in the country, the contractors shall satisfy the department that the conditions under which the work is conducted are such as they ought to be.

"I should regret extremely if we had to divided upon a principle of this kind. It is not a question upon which there ought to be a difference of opinion; and if my hon. friend would only reserve his judgment and study the conditions, I would place in his hands a report which will have some influence, I am sure, upon his mind. I should deplore it if, on a question of this kind, concerning the welfare of the great industrial classes, it should happen that there was a division of opinion.

"These conditions have received the approval not only of the workingmen of Canada but of the great industrial classes of Great Britain. There is nothing novel in them so far as our action is concerned. We have lagged behind in their adoption. The principle on which these conditions were established was affirmed as a result of a report of the Committee of the House of Commons of England as far back, I think, as 1891. The report and recommendations of the committee of the British House of Commons received the unanimous endorsement of the House of Commons. Whilst I am speaking in

a general way, I think I am speaking by the book when I say that almost every Government contractor in England is required to comply with the spirit of these conditions. The spirit of these conditions is that the Government shall assume the responsibility of seeing that the work is performed under proper sanitary conditions, and that the fair-going wage in the district where the work is being performed shall be paid. These are the principles involved in these conditions. It may happen that work has suddenly to be performed when there is no provision to have it performed under these conditions,but I am sure that my hon. friend,upon consideration, will not take exception to the great underlying principle. Not only has it the imprimatur of the precedent to which I have referred, but it has been substantially endorsed by the industrial classes throughout all Canada, and I would again express the hope that no hon. gentleman in this House will put himself in antagonism to the principle of these conditions, at least until he has so thoroughly mastered the subject that he would be able to justify any other attitude. Experience of the working of this system for eight years in Great Britain has justified, not only the maintenance of it, but it is a sufficient warranty for our adopting it here. I think the hon. Minister of Militia and Defence has done well to incorporate this principle in his contracts; and even if a few garments have, under special circumstances been manufactured outside of these conditions, it is certainly no reason for undoing the scheme as a whole. It is not the lowest price alone under these conditions that we should seek to pay, but we should require tenderers who are tendering to supply goods, to put in a schedule of wages, and this should be inserted as a part and parcel of the contract. When contractors take contracts at starvation rates they are obliged either to lose money or to pinch those who have to do the work for them, and it seems better to put all tenderers upon one common plane by laying down a rule that will fix the minimum standard for the wages that they will pay." (9075-77)

W.H. Montague insisted that the government had not ensured the manner of production by the Workman company under the contract; the place where the work was done, the existence of sub-contracting, or the wages paid. In fact, "It has been established pretty well that Workman & Co. have not lived up to the conditions of this tender and contract. The government ought to proceed against these contractors. If it finds out that Workman & Co. have not got a factory, or that they have got a factory which is not capable of doing the work, and that they are doing the work by the very system they agreed not to follow," the member for Haldimand said.

Mr. Mulock read long excerpts from King's report. When N.C. Wallace asked why the names of the manufacturers examined were omitted, the postmaster general said it was "for reasons of good taste."

Mr. Bergeron denied the veracity of King's report and suggested it was not worth fifty cents, leave alone the $200 he was paid. He stated that there was widespread opposition to the anti-sweating regulations. Mayor Préfontaine of Montreal as well as the manufacturers in the city, he said, were adamant. He sought the collaboration of Mr. Fortin of Ste. Rose, but the latter said only that although his constituents "choose to remain at home and work for these manufacturers, they complain of the insufficiency of the prices they get from them. "I have heard it stated, again and again, that these women and young girls were killing themselves from morning till night earning a bare living. This is the complaint I have heard at Ste. Rose, more particularly, where I live, and where these persons reside and are known to me. They, of course, do that work themselves at home and they are not required to work in the factory. They repeatedly complained of the insufficient amount from these contractors." (9091)

After recess for dinner Mr. Borden gave information about Workman's.

"Since I left here at six o'clock, I saw the officer of my department, who I stated a few days ago when my main Estimates were up for discussion, had inspected the work of the factory. He heard the statement made this afternoon by my hon. friend, and that officer says that he has been in that factory several times. That it is a large, capacious, light, well ventillated and healthy factory; that it is larger than Sanford's factory, against whom my hon. friends seem to have no objection. That is the statement made by an officer in my department who was not appointed by me, whom I found in the department, and who I believe to be a thoroughly upright man, and he made that statement to me deliberately since we left this Chamber at six o'clock. I thought I could not be mistaken. I stated very positively that there was a factory, that it was well equipped, and that I believed clothing was being made in that factory, and to make assurance doubly sure, I spoke to this officer.

"His name is McCann. I never saw the factory. I had no occasion to go to the factory, but I asked him about it. It is diagonally opposite the head office of Workman & Co., where his goods are sold. That is the statement which I make. I cannot make it more specific than that. Now, with regard to the wages paid I have to say this, that every employee in the Workman establishment is a member of the trades union, and that the wages paid are the wages fixed by that union. Here is a statutory declaration of the wages paid:

"Foreman and superintendent shall be paid $14 weekly. Fitters, open and trimming work for hands and arranging linings for hands to commence work, $8 and $10. Main operators on the machine paid by the piece, earned weekly from $10 to $20.

"I may say here that Mr. McCann has told me that at his last inspection he saw a young woman there who told him that sometimes she earns more than $9 a week. That is in pretty strong contrast to the statement read to my hon. friend the Postmaster General of four girls earning from $2.50 to $4 or $5 a week under the old system.

"Pressers to assist machine operators, same press belts, paid by the week, $7; tellers and girls employed to fit coats and for basting lining, paid by the week $3 to $4.50; pressers for coats and belts, paid by the piece, earn weekly $10 to $12; finishers, girls employed for sewing on buttons, etc., earn weekly $3 to $4; examiners, after coats are entirely finished in shop, earn weekly $12 to $15; button-hole makers, paid by the week, earn $10 to $12, and girl assistants, $3 to $4.50. Special examiner, before packing $12; packers and workers $10. Our factory flats are two in number, well-lighted back and front, are 25 feet wide, 100 feet deep, ceiling 12 feet high, properly arranged for the comfort of the hands, machine running by electricity,"

Mr. Bergeron interrupted,

"It requires an investigation, because my information is quite the reverse. I read affidavits too."

Mr. Borden continued,

"Is it to be assumed that an affidavit made by a respectable manufacturer in the city of Montreal is not to be considered worth as much as the affidavits which my hon. friend read? I do not understand that he read any affidavit stating that there was no factory in existence. That was his own statement. He did not say he had an affidavit to that effect; but he took the responsibility, as a member of Parliament, of stating on the floor of this House that the Workman Company, of Montreal, had no factory whatever.

"--comfortably heated, closets, etc. We open our factory at 7:30, close at 6 p.m., allowing one hour for meals. Total number of hands employed at present is about 40. Our factory is located at 1857 Notre Dame Street, nearly opposite our main premises.'

"The Workman Company, I am informed, have contracts with the city of Montreal to make clothing for the firemen. They have also contracts with the Electric Tramway Company to make the clothing for their employees. Now, is it not possible, and even probable, that the affidavits read by my hon. friend may have referred to the clothing made under these contracts, for military clothing? I think the hon. gentleman ought at least to be willing to give the benefit of the doubt to this firm. I can scarcely understand why my hon. friend seems determined to pursue Workman & Co. with such malignity as he has done for some time past. I can understand his friendship for the Messrs. Shorey; but surely, he is not persecuting the Workman people because they happen to be Liberals and the Shoreys Conservatives.

"'The special examining, stamping and packing is done at our main store, where also the cutting is done by cutters employed at a salary of $12 to $14 weekly, and superintended by our regular foreman; that in all other respects the provisions of the said contract have been observed, and the work performed in the manner provided and called for in the said contract.

"'And I make this solemn declaration, conscientiously believing it to be true, knowing that it is of the same force and effect as if made under oath, by virtue of the Canada Evidence Act, 1898. Mark Workman.'

"This is dated the 12th of January, 1899.

"I promised to investigate so as to see whether his statement be true, that the clothes are not made in a factory but somewhere else. But that Mr. Workman has a factory I think there can be no question. I cannot conceive it possible that a large manufacturer, such as he is, a man of means, occupying the position he does in the City of Montreal, would concoct such a tissue of falsehoods." (9093-96)

Mr. Borden confirmed Mr. Fortin's report that "there were complaints on every hand as to the low rate of wages paid to people who were doing this work; and I believe that the statistics will show that in that neighbourhood there are a great many deaths, and a great deal of distress and sickness, due to the fact that these people work too many hours in their homes, staying in the house all day and not getting proper exercise, in order to get the miserable pittance allowed to them by the manufacturers. I do not say that Mr. Shorey differs in this respect from other men. Neither did the hon. member for Beauhanois say that Mr. Workman in that respect differed from Mr. Shorey, or paid less wages. I do say that I believe that system has the effect of reducing the rate of wages paid to the people who do the work.

"The country can stand the loss, if we remove from the working people the danger of sickness and obtain for them higher wages. I think I have fairly well justified the course I have pursued." (9096)

The charges of wrongdoing in the Workman case were summarized by G. Taylor, member for Leeds South.

