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THE TOILER

Official Organ of the Toronto District Labor Council. Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working Masses.

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JAMES MASON, Managing Director

TO THE READERS OF THE TOILER

It has long been customary for candidates in an election to develop sudden cordialities and affections—cordialities to go to places that ordinarily they never cared to be seen in, and affections for people that hitherto they never gave a thought for. The shortness of the time in this election would prevent in exhibiting these symptoms even if I had the necessary hypocrisy.

I do not pretend to be a workman, but my early and non-voluntary experiences as a boy picking potatoes in a farm or shovelling gravel in a pit are somewhat distant, and the specialty of mowing grass with a dull lawnmower is not yet an organized and recognized trade.

I do not pretend to be an undying friend of labor because I have had little business dealing with workmen further than paying them what they asked for any work I have had done for me, or inducing (in a professional way) others to pay them what they had earned. The best I can do under the circumstances, therefore, is to ask the workmen to look broadly at the state of the country, and also at the interests of Toronto in particular.

Canada has undoubtedly enjoyed an unbroken progress and prosperity during the last few years. It is true that many of us undoubtedly have not accumulated wealth enough to enable the accumulation in our neighbors that we have financial ability. But that may be attributed to our nature and our use of the knowledge that we are only gaining through life once. The point is, that times have been good whether we have taken advantage of that fact or not.

Now, I won't say that the good times are altogether the possession of the Laurier administration, but they certainly are its coincidence. Is it not good policy generally, so long as you are doing well, to make no change? If so, then the Laurier Government should be retained.

Again, take the interests of Toronto. Every man in Toronto, whether he is a lawyer, mechanic, a real estate dealer, a store-keeper or anyone else in active business, depends to some extent for his bread and butter on our Toronto industries. Our method hitherto of guarding these interests has been to confide their advocacy to four men whose last suggestion was bound to be accepted by the people who can by their power in the Parliament improve or annihilate these industries. If you employed a lawyer, knowing that he was disliked by the judge, and you still got justice, it would be a tribute to the bench's high sense of honor, and you would be none the less acting foolishly.

So it is at Ottawa—the public spirit of the administration saves us from the effects of our own bull-headedness. Personally, I believe that a man who is not unfriendly to the administration, and who reserves, as I do, his independence on the subject of Toronto's industries is in a good position not only to know what Toronto has, but also to secure to this great city advantages to which, by her position and importance, she is entitled. Don't you think so too?

THE STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS

Of Labor Unions Portrayed by the Rev. J. L. Gordon in a Sermon Last Sunday Evening

The subject for the evening sermon of the Rev. J. L. Gordon on Sunday last was, "Are Labor Unions a Blessing or a Curse?" The text chosen from which to preach was "The laborer is worthy of his hire."

The text chosen, the subject announced, and the few preliminary remarks about the different series of sermons over, the speaker asked his hearers to be patient and he would give them sufficient interest to all mankind would be food for thought.

First, he intimated that he had nothing to say that would generate an evil feeling by any one class against any other class in the community. There was no worker who would not be a forerunner if given the opportunity, and likewise there was no foreman whose ambition did not lead him into the employ of a class, no employer who would not be a larger employer, and no millionaire who did not seek for more wealth.

There is a great deal of ill-tempered talk against organized labor, said the speaker. There are certain coming certainties which can be predicted about the world: First unity of the Anglo-Saxon race; second, a universal world language, and that language our own; third, the removal of all tariff walls; humanity shall be a unit; fourth, political equality for men and women; fifth, there will be an equal distribution of the wealth of the world according to skill and ability. The wheels of progress will roll on in the solution of all these great questions. This evening we are face to face with what some people regard as a tragedy; unions on one side and trusts and corporations on the other. We are face to face with a serious problem—the attitude of organized labor to capital.

There are other problems more serious than the labor problem—the military spirit, the liquor traffic, the loose marriage laws of the United States and Canada, corruption in political life more dangerous than the labor problem, the growing aristocracy of wealth. While we are workingmen in every church, and I want to say that workmen do go to church, there are workmen who never darken the door of a church. They have lost faith in the church, lost faith in the political realm, lost faith in social schemes, lost faith in promises largely because so many of them know so little about the labor problem, lost faith in the political realm. This is the condition of the average workman's mind.

