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Nous nous souvenons.

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

NEW SERIES
NUMBER TWELVE

ON MACKENZIE KING AND JEWISH SWEATING LABOR

PART 1

Compiled by
DAVID ROME

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

NATIONAL ARCHIVES
CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS

MONTREAL - CANADA
1979



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(See page 10)

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NUMBER TWO

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ON MACKENZIE KING
AND
JEWISH SWEATING LABOR

PART I

DAVID ROSE

SAUL HAYES, O.C., C.C., L.L.B.

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES

CANADIAN JEWISH CONGRESS

MONTREAL CANADA
1971



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INTRODUCTION

BY

SAUL HAYES, D.D., O.C., LL.D.

The history of the Jewish community in
Canada and its relationship to the
Jewish people in Israel is a story
of struggle and achievement. It is a
story of the Jewish people who have
come to Canada and have made a
home for themselves. It is a story
of the Jewish people who have
contributed to the life and
progress of the country. It is a
story of the Jewish people who
have shown the world that they
are capable of the highest
achievements. It is a story of
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We are proud of the Jewish community in
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INTRODUCTION

BY

SAUL HAYES, O.C., Q.C., LL.D.

The history of the Jewish community as exemplified in the National Archives of the Canadian Jewish Congress is a multi-faceted story of unusual interest.

The spotlight in this issue is on a particularly important and formative moment in the biography of William Lyon Mackenzie King, who, as prime minister of Canada, exercised a powerful influence on the course of Canadian history, a remarkably powerful influence even when compared with others who held this same high office.

We are bound to search in the elements which shaped his character and judgments for the keys which may open some understanding of this remarkably inexplicable man who imposed his prejudgments and impressions upon a considerable nation and upon nations involved with Canada.

II

As a young man King very studiously searched for the moral and practical ideals and activities which would equip and inspire him for the influential and benevolent life he was certain he proposed to lead. Religion, aesthetics, service to his nation, and to those in it most in need of his "ministry" were distinctly among the elements in this quest he conducted in Toronto, Chicago, Harvard, Berlin, Cambridge and elsewhere. He was less aware of a concealed practical ambition for contact and for acceptance by "society", arbitrarily declared desirable by universal definition, and for power and position in the practical world. It was a quest conducted with excruciating sincerity and with constant and profound analysis. If nothing else, his diary unveils much frankness. It is of such rare human stature as a document of a human being that one can gratefully understand why this particularly private man bequeathed it to the world in spite of exposing his own nakedness. That act of legacy itself marks a man of distant objectivity and of great high mindedness.

III

This is all the more puzzling as so many view his record of public activity and find so many programs and actions distinctly inharmonious with the idealism and true philanthropy which he nurtured in order to adorn his mature life span.

Those who are familiar with another recent compilation by Mr. Rome in his Clouds in the Thirties on a later King -- the friend of Nazi legates to Ottawa and the 1937 pilgrim to Berlin -- will wonder whether they are reading about the same man so wide is the span between blueprint and structure. (Unless they will find in King's rejection of the Jewish landlord on Regenstrasse an indication of an old, deep-seated antisemitism in his earlier youth.)

What brings these segments of Canadian biography into Jewish history is the coincidence of his involvement in turn of the century Jewish proletarian life and almost ephemeral contact with a typical, not an outstanding, activist in the Jewish labor community. Inevitably we feel that if the Toronto editor had assigned him to write, not on the foreigner workman, but on country music or on the oratorical styles of local preachers, King's life

might have moved differently, and the present compilation might never have been.

Remarkably, King did almost literally bump into Israel Zangwill and Morris Rosenfeld, to no effect. But the impact with the much lesser Gurofsky was different. King seemed to feel the particular historical quality for which the labor agitator stood, the intense vital spark from the flame of Jewish survival, of Jewish dignity, coherence, altruism.

Gurofsky was in no sense one of the great personalities in Canadian Jewry; which is all the more strange, for King was always searching in a very directed and determined manner among all who met his eye for the men and women of truly outstanding value and of those who did or would make a mark on the world.

Instead Gurofsky was the prototype of the Jewish mass man in action for social betterment, for promotion of the group, for more visible justice, for the many current causes of Jewry. Unequipped, with no resources, this discreet friend of the rebel's grandson a prime minister of Canada, tackled employer, industry, government, churches.

King may not have known that this Poale Zionist, unionist, Jewish Legionnaire, immigration worker, Yiddishist carried the same ancient flame as the Rabbi Lazarus whom King interviewed, Clarence de Sola who commended Gurofsky, the philanthropists of the Baron de Hirsch Institute, Jules Helbronner of La Presse, and the rebbeim who loved the many Jewish poor of Poland and the Ukraine. But King did recognize authentic value in this ephemeral friend and at least briefly opened to him with a warmth and intimacy which he rarely shared. All this without necessarily pretending to love Gurofsky's fellow-semites. After all, Goldwin Smith, the outstanding antisemite on the continent, had been King's revered master.

The concern with the sweating victims of the garment industry continues to direct King's life: years of intensive research, a Harvard thesis, a commission from the postmaster general, a consequent debate in the Commons as to the value of King's work, editing a government journal in which the first article is on sweat shops, deputy minister (labour).

Then came the turn. He had at first decided to reject the Canadian bureaucracy because it might lead to involvement in the Ottawa style. But remarkably quickly King forgot the person he had been, his own dream of his own potential being which was his only reality. That mysterious master, Forgetfulness, more potent than learning and wisdom, consumed him, and the later King emerges.

But the historical concern is with the fate of the men and women of the group of the Jewish exploited immigrants.

It is their story, which had touched the early course of King's life story and which his studies and early Ottawa actions illuminate. The King story sheds a strong indirect light from an angle upon a period in this Jewish labor history. We have here side glimpses of the Jews in the shops, Jews in the managers' offices, Jews in Toronto politics, the Holy Blossom Temple, Toronto Jews in Sarafand, Abraham Rhinewine, Jewish immigration cases -- the warp and woof of the day in the life of the Jew early in the century.

King could never have dreamed of such a role in Jewish historiography.

THE STUDENT AND HIS APOSTOLATE

In a very extraordinary but profoundly representative manner a great Canadian name teaches Jewish history here. As a critical and formative moment in the life of William Lyon Mackenzie King he met Jewish labor in Canada and formed a friendship with a typical representative of the workers' society.

The early years of William Lyon Mackenzie King, after he graduated from the university, were a time of uncertainty for him. He was unsure of his own vocation and of the future of his people. He was a young man who was full of idealism and who was determined to devote himself to the service of his people. He was a young man who was full of idealism and who was determined to devote himself to the service of his people. He was a young man who was full of idealism and who was determined to devote himself to the service of his people.

During this period of his life King was profoundly influenced by the social conditions of the time. He was a young man who was full of idealism and who was determined to devote himself to the service of his people. He was a young man who was full of idealism and who was determined to devote himself to the service of his people. He was a young man who was full of idealism and who was determined to devote himself to the service of his people.

THE STUDENT AND HIS ASSIGNMENT

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The early years of William Lyon Mackenzie King, after he graduated from the university, were a time of uncertainty for him. He was unsure of how he would spend his years, how he would earn his bread, how fully he would dedicate himself to realizing his ideal, whether his daily bread would come to him in the course of fulfilling himself through making his dreams a reality in the waking, or whether one of the two would be an avocation. This uncertainty was not eased by a real and pressing material want, only partly softened by the loving support of a devoted family.

During this period of his life King was profoundly and sincerely devoted to the cause of the poor and the exploited. The sentiment he recorded in his diary on Sunday, Sept. 5, 1897 is meaningful :

"There seems more and more in Toynbee's saying - 'be seized with an ideal by storm & have definite plans for carrying it out' - I feel my ideal is to better the lot of unfortunate humanity, & one plan is to study & write of them; a history of the working classes seems a good subject. How earnestly I prayed in church to be of service to the world."

Even on Monday, Labor Day, he "went down town to see the 'Labor Parade' - took a seat in the Rossin House window & watched with intense interest the different labor organizations go past. 'There' thought I 'are the men I am to live & fight for', and I felt proud of such a fine lot of men. I admired the laborer - the workman. I was sorry to see so many unorganized and, on all sides, it shows what a field there is for work yet. As father said 'the demonstrat'n was most imposing'. O God grant that my steps may be rightly guided, and that I may accomplish something for Thy kingdom e'er I die."

That day "B. Woods, City Editor of The Mail called & offered me a posit'n on the staff, permanently if I wanted it, or till I go at \$18 per week to come on at once. I got his permiss'n to leave my decision until after I have seen Mr. Gibson. I am at a loss to know what to do. Somehow I think the Mail would be best, though it means most work."

He accepted the following day.

Talking to his future self through his diary, he wrote,

"I could see a Divine Providence guiding me most lovingly. This will determine my course largely thro' life. I am determined to make it the beginning of an honourable career. I intend to go on now ever upward if God so wills.... My whole being is filled with noble ambition. I have to secure more funds, but more faith and work will accomplish that. I will work to show my worth." (quoted by Dawson, P.65)

Another unwobbling peg at this not singular experience which he was suffering was the nature of this his dream: surely he was aware of the harshness of social inequality and of the unjust exploitation of man by man going on all about him; he was equally aware that he was bound to relieve the misery and the immorality of this condition of the men and women who worked -- and to enrich them. Not the least or the last to come within this dedication of compassion were the Jewish garment workers of his Toronto.

He was earning something by journalism -- some of it routine writing, some of it expressive of his genuine social activist interest.

The four articles were published unsigned a week apart: "Crowded Housing, its Evil Effect" on Sept. 18, 1897; "Foreigners who Live in Toronto" on Sept. 25 and Oct. 2, and "Toronto and the Sweating System" on Oct. 9.

The last years of the century were marked by a concern with this phenomenon of sweating, ill-defined as it was, in Canadian society. (See Canadian Jewish Archives, new series, no. 9)

The government had commissioned A.W. Wright to investigate this development, but on Apr. 1, 1896 Mr. Lepine inquired in the Commons,

"Is it the intention of the Government to take any action in the direction suggested by Mr. A.W. Wright in his report upon the 'Sweating System,' and will any of the legislation recommended in that report be introduced during this session?"

Sir Charles Tupper's response,

"There are many important and valuable recommendations in the report, all apparently well calculated to accomplish the end aimed at, namely, to prevent the introduction and extension of the 'sweating system,' so-called, into the Dominion, and also to improve the condition of the working people in other directions. The commissioner has not attempted, when making his recommendations, to distinguish between the legislative remedies that might be within the jurisdiction of this Parliament, and legislation which would have to be enacted, if at all, by the several provincial legislatures. While the Government is desirous to do all that may be within its power to prevent the introduction or spread of the evils of the 'sweating system,' and in other ways to improve the condition of life and labour among the working people, care will have to be taken not to go beyond what Parliament may constitutionally do. Owing to the pressure of other business, it is doubtful if it would be possible, during this session, to give the legislative measures recommended by the commissioner due consideration. (Commons Hansard, cols. 5052-53)

N.M. Rogers recalls (Mackenzie King, 1935, P.27),

"On his return from Chicago in 1897 he wrote a series of articles for the Toronto Mail and Empire on the possibility of slum conditions like those of Chicago being developed in Canadian cities. In these articles he dealt with the foreign populations of Toronto, the housing of the working people, and sweating in industry. In his usual thoroughgoing way he visited the homes of the working people in the poorer quarters of the city. Sweating was observed again. He found letter carriers' uniforms being made under contracts awarded by the Post Office Department in Canada.

"It is difficult to realize how scanty were the aids available sixty years ago for an investigation of this kind, and King showed great resourcefulness and imagination in digging up his material. He assembled his data on foreign colonies, for example, from such diverse sources as the census; the rabois, priests, ministers, and Salvation Army workers in the poorer areas; the compilers of the city directory; police headquarters; rescue homes; employers; the leaders of different nationalities in many occupations; a public school inspector; the city hall (for statistics on applications for relief and for pedlars' licences); the post office (for the use by foreigners of the savings bank); the McMillan ticket office (for those who made arrangements to bring their families to Canada). These ticket agents were authentic authorities and witnesses of Jewish immigrant life at the time.

It was in this context that we read, in the words of his biographer Dawson:

"The summer of 1897 yielded little in revenue, but it did produce one outstanding experience and opportunity. Jobs were difficult to find in Toronto. Secretarial work at two conferences, tutoring in French, and the writing of several articles produced meagre rewards. Early in September King secured a position on the Mail and Empire, and after a few days' reporting, persuaded the editor to allow him to prepare a series of special articles on social problems in Toronto. Four long unsigned articles, published a week apart, were the result: they dealt chiefly with crowded housing, foreign colonies, and the sweating system...

"The investigation and the writing of the four articles took but twelve days and were accomplished therefore under great pressure. Although much of the writing had to be done in the early morning hours, the results showed no sign of haste. The articles were, indeed, journalism of a high order. They were well written and readable; the facts were stated clearly and unemotionally; contrasting systems and practices were outlined; and the reader was left in no doubt of the abuses or of the possible legal remedies which might be applied.

"The facts regarding the sweat shops he obtained almost entirely first hand. The basic conditions were the same as in other countries and tended to be associated with the clothing industry. The manufacture of the garments was let out to contractors, who either undertook the work under their supervision in their own factory or in the workers' homes or sub-let to others who did the same. There was virtually no effective outside supervision, and the uncontrolled competition depressed prices and wages to the limit of human endurance. King gave many illustrations of what he had seen and had been told. In one home a sick woman was being assisted in her work by two daughters: one, sixteen years of age, had worked for the past eight years at a rate for most of the time of two dollars a week; the second, nine years of age, was sewing at her own machine. A third daughter was employed in a factory making buttonholes at three dollars a week. Their piecework rewards were 12½ to 15¢ apiece for men's trousers; and 5¢ each for boys' knickerbockers, but they had to supply the thread themselves. One shop was engaged in making buttonholes: large ones at a dollar a hundred, others for 50, 60, or 75 cents a hundred, according to size. Another contractor who paid more than the average wages gave his women employees three to five dollars a week, his men about double. Another plant nearby paid girls one dollar a week, after they had served a month's apprenticeship free. A good girl might get six dollars a week in some places, but this was exceptional. Many other examples were given. Light, air, and sanitary conditions varied, but in most instances were very bad and unhealthy. King also visited a union shop where he found that working conditions and rates of remuneration were far superior to those where there was no such protection."

As Dawson notes, "On this occasion the report of conditions, informal and scanty though it was, found a sympathetic Minister, who was willing to listen and eager to reform. Thus while Mulock commissioned King to broaden his investigations, he was so convinced of the necessity for some immediate action (spurred on, it may be, by a pending by-election in industrial Toronto) that he decided to apply a remedy in the Post Office Department without waiting for further information. In consultation with King he drafted an amended contract form which ensured that henceforth mail bags, postal uniforms, etc. would be manufactured on the premises of the contractor and according to government regulation regarding hours of labour, fair wages, and sanitary conditions. This was immediately put into effect for new contracts in the Post Office Department."

H.S. Ferns and B. Ostry find it surprising that Liberal King should have made his arrangements for publishing these articles in the Conservative Mail and Empire. (The Age of Mackenzie King. London, Heinemann, 1955. P.39)

They believe that the articles in the Mail and Empire were used as the means to launch his career, for they became a counter in a bargaining process which placed him inside the apparatus of Government. Published in a conservative newspaper the articles were in fact an exposure of the official denials that such abuses existed in Canada. The articles did not represent, however, all the shot Mackenzie King could have fired. He has told us the reason why he omitted some facts from his study of sweat shops which appeared in the Toronto Mail and Empire, on Saturday, October 9th, 1897. He had discovered that uniforms for the employees of the Canadian Post Office were being manufactured by sweated labour. Although he had related an instance of government discrimination against Negroes by refusing them the right to join the militia and play in the regimental bands, this instance of governmental participation in abuses he suppressed.

"He had a job in the government, and his career had begun: not as a muckraker exposing abuses, not as a popular leader demanding change, but as a servant of government with a very acute idea of how a political reputation may be made.

"In the original edition of his chief work, Industry and Humanity, published in 1918, Mackenzie King related frankly this story of suppressing facts about the Federal Government's connection with the sweating system through its contractors. In the edition published in 1935, much matter was excised from the original edition of 1918, but only two paragraphs were rewritten: those relating to this incident. In the edition of 1935, Mackenzie King's father has disappeared from the scene entirely, and the young Galahad appears alone fighting labour's battle. All mention of 'giving the Government a chance' was deleted. William Mulock appears, not as a politician threatened with

exposure, but as an ardent reformer eager to learn the way to righteousness, and Mackenzie King as the author of enlightenment. If the version of 1935 presents some difficulties of interpretation in the light of the original version of the incident, the original itself is ambiguous.

"In the 1918 edition King emphasized his father's connection with Mulock. Although he did not say so, his account suggests that more than one meeting between his father and Mulock took place; for, after describing the common membership of his father and Mulock of the Senate of the University of Toronto, Mackenzie King wrote: 'On the ensuing Sunday afternoon, my father and I called on Mr. Mulock. It was even better than I had anticipated.' Ensuing from what? What had he anticipated? The ensuing may refer to a previous meeting between the elder King and Mulock, or it may refer to the Saturday, October 9th, when the article on sweating was published from which unfavourable reference to the Post Office Department had been deleted. Or it may refer to both. In any event Mackenzie King's account seems to suggest that a bargain was struck between the wily lawyer and real estate operator who ran the Canadian Post Office, and his father." (Pp. 40-42)

For the rest of his life King was proud of these developments as he spelled them out in this favorite of his writings. In 1942 he spoke of it to Roosevelt. He felt that he had anticipated the whole programme that now is being suggested for post-war purposes. "The parallel of the Beveridge Report will be found in the scheme of social insurance, and all the questions of fear, etc. set forth quite elaborately. I believe that both could, at this moment, be made the basis of the whole social programme.... This has been my real purpose in life." (Quoted by J.W. Pickersgill. The Mackenzie King Record, vol. 1, 1939-44. P. 434)

Again, in 1944, the following year, when he met Sir William Beveridge in Ottawa, he recalled that they had been together at the London School of Economics in its first year and that in his Industry and Humanity he had "anticipated very much the programme Sir William is putting forward today.... Our lives have been given over very largely to life-long study of social problems." (P. 564)

Lloyd George and Churchill had crowned their careers by legislation in regard to unemployment and more general social security. "It is all set out in my Industry and Humanity;" (P.476) a work he utilized at this time for his charter for social insurance in Canada in his 1943 speech from the throne (P.477)

In the course of these investigations on the working conditions of the makers of uniforms King found significance far more general than scandalous exploitation and humanity-destroying poverty.

As he set it out much later in his Industry and Humanity, there was an economic principle at work which required recognition and examination; the Law of Competing Standards.

He had developed this principle at the root of Gresham's Law while at the University of Chicago, arising from his observations of "such concrete problems as those presented by the tendency of foreign populations in large cities to become grouped into 'colonies' representative of different nationalities; and by the tendency of home life to be transferred from single dwellings into overcrowded tenements, allied too often, through opportunities of social intercourse, with some neighbouring saloon and its light, warmth, music, and boon companions. The problem of 'the sweated trades' was another of the problems confronted.