"The facts are these: The Government advertised for tenders for great-coats and other military clothing. The Messrs. Shorey, a reputable house that has been in business for thirty or forty years, to my knowledge, manufacturing clothing, not only on contract with the Government but for the trade of Canada generally -- and I myself purchased clothing from them twenty-five or thirty years ago -- replied to the Government advertisement, and put in a tender at the price they were prepared to do the work for.

"But Mr. McShane has a friend who is a merchant tailor in Montreal, and I challenge the officer of the department, who is there on the floor, through his Minister, to contradict the statement I am about to make.

"In August, when these tenders were accepted, Mr. Workman had no factory for the manufacture of clothing, nor had he any factory for some months later. He did not manufacture any more than other merchant tailors would do in their line of business. Through Mr. McShane, Messrs. Workman & Co. prevailed on the Minister to apply the sweating clause to the Messrs. Shorey, and the Minister said to that firm: Because you farm your work out to the citizens in the parishes around Montreal, to be sewn by the piece, you come under the sweating clause, and your tender therefore must be sweated out, and Mr. McShane's friend must get this job.

"The contract was signed on the 11th of January, but the tender was accepted the 1st August, and Workman & Co. were told to get to work. They got their garments cut out and hired a carter to cart the material around and cart back the made-up material, and all this time they had no factory. The Minister's officer, Mr. McCann, who is on the floor, will not say that Workman & Co. had a factory in operation in October, November or December. The Minister states that they had one in March, and it appears that they rented a room across the street and put in some electrical machines to do some work for their retail store, and had about forty men at work. But we know that they farmed out all the Government work, and that my hon. friend from Beauharnois is correct when he says they had no factory. Mr. McShane, however, prevailed on the Government to give them this job, and they did just as the Messrs. Shorey would have done; they gave out the work in exactly the same way, they paid the same prices to the citizens around Montreal for doing the sewing, and they made 50 cents profit over Messrs. Shorey's prices.

"The Postmaster-General enabled Mr. McShane's friends to do something on the same scale, when he gave Mr. Workman the contract at 50 cents per piece higher than one of the most respectable firms in Montreal offered to do the work for. When this contract was let in August Workman & Co. went to work to make the coats.

"The Minister of Railways says that the contract was only signed on the 9th January, but Workman & Co. had manufactured the greater portion of the goods during the previous fall. The contract was only signed on the 9th January, and yet they made a declaration on the 11th of January that the clothes were all made. Is it possible that they could have made the clothes in two days? The Minister could not have read the contract. The contract was signed on the 11th January, but the tender was accepted in August, and these men were told to go to work, and did so, and they farmed the work out around Montreal just as Messrs. Shorey would have done, and made a clear profit of $1,900 over Messrs. Shorey's tender, which they were enabled to do simply because they happened to be friends of Mr. McShane and the Government." (9114-16)

Mr. Montague repeated,

"The tenders were called for on the 5th August and opened on the 11th September. The contract was awarded on the 11th September, 1898. This affidavit bears date 10th January, 1898; but it is evidently a mistake. It is evidently January, 1899. The departmental stamp shows that it was received on January 12th, 1899. This affidavit does not say that certain wages are to be paid under these provisions of the contract, but it does say, as the right hon. Prime Minister will agree, that certain wages were paid." (9116)

He added,

"Another point: Five hundred of these coats the Minister says, were permitted to be made without the anti-sweating clause being applied. Now, let us get at the facts. Shorey & Company had agreed to make these coats without the anti-sweating clause for 49 cents apiece less than the tender of Mr. Workman. The anti-sweating clause is revoked for the benefit of Mr. Workman to allow him to make these coats in the same manner as it was proposed by Mr. Shorey they should be made, and

that is, by sending them out to the wives and daughters of the men of the parishes around. And yet the Minister allowed Mr. Workman his contract price which was 49 cents apiece more than the same coats were to be paid for according to Mr. Shorey's offer under the same system. Surely if Mr. Workman was to have the anti-sweating clause relaxed, he should have reduced his price which he received by reason of the insertion of that anti-sweating clause. All the sophistry of the Postmaster General (Mr. Mulock), in his vain and noisy attempt to fasten the advocacy of sweating on this side of the House, will not convince even the Minister of Militia himself, I think, that the proposition I am stating is an unfair or ungenerous proposition. If Mr. Workman got 49 cents more by reason of the existence of the anti-sweating clause, surely that 49 cents ought to be taken off if the anti-sweating clause was to be removed and the work was to be done as Mr. Shorey said he would do it." (9118)

It took Prime Minister Laurier to still the debate.

"The Minister of Militia and Defence, having to give that contract, gives it to the higher tenderer because he offered to take the contract with the anti-sweating clause. The position....the only question before the committee is, Did this contractor live up to his contract? Has he carried out the anti-sweating clause?....(9120)

"These tenders were asked for in August, and the contract was awarded in September, and it was signed in the month of January. In the meantime, it had partly carried out. There is no other way of reading the contract. The member for Beauharnois contends that there was a violation by Mr. Workman of that stipulation in the contract which demanded that the whole work should be done in his premises, and that instead the work had been let out to the people in the county of Laval and elsewhere. Now for my part, I see no violation of the anti-sweating clause there. Why, Sir, it would be monstrous to suppose that a workingman could not do his own work in his own premises.

The clause of the anti-sweating system exacts that no workingman shall be kept at work in the premises of his employer, not in his own home, but in the premises of his employer under unsanitary conditions, and conditions that are not favourable for doing the work....

"The contract binds the contractor that his own premises shall be kept in a sanitary condition, and if he sublets the contract, it shall be carried out in premises which are equally in a sanitary condition. But, Sir, unless I am greatly mistaken, I would be sorry to believe that the work could not be done, for instance, by a man who lives in the parish of Ste. Rose or elsewhere. At least, if that is the letter of the contract, it is not the spirit. Now, let us discuss that question seriously. What we must insist upon is that the contract shall be carried out in premises supplied by the employer, which shall be in a sanitary condition. But, surely, a man is not thereby precluded from working in his own home; I do not understand the contract in that way....(9121)

"We are all agreed that there should be an anti-sweating clause. How far this anti-sweating clause should go I am not prepared to say, but I do say that it should not go so far as to prevent working women doing work in their own homes. I do not think that could have been the intention of the contract, but if it is the intention of the contract, I think the clause should have been modified to that extent; because I do not want poor women to be deprived of doing work in their own homes. If that be the case a more liberal construction of the clause, I think, should be given, though I must insist that the anti-sweating clause shall be kept in all contracts. Still, a modification should be made so as not to deprive working women of the opportunity of working in their own homes." (9122)

It is in this context that we must read about the 1901 controversy involving Mark Workman. Mr. Fitzpatrick had accused Mr. Workman of ill treating his employees. The Independent Tailors Union and the Wholesale Clothing Cutters formally protested these statements to the Minister of the Militia and held that he had always treated his workers properly and was as much entitled to government contracts as any manufacturer in Montreal or any other place, he having always paid the highest wages in the city in the clothing industry. Mr. Fitzpatrick was condemned for his gratuitous efforts to deprive the clothing workers of Montreal of the opportunity to earn a livelihood. At this point the manufacturers accepted the union demand of $15 per week. (Public Archives of Canada. Laurier Papers, Pp. 54077-78)

King read the Commons debates of Aug. 1, 1899 on the labor controls of government contracts.

"This morning I was much interested in receiving a copy of the debate in the H. of C. on Tuesday, Aug 1st last, which was on the new regulat'ns in the Govt. contracts. I found on reading it through that Mr. Mulock had brought my name before the House & had read large extracts from the report. The only answer one member in the Opposition dared to make to it was the bald statement, 'It is not correct.' Yet much of the evidence he produced to show that the old method was being pursued under the new regulations was entirely corroborative of the report. Mr. Mulock spoke well in a few places, but I was much disappointed to see the bungle that both the Minister of Militia & the premier, Laurier, made of the matter. Mulock did well in saying he hoped for an extension of the principle to all gov't work, & for this we must work. I spent most of the morning reading the debate & found it most interesting." (Aug. 4, 1899)

He and his labor friend O'Donoghue "had a long talk on the anti-sweating debate & the matter of Govt. contracts. He was strong in his words on the subject, also in condemning the Govt. for the way they had treated Alf. Jury. He promised to give me a letter of general introduct'n to be used, if necessary, among the laboring classes in Eng. He will give the addresses of men with whom he has corresponded.

"This morning I received a copy of the Montreal Herald from Bert Harper. He has a long article in it on the anti-sweating principle in which he gives me great credit for the work accomplished. It is beautiful the way in which things have turned out in regard to each of us working more or less hand in hand on work to which we pledged ourselves in prayer now some years ago. Harper has gone straight ahead & will continue to do so. If we are true to our purpose, there is a good future of usefulness before each of us. I feel the thrill of an old impulse as my mind recalls the early enthusiasm for righteousness. This I must cling to. It is worth more than all else.