So far as the speaker was concerned, the condition of the average worker's mind, prompted him to lay aside the regular topic and show the disposition of the preacher toward the workman. He had read John Mitchell's book, he said, and had given through a man of letters and statistics something of what he was talking about. Seventy-five to one hundred years ago conditions were vastly different to the present day conditions. The machine had come through the inventive genius of man, and was still coming. Every new invention wipes out the past experience of hundreds of workers, and in forty-five or fifty years the worker finds he has to learn life all over again because of the progress of the mind of man. Even business men are standing in the presence of new problems. He desired to say to the unionists that their principles were right; if rightly applied, they should stand upon these principles and believe in them. He asserted that all preachers would be standing up for organized labor in the not far distant future. There was a broad view point to look at organized labor in Toronto and even if every labor union in Toronto were a failure, and every labor man a hypocrite, there was still evidence enough for faith in the movement. There was no movement which had been subjected to a greater degree of deliberate and systematic opposition. The movement had its ups and downs, but the growth had been steady. Nearly three million organized workers on this continent, and over five million counting the old world. To offset the cry of equal pay for all, there was the fact that the great percentage of highly skilled workers in England, America and on the continent were in the unions, and this should be evidence against such statements. There were old unions and young ones, and the old ones were found to be a valuable asset to the community, while some of the young and inexperienced ones were a veritable nuisance. John Mitchell's

statement that the average worker had made in his mind that he must remain a worker, was quoted, and the speaker pointed out that every day it was becoming harder and harder for the average worker to maintain his "right." He pointed to one of the fundamental principles of the trade unions of today, which was that they stand for trade agreements, where one or two or three men made agreements for 100 or 1,000 men, and likewise they were absolutely opposed to the individual contract. He told a story of a young Scotch immigrant who had got a job at a mill for a day, and he was to be employed up to six or a few minutes after, and how the few minutes kept increasing each night. This was illustrative of the individual contract as compared to the trade agreement or contract of the union, which meant better pay, better hours and better for all round conditions, fair wages, fair wages and fair conditions, and no cases like the mine owner's. He charged the unions to take the best of powder which they had. He had talked to business men of the city, and he found out from this source that unions had a reputation for standing by agreements. Occasionally there were found those who did not. The organized labor movement was a grand educational one, and had allowed to be brought into existence a union that is giving an illustration of brotherhood such as has never been seen before. Moving under one banner and controlled by one leader we find all nationalities and religions. There is nothing in all the world that will bring them together so well as the union. The public school for childhood, and the union for manhood, will bring all under a common brotherhood.

He touched upon the question of protection and immigration. He pointed out that the tariff makes the worker pay more for their goods, and although manufacturers were protected, they were guilty of bringing in the riff-raff of the old world in order to bring the wages of workers to a lower standard. The immigration question and the labor question must be considered in the solving of the economic problems of today. He pointed out the injustice of advertising in foreign parts for men at \$2 per day, and when it was found that this method had brought a surplus of labor, to reduce the amount offered to \$1.50. If a man is worth \$2 a day, he is worth it no matter how great the number of unemployed applying for the job. Speaking of protection for industries, the speaker said that if by any logic you can build up new industries, by the same logic you can regulate for every man to have a living in the new world. He pointed out that unions were condemned for striking when times are bad, and they were condemned for the same offence when times were good. It was impossible to satisfy all in this respect, but he pointed out that, distributed over all the workers of this continent, the losses for strikes would just amount to the loss of one day per year.

Upon the question of blooded in strikes, he pointed out that in the whole world of the coal strike, only eight men were killed, while if the men had been working during the same period the average death rate would be 200 killed and 600 injured. There was also the fact staring us in the face that more men were killed in one day at the 4th of July celebrations and also in elections than those killed for a whole year by the cause of strikes. It was always the case that wherever there was labor there must be the risk of life and limb. Men go down into the earth and give up their lives. It was said by some that the more money the workers get, the more goes to the saloons. This was not so, statistics don't lie, and they say that "the more reasonable the hours and the better the pay, the more sober he is and the better to the home and family. It was only the discouraged, the down-trodden, those who can't see the light, who drink their lives away. The labor movement is opposed because it makes the wages of all men equal. A wrong and unfounded supposition. The union could not make all men equal. The unions were no bar to the recognition of skill, wherever found. There was no reduction to a common plane of equality. The complaint was made that ev-