To return to King's own Industry and Humanity, "A day or two later, I received from Ottawa an official communication asking if I would make a report to the Government upon the methods theretofore adopted in Canada in the carrying out of Government clothing contracts. Special mention was made of the manufacture of uniforms for Canadian Post Office officials, the Militia, and the North-West Mounted Police. Early in January, 1898, I submitted a report to the Government. (Report to the Honorable the Postmaster General on the methods adopted in Canada in the carrying out of Government Clothing Contracts. King's Printer, Ottawa, 1898.) It revealed in no uncertain light the evils incident to unregulated Government contract work during the preceding ten years, and the need of Government intervention to prevent the continuance of like abuses in connection with future contracts.

"It has seemed to me that every one of the undermining processes commonly observed in the slum area of cities is but a manifestation, in one form or another, of the workings of the Law of Competing Standards.

"Take the foreign populations: without drawing invidious distinctions, it is apparent in every city that when certain races get possession of particular localities, the other races disappear. Take the problem of housing: the tenement, brought into competition with the single dwelling, will soon supplant it. Every large industrial city has seen its streets of humble homes transformed by degrees into overcrowded tenement districts. The lower standard dwelling, once brought into effective competition with the dwelling of a superior class, causes the latter to vanish. As respects tenants, if different classes are permitted to compete, the lower class once in possession eventually drives out the higher. It is in this way that slums are created. They represent the low ebb to which communities are brought where inferior standards have been permitted to drive out the superior. The tendency that creates a slum intensifies as the conditions that occasion it develop.

"On my return to Canada in the summer of 1897, I wrote a series of articles for the Mail and Empire, on possible similar developments in Canadian cities. Among topics dealt with were the foreign populations of Toronto, the housing of the working people, and sweating in industry. In visiting the homes of workers in the garment trades in company with a Labor friend, I came across letter carriers' uniforms being made up under contracts awarded by the Post Office Department of Canada. On questioning one of the workers as to the remuneration she was receiving for sewing machine and hand work, I found that it came to a very few cents an hour. I shall never forget the feeling of pained surprise and indignation I experienced as I learned of the extent of that woman's toil from early morning till late at night, and figured out the pittance received. The circumstance that it was Government work, and that the contracting firm was one of high repute in the city, did not lessen the resentment I felt. As I visited other homes and shops, I found the condition of this woman's employment to be in no sense isolated, but all too common...

"I mention this investigation and report because of what they disclose of the operation of the Law of Competing Standards. The inferior standards of industry in one Province had been played off against the better standards in others. Within the separate Provinces, the workshop standard had been played off against the factory standard, and the home standard against the workshop standard. Machines operated by power had been played off against machines operated by the worker without mechanical aid; machine work had been played off against hand work; work by the piece, against work by the day or week; and the work of women and girls, against the work of men. Even the unpaid work of 'learners' had been set over against the work of expert hands. More than that, the sub-contractors of one nationality had been placed in competition with those of another, and the bids of sub-contractors had been played off against each other. Pin-money earnings of one class of workers had been played off against the extreme necessities of other classes.

"With what result upon labor standards?

"In some instances, women and girls had been working excessive hours, under unwholesome sanitary conditions, and had been receiving for actual work performed payment at the rate of three and four cents an hour! Contractors, in one or two instances I learned of, had received profits, on the contracts the Government had awarded, as high as one hundred per cent! The lowest standard came to prevail wherever economic conditions permitted its application. The mean man was enabled to profit because of his meanness. As inferior standards came into effective competition with superior standards, the efficient and faithful worker was reduced, little by little, to lower levels.

"Action subsequently taken by the Government to suppress sweating was made the occasion, in March, 1900, of the introduction by Mr. Mulock, in the House of Commons of Canada, of what is known as The Fair Wages Resolution, whereby all Government contracts are required to contain conditions which will prevent abuse arising from subletting, and which will secure to Labor on Government contract work the payment of such wages as are generally accepted as current in each trade for competent workmen in the district where the work is carried out. It was the adoption of this resolution as a part of Government policy that, amongst other things, led in the same year to the creation of the Department of Labor of Canada by the Laurier Administration."

His diary record on Sept. 13, 1897, tells much of King's working methods:

"I went down to the office & began work on a series of special articles, which I arranged with Bert Woods to write last night. The first will be for Wednesday on the housing of the working people, dealing espec. with the rear cottages. I have long felt this to be a great evil & will do what I can to eradicate it. Went to City Hall to get a copy of by-laws re building of rear cottages, had a talk with Copping the Asst. of the City Comm'r. Then saw the city clerk & gained access by back door to Mayor Shaw's office to ask him to have me supplied with copy of consolidated by-laws. This he did, having to have to send for a copy to Rowsell's. I got it in my father's & grandfather's name. After leaving the City Hall, I went to see the City Directory people. Had a talk with Mr. Night & his son re movement of popul'n &c."

The following morning he "wrote for about an hour at my article on the cottage housing; also looked over some of U.S. reports. Went down to the Rossin House to meet Hooker on apptmt. at 2.30. He was half an hour late, meanwhile I wrote a letter to the City Clerk & had a talk with a letter deliverer on rear tenements & effect on postal service & trouble to officials. Hooker & I took a stroll up York street, called on Inspector Hughes; not in, went to fire Hall, Bay st., to get inform'n re rear tenements relat'n to fire. Met a fireman I had written up when charged with personat'n; he wd. give no informat'n; went then to Police Headquarters, had a talk with the men, introduced Hooker & made inquiries re relat'n of police to crowded quarters. Spent much time in Col. Orassett's office, Inspector Stark, & Morality deptmt." He then went to City Hall to inquire from the Health Department about sanitary conditions of rear cottages.

It is not often that King records, as he did that day, that he "wrote from 6:30 at night ahead, without stopping, till nearly 11.30; must have sent up 3 columns, about a column (1500 words) an hour. It was pure delight, felt I had done a good piece of work."

The following day, on the 15th he wrote:

"With difficulty I got to sleep last night, heard 4 & 5 strike; mind very active re problem of the poor. Thought out a good part of my next article on foreign colonies; felt I had fired a small shot, & am so anxious to accomplish much. Sleep was cut off at both ends, woke up about 9, could not get to sleep. Got up finally at 11. Went out immediately after dinner to hunt up Bosso, missed him; looked up particularly re negroes in Toronto, had a talk with their parson Ball, on Anderson St., very decent fellow; looked up others but missed them. Spent some time in Jew shop on York St. Went to see City Directory people & also to police headquarters.

"I went to St. John's Ward re negroes. Cld. not find Bosso for Italians. Saw coloured person Pearce & Postman Ward. The latter said to me that Wm. Ly. Mackenzie was greatest friend coloured men ever had. I then told him I was a grandson. My heart warms to the negro, they are a large hearted race. I was proud to be my grandfather's grandson as I will always be. Went to Mail about 11 after investigating little more."

Sept. 16 was a full day for King,

"I wrote a short letter to Harper, & looked over reports of slums of grt. cities. Had breakfast & dinner together & went at 1 to see Michele Bosso in the ward. Had a 2 hrs. talk with him on the Italians, got particularly all I wanted about their numbers, condit'n etc. Went to a Chinese store, got little informat'n, talked to 2 or 3 other chinamen today. I went to see the Public School Inspector re children in ward, had a good short talk with him. Went next to Sam'l Benjamin's to get informat'n re jews; he was busy, so I went to King E. to hunt up a small French colony; had talk with their priest & then went to a large factory where most of them are employed, & had talk with the employers. Telephoned Sam'l Benjamin's & Rabbi Lazarus, both at a dinner. Went to York St. talked with some jews; then to a synagogue on Bond St. & had 1½ hrs. conversat'n with the sexton. Then to public library, closed; to police stat'n, talked with inspector re criminals, also with Bob Geddes & Dave McKee then to Mail, came home about 11 or later."

THOSE TORONTO JES

The grandson of Benjamin is a young man who has been a member of the Jewish community in Toronto since 1900. He is a well-known figure in the community and has been active in many of its organizations.

On coming to Canada from England he spent a few years in Montreal before settling in Toronto in 1870. He was one of the first to join the Jewish community in Toronto and was active in many of its organizations. He was a member of the Jewish Association and was one of the founders of the Jewish Community Centre. He was also a member of the Jewish Board of Deputies and was active in many of its committees. He was a well-known figure in the community and was respected by all.

His wife was a well-known figure in the community and was active in many of its organizations. She was a member of the Jewish Association and was one of the founders of the Jewish Community Centre. She was also a member of the Jewish Board of Deputies and was active in many of its committees. She was a well-known figure in the community and was respected by all.

He was a well-known figure in the community and was respected by all. He was a member of the Jewish Association and was one of the founders of the Jewish Community Centre. He was also a member of the Jewish Board of Deputies and was active in many of its committees. He was a well-known figure in the community and was respected by all.

There is an anecdote which tells of a great deal about the man. On Saturday evening, after Shabbat had been celebrated, he was walking in the streets of the Jewish community. He was a well-known figure in the community and was respected by all. He was a member of the Jewish Association and was one of the founders of the Jewish Community Centre. He was also a member of the Jewish Board of Deputies and was active in many of its committees. He was a well-known figure in the community and was respected by all.

THOSE TORONTO JEWS

The gentleman at Samuel Benjamin's to whom King spoke was undoubtedly Australia-born Alfred D. Benjamin (1848-1900), the senior Jewish citizen of the Toronto community.

On coming to Canada from England he spent a few years in Montreal before settling in Toronto in 1879 in association with Lewis Samuel, long the leader of the small Jewish community (father of Sigmund Samuel). In 1887 Samuel passed away and Benjamin became the head of the firm and unquestioned leader of the Holy Blossom Synagogue. He also headed the Talmud Torah, the benevolent society and the Zion Association. H. Warschauer notes that Benjamin gave employment to many immigrants who began to arrive in Toronto in 1881. With the benevolence of those Victorian days, "The offer of a job had one condition: that the Jewish worker come to Sabbath Services at the Richmond Street Synagogue!"

"This rich man considered every Jew his brother, be he ever so poor, and together with him he went to worship every Sabbath, for Alfred Benjamin was a faithful Jew. He attended every service!"

"Busy as he was, he found time to teach Sabbath School, and in 1892, he was elected president of Holy Blossom.

"There is an anecdote which tells us a great deal about the man. On Saturday evenings, after Havdalah had been made, Alfred Benjamin used to visit his congregants, all of whom lived close to the business district. One Saturday night he was walking along Queen Street West and entered

the small store of one of his members to wish him a good week. The owner was busy attending to customers, so Benjamin went to the living room at the rear of the store to talk to the owner's wife. He found her minding one of her children who was fast asleep in his carriage.

"'You've come at just the right moment, Mr. Benjamin,' the lady said. 'Now that Sabbath is over, I have some shopping to do, and my husband is so busy in the store. Will you please just watch the sleeping baby for a few minutes while I'm away?'"

"When she returned thirty minutes later, she found the child crying loud, all the while being vigorously rocked by the president of the congregation.

"In 1889, Mr. Alfred Benjamin had given the congregation his blueprint of a plan for a finer synagogue program. He had suggested engaging a first-class lecturer and teacher, and using an organ with the choir at all Services."

Benjamin was among the leading members of the 1881-founded Toronto branch of the Anglo-Jewish Association.

He launched the plan for the construction of a new synagogue building in 1893. The project succeeded, in part because so many citizens outside the faith contributed to its erection. Warschauer points out that, while the membership of the congregation was only 120, there were 400 on the roll of subscribers, among them leaders of Toronto Christendom, e.g., Timothy Eaton, Robert Simpson, the Masseys.

His son, Capt. John Franklin, was killed in action on the western front in 1918.

Alfred Benjamin was succeeded by his brother Frank D. Benjamin as president of Holy Blossom until he retired to England.

On the High Holidays in 1918, the last year of World War I, a very touching event took place: In Toronto, Rabbi Jacobs, Mr. Leo Frankel, the President, and Mr. Mark Geldzaeler, the assistant reader and Baal Koray, conducted the services at Holy Blossom. In England at the same hour, their sons, Arthur Jacobs, Roy Frankel, and Ben Geldzaeler, all in uniform, attended services as the guests of Frank D. Benjamin.

Frank Benjamin's son, Toronto-born Ernest Benjamin was a military man. He became an officer in the Royal Engineers, a British regiment. He served in Egypt, India and Malaya before returning to England in 1939, when World War II broke out. He served in England and overseas. In September, 1944, when Brigadier-General Benjamin was appointed to command the new Jewish Brigade group as part of the British army, this Brigade consisted of the three Jewish battalions of the Palestine Regiment with headquarters first in Egypt, and then in Italy. After the spring offensive which ended the war against Italy, it was moved to the Italo-Austrian-Yugoslav border and made the first Jewish contact with survivors of the concentration camps. After the war the brigade helped the refugees make their way south and reach Palestine eventually.

In all likelihood, Brigadier-General Benjamin was the highest ranking Jew in the armed forces born in Toronto to this date. His Jewish Brigade was the first Jewish group of soldiers ever to fight in Europe.

The other Toronto Jew whom King interviewed was the rabbi of Holy Blossom.

The Rev. Abraham Lazarus was born in Liverpool and graduated from Jews' College in London. He was named rabbi of Holy Blossom Synagogue where he served from 1893 to 1898. (D.A. Hart. The Jew in Canada, 1926, P. 106)

Lazarus' years in the Toronto congregation were marked by the continuing struggle to introduce Reform practices into its ritual. This took a sharp form in connection with the sale of the older home in order to build its Bond St. synagogue. Heinz Warschauer records in his Story of the Holy Blossom Temple that the life trustees enforced a halt on innovation in the ritual by withholding permission to sell the older property on Richmond St. (Second revised edition, Pp. 180, 191-92)

The new building at 115 Bond St. was opened on Sept. 15, 1897, the day before King's visit.

His sermon on "The Blessing of a Good Name" was printed in the Jewish Messenger of Aug. 27, 1897. It is quite undistinguished in character and is of historical interest only in indicating what intelligent and devoted Jews were subjected to during their hours of worship; also the vast distance they had travelled from the traditional Jewish drashah.

In June 1897 the Rev. Mr. Lazarus led a committee before the management committee of the Public School Board in protest against Anglican efforts to introduce religious teaching in the public schools. The brief he read on the matter that summer could well be used today in the controversy which is still current. In addition to stating their position on religious instruction in public schools, the document formulates the political and cultural philosophy of that Jewish society and deserves scrutiny:

"It having been brought to our attention that you have been appointed to decide today the question of the introduction of religion into the schools, which was urged by certain Anglican clergymen before the trustees, at the last meeting of the board, we the undersigned, on behalf of and representing the Jews of Toronto, take this opportunity of stating that we view with the utmost disfavour the proposal to make any innovations in this direction.

"To our minds, the scheme that has been laid before you is in the last degree ill-advised, inexpedient, and objectionable, and ought not to be entertained for a single moment. Though we feel confident that our interests are safe in your hands, and that you will not accede to a request the effect of granting which would be to encroach upon our rights and liberties, we have deemed it prudent to embody in a statement the following specific reasons, among others, why the demand ought not to be conceded:

"1. If the suggested change were introduced, it would not only tend to impart a sectarian bias to the character of the teaching given in the schools (which is in itself a most undesirable thing, since the teaching afforded in them should be of such a nature as to hurt the susceptibilities of none, and admit of all children participating in it without detriment to their cherished convictions and beliefs), but it would strike a severe and perhaps an irremediable blow at the very root-principle underlying the institution of the Public School, which is that it should devote itself

to the task of educating the citizen, irrespective of denomination, faith, or creed, and treat all who seek its advantage on a basis of equality, without any reference whatsoever to religion.

"To admit religion into the schools is to contradict the national purpose of such institutions -- to make them serve private interests, and to convert them into what they were never intended to be -- church annexes and State-subsidized mission-houses.

"For, according to modern ideas, it is the business of the State to look after the material welfare of its citizens, and not to save their souls. It is for it to further their interests and happiness in this world, and to give over into their own hands the looking after their interests and happiness in the next. Church and State must be kept apart.

"Politics and religion cannot run in harness together. The objects and aims of the two are dissimilar -- they have entirely different spheres of action and move on different planes. A man's belief is, no doubt, a very important factor; as long, however, as it does not interfere with his morality, it is his own private affair, which the State has no right to pry into. It is a thing which rests between himself and his God.

"For the State to intermeddle with religion, for it to attempt to decide the spiritual destiny of its citizens, for it to endeavour to enter into a question of heart and conscience, which are for the holy of holies of a man's heart, is to trespass on a domain wherein it has no jurisdiction. All that the Government has a right to do is to see that those who live under its protection conduct themselves uprightly and honestly, and to adopt measures to this end. Upon all plans and forms of salvation, upon all shades of doctrine, it must look with impartial eye; it must, with regard to them, adopt a neutral position, identifying itself with all, yet with none, only taking care that the peace is kept, and that the rights of all are recognized and safeguarded.

"As soon as the State departs from this unbiased attitude, as soon as it recognizes one form of religion more than another, it forsakes its true functions and becomes one-sided and oppressive. We have only to read history to see what horrors have been produced through the marriage of the ill-matched couple, Church and State. Under the name of religion governments have perpetuated all sorts of crimes. They have countenanced Spanish Inquisitions, Bartholomew massacres, and Smithfield burnings. Never has any good come out of the union of Church and State.

"Only when they have been divorced have men learned to live together in harmony. Religious liberty is, in fact, the most precious possession that has been acquired by us in these modern times. Oceans of blood have been shed to secure it. Upon its altar thousands upon thousands of noble men and women have willingly sacrificed themselves. To obtain this priceless boon for humanity hosts of martyrs have perished at the stake, or have been done to death on the executioner's block.

"To allow religion to be introduced into the schools is to undo the glorious work achieved by past efforts; it is to yield up, in one moment, all the fruits of the victory which has been purchased at the cost of so much pain and suffering. It is to set back the hand of the dial-plate of progress. It is to make a possible return to the conditions which obtained in the days of the rack and thumb-screw and the torture-chamber. Religion in the schools we consider the thin end of the wedge. It is a retrograde step, which cannot fail to lead to trouble. It will open the door to all kinds of abuses and evils. If once the ferule of the school-master is allowed to be ousted by the cassock of the minister, there cannot fail to come again, sooner or later, those ages of bigotry, intolerance, and persecution which have left a foul stain on the fair face of civilization, and supply the darkest chapters in the annals of mankind.

"2. Under the present arrangements, which seem to work very well, ministers of religion, though they have not in many cases used their privileges, have the right to give religious instruction, after school hours, to the children. If, as suggested, a half-hour for religion were to be substituted in place of something in the morning or afternoon session, this would involve injustice on both sides.

"If those who did not wish to participate were sent away, they would be deprived of a half-hour of secular instruction which they have a claim to, and if they were given other lessons during the half hour, they would be having an undue advantage over those whose time was being taken by the minister.