"I cont'd reading the House of Commons Debates today." (Aug. 5, 1899)

The parliamentary discussions of Aug. 1, 1899 which had aroused O'Donoghue also led King to write "a long letter to Mr. Mulock in regard to his debate on the Anti-Sweating Regulat'ns. I pointed out to him the importance of his holding firmly to the stand he had taken, & advising him to seek to promote the idea into all gov't. work of abolishing the contract system. Pointed out that it was one way in wh. the gov't could extend its patronage directly to the working classes who were debarred from most gov't posit'ns, possibly partly because of necessity. I spoke against allowing the work to go to the homes, where sub-contracting was sure to follow, & concluded, 'The Gov't must show itself desirous of following the public funds into the hands of the wage-earners, and of removing every possibility of plunder by contractors with public funds.-- 'I can only again express my thanks & appreciat'n for the manner in which you have advocated this reform. I hope during the course of the coming year to complete for publication a work dealing with the sweating system & the matter of public contracts. It will be my greatest pleasure if in its pages I am enabled to set before the public my own country as an example to other nations, & in recognition of your services place the initiat'n of the reform where it rightly belongs.' I read the letter to father who thought it good & manly letter." (Aug.7, 1899)

King sent his Prof. Taussig "a copy of the debate in the House of Commons, and expressed regret that Mr. Mulock had said I was on the Harvard staff, knowing it would be objectionable to the authorities." (Aug. 28)

At this time he called on Prof. W.B. Greene of Princeton, Professor of Apologetics. "We had a long talk together, chiefly on the subject of sweating and government interference; also the ethical and religious bearing of some of the problems of Christianity in its relation to them." (Aug. 17)

As he was leaving for Britain, on Sept. 27, 1899, King,

"Received a long letter from father in which he told me that Mr. Mulock had said he wd. give me a commission to make an Invest'n while in Eng. for the Can. Govt. This pleased me very much as father says it will help me in gaining a reput'n in a financial way. But what I prize more is the opportunity to put on a more solid base the reform begun. I shall seek to do this work better than the last."

King's mid-ocean speculations,

"I am beginning to feel that the Atlantic is, indeed, very wide, & wonder at the purpose in so much waste. I can never cease to marvel at the daring of men who first crossed, & think of what their wonderment must have daily been always with more sea. I have thought of a remark in Revelat'ns 'And there shall be no more sea.' I heard a minister once say that the Jew was a poor sailor, & hence the significance. I think this a probable interpret'n." (Oct. 3, 1899)

While in England he received "a letter from Post-Master Mulock asking me to make a supplementary report for his department, for wh. he wd. pay me $200. This is exceedingly kind of him & will be of true service to me. The money will help me very materially, & the Govt. authority will be of very real service. He enclosed 2 letters of introd'n, one to Lord Strathcona & one to Gilbert Parker." (Oct. 9, 1899)

Eloquent of King's state at this moment. He "went to 95 St. Martin's Lane, to Morgan & Sinclair Taylor's and was measured for a winter overcoat, a frock coat & a pair of trousers, all to be of the best, to cost £12 net. I thought it best to make this investment; clothes will last & are necessary & for the same things in American I wd. pay double. I really need these here. I think this tailor is charging me maybe according to London prices, but he is a good man, & assures me that he has a contract with union men for wages he pays." (Oct. 10)

King attended a "social evening" in a settlement house and "had several dances with the factory and shop girls. Some looked very worn, a gleam of brightness on very sad and care-worn countenances. I had a very pleasant dance with a young girl Miss Gibb who works in a drapery shop, lives there next to school (word illegible). Her cheeks and eyes blushed in a pure girl-like manner as I talked with her & treated her like a lady. Several other girls were interesting. One little one Miss Schloss,who has worked in tailoring shops,told me (about?) sweating & sd. she wd. tell me more again. She gave me a very interesting acct. of a little cooperative society some of the girls had formed & of work they were doing. I stayed till after 11 & really enjoyed the night. To go there with a pure heart, & help in word & act to elevate the thought & hope of these girls must be good work." (Oct. 16, 1899)

There must be something about the air of Berlin, for during King's first days in Berlin he records an extraordinary demonstration of deep-seated antisemitism.

In his search for a room on March 24, 1900, he found a "beautifully furnished and a splendid place in every way"at the corner of Thiergarten and Regenstrasse. But, "I finally decided not to go there after talking to the owner; he turned out to be a German Jew, a pretty shrewd one, so it seemed to me, though very affable. I did not think I could enjoy his society at every meal."

He found another room, not nearly as satisfactory, and with company that did not promise to be particularly pleasant. The next day he "regretted at moments not having taken the splendid room on Regenstrasse. This one is so cheerless and gloomy."

On the 20th "I went out and saw the place again, but when I saw the Jew I could not think longer of it. It was as between nature and kindness of human friends, and I thought the former better; but when it comes to sharing it with one one dislikes, the charm is gone."

While in Rome on June 26, King received a telegram from Mulock offering him the editorship and management of the new government Labor Gazette, his duties to begin early in July; salary $1,500 per annum, "May increase if yes. Come."

King was distinctly not enthusiastic over the offer which, he knew, did offer considerable attractions. His heart was set on an academic career, or at least several more years, at Harvard, and he was distressed not to hear from the American university. He wired Mulock on the 7th, "Negotiations with Harvard pending prevent immediate acceptance. Return early in July."

As in a badly written play, he received a letter on June 29 from Harvard informing him that he had been appointed instructor in political economy and that arrangements had been made for him to lecture at Mrs. Haskill's school; total revenue $600. King decided to reject the Ottawa offer.

But Miss Addam, whom he met in Paris on July 3, advised him to go to Ottawa. Equally important, his Harvard mentor, Prof. Taussig also advised similarly, as King's father had written his son. (Diary entry July 5-6, 1900) In Cambridge Dr. Cunnigham and several friends whom King consulted and Prof. Adams of Yale (July 7-9) all contributed towards such a decision, and on July 9 King telegraphed his acceptance to Mr. Mulock. (Diaries, and R. McGregor Dawson, W.L.M. King, A Political Biography, 1874-1923. U. of Toronto Press, 1958. Pp.90-93)

It is difficult to measure King's talent for forgetting, but one man he did not wipe from memory was this patron of his early years. As late as Jan. 1939 he telegraphed the 95 year old Sir William Mulock that, of all sending greetings, "noone will extend good wishes more heartfelt or affectionate than those I send you." (King Papers, P.232945)

On May 9 he wrote him, in a long and very warm letter, "I have been looking for an opportunity in which to write to you, but with the pressure of the work of the session, the anxiety over the European situation, and attempting to deal with no end of matters which have required attention in connection with the Royal visit, I have had little or no time to myself. My energies, moreover, have been so taxed that, to avoid the effects of strain, I have had to guard my health as, with excessive strain, I have become immediately conscious of a return of the sciatic pains from which I suffered so greatly in the late summer and early fall. You know so well what the pressure of public life is like that I am sure I can count on your understanding of the circumstances which have prevented me from getting off a letter to you before this.

"I wanted particularly to tell you how delighted I was to see, in booklet form, the essays on Harper, written by the pupils at Pickering College. In the reading of them I could not feel other than deeply moved. It made me very happy to see the evident effect upon your people of Harper's life, as set out in my little volume 'The Secret of Heroism'.

"For your kindness in arranging for the republication of this book, and the distribution anew, I cannot thank you too warmly. Mr. Best recently sent me several copies of the essays, bound in the colours of Pickering College. When he was here, he told me it was, in reality, you yourself who had sent on the booklets to me.

"I have been much disappointed to learn that you will not be at Quebec at the time of the arrival of the King and Queen. It is, as you are aware, the first occasion on which all the members of the King's Privy Council for Canada have been brought together for any purpose. I had been much looking forward to the honour of personally presenting you to Their Majesties as the one who heads the list of members of the Privy Council. Seeing my name but five removed from yourself, I begin to think that I too must be getting on in years much more rapidly than I realize." (P.232947)

When the Ottawa Post Office was opened that November, the first letter sent from the new building went from King to Sir William who had been Postmaster General from 1896 to 1905.

"It is a source of exceptional pleasure to recall that it was at your invitation, almost forty years ago, that I entered the public service of Canada as Deputy Minister of the newly created Department of Labour of which you were the first Minister. The close association and friendship enjoyed at that time and which has continued unbroken throughout the intervening years is much in my thoughts today." (P.232952)

THE CORRESPONDENCE CONTINUES

On July 29, 1900 Gurofsky had occasion to write to King. (King Papers, Pp. 1708-10)

"My dear friend. Some time ago I saw the announcement in the press of your appointment to the position of Editor of the Labor Journal to be published by the government at Ottawa. Whilst glancing at a paper today I read of your arrival at Ottawa, I therefore take the opportunity of congratulating you on your appointment. It is a great pleasure to do so, as I am pleased that you are placed in a position worthy of you, and where the knowledge of economic and social questions that years of study theoretical and practical have given can be of service, and that our country have in their employ one who is so qualified for the position to be occupied, and will earn the salary given which many of our public employees do not, I am sorry to say. And further that those in whose interest the Journal is to be published (the great working masses) have in you a friend, a warm sympathetic one, who will see, so far as in him lies, justice will be done to them. Your appointment has met with some adverse criticism which the Citizen and Country gave voice to. I went over and saw Mr. Wrigley the editor of that paper and discussed the matter with him differing in opinion regarding you. Mr. Wrigley had to admit not knowing you, writing only from hearsay. I told him to suspend further criticism untill you showed by your official actions deserving such. I trust that you before very long will

compell my friend the Editor of C & C to admit you are the right man in the right place. I hope Mr. King you will put me on your mailing list that I may receive the Journal. I take the liberty of presuming that the friendship between us has not ceased despite the fact that considerable length of time has elapsed since last we met and I addressed you as such. I will close with a few words personal. The fickle dame fortune has been kind to me since last I saw you. I got a position as a traveler about eighteen months ago, and I was not long on the road till the firm I was with gave me a fourth interest in the business. I receive a fair salary and our business is prospering, and I trust that in the not far distant future that worry for enough to exist on will not be in my portion. Despite the betterment of my condition I am the same Gurofsky as of old, staunch and solid for the cause of man. With my best wishes for your health, hoping to see you personally some day, I am your friend, Louis Gurofsky."