erything is up because of the higher wages and demands of the unions. It is said that a \$5 bill is not as good as a \$2 bill twenty-five to fifty years ago. He pointed out that the greatest enemy of unions is the man who goes to extremes. Mean and unwise things had been done by the small and narrow men in the movement. There were men who were not among the capitalists as well as the unions. There were capitalists who unions would do all for, and some so mean that the unions would be notified for. The workers recognize the good and the good men were working to the top. He spoke of working men not liking to have the collection plate passed under their noses by the millionaire who had not done the right thing with his employees during the other six days. He gave several illustrations of small petty and mean acts upon the part of some unions, and attributed them to the small-minded men. It was no sin to be a millionaire, and for his part a comfortable income was better than millions. He pointed out that the labor movement had some great leaders; it had graduates of Yale and Harvard under its banner. The remedy for democracy is more democracy. You are engaged in a glorious movement, one which every man should take pride in, and wipe out the small men who are responsible for the incidents in the movement which do not represent it. Your object should be such as to win the approval of all the people. He spoke of the sign unfair to labor, and could not quite understand it, but expressed the hope that all these little things would be wiped away, and warned capitalists that labor would soon be represented in the House of Parliament. He closed his discourse with a flattering reference to the labor men's new Temple.

Men everywhere measure things today by the money standard, and in the heart of nearly every man on this continent today is an altar consecrated to the almighty dollar, and yet on every hand, while men use the "dollar standard," they are talking as they never talked before of the need of a "manhood standard" in our industrial affairs.

MEN AND MONEY.

Those present at the meeting of the committee were Messrs. Gardner, Sinclair, Harmon and Hill. With regard to wages and strikes, your committee felt that there are ten or twelve different institutions sending out at present; agents get a bonus of \$2 per head. Your committee is of opinion that the burden of their support should not be shifted from the countries producing them. Some members of the committee are of the opinion that their present home life, to the major portion of these poor unfortunate is anything but healthy, their lives, especially on farms, being of a very arduous kind. It is to be feared, recruited as they are from the by-places and slums of Britain and Ireland, they will prove a menace to our country, deteriorating the present standard of health, physique and mentality. The committee believes that the present system of recruiting (K.G. should be discontinued. Agents receive for English adult emigrants seven shillings sterling; for foreigners, twenty shillings sterling. What egoistic conspiracy! Almost two-thirds more to induce non-English-speaking people to our shores. It were easy to see that our fathers continue their prayer for pauper labor; that the native sons and daughters of our country may be more thoroughly degraded, our sex destroyed, organization of our present hard won status as workers in wages and conditions disrupted. If the sphinx could speak! But no! They (our masters) desire a fuller feast of vision wherein all the other tal-ent of unjust economic conditions will be aesthetic and beautiful in comparison. A carnival of vice; an abyss of want hunger and degradation; a complete degradation of the power of the new dynamo, the dollar, and its selfish greed, with the blasting effects upon all those who refuse to accept its dictum. We favor the abandonment of the bonus to adult emigrants.

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

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NORTH TORONTO MAYOR URQUHART'S CANDIDATURE

The election campaign in Toronto is becoming warmer as the election day draws near. A great deal of interest is being taken in the North Toronto campaign, where the contest is between Mayor Urquhart and Hon. G. E. Foster. The Mayor's municipal record has been so satisfactory to the people that it is believed that the independent man who supported him for Mayor will stand by him in this election and return him by a good majority. His opponent is in no sense a representative Torontonian, while the Mayor has spent the best part of his life in the city, has acquired a faithful public service that knowledge which peculiarly fits him to represent the city in the House of Commons, and has at the same time that genius for public affairs as well as habits of industry which make him a successful administrator.