"3. Jewish children who attend the Public Schools do not wish to be differentiated from their fellow-pupils. They have no wish to draw upon themselves unnecessary attention; nor do they like to be looked upon, or to be singled out from the general body as if they were inferior to the rest.

"There is no doubt, whatsoever, that the proposed change will be just the very thing that would tend to produce this extremely disagreeable state of affairs. It would result in splitting up the children of every school into sects, it would breed within them clannish feelings instead of fostering in their hearts a spirit of unity, brotherhood, a common patriotism, and public spirit. Instead of helping to blow and smooth over all differences it would tend to emphasize them. In the schools we would have reproduced on a small scale the sectarian bickerings and strife which characterize religionists in the great school of the world outside. In all probability we should have the Anglican children playing in one corner of the playground, the Presbyterian lads in another, the Methodist in another, and the Baptist pupils in another, whilst the Jewish children, like their forefathers, driven from all society with their fellows, would have to wander around from post to post with no corner of the playground to amuse themselves in at all.

"4. If religious instruction were to be introduced into the Public Schools, the effect of the innovation would be to defeat the very object which it was intended to serve, for it would result in depleting the Sabbath schools. Parents would argue that if the Government looks after spiritual welfare of the children they need not. Having had the benefits of religious training during the week, the children would have an additional excuse for staying away from the churches and the Sabbath school on Sunday.

"5. In the city there are over 180 churches, to each of which there is attached on Sabbath school. If, with all these institutions, the children of a city cannot be made religious enough, the reason can only be that the ministers are not doing their work properly. They are neglecting to duly utilize their opportunities, in which case they have themselves to blame.

"Unlike the Roman Catholic minority, we Jews do not maintain, demand, or wish for Separate schools. As far as possible we try to unite in harmony and in hand with our fellow-citizens in the interests of education, enlightenment, and culture, and endeavour to obliterate any superfluous distinctions between ourselves and those amongst whom we live.

"If religion were to be introduced into the Public Schools, however, we should be forced in self-defence, and in order to save our children the inconvenience which would be caused them by the proposed legislation, to petition the Government to give us the same privileges as our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens, who have ever so much less reason than we for their action, since they represent only a variant form of Christianity, whilst we are professors of a totally different faith. This would mean the erection of Separate schools for us; also it would necessitate immense outlay on the part of the School Board, and make it impossible for its trustees to keep down expenses.

"After a time it would probably lead to Separate schools for each denomination. The Manitoba difficulty would be transplanted to Toronto. If the churches would put more work into the Sabbath schools, the cause of religion, which is as dear to us as it is to them, would be upheld.

"We Jews open our Sabbath schools on Wednesday afternoons from 4:30 to 5:30, in addition to Saturdays and Sundays, because we recognize the necessity of religious instruction for our children. Why cannot the church follow the example of the synagogue in this respect, considering that it has better facilities than we have?

"Whilst we cordially agree with the clergymen who spoke before the trustees last Thursday as to the overwhelming importance of religious instruction as a factor of education, we join issue with them on the means they propose to adopt toward securing the better attention being paid to it. We consider that the churches if they made good use of their present opportunities are quite equal to the occasion."

The petition was signed by Alfred Benjamin, president of the Toronto Hebrew Congregation Holy Blossom; Edmund Scheuer, superintendent of its Sunday School and the minister of the congregation. (Mail and Empire, June 12, 1897 and S.E. Rosenberg, The Jewish Community of Canada. Toronto, McClelland & Stuart, 1970. Pp. 156, 163)

Lazarus wrote a "Historical Sketch of the Jews in Canada" for Canada, an Encyclopaedia of the Country, ed. by J. Castell Hopkins. Toronto, Lippincott (1898), vol. 4, Pp. 145-52,

The minister of the Hebrew congregation was chaplain of the Zetland Masonic Lodge, no. 326 on the G.R.C., A.F. & A.M. He spoke to his brethren on "The Religion of Masonry", an address which was published in Toronto in Dec. 1898. (8 p.)

The same year he left Toronto to assume a pulpit in Houston, Tex. but he died there suddenly a few months later, in 1899.

King was continuing in his strenuous work.
On Sept. 17th he

"Went to Sam'l Benjamin's & had a long talk with Mr. Benjamin on the condition of the jews in Toronto; found him very pleasant to talk with & very obliging. Went next to the city hall where I got statistics as to the applicat'ns for relief, from Mr. Taylor; also called at Treasurer's deprt to get statistics as to pedlars, etc. Had not a sufficient no. Went then to the General P.O., inquired as to statistics on foreigners who used savings banks, & next, to the Public Library where I looked up census of 1890 re frgns. in Toronto; then to police Crt. to get figures re pedlars, &c saw Dave McGee & others. Then to the McMillan ticket office to enquire re jews sending for families, & then to Mr. Wichert in Nordheimer's with whom I had a very pleasant chat as to the German colony in Toronto. He is a fine old man."

Saturday, Sept. 18 tells all,

"What a day I have had today, & how have I witnessed the oppression of man over his fellows? Was up at 6 o'clock, had bath etc. Percy Parker called to go with me. We left before 7, after having a little breakfast & got to Gurofsky's house on Centre Ave. He is a very decent jew who promised to take me thro' some of the sweat shops in Toronto. Percy & I had a look at some rear tenements crowding etc. At 7.30 the three of us left & called first on Polish jews on School St. poor family, making vests; men & women employed, next to an Italian & wife who had worked in trade, next to woman & family on Chestnut, then to a shop on Elis., polish jew, large no. of hands employed a very pretty girl, a large family low wages etc. then to a poor old crippled woman, who sewed night & day, cor. Louise & Elis. Percy left before this, & next down town upstairs to a shop, employer away, then thro' Alexander & Anderson's factory; better conditions; looked at books, talked with girls etc., then to sweat shop on King St.; later on to another, King St., one of more contractors in Toronto, -- then talk with one of the pressers on the street -- Went with Gurofsky to lunch at Webb's -- Then to Union back shop where conditions were considered good. Talked with O'Donogue of Tr. & Lab. Council; to Spadina Ave. Thro' dress shop; talked with the boss in bed; then to shop on Queen St., Cohen's, where girls working, & long talk in store with woman & man; then a talk on street with girl employe. Then to Gurofsky's house, down to Mail, home to tea; brought Gurofsky with me. Then in my room 7 - 10 talking particulars; then to see a woman who was earning 1.25 a wk. & supporting herself; found she was doing so by prostitution. What a story of Hell. Mr. mind all hell."

In King's investigations as he was preparing these articles, the young student appears to have been warm hearted, open, subtle and militant in his championship of the workers. This is substantiated by the surviving correspondence of the time.

In this research King was assisted by the Jewish labor activist, Louis Gurofsky, who is described in R. MacGregor Dawson's William Lyon Mackenzie King, 1874-1923 as "a laboring man and a reformer, one of King's great admirers. He had given assistance to King in his sweat-shop investigation and had helped him to make contacts with labouring men elsewhere." (P. 101)

Louis Gurofsky was a leader in the United Garment Workers of America, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. It is interesting to find his name on the beautiful engraved letterhead of the office of the General Secretary of the General Executive Board of the Union, H. White. Remarkably, Gurofsky was the only Canadian and may have been the only Jew on the board of seven. (Public Archives of Canada, King Papers. P. 504)

It is characteristic of this Jewish society of 1896 that this Labor Zionist leader should in the course of time come to serve as sergeant with the Jewish Legion in the Middle East during the first World War and should have been connected with the Toronto Yiddish press.

Leon Cheifetz, his comrade in the unit and later head of Beth Hagdudim in Avichail, Israel, recalls that by 1917 Gurofsky was too old for strenuous military action and served in the Legion in such activities as the postal. He was supported in his application for admission into the Jewish battalion by such eminent members of the community as Clarence de Sola. We find his name on the Roll of Honour of philanthropists and of others active in the relief of the Jewish sufferers of World War I compiled by Henry H. Rosenfeldt, This Thing of Giving, together with such fellow Torontonians as Mark G. Cohen, Magistrate Judah Cohen, T. Enushevsky, M. and S. Samuel, Rabbi Solomon Jacobs, H. Franklin, Egmont Frankel, M.L. Willensky, J.H. Winters, L. Yolles and A.L. Wigenstein.

Sunday the 19th is the Lord's Day, but the diary entry is relevant to Saturday's and Monday's.

"My great object is to live a christian life, to let men see by my example how it can be the fullest happiest and the best.

"Was up this a.m. at 10, slept soundly & well last night, felt I had done a good day's work. Went to church & heard one of the finest sermons I have ever listened to. It was on "Work" text Judges --theme --Great things accomplished with small weapons, each means opportunities in his own place -- not to wait for other places or conditions. -- The power of the cross as a weapon today, the good which man may accomplish by work. The sermon was magnificent. I could not keep the tears back, & in the singing of the hymns which followed, 'Work for the night,' etc.; I cried outright. It was the whole ambition of my life expressed so grandly; surely one cannot accuse me of being an idler; I am striving to occupy every hour to work work work for my fellow men.

"The thoughts of yesterday hang about me. Oh, such work & no pay, no reward -- I felt in church as though I were worshipping with parasites; so much need outside in the sweat shop. May accomplish something yet.

"Went this afternoon & called at the Moss' then to Mr. Mulock's the Postmaster Gen'l, had a talk with him on economic questions & particularly the sweating system. I left with father & then went back to speak of the manufacture of clothing for militia, etc, & told him I was going to protest against old methods. We then had a long talk & he offered to put in force any practical remedy I would suggest. Later he sd. he would appoint me to conduct an investigation in past abuses, & frame measures of reform -- \$200, \$100 for expenses \$100 for report. He was deeply interested in the quest'n. He dictated a letter to be sent on at Harvard & gave me verbal instruction then. Thus already something has been accomplished for the workers. I believe here the line of reform which should lead to great relief. Mr. Mulock was very kind, he urged upon me to think more of making provision for myself. He is anxious to effect reform. Told me what he had done so far re contracts & what he wd. do in consequence of our conversat'n.

He wd. not have thought of the matter but for our talk. This work will involve my coming home at Xmas, spending a week in Montreal & one in Hamilton. It was that I make a definite stand on the side of labor, as it involves the showing up of corrupt'n & robbery by wealthy men. I will have only the truth no matter what the cost. Went to church without any tea, heard a fine sermon of "The Man Christ Jesus". He is my ideal & I long to become more like him. Had a 10¢ cup of tea, & bread -- then went to Mail & wrote an article on foreigners till after midnight. -- This has been a happy day & some good accomplished."

The hard work continued on Monday, Sept. 20,

"Went to Mail at 9 & wrote at article on foreigners till nearly 6 when I went to dinner at Mrs. Douglas', had a pleasant talk with Mr. & Mrs. Douglas & Billie. Left at 8 & returned to office, worked steadily at article on foreigners till about 1, came home had supper, read a kind letter from Harper & went to bed 2.30. Mr. Douglas spoke highly of my article on Crowded Housing, as did also Mrs. D. Morgan Wood in Bond St. Congret. Church yesterday advised his hearers to read. It too may do some good."

The next, the 21st,

"Went to the Mail at 2 & was kept busy writing about the foreigners all afternoon. Came home for tea at 6, after which I went to O'Donoghue's house, had a long talk with him & told him of what I might be able to effect in connect'n with the Garment trades. Met Mr. Appleton, Pres. of Trades & Lab. Council Winnipeg, had a pleasant talk with him & invited him to tea on Thursday. He is a strong socialist & a fine fellow. Went to the office about 9, & was kept busy writing on the foreigners till 1."

And again on Sept. 22,

"Went to the office at 2 & worked till 3 at the frgn popl'n, when I met O'Donoghue on apptmt & got him to introduce me to some of the Custom Tailors. He told them to give me all the reliable informat'n they cld, & that they could put the fullest confidence in me. Went to the Gen'l P.O.

and obtained copies of the Journal of Pol. Ec. with my article on The Intern'l Typog. Union. Returned to Mail & wrote on the foreigners till six, when I walked to Mulock's & had dinner with Mrs. Mulock & Ethel. Went to Mail & was busy with the foreigners till about 1. Stayed around the office till after 2 & got home about 3; bed nearly 4 a.m."

And on the 23rd,

"This morning I was up about 12 o'clock, went to the office & cont'd writing on the foreigners which I completed shortly before 6. Had to tea Mr. Appleton, Presdt. of Trades & Lab. Council of Winnipeg, a fine young fellow, very much in earnest & likely to do much good. We had a pleasant talk though necessarily brief.

"Walked down to Tr. & Lab. Council with him about 9, then went to office of Mail & began writing on the sweating system. I wrote rapidly till my hand was tired out, did not leave the office till after two in the morning. I have been in one continuous rush all day, but like this life so long as I can accomplish something. Came home, made some cocoa, had a little supper; went to bed about 3 a.m."

On Sept. 24th King,

"Rec'd official letter from Mr. Mulock today asking for report & agreeing to pay \$200.

"After lunch I went to the office. I wrote on the sweating system from 3 - 5.30 when Harper called & I introduced him to Bert Woods, so that they cld. have a chat. Amy Wright & Ethel Mulock were here for tea. After tea Bert & I went to my room where we had a very earnest talk on life & our part. I told him of the stand I intended to make for labor -- vs. all tyranny & oppress'n, & effort to gain better life for the toilers. Both spoke deeply on religion & Christ, parted at the station, stronger men. Harper came down from London chiefly for this talk. I wrote on sweating system till about 2 a.m. when I finished."

On the 12th of August, 1944, I was informed by the
British Government that the British Government had
decided to send a mission to the United States to
study the situation in the United States and to
report on the results of the mission to the British
Government.

British Government

The mission was to be headed by Sir John
Gill, a British diplomat, and to consist of
other British officials. The mission was to
arrive in the United States in the month of
September, 1944, and to remain there for
a period of six months.

The mission was to study the situation in the
United States and to report on the results of
the mission to the British Government. The
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PREPARING FOR HARVARD

Sept. 25, being a Saturday, was a good day to summarize,

"My summer's work is done & look back on it with much satisfaction. I have not been idle much. I have fought well, resisted evil effectively for the most part, & done some good. -- I have met one of the hardest struggles in my life & turned it to good advantage."

Preparing for Harvard, he noted,

"Copy of letter of introduction given to me by Mr. Goldwin Smith -- 'I take the liberty of introducing to you Mr. W.L.M. King, the son of a friend of mine, who is going to study in your dept'mt at Harvard. I have reason to believe that he is a really earnest & promising student. If you can help him by a kind word of advice or in any other way you will oblige me as well as him & my friend, his worthy father.'"

Smith, an English don who settled in Toronto, ranks low in Jewish history as one of the leading anti-semites of his age and certainly the outstanding Jew-baiter in English Canada. Henri Bourassa credited Smith as a source for some of his anti-Jewish statements during this decade.

Goldwin Smith had been Henri Bourassa's authority for opposing a resolution of sympathy offered in the House of Commons to the victims of the 1905 pogroms in Russia. (Hansard, March 15, 1906)

King noted that Smith sat behind him in St. Andrew's Church on Sunday morning, Aug. 22, 1897.

On Sunday, the 26th, after church and communion, he "went to see Mr. Mulock at his request before lunch, drew out some regulations for contracts". After tea he called on the archantisemite, "Mr. Goldwin Smith to thank him for the letter; we had a pleasant little talk, chiefly about jews; he receives me very kindly."

The next day he left for Harvard.

Strangely enough, the well connected young King, friend of Goldwin Smith spent a good part of the day before Christmas, 1897 with Gurofsky. The Jewish union man "called and I went out with him. We went to some of the shops. I had a talk with one of the contractors on government contracts performed here."

On a visit home from Harvard, on Jan. 2, 1898, King recorded,

"Coming up from church I had quite a talk with Goldwin Smith. I told him what a pleasure his letters had been to me. He spoke at some length of the wasted energy of the small colleges of the U.S., & ridiculed the system of their granting degrees, by giving an account of the equipment of a college he had visited in Belleville at one time, 'which was granting degrees in all departments of human knowledge'. He thought the sectarian influence a bad one. Spoke of Washington's suggestion of a Grt. National university but feared that it would come under the influence of politics."

A year later, on a visit home, on Christmas Day, 1898 he "called with father on Goldwin Smith and showed him Mr. Norton's picture. He seemed rather older, and said he felt old age somewhat. He spoke mostly of the municipal elections."

A moment of a Sunday in June with King home for a brief visit tells much of Goldwin Smith's place in that world. King records on June 25, 1899,

"This afternoon after dinner I read some of Wordsworth's Excursion aloud to mother; then Father came to the verandah with Goldwyn Smith's Trip to England and read it aloud. He covered a number of chapters which are written in a perfect style, and massed with historical information. The early chapters were a little hard to follow being so concise, and containing so much of historical reference. I wish I had a solid background of history. I have not, and feel the want of it greatly."

And again on the next Sunday, July 2, Mr. King read aloud about 50 pages of the same record of the voyage -- "Beautiful style and an abundance of information and history in compact form, with interesting suggestions running through it all." Again the following Sunday, July 9,

...a year later, on a little home in Christmas
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"FOREIGNERS WHO LIVE IN TORONTO"

The article of Sept. 25, 1897 in the Mail and Empire reads in large part:

"Foreigners who Live in Toronto

"Of the 'great city' problems there is none at the present day which presents to the large American centres such a complex of almost bewildering phenomena and well-nigh insuperable difficulties as that arising out of the composite nature of their population, and the relations of the foreign elements to their social, industrial, and civic life.

"The problem has gained its special significance inasmuch as a large percentage of the foreigners have been anything but a desirable class, and have after their arrival in the country taken up residence in the poorer sections of the city, thereby aiding in the development, if not in the creation, of dangerous slum districts.

"In an investigation into the slums of American cities, conducted recently 'under' the direction of the Commissioner of Labor of the United States, it was found that practically without exception a large percentage of the population in the cities was foreign-born, and that in every case the percentage of foreigners was largest in the slum districts. In Chicago, for example, it was found that 40.98 percent of the population was foreign-born, while in the slum district it was 57.51 per cent; in New York the foreign-born numbered 42.23 percent of the total population, and 62.58 percent in the slums. In Philadelphia, as against

a foreign population of 25.74 per cent. of the total, the foreigners averaged 60.45 per cent. in the slums; and in Baltimore, where only 15.88 per cent. of the population was foreign-born, the percentage of foreigners in the slum district canvassed was as high as 40.21.

"Such facts as these, when considered as to their practical bearing on social and economic relations, ought to prove sufficient to arouse in every growing community a spirit of inquiry and self-examination which would lead to the adoption of a line of policy best calculated to secure future well-being and prosperity.

"Canadian cities have not escaped the problem; its proportions may as yet be small, but it is here, nevertheless. What is of even greater concern is the indication that it is certain to grow and become as time goes on more perplexing in municipal and national affairs. Winnipeg is fast becoming a second Chicago, a great western metropolis, characteristically marked out by its numbers of foreigners; and it is indeed questionable whether Toronto and Montreal will not admit of like comparison with Baltimore and New York.

"The presence of large numbers of foreigners in Toronto makes an inquiry into their conditions a subject as interesting as it is timely. Does their presence here portend an evil for this city, such as the above statistics would suggest has come upon the cities of the United States? Or have the class of foreigners in this city been cast in a better mould, and are they likely to prove at once good citizens and a strength to the community?