Each of them was encountering moral difficulties in accepting their "improved positions" in the world, with the measure of betrayal of -- or at least departure from -- their established, moral personae.

King's diary entry of Aug. 5, 1900 records his disappointment at learning harshly that his post was political rather than social.

In a classic meeting of the idealist and the cynic master, King was faced with the hard facts of life -- and ultimate decision. The alternative he chose is, of course, world history. For us there is no suspense as we read the historic record in his own private Dear Diary on Aug. 5, 1900,

"Today I had a pretty good revelation as to the attitude of politicians towards govt. work. Mr. Mulock went thro' my articles, & everything wh. in any way cld. count for a Conservative he scored out. He wd. not have

even a reference to reports begun by them, e.g., statistical year book, tho' mentioned only as a source of information. When I spoke of publishing legal decisions he was opposed to this because in a recent decision made in favor of labor, the judge had been a Conservative. A C.P.R. strike is on, & he wd. give it full attent'n because most of those interested are Conservatives. He has no other guide or criterion, than how is this going to affect the party? He wants to have the first issue of the Labour Gazette really a campaign document filled with references to past doings of gov't. I am trying to impress on him the fact that this is not only wrong but bad politics, for thro' the latter medium alone will I be able to reach him. Tell him that the work must contain unbiased statistical material. He told me of appointing Philipps Thompson as Toronto correspondent, sd. that all the apptmts. wd. have to be political, & that the govt. wd. have to make them. I will not have a say. This has all made me terribly indignant & I have with difficulty restrained myself. But for leaving the Govt. in a bad way, I wd. feel like resigning, but I hold on hoping to see if it is possible to affect (sic) my way in the end."

It was a tense trip as they both travelled from Ottawa "to Toronto together & he drove me first to Toronto Club & then to Falconbridge's where I left him. I was scarcely able to talk all the way."

King was to call to see Gurofsky, so symbolic a name in this moral atmosphere. Mulock "hinted tho' he did not ask me directly to say a good word for the party. But I will ask nor suggest to no man to vote for this or any party, & will take no part in politics at all. If I find it impossible to be independent I will step out."

He spoke with Gurofsky for a few minutes.

In Sept. 1900 the first issue of the Labor Gazette appeared, in English and in French (La Gazette du travail), with Mr. W.L. Mackenzie King listed on P.2 as editor.

The Nov. 1900 issue reported a union of clothing workers organized in Toronto in October. (French ed., Pp. 139-40)

The March 1905 issue reports a union of Jewish carpenters formed in February in Montreal. (P. 1047)

Gurofsky wrote him on Sept. 27, 1900 on the letterhead of Breslin Bros. of Toronto about employment conditions in the rural province. (King Papers, Pp. 1711-12),

"I thank you very much for copy of Gazette which I received all right, also your report on Sweating . I must say was much pleased with the Gazette. It is splendidly got up, on the lines of the American one which I get regularly, and I have no doubt in time ours will equall theirs. I just got home from a trip to the Soo, going up by rail and back by boat through the Islands. Up in that country work was never so plentifull. Men are very scarce up there and I have no doubt if five hundred or more went up there they would be snapped up. It is amusing to watch the employment agents at work, getting men for the mines and camps. I understand they get about 2.50 for each man they get. (somewhat different than here where the men have to pay for the job) and competition is keen between them; as soon as a man is seen they go for him take away his baggage, put him in a hotel and, when enough are got together, they are shipped and the employment agent goes along to see that another one dont coax any of his crowd away for another boss. Wages are very good, men in the bush getting from $28 to 35.00 a month. And it is not many years ago they only received $7.00 and had to put up with every kind of give. Now they get the best of everything.

Bush men, miners and carpenters are the men that are in demand most. There is one drawback that hurts the men a great deal and I believe the government ought to look into it and do something for the men; it is this, abolish payment by time cheque, make contractors and all the employers pay either in cash or by cheque on a chartered bank, no private banks. The way payment for labor is now mostly done is to give the man a time cheque and he has to take it to one of the main towns along the line to be cashed to get the money at once; he has to go to a hotel man and spend considerable of it, or to some dealer, and buy often what he dont need and pay twice what the article is worth to get any portion of his money. It seems as if it is a regular scheme of the contractor to get more time in which to pay the money due the men, as the store or hotel men keep the cheques often considerable length of time before they get the money and, of course, you can see the advantage to the contractor. Some of the contractors are considered poor accounts and an extra discount is demanded from the men for getting their money. If a man did not go to a hotel or storekeeper for his cash he might have to hang around the headquarters of the contractor for a couple of weeks or more before he could get his money, and often go a long ways out of his way to get to the contractors headquarters. I think you can readily see how the men are fleeced out of a portion of the money they justly are entitled too. As I told you I believe when last we met, I am now traveling and will cover all western Ontario and perhaps I will be able to write you occasionally on matters of interest."

King replied the next day. Overnight Toronto-Ottawa mail delivery was old by 1900.

"I thank you very much for the exceedingly interesting latter which I received this morning.

"If you will allow me to do so I would like, if opportunity permits, to use some of the information you have given in reference to the employment of men at the Sault for the next issue of the Labour Gazette.

"I agree with you that there is need for remedy in the way in which payments are made by the contractors, where such a method prevails as you have described.

"It will be one of the main objects of this Department to find out a remedy, if possible, for abuses of this kind, and I thank you for bringing this matter to my notice. I shall see that the attention of the Minister is drawn to the fact and, possibly, through the medium of the Gazette or otherwise, a change may be effected.

" I am glad that you are pleased with the first issue of the Gazette and I hope, as time goes on, we may be able to realize your best expectations in regard to it."

The exchange continued. Gurofsky replied from Creemore, Ont. on Nov. 18, 1900 (King Papers, Pp. 1713-18),

"Your letter of the 28th Sep. is before me, and I trust that, after reading my explanation, that you will pardon my neglect in not answering it ere this. I received it on getting in Toronto some time last month, read it, put it in my pocket intending to answer it. As no doubt you read in the newspapers I was actively engaged in the late election contest, giving three weeks of my time in support of the government, and I forgot all about your letter. Today in the room of the hotel where I am stopping I found a book and on looking at the title I found it to be the life and times of that illustrious man after whom you are named, William Lyon Mackenzie, and it reminded me of you and the letter as yet unanswered. At anytime I write, you have the liberty of using my letters as you may see advisable. I am writing at a table in the sitting room of the hotel, and the usual lot of country frequenters of the bar room are sitting around the stove expectorating tobacco juice on the stove and spinning yarns fit for the place and occasion. Outside it is most dismal and depressing, raining, dark and cold, thcugh the rain is a God send to the farmers in this district as water is very scarce, the wells all having run out, and this rain melting the snow will give water in plenty for the whole winter. I am on my way north again to

the Soo and if I get anything that will be of service to you I will write. I went to the Library here yesterday and got a couple of books to spend the Sunday with. One was Wyckoffe, The Workers in the earth; have you read it? I enjoyed it, as a book full of beautifull English and eloquent rounded sentences; but I was disappointed in it as I can find little in it except the ideas of Mr. Hill the farmer. The second was the Science of Political Economy by Henry George. I left that one to peruse the one on Mackenzie, and it done me a lot of good, especially the chapter dealing with his escape to the U.S. and how he was befriended by a number of men who did not care for the risk they assumed in assisting a rebel to escape, and resisting the temptation offered in the large reward that was to go to the one capturing Mackenzie. One chapter that I read made the tears come to my eyes reading the condition that Mackenzie and family were in in New York when to obtain bread he had to melt and sell the gold medal given to him by the people of York, and to pay his rent he had to give the landlord his silver spoon. And one night when the younger children were crying for food, he went to the cupboard to see whether anything was to be found there. By the light of the feeble embers that formed the only light and only fire he discovered nothing but a book and it was The Dark Eyes at which he could not refrain from a hearty laugh, after which the family went supperless and breakfastless to bed. And all he suffered for his fellow man, dying before his time, his heart broken by debts he could not pay. He lives, though no more in flesh. I can remember the house that stood on York St. near Queen with a long lanky tree in front of it that was the home and printing office of William Lyon Mackenzie. The old place was rebuilt in a block of brick stores and today is occupied by a colored barber, a Jewish pool room keeper and a readymade clothing shop and work room. What a change. The volume I have before me was printed by P.R. Randall, 12 Toronto St., C.W. in 1862 and it is by Charles Lindsey. I trust that this long letter will not bore you, as I am very lonesome here and I feel in writing this as if I were personally conversing with you. I hope to be in Ottawa in the near future and it will be a pleasure to call on you. With best wishes for your good health, I am your friend,"

In June 1904 Gurofsky suffered a family tragedy when his sister Fannie was killed in an accident near Wilkesbarre, Pa. She was travelling from Toronto to New York and was passing from one railway car to another when the drawhead broke, the cars parted, and she fell between the cars on the tracks.