The election of the Mayor should be assured, and Toronto will fall in her duty if she does not return him to the House of Commons on the 3rd of November. In the case of the factory girls covered here from England by irresponsible agents—assumed philanthropists—we feel the wages paid were one-third less than promised them, the few that got work receiving \$2 per week for their toil. Hence it follows, what because of these young women? Beguiled from their homes, their native land, friends and relatives by specious promises of a higher life, larger opportunities, better industrial conditions, more and sufficient wage, the usual act of the glib brick game, worked with all the finesse of the legalised home strategy, the course was left to these poor dupes of greed—the street or the great beyond. Therefore, Mr. Chairman and 1904 delegates, your committee believe that we have no other alternative, in order to get justice, than to protest against the present abominable and despicable method, and to enter our strongest and fullest protest against the present outrageous policies of our respective Governments, which are killing our energies in order that the working people may become a cheap people, ground between the millstones of extreme wealth on the one side, on the other the millions of hunger and want, which know no law whose sense of right is destroyed through the pain of want. All of which we submit. John Garriety, Chairman.

Workingmen! Support the representative of the party that is pledged to National Ownership of the Grand Trunk Pacific and not the man who Foster clearly sets forth, his attitude in regard to Public Ownership in the following words: "I am entirely opposed to the present extravagant and dangerous Grand Trunk Pacific bargain, and am entirely in favor of the extension westward of the Intercolonial Railway, and its operation as a Government road." Workingmen! Support the representative of the party that is pledged to National Ownership of the Grand Trunk Pacific and not the man who

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A HOME OF YOUR OWN.

Now that the labor unions of Toronto have a home of their own in which to discuss the tangled problems of finance and industry, we may expect to see some great changes in the next few years. When the workmen get together and put their shoulder to the wheel of industry, you will see something doing. There is no reason why the working men of Toronto should not be represented so strongly in the municipal affairs of Toronto as to take over the different franchises that are now held by private parties and run them in the interest of themselves. I have noticed as I travel about Toronto several old coal and wood yards that are standing idle. Why could not the labor unions cooperate, as they did in purchasing the Labor Temple, and import enough coal and wood to keep say, three yards running—one east, one west, and one north—and supply their selves and brother men with cheaper fuel. It can be done. Can anyone say it can't? The same thing can be repeated in any other branch of supplying the wants of the working masses in Toronto. But it can only be done by the workmen standing side by side with the one motto, "Co-operation."

If this is done it will not be long before you will see many happy homes—three or four families in one house; one family living in one room in the basement—kitchen, dining room and bedroom all combined. This is not life at all. What are the reasons. Because of a domineering, ignorant class of people would like to see this fair universe of ours that God has given to all mankind that they might live as brothers and sisters and share equally things that their Father has bestowed upon them. Bab.

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In the North

Hon. G. E. FOSTER

Pledged to Public Ownership of G. T. P. and Extension of the Intercolonial Railway.

The votes and influence of the electors of North Toronto are urgently solicited for the election of Hon. George E. Foster as their representative in the Dominion Parliament as a Liberal-Conservative and

SUPPORTER OF PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF THE GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY

as opposed to

A RAILWAY OWNED GOVERNMENT.

Do not be led astray on the REAL ISSUE AT STAKE by Mr. Urquhart's pretensions to advocacy of Public Ownership.

He has spoken of it much in Council, but what has he done? His course seems to be based on the idea that

To Place and Power all Public Spirit funds—
 In Place and Power all Public Spirit funds—

A persistent talker for public ownership in municipal matters for five years past who GREEDILY SWALLOWS THE BAIT OF A \$140,000,000 monopolistic graft OPPOSED TO THE INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY, is fairly open to criticism for LACK OF CONSISTENCY.

MR. FOSTER'S EXACT WORDS

In a letter to the electors of North Toronto enclosing a copy of his speech in answer to Sir Wilfrid Laurier's presentation of the Government case at the Massey Hall, Mr. Foster clearly sets forth, his attitude in regard to Public Ownership in the following words:

"I am entirely opposed to the present extravagant and dangerous Grand Trunk Pacific bargain, and am entirely in favor of the extension westward of the Intercolonial Railway, and its operation as a Government road."

Workingmen! Support the representative of the party that is pledged to National Ownership of the Grand Trunk Pacific and not the man who

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always talked the principle: till the time arose for personal advancement, and then greedily SWALLOWS THE PLATFORM OF THE PARTY OPPOSED TO IT. "Consistency thou art a jewel." Vote for HON. GEORGE E. FOSTER and PUBLIC OWNERSHIP.

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