"These are questions of more than vital moment to the city, and their answers can only be found in an examination into the present condition of the people, a comparative study of their numbers, occupations, and methods of living, their relations to the civic, religious, and industrial life, together with a retrospective glance into the past as to the causes which brought them here, and a speculative forecast as to the probable increase in their numbers which may be effected in the future.

"Interesting Figures

"In the last Dominion census, taken in 1891, it was found that 65 per cent of the population in Toronto was Canadian-born, while 35 per cent was foreign-born. There are no figures available as yet to show to what degree this ratio may have varied during the last six years. In this connection it is well to remember that statistical accuracy has put aside the conventional use of the term 'foreigner', and all not born within the boundaries of the Dominion have been regarded as foreign-born.

"The largest percentage of this population comes from England and Wales. The percentage of persons born in England, Ireland, Scotland, and the United States who are living in Toronto at the present time would possibly equal about one-third of the total population. These people are, however, so nearly akin in thought, customs, and manners to the Canadians themselves, in fact so indistinguishable from them in most respects, that in speaking of a foreign population they have generally been disregarded altogether, except, as illustrated here, for statistical purposes. In their relation to the present problem they need hardly be considered, inasmuch that with the exception of maintaining a few national societies, their foreign connection in no way distinctively marks the civic life.

"The main difficulty in the United States has not been with the English-speaking races, though undoubtedly the cities have been greatly perplexed with the low order of many of their Anglo-Saxon immigrants: it has been through those of a foreign tongue, possessing foreign sympathies, and having but a slight desire to share in American life, that the problem has come to be one which is almost without possibilities of adequate solution.

"The foreigners, more particularly those in unfortunate circumstances, have shown a decided tendency to group themselves in small colonies, and in this condition they keep up the old life to which they were accustomed. Being unable to speak the English language

to any advantage, they converse chiefly with others of their own tongue, and having as their prime object in life the eking out of a mere existence, take no part in the distinctively civic life of the city in which they live. In short, a large percentage of the foreigners in American cities have proved anything but good citizens, and it is by the standard of good citizenship that their value to any community ought to be judged. On the other hand, the better class of foreigners have been a source of wealth to the United States, have aided materially in its industrial and commercial prosperity, and have, in fact, led the Government of the country to adopt a strong immigration policy for the augmentation of their numbers. What, then, is the character of the foreign-speaking elements in Toronto at the present time?

"The Germans Lead

"The Germans far exceed in numbers the other foreign nationalities here represented. Exact figures as to their numbers are difficult to obtain, but 6,000 in all may be regarded as a fair estimate. Commercial and industrial betterment has been the main incentive to their coming here, and there can be no doubt that the city at large, as well as individuals, has shared in their prosperity. A steady German invariably makes a good citizen, and the Germans in this city belong to the thrifty and desirable class. The majority are mechanics engaged in almost every kind of manufacturing industry, but some of the largest commercial enterprises, as well as a few of the best wholesale establishments, are in their hands. Especially noticeable among the industries and businesses in which they are engaged, both in the capacity of proprietors and employes, are piano-making, brewing, cigar-making, showcase manufacturing, and the fur and jewellery trades. Hardly any Germans are employed by the city or the Government, though there are one or two on the police force. Scarcely any, with the exception of a few Jews are engaged in peddling or petty traffic of that kind.

"What is of great importance is the fact that they are scattered pretty fairly over all parts of the city and have not congregated in any one particular locality. In this regard they prove a happy exception to some other foreigners who are more or less grouped into small colonies. By being spread out their interests have become those of the city at large rather than of any particular group.

"Their Methods of Life.

"The Germans hold a good deal of property in the city, many of the mechanics owning the houses in which they live. The home life of the Germans is everywhere well known, and the desire to possess and cultivate a little land goes with them wherever they are. Notwithstanding that, as a rule, they have large families, there is but little crowding in their homes, and few, if any, live in rear cottages which are hidden from the street. Their social life is as characteristic here as elsewhere. They have two large German societies, the Liederkrantz and the Germania Hall Company, the former on Richmond street west and the latter on Wellington east. With the exception of a few honorary members the membership roll is largely made up of mechanics, who pay their monthly dues and spend their evenings there, generally in company with their wives and children, enjoying music, amateur theatricals, dancing, and lager beer. Saturday nights and Sunday afternoons and evenings are the times for most social enjoyment. It is seldom, if ever, that politics or religion are topics of conversation or discussion at these gatherings, not that the German people are indifferent to either, but they are there from other motives of enjoyment.

"It may be said that the German people take a comprehensive and appreciative interest in the politics of this country, and that they sing the British National Anthem with feelings of no less patriotic devotion than those aroused by 'Die Wacht am Rhein' of their Fatherland. They are fond of this country, and of the liberty and privileges which it affords them.

"Almost all the Germans are Protestants, there being but a few Roman Catholics and a few Jews. The children have a German Sunday school on Bond street and another on College street, and nearly all receive instruction in the German tongue. It need hardly be added that the children receive, as a rule, a good education, wherever possible. They attend the Public schools, and many continue their studies at the Collegiate Institutes and the universities. They have no German paper except a small religious monthly recently published, but many of them subscribe to the German papers published in the Counties of Waterloo, Perth, and Bruce, and to other papers in the Old Land.

"A Law-Abiding People.

"They are very decidedly a law-abiding people. During the year 1896 the total number of German offenders apprehended or summoned by the city police did not exceed 80. Most of them have been able to provide for themselves without outside aid: There is what is known as a German Benevolent Society, which for over 30 years past has been under the kind and able management of ex-Alderman Steiner. This society is divided into two branches, the one intended as a benefit club, and the other to assist poor and needy Germans when in distress. This latter branch has a poor fund, and by this admirable system the Germans have in a quiet way assisted in the maintenance of some of their less fortunate countrymen. Most of the relief is given to Germans who are passing through the city, those who are settled here being for the most part in fairly good circumstances.

"The Germans are well represented in most of the secret fraternal societies, and in some cases exclusive German charters have been granted. The mechanics favour trades unions, and not a few are members of local unions in their trade where these exist.

"The Immigration Problem.

"These facts are sufficient to show that the German element in Toronto is a most desirable one.

"The Jewish Population

"Next to the Germans the Jews constitute the largest foreign population in Toronto. As is generally known, the Jews of this generation come from almost every quarter of the earth save Jerusalem, and there are accordingly Jews of many nationalities represented in Toronto. Of these the Russian and Polish are the most numerous; then there are many from Galicia, a number of German Jews, and a small minority of English. The total Jewish population is in the neighbourhood of 2,500 of which the Polish and Russian Jews constitute about three-fifths. There are from four to five hundred German Jews and from two to three hundred English. Forty years ago there was in Toronto a mere handful all told. Recent accessions have come mainly from Russia, Poland and Galicia, in consequence of the persecutions to which the Jews were subjected in those countries. In many cases they were denied the right to possess property, the right of education, and even of residence itself outside of restricted areas.

"Whilst many have come direct from the continent of Europe, others have come here from the United States. The English Jews are the oldest residents and together with the German Jews have been the most intelligent and prosperous of their race. It was chiefly the desire for commercial advancement that led to their coming here. Of the English and German Jews it may be said that at least 25 or 20 have gained more than ordinary prominence in commercial life, and some of the best business concerns have been managed by them for a good time past. The great majority, however, whilst they are engaged in mercantile pursuits, have not attained as yet positions of much importance. A large number are occupied in the clothing trade, the manufacture and sale of jewellery and watches, diamond-cutting, the hardware business, and the manufacture and sale of boots and shoes.

"Almost all the second-hand clothing stores and junk shops in Toronto are owned by Jews, but the total number of these does not exceed 58. Owing, however, to a

a peculiarity in the city by-law which requires all such establishments to be licensed, the words 'goods, wares, and merchandise,' as applied to second-hand stores, do not include goods purchased at public auction, bones, bottles, waste paper, pianos, sewing machines, or rags, and these articles, with the possible exception of pianos and sewing machines, and the addition of old iron, are precisely those which a large number of Polish and Russian Jews are busied in collecting and selling from one year's end to the other. The number of Jewish peddlers who go about the city and out among the farmers in the country is fairly large, and the quantities of old rubbish they collect and utilize is something amazing. Almost the entire rag and scrap iron trade is carried on by Jews, and of the eight pawn shops in Toronto they are the owners of four. Very few are engaged in the manufacturing industries, but a good many are contractors for the manufacture of ready-made clothing, and some have tailoring establishments of their own.

"Relative Positions.

"The Jews are scattered over all parts of the city, but there is a decided tendency towards grouping amongst the poorer members. York street is distinctively the 'Petticoat lane' of Toronto, and the south side of Queen for some few blocks is not very different from it. It is in the lower part of St. John's Ward that the largest numbers of Polish and Russian Jews have congregated. Many of them live in rear cottages, and after school hours the streets are filled with their children. No matter how poor, they manage as a rule to save a little; in most cases the amount is small, but it is generally a definite percentage of what they earn. The majority hoard their earnings, but many deposit in the banks of the city. They have been unable as yet to accumulate much property, though among the wealthy English and German Jews the holdings are considerable. A large number of Jews come here without their families; when they have saved enough they send for them, and in this way their numbers have had a steady increase for some time past.

"The greatest disadvantage to the Russian or Polish Jews is their almost entire unfamiliarity with the English tongue, and the great difficulty they find in gaining any mastery of it. In the days of their persecutions amongst other sufferings many of them were deprived of the right of obtaining an education, and the result is that even their own language is to them of little service save as a medium of immediate conversation. Education is such a novelty to the Russian and Polish Jews that they are anxious for their children to gain the advantages of it. Accordingly the latter are sent regularly to the Public schools and are kept at their books often at a considerable sacrifice to their parents. On the other hand, the language of their fathers is little used among them and promises soon to be forgotten.

"Quite different it is in the case of the German Jew, who has received a good training at home. He is careful to have his children taught the German language as well as the English, and he himself can turn it to great advantage. Education could have no more practical example of its unparalled service to mankind than is to be found in a comparison of the Russian and Polish Jews with the English and German Jews of this city. It is not in any inferiority of the intellect of the one class compared with that of the other, nor in the habits of thrift and economy which are characteristic of both, that the difference in their present position lies; it is rather almost entirely the lack of any proper educational training in the case of the former and a fairly good education in the case of the latter that their relative positions are defined. It is surely not an unfair inference to draw that taking advantage as they are of the schools of this city, the younger generation of Jews will prove to be better than their fathers before them.

"In this connection the words of Mr. Alfred D. Benjamin at the recent opening of the Jewish synagogue cannot be taken too seriously by those interested in the welfare of the city at large. 'It were, therefore,' he said, after speaking of the efforts to Anglicize the Jews and make them proud of the privileges they enjoy in this Dominion, 'It is, therefore, a thousand pities if, in consequence of the introduction of doctrinal teaching into the Public schools, as has been suggested should be done, the Jewish children should be driven thence, and we, as a body, forced, in self-defence, to demand Jewish schools. We emphatically contend that the erection of such an insurmountable barrier between creed and creed would be little less than a public calamity.'

"Their Religious Zeal.

"What has been accomplished in the cause of their religion is already too well known to need comment here. The new synagogue on Bond street so impressively dedicated a short time ago is an edifice which testifies more forcibly than words to the religious zeal of the Jewish people and to the place which they hold in the community to-day. While it is unquestionably one of the finest structures in Toronto, it is also one of the very few of the many churches in the city which are without a cent of debt. Services are held there during the morning and afternoon of every day in the week, in addition to the regular services on Saturday. A feature of importance to be noted is that the services are conducted in English. Instruction is given in Hebrew and Jewish History to the children on Saturday and Sunday. The old synagogue was on Richmond street, and there is another on the corner of Elm street and University avenue, though the congregation who worship there have not an ordained Rabbi.

"The Jewish Sunday coming on one of the busiest days of the week has pressed hardly upon some of the poorer Jews. In their efforts to work five days and live seven, they have felt the squeeze between the pressure of vigorous religious convictions and the necessary satisfaction of economic needs, but the fidelity with which most of them comply with the demands of their faith is, to say the least, heroic.

"Social Characteristics.

"Their families are usually large, and the houses of the poor are invariably small, but it is seldom, if ever, that two families are found living in the same house, or that sickness prevails to any extent among them.

"Here, again, religion has operated to affect their material condition. The 'unclean thing' is rejected by the Jew, and even to the poorest among them the custom of keeping separate sets of dishes in the 'milky' cupboard and the 'fleshy' cupboard is rigorously maintained. Moreover, the Jews are a very abstemious people. It is a great rarity to see a Jew the worse of liquor. They do not frequent the saloons, but when they drink have the beer brought to their houses, where it is shared by men, women and children alike. There are practically no criminals among them, and it is only when they quarrel among themselves that they give any trouble to the police. Very few of them are in a destitute condition, and it is seldom that they apply for relief outside their own members. They have in Toronto two benevolent societies, the one the Toronto Hebrew Benevolent Society, which receives an annual grant of \$150 from the city; and the Montefiore Ladies' Hebrew Benevolent Society. These two societies do practically all the relief work among the Jews, and their efforts are called for mostly in the case of new families who have been in the city but a short time.

"Many Jews are members of the local benevolent societies, the Masons, Oddfellows, Foresters, Knights of Pythias and the Maccabees.

"A short time ago an effort was made to establish a Jewish theatre on the corner of York and Richmond streets, and a troupe of Jewish artists came here from the United States to run for a season. The older Jews, however, did not take much interest in the venture, and the younger

did not appreciate Jewish wit or understand the jokes and allusions intended for an older generation. After a few performances the doors were closed.

"Most of the older Jewish residents have become naturalized but it cannot be said that they take a very active interest in politics, although they avail themselves of the franchise.

"Hardly any Jews are in the employ of the city; there is, however, one of their number a letter carrier in the Post-Office Department. Very few of the men are members of trades unions, chiefly because there are few unions in the trades which they follow. On the other hand, some of the most zealous advocates of unionism are Jews, and in the garment trades, one of their number in particular has been unceasing in his efforts to benefit the conditions of his fellow-workers.

"Increasing in Number.

"The Jews, on the whole, are exceedingly pleased with the liberties which they enjoy in this country. This is evidenced by the manner in which they frequently send home for their wives and families after living here a time. During the last five and six years a large number have sold what little property they may have possessed in other lands, and brought their families here. In this way, their numbers have received a continuous increase, and there is every reason to expect that the increase will continue. There are in Toronto at the present time a large number of Jews who are waiting till they accumulate enough to send for their families, and it is a fact that over a dozen families are at present on their way here. An increase from the United States is also to be looked for in the future, as in the past. It being certain that the numbers will thus increase, both from the European continent and the United States, the city cannot be too active in watching this growth, and by careful measures turn it to the advantage of the community at large. The only immediate policy which it seems practicable to adopt is to check as far as possible the tendency to group, or the formation of a foreign section, in any part of the city. Only by spreading these foreign elements are they likely to become adapted to the new surroundings and properly assimilated with the general community."

FOREIGNERS.....A FURTHER ACCOUNT

"Foreigners who Live in Toronto

"A Further Account of Residents Who Have
Come Here from Other Countries.

"Cosmopolitan Elements in the City Population.

"Social and Economic Conditions of Foreign
Residents -- A Worthy Class by whose Presence Toronto,
if Wisely Guided, may Greatly Prosper.

"In a recently published article in The Mail and Empire the problems arising out of a composite city population were outlined and a brief sketch given of the general nature of the population in Toronto, followed by an account in more or less detail of the German and Jewish elements in this city as including the great bulk of the foreigners here. It now remains to give particulars as to the other nationalities represented, and, in so doing to deal more particularly with the Italians, French, Negroes, Syrians and Chinese.

"The Sons of Italy

"The Italian colony in Toronto numbers at the present time between seven and eight hundred. Thirty years ago there were only twelve Italians in the city. It was when a demand for labourers to work upon the C.P.R. became general that the great emigration of Italians began. When the work was completed many left for the United States, others remained in Canada, and of these Toronto came in for a good share. In 1891 the number here was about 450. The present Italian population is located chiefly in St. John's Ward, and it is along Chestnut, Elm, Edward, and Agnes streets and Centre avenue that the largest numbers are to be found. In grouping so closely together they have maintained the reputation enjoyed by their countrymen in American cities, though as yet they are free from the terrible overcrowding which is evident in the Italian quarters in Chicago and New York. A few Italians will be

found on Queen street west, the north of Dufferin street, and on Mansfield avenue. As a rule, a good percentage of them are absent from the city during some months in the year. A number have been employed on the new bridge being built near Brockville by the Ottawa and New York railroad; others have recently gone to work on the railways near Hull, Muskoka, and Niagara Falls, and a good many have been employed on the Peterborough canal. These are mostly unmarried men, and whenever they can get employment on the railroads or work with the pick and shovel they leave in gangs, returning to the city when work is slack. Of the Italians who reside here permanently, about sixty have fruit and vegetable stores, and nearly 150 are employed as peddlers either with horse and wagon, pushcart, or basket. They control almost entirely the banana trade of the city, and indeed have worked up a remarkable business in that line. They have over 100 banana carts, and during one year each of three wholesale houses in the city have supplied them with from thirty to fifty thousand bunches of bananas, there being an average from eight to twelve dozen bananas on a bunch. About thirty are professional musicians, and eleven own street pianos. One of their number, by the name of Marcucci, who came here from England eight years ago, introduced the street piano, and has since that time worn out five. He is reputed to have made from ten to fifteen dollars daily when the instrument was new, but it now seldom happens that the proceeds of piano playing average over two or three dollars a day. There are three or four hand organs played by Italians, some are also engaged in the shoe trade, and others in tailor shops.

"They Have Saved Money

"It is surprising to note the amount of money which many of the Italians have made. They came here originally from the farming districts of Italy, and from near the city of Naples, often with little or no money, and now there are about half a hundred who own their own houses. Almost the entire block of well-built brick houses on the north side of Elm street between Teraulay and Elizabeth streets is owned by Italians, and where their other houses

are found they are usually the most substantial in the immediate surroundings. It is estimated that the total value of the property owned by them in Toronto is not far from half a million dollars and practically every cent of this amount has been made by them in this country. Very few, indeed, have been unable to effect a small saving; they live economically and eat chiefly macaroni, which is a cheap and nourishing food. The Post Office officials say that of the foreigners of this city the Italians have been the best depositors in the Government Savings Bank.

"Their Manner of Life

"Their families are usually large, and there is a decided tendency among them to crowd together. During the winter season there have been as many as forty or fifty Italians living in a single house on Chestnut street. Two or three families to one house is not uncommon when times are hard. This overcrowding not infrequently gives rise to trouble, and to cases of assault, but with exceptions such as this they cause the police little or no trouble. They are not always as clean as they might be, and among the navvies there are a few rough characters. Very few of the Italian women leave their homes, as the mothers object to their daughters being employed as domestics or working in shops. There being about two-thirds more men than women it is natural to find that, with the exception of a few very young girls, nearly all the women are married. Their reputation as faithful wives has seldom, if ever, been called in question.