Miss Gurofsky was 25, a student at the University of Toronto in language and political science, preparing for the law course. She was president of the Daughters of Zion Society and active in the Holy Blossom Sunday School. (Jewish Times, July 1, 1904)

David Gurofsky sued the Lehigh Valley Railway Co. for damages. The action was dismissed on the ground that the deceased being an alien, his family could not recover. (Labour Gazette, 1906, P. 943)

Another member of the family, Julia Gurofsky, appears in the legal record of Toronto in the matter of a law suit she had initiated against Ettlestein Harris or Harris Ettlestein for slander. It must have been frivolous even by her own account, for she had offered to accept $25 in settlement. But the suit was apparently regarded as of

such little moment that settlement even on these terms was declined and her legal case began on Feb. 9, 1894.

Ettleson may have been protecting himself by transferring a cottage and a lot of land in Toronto to his daughter, Mrs. Amelia King, to whom he owed moneys in any case

"In 1899 she had to her credit in the savings bank the sum of $1,384 and she had on two occasions during the year deposited $600. The deposits of these large sums go to show that she was in the habit of keeping considerable sums of money about her." (Ontario Reports, vol. 27, Pp. 201-7)

The hearings portray the background of Toronto Jews at this period. Harris' daughter had been in business some six or eight years before her marriage, that is since 1888, and had realized considerable sums from these efforts. She lent moneys to her father without record, but in Jan., 1892, on her marriage to King, he gave her notes to cover $600, half of which he "expended in the wedding festivities, according to the custom of the Jewish people," Mr.Ettlestein being illiterate, "they were written out by the brother Abraham who is the scribe of the family.

"As to the form of the notes -- being without interest -- that is the ordinary way in which Jews deal with each other, not exacting money from one of their own kindred. Special expenditures on a marriage feast is also a Jewish custom of great antiquity." (Judge C. Boyd)

The Kings left to reside in Rochester on their marriage and returned to Toronto after eighteen months, in the summer of 1893. Ettlestein sought to raise money on his cottage to pay his daughter, but without success, and turned it over to pay the claim, on the advice of his solicitor.

The court awarded Julia Gurofsky $700 costs on March 1, 1895 and she immediately instituted proceedings to set aside the transfer of the cottage and the land on

the grounds that the Ettlestein-King transaction was a fraudulent conveyance carried out in order to defeat the action for tort.

Judge C.J. Armour found for Julia Gurofsky on Nov. 4, 1895, but the case was appealed to the Divisional Court. It was heard on Jan. 17, 1896; the appeal was dismissed.

We hear of Gurofsky addressing a mass meeting in Toronto on Jan. 17, 1909 convened by the United Zionists.

Reflecting major community concerns of the time Gurofsky, as Toronto correspondent of the Montreal Baron de Hirsch Institute, reported on a Toronto public meeting convoked because of fears that unfriendly immigration rules may be instituted. (S. Belkin. Through Narrow Gates. Montreal, 1966, P. 48)

Apparently a man of some local influence, he was called on in December of that year to intervene with the police on behalf of Jewish bakers who work on Sundays. (Jewish Chronicle, Feb. 28 and Dec. 31, 1909)

On July 6, 1909 Gurofsky wrote to King very familiarly,

"I saw father to-day and asked him to remember me to you when writing, not thinking that I would be corresponding with you so soon. No need to let you know how delighted I am at your success, feeling that I have some interest in it. As the originator of the idea of the Warriors of Centre Toronto holding a big political picnic next month, will be there to extend the glad hand to you."

Which King acknowledged two days later,

"Let me thank you cordially for your generous postcript in regard to my appointment as Minister of Labour. You are right in believing that I require no assurance to let me know how you would feel in the matter. I am, nevertheless, delighted to have your kind words, for which I thank you very sincerely." (P.A.C. King Papers, MG 26, J 11, P.10,633)

That year Gurofsky's concerns take a turn of direction -- as did King's in a different direction.

Gurofsky would not have recognized his acquaintance of seven years back in the deputy minister who entered his dislike of Jews in his diary entry of Nov. 18, 1904. He did not care for the workers of Polsons Iron Works who seemed anxious "to win in a fight rather than the welfare of the workers only. I am constantly impressed with the number of Jews that come to the front in the ranks of labor. Strycher, the representative of the pattern makers is, I am sure, a Jew."

On the other hand, Gurofsky may not have been aware of the new emphasis as he continued to intercede where he thought he could on behalf of the more helpless. These came to be the Jews in Canada and the Jews who wished to be in Canada.

The following fall he wrote Prime Minister Laurier, on the letterhead of Gurofsky-Rottenberg Ltd., ticket agent, general steamship agents, banking and exchange,

"As a Canadian citizen and a Liberal -- one who has fought in the ranks for a good many years, would desire to draw your attention to a matter that will, if not rectified, defeat your Government.

"The Liberal party have put upon the Statute books an immigration law, and it is being enforced with a zeal and vigor that has attended no other measure affecting labor.

"You are well aware, Sir, that four-fifths of the Canadians of foreign extraction are Liberals and supporters of the Liberal Government, and two-thirds of these people have relatives and friends in Europe whom they intend shall come to Canada. A number of them have friends in the United States whom they also desire to bring forward, and your officers at the border are turning back men for no other reason than they have come indirectly to Canada.

"I today forwarded to Mr. W.D. Scott, an order of deportation for a young man named Surdin who had lived in the United States for four years and was coming to friends here. He was sent back -- reason, indirect passage to Canada. Surely it has not been intimated to your officers that they must establish a record so that newspapers can have items that so many undesirables have been turned back from the borders each week (placing this young man in that category), having seen items like this on numerous occasions in the public press.

"I attended a recent Conservative mass meeting in Toronto, at which there were a large number of foreigners, and the chief topic of the speakers was the vigorous and rigorous enforcement of the immigration laws. I can understand these laws were put on the Statute books for the purpose of placating the labor men of Canada. A few years ago I was one of the prominent labor men (referring you to the Hon. Mackenzie King), and one of the very few who was a Liberal, and you can ascertain today by looking over the members who sit behind you upon the parliamentary benches that despite the best measures that any Government in the world has ever given in favor of labor that you have not been successful in convincing the labor men of Canada that the Liberal party is their friend; But in one thing you will be successful by your immigration measure, and that will be to alienating the support of all the foreign Canadians.

"I understand that the general elections will be held in about two years hence. This will just give sufficient time, if you keep on with your course in connection with the immigration law, to alienate the support of the Canadians of foreign extraction; and if you look around you will find that the Liberals of foreign descent in a very large number of constituencies are the factors that elect the Liberal members.

"This much from a party standpoint -- and from a human standpoint, do you think it is right to turn back from this country anyone who is morally, physically and financially fit to come in -- who has friends and relatives here, and because of the hopes held out to them, they come forward after breaking up home in the United States or in England, and come here and are then turned back because they happen to be born in Austria or some other country, or who came to England or the United States, and resided there for some time before coming at the solicitation of their relatives and friends, to this country?

"I saw the Honorable Mr. Graham at the meeting of the Ontario Liberal Association the other day, and drew his attention to the above. He asked me to put same in writing. I do so now and send the letter direct to yourself, as the responsible head of the Government, and Leader of our party.

"I would further draw your attention to matters relating to naturalization, the law itself and the way it is administered, which is not conducive to the future welfare and the best interests of citizenship in Canada, as a great many politicians are using it directly for party politics. In this City there is a Conservative Justice of Peace who issues circulars broadcast that he will naturalize people for nothing -- if they will come to the Conservative Club.

"You can understand that a foreigner accustomed to the rigid exactions of other countries in respect of citizenship can do other than look upon Canadian citizenship as a farce, if the above is the qualification.

"The law should be revised, and no doubt if the Minister of Justice would get the opinions of men who are in touch with the foreign element of the country, he would no doubt be able to receive information that would enable him to enact a measure that would serve the best interests of this country in this respect.

"P.S. The enclosed letter was dictated last week. Since then I read the report of the Dominion Trade Congress at Fort William, and they criticize your Government every-day for the lack of enforcement of the immigration law.

"You can therefore readily see that your law pleases nobody, and is therefore of no value, and should be wiped off the statute books.