The Italians are glad to have their children receive an education. Most of them attend St. Patrick's and St. Mary's Separate schools, though there seems to be a desire on the part of the parents to have them attend the Public schools along with other children. Education to many of the Italians is something of a novelty, and they are pleased to have opportunities, denied to themselves, taken advantage of by their children. They are mostly

Roman Catholics, and the Church has made itself strongly felt among them. This is undoubtedly the reason why the children are sent to the Separate in preference to the Public schools. The older Italians with a few exceptions know but little of the English language: their children, however, find little difficulty in acquiring it, and at the same time are able to converse in the Italian tongue.

"They have two Italian organizations, the one known as the Italian Brotherhood, Christopher Columbo, with a membership of about seventy; the other, a smaller organization, is known as the Umberto Primo society. They are great politicians, after their own fashion, and like to vote, but the majority are not capable of forming a good independent judgement. They usually agree amongst themselves as to the man most likely to be friendly to them, and then all follow on the same path. They keep pretty much to themselves and have little to do with the other nationalities. Scarcely any of them have received employment from the city and only a few are members of trades unions. They have frequently expressed their willingness to become union members, but some difficulties have as a rule attended their admission, or the continuance of their membership when once taken in. Their chief complaint is not that they are abused, but that they are not used. This is, indeed, the common complaint of many of the foreigners. If given the same chances as other men, they believe they would succeed as well, and in seeking employment they point to their past record as one which should entitle them to a fair consideration.

It is quite probable that the Italian colony here will continue to grow. The hard times have caused some to leave for the States, but where they have gone others have taken their place. Of the Italian men in Toronto now, there are between two and three hundred who have wives and families in Italy. In some cases they own a little property there, and most of them are waiting till they can earn enough to bring their relations across. It

is seldom that they return to Italy to live. They enjoy the liberty which this country affords. Another reason why more may be expected is the law, as it now stands, in the United States requiring as a guarantee of good citizenship that all immigrants must be possessed of a small though definite income before taking up residence in that country. That many may shift a little farther north and come to Canada is not so improbable that it may not be surmised.

"The Italian Interpreter.

"An account of the Italians in Toronto would not be complete without mention of Michele Besso, well known for many years as the Italian interpreter in the courts. He has been in Toronto for thirty years, has known practically every Italian who has lived in the city, and has been a careful guardian of their interests in many ways. It has been in large measure, his influence which has led many of them to become property-owners and to make a good use of the savings bank. He was the first of their number to become naturalized, and has induced many others to follow his example. Besides securing work for them in outlying districts, he has been a friend in other ways, and whatever his adversaries may have to say against him, there can be little doubt that to the Italians themselves and to the city at large he has been a true benefactor.

"The French Colony

"The total French population in Toronto does not exceed 800. The majority are found in Ward Two in the vicinity of Seaton and Sackville streets, between King and Queen. A good many reside in Parkdale, and odd ones are scattered about in other parts of the city. There are a lot of young people among them, and some of the older families have been here for forty years. Most of them are French-Canadians, there being only about half a dozen families direct from France. Strangely enough, a good many have

come here from the United States. The majority are employed in factories. One firm in this city has nearly 100 in its employ and another about 50. A few are proprietors of profitable business concerns of their own but most are mechanics. Some are engaged as hair-dressers, others as printers, tailors, and shoemakers; a few as barbers, and bookkeepers, and there are one or two doctors and a blacksmith. With few exceptions they own but little property, but a good many have effected small savings. They do not crowd in their houses and only a few live in rear cottages. During the past year scarcely any of their number have sought relief. They have a benefit society known as the St. Joseph Society which has been in existence for ten years and is now incorporated. It has a good membership, and a fair amount of money in the bank. A good many of the French are members of the secret fraternal societies and are especially strong in the Foresters, having two lodges of their own, Sacred Heart Lodge 201 and St. Joseph's Lodge. They are good citizens and give the police no trouble whatever. Almost all are naturalized and take a fair interest in political affairs. They have received practically no employment from the city or the Government. Only a very few are members of trades unions. They are almost all Roman Catholics, and in the centre of their little colony in the eastern part of the city is the Sacred Heart church, at which about 80 families worship. The services are conducted in French by Father Lamarche, who has lived among them as parish priest for nearly ten years past. The children, of which there are a large number, attend chiefly the Separate schools, either St. Mary's, St. Basil's or the Sacred Heart. A good many have continued their education in De La Salle Institute. Practically all the children speak English well, though many of their parents know but little of the language. There is scant reason to expect that their numbers will be greatly increased from either France or Lower Canada, but there is every possibility of some coming from the United States. Those who come will probably do so with the hope of getting work in some of the city factories.

"The Coloured Population

"The total coloured population in Toronto is about 800, almost the same as the French and Italians. They are scattered over different parts of the city but by far the largest numbers are grouped together in St. John's Ward. Some have been induced to go to the suburbs on account of cheaper rents and better sanitary conditions, and others, who are engaged as porters in the railway trains, have moved to Parkdale, where they find it more convenient to live. The majority are housed on Chestnut and Elizabeth streets, and on Centre avenue; some of them live in the rear cottages, but most have their houses facing on the street.

"The older generation of negroes are escaped slaves who came here before the war, and have remained since. It will be remembered that negroes came to this country in large numbers during the days of slavery, but many returned when assured of their freedom. Some remained, however, and of these, Toronto, Hamilton, and Chatham came in for a good share. There are possibly not more than fifteen living here now of those who did not return, and like their numbers, their days are getting fewer. The younger generation were mostly born in Canada. The greatest misfortune they have experienced was caused by almost total cessation of employment by city hotels of coloured help, and since that time there have been many negroes whose employment has been more or less uncertain. Of such as are employed a good number are in the Pullman car service, possibly more are barbers, four are letter carriers, some are waiters, and restaurant keepers, others day labourers, and among those in special lines of business are a photographer, an ice-merchant, and a coal merchant. A large number do odd jobs of one sort and another, and possibly one-third are without steady employment. The women among them do a good deal of work, and they seem to have better opportunities of employment than the men. Quite a number are engaged as house-servants, others do washing and laundry work, and a few are engaged in dress-making and sewing at home. They have not saved much money though a few own a little property in the city. It is seldom that much crowding is found among them, and taking them together, they must be regarded as very peaceable citizens. A few become troublesome at times, but, as a

rule, the negro is inclined to be friendly with his neighbours, and congenial to those whom he meets. They take earnestly to education, and are fond of reading. The children attend the Public schools, and hold their own with other pupils.

"Religious and Civil Life

"In religion they are becoming less emotional though not less zealous than they have always been. They have two churches of their own, the British Episcopal and the African Methodist-Episcopal; they also had a coloured Baptist church on the corner of Queen and Victoria streets, but it has recently been abandoned. A good many attend the small missions in St. John's Ward. Some of their number belong to the Masons, the Oddfellows and the Knights of Pythias. They generally avail themselves of the privileges of the franchise when occasion offers, but as a body have taken little interest in municipal affairs. They are proud, however, that the citizens of one of the wards have seen well to elect a coloured citizen to the office of alderman, and to give repeated expressions of their confidence in him.

"The coloured people were strong in their opposition to the Sunday cars, some from religious motives, and others because of their opposition to monopolies of any kind. They are for the most part heartily in accord with the union plan of organizing labour, but on account of their small numbers have not taken a prominent part in it.

"The Colour Prejudice

"The coloured man has proved himself a good citizen, and on this account it seems a pity that most of the young men among their number find it necessary to leave for the other side. They complain that it is difficult for them to secure the positions here which they are desirous and capable of filling, and that they have really been forced to leave. In the United States their labour and ability seems to be more appreciated. They hesitate before seeking positions here, as they claim to find the white man is almost universally favoured.

They are nonetheless conscious of the efforts made by some to gain them a fair recognition, and where such have been made their gratitude is universally sincere. Especially were they grieved when one of their number, after having practised for six months in the band of a city regiment, and after having been granted his uniform, was refused admission when about to be sworn in and given, as a reason, that he might look 'like a black horse among a lot of white ones.' If, they say, war should ever come, their service would be required, and it cannot be denied, that there is truth in the statement. Possibly no better means could be suggested of securing their loyalty to the British Crown than by their admission to the troops, and certainly the desire to be so admitted was a true mark of good citizenship.

"Other Foreign Elements

"The small Syrian settlement, near the north-end of Chestnut street, aids materially in extending the reputation of the Ward as a foreign quarter. Between fifty and sixty Syrians have found their way to this city, some of whom have been here for seven years. They are not as satisfactory in many respects as the other foreigners here. The men are lazy and inclined to be dirty and quarrelsome. They allow their wives to do most of the work, and some of them are known to have practically purchased them with this object in view. The women are in the habit of selling small trinkets; they go into the country, often with a baby in their arms, and buy clothing of the farmers, which is sold on their return to the city. Between the amount so obtained and the proceeds of the petty sales, a single woman has been known to clear as much as fifty dollars in three weeks. Very few of them can speak English intelligently, and all seem to have an aversion to becoming naturalized. The statement has been authenticated that one of their number was able to return to his native land with nearly \$3,000; and his return was the incentive to others to come in search of gold. They save practically every cent they make and some of them are reputed to be worth quite a sum. They crowd together, often in a disgraceful

condition, and where there have been children among them they have not hesitated to thrust them, if possible, upon the public by gaining admission for them to the charitable institutions of the city. Their numbers have recently been increased by more women of their race coming among them, and they have also in their midst a Catholic Syrian priest. They mix chiefly with the Italians, but hold aloof from the other nationalities.

"The Chinese Settlement

"The only other foreign element in the city of much importance is the Chinese and their position is somewhat peculiar. There are no women among them at the present time, though once there were three. The total male population numbers a little over sixty. They live in all parts of the city, and with the exception of one Chinese grocery store on Yonge street, are all engaged in the laundry business. Some of them have been here for twenty-six years, and since 1891 their numbers have doubled. A good many of them have come and gone in the interval. Most of them live in groups of three or four in the small shops which are used as laundries. They own no property but some have small earnings stored away, and a few keep their money in the bank. Some keep to the foreign dress, but the majority prefer to dress like ordinary citizens. Very few take advantage of the franchise. Occasionally they get into trouble through gambling, and some are known to use opium. They have been taken in hand by members of city churches and small classes have been formed at Cooke's church, the Metropolitan church, and the central Y.M.C.A. where they learn to read and write English, and are taught something of the Scriptures as well. A very few are familiar with the English tongue, but even those best informed do not risk a dependence on it but keep to Chinese methods in their system of payments and accounts. Their ages average from 26 to 50, the majority being between 35 and 40. They are but little trouble to the city, and while their numbers are small are more of a convenience than a nuisance. What they might become should their numbers be materially increased is a question open to great diversity of opinion.

"In addition to the foreign nationalities already described, there are also a few Swiss, Dutch, Scandinavians, and Spanish scattered in different parts.

"Do Not Seek Charity

"Taking a broad and comprehensive view of the character and condition of the foreign elements in Toronto as briefly outlined in the facts already related, it must be admitted that the city is fortunate in having secured on the whole such a thrifty, honest, and industrious class as those to which the majority belong. As already seen, there are not an inconsiderable number among the larger representations who hold positions among the leading merchants and manufacturers of the city. Others have been no less prominent in different phases of business and civic life. On the whole, they have been prosperous and their prosperity has been shared in by the city at large. Though a good many are in humble circumstances, there are practically none who are destitute, and in applying to their condition the words of an old Greek philosopher, that disgrace lies not in the existence of poverty, but in the want of endeavour to avoid it, there are very few who would come into condemnation. Facts are always louder than words, and in this connection statistics taken from the private records of the city relief office give indisputable evidence of the superior position of the foreigners over the English-speaking peoples in the matter of seeking relief. During 1896 out of over 1,300 persons who applied at the City Hall for relief only 65 belonged to nationalities other than English-speaking, and of these a good percentage were persons passing through the city, and who had never taken up residence here. Of the total monthly averages for the past two-thirds of the present year, which were respectively 157, 147, 148, 85, 81, 99, 107, and 123, the numbers of foreigners in the list respectively were 2, 4, 7, 2, 6, 7, 6, 5. These figures should be kept in mind by persons who are inclined to heap wholesale denunciations upon the foreign people. Toronto has not received what some

of the American cities appear to have 'the off-scourings of the earth,' nor is there reason to expect that with salutary safeguards it will ever have the problem in such a menacing shape as that shown to be the case by American statisticians themselves.

"Good Moral Record

"Nor are there among the foreigners many who belong to the criminal class. The city magistrate and the police without exception agree in saying that the foreigners in Toronto cause them little or no trouble, and, indeed, they are borne out in the statement of the chief constable. During 1896 the total number of Germans apprehended or summoned by the city police was 80, the total number of coloured people was also 80, and the number of all the other foreigners, with the exception of the English-speaking, was 196, and this was against a total number of 8, 326. It should be remembered, too, that these figures include possible repetition of offences by the same individuals. By far the most troublesome set to the police are the Canadians themselves, and they are followed by the English and Irish.

"The School Attendance

"The school inspector says without reserve that the children of foreign parents are good scholars, attend regularly, and cause little or no trouble to the teaching staff. This is, indeed, the most hopeful sign. The Public school may be expected to do more in the coming generation than any other secular institution, and on this account it is very gratifying to record that the inspector and those under his control are watching with special care the children of foreign parents, and that they receive for the most part the hearty cooperation of the parents themselves. As an instance of the way in which the foreign children are working in common with those of English parentage, and gaining the benefit of a good education, the following figures may be given as taken in one day from those in actual

attendance at a group of Public schools within a short distance of each other. The schools visited were those on Louisa, John, Victoria, Elizabeth, York, and McCaul streets, and the foreign children in attendance at each, respectively, were as follows:- Russian Jews - 52, 11, 10, 8, 36, 43; Polish Jews - 26, 4, 3, 4, 8, 2; Austrian Jews - 13, 6, 0, 6, 5, 5; Germans - 18; Negroes - 18, 3, 2, 8, 2, 27. This is a very creditable showing and augurs well for time to come.

"With the children the hope of the future lies, and if, as present indications are, they get the advantage of a fair education, and are kept in proper moral surroundings, there is no reason why they should not be, as many of their parents already are, the best of citizens. The city will have to watch closely its crowded centres, for, as already pointed out, it is in the crowded parts that most of the foreigners have congregated. Whatever is done for them in the respect of better housing or otherwise will be for the profit of the city at large.

"It need hardly be again repeated that the foreign element should be spread out wherever possible over the whole city, and prevented from becoming communities by themselves. This is the surest guarantee that their interests will not become self-centred, but be rather those of the common good.

"Statistics Necessary

"One more point remains. There is great need for the keeping of proper statistics in regard to the foreign population. They may be of little immediate service, but must prove almost invaluable as time goes on. Almost all the public institutions at which proper statistics should be kept have been wanting in this regard. The police group all foreigners with the exception of Germans and coloured, under one head, and the same thing is done at the City hall. In the Post-Office Savings bank there is absolutely no record kept of the nationalities of the

depositors and even the Public schools have neglected this as well. With practically no addition in trouble or expense a few columns might be added to the books of these and other institutions, and the records kept in complete detail. Few persons have ever fully appreciated the immense value of correct and adequate statistical information, and the present instance of neglect is only another evidence of the fact.

"While there is nothing which will be of such service to those to come as a supply of reliable data on which right and proper estimates can be based, no loss is more certain to be keenly felt than one of this nature, which, once omitted, can ever be supplied."

King examined public school attendance of Jewish children: In the Louisa St. school he found 52 Russian Jewish children, 26 Polish Jewish children and 13 Austrian Jewish. In John St. school he found 11 Russian Jewish children, 4 Polish Jewish and 6 Austrian Jewish. In the Victoria school he found 10 Russian Jewish and 3 Polish Jewish children. In the Elizabeth St. school, 8 Russian Jewish, 4 Polish Jewish and 6 Austrian Jewish. In the York St. school, 36 Russian Jewish, 8 Polish Jewish and 5 Austrian Jewish. In the McCaul St. school, 43 Russian Jewish, 8 Polish Jewish and 5 Austrian Jewish -- for a total of 248 -- this out of a Jewish population of ca. 2360.

What is not clear from many informational sources of the time is the term Polish Jew, especially when used beside the terms Russian and Austrian, since there was no political entity called Poland at the time, and Russian and Austrian geography included areas later (or earlier) incorporated into Poland.

He does not seem to have found (or looked for) Jewish children of Canadian origin or English origin.

GUROFSKY AND MULOCK

On Oct. 2, the day the third was on the streets, Gurofsky was able to write to the Hon. Mr. Borden, Minister of Militia (Public Archives of Canada, King Papers, Pp. 492-93),

"In the newspapers of last week I read that the Government of which you are a member had decided for the future that in all contracts for supplies clauses shall be inserted protecting labor, and I might say here this action is a most commendable one and meets with the approval of the people excepting perhaps a few contractors and sweaters who profited largely by the old system. Am led to understand that you have called for tenders for a large supply of clothing for the use of your department. As chief executive officer for Canada, of the United Garment Workers of Canada and the U.S., 'one of the trades that has suffered most under the old conditions', on behalf of the Canadian locals I would ask you to insert the labor clauses in the specifications for the supplies for your department. As one who is familiar with the conditions and necessities of the clothing industry I would be pleased to advise your department what clauses you would require in the specifications to adequately protect the worker and insure to the Government that the wishes of the people as voiced by you have been carried out if you would desire it. I would thank you if you could send me the names of the various contractors, time when contract was entered into, what garments contracted for, the price of each garment; the total amount of contracts from 1890 to date for the Militia, P.O. officials, Intercolonial Ry employees and any other officials the government supply with garments."

He also wrote a similar letter to the Prime Minister and to Postmaster General Mulock the same day, Oct. 2. (King Papers, Pp. 494-95),

" As chief Canadian officer and member of the G.E.B. of the U.G. Workers of Canada & U.S., on behalf of this organization and the Canadian locals in particular, I thank you personally and commend the action of the government of which you are a member for their action in inserting a clause in the specifications for mail bags that will ensure to the workers a fair day's wage for a fair day's work under proper sanitary conditions, and do away with the sweater and middle man who have too long fattened upon the workingmen; which action speaks in thousands of times louder tone than the words of friendship for us uttered in times past by those in authority about wanting to better the condition of the masses of the working people in Canada, and resting content with the mere utterance of words not followed up by actions. As our trade has been one of the chief sufferers past through unscrupulous contractors and sweaters, this move on the part of the government will mean a great deal towards bettering the condition of the thousand of men and women employed in the Clothing industry in our country if the government will ^{see} that the contractors live up to their agreements. I trust, sir, that you will use your influence with the Hon. Mr. Borden to have the same clauses you inserted in the mail bag contract inserted in the government clothing contract which tenders have been called for. Sir, I trust that this action in the interest of the working people by the government of which you are a member is only the beginning of much needed legislation for a class that has been too long neglected, and if done will, I feel, satisfied, cause many old time conservative workingmen like myself and citizens in general think perhaps they have been neglecting their interests in having opposed the election of liberals to govern our country and cause them not to make the same error again."

The prime minister acknowledged Gurofsky's letter.

Mr. Mulock replied to Gurofsky on Oct. 11, 1897 (Public Archives of Canada, King Papers, Pp. 496-97),

"Permit me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2nd inst; and to express my great pleasure to learn that the action of the Dominion Government towards suppressing the sweating system and securing the payment of 'a fair day's pay for a fair day's work' in all Government contracts and their performance under proper sanitary conditions meets with your hearty approval.

"With regard to your hope that the conditions already incorporated in tenders for contracts in this Department might be adopted by the Minister of Militia and the Government generally, I would assure you that my action is not an isolated one, but that the rest of my colleagues intend wherever it is possible to do so and apply the same principle in connection with contracts in their Departments. From persual of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's remarks at the Banquet of the Board of Trade in Toronto on the 6th October you will, I hope, have observed that the Government had adopted the principle in question, and we trust that our example will influence the actions of other Governments, Local and Municipal, and also citizens in their private dealings with each other. In this way as public opinion becomes educated we hope to promote the interests of the Industrial classes of Canada. Would you have any objection to my giving your letter of the 2nd inst. to the Press?"

Gurofsky continued to press on. He replied to the Postmaster General (Archives, P. 498),

"I beg to acknowledge receipt of your reply of the 11th to my letter to you of the 2nd. As I honestly and sincerely meant every word I wrote I have no objection to your using my letter in any way you desire. I would be greatly obliged to you if you could furnish me with the following information --:

"Which firms have had contracts with the government since 1890, for garments on any branch of the government services. I.E. Military, P.O. officials, R'y employees and any other officials that are supplied with clothing by the government. How much was charged for each garment. What was the total amount of contract -- number of garments and what was paid for each. Who has at present any contracts and when do they expire. Also any tenders being called for at present for any supply of garments."

J. O'Donoghue of the Trades and Labor Council of Toronto, wrote King on October 28, 1897: "The Gov't made the stroke of a life-time through the wise, tactical and courageous action of Hon. Wm. Mulock."

King noted in his diary,

"I rec'd a letter of congrat. from O'Donoghue which I prize greatly. It is from a labor leader. I prize it more almost than any others I have rec'd. Rec'd letter from Maclean and one from father. Notice in Star, I did not care for." (Diary)

A week later Sir Wilfrid Laurier announced that similar steps would be taken throughout the government service. The change was applauded by reformers throughout Canada, it received newspaper support in the large cities, and its far reaching consequences were indicated which saw in it hope for more humane working conditions.

King might well look back on that Sunday in September when he talked with Mulock as a 'happy day', for few young men could point to so substantial an achievement.

before they were twenty-three years of age. The day proved, indeed, to be one of the most decisive in his life. The investigation then launched was to take him into the federal civil service and eventually to open the door to a political career. King was quick to anticipate the possible political rewards of championing the cause of the poor, to realize how his desire to serve humanity could be united with his desire to promote his own future. Thus in November, when the Government's anti-sweating measures were freely discussed in the by-election in Toronto, he wrote to his parents:

" 'Surely I have the right to feel for once in my life that strange and magnificent conception of being in a degree the 'power behind the throne' -- this is not claiming too much I hope. This has turned out to be the first influential part I have played in the history of Canadian politics. It is particularly interesting because of the class on whose behalf the measure has been taken.... Now that a contest is being fought out in large measure on an issue which will be typical of the great majority for coming years, I have thoughts again of an old ambition -- one I used to feel as a very little child -- that Canadian politics was a splendid field for work. I sometimes hope that in future years I may be able (to) represent a cause which I love as none other, an upholder of the rights of the many against the privileges of the few.... The average politician lives on the surface of things, he is but the crest on the wave, the real strong force is often hidden and never known. I intend to be a politician at least to this extent, that where I can exert a force for good I intend to do it, and if the men of the hour are delighted with the spray which is soon dispersed, I gain infinite satisfaction from knowing the force which put the whole in motion.... It is better to be a power, though you be never known, than to be a dancing puppet, a mere sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal.... This it seems to me is where the economist plays his part. He must, if he be honest,... get nearer to the truth & know better the plan of action than those who carry it out.'

The warmth -- and the significance -- of the King relationship with Mulock were dramatically demonstrated within a few months.

"TORONTO AND THE SWEATING SYSTEM"

"An Investigation of the Matter by a Representative of the Mail and Empire. Statements by the Contractors and Workers. Dangers which may Arise and Evils which already Exist Clearly Described -- the Warnings of other Large Cities.

"There is possibly no phase of industrial employment so frequently spoken of and so little understood by those who are fondest of treating of it as the sweating system.

"The term itself has something about it which savours brutal oppression, and has been used in the sense to denote all manner of tyranny, and often a condition of depravity. The term 'sweating' when properly used, denotes a condition of labour in which a maximum amount of work in a given time is performed for a minimum wage, and in which the ordinary rules of health and comfort are disregarded. It is inseparably associated with contract work, and is intensified by sub-contracting in shops conducted in homes.

"There is no reason why the term should be limited in its application to any particular trade except that some trades lend themselves more readily to the sub-contract system than others. Hence it is that although the sweating system exists in a number of occupations, it is the garment-making industry (comprising men's clothing, ladies' cloaks and suits, undergarment, and shirtmaking branches) that has given it its real significance.

"Garments lend themselves readily to such a system of manufacture. Sewing is a branch preeminently suited for the home, and a coat or blouse is as easily manufactured there as in a factory. Merely working at home on some article of manufacture is not in itself so objectionable, it is that the rate of wages paid for the labour is, as a rule, so low when the sweating system has come into vogue that work from early morn till late at night will scarcely suffice to procure the necessaries of a bare existence.

But even this is not the worst feature of the evil. The combination of living apartment and factory, and the employment of outsiders therein, constitute the detrimental features which in time become a menace to the community.

"Here is the process in its simplicity and detail. A large wholesale house will undertake the manufacture of ready-made clothing. A quantity of cloth is bought at wholesale rates. It is put in the hands of the designer who designs the styles of clothing for the season's trade. He is usually also the foreman, and controls the letting out of the work to the contractors and other individuals who may apply. These latter, on learning that the house has a quantity of garments which it wants manufactured, apply to the foreman, who makes a contract with them to make up so many articles at a stipulated price.

"Now the persons stipulating for the contract may do one of two things. They can, in the first place, take the articles home and work individually or with the assistance of their families upon them, or they may engage a number of hands to work for them, and take the garments to a shop, where, with the aid of the hired help, their manufacture is completed. In the first case, owing to the fact that one individual has to do nearly all the work upon each garment, only a very few can be completed in the allotted time, and the amount realized in consequence is very small. In the second case, a large number of garments are manufactured owing as a rule to the minute subdivision of labour, but the contractor desirous of realizing a profit much above the running expenses of his shop, pays those in his employ a sum which frequently is below a living wage.

"In a large shop there may be engaged in the manufacture of a single coat no less than 16 different individuals, each of whom works at a special line, and, after completing one stage in the process of manufacture, passes the garment on to the next who is skilled in his line, and so on, till the article is completed. But there is frequently another stage. The contractor as a rule does not have the button-hole making and finishing or 'felling' done in the shop, but sub-

contracts this work, or it is returned to the foreman of the wholesale house who contracts for that part again. The 'felling' and button-hole making are usually done by women at their homes, and very often the whole family.

"Under such an arrangement it is easily seen that, aided by competition, prices and wages must continue to fall and the workday be lengthened until the limit of human endurance is reached. This limit, it seems, has been touched through the task system, an arrangement in the coat-making branch by which the contractor and the employes engage in a sort of competition, under which the contractor agrees with his employes to solicit work from the warehouses at a figure perhaps refused by another, provided they (the set of hands) are willing to do a certain task for a 'day's work' for so much wages, even though it takes two or three days to do the specified 'day's work'. This set, of course, can work as many hours in a day as it chooses, the only limit being that of endurance."

The official documents are reticent on the ethnic composition of the sweating men and women and of those who directed them. And there are few documents from syndicalist or other sources. The considerable Jewish immigration had not found its voice.

In Quebec we know that the countryside workers were French Canadian and Catholic. As the mass production developed from native stock Canadian into a field for immigrant labor, Jews entered the field as workers, sub-contractors and principals. One of the earliest Jewish names we have in management is that of Mark Workman, and some moments of his entry into the competitive field are on the record.

The name of Gurofsky indicates a strong Jewish labor presence, but the record of Jewish unionist activity is skimpy.

However, when a Jewish press appears in Montreal one of its first editorials, in the Eagle of Oct. 6, 1908 speaks of Jewish needle trade unions with 1,000 members from the men's clothing industry and hundreds in the women's dress trade.

Unionism then was not identical with the 1978 institution. The editorial is concerned with the phenomenon of summer indifference. Customarily, during the warm months attendance and membership falls; the Eagle reminds its readers that it is now October.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

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THE BOND WITH MULOCK

These articles were no passing journalistic incident in the life of the young man.

R.M. Dawson points out that dominion jurisdiction did not grant the federal government the right to enact laws in this area; but it had an undoubted right to interest itself in the conditions of labor as the purchaser of supplies or as the primary contractor who could insist on its own terms being followed in any contracts in which it was concerned. In these capacities the Postmaster General was able to intervene by the anti-sweating measures.

As King told the story later in his Industry and Humanity (Toronto, 1918, P. 70), William Mulock, later Sir William, soon to be the first Minister of Labor in the Laurier government (1900-1905), Chief Justice of the Exchequer Division of the Supreme Court of Ontario and Chief Justice of Ontario (1923-36), "was Postmaster General at the time. He was a member of the Liberal Administration formed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier after the General Elections of 1896. He resided in Toronto, and was in the habit of coming from Ottawa to Toronto at the week-ends. Mr. Mulock and my father were friends. Both for many years had been members of the senate of the University of Toronto. I thought the conditions of which I had knowledge should be brought to the Postmaster General's attention. In the University association there was a bond on which I felt I could rely. I decided, at all events, not to publish the article on sweating till the Government had had its chance.

"On the ensuing Sunday afternoon, my father and I called on Mr. Mulock. It was even better than I had anticipated. The Postmaster General walked the floor like a caged lion, and wanted to know what should be done to remedy immediately such an abuse of public patronage. I suggested that conditions might be inserted in public contracts to ensure to the Labor employed a minimum wage which would be a fair compensation for the work performed; that wherever work for the Government was being executed, the premises should be open to inspection; and that sub-contracting likely to lead to sweating on Government contracts should be prohibited. Mr. Mulock asked me to write out the conditions there and then, and to meet him the following morning at the offices of the firm holding the contract with his Department. He said he would see that matters were so altered as to give to labor conditions a place in existing and all future contracts of the Post Office Department. He was as good as his word."

The connection with the Government which he thus established was never broken.

King's year at Harvard was formative and interesting for him -- and as interesting for his biographer and for the historians of Jewry and Canada.

As so often happens in a man's or woman's first absence from home, and particularly in a learning situation when a person's opening to ideas and conclusions are deliberate, King was tested in his prior philosophy, Christian faith, loyalties and resolutions.

In a new environment he was encountering new teachers, new friends, new authorities, making judgments and being judged -- all this while homesick, far from affluent, and carrying with him older loyalties and obligations even moral engagements. Among his minute-by-minute experiences and acts during those "cloudy days" was a basic love experience. This intimate emotional relationship, far from immature, was frustrated by his family. The consequences of this failing weakness are in the realm of speculation.

In this decisive emotional, religious and paedagogic context King's interests in what he had witnessed of the Jewish vocational reality did not fade.

Armed with Smith's letter of introduction, King proceeded to Harvard late in Sept. 1897 and handed the letter to Prof. Ashley the day of his arrival.

Two days after his arrival he was seeking out a Boston tailor (Sept. 29, 1897) and planned to go through some sweat shops. The same evening he went to Prospect Union where "I gave impressions of Hull House, but really devoted my time to explaining what I believe the true relat'n of men to work & students to labor. There were over 200 men present & they frequently interrupted with applause & gave me a very strong round at the close. I spoke fearlessly & earnestly. Many of the men spoke to me at the close of the address; one offered to show me thro' his factory; another sd. it was the best he had ever heard & that I would be known well wherever I went. -- Really those fellows spoke confidently & as tho' they welcomed & trusted me. I could see that I had won the way to their hearts -- Oh that I may help them yet."

It was in Boston he received his second article on the foreigners on Oct. 6, 1897.

For about a week King wondered about a topic for a thesis. It was Prof. Taussig who recommended The Sweating System. (Oct. 7).

He took pleasure in the article in the Stratford Beacon which he received on Oct. 20, praising his article in the Mail and Empire very highly.

Young King found himself impecunious in the academic paradise of Harvard, forced at one time to sleep on a floor with only two overcoats and borrowed blankets for a bed. Providentially King Sr. was able to write him that the Postmaster General had secured for him a \$100 advance on the sweatshop investigation.

Action came remarkably swiftly, well before the complete publication of the articles. Indeed, it had gone far within a few days after the appearance of the first article. Mr. Mulock wrote King with specific, formal instructions on behalf of the government.

Indeed, in complying with Mulock's invitation to prepare a report (Return to an Order of the House of Commons, dated the 18th April, 1898, for a copy of the report of W.L. Mackenzie King respecting the manufacture of militia clothing in Canada. By order. R.W. Scott, Secretary of State. issued as Report to the Honourable the Postmaster General on the Methods Adopted in Canada in the Carrying out of Government Clothing Contracts by W.L. Mackenzie King. Ottawa Government Printing Bureau, 1898, 29p.) The report is dated Toronto, Jan. 5, 1898. But King was studying at Harvard at the time.

Prof. Taussig suggested to King on Jan. 10, 1898 that he report to the seminar on his work for the Canadian government. By chance King had received his copy of the report that very day and he gave it to Taussig. On the 13th he sent it off to Mulock. "I trust that it may be the means of doing some good to others." (Diary, Jan. 10, 12 and 13, 1898)

King followed this three days later with a confidential letter to Mulock with names re report. (Diary, Jan. 16 and 19, 1898)

Taussig thought that it was a "creditable" work. King did read the report to the seminar on Jan. 24. On the 27th, "In the afternoon I wrote to Laschinger, Mr. Mulock's private secry., asking him to add some lines to what I had to say on Profits, addit'ns made as a result of Monday's criticism & which I shld. have had in before. They are not a new discovery, but I was guilty of an omission which might cause misconception."

THE REPORT ON CLOTHING CONTRACTS

King recalled, in the first words of his report,

"In accordance with the instructions contained in your communication to me dated 21st September, 1897, I have now the honour to submit a report of the results of my investigations into the methods heretofore adopted in Canada in the carrying out of Government clothing contracts. This investigation was first entered upon during the summer of 1897, in connection with certain subjects of economic study in which I was then engaged, but the inquiry was not pursued in detail until the receipt of your communication just referred to. In this communication, as you may remember, you stated, that it having been intimated to you that the 'sweating system,' with other objectionable conditions, had accompanied for many years the manufacture of uniforms for post office officials, the militia, the mounted police, &c., you were desirous of ascertaining to what extent, if any, such information was well founded, with a view to considering whether the public interest did not demand that future contracts should contain stipulations securing the performance of such contracts in a manner free from all such objectionable features. In compliance with your request for a report on the whole matter, and acting on the directions contained in your communication, I afterwards extended the scope of my investigation so as to embrace the cities of Montreal, Toronto and Hamilton, in which most of the Government contracts, during the past ten years, have been executed.

I visited each of those cities personally and made careful inquiries as to the actual methods by which the various contracts had been carried out, the places where and the conditions under which the work was done, the persons employed and their mode of employment, the wages and the prices paid, etc., etc. For this purpose I sought and obtained interviews with the sub-contractors and wage-earners, and procured from them the facts and information generally which are embodied in this report and which, I have every reason to believe, are perfectly trustworthy.

"As you can well understand, the conduct of such an investigation was attended with considerable difficulty. Apart from the time and trouble involved in discovering reliable sources of information, the information itself, when imparted, had to be scrutinized with care and verified, as far as possible, in every material particular. Not having authority to compel testimony or statements of any kind, I was necessarily dependent upon voluntary evidence, which was given, in many cases, with great reluctance. The facts thus disclosed are none the less valuable, and may possibly be regarded as giving additional significance and weight to the conclusions arrived at. For obvious reasons, I did not feel at liberty to interrogate any of the Government contractors. As the result proved, this was scarcely necessary, as in no instance did I find that the clothing which was the subject of contract had been made up entirely upon the premises of the firms which were awarded the work. In every instance the system of sub-contracting prevailed."

Then King's report proceeds,

"This system of sub-contracting took one of three forms: (a) The cloth, already cut, was given out by the Government contractor to the sub-contractor who, in return, employed hands to work in his shop, which was unconnected in any way with his residence; or (b) the cloth so cut was given out by the Government contractor to a sub-contractor who, in return, employed hands to work in his own residence, part of which was utilized as the workshop; or (c) the cloth so cut was given out by the Government contractor to individuals to be made up by them in their homes, and in the making up of which only members of the family were, as a rule, engaged. All three methods were employed by most of the firms. In the last two cases (b and c) it was difficult to discover the homes of the persons who had been engaged in the work. This was more particularly the case in Montreal where many of the garments were made up in the French-Canadian villages, some of which are many miles distant from the city. In the first case (a) it was no less difficult to find the sub-contractors. The old firms no longer having the Government contracts, the work of the sub-contractors had been discontinued, and some of the sub-contractors had left the city for other parts of the country. Moreover, as all of the contracts investigated were let in past years, it was not easy to seek out the employees of the sub-contractors, namely, the men, women or girls who had actually executed the work required on the clothing. I was able, nevertheless, to meet most of the sub-contractors, to see personally a large number of their employees, to visit a good many of the homes in which clothing under the Government contracts had been made, and to ascertain from the men, women and children engaged in the work the prices paid for the garments which they made, or the wages received for the services rendered. From some of the sub-contractors I was able to procure but little information; from others I received practically all that was desired. The same is true of their employees, and of the men and women who worked in their own homes. In some cases I was shown books, receipts and vouchers corroborative of individual statements. Of the evidence gathered in this way I have, in this report, discarded everything which was at all doubtful, and have confined myself only to statements which were either corroborated or verified from independent sources. This must be my excuse, if any be necessary, for the brevity of the report, and for its lack of completeness in some matters of detail. I present only such facts as can be established, if need be, by the testimony of the parties concerned.

"You will observe that the names of those who have furnished information are omitted. There are obvious reasons why the identity of the informants should not be publicly disclosed. The fear of instant dismissal from employment was given by many as the sole reason for their unwillingness to furnish the facts, and the same or a similar feeling undoubtedly accounted for the reluctance shown by the others. The dread of their employers, entertained by men and women alike, was in many instances distressing. It was only, in the majority of cases, upon the distinct assurance that the information given would not be used to the prejudice of the parties giving it, but had as its object the bettering of their industrial condition, that the information was obtained. Feeling that faith must be kept with all of my informants I have, as you will notice, suppressed the names. But in order that the Government may be satisfied that the statements upon which the report is based are authentic, I submit a private list of the names and addresses of my informants, consecutively numbered, so that by referring, in any particular case, to the number indicated, the sources of information, and the authenticity of the statements made, may be clearly traced. This list is, of course, confidential, and is for the information of the Government only.