"I am, Yours respectfully, Louis Gurofsky" (Public Archives of Canada. Laurier Papers, Pp. 174,907-11, Sept. 19, 1910)

Mr. Gurofsky wrote the Superintendent of Immigration on behalf of Joseph Raminofsky, seeking admission to Canada from the U.S. (Apr. 4, 1911, P.184,508)

On the 8th he addressed himself again to Laurier (P.184,506) on behalf of Raminofsky and Morris Barris, also in the same position.

"Desire to draw your attention to two matters and trust that they will receive your attention.

"I do not know whether you are aware of the methods by which the immigration act is enforced in connection with certain sections concerning which, if I remember rightly, during a debate in the House of Commons, in reply to a criticism of the Opposition, the reply was given that the section was to be enforced only against foreigners not of the white race who might desire to enter Canada in a roundabout way. But for some time this section has been enforced in a manner I am below drawing your attention to, and it has resulted in a system the same as in Russia, of border runners at the various points who, despite the vigilance of your officials and sundry prosecutions, fines and imprisonments, are conducting a very thriving and profitable business.

"It surely should not be necessary for men of the stamp on whose behalf I am appealing to you, to resort to this kind of a system to get into a British country. And

there is the possibility of a man having been here, say one or two years, and happening to become involved in a petty quarrel with one who, knowing his mode of entry, would inform the authorities, and they would have an official swoop down in the middle of the night, seize and take him away in an automobile to the border, and have him fined severely, and deported, leaving the wife and children without a head. Or perhaps take the whole family on the same principle as in Russia when every once in a while they make a raid on the Jews and without any notice drive them out. I have no need to picture you the results -- you are no doubt familiar with same."

Gurofsky was not satisfied with a formal acknowledgement of his petitions and pressed Laurier, on Apr. 12,

"In the large matters of State this is a very small matter, but it is of very great importance to the parties interested, these two men and their families.

"Would very much appreciate receiving a letter stating more definitely what is being done, especially in the case of Barris, who has to leave the country by April 18th or forfeit his deposit, and then perhaps he and family will be deported as well. In the other case the man's family is here, and if he is not permitted into the country what will become of them?" (P.184,509)

His efforts were somewhat successful, for on Apr. 21 the private secretary to the Prime Minister wrote him (P.184,511) that "the Immigration Department has decided that Joseph Raminofsky be allowed to enter Canada, and that in the case of Morris Barris an adverse decision has been arrived at. The Prime Minister understands that these two decisions are satisfactory to you."

Towards the end of 1911 Gurofsky, then in the general insurance business, was in some trouble when he was found guilty of selling a policy with an insolvent company. (Letters from his lawyer, Bernard Rose, Dec. 12 and 20, 1911, and Jan. 14, 1912, and Saturday Night, Dec. 1911)

In 1916, with a war on, Gurofsky was seeking a commission in the army. He wrote to King on Apr. 27, (Public Archives of Canada)

"For some time past I have been endeavouring to obtain a commission in the Overseas battalion.

"I believe that I have a chance of getting on the staff of the new American battalion which Lieut-Col. Bates has received authority to organize.

"I saw the Colonel. He being an American and stranger here, frankly told me that he will be influenced in his choice of officers by the recommendations, social, political and commercial, that can be brought forward.

"You have known me so long that I would like to presume on this acquaintance by asking if you will write me a letter of recommendation so that I can use it in connection with this matter.

"Assuring you of my appreciation of your courtesy as speedily as possible, as the matter will have to be dealt with speedily, I remain, Yours sincerely, Louis Gurofsky."

King responded two days later,

"I have received your letter of the 27th instant, telling me of your desire to obtain a commission in an overseas battalion and mentioning that you believe you have a chance of getting on the staff of the new American battalion which Lieutenant-Colonel Bates has received authority to organize. I should be very glad to have you tell Colonel Bates of the acquaintance and friendship which has existed between us for some twenty years past, and to have you tell him that should he desire it, I should be only too happy to give him such particulars as he may wish to have and as may be within my knowledge of your qualifications for a commission in his Battalion. With all good wishes,"

In 1917 Gurofsky stood for parliament in Toronto.

A movement was on foot in England for a battalion to be composed of Jews for service in Palestine. Gurofsky wrote Gen. Mewburn, Minister of the Militia, on March 13, 1918 proposing such a unit.

"I would very much appreciate if you could advise me if your department has been approached in respect to the formation of a Jewish battalion for service in Palestine, similar to the ones organized in England.

"The idea of serving the British Empire in Palestine has met with the heartiest approval of the heads of the Jewish Community in United States and Canada. I understand that the British and Canadian recruiting mission in the United States have already enlisted several hundred men who are now at or on the way to Halifax. I understand that committees are at work in support of this movement in Montreal, Winnipeg as well as Toronto, and the feeling is that one or two battalions should be organized in Canada and be known as Canadian Units. It has been suggested that Capt. Cohen of Montreal be appointed O.C. and be authorized to recruit.

"A number of our young men have crossed the border and joined up in the American units. The Jewish paper this morning printed a dispatch from Montreal, stating that word had been received from British and Canadian recruiting mission that your department had given authority to organize and recruit.

"As we would like to get at this without delay, I am writing direct and would appreciate receiving a reply at your earliest convenience."

A reply reached him five days later referring him to the British-Canadian recruiting mission in New York. (Public Archives of Canada, RG 24, vol. 2936,1297-1-32, P.60)

"I am directed to acknowledge receipt of your letter of March 13th, addressed to the Honourable the Minister.

"The Canadian forces are taking no part in the campaign now being conducted in Palestine. Committees are, however, being organized by the British-Canadian Recruiting Mission, in Montreal and Toronto, for the purpose of enlisting Hebrews (not subject to the provisions of the Military Service Act) who desire to serve with the British Army in that theatre of operations.

"It is suggested that you place yourself in communication with the General Officer in Charge, British-Canadian Recruiting Mission, 511-5th Avenue, New York City."

Three weeks later, on Apr. 5, 1918, even while a group of 50 volunteers for the Jewish Legion arrived in Montreal en route to the Windsor, N.S. camp, Clarence I. de Sola of Montreal, president of the Federation of Zionist Societies of Canada, wrote to General the Hon. S. Sydney Chilton Mewburn, Minister of Militia and Defence, that many Canadian Jews would like to serve in a regiment that would be organized into a Canadian military unit like the Jewish Legion being set up in the U.S. and in Britain. (Public Archives of Canada. H.G. file, 297-1-32) Rabbi Jacobs of Toronto backed Mr. de Sola. The Minister's response:

"Canada has as much as she can do to maintain her forces on the Western front; it would be unwise to attempt to raise a Jewish battalion for service in Palestine, and those to whom Zion calls should join the British Army; and Mr. de Sola should get into touch with the British-Canadian Recruiting Mission."

On June 12 Mr. de Sola recommended Gurofsky for a commission with the Jewish Unit of the Imperial Forces for Service in Palestine. Two years earlier Gurofsky had nominated de Sola as president at the Canadian Jewish Conference in Montreal on Nov. 14, 1915. (Canadian Jewish Chronicle, Nov. 19, 1915)

Mr. de Sola's letter to the Officer Commanding the Jewish Unit of the Imperial Forces for Service in Palestine read,

"Mr. Louis Gurofsky, of Toronto, Canada, who will probably present this to you in person, has volunteered for service in Palestine, and has joined as a Private, but I believe that his knowledge of military matters and his experience in handling men would be better utilized if he were granted a Commission as an Officer.

"I have known Mr. Gurofsky for about twenty years, and I can vouch for his exceptionally high executive qualities. He has been at the head of a large Shipping and Exchange business, having five offices in different parts of Ontario, and received nomination for one of the Toronto Constituencies at the last election, so that his standing is a good one, and I hope that if there is any possibility of making use of his services as an Officer by granting him a Commission, you will do so."

Early in 1919 Gurofsky, now a sergeant with the 39th Battalion, Jewish Legion at Camp Sarafand in Palestine, was writing about King in the Egyptian Gazette. King wrote Gurofsky on April 3, 1919 as follows,

"I have just received here your letter written at Camp Sarafand, in Palestine, exactly a month ago to-day.

"Let me thank you most cordially for it, and also for the enclosure it contained. Both are expressions of a friendship running back many years,which, as you know, has been largely related to matters of which mention is made in your communication to the Egyptian Gazette.

"I don't know what the item may have been to which your communication refers; but doubtless it was one

of the political prophecies which press reporters have been busy in making since Sir Wilfrid's death; or it may have been a reference to the appointment of Mr. D.D. McKenzie of Cape Breton as Parliamentary Leader, pending the selection of a permanent Leader of the Party by the Liberal Convention in August next. However, whatever the item may have been, I appreciate much more than I can say the hearty and generous manner in which you have made use of the occasion to give expression to the sentiments which your communication to the Egyptian Gazette contains; and I thank you most cordially for them.

"I am at the moment making an investigation into some industrial conditions in the State of West Virginia, but expect to go on from here to England at the end of this month, and to spend a month or two studying industrial conditions in England, before returning to Canada to be present at the National Liberal Convention during the month of August. I am glad you are going to be on hand for that occasion.

"We had a meeting in Toronto last week to form a York and Toronto Liberal Association. I was speaking to different persons of you at that time, and we were wishing that you might have been there. However, it was only an organization meeting, and the real work of Liberalism in Canada will commence after the Convention in August.

"I congratulate you on the splendid service you have been rendering our country and the cause of Freedom abroad. It is indeed an evidence of the wonderful development which time has occasioned, to receive a letter from you all the way from Palestine, and to think of you serving the land of your fathers both in the Old World and the New, at this time of mighty transitions in the world's affairs. It falls to the lot of few men to have an opportunity such as you have been enjoying, and to fewer still to avail themselves of it in the splendid manner in which you have. I congratulate you most heartily."

As company sergeant-major Gurofsky was at least witness to a minor incident of military discipline which evoked much attention at the time and was not without general significance as reflecting important attitudes, enough to raise the name of Dreyfus in a memorandum S.W. Jacobs, M.P. submitted to Major-General the Hon. S. Mewburn on Oct. 10, 1919. The testimony of Gurofsky as well as Bernard Joseph were cited.

The Federation of Zionist Societies of Canada summarized the incident on Oct. 2:

"Facts about thirty Legionaries in the 39th Battalion Royal Fusiliers Egyptian Expeditionary Forces in Ludd, Palestine:

"On the 18th July 1919 -- one Legionary was found guilty by the military authorities, and condemned to 21 days detention, for the offence of not having reported that a mule in his charge had a sore.

"On the same day at the parade, a company consisting of 44 boys claimed from the officer that the case of the condemned should be reconsidered, as he was condemned too severely.

"The officer answered that this was not a business of their concern and ordered them to turn about, and attend to their duties; the company did not comply, and were ordered to the guard-house.

"The whole 44 were locked up on a charge of mutiny and rebellion, were detained fourteen days, and afterwards tried by a general field court martial.

"Lieutenant Jabotinsky, appearing for the accused had the case stopped before that court on account of 'prejudice'.

"The Company was kept in detention for another 3 weeks, and after this were tried, the case taking two days.

"Witnesses against them -- the officer and three corporals; the officer claimed that they refused to turn to the right when ordered, the corporals claimed that the company did not disobey orders.

"Lieutenant Jabotinsky pleaded for four hours in their behalf. One hour later 14 boys were released as not having been at the parade; the remaining thirty were found guilty.

"On the 26th of August the 30 boys were condemned to five years prison."

Among the convicted were three 20-year-old Montrealers: Max Nemchek, Ben Chaitman and Harry Barkin.

The harshness of the procedure did not fail to evoke protests all over the world. Although the words were excluded from the proceedings, many were not certain that anti-Zionist and anti-Jewish sentiments were not among the motivations in the decisions, together with the generalized harshness of military law and discipline. Jacobs was told of the "unfairness that was meted out to some of our boys, who offered themselves voluntarily to go to fight in Palestine with the British Expeditionary Forces. This unfairness was due, no doubt, to prejudice and malice on the part of an officer, who happened to be at that time in charge of the boys, and who did not for a moment consider the importance of his charges and turned a mere puerile breach of military discipline into an act of mutiny and rebellion, which brought 30 boys an unmerited punishment of five years military prison.

"While I am sure the Zionist authorities in Palestine and Europe, as well as Colonel Margolin, the Colonel of that Battalion, and other leaders including Lieutenant Jabotinsky, who acted as counsel at the trial, are prepared to fight this case (modern Dreyfus) and will not stop until all means will be exhausted to obtain if not justice at least mercy, and if necessary will appeal to the Throne; yet we find that on account of having some Canadian boys involved in the names of at least three being known to us, we deem it desirable that you induce the Canadian authorities to intercede for these boys as Canadians, who are entitled to protection.

"The enclosed details are substantiated by some of the returned Jewish Legionaries including Mr. Louis Gurofsky of Toronto, who was Sergeant-Major of that Company as well as by Mr. Bernard Joseph of Montreal and others, who have just returned yesterday and are of the opinion that the punishment to which these boys were condemned is altogether out of reason and not according to the merits, and could only be the result of prejudice.

"Intervention without loss of time is necessary because of the fact that such persons condemned to a long term are to be transferred to England to a military detention camp, which would protract their release."

(The story of the Sarafand prisoner was also told by L. Cheifetz in the anniversary issue, Eagle, 1938. "The Court Martial," Pp.65-66; and in Jewish Observer of London, Ont., vol. 1, no. 3, Jan. 1944, Pp. 26-27)

On Aug. 11, 1919 Gurofsky wrote King from El Kantara, Egypt, "En route to Home, Home Canada" on the Hebrew letterhead of the Jewish Legion in Eretz Israel,

"Today's paper contains dispatch, Aug. 7, that you have been chosen Leader of the Liberal Party. Congratulations.

"Have been doing my bit under a beloved commander in the victorious army that won for the world peace with democracy. Hope to do likewise with you as commander-in-chief in the Army of Liberalism that will once and for all free Canada politically from the heirs, successors and assignees of the family compact under whatever name they disguise themselves, and will give us government from the people by the people and for the people. Hoping that our Father in Heaven may give unto you life, health and strength to enable you to prove even a greater Son of Canada than your predecessor, our never to be forgotten leader Sir Wilfrid Laurier." (Public Archives of Canada, King Papers, Pp. 39694-95)

After the war Gurofsky was associated with the Hebrew Journal of Toronto which was guided by Harry Wineberg. On Oct. 6, 1925, Gurofsky telegraphed and wrote to S.W. Jacobs, M.P. of Montreal, (Public Archives of Canada, Jacobs Papers, Pp. 1214-16)

"Sent you a telegram last night, reading as follows:

"S.W. Jacobs, Montreal: Hebrew Journal opposing Singer; Harry Wineberg independent Liberal Canadidate, same riding. Thousands of Jews against Singer who says he is running because you asked him to support you, and you were coming to Toronto to support him. Wire if Singer statement true. Signed Louis Gurofsky, Hebrew Journal. Time of sending same, 5 P.M.

"No word as yet to hand from you. We are anxious to know if the statement made by Singer that you are coming here to take sides in a local fight is true."

Mr. Jacobs' reply of the next day,

"I have your wire and letter. Mr. Singer asked me to address one of his meetings some time next week, which I agreed to do. He is, I understand, the nominee of the Liberal Party, and was duly selected as our candidate at a regularly called Convention. This being the case, I cannot see how I could very well refuse to speak for him or for any other Liberal candidate who invites me to talk for him on the platform.

"The intimation that Mr. Weinberg is also a candidate was conveyed to me by your telegram. I did not know that he was also in the field, and you did nottell me to what Party he gives his allegiance.

"I think you will agree with me that I am justified in holding myself under instructions to go where I am sent, and in supporting the Party to which I belong."

After the election,on Oct. 30, Gurofsky wrote Jacobs, (Jacobs Papers, Pp. 1246-47)

"Amidst the general gloom there are some bright spots, one of which is the election of yourself and the other the election of Alderman Heaps in Winnipeg. As you said 'you are lonesome playing the lone role of an orphan,' it will be much more pleasant now you are a twin, even though the other half is not of your choosing.

"Believe you will find from the past record of Alderman Heaps that he will make an acceptable other half.

"The result of the elections yesterday in Toronto was such that as a political factor the Jewish people, for many years to come, will not be reckoned with by either of the political parties. Another opportunity such as yesterday afforded will not occur again in a decade. Hockin's majority, coupled with the action of the Jewish conservatives, will likely preclude any possibility of the Conservative party giving political consideration to any Jew.

"The far future will no doubt bring it about that some of the younger men will have mellowed and shaped into such strong personalities that they will command attention irrespective of their racial origin. As far as the Liberals are concerned, their Star of Hope has been dimmed, I will not say forever, but for many a long day, provided the lesson of the fight yesterday will not have been lost upon Mr. Singer, as he is comparatively a young man of brilliant ability, his weakness being personal. He may possibly some day come in.

"Permit me to congratulate you and hope that your career as a Parliamentarian will be of brighter promises than in the past. Expect to see you a Cabinet member of the next administration. Prophet?"

Jacobs replied on Nov. 5,

"I regret more than I can say that we failed to elect Singer in Toronto. Everything looked promising, but it appears that the under-current was too much for our people to overcome. Singer put up a manly fight, and deserved to win.

"I want to thank you for your congratulations on my own success. It is difficult at the moment to say what is likely to happen to the Liberal Party. They are certainly in a bad way. I am inclined to think, however, that King will hang on, at least for one session.

"I note what you say regarding my chances of going into the Cabinet. I am afraid the position of the Party just now is such that such a contingency is not as attractive as it might be under ordinary conditions."

Early in 1927 Gurofsky appears in the records in connection with one of the important developments in the annals of the community.

On Feb. 2 he sent to E.W. Egan, deputy minister of immigration, a translation of an editorial by Abraham Rhinewine of the Daily Hebrew Journal which Gurofsky was serving as advertising manager.

Rhinewine, historian, Poale Zionist, labor leader, served on the national executive of the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society of Canada. The charges which he laid against the immigration department were all too well founded, but they went without confirmation and response for twenty years, when Saul Hayes repeated and documented them before a Select Committee of the House of Commons.