"As my inquiry was particularly directed towards ascertaining whether or not the 'sweating system,' with other objectionable conditions, had accompanied the manufacture of Government clothing, I may here state what I believe to be the correct meaning of that term, in order that it may be clear that I do not place an interpretation of my own on the facts in question. As I understand it, the term 'sweating system' is specifically used to describe a condition of labour in which a maximum amount of work, in a given time, is performed for a minimum wage, and it may be added, as a general thing, under conditions in which the ordinary rules of health and comfort are disregarded. It is almost invariably associated with contract work, and it is intensified by sub-contracting in shops conducted in homes. Whether these conditions have existed in the manufacture of Government clothing will appear from the facts and circumstances connected with, or incident to, the performance of the contracts, which I shall now present in detail.

"I.-- The Methods Employed.

"For a period of over ten years past, and, in fact, until within a year or so ago, certain firms in Montreal were awarded large contracts for the manufacture of Government clothing for the militia and mounted police. Similar contracts were let to a firm in Toronto, and also to a firm in Hamilton which had, in addition, a large contract for the supply of clothing for the post office letter carriers. With respect to all these contracts by the firms in question the system of sub-contracting, as already described, was resorted to. In no case did it appear that the Government contractor had the clothing manufactured on his own premises, or even in such a way as to be subject to his immediate supervision. With the exception of the cutting of the cloth, which is done in most cases almost entirely by machinery, and the making of the buttonholes and, in some cases, the putting on of the buttons, in both of which processes machines are also used, the whole work of manufacture was carried on in places not under the control or supervision of the Government contractors. In the making of practically all of the tunics of the militia and mounted police, the work was done in shops owned by sub-contractors, who had agreed with the Government contractor to make up the goods at a specified price or sum. Practically all of the riding breeches for the artillery, cavalry and mounted infantry were made up in the same way. The trousers, however, some of the tunics, and many of the great coats, in the making of which less skill is required, were let out direct to women in their homes to be made up at so much apiece. In the case of the clothing of the post office letter carriers, the overcoats and tunics were made in his shop by a sub-contractor, while the trousers were made by women in their own homes. Wherever a sub-contractor was given the work he, in turn, employed a number of hands to work for him. A few of these -- very few, in fact -- were men; by far the largest number were women and girls. In several instances the sub-contractor was a woman. Wherever the work was given out to persons in their homes it was generally women who were employed. In some cases the different members of the

family assisted in the sewing, and in a great many cases, one, two, three or more strangers, usually young women or girls, were brought from the neighbourhood and paid a small sum for their services by the week or piece. It was no uncommon thing for young women and boys to give their services gratis for a certain time to the sub-contractor, either in the home or the shop, and thus serve a species of apprenticeship on the supposed condition of learning the trade. Others began the work, or continued it, at the rate of a few cents a day. There were instances also where, after serving in this way for a certain period, the workers were discharged at the expiration of their term of so-called apprenticeship. So far, therefore, as the general method adopted in the manufacture of Government clothing are concerned, it would appear that they were carried out almost entirely on the sub-contracting plan, that practically none of the clothing was made upon the premises of the Government contractor, that the latter exercised no immediate supervision over the work, and that, in fact, by far the greatest part of the Government clothing was made by women and girls in their homes or in the shops as the hired hands of sub-contractors.

"II.-- Wages and Prices.

(A) -- The Contracts in Montreal.

"During the past ten years contracts on Government clothing were let to four different firms in Montreal. Two of these contracts were comparatively small, but the other two were among the largest awarded by the Government. They comprised practically all the kinds of uniform clothing required for the militia and mounted police. In no instances that I could discover were the garments made up entirely on the premises of the Government contractors. The heavy cavalry great coats, and some of the military tunics and riding breeches were made by sub-contractors working in their shops. Many of the great coats, for example, those for the infantry, and some of the tunics and trousers were made up by women in their homes, partly in the city itself, but principally in the neighbouring villages. The making up of the cavalry great coats was let by the firm which received the contract to a sub-contractor who agreed to

make them up for one dollar each. He received the cloth already cut and also the thread, but was required to do all the sewing and pressing in the manufacture of the coat, including the work on the linings, pockets, a large cape, buttons, buckles, hooks and eyes, &c. The making of the button-holes was alone excepted, this being done by machines at less than one cent apiece on the premises of the original contractors. This sub-contractor had his own shop in the city, and, while working on these coats, usually employed from eighteen to twenty hands. Seven or eight of these were men, and the rest young women or girls. As was invariably the case, the men received from two to four times the remuneration of the women, although it was generally admitted that the work performed could not have been done any better by the men, while in some cases it was thought that it was done decidedly better by the women. In most of the shops a few men had been employed to do the pressing, which is heavy work, but in some instances women had been engaged as pressers also. Occasionally men had operated the sewing machines, but this work, as a general thing, had been performed by women. It was only in exceptional cases that men had been employed to do the felling, i.e., the laying of a seam or hem, and sewing it down level with the cloth. In the course of interviews with a large number of the hands who had worked in the shop in question, I learned that the best paid workmen had received twelve dollars a week, and sometimes a little more; the other men had received nine and ten dollars, and in some cases seven and eight dollars a week. This statement of the wages given by the employees corresponded, for the most part, with the statement given by the sub-contractor himself, except that the latter gave the highest figures he had ever paid which, as a rule, were above his customary wage.

"These wages, it should be mentioned, were the best the men had ever received for any considerable length of time, many of them having commenced at three dollars a week and received a gradual increase as time went on. The wages of the women were much lower. According to the sub-contractor's statement, three dollars a week was considered

a good wage for a woman, and this was what he himself had paid the majority of his female hands. The best paid woman, he said, had received five dollars and thirty cents a week, the lowest two dollars a week; and it was possible, he thought, to secure working girls at one dollar and fifty cents a week. I was informed by the young woman who was said to have been paid the highest wage that, for the first year, she had received three dollars, for the second year three dollars and fifty cents, and for the third year four dollars a week, and that only in her fourth year of service for this sub-contractor had she received four dollars and fifty cents a week. This was the highest wage that had ever been paid her while in his employ. While two or three of the best paid women had received four dollars a week, some had been paid three dollars, others two dollars and fifty cents, others two dollars and twenty-five cents, and a number two dollars a week. For this wage men and women alike were required to work sixty hours a week, that is, from seven o'clock in the morning till twelve noon, and from one till six o'clock in the afternoon for six days of the week. The men being Jews did not work on Saturday, but worked on Sundays. The women worked on Saturdays but not on Sundays. There was no half-holiday on Saturday. In this shop, as well as in others, it was not an uncommon thing for the hands to be changed occasionally, so that in this way it was possible to retain some of the workers at a low rate of wages all the time. The ages of the women employed in this shop ranged, as nearly as I could ascertain, from eighteen to twenty-five years, one or two being older than twenty-five.

"The riding breeches for the cavalry, artillery and mounted infantry were made by sub-contractors who converted part of their homes into workshops and employed hands to assist in the making. One sub-contractor who appears to have performed a large part of the whole work turned out, was paid, for the making of the riding breeches, fifty cents a pair. He had the cloth delivered to him already cut, and was supplied with thread, but the entire work, with the exception of the button-hole making, he was obliged to do himself. He had also to send for the cloth and deliver the manufactured goods at his own expense. During the busy season he employed

about five men and nineteen women. The men worked six days of the week, from seven o'clock in the morning till six in the evening, with an intermission of an hour at noon. The best paid hands received six dollars a week, the others five dollars. The wages of the women were much less. According to the sub-contractor's statement, some of the women and girls received one dollar and twenty-five cents, others two dollars, and the rest three dollars a week. They worked by the piece, and if they cared to work overtime they were allowed to do so and thereby increase their earnings. A number of them, particularly in the summer months, were accustomed to come to the shop at six o'clock in the morning and work there till after nine o'clock at night. Occasionally, they brought with them food for both lunch and supper and ate it in the shop. Others, instead of working overtime in the shop, took the different materials with them to their homes, and worked on them there during the evenings. The most that the best paid hands appear to have made by thus working overtime was about five dollars a week. A good many of the females employed in the shop were under twenty years of age; some were scarcely fifteen, while others were thirty, or thereabouts.

"Another sub-contractor who made riding breeches was a woman, who wrought in her own home, with the assistance of her daughter, and who, during the busy season, employed three girls, all under twenty years of age. The girls received for the first three months one dollar and fifty cents each a week, and two dollars a week afterwards. They worked six days of the week, and if they quit an hour earlier on Saturdays, were obliged to put in extra time on other days. The mother and daughter worked frequently till eleven o'clock at night. No men were employed.

"Another female sub-contractor, while working for a time on riding breeches, for the making of which she was paid fifty cents a pair, employed about eighteen women and girls. They wrought from seven o'clock in the morning till six in the evening for six days in the week, with an hour off in the middle of the day, and were paid from two to four dollars each a week. Three dollars a week she considered a good wage. No men were employed.

"The artillery and infantry great coats were made up largely by women in their homes. Many of the workers lived in villages at a considerable distance from Montreal. In some instances the work was taken in by farmers' wives who had little to do at certain seasons; in other cases the women appear to have continued to work all the year round. In some instances only the members of the family assisted in making up the garments, but not infrequently women or girls were employed at a wage of one or two dollars a week. It was not unusual for them to give their services for a period of time gratis in order that they might learn the trade. In one village which I visited, over fifteen miles distant from Montreal, I learned that nearly every woman in the place was making up clothing for the city firms. I went to the homes of some who had worked on military clothes, and found that they had made up infantry and artillery great coats at forty cents each. For some of the coats the rate was higher, and for others lower. One of the women told me that for military great coats without capes, she had been paid only thirty cents each. For the great coats with capes, and lined throughout with white flannel, she had received forty cents each. With the assistance of her son, and by both of them working steadily from half-past seven in the morning till midnight, or even later, for six days of the week, they were able to complete twenty great coats. That is to say, four dollars a week represented the gross earnings of this woman who wrought daily over fifteen hours out of twenty-four. What her net earnings were may be estimated by deducting her expenses for rent, fuel, light, &c. I mention this case in particular because I have reason to believe it is typical of many such cases in the villages in the neighbourhood of Montreal.

"Another woman who made military great coats at forty cents each, had employed four girls to assist her. She usually paid them twenty-five cents a day if they were first-class sewers. In other words, under this system of sub-contracting, heavy Government clothing was actually made up at two and a half cents an hour. The woman herself was in the habit of working till midnight and, during the

summer months, commenced her tasks as early as five o'clock in the morning. It was only, she said, when she had hired help that her gross earnings, even when thus working overtime, exceeded one dollar a day.

"Another female sub-contractor, who had also received forty cents each for military great coats with capes, had employed five girls, some of whom were paid two dollars and others one dollar each a week; which means that the one dollar a week workers wrought at the rate of one and two-thirds cents an hour. There were also a number of cases in which girls had given their services gratis. In one of the houses visited, which was in a filthy condition, I met a woman, the mistress of the house, who had made up serge tunics for another Montreal firm at sixty cents each. At the time I saw her she was making civilian coats for the same firm at thirty cents each, and had as her assistants two young women, neither of whom was paid anything, for the reason, it was said, that each was learning the trade.

"With respect to the military trousers, I learned that practically all of them were let out by the firm which had the contract to men and women in their homes. It was a common practice, it seems, for the contracting firm to cut the cloth by machine on their own premises, and then send it in bundles to individuals to be made up in their homes in the city, and in different parts of the country. As soon as the articles were finished they were called for, and twenty cents a pair paid for the work done, which included the sewing fitting in of the stripes, pressing, etc. In some cases thirty-five cents a pair had been received for these services.

"(B) -- The Contracts in Toronto.

"Only one firm in Toronto was awarded a contract for military clothing. A small portion of the clothing was made on the premises of the contracting firm; another portion was also made on the firm's premises, but in a shop let to a sub-contractor, while the balance was made by a second sub-contractor. The former sub-contractor agreed

with the Government contractor to make up the cavalry riding breeches at sixty-five cents a pair. He employed three men at eleven, ten and eight dollars a week respectively, and about sixteen women and girls at from two dollars and fifty cents to four dollars each a week. Of the women and girls about one-third were paid less than three dollars a week, the majority about three dollars; and two or three other hands as high as four dollars a week. Their ages varied from fifteen to twenty-three years, or thereabouts. The second sub-contractor made great coats for the artillery, with detachable capes, at one dollar each, and infantry great coats at ninety cents each. He also made up serge tunics for the mounted police with lining, at eighty cents each; without lining, at fifty-five cents each. He had in his employ seven men and thirty women and girls. The average wage paid the men was about ten dollars each a week, and that paid the women and girls from three to five dollars each a week. The women did not begin work till half-past seven in the morning, and all hands worked only half a day on Saturdays.

"(C) -- The Contracts in Hamilton.

"In Hamilton large Government contracts were let to one firm. In no case were the clothes manufactured on the premises of the Government contractors; all the work, so far as I was able to discover, was given out to two sub-contractors and to women who worked in their homes. One sub-contractor made the dark cloth tunics for the rifles and artillery, and also for the Hussars. He was paid for the making of the artillery tunics eighty-five cents each, for the rifles tunics eighty cents, for the serge tunics sixty cents, and for the Hussar tunics one dollar and seventy-five cents each. I understood that latterly the prices were cut ten per cent below these amounts. This sub-contractor employed between twenty-five and thirty hands. Three of these were men and the rest women and girls. The best paid male employee received from eleven to twelve dollars each a week, and the other male hands six to seven dollars each a week. The weekly wages of the women varied from two to six dollars. Three of the

best paid female operators received six dollars each a week, four or five from four dollars and fifty cents to five dollars, three or four from four dollars, and the rest from two to four dollars each a week.

"The other sub-contractor made the red military tunics, the riding breeches and the overcoats and tunics of the post office letter carriers. For the military tunics he received eighty cents each; for the cavalry riding breeches sixty-five cents a pair; and for the artillery riding breeches seventy-five cents a pair. For the overcoats for the letter carriers, all of which were lined, he was paid one dollar and ten cents each, and for the letter carriers' tunics, ninety cents each. This sub-contractor employed two men pressers and a boy, besides a large number of women and girls. One of the pressers received fifteen dollars a week, the other considerably less. The wages of the women and girls were much the same as those paid by the other sub-contractor. The employees in these shops worked only half a day on Saturdays. The sub-contractors, both in Toronto and Hamilton, had to supply the linen and cotton (but not the silk) thread required for the making up of the goods. The button-holes were made by machine on the premises of the Government contractors. The cavalry, artillery and infantry trousers were given out by the Government contractors to women who made them up in their homes. The cavalry trousers were made up at fifty and sixty cents a pair, the artillery trousers at fifty cents a pair, and the infantry trousers at thirty-three cents a pair. The trousers for the post office letter carriers were made up in the same way at forty-three cents a pair.

"The button-holes, in all cases, were put in by machine on the premises of the Government contractors, where also the cloth was cut. The buttons of some of the trousers were put on by machine. I learned, on reliable authority, that the cost of making button-holes and the putting on of the buttons, when done by machine, was at most a mere trifle. The button-holes in trousers can be made at the rate of about ten cents a hundred. In the

case of overcoats, in which the button-holes are somewhat larger, the cost is greater; but in no estimate which I was able to obtain in any of the three cities, did I find that the cost exceeded seventy-five cents a hundred, and this estimate, I have reason to believe, is excessive. The putting on of the trouser buttons by machine I found to be even less. The machine is worked by a boy, and it is very doubtful whether the cost of putting on all the buttons required for a pair a trousers would exceed half a cent.

"Wherever the women worked on trousers in their homes they were required to send for and deliver their bundles. In a good many cases a carter was employed who, for ten cents, delivered a bundle which usually contained the cut cloth for four pairs of trousers. Twenty-four pairs were, as a rule, delivered for fifteen cents, and thirty-two pairs for twenty-five cents. This item of expense had to be borne by the women themselves. They were also obliged to supply their own cotton and linen (but not silk) thread, which was purchased, in every case that I met with, from the Government contractor. The estimates given by the women of the quantity of thread actually used in the making of a pair of trousers varied so materially that it would scarce be fair to mention any. The cost, however, it may be said, was a substantial fraction of the gross earning received. The women occasionally employed one or more women or girls to work with them in their homes, the prices paid for the services thus rendered being usually very low. This practice, however, did not prevail to anything like the same extent as in Montreal; but the same long hours, from early morning till late at night, were common to many of the homes visited, both in Hamilton and Montreal. It was pretty generally conceded that, except by thus working overtime, or by the profits made by the aid of hired help, there was very little to be earned by a week's work.

"III.-- Salient Features of the Case.

"Having presented the facts disclosed in the three industrial centres to which my investigation extended, it may be of interest to notice the prominent features of the situation, in so far as they are shown by the hours of labour, and the wages and prices paid the different classes of employees. It is in these two features, separate or combined, that the sweating system, if prevalent at all, is most likely to be exhibited. The real test of the system, apart from other elements in it which aggravate the evil, is to be found in the actual remuneration of the persons engaged in the particular work, and in the time spent upon it.

"Keeping in mind the three modes of sub-contracting under which the Government contracts were actually carried out, it will be observed that the third mode, namely, that of letting out work to individuals to be performed in their homes without the aid of hired help, was common both to Montreal and Hamilton. In the former city it was adopted with respect to some of the great coats and tunics, and in both cities with respect to the military trousers. There was this difference, however, that in Montreal the prices paid by the Government contractors to these home-workers seem to have been invariably lower than the prices paid in Hamilton. But, in both cities, many of the women appear to have been obliged to work long hours in order to procure a bare subsistence. In Montreal there is no doubt, judging by the prices paid to many of the women in their homes, that it would have been impossible for them to live on the earnings of sixty hours work in a week, and that it was only by their receiving assistance in the work assigned to them, or through the means furnished by other members of their families, that they were able to live at all. Of course, it is not generally supposed by those who employ this class of people, that the latter are dependent upon their work alone for a livelihood. Many of them, it is said, took the work only for the purpose of supplementing the common income, derived in a variety of ways, by the family. While this is true in many cases,

the fact remains that the price which has been paid to many of those employed in their homes, on Government clothing, was in itself clearly insufficient to constitute a living wage. Nor does it alter the fact already stated, that many of the women were often compelled to toil fifteen hours a day, or even longer, on Government work in order to gain a living.

"With respect to the second mode of sub-contracting, namely, that in which part of the home was converted into a workshop -- which appears to have been the conditions under which most of the riding breeches were made in Montreal, and some of the military trousers both in Montreal and Hamilton -- the amounts earned by those persons, usually girls and young women, who were employed by the sub-contractors, were, in almost every case, exceedingly low. In Montreal, as we have seen, a wage of from one to two dollars a week was not uncommon to women and girls who worked in a shop forming part of the sub-contractor's home, while some even contributed part of their services for no return in money. The fact also appears that when young women were employed on piece-work, it was only by working for many hours overtime that they were able to earn five dollars in any one week. As with but few exceptions all the hands employed in these home-shops were women or girls, it would seem not unfair to conclude that very few, and in some shops none, received a sufficient wage to enable them to subsist had they been wholly dependent on this species of work for a living.