In 1927 Rhinewine wrote,

"Jews are an unwanted element in the eyes of those who now are in control in the Immigration Department.

"They do not say this openly, but we have the right to the impression that this is a fact. Not only have they refused the Jewish request to ease the entry of a number of Jews for 1927, but they have also done something that shows that the Immigration Department is now carrying on a policy of Anti-Jewish Politics, and this is what happened:

"In addition to the Immigrants that come in through the ordinary channels, the Governement has arranged with the Canadian National and Canadian Pacific that they should bring in a number of farmers and domestic servants; according to the agreement, they can bring in this element from any part of Europe, even from the Countries that were former enemies. Thousands of Poles, Germans, Ukrainians and other nationalities are coming into the Country without

any hindrance. Amongst these are a very small percentage of Jews who are really farmers.

"But recently these Jews have been discriminated against, despite the fact that they have shown documents, as for instance from the Polish Priest of their village, etc. etc., who have certified to the fact that these people are farmers. Numbers of these who have already had their permits and having sold out all their belongings, came to Warsaw ready to come forward, and there they were told they would not be allowed to do so, receiving various excuses.

"But the truth was not told them. The Journal knows the reason, we were assured from true sources that the Managers of Canadian National in Europe received an order from the Government that Jews are not to be permitted this privilege, and they are not to give permits for them.

"We have no ground to doubt this information because it has reached us from a responsible source. When we came to the Government, we were answered that there can be no easing the entry of Jews.

"How is this to be interpreted other than Anti-Jewish politics? Can the Immigration Department that is controlling these things explain?

The discriminatory agreement with the railways -- probably the most blatantly anti-Jewish act by any government in Canadian history -- was, of course, a secret, and the ministry certainly avoided any written reference to it or any correspondence on the subject. Nevertheless Ottawa had occasion to deal with this clause in the railways agreement.

So only a few weeks earlier the ministry had to write to Dr. W.J. Black, director of colonization with the C.N.R.,

"Your understanding that Hebrews might be accepted where definite evidence of their being agriculturists was given, but should otherwise be refused, is not in accordance with the decision reached at the time the matter was under discussion at the Department.

"I note that it is your opinion that it would be better for all concerned if there was a definite understanding that Hebrews, whether agriculturists or not, were not to be accepted under the agreement; and I may say that this is the attitude of the Department, and immigrants of the race mentioned must not be furnished with occupational certificates. I would mention the fact that a considerable number of certificates would appear to have been issued to Hebrews by your company, and it is evident from the information available that care has not been taken in establishing definitely whether the immigrants were agriculturists." (P.A.C., Department of Immigration records, P.541782)

A.L.Jolliffe, Commissioner of Immigration, was disturbed that his Division Commissioner T. Gelley at Winnipeg referred to Ottawa such a case refused by the railways. Mr. Gelley understood that,

"the fact of the Railway not handling Jewish cases does not mean that this office is not to handle them or that they are all to be referred to the Department for decision."

Since Mr. Jolliffe was not happy to receive the hot potatoes, Mr. Gelley persisted in inquiring,

"I should like to be advised, and would also appreciate instructions as to whether or not I may now deal with Jewish cases refused by the Railways, without submitting them to the Department." (Apr.6, 1927, P.541782)

Rhinewine's pressure continued to embarrass the government that year.

On Sept. 20, 1927 the Warsaw Moment carried an interview with him on "Prospects of Jewish Colonization in Canada." It reported his statement on the "Emigration Legislation."

".....Mr. Rhinewine,when speaking about the emigration regulations in Canada added, that the session of Canadian Ministers is expected shortly, when the quota for emigrants will be decided. No great hopes can be entertained for alleviation of the present rules, and therefore, Jewish Emigration Aid Societies have put the following demands forward: 1/ the right allowing the arrival in Canada of unmarried brothers and sisters of Canadian Citizens, should also comprise those married. Besides these the Jewish Emigration Societies should be given a special concession that they be allowed to bring into Canada every year a number of emigrants, this at their own responsibility that they will not become public charge. It is taken for sure that in 1928 already the Jewish Emigration Societies will obtain a concession for bringing into Canada several thousands of emigrants, at their,i.e. the Societies', responsibility."

Rhinewine might have been misled by ambiguous assurances from the minister and other political figures to Jewish delegations constantly knocking on their doors, as exemplified by a departmental handwritten note of March 2, 1927:

"Delegation waited on Prime minister and minister in Toronto on 4th Feb. and made representations looking towards the extension of P.C. 183 and P.C. 534 to provide for admission of married sons and daughters and married brothers and sisters." (P.A.C., also file 229151)

A. Randles of the Cunard Line sent the paper to F.C. Blair, assistant deputy minister of immigration on Oct. 14, 1927,

"While I feel sure that it is inconceivable that under the present conditions the Jewish Society will receive a further quota, I should be very glad if you would, at your leisure, confirm this in order that I can satisfy our people on the other side who have brought the matter to our notice."

Blair reassured Randles on Oct. 28,

"The views expressed in the Jewish paper Der Moment are merely the views of those who want to extend the present regulations to allow the entry of people on the ground of race rather than on the ground of relationship, occupational fitness or anything of that sort. The confidence expressed in the last sentence of the newspaper article is interesting. I think, however, that the desire to have it so is probably the only foundation for the faith expressed. There is absolutely no movement here that would indicate that they are likely to get anything more than they are now getting."

ARBITRATING IN MONTREAL DISPUTE?

In 1917 S.W. Jacobs invited King, then minister of labor, to arbitrate the bitter tailors' strike in Montreal. King agreed on condition that both parties consent to his intervention. But the employers ignored Jacobs' plan of arbitration.

S.W. Jacobs had written him on Feb. 3, 1917,

"I suppose you must think it strange that I have not communicated further with you respecting the proposed arbitration between the striking Union garment workers and the Clothing Manufacturers' Association.

"I wrote letters to the two bodies, suggesting a conference, and your appointment to arbitrate their differences. The Garment Workers at once acquiesced, but the Manufacturers' Association, being determined not to recognize what they call interference by the Union people in their business, did not have the courtesy to reply to my letter. They think that I should have first consulted them, to ascertain whether they would agree to a conference, before formally asking for the same.

"Since that time, things have been drifting, and although a number of people have been endeavoring to bring about a conciliation, nothing has been done. The workers are now out four weeks, and naturally are beginning to feel the stress of abstention from work in mid-winter. The difficulty has arisen through the employers refusing to recognize the interference of the shop delegate in the affairs of the

factory, and it is claimed that the Union is insisting that once a man has been engaged and has given satisfaction, he cannot afterwards be dismissed, without submitting to the body to which he belongs the question of his dismissal. The Manufacturers say that this is an interference in their business, and they will not tolerate any body of people dictating to them whom they should or should not engage. This they consider a basic principle, and will not even confer with third parties on the question.

"I had a talk with Mr. Raymond Robins, of Chicago, a well-known social worker, who was here this week, and he made a suggestion, which I am now carrying out, that a body of public-spirited citizens be called together in a Committee, which body would confer with the two opposing interests. If one of these bodies refuses to have a conference with this Citizens' Association, it will have the effect of swinging public opinion to the other side, and it is felt that such opinion will have a determining effect upon the issue.

"I have called this meeting at my office for Monday, and I trust some good may come of it. If you can give me any suggestions as to how this entire question can be treated, I shall be obliged."

A week later, on the 12th, Jacobs wrote King again,

"Many thanks for your letter of the 5th, which at your request, I am treating confidentially.

"I feel that there is little use trying to do anything just now, as the manufacturers are obdurate. They say they are determined to destroy unionism, root and branch, so far as it affects their individual businesses. It is claimed that under the demands made by the Union, the manufacturers have not the right to engage or discharge employees without the consent of the Union, and this, they say, is not to be considered for a moment. Personally,

I feel that if the parties were to get together, there would be some give and take on both sides.

"Your suggestions are valuable, if I could only put them in force, but the manufacturers will not have a conference. You are quite right in your assumption that the manufacturers are standing together, and with you I agree that they can hold out indefinitely. The striking employees have not chosen a propitious moment to precipitate the difficulty, midwinter, and especially the winter we are having this year, is going to act as a serious deterrent to their claims. They are now out about four weeks, and at the outside I am informed cannot stand more than another four weeks. In the meantime, the manufacturers have fled to the South, where they are enjoying the balmy breezes of resorts in Florida.

"Our meeting of citizens last week, to which I referred in my last letter, was a success, in so far as the meeting itself went, and a sub-committee was formed to interview the two factions, in order to have a statement as to what their respective contentions are.

"I suppose you are following the trend of political events with interest. This Province wants neither coalition nor a National Government, and that seems to be the view of the entire country, with the possible exception of Ontario. I trust that the Chief will not permit himself to be stampeded by the Toronto wing of the Party. The atmosphere of that benighted city is such that you cannot expect any good to come out of Nazareth."

Jacobs reacted bitterly: the manufacturers should learn tolerance from the workers. For this he was thanked by Schlossberg, international president of the union. (B. Figler. S.W. Jacobs. P.60)

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