"As to the first mode of sub-contracting, namely, that in which the sub-contractor had his shop elsewhere than in his home -- which was the method adopted in all three cities in the manufacture of great coats and tunics and, in Montreal and Toronto, of riding breeches also -- the wages paid those actually engaged in the work seem to have varied slightly, being lowest in Montreal, a little higher, as a rule, in Toronto, and still higher in Hamilton. Nevertheless, the highest wage paid to the most skillful female workers in Hamilton appears rarely to have exceeded six dollars a week, while four dollars a week seems to have been regarded as a good wage for women. In Toronto the

weekly return might fairly be put at from three dollars to three dollars and fifty cents, and in Montreal at three dollars. The wages earned by the men were in much the same proportion. Where the work was thus carried on in separate shops the hours of labour were confined, more or less strictly, to those prescribed by the provincial Factory Acts.

"IV.-- Profits

"The profits received by contractors is a subject which naturally associates itself with that of the wages received by those who work for hire. In contract work generally, and particularly where the system of sub-contracting prevails, the profits of the contractors, so far as each is individually concerned, may be said to depend almost entirely on the amount which they have to pay to those in their employ. The other factors which help to determine the situation, namely, the price to be received for the finished articles, the cost of the raw material, the fixed capital invested in the manufacture, the risks, etc., are more or less constant; but wages, the increase or diminution of which means a larger or smaller outlay on the part of the contractor, are a vital element in determining the profits which the latter shall receive. In this we find the obvious explanation of the low rate of wage generally prevalent wherever the sub-contracting system exists, and a no less obvious explanation of the all but universal employment of female, to the exclusion of male, labour. The time has not yet arrived, at least in the clothing trade, when a like service commands a like remuneration irrespective of the sex of the person who performs it. The reward for female labour is still greatly at a discount as compared with that of the opposite sex. It must also be observed that the competition between the sub-contractors, which must exist where the sub-contracting is resorted to, tends, in the first instance, to limit the margin of profits they may, in any event, be able to obtain. To the extent to which this margin is limited wages are likely to suffer a greater or less depression.

"In the case of these Government contracts, if the contractor who receives a stipulated price for the finished article is able to sub-let the great part of the work of manufacture at a fixed sum, his profits become calculable almost to a certainty. He is relieved of further responsibility in respect of superintendence, while the wages paid to those employed by the sub-contractor he is pleased to regard as beyond his control, and as a matter with which he has no concern whatever. Thus it happens that the persons who actually perform the work are left at the mercy of the sub-contractor who, it must be remembered, has also his profits to make and who, having regard to the amount of his gains, seeks to depress wages to the lowest possible point, the wages being the one variable factor upon which his profits depend. The price of the manufactured article is already stipulated, in the case of the sub-contractor, in the same manner as it was in that of the Government contractor, and the difference between this price and his necessary outlay, of which wages constitute by far the most important part, is his reward. Wherever the sub-contracting system prevails, two distinct profits have first to be realized above what goes to those who do most of the work of manufacture, namely (1) the sub-contractor must make a profit out of the work of his employees, and (2) the Government contractor must make a profit out of the sub-contractor. When the work is let out directly to women in their homes, it is certain that the price paid to them is less than what would have been paid to a sub-contractor who employs his own hands, otherwise the latter method would be adopted. In these cases the Government contractor secures the two profits for himself.

"It would be impossible, without a more extensive and minute inquiry than I was able to make, to state accurately to what extent the competitions between sub-contractors and the profits received by them were the cause of the low prices and wages paid. That they were important causes must appear quite evident. One basis of calculation as to the latter that was given by a sub-contractor who employed a number of persons, and who had been in the business for several years, was this: He calculated that his net profits should never fall below what he paid out in wages to his hands. All other expenses of the shop having been met, there should

remain to himself a balance equivalent at least to that which he had expended on wages. This was the minimum amount and his main object, of course, was to keep above it. Having been a sub-contractor for fifteen years, he could not remember a single season when he had cleared less than forty dollars a week, and a sum varying from sixty to eighty dollars might be taken as a fair weekly average of his gains. He had often, he said, cleared over one hundred dollars a week. His employees were nearly all women because they were cheaper than men and, in some cases, were able to perform better work.

"The profits that were realized by the Government contractors may be obtained, with some degree of certainty, by referring to the prices paid by the Government for the articles in question, and by comparing these with the prices paid by the Government contractors to those with whom they sub-contracted for the work of manufacture. This, however, opens a field of investigation almost as extensive as that pertaining to wages, and it was with the latter alone that I was primarily concerned.

"V.-- Sanitary Conditions and Inspection.

"Of scarcely less importance to the wage-earners than the pecuniary return for their labour are the environments in which it has to be performed. The effects produced upon the people by the occupations in which they are engaged are of almost equal moment to the wage-earners and the state alike. In the case of a commodity such as clothing, or of any other article consumed in large quantities, the consequence to the public of the commodity being manufactured under conditions helpful or hurtful to the public itself can hardly be over-estimated. The recent investigation, as well as inquiries instituted in other crowded centres of population, have led me to believe that the truth of these all but self-evident propositions cannot be too fully realized or studied too carefully in detail. I have been painfully impressed with the fact that the injustice which has been suffered by individuals, and the risks which the public itself has run during past years, on account of the methods which have been permitted to

exist in the manufacture of Government clothing are two of the most alarming and distressing features of the whole contract system.

"When a contract was sub-let to a contractor who had his shop in a building separate and distinct from his home, there was at least the possibility of inspection by the factory or workshop inspector; there was also the probability that the hours of labour prescribed by law, and other regulations as to sanitation and the like would be observed; but beyond this the individual worker received little or no protection. As a matter of fact some of the shops which I visited were in anything but a proper sanitary condition, and that they were any better in past years is highly improbable. The atmosphere in which the occupants lived and worked was frequently foul and noisome, and statements were repeatedly made by the employees to the effect that their health had suffered in consequence. A large number of hands were, as a rule, gathered together in small, ill-ventilated apartments, and this during the cold seasons, when the windows were kept closed and gas irons were used the whole day long, could hardly fail to be detrimental to those who were obliged to submit to this sort of confinement. The factory inspectors whom I consulted freely admitted that it was next to impossible for them to secure a proper compliance with the law and that, to their certain knowledge, there were shops which were not complying with it. One of these officials informed me that he had visited a certain shop and was glad to escape from it, so vitiated was the atmosphere; and when asked whether he had effected any change in its conditions, he replied that he was all but powerless to do so. It must not be supposed that all inspection was carried on in this way. I do not believe it was; at the same time, I have every reason for stating confidently that the workshops of sub-contractors, being as numerous as they are, received a scant degree of inspection, that some of them escaped inspection altogether, and that others, although to all appearance complying with the law, were, in fact, disregarding it with perfect impunity. There were cases,

of course, in which there was a rough conformity with the statutes of the land; and wherever this rude respect for the law was preserved, the situation, although far from satisfactory, was infinitely better than where there was none, and the law was a dead letter. This leads to a consideration of the conditions in workshops conducted in homes. While all such are really within the scope of the Factory and Workshops Acts of the provinces, **they are as a matter of fact**, but seldom reached effectually by the provisions of these statutes. The inspectors complain that it is often quite impossible for them to discover where such shops exist, and in a centre like Montreal, from which many of the shops in homes radiate for miles beyond the city limits, it is questionable if a knowledge of their existence and situation would aid materially in the work of inspection. The result is, that besides the injury to the home, to those immediately connected with it, which may be occasioned by the introduction of strangers and the presence of a workshop in its midst, a great injustice to the wage-earners and a complete evasion of the law are inevitable. That such has been the case in home-shops, in which Government clothing has been manufactured, has already been pointed out. The working for long periods of time, both before and after the legal hours of labour, the disregard of the requirements as to age, and the lack of compliance with regulations as to health, may all be classed among the abuses in question. Other baneful influences arising either from the want of inspection, or from defects in its methods, will be noticed hereafter.

"Where clothing has been let out to individuals to be made up in their homes, with the assistance only of the members of the household, there was absolutely no restriction as to the conditions under which the work of manufacture had to be carried on. This led, as we have seen, to a state of things which, in some cases, women were compelled to toil from early morn until the hours of midnight in order to procure a bare maintenance. To what degree children were thereby neglected, and the duties of the home sacrificed to the imperative demands of the needle or the machine, are questions the answers to which might prove to be of great and far-reaching importance. The home is still the nursery of the nation.

"Finally, as has already been indicated, it is not the individual workers alone who suffer from the lack of a proper system of supervision and inspection. The persons who use the manufactured goods, the particular consumers, so to speak, and the public at large, run a constant and serious risk of incurring sickness or contracting disease through contagion communicated by the garments in question. This danger has never probably been fully realized, if indeed it has been seriously considered, by the great body of consumers. There is really nothing to prevent the worst possible consequences following the neglect of inspection of a commodity so precariously manufactured as that of clothing. In the making up of Government garments it appears that only that part of the clothing which was manufactured in shops other than those conducted in homes was, in any sense of the term, subject to inspection. In all other cases where work was given out to people to be made up in their homes, there was absolutely no guarantee against the spread of infection other than the willingness of the home-workers to disclose it. That such cannot be relied on is evident from a well authenticated instance which came directly to my knowledge. A sub-contractor who was making civilian coats for a large wholesale firm in a shop conducted in his home, told me that he had continued making these coats while his children were lying ill in the house with diphtheria, and that he had purposely concealed the fact of their illness from the authorities, because it was at a time when he most needed his money. This is but a single instance of the manner in which individual workers as well as the public at large -- because in this case the working hands lived outside and came daily to the shop -- are exposed to continuous risk, in the absence of a proper system of inspection. Further inquiry would doubtless have disclosed other instances of the same sort. Of the homes which I visited some were scrupulously clean, others were in a very filthy condition. Frequently the rooms in which the clothes were being made up was that utilized as kitchen and dressing-room combined. In some cases the cut cloth or finished garments were stored in the sleeping apartments of the family, although of course other rooms were occasionally used for the same purpose. In these

homeshops the members of the family appeared to frequent the working room at will, or were employed in it all the time that the work was being carried on.

It must be apparent, therefore, that while, in its contracts for the manufacture of clothing in past years, the Government has protected the nation by providing for the equipment of those enlisted in its service, it has also, owing to the neglect of inspection in most cases, and to the partial or ineffective inspection in others, permitted the existence of abuses detrimental to those employed in the manufacture, and has, at the same time, exposed individuals and the public alike to possible dangers of a much graver character.

"VI.-- Summary

"The conclusions of the investigation may be briefly summarized as follows:-

"1. Practically all of the clothing manufactured for the Government of Canada, under the contract system of the past ten years, has been manufactured for the most part on premises other than those of the Government contractors, and according to one of the three modes of sub-contracting already described. As a result of this the Government contractors have had no immediate supervision of the contract work, and have, in fact, only assumed a partial responsibility for the methods and condition under which it was performed. In other words, the contractors, while reaping the benefits of the contract in question, have failed to discharge adequately the duties and responsibilities which may not unfairly be regarded as appertaining to the proper carrying out of their obligations.

"2. Most of the work on Government clothing has really been executed by women and girls. Where these have been employed in shops their wages have been, on the whole, exceedingly low; and where the work was performed in homes, the prices paid were often such as to necessitate long hours of labour for a very meagre return. In the case of those employed by sub-contractors the general rule has been to require a maximum amount of work for a minimum amount of pay.

Exceptionally long hours and other objectionable features have marked the course of employment of the workers in the homes, and of not a few in the shops.

"3. The introduction of a sub-contractor, who resorts to hired help, has involved the necessity of realizing a double profit out of the work of the hands and as a consequence of this and the competition of sub-contractors, the wages of the large majority of those engaged in Government work have suffered a considerable depression. The wages received will not bear comparison other than unfavourable with those paid as a fair return for labour in other trades or occupations.

"4. The conditions under which much of the Government work has been executed have been such as to prove injurious to the health and well-being of those engaged in it. There has been no proper or adequate inspection of the methods or the work itself, and, as a consequence, individuals and the public alike have been exposed to continuous risk from the spread of contagion as well as to harm in other ways.

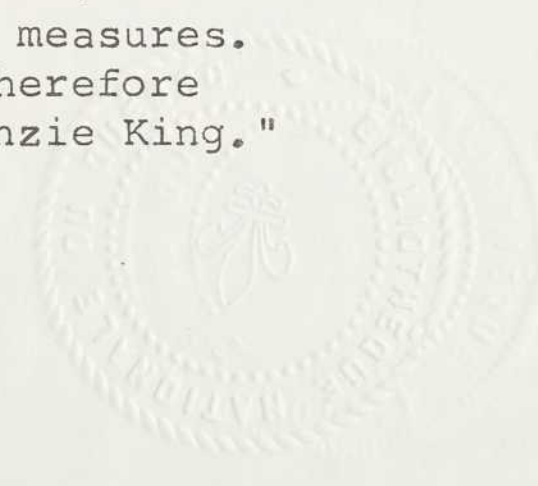
"I need scarcely add that the existence of such conditions, apart from any other attendant evils of the sweating system, constitute emphatically, in the words of your communication, 'sufficient grounds for Government interference in order that future contracts may be performed in a manner free from all such objectionable features.' The step in this direction which has already been taken by your Department cannot fail to bring about a much-needed reform and be productive of great and lasting good to the industrial classes of this country."

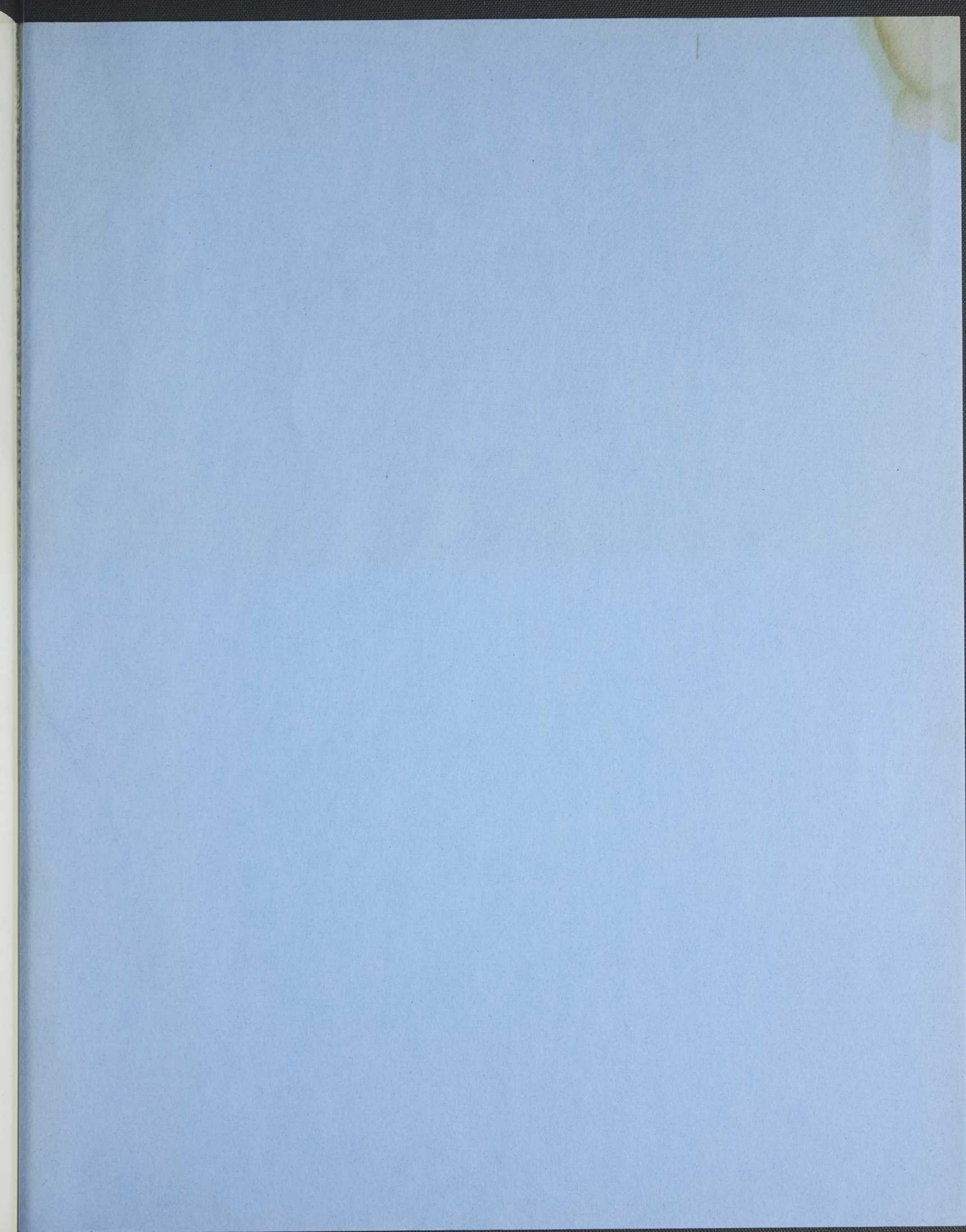
On June 20, 1898, while King was at Harvard, he learned "from father that my report on S.S. had been laid before prlt. & 10,000 copies ordered to be printed. I wish it were a fuller one, but what is written is written. The working men will appreciate its truth, and for them I want to live, they deserve fair understanding of the problems than has been given them."

As the King biographer continues the record,

"In January, 1898, he submitted his formal report to the Postmaster General -- comprehensive yet concise; general in its indictment of the sweating system, yet specific and detailed in its illustrations. It gave the oppressive methods used in carrying out clothing contracts through the system of sub-letting and the resulting homework; it described the wretched conditions under which the work was done, the long hours, the starvation wages; and it demonstrated beyond a doubt the need for stringent government regulation. The report amply confirmed the findings of the original newspaper article three months earlier and it discovered the same general conditions in Montreal and Hamilton that had been found to exist in Toronto. When printed, the report was very well received, and another printing was made the following year. In the meantime, King's name came before the public in two signed articles on the subject in the Montreal Herald, and these gained him a wide and favorable publicity. An unsigned article by him also appeared in the Globe in November, 1898. When to his Canadian investigations are added his study at Harvard on the subject and a potboiler research project for the Consumers' League of Massachusetts on working conditions in Boston, it is evident that by the end of 1898 King had acquired both a thorough knowledge and an impressive reputation in this field.

"Two years later, in July, 1900, the House of Commons on the motion of the Postmaster General passed a Fair Wages Resolution, which declared that in all government contracts and in all contracts for works aided by federal funds conditions should be imposed which would prevent abuses from sub-letting, and that every effort should also be made to secure the payment of such wages as were generally accepted as current in each trade. It was an obvious corollary to the anti-sweating measures. Considerable credit for its adoption should therefore be given to the earlier contribution of Mackenzie King."





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